C

CACHE-SEXE The term “cache-sexe” refers to a covering for the female genitals. The term is derived from the French *cacher*, which means to hide, and *sexe*, which means genitals. Other terms used synonymously are modesty apron, marriage apron, modesty skirt, loincloth, string skirt, and girdle. The choice of term appears to be related to the country of origin or discipline of the observer. In this case, “cache-sexe” appears to be the term used in those areas of the African continent that were colonized by the French, such as the region from western Mali to southern Cameroon. Cache-sexe are used throughout much of West Africa and parts of East Asia, where the term modesty apron is more commonly used. In short, a wide variety of terms are employed to describe an article of dress that offers insight into the life ways of women in some small-scale societies.

Cache-sexe are constructed of a variety of materials including woven fabric, leather, beads, leaves, and metals. For example, cache-sexe created by the Kirdi (Fulani) women in northern Cameroon are skirts beaded with a fantastic range of colors. Cowry shells and brass beads ornament and give weight to the fringe. Cowry shells originate in the Maldive Islands, off the western coast of India, indicating Kirdi linkages to long distance trade. Cache-sexe are worn low on the hip and tied with a cord. Regardless of materials, the skirts measure approximately twelve to eighteen inches in length and twenty to twenty-two inches in width, excluding the cord.

The cache-sexe can be traced to the Paleolithic period, where stone carvings of fecund women, such as the Venus of Lespugue, depict panels of string fore and aft. String skirts dating from the fourteenth century B.C.E. have been uncovered in burial sites in Denmark. These skirts are wool, also ride low on the hip, fall to just above the knees, and wrap around the body twice. The cords of the skirt are thickly plied and knotted at the bottom, so that the skirt “must have had quite a swing to it” (Barber, p. 57). One of the oldest African examples of cache-sexe is described as a girdle from twelfth-century Mali. It can be described as a three-layer belt with very long fringes. The inner bark of the baobab tree is believed to be the source of the strands of fiber, which are plaited and twined into a solid chevron pattern. Its manufacture is closely related to the techniques used to produce snares, nets, and baskets. This specific article of dress is significant because it was once believed that dress was introduced to sub-Saharan Africa by the spread of Islam. However, this object predates the expansion of Islam and is made of local, not imported, materials.

Cache-sexe appear to be exclusive to females. When and how a woman wears a cache-sexe varies from society to society. In some, a girl begins to wear the skirt after menarche; in others menarche is recognized by a change from a small leather panel skirt to a fringed skirt that wraps all the way around the body. In visual sources of information, cache-sex are part of an ensemble that includes necklaces or supplements to the nose. In parts of New Guinea and Irian Jaya, women use knitted net bags that hang from a strap across the forehead. In twentieth-century images women can be seen wearing brassieres, T-shirts, and blouses.

Female informants report that protection from the environment is the main reason they wear cache-sexe. However, because of the open styling of the of the skirt, either as panels hanging in front and back or as fringes, it may be less effective as physical protection than as spiritual protection. For example, in Papua New Guinea, the Doni believe that ghosts can attack vulnerable areas like the anal opening. Articles of dress with ritual power, such as the cache-sexe, are used to protect, if not actually conceal, the lower body against evil.

Like the penis sheath, one function of the cache-sexe was thought to be modesty. A more likely interpretation of this act of dressing has more to do with fulfilling a group aesthetic about standards of public appearance. Not wearing a cache-sexe is a visible statement of a woman’s inability or unwillingness to participate in social interaction, as when ill or in mourning.

Indeed, the main function of the cache sexe, like the penis sheath, appears to be one of drawing attention to the female secondary sex characteristics by intermittently concealing them. In her contemplation of Paleolithic string skirts, Barber states:

> To solve the mystery of why they were [worn], I think we must follow our eyes. Not only do the skirts hide nothing of importance, but also if anything, they attract the eye precisely to the specifically female sexual

> areas by framing them, presenting them, or playing peekaboo with them. . . . Our best guess, then is that string skirts indicated something about the childbearing ability or readiness of a woman, … that she was in some sense "available" as a bride. (p. 59)

Thus, the cache sexe, by any other name, is exclusively a female symbol. Like the penis sheath, it is more than a covering or a display. It is a unique form of material culture that draws one in to an understanding of the physical, social, and aesthetic life of women in some small-scale cultures.

See also **Penis Sheath.**

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Sandra Lee Evenson

CAFTAN The term "caftan" (from Ottoman Turkish *qaftan*) is used to refer to a full-length, loosely-fitted garment with long or short sleeves worn by both men and women, primarily in the Levant and North Africa. The garment may be worn with a sash or belt. Some caftans open to the front or side and are tied or fastened with looped buttons running from neck to waist. Depending on use, caftans vary from hip to floor length. The caftan is similar to the more voluminous *djellaba* gown of the Middle East. Contemporary use of the label "caftan" broadens the term to encompass a number of similarly styled ancient and modern garment types.

The origin of the caftan is usually tied to Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Caftan-like robes are depicted in the palace reliefs of ancient Persia dating to 600 B.C.E. By the thirteenth century C.E., the style had spread into Eastern Europe and Russia, where caftan styles provided the model for a number of different basic garments well into the nineteenth century (Yarwood 1986, p. 321, 62). The caftan tradition was particularly elaborate in the imperial wardrobes of the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire in Anatolian Turkey. Caftans of varying lengths constructed from rich Ottoman satins and velvets of silk and metallic threads were worn by courtiers to indicate status, preserved in court treasuries, used as tribute, and given as "robes of honor" to visiting ambassadors, heads of state, important government officials, and master artisans working for the court (Atil 1987, p. 177, pp. 179–180.) Men's caftans often had gores added, causing the caftan to flare at the bottom, while women's garments were more closely fitted. Women were more likely to add sashes or belts. A sultan and his courtiers might layer two or three caftans with varying length sleeves for ceremonial functions. An inner short-sleeved caftan (*entari*), was usually secured with an embroidered sash or jeweled belt, while the outer caftan could have slits at the shoulder through which the wearer's arms were thrust to display the sleeves (sometimes with detachable expansions) of the inner caftan to show off the contrasting fabrics of the garments (1987, pp. 182–198; p. 348). Loose pants gathered at the ankle or skirts were worn under the entari.

Caftan-style robes are worn in many parts of the world where Islam has spread, particularly in North and West Africa. In parts of West Africa, the practice of layering robes to express the aesthetic principle of "bigness" in leadership dress (Perani and Wolff 1999, pp. 90–95) and the giving of "robes of honor" is shared with the Ottoman tradition (Kriger 1988).

In Western culture, caftans became part of the international fashion scene in the mid-twentieth century. In the 1950s, French designer Christian Dior adapted the caftan style to design women's floor-length evening coats (O'Hara 1986, p. 60). In the 1960s, the caftan as a unisex garment gained visibility as hippie trendsetters adopted ethnic dress. Largely through the influence of fashion maven Diana Vreeland, the editor of *Vogue* magazine, the caftan entered into the haute couture fashion scene. After a visit to Morocco in the early 1960s, Vreeland published a series of articles in *Vogue* championing the caftan as fashionable for "The Beautiful People" (Harrity 2003). Yves Saint Laurent and Halston were designers who included caftan-styled clothing in their lines (O'Hara 1986, p. 60). Since that time, caftans continue to have a market for evening and at-home wear for women and a more limited market with homosexual males (Harrity 2003). The caftan is now marketed globally as "fashion." Contemporary designers draw their inspiration from a number of different historic traditions. For example, Hubert Givenchy draws upon the Middle Eastern tradition. African designers present the "dashiki caftan" based on West African prototypes. The J. Peterman Company markets a "Shang Dynasty Caftan" for women, copied from a Chinese silk ceremonial robe dated to 2640 B.C.E. In this globalization of the caftan, top Italian designers began marketing costly "designer caftans" in materials as diverse as silk and sheared mink to elite women of the Arab Middle East nations (*Time International*, Dec. 9, 2002).

See also **Djellaba; Iran: History of Dress; Middle East: History of Islamic Dress.**

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Norma H. Wolff

CALICO In the United States, the word "calico" refers to cotton cloth printed with tiny, tightly spaced, colorful motifs on a colored background. Because many people perceive it as pleasantly old-fashioned, calico has long found favor with quilt makers and it occasionally appears in children's wear. In the early twentieth century, instead of jeans or knits, women typically wore calico dresses and aprons to do housework.

Calico of the late 1500s was another matter. The Portuguese, intent upon being the first Europeans to trade for spices directly in the Malay archipelago, had arrived in Calicut, India. There they encountered colored and uncolored cotton cloths of all descriptions, which they designated generally as "calicoes." Perhaps by default, "calico" very gradually acquired a secondary meaning in reference to basic, unelaborated cottons lacking the distinctive characteristics of other ones like "dungaree" or "gingham."

Calico in Early Commerce

Centuries before European traders disembarked in India, a wide range of Indian calicos, including painted or printed ones called *chintes*, were carried by Arab traders to Turkey, the Levant, and North Africa as well as Southeast Asia. Through their Mediterranean trade connections, wealthy Europeans had enjoyed imported spices and Indian quilted silks. They knew—or desired—little of the cottons, although Armenian entrepreneurs managed a calico trade along with spices and silks.

Glossary of Technical Terms

Madder: Natural red dye obtained from the root of a Eurasian plant, *Rubia tinctoria.*

Mordant: A substance used in dyeing that helps to make the dye color more stable and permanent.

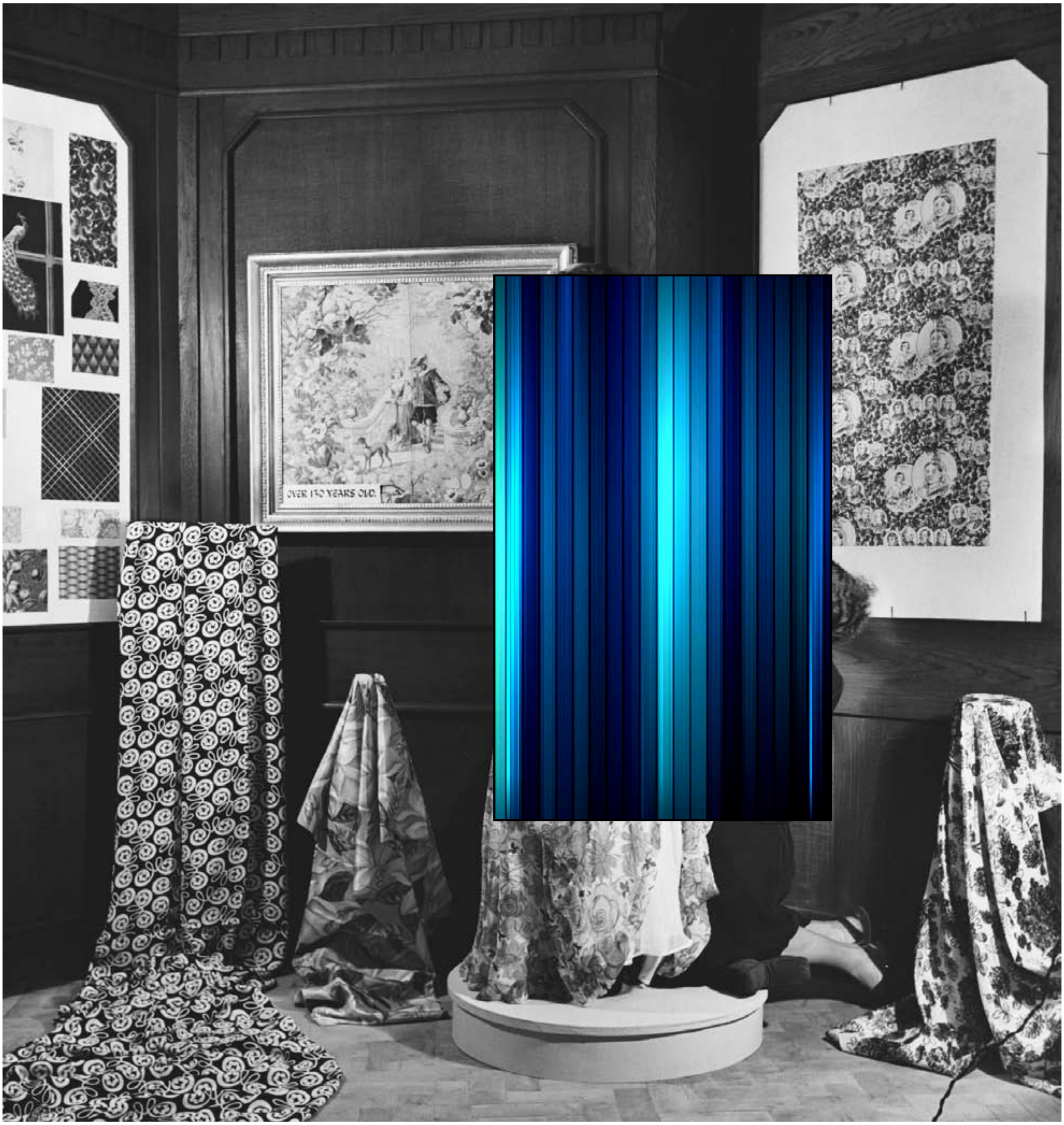
Resist dyeing: Any of a number of dyeing techniques in which part of the yarn or fabric is covered with some material that prevents the penetration of the dyestuff.

Early in their enterprise, Portuguese, Dutch, and English spice traders learned to appreciate cotton because the spice islanders would not sell their merchandise reasonably for anything other than their preferred Indian cloths—or opium. Thus enmeshed in calico trading, the traders sent quantities of the cheapest—probably leftovers—and some of the most luxurious kinds back home on private speculation or as curiosities. These generated a voracious European market; by the 1660s calico imports had become big business. Fine and heavy linens both could be replaced by the more affordable cottons; the *chintes* or prints were like nothing else.

English traders further expanded their operations by selling calicos to other companies that profitably exported them to Europe and the old-established Mediterranean and Levantine markets. They discovered lucrative markets in West Africa where, in the 1630s, they began selling special checked and striped calico as barter for slaves. The unsold remainders were sold in the West Indies for slave clothing and returned in the form of tobacco and sugar.

Indian *Chintes*

The processes of indigo resist dyeing and of applying mordants to selected areas of a cloth prior to dyeing in chay (madder) are thought to have originated in ancient times in India. The colored designs were not only brilliant, but fast, or laundry-proof—traits which riveted European imaginations and dollars. Common qualities looked crude because they were produced by the shortcut method of block printing, which also compromised the purity of the colors; printed calicos were inexpensive or downright cheap, and not cherished. The best goods, *kalamkari*, commanded a much higher price than printed ones, for they were hand painted—a time-consuming, laborious method that moved one exasperated entrepreneur to make remarks about creeping snails. These are the treasures that came to rest in museum collections.



A designer arranges a calico dress on a model. Calicos became so popular in France and England in the 1700s that both countries prohibited importing, printing, wearing, and using cottons in an effort to protect their own textile industry. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Europeans and *Chintes*

European textiles had woven designs, manipulated surfaces, or applied decorations, and, apart from humble stripes and checks, these added significantly to the expense. They were difficult to maintain. Some handkerchiefs were printed with ink—not dye—to make handy city maps or other novelties that were not laundry-proof.

Dutch gentlewomen were pleased to wear India *chintes* but English ladies at first disdained them because the "meaner sort" already had embraced the cheap piece goods that first came along. By the 1660s, however, the upper classes in Europe and America were eagerly augmenting their wardrobes with washable banyans and other informal attire made of calicos custom-painted to their taste. Everyone wanted *chintes* for the irresistible combination of eye-appeal, comfort, and launderability.

European Printed Calico

When Europeans decided to try their own hands at printing in the 1600s, they printed on Indian calico. To eliminate the problems of dependence upon imported cloth, over the next century England led in developing machinery for cotton spinning and weaving. By 1800, Eli Whitney's American cotton gin enabled a steady supply of American raw cotton to busy mills. All the while, printing processes were becoming highly mechanized.

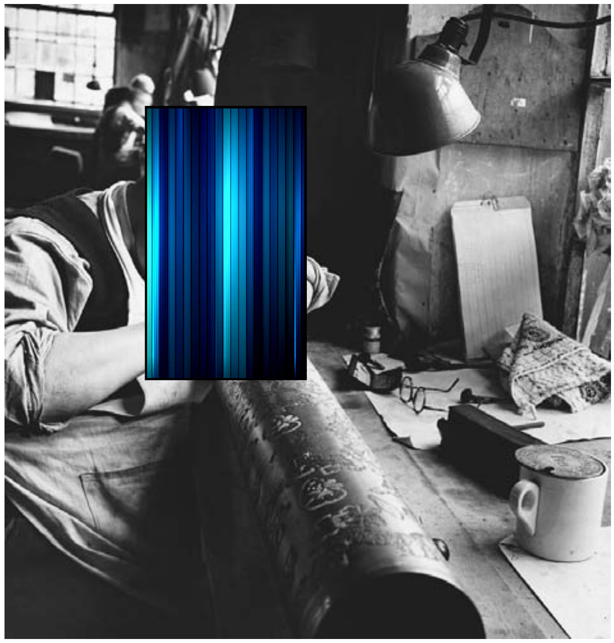
Because European designs were necessarily block printed—painting was too slow and tedious—the mordants required thickening. The trick was to concoct thickeners that gave clean imprints with minimal dulling of the colors. The development of better colors concerned all; mineral dyes and steaming were explored. Dye chemistry became a new field of research. In all aspects of calico manufacture, competition was fierce and industrial espionage rampant; production exploded.

European Resistance to Calico

The path to commercial success was not straightforward. To protect its own textile manufacturers, France enacted a complex succession of prohibitions against importing, printing, wearing, and using *chintes* and cottons, effectively destroying its own opportunities from 1686 to 1759. In 1701, established English manufacturers got similar satisfaction, notably in the form of prohibitions against using, wearing, and importing calicos except for re-export. This was augmented twenty years later by prohibitions against using or wearing painted, printed, or dyed cottons made at home, with the exception of printed linens or fustians (linen warp with cotton weft) which were taxed. From 1774 to 1811, cottons woven with three blue selvage threads could be printed for export and a tax drawback obtained. Smuggling and subterfuge ensured that the market remained supplied; legal attempts to foil calico consumption were eventually abandoned.

Cotton and prints became accepted as facts of life. America gradually joined England, France, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland in the business of printing cottons. England surpassed its own reputation as the world's source of fine wools to become the world's source of plain and printed cotton cloth, exporting cheap cotton even to India by the 1840s.

Calicos are often made at least partly of polyester in the twenty-first century, and it may be safe to say that anyone who wears clothes has worn calico—a phenomenon founded on the ambitions of European spice traders to get to the pepper first. It could be argued that the industrial revolution happened in order to generate and supply a global appetite for calico. Machinery, chemistry, and transportation all tumbled into place seemingly to accomplish this purpose.



An engraver puts a design onto a printing roller. Hand-painted calico was very time-consuming and expensive to produce, and processes for printing and dyeing calico fabric were developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. © BETTMAN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

See also **Chintz.**

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Susan W. Greene

CALLOT SISTERS The Paris couture house Callot Sisters was founded in 1895 by four sisters, Marie Gerber, Marthe Bertrand, Régine Tennyson-Chantrelle, and Joséphine Crimont, at 24, rue Taitbout. The sisters came from an artistic family; their mother was a talented lace maker and embroiderer, and their father, Jean-Baptiste Callot, was an artist who came from a family of lace makers and engravers (including the esteemed seventeenth-century artist Jacques Callot) and taught at the École nationale supérieure des beaux-arts. Before opening the couture salon, the sisters owned a shop that sold antique laces, ribbons, and lingerie. Madame Gerber was generally acknowledged as the head designer and had worked as a *modéliste* (a designer who works under the house name but is not credited) with the firm Raudnitz et cie. By 1900 Callot Sisters was employing six hundred workers and had clientele in Europe and America. The house's inclusion in the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, where it displayed dresses alongside such venerable couture firms as Doucet, Paquin, Redfern, Rouff, and Worth, demonstrates the sisters' respected place within the industry.

A number of designers, including Madeleine Vionnet and Georgette Renal, began their careers at Callot Sisters before launching their own couture houses. According to Vionnet, who worked at the house from 1901 to 1907, Madame Gerber was a friend of the art collector and critic Edmond de Goncourt, with whom she shared an interest in the Orient and eighteenth-century rococo design. The decor of the sisters' salon reflected these two influences, and they received their clients in a Chinese-style room adorned with Coromandel lacquer, Song dynasty silks, and Louis XV furniture. The house's design repertoire encompassed daywear, tailored suits, and evening dresses, but it was best known for its ethereal, eighteenth-century-inspired dishabille and exotic evening dress influenced by the East.

The sisters' luxurious tea gowns, produced in the early part of the century, were made of silk, chiffon, and organdy and often incorporated costly antique laces into their designs. Their penchant for such delicate materials prompted Marcel Proust to write, in *Remembrance of Things Past*, that the sisters "go in rather too freely for lace" (p. 675). Their layered, filmy, pastel-toned garments were very fashionable; such contemporaries as Jacques Doucet and Lucile also created such "confections," as they were often described.

In the 1910s and early 1920s the house's garments also drew upon the brilliant fauvist colors and Eastern-inspired design that were a vital part of the visual culture of the period. While this exotic mode is commonly associated with the designer Paul Poiret, the sisters also created clothing that incorporated embellishment and construction techniques derived from Asia and Africa. Some of these dresses (sometimes referred to as *robes phéniciennes*) integrated design elements from the two continents into one garment. For example, a kimono sleeve might be used with an Algerian burnoose form. Madeleine Vionnet recalls that the adoption of the kimono sleeve was Madame Gerber's innovation and that she was incorporating the cylindrical sleeve into art nouveau dresses in the early part of the century.

The year 1914 was significant for the design house, in that it marked both a move to 9–11, avenue Matignon and the sisters' involvement in Le syndicat de défense de la grande couture française. Through this organization, Callot Sisters, along with the designers Paul Poiret, Jacques Worth, Jeanne Paquin, Madeleine Cheruit, Paul Rodier, and Bianchini and Ferier, put in place controls to protect their original designs from copy houses that sold them to ready-to-wear manufacturers without their permission. This is the period when the Callot Sisters, and many other designers, began to date their labels. While fashion activity in Paris subsided somewhat during World War I, the house of Callot remained open, and the sisters continued to promote their clothing in America by exhibiting at the 1915 Pacific Panama International Exposition in San Francisco, California. By the 1920s the house also expanded its operations to include branches in Nice, Biarritz, Buenos Aires, and London, further extending the international recognition of their label.

> "There are very few firms at present, one or two only, Callot—although they go in rather too freely for lace—Doucet, Cheruit, Paquin sometimes. The others are all horrible. . . . . Then is there a vast difference between a Callot dress and one from any ordinary shop?" Albertine responds that there is a great difference because what one could buy for three hundred francs in an ordinary shop will cost two thousand at Callot soeurs (Proust, p. 675).

Callot Sisters remained active throughout the 1920s and participated in the 1925 Exposition internationale des arts décoratifs et industriels modernes in Paris, along with Jeanne Lanvin, the house of Worth, and the jeweler Cartier in the Pavilion of Elegance. By 1926, however, the fashionability of the house was on the wane. The American designer Elizabeth Hawes, who was working as a copyist in Paris in 1926, writes of dressing herself at Callot for some time and "getting some beautiful bargains in stylish clothes which lasted me for years. I had an extra fondness for Callot because the American buyers found her out of date and unfashionable. She was. She just made simple clothes with wonderful embroidery. Embroidery wasn't chic" (Hawes p. 66). The sisters retained their interest in fashionable detail and luxurious materials even when the more graphic lines of the art deco silhouette were in ascendance.

In 1928 Madame Gerber's son Pierre took over the firm and moved it to 41, avenue Montaigne, where it remained until Madame Gerber retired in 1937. At that time the company was absorbed into the house of Calvet, although labels with the Callot Sisters name appeared until the closing of Calvet in 1948.

See also **Art and Fashion; Haute Couture; Orientalism; Paris Fashion; Proust, Marcel; Vionnet, Madeleine.**

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Michelle Tolini Finamore

CAMBRIC, BATISTE, AND LAWN From the early Middle Ages, the Low Countries had supplied Europe with superb linen fabrics. Among these was a thin, soft, notably white, closely woven, plain weave cloth called cambric after the Flemish city of its origin, Kambryk, now a French city called Cambrai. The French name for cambric, "batiste," reputedly honors the first cambric weaver, John Baptiste. This specialty item was preferred for ecclesiastical wear, fine shirts, underwear, shirt frills, cravats, collars and cuffs, handkerchiefs, and infant wear.

At the same time, India had been exporting cottons to neighboring countries in the Near East, Africa, and to southeast Asia. Although trade between Europe and the Levant brought Indian quilted silks and Indonesian spices into northern homes, cotton apparently held little appeal. In the early seventeenth century, as a spin-off of their spice trade, the English and Dutch East India Companies gradually began importing into Europe various India cottons, from sheer *mulmulls* to brilliantly colored, painted *chintes.* The finer muslins presented increasingly stiff competition to cambric weavers because they were more affordable; the traders obliged, assisting the idea by grafting familiar linen names like "cambric" onto the Indian product.

Struggling to survive efforts to stymie their competition with domestic textile manufacturers, European calico printers undertook to produce their own calico (plain cotton) for printing, rather than depend upon Indian trade goods. The English had learned to make fustian, originally a worsted fabric, from linen and cotton. To comply with and transcend prohibitions against importing India cottons, some manufacturers succeeded in producing fustians that closely resembled the Indian original. This accomplished, manufacturers went on to master the skills of spinning and weaving very fine cotton yarns in imitation of the Indian muslins. Consequently, linen and cotton cambrics existed side by side in the nineteenth century along with "percales" and "jaconet" muslins, which were a bit denser. Flimsy, heavily sized cotton "lining cambric" came into use by the nineteenth century for lining lightweight clothes. It was too sleazy for outerwear, except for such things as masquerade costumes, and became limper still if dampened.

By the early twentieth century, cambric was known as a fine cotton characterized by a smooth, lustrous finish. In the twenty-first century its original distinction of fineness has been all but lost, and polyester often displaces cotton. Modern uses for polyester cambric are much the same as the earliest ones. Blouses, thin shirts, summer dresses, infant clothing, pajamas, robes, and underwear are still made of cambric; sometimes it is possible to find items made of fine cotton, but ironically the fabric may well have been woven in India.

***Portrait of a Lady,* by Rogier van der Weyden, circa 1435.** A thin, soft, closely woven linen, known as cambric and batiste, was produced in France. The cloth was used for religious apparel, fine shirts, and underwear. © BILDARCHIV PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESTZ/ART RESOURCE, NY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Another fine linen known as lawn after the French city of its origin—Laon—had characteristics very similar to those of cambric. Of the two, lawn was the most likely to be sheer. The earliest lawns often were woven with stripes, figures, or openwork in them, while cambric was not. Cambric, lawn, and batiste now are made virtually alike, of cotton or polyester in varying degrees of fineness. They are easily confused because they differ mainly in points of finish.

See also **Cotton; Linen; Muslin.**

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Susan W. Greene

CAMEL HAIR The two-humped Bactrian camel furnishes the world with camel hair. Domestic Bactrian camels are an ancient crossbreed of the one-humped *Camelus dromedarius* of Syria and the two-humped, *Camelus bactranus* of Asia. The two camels were crossbred long ago to combine the heat resistance of the one-humped camel's fiber with the superior resistance to cold of the two-humped camel's fiber.

China produces the majority of the world's supply of camel hair, with the provinces of Xinjian and Inner Mongolia providing the most. The country of Mongolia is also a major supplier.

Each camel produces about five pounds of hair fiber per year. The fiber is double coated, meaning that it has one layer of long, coarse guard hairs, and an undercoat of soft, fine, downy fiber.

Camel hair is harvested in the spring of each year by shearing or by collecting the hair as it sheds naturally from the animals during their six- to eight-week molting season in the spring. In nomadic societies of years' past, a person called a "trailer" followed the camel caravan, collecting hair tufts as they dropped on the trail during the day and from the area where the camels had bedded down for the night. By the early 2000s shearing was done to increase the efficiency of harvest. The hair over the humps is generally left unshorn to increase the camel's disease resistance over the summer months.

The camel hair is roughly graded after it is shorn, then it is brought to herdsmen's cooperatives and central distribution facilities for further sorting and grading. Only about 30 percent of the raw fiber is suitable for apparel products.

Camel hair's three grades are determined by the color and fineness of the fiber. The highest grade is reserved for camel hair that is light tan in color and is fine and soft. This top grade fiber is obtained from the camel's undercoat and is woven into the highest quality fabrics with the softest feel and most supple drape.

The second grade of camel hair fiber is longer and coarser than the first. The consumer can recognize fabric using the second grade of camel hair by its rougher feel and by the fact that it is usually blended with sheep's wool that has been dyed to match the camel color.

A third grade is for hair fibers that are quite coarse and long, and are tan to brownish-black in color. This lowest grade of fibers is used within interlinings and interfacing in apparel where the fabrics are not seen, but help to add stiffness to the garments. It is also found in carpets and other textiles where lightness, strength, and stiffness are desired.

Under a microscope, camel's hair appears similar to wool fiber in that it is covered with fine scales. The fibers have a medulla, a hollow, air-filled matrix in the center of the fiber that makes the fiber an excellent insulator.

Camel hair fabric is most often seen in its natural tan color. When the fiber is dyed, it is generally navy blue, red, or black. Camel hair fabric is most often used in coats and jackets for fall and winter garments that have a brushed surface. Camel hair gives fabric warmth without weight and is especially soft and luxurious when the finest of fibers are used.

See also **Mohair.**

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Ann W. Braaten

CAMOUFLAGE CLOTH Camouflage cloth was developed during the twentieth century to make military personnel less visible to enemy forces. The word "camouflage" (from a French expression meaning "puffing smoke") refers to a process of evading visual detection through some combination of blend-in coloration, cryptic patterning, and blurring of the silhouette. Camouflage is widespread in the natural world, from the barklike coloration and patterning of many moths to the stripes of tigers and zebras. Used by predators and prey alike, camouflage is all about gaining a survival edge in situations of conflict.

Human beings have no natural camouflage features, but it is likely that some forms of camouflage have been used by humans for thousands of years. Prehistoric hunters would readily have learned to attach pieces of brush or clumps of grass to their clothing in order to approach prey undetected. In historic times, Indian hunters of the American Great Plains practiced a related technique, mimicry, by draping themselves in bison skins to approach herds of bison without alarming them.

The same techniques of camouflage that were employed by early hunters were applicable to small-scale tribal warfare and raiding. However, the development of large-scale military operations, which accompanied the rise of civilization and the invention of metal weapons, made camouflage less important. Warfare for many centuries consisted largely of combat between forces in plain view of each other; camouflage has no role in an army of massed swordsmen or spearmen. Well into the nineteenth century, many armies wore brightly colored uniforms (such as the British redcoats) to aid in maintaining formations and to boost morale.

Armies fighting colonial and frontier wars, however, found such uniforms a disadvantage when dealing with irregular forces who fought from hidden places and employed time-honored camouflage techniques used in hunting and raiding. The development of improved firearms capable of accurate long-distance fire at individual targets also made it important for troops to make themselves less conspicuous.

During the nineteenth century, British military forces in India encountered khaki (Urdu for "dust-colored") cloth, which they began to adopt for field use. Khaki uniforms were standard-issue for British troops in the South African Boer War in the 1890s, which featured widespread use of guerrilla tactics by the Boer forces.

Camouflage paint in various colors and cryptic patterns was used by German, French, and other forces during World War I to decrease the visibility of bunkers, tanks, and even ships, but camouflage was not widely used to protect troops during that war. In the 1920s, the French military conducted extensive research into camouflage, and other armed forces soon followed suit; camouflage cloth as such dates to the period between the two World Wars. During World War II, camouflage paint and netting were extensively used to disguise combat vehicles and forward bases, and troops on all sides used camouflage-cloth combat uniforms or tunics in some situations (including white outfits for winter, arctic, and mountain operations). A problem arose in that camouflage cloth made it difficult for troops to distinguish friend from foe under combat conditions. Partly for that reason, American soldiers in WWII largely abandoned camouflage gear except for their helmets, with netting covers into which twigs, grass, and leaves could be inserted.

American troops continued to avoid camouflage cloth in the Korean War, but camouflage gear became ubiquitous in military forces worldwide during the 1950s. Camouflage outfits were widely used by American troops during the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, and other operations. Patterns and color schemes have been continually refined to produce better results in different environments, including jungle, grasslands, and desert.

Camouflage cloth entered the civilian wardrobe in the late 1960s as part of the counterculture appropriation of military surplus clothing for street wear—an ironic response to the Vietnam War. The trend faded but then resumed in the street styles of the 1980s. In the 1990s, in the wake of the Gulf War, camouflage cloth (including some pseudo-military patterns and colors developed especially for the civilian market) again entered civilian wardrobes. It was occasionally used even for such nonmilitary clothing styles as sports jackets for men and dresses and skirts for women. In the second half of the decade, camouflage cloth was incorporated into the collections of several prominent designers, including John Galliano, Anna Sui, and Rei Kawakubo.

In the twenty-first century, camouflage cloth is firmly entrenched in the military wardrobe and continues to appear in civilian clothing from time to time. Though its military connotations are never absent, in some respects camouflage has become just another type of patterned cloth, like animal prints or plaid, available for optional use.

See also **Galliano, John; Protective Clothing; Uniforms, Military.**

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John S. Major

CANES AND WALKING STICKS A cane is a rod fabricated from wood, metal, plastic, or glass, used by individuals as walking aids, ceremonial or professional batons, or fashionable accessories. Some historians and collectors distinguish canes from walking sticks by materials, with the former constructed from bamboo and reed plants, and the latter from wood, ivory, or bone. Others distinguish on the basis of geographic linguistics—a cane in America is a walking stick in Europe.

Components and Materials

Most walking sticks and canes consist of a handle, shaft, and ferrules, one between the handle and the shaft to support the cane and conceal the juncture where the two meet, and one, at the bottom of the stick, to prevent wear of the shaft and to prevent splitting.

Wood is the most popular material for the shaft, and almost any kind of wood can be used—for example, chestnut, ebony, or beech. Naturally, the more expensive the wood, the more valuable the cane, and choice of material has historically helped to convey the status of the owner. For example, malacca wood, found only in the Malacca district of Malaysia, must be specially cultivated, and Irish blackthorn is a slow-growing wood that must be cut in parts and set aside for years to harden before it can be fashioned into a walking stick. Both types of canes are considered to be highly desirable for collectors. Other materials include ivory, bone, horn, and even glass. Metal and synthetic materials are also frequently used as orthopedic aids.

A cane's handle is traditionally decorative. Tops can be constructed from silver, gold, ivory, horn, or wood. They may also be fitted with precious gems.

The Many Uses of Canes

Early canes probably originated as weapons of defense or as implements used for journeys over rough terrain. Pilgrims in the Middle Ages used them, as did bishops who traveled with sticks called crosiers. Less self-evident is the history and use of the walking stick for its alternative purposes of ceremony, fashion, or a badge of professional rank or membership.

Modern items such as ski poles, pogo sticks, and white sticks for the blind are based on prototypes of canes.

Ceremony

Although in the early 2000s the cane is considered primarily an orthopedic aid, the ceremonial staff was present as early as Egyptian times.

In a historical context, ceremonial walking sticks and staffs have traditionally conveyed a sense of law and order to others. For example, in the fifteenth century, canes were important royal accessories. Henry VIII used a cane to symbolize British royal power. The cane has also functioned as a ceremonial token of military might. A short stick or baton was a favorite accessory for military officers in Europe between the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries. Canes were not only used in formal military dress but were also sometimes given to commemorate honorable service. It was thought that these canes bestowed confidence upon their owners, and British swagger sticks take their name from this thought. Ceremonial canes may also function as a badge of office or membership, and universities, political parties, and trade guilds adopted their usage for these purposes. The walking stick figures heavily into the official insignia of the medical profession. In the caduceus motif, a snake entwines around a walking stick, and this was modeled on the staff of Aesculapius. In Greek myth, Aesculapius's staff had the power to heal and thus symbolizes the godlike power attributed to the medical profession in modern times.

Fashion

In addition to symbolic ceremonial usage, canes and walking sticks were also indispensable fashion accessories for men and women between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, used to display a sense of gentility and social propriety. During this period, canes could be distinguished by day and evening use, and it was assumed that an individual of good social standing would have a cane for every occasion, much in the way that women had an array of daily toilettes. Day canes were wide-ranging in their styles, and rare and expensive materials, ornamentation, and intricate decoration helped to express wealth and taste to others. While men's sticks were stately, women's sticks were often delicately accentuated with ribbons or gilding. Evening sticks were more homogeneous in style. Traditional evening canes were usually made from ebony and were narrower and sometimes shorter than day sticks. Silver knobs or gold bands decorated ferrules and handles. These types of canes are those of popular imagination, featuring heavily into early twentieth-century Hollywood films.

Gadget Canes and Sword Sticks

The gadget stick of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries emerged out of the fashionability of walking sticks. These were canes with an additional purpose; they contained secret items, such as snuffboxes, cosmetic compacts, picnic silverware, and later, radios; or the handle could convert into a seat, or the shaft was actually carved out as a flute. As their name conveys, people tried to top each other's canes of ingenuity and these walking sticks were a great fad.

Sword sticks, a popular item for military officials and dignitaries in the eighteenth century, operated in a similar way to the later gadget canes, although sword sticks were closer to the cane's original historic usage as a defense weapon, rather than for an adherence to fashion. These canes hid swords within their shafts and replaced the prevailing fashion for men to carry both swords and canes on their person. This trend lasted into the 1800s and spawned the development of other weapon sticks and gadget sticks for hunting and sport.

During their heyday, fashion canes, whether decorative or purposeful, were governed by specific rules and etiquette. One was not supposed to carry a walking stick under the arm, nor lean on it. Canes were also not to be used on Sundays or holidays, nor brought on a visit to a dignitary or member of the royal family, given the cane's connotation of authority and rank and its capacity to conceal a weapon.

Manufacturing and Retailing

Canes and walking sticks have traditionally been sold through specialist retailers, such as mountaineering outlets and medical suppliers. Fashion canes were historically found at jewelers or shops that also sold umbrellas and sun parasols and still can be found there in the twenty-first century, although there are far fewer retailers than there were in earlier centuries. Many canes are also purchased through antique dealers, auction houses, or directly from the artisans.

The Decline of the Walking Stick

Until the 1800s, specialist carvers, metal workers, and artisans produced canes and walking sticks by hand. However, the popularity of fashion and gadget canes fueled a market for their mass manufacture and subsequently helped lead to their demise. By the late nineteenth century, materials could be sourced globally and produced in volume for public demand. Canes became less artistic and reflective of current fashions, and the modern crook-handled wood cane became the standard walking stick. By the turn of the century, walking sticks had become either novelty items or orthopedic aids. A London newspaper reported in 1875 how the usefulness of canes for many individuals had declined: "he needs not a help—he has no one to hit, and there is no one who will hit him; he needs not a support—for if he is fatigued, is there not the ponderous bus, the dashing Hansom, or the stealthy subterranean?" (Thornberry 1875).

Indeed, the visibility of canes and walking sticks as fashionable or ceremonial items declined more rapidly during the interwar period. The emergence of the automobile and public transportation and the fashionable popularity of briefcases and attachés rendered the cane less useful as a physical aid or storage device. It lost its traditional association with gentility, power, and authority, instead becoming a symbol primarily associated with the elderly or infirm.

See also **Europe and America: History of Dress (400–1900 C.E.).**

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Leslie Harris

CAPUCCI, ROBERTO Roberto Capucci was born in Rome on 2 December 1930. He attended the Liceo artistico and the Accademia di Belle Arti di Roma, undecided as to whether to become an architect or a film director. He began designing clothing when he was still quite young and soon turned to fashion as his primary activity.

Early Career

In 1950 Capucci opened his first atelier on the via Sistina in Rome; in 1951 he presented his designs in a fashion show organized by Marchese Giovan Battista Giorgini in Florence. On this occasion, Capucci showed overcoats lined with ermine and leopard, capes edged in dyed fox fur, garments of violet wool with brown and silver brocade—clothing that immediately won for him a loyal following. In reality, Capucci was still too young in 1951 to put together his own shows. The English-speaking fashion press referred to Capucci at this time as the "boy wonder" because he was not yet twenty when he opened his first atelier. Giorgini came up with a plan in which his wife and daughter modeled Capucci's clothes during the show; the buyers literally went wild for the talented young designer. By 1956 Capucci was acclaimed as the best Italian fashion designer by the international press; that same year, he was publicly complimented by Christian Dior. In 1958 he was awarded the Filene's of Boston "Fashion Oscar," given for the first time to an Italian. Capucci was given the American award for his collection of angular clothing, which was part of his *linea "ascatola"* or "white boxes" project. The so-called box look was invented at the end of the 1950s by Capucci, to introduce the concept of architecture, volume, and project; an idea of tailoring related to the dress only. Consuelo Crespi was named the world's most elegant woman wearing one of Capucci's dresses.

In 1962 Capucci opened a workshop on the rue Cambon in Paris, a city he loved and where he was well received. He lived at the Hotel Ritz and was on friendly terms with Coco Chanel. Capucci was the first Italian designer asked to launch a perfume in France. After six years in Paris, Capucci returned to Italy permanently in 1968 and opened an atelier on the via Gregoriana in Rome, which became his headquarters.

Capucci's Work in Costume Design

Capucci designed costumes for films and theatrical productions from the late 1960s through the 1970s. He believed that this experience was fundamental to his later artistic development. In 1968 Capucci designed the costumes for Silvana Mangano—in his opinion the most elegant woman he ever met—and Terence Stamp in Pier Paolo Pasolini's film *Teorema* (1970). In 1986 he designed the priestess's costumes for a production of Vincenzo Bellini's opera *Norma* in the Arena di Verona, in "Omaggio a Maria Callas." In 1995 Capucci was invited to China as a visiting lecturer in fashion design at the Universities of Beijing, Xi'an, and Shanghai.

Capucci's Significance

Capucci is most often associated with haute couture, one-of-a-kind garments, and experimentation with structure. His garments are studies in volume, three dimensional in conception. His research followed both the abstract shape of geometry and the shape inspired by nature. He searched for an individual solution, a style, but he was primarily interested in the shape of the finished garment. He worked with meticulous attention to detail when designing a collection, preparing sometimes as many as a thousand sketches, always in black and white to better evaluate forms and their metamorphoses and avoid being directly influenced by color. The preparation of a garment could require several months of work. Capucci used yards and yards of fabric, seeking out the most precious materials: taffeta, the softest satin, raw silk, mikado, georgette, and dyed silk from Lyon. It was not so much the rarity of the materials that interested him as the infinite possibilities for their use.

During the 1960s Capucci experimented with commonplace materials like raffia, plastic, straw, sacking, and Plexiglas. But throughout his career Capucci remained faithful to his primary interests—geometry, form, naturalism, and botany. The art critic Germano Celant wrote that his designs might be described by a historian as "soft medieval armor" (Bauzano 2003). Capucci traveled often and drew inspiration from his frequent travels. This influence was reflected in his designs or, as he described it, "the transposition to paper of emotions, ideas, and forms that I see around me when I travel" (Bauzano and Sozzani, p. 40). One of his favorite countries was India.

When ready-to-wear clothing and consumer fashion took hold in Italy during the 1980s in response to the demands of the marketplace, Capucci decided to withdraw from a system he considered unsuited to his way of working. In the beginning of the 1980s he resigned from the Camera Nazionale Della Moda Italiana, translated as the No Profit Association, which was founded in 1958 to discipline, coordinate, and protect the image of Italian fashion. Among other activities the Camera Della Moda is in charge of the organization of four events a year concerning prêt-à-porter: Milano Collezioni Donna (February–March and September–October) and Milano Collezioni Uomo (January and June–July). He decided to show his work no more than once a year, at a time and at a rhythm that suited him, often in museums, and always in a different city—the one that most inspired him at the moment. Clearly, Capucci was not part of Italian ready-to-wear design, a field from which he quickly distanced himself because he felt its logic of mass production was foreign to his creative needs.

Capucci was opposed to the "supermodel" phenomenon, which, in his opinion, obscured the garment, as did all other aspects of contemporary fashion. He preferred to make use instead of opera singers, princesses, the wives of Italy's presidents, and debutantes from the Roman aristocracy. These women were called "*capuccine*" by the journalist Irene Brin. However, for more solemn occasions, he often turned to the famous and the beautiful: Gloria Swanson, Marilyn Monroe, Jacqueline Kennedy, Silvana Mangano, and the scientist Rita Levi Montalcini, whom he dressed for the Nobel Prize ceremony in 1986.

Capucci's designs are often based on twentieth-century artistic movements: futurism, rationalism (the focus on pure shape for which he searched), and pop art. Referred to as the "Michelangelo of cloth," Capucci claimed, "I don't consider myself a tailor or a designer but an artisan looking for ways of creating, looking for ways to express a fabric, to use it as a sculptor uses clay" (Bianchino and Quintavalle, p. 111). He considered himself a researcher more than a designer. His designs rarely seem to have dressing as their immediate goal. In this sense his creations can be appreciated for their intrinsic beauty and uniqueness. His designs are sculptural and architectural, which the body does not wear but inhabits; they are objects that blur the boundaries between art and fashion.

Capucci's designs have been shown in the world's leading museums, including the Galleria del costume in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, the Museo Fortuny in Venice, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. He has had many exhibitions of his work in Italy and around the world. In May 2003 the FAI (Fondo Italiano per L'ambiente) at Varese Villa Panza held an exhibition of Capucci's work. Giuseppe Panza di Biumo wrote in the introduction to the exhibition's catalog: "Capucci expresses his personality in a way that distinguishes him from everyone else. He is an artist in the fullest sense of the word, just as the painters who adorned their models with splendid garments." In 2003 Capucci's name became a brand, with a ready-to-wear line designed by Bernhard Willhelm, Sybilla, and Tara Subkoff, who have access to an archive of nearly 30,000 of Capucci's designs.

See also **Dior, Christian; Italian Fashion; Paris Fashion; Perfume; Theatrical Costume.**

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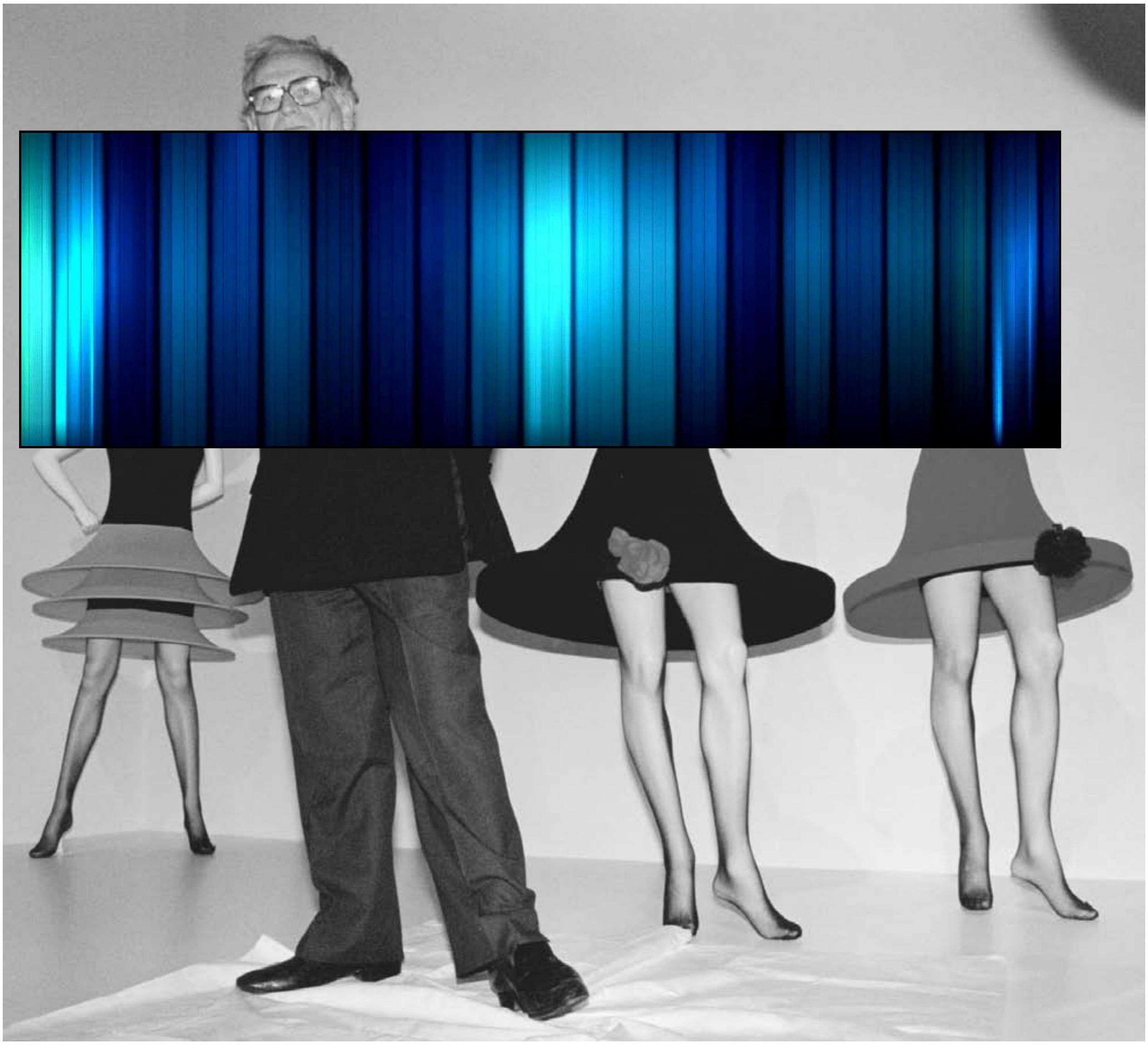
Simona Segre Reinach

CARDIN, PIERRE During the last half of the twentieth century, Pierre Cardin (1922–) became a prominent and widely admired designer as well as a highly successful businessman. Cardin is known for his acute intuition, which often made him a trendsetter and design leader. Cardin has expanded his design operations far beyond fashions for both men and women to encompass all aspects of modern living. The name Cardin has become synonymous with his brand as he has expanded his commercial operations through timely licensing. As of the early 2000s, Cardin's corporate empire held 900 licenses for production in 140 countries.



Pierre Cardin displays his designs. Cardin's fashion empire is known the world over. He is one of the first designers to "brand" his products, which include accessories and handbags, home interiors, luxury cars, and luggage. © Reuters/Corbis. Reproduced by permission.

Early Training

Born in Italy of French parents on 2 July 1922, the designer was originally named Pietro Cardini. After several years in Venice, however, his family relocated to France. As a young man Cardin briefly studied architecture before joining the house of Paquin in 1945. His tenure there gave him the opportunity of working with Christian Bérard and Jean Cocteau on the 1946 film *La Belle et la bête,* for which he created the velvet costume for the Beast, played by Jean Marais. After a brief stint with Elsa Schiaparelli, Cardin worked under the auspices of Christian Dior from 1946 until he went out on his own in 1950. Cardin honed his superb tailoring skills heading up Dior's coat and suit workroom. Cardin's own business was first located on the rue Richepanse (renamed rue du Chevalier de Saint-George), but later moved to the famed rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, where the designer launched his first couture collection in 1953. In 1954 Cardin opened a boutique called Eve, followed by Adam for men in 1957.

From the beginning, Cardin showed himself to be an innovator and a rebel. He was quoted as saying, "For me, the fabric is nearly secondary. I believe first in shape, architecture, the geometry of a dress" (Lobenthal, p. 151). His experimentation with fabrics embraced geometric abstraction without losing sight of the human figure.

Pierre Cardin minidress. Cardin designed clothes that epitomized the mod look of the early 1960s, creating fashions with a minimalist look that featured clean lines and geometric shapes. This dress features the Cardin trademark bullseye. BULLSEYE MINIDRESS BY PIERRE CARDIN (C. 1965). GIFT OF LOIS WATSON. COURTESY OF THE TEXAS FASHION COLLECTION, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS. PHOTO BY ABRAHAM BENCID, COPYRIGHT 1995.

Cardin's ability to sculpt fabric with an architectural sensibility became his signature. Making garments with impeccable craftsmanship, Cardin possessed the skills and vision to make his dreams a wearable reality. Even during the 1970s, when his dresses shifted from a sculpted look to a more draped silhouette, the fluidity of his work remained formal. Cardin was highly successful as a couturier, but he also sought to redefine the field of fashion design commercially. For his efforts in launching a ready-to-wear line alongside his couture collection, however, Cardin's membership in the prestigious Chambre Syndicale was revoked in 1959. Cardin was soon reinstated, but voluntarily resigned from the Chambre in 1966.

Cardin's Men's Wear

Cardin's early training as a tailor's apprentice shaped his approach to fashion design for men as he matured throughout the 1950s. Cardin deconstructed the traditional business suit. He subtracted collars, cuffs, and lapels, creating one of the most compelling images of the early 1960s. This look became instantly famous when Dougie Millings, the master tailor who made stage outfits for numerous British rock musicians, dressed the Beatles in his version of matching collarless suits.

Cardin's men's wear line was housed in a separate building on the Place Beauvau by 1962. He was inspired by his travels; after seeing the traditional high-collared jacket of India and Pakistan, he distilled its form into another popular innovation in men's fashions of the 1960s, the so-called Nehru jacket. Cardin further disrupted men's customary suiting by heralding the wearing of neck scarves in place of ties, and turtlenecks instead of button-down shirts. Yet he also was capable of designing men's clothing in the classic tradition, such as the costumes worn by the character John Steed in the British television series *The Avengers.*

Space Age and Unisex Styles

Advances in fabric production and technology during the 1960s coincided with a widespread fascination with space exploration. Cardin's Space Age or Cosmocorps collection of 1964 synthesized his streamlined, minimal dressing for both men and women. This body-skimming apparel resembling uniforms featured cutouts inspired by op art. Cardin was innovative in his use of vinyl and metal in combination with wool fabric. Not just unisex, Cardin's clothing often seemed asexual. Unlike such other fashion minimalists as Rudi Gernreich and André Courrèges, Cardin did not promote pants for women. He often used monotone-colored stockings or white patterned tights to compliment his minidresses. The "Long Longuette," which was dubbed the maxidress, was Cardin's 1970 response to the miniskirt. In 1971, Cardin obtained an exclusive agreement with a German firm to use its stretch fabric, declaring that "stretch fabrics would revolutionize fashion" (Weir, p. 5). Continuing his reputation as a trendsetter, he showed white cotton T-shirts paired with couture gowns on the runway in 1974 and introduced exaggerated shoulders in 1979.

Licensing and Global Marketing

Cardin learned much about the business side of fashion from his mentor Christian Dior. Dior had been very successful in trading on his name to license his designs internationally. Cardin took this approach further when he sought and found a global acceptance of his designs in countries as diverse as the Soviet Union, India, and Japan. Cardin was an exponent of what is now called branding long before other fashion designers followed suit. He was the first designer to sell ready-to-wear clothing in the Soviet Union as early as 1971. While Cardin's men's wear lines were ultimately more successful than his women's fashions in the United States during the 1970s, he still owned more than two hundred American retail outlets. Cardin was embraced by the Japanese market with special enthusiasm. At the peak of his expansion in 1969, Cardin boasted of having 192 factories throughout the world.

> "The job of fashion is not just to make pretty suits or dresses, it is to change the face of the world by cut and line. It is to make another aspect of men evident."
>
> Pierre Cardin (in Lobenthal, p. 153)

Cardin's fashion empire spanned the globe with his trademark licensing as of the early 2000s. Products identified by the Cardin brand ranged from accessories and handbags to home interiors, luxury cars, and luggage, as well as to such personal items as Fashion Tress wigs, introduced in 1973. The ubiquitous brand name was recognized around the world. As Caroline Milbank stated, "It is difficult to name something that Pierre Cardin has yet to design or transform with his imprint" (Milbank, p. 338). In 1971, Cardin transformed the former Théâtre des Ambassadeurs into L'Espace Cardin to promote new talent in performance art and fashion design. Cardin capitalized again on his fame in 1981 by purchasing Maxim's, the famous Paris restaurant, and using its name to build a worldwide chain of restaurants in the mid-1980s.

Brand Identity and Logos

During the early 1960s, Cardin was a pioneer in designing clothing conspicuously adorned with his company's logo. This trend was picked up by many other designers from the 1970s onward. Cardin's logos, consisting of his initials or a circular bull's eye, were often three-dimensional vinyl appliqués or quilted directly into the garment. Cardin's unrestrained licensing, while symbolic of his success, may have resulted in untimely diluting his name brand image.

Many fashion writers criticized Cardin for overexposure, especially given the very rapid expansion of his product lines during the 1980s and 1990s. Nevertheless, Cardin's name was known throughout the world, and identified by the public with quality and high standards. Cardin stood out as one of the most complex designers of the twentieth century because he was one of a handful who understood that fashion is above all a business. His skills as an entrepreneur, and especially his creative licensing, made Pierre Cardin one of the richest people in the fashion world.

See also **Brands and Labels; Dior, Christian; Fashion Marketing and Merchandising; Logos; Nehru Jacket; Paquin, Jeanne; Paris Fashion; Schiaparelli, Elsa; Space Age Styles; Unisex Clothing; Vinyl as Fashion Fabric.**

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Myra Walker

CARICATURE AND FASHION From the Italian for "charge" or "loaded," the caricature print emerged in large numbers in the eighteenth century in industrializing western Europe. It was in the second half of the twentieth century that the caricature that concerned itself primarily with the subject of fashion and manners, rather than political or portrait themes, developed. The origins and conventions of the fashion caricature include overlapping literary, theatrical, and popular religious and artistic traditions. Greco-Roman theorizations, performances, and artistic depictions of the cosmic world turned upside down, and late medieval woodcuts, in which memento mori themes of the dance of death and the bonfire of the vanities established the tropes of the veneer of civilization and the futility of dress and cosmetics in arresting earthly time. The European carnival tradition, commedia dell'arte and puppetry, which highlight human foibles, and the figure of the hag who deploys fashion and makeup in an act of sartorial and spiritual delusion provided subjects for major artists working in the etching media such as Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770), Domenico Tiepolo (1727–1804), and Francisco de Goya (1746–1828). Not fashion caricatures as such, nor were these images widely available, but their themes recur in the eighteenth-century caricature print.

Caricature fashion prints also exist in a relationship to respectful engravings of the cries or occupations of the town, plates depicting national dress, and "costume plates" depicting courtier men and "women of quality" by seventeenth-century artists including Abraham Bosse and J. D. de Saint-Jean in France and the Bohemian Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677) working in England. The work of Jacques Callot (1592–1635) in France crosses the boundary between observation and satire. Etched images take on new meanings when pointed titles or moralizing verse are appended; the caricature generally makes use of a combination of word and image. Although censorship restricted production in France, prints were produced in neighboring Holland, and an early eighteenth-century fashion caricature entitled "The Powdered Poodle" survives in which the high-heeled shoes, forward posture, and long blond wig popularized by the court of Louis XIV is mocked in both image and appended verse (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

Man tight-lacing a woman's corset. Caricatures began in Europe in the eighteenth century to depict social, political, national, geographic, and ethnic identity. New developments on the social, economic, and technological fronts were shown through exaggerated illustrations of clothing, dress, and mannerisms.

Eighteenth-Century Caricature

Drawing on Renaissance physiognomic studies or "caprices" by Leonardo da Vinci, Giuseppe Arcimboldo, and Albrecht Dürer, and the baroque caricatures of Annibale and Agostoni Carracci (*Heads*, c. 1590) and Gianlorenzo Bernini, eighteenth-century Italy saw a rise in the production of recognizable portrait caricatures. They included carefully delineated costumes etched by Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755) and Pietro Longhi (1702–1785), and painted in Rome by the English artists Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) and Thomas Patch (1725–1782). These works did not circulate widely in the public realm but were designed for the amusement of aristocratic circles participating in the Grand Tour who understood the dialectic of the ideal and the debased explored in this work. Furnishing their sitters with hideous physiognomies and ill-formed bodies loaded with fine clothing and airs, the works depict the dress and demeanor of the aristocrat abroad when the mask of civility has slipped under the influence of alcohol and other vice. The paintings of Patch and Reynolds drew upon the painted "modern moral subject" and subsequent etching cycles produced in England by William Hogarth (*The Harlot's Progress* 1731; *The Rake's Progress* 1733–1734; *Marriage à la Mode* 1743). Cinematic in its scenic narrative, Hogarth's finely produced work included satirical details of fashionable dress and deportment that were used to emphasize more general political, aesthetic, and moral questions.

As new and cheaper forms of reproduction and literate audiences for periodicals and prints arose in Enlightenment western Europe, there was a marked increase in the output of satirical printmaking from the 1760s in France, Germany, and the Dutch Republic, but notably England. England's freedom of the press and involvement of the public in political and cultural affairs through coffeehouse, print, and exhibition culture encouraged the production of thousands of caricatures. Fashion had two principal functions in these prints. In the first half of the century, the English political print included dress to indicate class, political party, geographic, ethnic, and national identity. In tandem with theatrical precedents, the shorthand device for a Frenchman was elaborate court dress and a simpering posture, for a Spaniard a ruff, and a Dutchman round breeches. Nationalist Tories and the English John Bull figure wore rustic frock coats and boots, in contrast to the rich court dress of Whigs which resembled that of continental court culture.

In the second half of the century, numerous English printmakers who were also printsellers switched their output from political caricatures to social ones in which fashion formed the principal and not the secondary subject. Matthew and Mary Darly, John Dawes, William Humphrey, William Holland, Samuel W. Fores, Carington and John Bowles, and John Raphael Smith exhibited their wares publicly in shop windows and printed single sheet caricatures that were sold in folio sets, reproducing the designs of others such as John Collett, Robert Dighton, Henry W. Bunbury, and Thomas Rowlandson. Themes include the speed of new fashionable items, textiles, patterns, and bodily silhouettes; the alleged spread of fashionability to the lower orders including the servant class; the concomitant difficulty of reading the social sphere; themes of metropolitan urbanity versus rustic simplicity; the role of the appearance trades, such as wigmaking and hairdressing, in promoting fashion; and alleged relationships between national fashions and character. The disjunction between the applied finery of fashion and the lumpen, deluded, or immoral physical body beneath continued older Christian themes.

The caricature print from 1760 extends the more general cultural association of women with extremes of fashion to that of men, as they scrutinize extensively the airs and dress of the macaroni (c. 1760–1780) and later the buck and the dandy (c. 1800–1820). Prints included both fictive and recognizable metropolitan individuals as well as referring to stock theatrical types such as the fop, the German friseur (an aged and ugly male hairdresser whose physiognomy was interchangeable with the Jew), the dancing-master (French and effete), the rustic, and the Scotsman, a "Billingsgate Moll" (a market woman), and a "Lady of the Town" (prostitute). In the etched prints of Matthew Darly, the more lowborn the person depicted, the more crude the illustrative style, suggesting a cruder imitation or performance of fashionability. These differences perpetuate the belief that the orders are inherently either vulgar or superior depending on rank, as well as highlighting the joke contained in the overstepping of sartorial boundaries from class to class. Just as the development of caricature demands its opposite, idealized aesthetics, so the convoluted forms, surprising gestures, and novel departures of caricature perfectly reflected contemporary notions of the chicanery of fashion.

Caricature prints appeared in the expanding number of English periodicals, such as *The London Museum*, *The Oxford Magazine*, and *The Town and Country Magazine*. Sometimes hand-colored, many such prints were also sold or hired out in suites. Etching and engraving were the dominant techniques until the 1770s, when the mezzotint was developed and during the 1780s aquatint and stipple engraving appeared. The latter techniques permitted longer print-runs of more than one thousand and conveyed detailed messages about the texture of clothing and the tone of complexion. Carington Bowles's and John Raphael Smith's figures were also set in backgrounds such as paved streetscapes and neoclassical dressing-rooms and masquerade venues which comment on the spread of consumption, comfort, and new design novelties, including dress.

Caricature prints were relatively expensive, sought out by the aristocracy, the gentry, and collected even by the king. If generally too expensive for the artisan, prints were available for viewing in print shops, on the walls of taverns, coffeehouses, and clubs, or in the 1790s, visited in exhibitions. Satirical prints were generally kept in folios, and it is unclear how often they were glazed and hung. Pasted on walls they made "print-rooms" (Calke Abbey, Derbyshire) and ladies' fans were occasionally composed of them. English prints were imported by French dealers and sent as far as St. Petersburg. Ambassadorial missions reported on their contents to rulers such as Louis XVI.

Although the circuits of exchange between English, French, Dutch, and German fashion caricature have not been clarified by scholars (most work has been done on revolutionary political imagery), it is apparent that the subject and style of English and continental work is interrelated. Hogarth derived much of his compositional virtuosity from a study of the French rococo fashion drawing and print by Boitard, Cochin, Coypel, Watteau, and Gravelot. The Matthew and Mary Darlys' calligraphic linear style set upon evacuated white backgrounds was copied around Europe. A group of crude French engravings on the topic of fops, fashion absurdities, and touristic interactions in the street are virtually indistinguishable in subject matter from English work, and the Darlys were copied in Germany. The French also produced caricature engravings of superb technical perfection and elegance in the 1770s, in which the style and format mocks both high fashion's perfection and the engravings of manners seen in Rétif de la Bretonne's *Monument du costume* (1789).

Meanings of Caricature Fashion Prints

In Germany, Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki's engravings for almanacs possess an elegant and animated line that epitomizes the ambiguity of some fashion caricatures. His paired contrasting images on the themes of artifice (court dress) and naturalism (neoclassical dressing) does not necessarily castigate the former: perhaps his suggestion is that pastoral dress is just as much an affectation for leisured peoples. His illustrations for Johann Kaspar Lavater's highly influential study of character and physiognomy (1775–1778) with a considerable focus on dress, do function as explicit attacks on ancien régime manners and morals and argue that the new man must reject the set of the courtier.

Eighteenth-century prints were often reproduced in the nineteenth century without the context of their original verbal text banners. This led to different interpretations that were frequently sentimental and nostalgic. Approaches to the caricature reflect shifts in twentieth-century art-historical and social analysis. A reflection model used exhaustively by British Museum cataloger and historian M. Dorothy George analyzed caricature prints as representations of real events such as the launch and spread of a new fashion. This approach is reductive in that prints had multiple meanings to different audiences and may have helped create the dynamic of an event. Whereas the art historian Ernst Gombrich argued that the aim of the printmaker and dealer was to sell the product and not unsettle the purchaser overly, the Hogarth historian Ronald Paulson argued that within graphic satire a range of explanations are true and not mutually exclusive. Paulson argued that Hogarth's work was designed for more than one audience and one reading. Like the theater, which assumed different reading positions from its multiple publics, the power of the caricature print is to function on several levels simultaneously. Although Brewer notes that there is almost no surviving evidence of how the common people viewed popular imagery, such as the caricature prints, there are many contemporary descriptions of the street and the theater, which emphasize that the fashionable and wealthy were often mocked or even abused for their pretension. Fashion caricatures participated in this dialogue.

Some men and women "of family and estate" such as W. H. Bunbury, Lady Diana Beauclerc, and the Marquis Townshend produced sketches which were engraved and distributed by professionals. Many of them laugh at the pretensions of the lower orders that emulate the manners and dress previously reserved for their social betters.

This is not the only meaning, however. As Maidment notes of the early-nineteenth-century "literary dustman" type, in form and technique such prints might simultaneously highlight the energy and ingenuity of laboring class subjects at the same time as mocking aspirational behavior. It partly explains the longevity of the caricature print in periodicals for all classes. Caricature fashion prints also provided information about the mood or set of a fashion such as the insouciance of the *Incroyable*, a fop of the Directoire period. As Anne Hollander noted of Renaissance art, forms such as engravings might teach people what it was to look fashionable. In the eighteenth century, high-art painting and caricature were both means through which fashion was read, experienced, and modulated.

Nineteenth-Century Caricature

Master illustrators in the nineteenth century continued the themes on fashion laid down in the 1760s, notably Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) who worked for publisher Ackermann, James Gillray (1757–1815), Robert Dighton (1752–1814) and son Richard; Isaac Cruikshank (1756–1811) and sons Robert (1789–1856) and George (1792–1878). In the Revolutionary and Napoleonic period, dress featured as part of the textual jokes in political caricature. Respectful fashion plates and caricatures issued from the same hand of experienced illustrators: Jean-Francois Bosio (1764–1827) and Philibert Louis Debucourt (1755–1832), who deployed an extremely elegant style and fine coloring as part of the joke. In Paris the famed series by Horace Vernet, *Le Supreme bon ton* from *Caricatures parisiennes* (c. 1800) used the figure types and linear illustrative style of the contemporary fashion periodical, but distorted the figures, poses, and situations to expose the ludicrous nature of contemporary manners. H. Vernet provided "serious" fashion plates for Pierre La Mésangère, who was both the publisher of *Le journal des dames et des modes* (c. 1810) as well as the famous caricature series *Incroyables et merveilleuses* (1810–1818), which continued the work of his father, Carle Vernet (1758–1836), from the 1790s. The paradox and collisions of exoticism and historicism of early-nineteenth-century dress is extremely well conveyed in these French images. The series *Le bon genre* (French periodical 1814–1816) set English and French fashions side by side, subject to some distortion, in order to have a ready-made caricature that also provides fashion information and comments on national identity. Louis-Léopold Boilly's exquisite painted genre scenes of fashionable life often verge on caricature with rather too much male and female buttock revealed through the chamois leather and muslin, and this interest was made explicit in his *Recueil de grimaces* (Paris, 1823–1828), caricature physiognomy lithographic studies.

Nineteenth-Century Journalism and the Caricature

In the nineteenth century, reading publics and leisure time increased and the costs of printing decreased, with a massive expansion of cheap periodicals and news-sheets including journals who now took the caricature as their very subject: in France *La caricature* (1830–1835) and its successor *Le charivari* (1832–1842) were run by Charles Philipon. Technical developments in lithographic, steel engraving, and wood-block reproductions meant that the caricature proliferated within these formats and ceased to be sold primarily within folio sets. When from 1835 political censorship was introduced in France, the caricature of Parisian manners became the screen through which other events might be filtered. Social, economic, and technological developments had major impacts upon fashion and there is no social topic in which the caricature did not participate. These included, but were not restricted to, male dandyism; the rise of the demimonde or courtesan class; sweatshops and the production of clothing; shopping and the department store; makeup and artifice; swells or dandies; middle-class hypocrisy and propriety; immodesty and the ball gown; women's participation in sport and education; feminism and the suffragette movement; dress reform; emancipation and embourgeoisement of slaves; issues of class and the "servant problem"; the aesethetic movement of the 1880s; and the general spread of consumer goods. Extremes and novelties of fashion, such as the women's crinoline and the bustle, the nature of fashionability and the *Parisienne*, and the interaction of the classes in the new public spaces of the metropoli of Paris, London, and New York, were delineated by highly accomplished artists working in lithography, notably Gustave Doré (1832–1883), J. J. Grandville (1803–1846), Joseph Traviès, Paul Gavarni (1804–1866), and Cham and J. L. Forain (1852–1931) Honoré Daumier (1808–1879) produced a massive output of 4,000 lithographs, many appearing in *Le charivari* and *Le Journal amusant*. His human comedy in which the same characters reappear relates to that of Balzac's literature. Nineteenth-century caricature employed novel compositional formats with overlapping vignettes and asymmetrical strip formats, as seen in the periodical *La Vie parisienne*.

In England Max Beerbohm and George du Maurier provided the journal *Punch*, or the *The London Charivari* (from 1841) with a constant stream of caricatures that contributed to the tenacious idea that fashions for both men and women represented an absurdity. Its illustrator John Leech termed the word "cartoon" within *Punch* in 1843. The German middle-class public had numerous journals in which fashion caricatures recurred—*Punsch* (1847), *Leipziger Charivari* (1858), *Berliner Charivari* (1847), and *Kladderadatsch* (1848); the generic term "Biedermeier" for the period referred to a middle-class everyman fictional figure. The journal *Simplizissimus* (from 1896) led to the milieu in which expressionists like Georg Grosz (1893–1959) produced stinging comments on the human condition, using dress to mark out issues of class, gender, and sexuality. In North America enormous amounts of fashion-related caricature were produced for journals after the 1820s such as *American Comic Almanach* (from

1841), *Punchinello*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Vanity Fair*. At the turn of the century the work of Charles Dana Gibson blurred the distinction between satire and the exaggerated fashionability of the Gibson girl, a gentle caricature that might be emulated for the turn of a head or silhouette of a skirt. In that the cartoon strip, comic book, and Disney film rely on caricature for their conventions, North America generated several industries from this form.

Until the post-World War II period when photography eclipsed line and other drawing in the media, the fashion caricature continued to be prominent within twentieth-century periodicals for all classes. Many of the fashion images commissioned by French couturiers including Paul Poiret approach the mannerism of caricature. The work of Erté (Romain de Tirtoff) also blurs the division between the fashion plate and the caricature in order to express a mood. Caricature images constitute important documents of relatively submerged topics including lesbianism and mannish dressing for women in the 1920s and male dress within homosexual communities. The commodification of dress and the rise of the fashion parade as a theatrical spectacle are documented in caricatures by figures such as Sem (Georges Goursat). The ironies of modernist lifestyle were documented by the British caricaturist Osbert Lancaster (*Homes Sweet Homes*, London, 1939). Wartime Britain and America used the caricature as propaganda to castigate wasteful female consumers. The emergence of the New Look was mocked as absurd or extravagant and unsuitable to matronly women in the late 1940s. Illustrator-designers, such as Cecil Beaton, provided high-style magazines like *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue* with both drawn and composite photographic or collaged backdrop renditions of real society women (Elsa Maxwell, the Duchess of Windsor, Coco Chanel) which teetered upon caricature, as well as producing cutting versions for private consumption (Violet Trefusis).

Although caricatures continue to be included as cartoons in newspaper and periodicals, their power declined with the advent of television as an alternative form of entertainment in the 1950s. It could be argued, however, that the techniques of the caricature, related as they were to the theater and vaudeville stereotype, continued within popular culture forms of television and film. Many 1950s and 1960s situation comedies such as *Green Acres* and *I Love Lucy* feature absurd situations involving dress; the 1990s comedy series *Absolutely Fabulous*, written and acted by Dawn French and Jennifer Saunders, made the fashion industry and absurd fashions in dress and lifestyle its subject, as did the Robert Altman film *Pret-à-Porter*. Other popular situation comedies, such as *Designing Women* from the 1980s, *Seinfeld*, and the overdressed and shopping-addicted figure of Karen in the queer sitcom *Will and Grace*, deploy caricature-like exaggeration of dress, pose, and identity which is intertwined with both ancient tropes of theatrical farce and the caricature print of modern culture.

Much postmodern high-fashion illustration in the 1980s and 1990s used the form of the caricature to comment ironically on the place of fashion in contemporary life. The designers Moschino, Christian Lacroix (spring–summer 1994), and Karl Lagerfeld utilize a caricature-like irony in some of their illustration derived from Directoire imagery by the likes of Louis LeCoeur and Debucourt, as well as studying the genre for ideas; some fashion parades and styling by John Galliano and Vivienne Westwood resemble a caricature suite brought to life as a conscious strategy. Galliano's degree show (1984) and some subsequent collections (spring–summer 1986) were directly inspired by *Incroyables et merveilleuses*. Forms that are directly derived from the eighteenth-century caricature continue to be published in daily newspapers (the political cartoon in which prominent figures are characterized through their dress), journals such as *Country Life* (Annie Tempest's Tottering-by-Gently series) and *The New Yorker* (established 1925). Although amusing and trenchant, such caricatures now have an archaic air and may be replaced in the future by the three-dimensional and new temporal possibilities of digital technology. In that surrealism found fertile pickings in English Georgian and nineteenth-century French and German caricature, it could be said that surrealist-inspired contemporary digital fashion photography by Phil Poynter and Andrea Giacobbe continues the ludic project of the fashion caricature consumed in multidimensional ways.

See also **Fashion, Historical Studies of.**

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Peter McNeil

CARNIVAL DRESS In its broadest sense, "carnival" refers to a pageant, festival, or public celebration found all over the world. It originates in prehistoric times, varying in content, form, function, and significance from one culture to another. But in Europe and the Americas, "carnival" refers specifically to the period of feasting and revelry preceding Lent. The general consensus is that it began during the Middle Ages, evolving from the burlesque celebrations associated with Easter, Christmas, and other European festivities such as *Maypole*, *Quadrille Ball*, *Entrudo*, and *Hallowmas*. The word is said to derive from the Latin *carnem levare*, meaning abstention from meat or farewell to flesh, reflecting the self-denial such as fasting and penitence associated with Lent. Its synonyms are the French *carementrant* (approaching Lent), the German *fastnacht* (night of fasting) and the English Shrovetide (referring to the three days set aside for confession before Lent).

Women at carnival in Spain. Girls dress in traditional costumes during the carnival celebrations in Seville, Spain. © PATRICK WARD/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Another school of thought links the word "carnival" to the Latin *carrus navalis*, a horse-drawn wagon for transporting revelers, arguing that its Christian aspects grew out of the seasonal Dionysian or Bacchanalian fertility rites of Greco-Roman times. These rites are noted for their emphasis on revelry, masquerading, satirical displays, and periods of symbolic inversion of the social order that provided an outlet for celebrants to let off steam.

In any event, while most of the principles underlying carnival remain more or less intact, its form, content, context, and dress modes have changed drastically over the centuries. This is particularly the case in the Americas where carnival was introduced after the fifteenth century following European colonization. Since then, it has absorbed new elements from the aboriginal populations, Africans and other ethnic groups. The emphasis here is on the carnival dress of the black diaspora in the Caribbean, United States, and Brazil where carnival is known by other names such as *Rara* in Haiti, Mardi Gras in New Orleans, and *Carnaval* in Cuba and Brazil.

The African contribution to carnival in the Americas began when the European slave masters allowed their African captives to display their ancestral heritage in the visual and performing arts on special occasions for recreational and therapeutic purposes. These occasions include the Day of the Kings in Cuba, the *Jonkonnu*, 'Lection Day and Pinkster celebrations in the United States and the Caribbean as well as the *Batuque* (recreational drumming) in Brazil. The various attempts by enslaved blacks to revive African festival costumes in the Americas are well documented. Early eyewitness accounts describe slaves as donning horned masks and feathered headdresses, wearing shredded strips of cloth or painting their faces and bodies in assorted colors, just as they had done in their homeland. Some of these elements survive in the modern carnival, though in new forms and materials. Several sketches of carnival masquerades in nineteenth-century Jamaica by Isaac Belisario document African carryovers. One of them done during the Christmas celebrations in Kingston in 1836, depicts a mask with a palm leaf costume similar to that of the *Sangbeto* mask of the Yoruba and Fon of Nigeria and Republic of Benin respectively. A painting of the Day of the Kings celebration in Cuba executed in the 1870s by the Spanish-born artist Victor Patricio de Landaluze shows not only black figures playing African drums, but also dancers wearing raffia skirts and animal skins. Near the drummers is a masquerade with a conical headdress introduced to Cuba by Ekoi, Abakpa, and Ejagham slaves from the Nigerian–Cameroon border where the masquerade is associated with the *Ekpe* leadership society. Now called *Abakua*, this masquerade is still a feature of the twenty-first-century carnival in Cuba. Another African retention in the modern carnival among blacks in the Americas and Europe is the *Moco Jumbie*, a masquerade on stilts. Apart from the fact that this masquerade type abounds all over Africa, it appears in the prehistoric rock art of the Sahara desert as early as the Round Head period, created about eight thousand years ago.

At first, the public celebrations by free and enslaved blacks in the Americas during the slavery era occurred on the fringes of the white space. However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, emancipation had brought about various degrees of racial integration, allowing blacks, whites, Creoles, Amerindians, and new immigrants from Europe, Middle East, Asia, and the South Pacific to perform the carnival together. Each group has since contributed significantly to the repertoire of carnival dress, while at the same time borrowing elements from one another. For instance, even though the emphasis on feathers in some masquerades has African precedents, influences from Amerindian costumes are apparent as well, most especially in the black Indian Mardi Gras costumes of New Orleans.

In the early 2000s a typical carnival is a public procession of musicians, lavishly attired dancers and colorful masquerades. Some are transported on decorated floats. The areas to be covered by the parade are usually closed to traffic. The costumes often combine assorted materials—fabrics, plastic beads, feathers, sequins, colorful ribbons, glass mirrors, horns, and shells—all aimed at creating a dazzling spectacle. In some areas, the parade lasts one, two, or three days; and in others, a whole week. There is usually a grand finale at a public square or sports stadium where all participants perform in turn before thousands of spectators. In Trinidad, Brazil, and other countries, a panel of judges selects and awards prizes to the most innovative groups and to the masquerades with the best costumes. As a result, carnival has turned into a tourist attraction—a big business, requiring elaborate preparations. In most cases, participants are expected to belong to established groups or specific clubs such as the Zulu of New Orleans, Hugga Bunch of St. Thomas (U.S. Virgin Islands), Ile Aye of Salvador (Brazil) and African Heritage of Notting Hill Gate (United Kingdom) whose members are expected to appear in identical costumes. Each group usually has a professional designer who is responsible not only for its costume themes, styles, colors, and forms, but also the group's dance movements. In Brazil, where African-derived festivals have been assimilated into the carnival, religious groups (*Candomble*) associated with the worship of Yoruba deities (*orixa*) may emphasize the sacred color of a particular deity in their carnival costumes. Thus, white honors *Obatala* (creation deity), blue, *Yemaja* (the Great Mother), red, *Xango* (thunder deity), and yellow, *Oxun* (fertility and beauty deity). Designers such as Fernando Pinto and Joaosinho Trinta of Brazil and Hilton Cox, Peter Minshall, Lionell Jagessar and Ken Morris—all of Trinidad—have become world-famous for their innovations. Some of Peter Minshall's costumes, for example, are monumental, modernistic puppetlike constructions whose articulated parts respond rhythmically to dance movements. Other costumes by him incorporate elements of traditional African art in an attempt to relate the black diaspora to its roots in Africa. This nationalism has led a number of black designers to seek inspiration from African costumes and headdresses, recalling the original contributions of African captives to carnival during the ancient *Jonkonnu*, Pinkster and Day of the Kings celebrations when they improvised with new materials.

In the recent past, grasses, leaves, raffia, flowers, beads, furs, animal skins, feathers, and cotton materials were used for the costumes. These materials are increasingly being replaced by synthetic substitutes, partly to reduce cost and partly to facilitate mass production. Some costumes or masquerades depict animals, birds, insects, sea creatures, or characters from myths and folklore. Others represent kings, Indians, celebrities, African or European culture heroes, historical figures, clowns, and other characters. Cross-dressing and masquerades with grotesque features are rampant. So too is seductive dancing. The loud music—calypso in the Caribbean and samba in Brazil—adds to the frenzy, allowing performers and spectators alike to release pent up emotion.

See also **America, South: History of Dress; Cross-Dressing; Masquerade and Masked Balls.**

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Babatunde Lawal

CASHIN, BONNIE One of America's foremost designers in the second half of the twentieth century, Bonnie Cashin (1908–2000) was a pioneer in the sportswear industry, specializing in modular wardrobes for the modern woman "on the go." Her lifelong interest in clothing design, however, encompassed a number of careers on both American coasts. Growing up in California, Cashin worked as an apprentice in a series of dressmaking shops owned and operated by her mother, Eunice. In her teens she worked as a fashion illustrator and dance costume designer. Between 1943 and 1949 she costumed more than sixty films at Twentieth Century–Fox. It was not until midcentury, when she was over forty years old, that she began designing the ready-to-wear for which she became best known.

Cashin favored timeless shapes from the history of clothing, such as ponchos, tunics, Noh coats, and kimonos, which allowed for ease of movement and manufacture. Approaching dress as a form of collage or kinetic art, she favored luxurious, organic materials that she could "sculpt" into shape, such as leather, suede, mohair, wool jersey, and cashmere, as well as nonfashion materials, including upholstery fabrics. Cashin's aim was to create "simple art forms for living in, to be re-arranged as mood and activity dictates" (Interview 1999).

Early Years

As a girl moving along the California coastline, Cashin developed a love for travel and a keen eye for the clothing of different cultures, which would underpin her later professional work. This interest in "why people looked the way they did" placed her in good stead to begin work in 1924, alongside Helen Rose, as a costume designer for the Los Angeles dance troupe Fanchon and Marco. In 1934 her producers took over performances at New York's Roxy Theater and asked Cashin to join them as costumer for the Roxyette dance line, the precursors and rivals to the Rockettes.

Fashion and Film

In 1937 the *Harper's Bazaar* editor Carmel Snow, an admirer of Cashin's costume designs, encouraged Bonnie to work in fashion and arranged for her to become the head designer for the prestigious coat and suit manufacturer Adler and Adler. Owing to the wartime focus on American fashion design, she became so well recognized that she was commissioned to design World War II civilian defense uniforms and was featured in a Coca-Cola advertisement. By 1942, however, Cashin felt boxed in by wartime restrictions. She returned to California to sign a six-year contract as a costume designer with Twentieth Century–Fox.

Cashin designed costumes for the female characters in more than sixty films. Her favorite projects, *Laura* (1944), *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn* (1945), and *Anna and the King of Siam* (1946), also became American cinematic classics. Designing for the lavish productions that typified Hollywood's golden age, she was expected to make innovative use of the day's finest materials to create historical, fantasy, and contemporary wardrobes. She used the resources at the Fox studios to experiment with designs for "real" clothing that she wore and made in custom versions for her leading ladies' offscreen wardrobes.

Return to Ready-to-Wear

Cashin returned to New York, and to Adler and Adler, in 1949. She received the unprecedented honor of earning both the Neiman Marcus Award and the Coty Fashion Critic's Award within the same year (1950). Displeased, however, with her manufacturer's control over her creativity, she decided to challenge the setup of the fashion industry. Working with multiple manufacturers, she designed a range of clothing at different price points, thereby specializing in complete wardrobes for "my kind of a girl for a certain kind of living."

In 1953 Cashin teamed with the leather importer and craftsman Philip Sills and initiated the use of leather for high fashion. She made her name through her unconventional choices in materials as well as her inexhaustible variations on her favorite theme of adapting the flat, graphic patterns of Asian and South American clothing to contemporary global living. Through her work for Sills and Company, she is credited with introducing "layering" into the fashion lexicon. In turn, she credited the Chinese tradition of dressing for, and interpreting the weather as, a "one-shirt day" or a "seven-shirt day." Her layered garments snugly nestled within one another and were easily converted to suit different temperatures and activities by donning or removing a layer. Cashin's objective was to create a flexible wardrobe for her own globe-trotting lifestyle, wherein seasonal changes were only a plane trip away. Frustrated by the categorization of sportswear designer, she declared that travel was her "favorite sport."

Coach and the Cashin Look

In 1962 Cashin became the first designer of Coach handbags and initiated the use of hardware on clothing and accessories, including the brass toggle that became Coach's hallmark. She revolutionized the handbag industry. Unlike contemporary rigid, hand-held bags, her vividly colored "Cashin-Carries" for Coach packed flat and had wide straps, attached coin purses, industrial zippers, and the famous sturdy brass toggles, the last inspired by the hardware used to secure the top on her convertible sports car.

Without licensing her name, Cashin designed cashmere separates, gloves, canvas totes, at-home gowns and robes, raincoats, umbrellas, and furs. She also ran the Knittery, a consortium of British mills that produced one-of-a-kind sweaters knit to shape, rather than cut and sewn. Among many other industry awards, she received the Coty award five times and entered their hall of fame in 1972; in 2001 was honored with a plaque on the Fashion Walk of Fame on Seventh Avenue in New York City.

Cashin worked until 1985, when she decided to focus on painting and philanthropy. Among several scholarships and educational programs, she established the James Michelin Lecture Series at the California Institute of Technology. Cashin died in New York on 3 February 2000 from complications during heart surgery. In 2003 the Bonnie Cashin Collection, consisting of her entire design archive and endowments for design-related lecture series and symposia, was donated to the Department of Special Collections within the Charles E. Young Research Library at the University of California, Los Angeles.

See also **Costume Designer; Dance Costume; Film and Fashion; Ready-to-Wear; Sportswear.**

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Stephanie Day Iverson

CASHMERE AND PASHMINA On the windswept plateaus of Inner Asia, in a huge swathe encompassing Afghanistan, India's Ladakh, parts of Sinkiang, northern Tibet, and Mongolia, nomadic herdspeople raise great flocks of sheep, goats, and yak. The altitude, over 14,000 feet (4,300 meters), precludes cultivation; herding is the only possible economic use of a bleakly inhospitable environment. The bitter cold of winter, plummeting to minus 40 degrees Fahrenheit and below and aggravated by windchill, provokes the growth of a warm, soft undercoat of downy fibers in many of the region's mammals—goats, camels, yak, even dogs, as well as wild animals like the ibex and the Tibetan antelope or chiru. Known in the

Luxurious pashmina shawls are woven in Kashmir, India. Pashmina, a fabric woven from the downy fibers from goats, was an important part of the Indo-Iranian royal lifestyle in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and was traded as far as Russia, Armenia, and Egypt. © EARL & NAZIMA KOWALL/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Cashmere yarn. Cashmere was produced painstakingly by hand until the twentieth century, when expanding demand for the fabric led to increased production. Now rolls of cashmere yarn are produced mechanically and are stored in clothing factories, like this one in the United Kingdom, ready for mass production. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Northern languages of urdu and Kashmiri as *pashm*, this fiber is collected in commercial quantities from the herdspeople's goats. (Some authorities have identified the breed of *pashm*-producing goats as *Capra hircus.* This name, however, applies to all domesticated goats; scientific taxonomy makes no distinction between different breeds of domesticated animals.) The double-humped Bactrian camel also produces a less fine grade ("camel hair"). When the term *pashm* is used without qualification, it is goats' *pashm* that is meant.

Pashm was and is the raw material for the shawl industry of Kashmir. The fabric woven from *pashm* is properly called *pashmina.* When the British in India became aware of the Kashmir shawl, however, some of them, ignorant of the fiber's origin, adopted the term "cashmere" to refer to both fiber and fabric, and in the West this is the term that has stuck.

The Kashmir Shawl

The transformation of a mass of greasy, matted fibers into a patterned fabric of superlative softness and warmth involved a whole complex set of procedures. To begin with, the raw material had to be cleaned and the coarse hairs from the animal's outer coat removed. These processes and the spinning of the thread were (and continue to be) done by Kashmiri women in their homes, with the simplest of tools like combs, reels, and hand-operated spinning-wheels.

The classic means of decorating shawl-goods was by the twill-tapestry technique, unique to the manufacture of this fabric: a twill weave using, instead of a shuttle, a multiplicity of small bobbins laden with different colors of yarn to incorporate the design into the weave. Designers drew and colored the pattern, and a scribe translated it into a shorthand form called *talim.* Dyers tinted the yarn in the required colors with vegetable dyes, and other specialists made and dressed the warp and put it to the loom. Only then did the weaver put his hand to it. Two weavers sat at each loom, manipulating the bobbins in response to the instructions of the master weaver reading aloud from the *talim.* Shawls were woven in pairs, and an elaborate design could be months or even years in the making.

In the nineteenth century, as patterns became more complex, shawls were often woven in numerous small pieces, the skill of the darner who joined them together being such that the seams were practically invisible and the whole looked and felt like a single piece of material. Another development of the nineteenth century was the substitution of embroidery on plain pashmina fabric for tapestry work. At the start of the twenty-first century the skills of the twill-tapestry weaver have all but disappeared, but perhaps more embroidered pashmina shawls are being produced in Kashmir than ever before, in response to demand from the prosperous Indian middle class. Simultaneously, efforts are under way to revive the art of twill-tapestry, as well as to diversify the product, and a small number of superlative pieces are being created in both traditional and innovative techniques and designs.

From the mid-eighteenth century till about 1870, the shawl industry was heavily taxed and provided more revenue for successive governments of Kashmir than all other sources together. This burden of taxation fell most heavily on the weavers, the exploitation of whom reached an extent that could be described almost as serfdom.

The pashmina shawl of Kashmir has always been a luxury item; more than that, its beauty and fineness made it an integral part of the royal and aristocratic lifestyle of the Indo-Iranian world in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. It was exported as far afield as Russia, Armenia, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, and Yemen, long before it took the West by storm. The term "shawl" (originally *shal*) was not at that time confined to shoulder mantles, and the fabric often took the form of *jamawar*, or gown-pieces, designed to be made up into tailored clothes. There was indeed an extraordinary variety of "shawl-goods," including turbans, waist-girdles, saddle-cloths for horses and elephants, curtains, carpets, and tomb-coverings. It was only in India that the long shawl was worn—by men, not women—as a shoulder-mantle. Elsewhere in Asia, men wore turbans or sashes of shawl fabric; or coats (*jama*, *qaba*, *choga*) tailored from *jamawar.* Shawls for women were square, and designed to be worn folded into a triangle around the shoulders or waist. It was only when they became a part of high fashion in Europe, especially France, and the United States of America, between approximately 1790 and 1870, that long shawls, as well as square ones, were appropriated to women's wear.

Cashmere Beyond Kashmir

Until about 150 years ago, the skills necessary to process *pashm* into a fabric that would realize its potential of delicacy as well as warmth existed only in Kashmir. The nineteenth century saw the beginning of a demand for *pashm*—under the appellation "cashmere"—from the West. Around 1850, European demand for luxury woolen-type fibers seems to have been met first of all by vicuña from South America; but as this grew scarce and

The Origin of *Toosh*

It is the chiru *(Pantholops hodgsoni)* that is the source of *toosh* (occasionally known as *tus,* also *shahtoosh),* a variety of *pashm* even more delicate than that from the goat, from which the famous "ring-shawls" were made. It is perhaps the finest animal material that has ever been put to the loom, the mean diameter of the fibers being in the region of 9 to 12 microns—about three-quarters that of cashmere. Sadly, no method has been found of harvesting the fiber from the living animal. Until about the middle of the twentieth century, the slaughter of chiru for *pashm* was on a sustainable basis, and herds numbering tens of thousands were reported by travelers in Tibet. The opening up of Tibet after about 1960 and the emergence of the shahtoosh shawl as a high-fashion luxury item in the West, changed all that; and in the last 40 years there has been wholesale slaughter, an estimated 20,000 chiru being shot or trapped every year, while in 2000 the surviving population was estimated at a mere 75,000, down from perhaps a million in mid-century. In the twenty-first century, the chiru is recognized as being in imminent danger of extinction, and is classified under Appendix I of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES). Although trade in the animal and its products is accordingly banned everywhere in the world, it is believed that the slaughter continues, and that *toosh* is still being processed in Kashmir into shawls that are sold illegally in India and the West.

expensive, cashmere was increasingly used as a substitute, finally superseding vicuña completely. From as early as the 1860s commercial supplies were sourced from Mongolia rather than Tibet. Earlier it was only in the tracts convenient to Kashmir—that is southeastern Ladakh and western Tibet—that large-scale production actually took place, the amount reaching Kashmir annually in the 1820s being estimated at between 120,000 and 240,000 pounds. Expanding demand from the West through the twentieth century led to increased production, as nomadic herdspeople all over the potential *pashm*-producing area increased the proportion of goats in relation to sheep among their flocks. In the twenty-first century, total world production is in the region of 14,000 tons, the bulk of it from China (Tibet) and Mongolia.

Western companies have developed mechanical means of processing the fiber, even the finicky process of de-hairing (though in the twenty-first century almost all the Chinese and Mongolian *pashm* is exported already de-haired). They process it into both woven fabrics and yarn suitable for knitwear. The so-called "pashminas" that became so fashionable in the West in the 1990s were originally woven in Nepal from a mixture of *pashm* and silk. They are now also being produced in many different qualities in various centers in India and the term is frequently misapplied by retailers in the West to similar-looking fringed shawls woven from fine sheep's wools.

See also **Fur; India: Clothing and Adornment; Shawls.**

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Janet Rizvi

CASUAL BUSINESS DRESS During the 1990s in the United States a trend in dressing casually for work became more widespread in business offices. The trend soon spread to other countries such as Canada, England, Scotland, and Australia. Casual dress in the office may reflect a larger societal trend toward relaxation of manners and informal presentation of self in many aspects of life (Adler 1995) and may be symptomatic of a shift away from traditional ways of doing business (Janus, Kaiser, and Gray 1999; Weiser 1996).

Casual Business Dress Defined

Casual work dress has been identified by a number of terms, such as "dressing down," "business casual," and "Casual Day" dress. In a national U.S. study, Tootelian (2003) found that substantial uncertainty exists about what business casual means. The definition presented here is gleaned from a number of sources and can be offered only as a general and imprecise guideline.

Delineation of what is formal business dress is necessary to define categories of casual business dress. The sidebar contains a description of the standard for formal business dress at the turn of the twenty-first century. Women's formal business dress remains more varied than men's (Ogle and Damhorst 1999).

For men and women, "business casual" dress tends to include a reinterpretation of at least one formal power cue into a more casual ensemble (Rucker, Anderson, and Kangas 1999). A jacket (often a blazer or sports jacket) may be worn with more casual khaki pants and shirt, or a tie is worn without a jacket. Sweaters are permissible with a skirt or pants. Shoes are often more casual and comfortable. A great amount of variety is present, but includes more limits than does "casual dress."

Some offices allow highly casual dress, including jeans and shorts. Permissible styles vary greatly across firms, geographic areas, and occupations (Ogle and Damhorst 1999) and age and gender of workers (Tootelian 2003).

History of the Trend

The increase of casual dress among office workers began far earlier than the 1990s. Farrell-Beck (1999) offered evidence that components of men's casual dress have frequently been adapted into men's formal business wear throughout its history. King Charles II of England originally instituted the men's business suit in 1666 as an alternative to fancier styles popular in men's court dress throughout Europe (Kuchta 1990). The ensembles adopted by men of court and commerce to some extent reflected informal fashions worn by English country gentlemen (Kuchta 1990). The casual trend at the end of the twentieth century, however, did not entail a metamorphosis of casual into formal symbols. Casual Day and casual every day in essence have become a celebration of the right of office workers to legitimately wear casual clothing to work in the office.

The casual dress trend for business professionals may have begun during the 1970s as the computer industry blossomed. Silicon Valley computer "geeks" are often cited as the first to be given license to dress very casually at work (Weiser 1996). In certain areas of the country, some forms of casual dress were an option in many types of businesses by the late 1970s. In 1975 John Molloy railed against offices that were allowing men to wear the infamous leisure suit in place of a formal suit. A few managers in an early 1980s study of office workers in Austin, Texas, reported that they frequently went to work in somewhat casual attire, making them keep a jacket and tie at the office just in case a client might drop by (Damhorst 1984–1985). Saturn Corporation has encouraged casual work dress for employees at all levels in the organization since its inception in 1983 (Levi Strauss & Co. 1999).

A series of Levi Strauss & Co. surveys were quoted in the popular press during the 1990s to chronicle the rise of casual business dress. By 1992, 26 percent of businesses in the United States reported offering at least a casual attire day (Weiser 1996). Companies allowing casual dress every day rose to 33 percent in 1995 and 53 percent in 1997 (Maycumber 1998).

Reporters cite a new rash of surveys in the early twenty-first century to forewarn of the possible demise, or at least notable reduction, of the casual office dress trend. For example, the Men's Apparel Alliance found that 19 percent of over 200 firms with revenues greater than $500 million were returning to formal business attire (Egodigwe and Alleyne 2003). In 2000, only 87 percent of U.S. firms allowed casual dress, down 10 percent from 1998 (Kaplan-Leiserson 2000). The tough economy in the early 2000s was moving some companies to abandon a casual image to combat intense competition.

Functions of Casual Dress

Casual work dress has been imputed to have an array of symbolic powers (Biecher, Keaton, and Pollman 1999; Henricks 1996; Janus, Kaiser, and Gray 1999). Casual dress is believed to facilitate democratization through horizontal flattening of workplace hierarchies and to break down communication barriers posed by formal structures, thereby improving teamwork. Casual work dress may improve customer relations by implying mutual similarity. Many managers feel that casual dress improves employee morale and enhances worker productivity. Correspondingly, many firms instituted casual dress policies during the 1990s to reward workers and attract new recruits. In addition, communication technology used in many occupations increasingly allows people to do much business without ever coming face-to-face with clients or vendors, eliminating a need for constant expression of corporate image through dress.

Critics cite some negative outcomes of casual work dress, such as negative organizational image and confusion about how to define and enforce workplace dress policies (Egodigwe and Alleyne 2003). Confusion among employees about what to wear to work is not uncommon (Janus Kaiser, and Gray 1999; Tootelian 2003). Some critics assume that lack of control underlies the relaxation to casual codes (Lillethun 1999), and many businesses in the early 2000s were concerned that casual work dress had resulted in increased tardiness, absenteeism, flirtatious behavior on the job, and an overall decrease in productivity (Egodigwe and Alleyne 2003). Powerful consequences of casual business dress have been attributed over time, but no research has been reported to verify any valid correlation of positive or negative outcomes for workplace behavior.

See also **Uniforms, Occupational.**

CLASSIC FORMAL DRESS STANDARDS

For Men

A two-piece suit;
A jacket and pant with matching fabrics;
Smooth wool or blend fabrics in solid colors or pinstripes;
A jacket that has classic tailoring, a convertible collar, and welt pockets;
A tie;
A shirt;
White or light colored stand-up collar; and
Leather shoes in brown or black

For Women

Pants, skirted suits, and dresses;
A jacket worn closed with no blouse underneath;
A jacket worn with a variety of blouses and knit tops;
Jackets may be collarless, have varied pocket styles, and vary in length from upper to lower hip area;
Neckline exposure is modest (no cleavage);
Skirt length varies but not too far above the knee;
Fabrics similar to men's suiting but in a greater variety of colors;
Subdued tweeds or plaids;
Jewelry is limited, one or two small pieces are permissible;
Sheer hosiery, nude or in colors that blend with the skirt; and
Shoes with closed-toe and one-inch or higher heels

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Mary Lynn Damhorst

CELEBRITIES In November 2003, the Prince's Trust, an organization set up by Prince Charles to help disadvantaged young people, organized a charity event in the Albert Hall: "Fashion Rocks," a collaboration between the worlds of music and fashion. It was hosted by Elizabeth Hurley, the epitome of a new type of celebrity. She has been photographed constantly for nearly ten years, and used for countless magazine covers, including British *Vogue.* She has a multimillion-dollar contract with Estée Lauder, and her private life is constantly subject to close tabloid scrutiny. Everyone, it seems, knows who she is—she is often named in headlines as, simply, "Liz." If a job description is ever necessary, she is referred to as "model and actress." Yet apart from magazine covers where she is used because of her celebrity, and the Lauder campaign, she does no modeling. The films in which she has appeared—with the exception of *Austin Powers: The Spy Who Shagged Me* (1999) have done very badly at the box office. It would be more accurate to say that she is part of a new group of celebrities who have been instantly created by and perpetuated within the media. She is, quite simply, a construct—and, paradoxically, it is this that makes her a celebrity.

Her career in fact began in 1994, at the London premiere of *Four Weddings and a Funeral.* She accompanied her boyfriend, Hugh Grant, and borrowed a dress from the London offices of Versace. The black dress was short and revealing—held together by large, strategically placed safety pins. The following day she appeared on the front page of all tabloid and middle-market newspapers in Britain, while even the broadsheets saw fit to include the "story" on their inside pages. Since then, she has been continually photographed, and the dress has been retrospectively discussed as "That Dress." Indeed, when Grant was convicted of an indiscretion with a Hollywood prostitute, the English Sunday paper found the woman in question and photographed her wearing a red version of the Versace dress, which they put on their front page. Unsurprisingly, Versace has offered Hurley clothes for every subsequent photo opportunity, and she has repaid them by being photographed in all of them. One of the dresses was slit so high up the thigh that it revealed a pair of knickers in a leopard-print fabric to match the dress. Hurley is a perfect example of the new breed of fashion celebrity for, unlike fashion celebrities of the past, her taste is often deemed to be questionable. On this particular occasion, she was censured in the press for having worn this outfit, since it was to a "society wedding," and it was suggested that she had wished to divert attention away from the bride. This is in direct contrast to the former notion of a fashion celebrity who attained his or her status precisely because their taste in clothes was deemed to be excellent.

While there are still fashion celebrities who have been selected for their ability to look stylish—the model Kate Moss is a perfect example—the majority of today's celebrities are seen as legitimate targets for sartorial criticism. A weekly staple of journalism is now a roundup of the past week's fashion triumphs and disasters; if a celebrity wears a particularly unbecoming or unsuitable outfit, an appearance in the papers the very next morning is guaranteed.

A "celebrity," however, as opposed to an "icon," has always had a notoriety over and above the sum of their talent. But one of the many problems with today's culture of celebrity is a seeming disregard for the absence of any particular talent apart from the simple fact of being photogenic. Another is the disproportionate amount of media attention given over to celebrity stories. The past decade has seen an unprecedented growth in the cult of the celebrity—it is very different from the carefully controlled interest in "stars" that characterized the heyday of Hollywood.

Interestingly, it has meant huge shifts within the fashion industry, which seem to have gone at times unremarked. For instance, it was traditional within magazine journalism—from its infancy at the end of the last century until the late 1990s—for leading fashion journalists to have some effect on the success or failure of a particular collection, a particular look, and for the journalists themselves, if prestigious enough, to be able to assist the career of new designers. Some journalists are still sufficiently well known to be photographed as celebrities in their own right, known for their own particular style. Just as from the 1930s to the 1950s the characteristic "look" of Diana Vreeland was frequently discussed, so today Anna Piaggi of Italian *Vogue* is still photographed, as is Suzy Menkes of the *International Herald Tribune*. However, these are among a few exceptions—arguably the photographs from the collections are now of the celebrities in the front row—and it is their choice of designer or outfit which makes for success. Julien Macdonald owes his career as a designer to the fact that he was asked, early on, to design for Kylie Minogue. Donatella Versace has ensured the continued good fortunes of the house for which she designs not only through her shrewd use of different celebrities—she organized a wedding party for Jennifer Lopez, and always dresses singers for music award ceremonies—but through the fact that she has become a fashion celebrity in her own right. Her characteristic heavy makeup, long bleached-blonde hair, and year-round suntan are the constant focus of media comment.

Not only have journalists lost their power over designers, they have watched their employers make radical changes to cope with the new obsession with celebrity. The magazine *InStyle*, launched in America in 1998 by the publishers of *People*, has been extremely successful and has created a new template for fashion journalism both in America and the United Kingdom. Celebrities, rather than models, are now used for many cover shots, while the fashion and beauty pages tell their readers how to emulate particular star "looks."

Journalism has gone through extraordinary changes over the last century. A hundred years ago, "celebrity photographs" were rare within magazine journalism, and tended to involve the aristocracy or royalty. There was still some use of sketches; the British magazine *Queen* was specifically set up to portray the weekly activities of Queen Victoria and her companions and to depict the lifestyle of the very uppermost echelons of British society, and these scenes could not be photographed. But the development of the cinema brought the royal family onto the screen in newsreels, and they became the subject of special short films on ceremonial occasions. Princess Alexandra—later Queen herself—was of great interest because of her elegance in dress—royalty and aristocracy continued to be of interest as the new media forms developed. In the period between the two World Wars, Pond's ran a famous advertising campaign which used "society ladies," invariably titled, to endorse their range of skin-care products. But tastes gradually changed—celebrity endorsement for cosmetics and beauty products was more likely, by 1939, to involve a Hollywood star.

As advertising has become more sophisticated, so it has cast its net more widely. Not only has it used celebrities from every sphere of activity—the first sportsman to appear in a fashion-related advertisement was Henry Cooper, the British boxing champion, who advertised the aftershave, Brut, in the 1970s—but it has also created its own minor, usually transient, celebrities through its campaigns. A perfect example within the fashion sphere was the Calvin Klein men's underwear campaign, which ran during 2002–2003 and used an obscure young surfer, Travis, rather than a well-known model or a famous figure. Research showed that although women responded very positively to his image, men found his long hair and soft features off-putting. He was replaced in the Autumn 2003 campaign by the Arsenal soccer star, Fredrik Ljungberg, who has a more macho image—his hair is shaved, he wears a medallion, and the pictures all show clearly the large black panther tattooed on his lower abdomen.

Interestingly, despite the growing popularity of sports over the past century, fashion advertising was relatively slow to involve sportsmen and women. Things changed during the 1980s and 1990s—arguably Nike owes its global dominance to its use of the basketball star Michael Jordan, and more recently they have used international footballers such as Edgar Davits. The tennis stars Venus and Serena Williams have appeared on magazine covers and lent their names to sportswear, while the Russian Anna Kournikova was used for a Berlei bra campaign with the tag line "Only the balls should bounce."

The most notable development within the 1990s, however, has been the link forged between fashion and soccer. Eric Cantona appeared on the catwalk for John Paul Gaultier, while younger stars have modeled in men's fashion magazines. David Beckham's enormous popularity has meant that he has moved from fashion-related advertising—sunglasses, watches, children's clothes—and magazine shoots to becoming a global brand in himself.

He and his wife, the former Posh Spice, went on a tour of America in 2003 when their agents advised them that it was necessary, given the fact that many Americans are unfamiliar with soccer stars. He and his wife are important because they are among the new "celebrity couples" whose activities the media can chronicle and whose image is of interest. Their American counterparts are perhaps Brad Pitt and Jennifer Aniston—she was voted "The Most Popular Person in America" in the *Forbes* poll of July 2003. However, apart from Aniston's early contract with L'Oreal, neither she nor Pitt has taken part in direct advertising. Nevertheless, they can "endorse" products simply by wearing them when snapped on the street—they have popularized Maharishi trousers and Birkenstock sandals.

Celebrities within the music industry have been courted, too, both in the 1960s and more recently. In the past singers were used in fashion spreads or asked to lend their name to a range of merchandise—now they are directly approached by leading fashion brands to join film stars in rendering "luxury brands" more democratic. Donna Karan used Bruce Willis, action-man hero, in the 1990s, while Madonna modeled Tom Ford's early designs for Gucci. She also appeared in a Versace campaign photographed by Herb Ritts—but recently she has lent her celebrity to the high street, in a Gap television commercial with Missy Elliott. The high-fashion brands have tried to widen their appeal through the use of singers such as Christina Aguilera, in the Versace campaign for Autumn 2003, and Jennifer Lopez, used by Louis Vuitton in the same season. At the same moment, Tommy Hilfiger announced that he wanted to create a new image for his sportswear and had recruited the musician David Bowie and his wife, the ex-model Iman, currently working for Bulgari. Hilfiger sportswear is currently popular among the young and has some "street credibility"—this latest celebrity appointment suggests an attempt to interest forty-somethings in his sportswear, based perhaps on the success of Juicy Couture tracksuits after Madonna and Jennifer Lopez were photographed wearing them. Rap stars have been courted assiduously in an attempt to gain the kind of appeal Hilfiger's range possesses; the singer P. Diddy has launched a collection of casual wear, Sean Jean—while in another attempt to give expensive brands a broader appeal, Missy Elliott has been used as the face of Garrards, the royal jewelers.

This new reliance on celebrities for high-fashion endorsement is not worrying in itself—what is problematic, both within the industry and, more importantly, in a wider sociological context, are the sociological and psychological implications of celebrity obsession. It is tempting and not too far-fetched to suggest that the current climate owes much to the life—and unfortunate death—of Diana, Princess of Wales. In the early 1980s, she was far from being a glamorous fashion icon—and it was this perceived "ordinariness" that made her so appealing to the press at first. She had a haircut and a taste for frilly blouses that set trends precisely because this Earl's daughter seemed to the public to be "one of them," however false that assumption was. Her experiments with different hairstyles and her fashion education—she received guidance from the staff of British *Vogue*—were avidly followed. So too was the developing drama within her personal life. She featured in newspapers worldwide, and magazine editors found that her face on a cover guaranteed sales. Her battles with her weight—and her admission of her bulimia—were chronicled as carefully as the problems within her private life. When she died, the scenes in England were both extraordinary and unprecedented.

Arguably, the public had developed over two decades a need, even a craving, for celebrity worship—and the press has responded. The current pathological interest in body image, with its accounts of the different diets and fitness regimes followed by particular celebrities, seems to be spiraling out of control. And certainly in Britain, there is concern about the size of individual credit-card debt. A recent survey showed that the average woman now spends far more on shoes than in the past, and this is possibly linked to the fact that "Manolos" have become a household name through the television program "Sex and the City." They were worn not only on-screen by the heroine, Carrie Bradshaw, but by the actress Sarah Jessica Parker, who herself became a style icon. The new attempts to copy star images, decor, and lifestyle, the hours spent scouring celebrity websites, can only make for a stifling of individuality in dress, a feeling of discontent, and, more disturbingly, an unhappiness with faces or bodies that are not perfect.

See also **Actors and Actresses, Impact on Fashion; Fashion Icons; Models; Supermodels.**

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CEREMONIAL AND FESTIVAL COSTUMES

Ceremonies, festivals, and other rituals provide a structure for an individual or a group to reaffirm social values and ties. They tend to be public events, seen as different from everyday, which spotlight an important personal or cultural happening. Ritual helps to give meaning to the world in part by linking the past to the present and the present to the future. Ritual works through the senses to structure our perception of reality and the world around us; it is often when a society's deepest values emerge in the form of activity, objects, and dress. Ceremonies often combine religious belief with social and political concerns. Although rituals tend to evolve very slowly, cultures do change over time, and possible disjunctures may develop between a ceremony and the attitudes of the society, resulting in the modification or even elimination of the ceremony. The costumes worn at these times are frequently special to the occasion and dramatically symbolic; they can reflect historical or cultural preferences that are no longer in vogue. Different stages or events characterize some celebrations, requiring many changes of costume or dress. Dress is an inclusive concept that involves modifying the body by the use of textiles, cosmetics, scars, coiffures, apparel, jewelry, and accessories held by or for a person. Although in general dress can range from temporary acts of covering and adorning to permanent acts of modification, such as scarification, ceremonial dress is usually of a temporary nature.

Unlike masquerading, dress is not meant to transform an individual into something else but to enhance the identity of the individual. In many cultures, costumes have been used in a wide range of festivals stressing community solidarity or declaring the right of a person or group to a particular status, office, or possession. Since the nineteenth century, the Zulu of South Africa have used clothing and jewelry made from imported beads to demarcate changes in status associated with different life-cycle stages. Children and married women usually wear less beadwork. Young girls attire themselves in square or rectangular beaded loincloth panels attached to a bead string; pregnant women dress in leather aprons decorated with beadwork; and married women wear a knee-length skirt made of pleated goat skin or ox hide, hoop-like circular necklaces, and a flared headdress in the shape of a crown covered with red ocher or red beads and a beaded band around its base. The color schemes of beaded necklaces convey social messages about stages of physical and social development. Small rectangles, zigzag or vertical bands, diamonds, triangles, and lozenges are the most widespread motifs.

Rites of Passage

A rite of passage is a common ceremony that involves a transition from one status or condition to another. For an individual, these include birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Scholars usually divide this type of ritual into three stages: separation, a transitional or liminal one, and reincorporation; the latter two are most often associated with distinctive dress. For a community, annual rites of passage mark seasonal changes or cycles of renewal and regeneration. Individual and community rites of passage serve to enhance social solidarity, confirm membership in a group, and channel any anxiety resulting from the potential dangers of the transition. Societies throughout the world institutionalize the physical and social transformation that boys and girls undergo at the time of puberty by marking their passage from childhood to adulthood. There is, however, considerable variation in the timing of the ritual, length of ritual, and age of initiate.

As part of the puberty ceremony carried out among Sepik River peoples in New Guinea, newly initiated boys enter a men's meetinghouse, the political and religious center of the community; after passing across the threshold, the boys encounter sacred cult objects that play a role in their introduction to appropriate beliefs and behavior. The young men are also given body paint in the course of initiation. After residing in the cult house for months, the boys return to their village as adults when all male members of the house elaborately decorate their bodies as a statement of their own attractiveness, to display characteristics identified with being a successful male and to identify themselves as sacred beings from the world of the ancestors. The men—dressed in fiber skirts—paint their bodies with yellow, black, red, and white curvilinear patterns. Paint is believed to be sacred and clearly adds to the seriousness of the occasion. Red and white are especially favored because these colors are associated with brightness and are viewed as auspicious. A wicker headdress adorned with flowers and feathers as well as large shells worn on the chest and forehead enhance the brilliance of the costume. In addition, other accessories of shell, bone, boar-tusk, seeds, and feathers are worn. Feathers are noteworthy for symbolizing growth and power.

In the early 2000s, the most important Apache ceremony is the girl's four-day puberty rite—sometimes referred to as the Sunrise Dance—that was taught to the Apache by White Painted Woman, an important deity in the American Southwest. A similar ritual is held by the Navajo, but the Apache put greater stress on the benefit of the ritual to the community. The ceremony is organized by a shaman hired by the girl's family who also select godparents to assist the young girl during the ceremony and throughout her life. On the second night, male masqueraders called Gan, wearing plank headdresses made of slats of agave stalk, impersonate Mountain Spirits who bless the area and help protect the community from dangers and disease. During the Apache puberty ceremony, the young girl is dressed in either a buckskin skirt or a long cotton skirt and a buckskin smock or cape painted yellow, the color of sacred pollen said to symbolize fertility. These garments are decorated with symbols of the moon, sun, and stars. Both skirt and smock utilize fringes that could represent sunbeams. An abalone shell is worn on the forehead along with shell necklaces, shell earrings, and feathers for the hair. Metal bells, buttons, and decorative metal cones cut from cans dangling from the dress have been used since the early nineteenth century. Buckskin moccasins and leggings might be added to the ensemble. The various items of dress must be put on in a prescribed sequence and draped in a particular way. The outfit of the girl, based on traditional female dress, is now specific to this ceremony; in the past, the Apache wore various items of dress made only from animal skins. The use of an older material or clothing style for ceremonies is not uncommon.

At the time of puberty in the West African country of Sierra Leone, Mende girls begin an initiation process into the female Sande association where they learn traditional songs and dances and are educated about their future roles as wives and mothers. During seclusion, the girls are covered with a white pigment of crushed shell and chalk and wear ornaments that define their status as novice and indicate that they are under the protection of the association. Formerly, this period lasted for several months, but in recent decades, the period has been reduced to a few weeks. After successfully completing all initiation obligations, the girls with similar hairstyles and dressed in fine clothing form a procession and parade back to town accompanied by masked dancers. Sande is the only documented African association in which women both own and perform masquerades. The masks—characterized by a shiny black surface, fleshy neck rolls, delicately carved features, a smooth, high forehead, and an elaborate coiffure—are seen as expressing a Mende feminine ideal. The coiffures of the mask are actually based on popular types of Mende hairstyles, especially those worn on special occasions by women of high status. The arrangement of the hair into a series of longitudinal ridges is a common coiffure and has been documented on women at the turn of the fifteenth century; it indicates the role of women as cultivators and bearers of culture.

Elaborately painted body decoration and scarification are customarily associated with initiation ceremonies in many parts of the world. Among the We of the Ivory Coast, the faces of young female initiates are painted when they leave the excision camp by initiated women, skilled in body painting. They paint the faces of the young girls with schematic designs in black, blue, red, and white. The girls' torsos are sprinkled with oil and rubbed with snail shell or porcelain to make their bodies shine; they will also wear a woven wrapper, necklaces, and bracelets. The purpose of such embellishment is to make the girls look attractive. After emerging from the camp, the initiated girls sit in state, displaying their newly acquired social status as marriageable women. Changes in role and status have been correlated with irreversible forms of body art to emphasize the accumulative and unalterable nature of the transition. Among the Ga'anda of Nigeria, girls are given facial and body scarification to mark different stages of their transition into adulthood. This procedure begins when a girl is five or six and at each stage consists of rows of slightly raised dots that form linear and geometric patterns. The scarification is displayed at each stage and when completed expresses the permanent nature of the transition as well as a visual identification with the group. At these times, the girls wear only a simple woven cloth apron allowing for maximum visibility of the body designs.

For centuries, the Kalabari people of southeastern Nigeria have worn an assortment of both foreign and indigenous items of dress. These they assemble into a distinctive ensemble that for women consists of an imported lace or eyelet blouse and a combination of wrappers embellished with bead, gold, or coral jewelry. The Kalabari do not produce textiles themselves, but purchase handwoven textiles made in Nigeria and Ghana along with imported, factory-made textiles. This type of composite dress is especially apparent during *iria*, a series of ceremonies that mark several stages of a woman's life. When women reach both physical and social maturity, they are allowed to tie and layer a series of short cloth wrappers around their waist to increase the bulk of their midsection, symbolizing their role as society's procreators. Textiles signify a family's wealth and are stored in special cloth boxes that are passed down from one generation to the next. The Kalabari also make use of these textiles by decorating funerary chambers of socially prominent elders with rich displays of heirloom textiles. The degree of a chamber's elaboration is directly related to the deceased's success in life. A group of elderly women, skilled in selecting and arranging textiles, completely drape the ceiling and walls with cloth. The bed, where the corpse is laid in state, is the visual focus of the chamber. Personal accessories that belonged to the deceased, such as beads, fans, canes, and textiles are folded and layered on the bed to reveal a variety of patterns, textures, and colors. The display of the family's textile collection in the funerary chambers is believed to facilitate an elder's transition from the human community to the realm of the ancestors.

Many societies or cultures associate a particular color or type of costume with mourning appropriate for wearing at funerary or memorial ceremonies. The Frafra of northern Ghana have elaborate funerary rituals that emphasize dress. The ordinary male funerary costume consists of a smock, quiver, bow, flute, and headdress. This costume, which is based on the dress worn by both hunters and warriors, symbolizes the origins of Frafra society and its early history. The most common funerary headdress, worn by any male old enough to be a hunter or warrior, is a wicker cap with a hole in the top for inserting a stick or bundle of reeds covered with the hair from the neck of a sheep. The use of sheep hair reflects the importance of domesticated animals, especially for sacrifices. Such a helmet may be made by the owner or purchased in the market. On the other hand, the wicker helmet with horns can be worn only by a hunter. The female funerary costume is based on traditional female dress. In much of northeastern Ghana, women in the past wore woven grass waistbands with small forked leafy branches attached to the front and rear. This leaf form has been replaced almost entirely by a tail made of dyed grass or leather strands. Women would receive such elaborate "tails" during courtship as signs of admiration and intent. The grass or leather "tails" are viewed as proper dress for special occasions. Today, a commercially printed cloth for the upper torso or head tie is often added. In addition, a woman may wear stone or ivory armlets to reflect pride in her family and household.

A wedding ritual not only unites two individuals, but provides a permanent linkage between families and kin groups. Ceremonies marking marriage put considerable emphasis on elaborate and often colorful dress. In Central Asia, special garments tailored from silk cloth were worn at marriage by high-status, wealthy women during the nineteenth century. Because Central Asians viewed silk attire as accumulated wealth, dresses and robes were seen as important components of a woman's dowry. For the marriage ceremony, women attired themselves in a series of dresses, worn in a layered manner so that the richly patterned sleeves of each dress were visibly displayed; an outer robe completed the bride's dress ensemble. This collarless robe, which was close-fitting in the torso with a flaring outward toward the hem, was worn open in the front to reveal the bride's brightly colored dresses; outer robes, considered the most sumptuous of all of the bride's garments, were held in such high esteem, that one or two of them were even draped over the owner's body during her funeral ceremony. The garments were fashioned from hand-loomed silk cloth, decorated with designs made using the ikat-dying technique in which the thread is tie-dyed prior to being woven. The designs were usually created through a process of tie-dying the lengthwise or warp threads before plain colored crosswise or weft threads were woven into them. In the finished textile, the edges where the warp threads had been bound together for dyeing, show a blurred, irregular outline.

The traditional dress for a Tunisian woman consists of a silk, cotton, or wool wrapper draped around the body and attached on the chest with one or two fibulae and gathered at the waist with a sash. The wrapper is covered by a loose-fitting tunic with seams on either side and, for some, sleeves made from another more exquisite material. This type of outfit is now used only for weddings with each region having its own specific patterns and colors. Women are allowed to express their own individual taste and preference. Tunisian wedding tunics are decorated with elaborate embroidery, sequins, and gold-covered wire thread. There is an increasing emphasis on such gold work, especially in the urban areas. Embroidered designs may represent popular symbols of luck such as a star, birds, fish, and crescents. Similar tunics are found in other parts of North Africa. The wedding costumes and jewelry, which have become increasingly expensive, may be borrowed from neighboring families or rented from a female specialist who helps plan wedding ceremonies. For jewelry, silver is preferred because it is believed to be pure and propitious. Women wear a variety of tunics with different types of decoration and design at distinct ceremonies during the wedding ritual. In Tunisia an important part of the wedding ceremony is for a bride to be displayed formally to the groom, her relatives, and the relatives of the groom. At these times she is dressed in several different tunics that she removes one by one until she is in the last one, the richest of all. For North Africans, marriages represent a significant change of status and require considerable expense and attention; they last for several days and most people of the village will turn out for the event.

Identity, Status, and Leadership

Costumes may also express cultural identity or membership in a group. For the Yoruba of Nigeria there are a number of secular occasions where dress plays a prominent role in affirming a person's Yoruba identity. Both family and community ceremonies, including funerals, childbirth, and child-naming occasions, weddings, chieftaincy celebrations, and house-opening feasts are important social events where members of different extended families come together and dress in their finest clothing. Men wear a gown ensemble consisting of tailored gowns, trousers, and hats made from strip-woven cloth while women wear a wrapper ensemble, blouse, and a head tie. The Yoruba have a custom called *aso-ebi*, where male and female members of families and social clubs appear together in dress made of the same type of cloth. *Aso-ebi* cloth may be special-ordered or purchased at the market and when worn, it visually reinforces the group's cohesion.

In the northwest coast of America, the confirmation of an inherited privilege or the authentication of a new rank or status occurs during a special type of public ceremony called a potlatch, which is especially well developed among the Kwakiutl, Haida, and Tlingit. A potlatch is often held over a period of days and accompanied by the display of objects and the giving of gifts to the guests. The acceptance of these gifts and the acknowledgment of their purpose are critical components of a potlatch. Although the ordinary dress of the northwest coast in the eighteenth century consisted of fairly plain cedar bark capes and blankets, when attending potlatch events, people dressed in their best clothing and seated themselves according to rank. Ceremonial garments in this area are colorful, elaborately decorated, and spectacular. A wealthy man might wear a Chilkat or button blanket, a waist robe or apron, a shirt, leggings, and a headdress, often made of woven spruce root or cedar bark. To the headdress, a carved frontlet, ermine strips, or basketry rings could be added. Trousers are currently worn under the garments. The costume of wealthy women is similar to that of men except for the substitution of a plain dress for the trousers or robe. Shredded cedar bark and mountain goat wool are used for weaving the Chilkat blanket, considered as a family heirloom. This garment is rectangular at the top and the sides and from the bottom edge in the shape of a shallow V, there extends a long warp fringe about one-quarter the length of the blanket. The surface design is clearly a transfer from another medium (painting) and has the effect of a low relief. In addition, the curvilinear forms, characteristic of northwest coast art, is successfully achieved. Black, blue, white, and yellow are the colors that establish the patterns. A newer ceremonial covering is the button blanket consisting of a dark blue blanket—usually Hudson's Bay blanket—decorated with red flannel border and appliqué outlined in small iridescent pearl buttons. Buttons are used as well for creating the details of an image. Dentalium shells—a symbol of wealth—could also ornament a button blanket. The images are normally crest animals, such as a raven, whale, beaver, or eagle, which connect to clan myths.

Ceremonial dress associated with identity and renewal can also reflect social and political points of view or be used for other functions such as protection. Although metal armor was worn by warriors and rulers in Europe as far back as ancient times, in the fourteenth century, overlapping plates of steel were developed to produce a more effective way for covering the entire body. Since plate armor was quite expensive to make, it was limited to warriors of noble birth and became an indicator of status. During the following two centuries, knights and kings who rode into battle on horseback both protected and defined themselves with full suits of plate combat armor while providing a festive element to the occasion. For tournaments or jousting events, knights needed to wear armor made of even heavier metal and often more elaborately decorated. Armor served to protect an individual as well as to enhance appearance. Therefore, decoration, based on a variety of metalworking techniques such as embossing, engraving, and etching, expressed the wealth and status of the wearer. The most commonly used technique in decorating armor was etching.

The Great Plains of North America consisted of many tribes sharing a dependence on the buffalo as a source of food and raw materials. The standard ceremonial regalia for a Plains' warrior included a painted buffalo robe, quill shirt, leggings, moccasins, and some kind of feathered headdress. Plains ritual, which encompassed songs and special dress including body and face painting, were performed for a war campaign, a major buffalo hunt, and a community ceremony such as the sun dance, which focused on renewal. All clothing was made by women who were responsible for tanning animal skins and tailoring the various garments. For the American Plains, the buffalo robe was a distinctive type of dress, which could be painted by men with figurative designs illustrating historical events—especially military exploits—hunting scenes or, in some cases, supernatural visions. Plains cultures attached great importance to these visions and animals were frequently involved, especially buffalo, elk, bears, eagles, and sparrow hawks. The designs, which can symbolize less visually obvious ideas, were usually arranged horizontally without any overall composition. The actual painting of a buffalo robe was the responsibility of the owner. Originally the colors, each applied with a separate brush, were made from mineral or vegetable material. Quillwork and beadwork embroidery were also employed to adorn a robe. For the people of the Plains, robes served as an expression of both individual and community exploits. A men's robe is similar in form and construction to a woman's dress except it is shorter and has full sleeves.

The symbolic power of traditional Plains clothing was acknowledged again in the late nineteenth century with the Ghost Dance movement, a revitalization movement based on a belief that the Great Spirit would clear away the wreckage of the white man, bring back the buffalo herds, and reunite the Native American people—both living and dead—in a regenerated Earth. The ceremony, which originated among the Paiutes but quickly spread north and east to other Plains groups, began either late in the afternoon or after sundown and involved a circular dance, from East to West, following the movement of the sun. Preliminary activities included painting and dressing the body that took about two hours. The painted designs were an inspiration from a trance vision and consisted of elaborate designs in red, yellow, green, or blue upon the face or a yellow line along the parting of the hair. Suns, crescents, stars, crosses, and birds (especially crows) were the designs usually associated with both painting and clothing. Stars were the most common motif and consisted of a variety of forms such as the traditional four-pointed star, the five-pointed star of the American flag, dashes of paint representing falling stars or the many stars in the heaven. It was by wearing Ghost Dance shirts and dresses that the Great Spirit would recognize his people. Both shirts and dresses were usually made of muslin or cotton but garments of elk, deer, or antelope skins were also produced. These garments were decorated with painted designs, cones, bone, quillwork, and feathers. An eagle feather was also worn on the head.

Social status in most societies is usually expressed through the display of ornaments on the body; yet for a number of cultures, the permanent modification of the skin can exhibit societal membership or high status through scar and tattoo designs. For the Maori of New Zealand, tattooing was characterized by a dense, overall, and interrelated series of motifs organized into spiral and curvilinear patterns. In general, a tattoo results from pricking or piercing the skin and then pigmenting the punctured spots with a coloring substance. Pigment made from soot mixed with spring water, light fish oil, or plant sap, was rubbed into the cut skin. The entire process usually took months or even years to complete. Facial tattooing identified a man as belonging to a particular group and indicated the magnitude of his mana or spiritual power. Although permanent, tattooing was seen as a necessary item of dress for ceremonial occasions: each design had a specific name, and every tattooed individual was marked differently. People of high status had the right to be tattooed while those of lesser status had to earn that right. Wealth, position in the community, and the level of a person's courage would determine the extent and nature of the tattoos. The facial tattooing of a chief were considered so distinctive and varied that the chief would draw them at the bottom of European documents as his signature.

Frequently, leaders of the community will dress in a distinctive fashion, especially during ceremonial occasions. An individual's political power, social position, and wealth can be made visible by dress expressing prominent status or indicating particular social roles such as warrior, judge, and police officer. We must not forget that ordinary people also wear special dress for important events, including weddings, funerals, high school proms, or even gallery openings. Usually it is the entire ensemble of clothing and accessories that project authority and status. But at times, a single item of dress may announce social position and political power. For example, among the Yoruba of Nigeria, a conical, beaded crown with fringe veil is the primary symbol of kingship and must be worn by the ruler on all ceremonial occasions. The veil obscures the face of the living king while a face motif on the crown reveals the dynastic ancestors. In this way, the crown represents the spiritual and political force of the dynasty. Crowns also reference royal power in European cultures.

Royal dress and regalia has characterized the Asante people of Ghana since the seventeenth century. The two most spectacular elements of Asante dress are kente cloth and elaborate gold jewelry. Kente is a brightly colored, hand-loomed, narrow band cloth woven by men on a four-heddle horizontal loom. The weavers use silk or rayon thread to create bright color in a predominantly cotton textile. The names and meanings of kente designs can allude to proverbs, historical events, or important characteristics of leadership. During their reigns, Asante kings were expected to invent new kente designs. Kente is a good example of how a dress form that is adopted by another culture can shift meaning. In the United States, kente has become identified with African American culture and has been used in multiple forms and ceremonial contexts. The Asante have used gold extensively to adorn and glorify rulers as well as to validate their positions. The Asante king and various categories of chiefs wear many items of gold, such as necklaces, anklets, large armlets, and rings. Magnificently attired rulers, encumbered with as many gold ornaments as they can wear or carry while participating in religious or state ceremonies can be identified with the proverb "Great men move slowly." Gold objects are produced by the lost wax process or repoussé technique.

In Polynesia the spiritual power of rulers and other high-ranking people was often expressed by wearing apparel made of feathers, which associated it with the gods. In Hawaii, one of the most centralized and status-conscious societies in Polynesia, feather cloaks, sashes, and helmets were important components of ceremonial dress, enhancing the authority and divine status of a ruler. Cloaks, worn on state occasions and during battle, provided spiritual, and to some extent physical, protection to the wearer. Capturing an enemy's feathered cloak was a particularly powerful symbol of defeat. The size of a cloak was directly related to the amount of power a noble person possessed. Because so many feathers were required to produce a cloak, only individuals of great wealth could afford them. Feathers were in part collected as tribute paid by commoners to the chiefs each year. Although ordinary clothing was made by women, the cloaks were made by high-ranking men. Passing a cloak to a descendant involved a transfer of mana (power) from one generation to the next. Feathered cloaks were worn wrapped around the body so that the edges come together unifying the motifs that flank each edge. Many cloaks were decorated with four yellow, bladelike motifs set against a red background. With the imposition of American rule in the late nineteenth century, feathered cloaks were no longer used for warfare but continued to be indicative of chiefly rank. Also, red feathers, associated with the god of war, were used less and yellow became more common as yellow feathers were rarer and more valuable.

A complete clothing ensemble, consisting of cloak, robe, and turban, expresses religious identity as well as high social status for the Muslim Hausa-Fulani rulers of northern Nigeria and is worn for religious celebrations and major political events. On such occasions, the lavishly dressed ruler and officials of high rank appear in a public procession, mounted on richly adorned horses, to symbolically establish superiority over those they rule. Their dress not only sets the ruling aristocracy apart from the rest of the population, but also identifies the wearer with the larger Muslim world both within Africa and beyond. Robes, the most distinct part of the dress ensemble, are often worn layered, creating an imposing image of physical bulk and majesty. The visual focus of the robe, tailored from handwoven or factory-made cloth, is a large pocket densely embroidered with geometric designs that are loosely inspired by Islamic calligraphy and believed to offer spiritual protection to the wearer. A turban is wrapped numerous times around the wearer's head and chin, creating an aesthetic effect that visually complements the bulky robe. The turban signifies that the man has completed the most important obligation of Islam—a pilgrimage to the sacred city of Mecca. Items in a ruler's dress ensemble are valued heirlooms that belong to the state; like the feathered cloaks of Hawaiian leaders, they can be passed on to descendants in the royal line or given as gifts to other rulers and officials to seal political alliances.

Symbolic dress is not limited to other times and cultures. The dress of modern political leaders and their families shapes the public image as well. A case in point is the wardrobe of Jacqueline Kennedy during the campaign and presidency of her husband, John F. Kennedy. Kennedy was criticized for her extravagant wardrobe and use of foreign designers—especially when compared to the plain style of the Republican candidate's wife, Pat Nixon. Soon after the election, Kennedy worked with the American designer Oleg Cassini to re-create her image. As First Lady, Kennedy established a unique style that was dignified and elegant but also photogenic and recognizable. For her husband's swearing-in ceremony in January 1961, Jacqueline Kennedy wore a Cassini-designed beige wool crepe dress. She also wore a pillbox hat from Bergdorf Goodman's millinery salon, in what was to become her trademark style—on the back of her head rather than straight and high, as was the fashion. Jacqueline Kennedy's style became widely popular and helped define the image of the Kennedy presidency as innovative, dynamic, and glamorous.

Viewed globally, ceremonial dress involves many acts of body modification that reflect both indigenous development and outside influences. As cultural artifacts, the specific elements of apparel and body adornment have many aspects of meaning; they serve as vehicles for the expression of values, symbols of identity and social status, and statements of aesthetic preference. Each item of a costume has its own history and sociocultural significance and must be considered along with the total ensemble. By looking at ceremonial costumes in other cultures, it becomes possible to understand better the form and function of similar types of dress in one's own culture.

See also **Carnival Dress; Kente; Masks; Masquerade and Masked Balls.**

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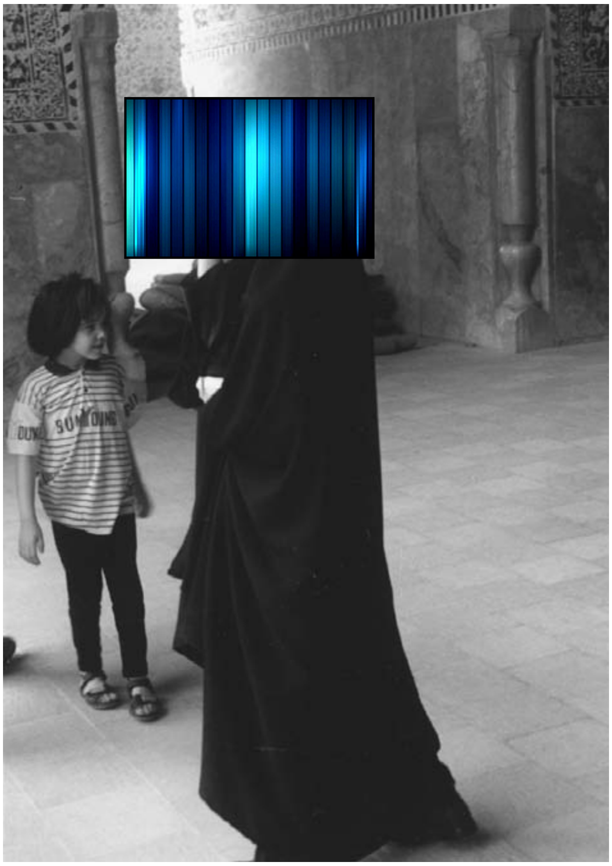
Fred T. Smith

CHADOR Chador, meaning "large cloth" or "sheet" in modern Persian, refers to a semicircular cloak, usually black, enveloping the head, body, and sometimes the face (like a tent), held in place by the wearer's hands. It is worn by Muslim women outside or inside the home in front of *namahram*, men ineligible to be their husbands, in Iran and with modifications elsewhere, including parts of Afghanistan, Iraq, and Pakistan. The chador is closely associated with the Islamic practice of *hijab*, which comes from the verbal Arabic word "hajaba," meaning to hide from view or conceal. *Hijab* stresses modesty based on Koranic passages (Surahs XXXIII:59 and XXIV:13) indicating that believing women should cover their hair and cast outer garments over themselves when in public.

Hijab and Politics

The Islamic chador, introduced during the Abbasid Era (750–1258) when black was the dynastic color, has been worn by Persian women with slight variations over many centuries. Western sartorial changes began in Iran during the reign of Shah Nasir al-Din (1848–1896) who, after visiting Paris in 1873, introduced European-style clothing to his country. The chador, however, was still worn by most Persian women. After World War I, with the government takeover in 1925 by Reza Khan Pahlavi, legislative and social reforms were introduced, including using the modern national state name "Iran." Influenced by Ataturk's Westernization clothing programs in the new Republic of Turkey, Reza Shah hoped his people would be treated as equals by Europeans if they wore Western clothing. His Dress Reform Law mandated that Persian men wear coats, suits, and Pahlavi hats, which resulted in compliance by some and protesting riots by others with encouragement from ulema, the group of Islamic clerics known as mullahs. Gradually, the traditional *Shari'a*, or Islamic Law, was being replaced by French secular codes. Because of emotional and religious opposition to unveiling women, the shah moved slower regarding female dress reforms, but by February 1936, a government ban outlawed the chador throughout Iran. Police were ordered to fine women wearing chadors; doctors could not treat them, and they were not allowed in public places such as movies, baths, or on buses. As modern role models, the shah's wife and daughters appeared in public unveiled.

In 1941, fearing a Nazi takeover during World War II, British and Soviet troops occupied Iran, whereby Reza Shah abdicated in favor of Mohammed Reza, the crown prince, age twenty-two, who agreed to rule as a constitu-



A Muslim woman wears a black *chador*. The garment is a semicircular cloak covering the head, body and sometimes the face. Women are required to wear the chador outside and also inside the home in front of men other than their husbands. MARY FARAHNAKIAN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tional monarch. Attempting to placate both pro- and anti-chador advocates, the young shah removed government restrictions prohibiting wearing chadors, but asked Muslim leaders to call for tolerance toward women who chose to appear publicly unveiled. The chador controversy continued over several decades: some pro-Marxist, anti-Western groups opposed the shah and advocated the chador; pro-Westerners wanted European-style clothing. Ultimately, the chador came to symbolize "rebellion" against the regime, until finally in March 1979, after the shah's forced departure, the opposition leader Ayatollah Khomeini returned from exile, taking over government control. His pro-Islamic revolutionary policies included urging women to resume wearing the chador for modesty reasons. Reacting to large protest marches, government officials clamped down, ordering all women in government employment to wear the chador. By May 1981, legal reforms based on Islamic *Shari'a* required all women over age nine to observe *hijab*, wearing either the chador or a long coat with sleeves and a large dark head cloth. These legal regulations were still in effect in the early 2000s.

See also **Islamic Dress, Contemporary; Middle East: History of Islamic Dress; Religion and Dress.**

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Beverly Chico

CHALAYAN, HUSSEIN Hussein Chalayan's fascination with architecture, spatial dynamics, urban identity, and aerodynamics is expressed in garments based on concepts, technological systems, historical dress, and theories of the body. His clothes are minimal in look but maximal in thought.

Early Career

Chalayan was born in the Turkish community of Nicosia on the island of Cyprus in 1970. His parents separated when he was a child. At the age of eight, he joined his father, who had moved to the United Kingdom. Chalayan was sent to a private school in London when he was twelve, but returned to Cyprus to study for his A-level examinations. He went back to London and attended Central Saint Martin's College at the age of nineteen to study fashion. Chalayan rose to fashion fame soon after he received his B.A. degree from Central Saint Martin's in 1993. His graduating collection, titled The Tangent Flows, was the now infamous series of buried garments that were exhumed just before the show and presented with a text that explained the process.

The rituals of burial and resurrection gave the garments a dimension of reference to life, death, and urban decay in a process that transported the garments from the world of fashion to the kingdom of nature. Since then, Chalayan has collaborated with architects, artists, textile technologists and aerospace engineers; has won awards; and has been recognized as an artist in numerous museum presentations of his work.

The genius of Chalayan's work lies in his ability to explore visual and intellectual principles that chart the spectral orientations of urban societies through such tangibles as clothing, buildings, vehicles, and furniture and through such abstractions as beauty, philosophy and feeling. Chalayan's Aeroplane and Kite dresses (autumn–winter 1995) used the spatial relationship between the fabric and the body to reflect the relative meanings of speed and gravity. The dresses became dynamic interfaces between the human body and its surroundings; the

A model steps into a Hussein Chalayan skirt. Chalayan incorporated a relation to architecture, geometry, and urban life into his designs. He launched his career in 1993 with a collection titled "The Tangent Flows," in which the garments had been buried and exhumed before the show, which depicted the process of life and death. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Kite dress actually flew and was reunited with its wearer when it returned to earth.

In Chalayan's eyes, all garments are externalizations of the body in the same way that vehicles and buildings are proportioned to contain the human form. "Everything around us either relates to the body or to the environment," Chalayan explained. "I think of modular systems where clothes are like small parts of an interior, the interiors are part of architecture, which is then a part of an urban environment. I think of fluid space where they are all a part of each other, just in different scales and proportions" (Quinn, p. 120). These sentiments were amplified in the Echoform collection (autumn–winter 1999) in dresses that mimicked airplane interiors. Chalayan attached padded headrests to the shoulders of the garments, evoking thoughts on the role of clothing as a component of a larger spatial system.

Likewise, the Geotrophics collection (spring–summer 1999) made chairs into wearable extensions of the human form. The chair dresses represented the idea of a nomadic existence facilitated by living within completely transportable environments. Determined to express "how the meaning of a nation evolves through conflict or natural boundaries," Chalayan explored the body's role as a locus for the construction of identity, highlighting the ways in which its appropriation by national regimes would orient and indoctrinate it according to the space in which it "belongs."

The relationship between space and identity was further explored in the groundbreaking After Words (autumn–winter 2000) collection. Chalayan based the collection on the necessity of evacuating one's home during wartime and having to hide possessions when a raid was impending. The theme evoked the 1974 Turkish military intervention that displaced both Turkish and Greek Cypriots from their homes and led indirectly to Chalayan's emigration to Britain several years later. The collection introduced the idea of urban camouflage through clothing, whereby fashion functions as a means of hiding objects in obvious places. After Words featured dresses-cum-chair covers that disguised their role as fashionable garments while simultaneously concealing the furniture beneath them. The collection included a table designed to be worn as a skirt, with chairs that were transformed into suitcases and carried away by the models.

For his before minus now collection (spring–summer 2000), Chalayan returned to the architectural theme expressed in Echoform and Geotrophics, designing a series of dresses in collaboration with an architectural firm. The dresses featured wire-frame architectural prints against static white backgrounds generated by a computer program designed to draw three-dimensional perspectives within an architectural landscape. The renderings' geometric dimensions suppress the depiction of real space and create a reality independent of the shapes and textures found in the organic world. Such absolute symmetry and concise angles create the illusion of a realm that is carefully ordered and controlled, yet the architectonic expressions correspond to physical registrations of surfaces and programmatic mappings.

The Remote Control Dress, which was commissioned in 2000 by Judith Clark Costume in London, was designed by means of the composite technology used by aircraft engineers, mirroring the systems that enable airplanes to fly by remote control. Crafted from a combination of fiberglass and resin, the dress was molded into two smooth and glossy pink-colored front and back panels fastened together by metal clips. The facade-like structure of the dress forms an exoskeleton around the body, arcing dramatically inward at the waist and outward in the hip region, echoing the silhouette produced by a corset. This structure gives the dress a well-defined hourglass shape that incorporates principles of corsetry into its design, emphasizing a conventionally feminine shape while creating a solid structure that simultaneously masks undesirable body proportions.

Chalayan's Importance

While Chalayan's work continues to question traditional readings of dress and to generate exciting interdisciplinary collaborations, he also opens new frontiers for other designers to explore. As many of his groundbreaking ideas begin to influence wider trends, Chalayan's work is gaining recognition in the mainstream fashion market while continuing to receive acclaim in fashion circles. Since Chalayan signed a licensing agreement with the Italian manufacturing company Gibo in 2002, his label has grown into a strong retail brand. The designer's appointment as creative director of fashion for the classically inclined British luxury retailer Asprey brings his conceptual oeuvre to a wider public. But the garments still require an audience with the confidence to carry off clothes heavy with the thought processes behind them.

See also **Fashion Designer; Fashion and Identity; Fashion Shows; Haute Couture.**

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Bradley Quinn

CHANEL, GABRIELLE (COCO) Gabrielle Chanel (1883–1971) was born out of wedlock in the French town of Saumur in the Loire Valley on 19 August 1883 to Albert Chanel, an itinerant salesman, and Jeanne Devolle. Her parents were finally married in July of 1884. Her mother died of asthma at the age of thirty-three. When Chanel was just twelve years old, she was sent along with her two sisters to an orphanage at Aubazine. During the holidays the girls stayed with their grandparents in Moulins. In 1900 Chanel moved there permanently and attended the local convent school with her aunt Adrienne, who was of a similar age. Having been taught to sew by the nuns, both girls found work as dressmakers, assisting Monsieur Henri Desboutin of the House of Grampayre.

Early Career

Chanel sang during evening concerts at a fashionable café called La Rotonde. It is believed that her rendition of the song "Qui qu'a vu Coco dans le Trocadéro" earned her the nickname "Coco." Chanel started to mix in fashionable circles when she went to live in 1908 with Étienne Balsan, who bred racehorses on his vast estate at La Croix-Saint-Ouen. Chanel's astute choice of clothing—her neat tailor-made suits and masculine riding dress—and modest demeanor served to mark her out from the other courtesans. Thus from an early age Chanel demonstrated great confidence in her own sense of style, a formula that proved irresistible to other women. Soon Balsan's friends asked her to make them copies of the boater hats that she trimmed and wore herself. Seizing upon this opportunity for financial independence, in 1908–1909 Chanel persuaded Balsan to let her use his Paris apartment at 160, boulevard Malesherbes to set up a millinery business. She employed a professional milliner and she engaged her sister Antoinette and two other assistants as the business grew.

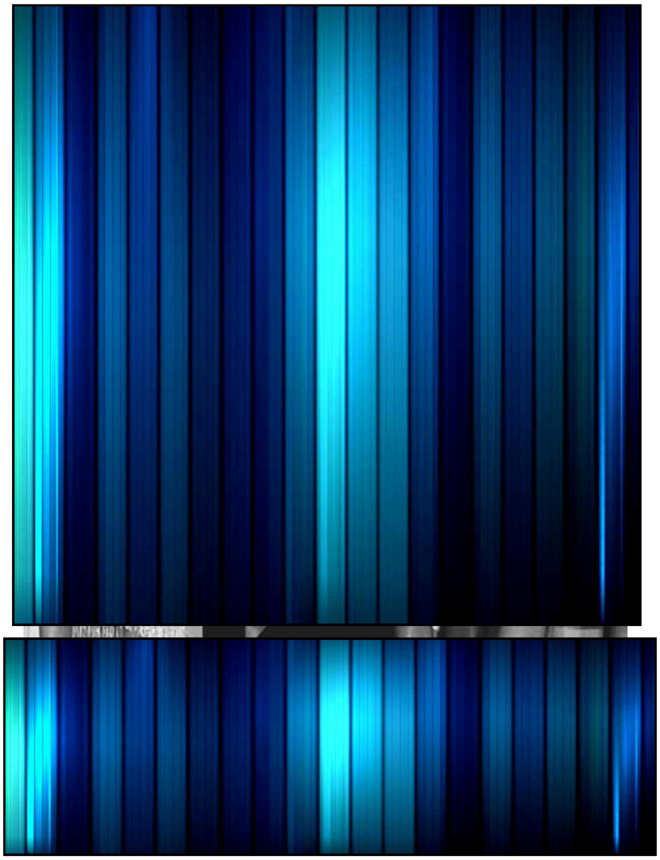
While Chanel was in Paris, her friendship with the millionaire entrepreneur and polo player Arthur Capel, known as "Boy," developed into love. It was Boy who lent her the money to rent commercial premises on the rue Cambon—where the House of Chanel was still located in the early 2000s—in the heart of Paris's couture district. Chanel modes opened at 21, rue Cambon in 1910. From the outset, Chanel was the perfect model for her own designs, and she was photographed for the fall 1910 issue of the magazine *Le théâtre: Revue mensuelle illustrée.* By 1912 hats by Chanel appeared in the popular press, worn by such leading actresses of the day as Lucienne Roger and Gabrielle Dorziat. Chanel had achieved financial independence. The terms of her lease, however, prevented her from selling clothes, as there was a dressmaker already working in the building.

First Collections, 1913–1919

While on vacation in Deauville on the west coast of France in the summer of 1913, Boy Capel found a shop for Chanel to open on the fashionable rue Gontaut-Biron, and it was here that she presented her first fashion collections. With the outbreak of World War I in July 1914, many wealthy and fashionable Parisians decamped to Deauville and shopped at Chanel's boutique. It is believed that she sold only ready-to-wear clothing at this date. Chanel had cut her hair short during this period and many other women copied her bobbed hairstyle as well as bought her clothes. Chanel's time had come: radical in their understatement, her versatile and sporty designs were to prove perfect for the more active lives led by many wealthy women during wartime.

In 1916 Chanel purchased a stock of surplus jersey fabric from the manufacturer Rodier, which she made into unstructured three-quarter-length coats belted at the waist and embellished with luxurious fabrics or furs, worn with matching skirts. That fall Chanel presented her first complete couture collection. The March 1917 issue of *Les élégances parisiennes* illustrates a group of jersey suits by Chanel, some of which are delicately embroidered, while others are strictly plain and accessorized with a saddlery-style double belt. All are worn with open-neck blouses with deep sailor collars. A 1918 design consisted of a coat of tan jersey banded with brown rabbit fur, with a lining and blouse of white-dotted rose foulard: this matching of the coat lining to the dress or blouse was to become a Chanel trademark. Striking in their simplicity and modernity, Chanel's jersey fashions caused a sensation.

While Chanel's daywear was characterized by its stylish utility, her evening wear was unashamedly romantic. In 1919 she presented fragile gowns in black



Karl Lagerfield. Lagerfeld appears with models at the presentation of Chanel's 2002 spring-summer haute couture collection. Lagerfeld became chief designer of Chanel in 1983 and was credited with making Chanel goods highly desirable again. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Chantilly lace with gold-spun net and jet tassels and other gowns in silver lace brocade. Capes of black velvet adorned with rows of ostrich fringe revealed a Spanish influence—the very height of fashion that winter. This was the year that Chanel would announce, "I woke up famous," but it was also the year that Boy Capel was killed in an automobile accident.

The 1920s

Fashions of the early 1920s. From 1920 to 1923 Chanel conducted a liaison with the grand duke Dmitri Pavlovitch, grandson of Russia's Tsar Alexander II, and her collections during these years were imbued with Russian influences. Particularly noteworthy were loose shift dresses, waistcoats, blouses, and evening coats made in dark and neutral colors with exquisite, brightly colored, folkloric Russian embroideries stitched by exiled aristocrats. In 1922 Chanel showed long, lean, belted blouses based on Russian peasant wear.

By 1923 she had further simplified the cut of her clothes and offered fewer brocaded fabrics, while her embroideries—red and beige were favorite colors that year—displayed more restrained and modernistic designs. Chanel led the international trend toward shorter hemlines. Her premises on the rue Cambon, which had already expanded in 1919, grew to include numbers 27, 29, and 31 during the early 1920s.

Perfumes. Chanel launched her first perfume, Chanel No. 5, in 1921. Reputedly named for the designer's lucky number, No. 5 was blended by Ernest Beaux, who used aldehydes (an organic compound which yields acids when oxidized and alcohols when reduced) to enhance the fragrance of such costly natural ingredients as jasmine, the perfume's base note. Chanel designed the modern pharmaceutical-style bottle and monochrome packaging herself. Chanel No. 5 was the first perfume to bear a designer's name. Building upon the success of No. 5, Chanel introduced Cuir de Russie (1924), Bois des Îles (1926), and Gardénia (1927) before the end of the decade.

La garçonne. Chanel's interpretation of masculine styles and sportswear—her blazers, waistcoats, and shirts with cufflinks, as well as her choice of fabrics—were greatly inspired by the garments worn by the duke of Westminster (an Englishman with whom she was involved between 1923 and 1930) and his aristocratic friends. Following a fishing holiday in Scotland, she introduced her customers to Fair Isle woolens and tweeds. The duke bought her a mill to secure exclusive fabrics for her new styles. Chanel was also inspired by humbler items of masculine apparel, including berets, reefer jackets, mechanics' dungarees, stonemasons' neckerchiefs, and sailor suits, which she rendered utterly luxurious for her wealthy clients. Chanel herself often wore loose sailor-style trousers, flouting the rules of sartorial etiquette that generally restricted women from wearing trousers to the beach or within the home as evening pajamas.

In 1927 *Vogue* recommended Chanel's jersey suit in soft tan wool, with collar, cuffs, blouse, and jacket lining in rose jersey, for the woman who wanted to look chic on board ship. The long-line jacket buttoned diagonally, while the skirt was box-pleated at the front. Throughout her career Chanel paid great attention to the cut of her sleeves, ensuring that they permitted the wearer to move with ease without distorting the lines of the garment. By the fall of 1929 her sports costumes were still slim but longer, with hemlines reaching below the calf.

The little black dress. Chanel had designed black dresses as early as 1913, when she made a black velvet dress with a white petal collar for Suzanne Orlandi. In April 1919 British *Vogue* reported that "Chanel takes into account the lack of motors and the general difficulty of living in Paris just now by her almost invariably black evening dresses" (p. 48). But it was not until American *Vogue* (1 October 1926) described a *garçonne*-style black day dress as "The Chanel 'Ford'—the frock that all the world will wear" (p. 69) that the little black dress took the fashion world by storm. And although the use of black in fashion has a long history, Chanel has been credited as its originator ever since.

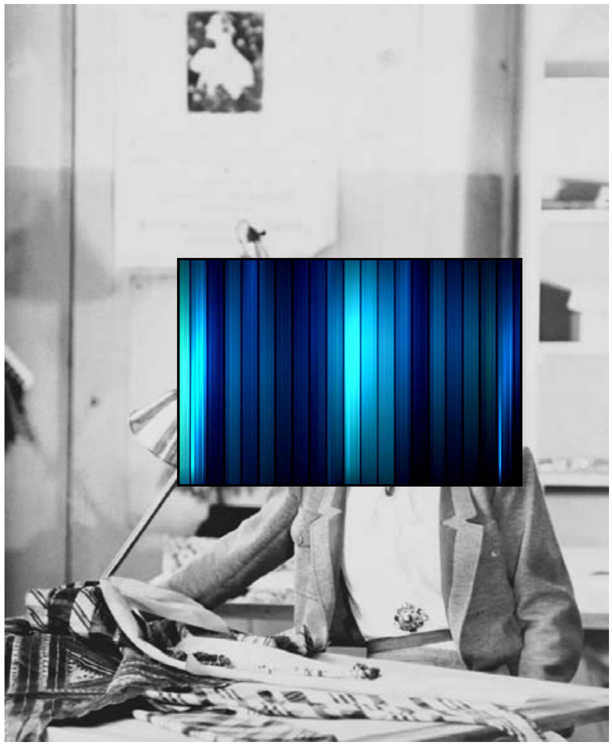
Theatrical costume. The stage was a prominent showcase for fashion designers during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chanel always moved in artistic circles, and she often supported the work of her friends both financially and by working collaboratively with them. In 1922 she designed Grecian-style costumes in coarse wool for Jean Cocteau's adaptation of Sophocles's *Antigone;* the designs were featured in French *Vogue* (1 February 1923). The following year she dressed the dancers of the Ballets russes in jersey bathing costumes and sports clothes similar to those seen in her fashion collections for the modern-realist production *Le train bleu* (1924). And in 1926 the actresses in Cocteau's *Orphée* were dressed head to toe in Chanel's latest fashions.

Jewelry. Chanel believed the role of jewelry was to decorate an ensemble rather than to flaunt wealth, and she challenged convention by wearing heaps of jewelry, often precious, during the day—even for sailing—while for evening she sometimes wore no jewelry at all. The loose, straight-cut shapes of Chanel's fashions and her use of many plain fabrics provided the perfect foil for the lavish costume jewelry that she introduced in the early 1920s. Lacking any desire to replicate precious jewels, Chanel's designs, initially made by Maison Gripoix, defied nature in their bold use of color and size. In 1924 she opened her own jewelry workshop, which was managed by the comte Étienne de Beaumont. Beaumont designed the long chains with colored stones and cross-shaped pendants that became a classic of her house. Chanel was fond of Byzantine crosses, and she was also inspired by the buttons, chains, and tassels of military costumes.

Her oversized fake pearls, worn in multiple strands, were an instant success. In 1926 Chanel created a vogue for mismatched earrings by wearing a black pearl in one ear and a white one in the other. In 1928 she introduced diamond paste jewelry and in 1929 offered "gypsy" necklaces—triple strands of red, green, and yellow beads, as well as colored beads combined with chunky wooden chains.

Fashions of the later 1920s. By the late 1920s Chanel's fashions were adorned with geometric designs. For daywear she used stripes and checks as well as patterns inspired by Fair Isle knitwear; for evening many of her black lace fabrics were combined with metallic, embroidered, or beaded laces.

At the height of her fame and with the demand for Paris couture at its peak, Chanel employed between two and three thousand workers during the mid- to late 1920s. She was said, however, to be a hard taskmaster and to pay poor wages. In 1927 she opened her London house. British *Vogue* pointed out in early June 1927 that, while the conception and feel of Chanel's current collection was essentially French, the designer had adapted it for London social life. For the Royal Ascot racing meet she offered a long-sleeved black lace dress with trailing scarf detail and, for presentation at court, an understated white taffeta dress with a train that was cut in one piece with the skirt, complemented by a simple headdress based on the Prince of Wales feathers. In September 1929 *Vogue* wrote, "When Chanel, the sponsor of the straight, chemise dress and the boyish silhouette, uses little, rippling capes on her fur coats and a high waist-line and numerous ruffles on an evening gown, then you may be sure that the feminine mode is a fact and not a fancy" (p. 35).



Gabrielle Coco Chanel. Chanel began designing at the beginning of the twentieth century, quickly gaining the attention of the fashion world with her stylishly functional daywear and her elegant evening wear.

In tune with her modernist fashion aesthetic, Chanel installed faceted glass mirrors in her Paris couture salon around 1928. These mirrors brought the advantage of allowing her to sit out of sight to watch her shows. In complete contrast to the salon, her private apartment on the third floor of 31, rue Cambon was lavish and ornate. It is now carefully preserved, decorated with Coromandel screens, Louis XIV furniture, Venetian mirrors, blackamoor sculptures, and smoked crystal and amethyst chandeliers. When designing clothes, Chanel would pare away the nonessentials for the sake of the wearer's comfort; when designing domestic interiors, on the other hand, she believed that clutter was a necessity—that it was essential to be surrounded by the objects one needed and loved.

The 1930s

Fashions of the early 1930s. Although Chanel's business may have suffered during the depression—she is said to have halved her prices in 1932—her workforce increased to around four thousand employees by 1935. Chanel's saleswomen as well as her seamstresses went on strike in June 1936 to protest their poor wages and working conditions. In April 1936 the French people voted in a left-wing coalition government headed by Leon Blum, which was followed by a number of strikes including the workers at Chanel. Chanel refused to implement the Matignon Agreement, which introduced wage increases of 7 to 15 percent, the right to collective bargaining and unionize, a 40-hour week and a 2-week paid annual holiday. Instead she fired 300 women who refused to leave the building and only later, in order to produce her next collection, agreed to introduce a workers co-operative on the understanding that she managed it (Madsen, p. 216).

From 1930 Chanel's hemlines became longer and were slightly flared; she emphasized her waists, and her jackets had soft, bloused bodices. Bows were to become a signature motif, used as decorative details on the shoulders and skirts of her garments. Cravat bows provided a feminine touch to her blouses, and crisp white frills were added around the collars and cuffs of her black suits and dresses. From 1934 Chanel used American elasticized fabrics made with a brand of yarn with a latex core called Lastex in her collections to create clothes with a crepe-like surface, and she frequently combined these with jersey.

During the 1930s she launched her cosmetics line and introduced a new perfume called Glamour. She further boosted her revenue by endorsing other manufacturers' products and designing for other companies. In 1931 she promoted Ferguson Brothers' cottons—her spring collection included cotton evening gowns—and she designed knitwear for Ellaness and raincoats for David Mosley and Sons. She also earned $2 million for her work in Hollywood that year.

Screen and stage. When hemlines dropped in 1929, Hollywood's movie studios were devastated, as thousands of reels of film were instantly rendered old-fashioned. Rather than continue to follow Parisian fashions slavishly, the studio magnate Samuel Goldwyn invited Chanel to design costumes directly for his leading female stars, including Greta Garbo, Gloria Swanson, and Marlene Dietrich. Chanel, however, produced designs for just three Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer productions: *Palmy Days* (1931), *Tonight or Never* (1931), and *The Greeks Had a Word for Them* (1932). Many actresses refused to have Chanel's style imposed on them, and her designs were either overlooked or criticized for being too understated for the screen.

In Paris, Chanel continued to design for progressive plays, providing costumes for Cocteau's *La machine infernale* (1934) as well as *Les chevaliers de la table ronde* and *Oedipe-Roi*, both of which appeared in 1937. In addition, despite her dislike of left-wing politics, she created the costumes for Jean Renoir's radical film *La marseillaise* and for *La règle du jeu*, both produced in 1938.

Jewelry. In 1932 the International Guild of Diamond Merchants commissioned Chanel to design a collection of diamonds set in platinum called Bijoux de Diamants. Having designed fake jewels during affluent times, Chanel now declared that diamonds were an investment. Along with her current lover, Paul Iribe, she presented a line of jewelry based on the themes of knots, stars, and feathers. The collection was exhibited in her own home in the rue du Faubourg-Saint-Honoré in Paris.

During the 1930s, Fulco di Santostefano della Cerda, duc di Verdura, started to design jewelry for Chanel. He had been designing textiles for her since 1927. Most significantly, di Verdura pioneered the revival of baked enamel jewelry: his chunky, baked enamel bracelets inset with jeweled Maltese crosses were particularly successful. Christian Bérard also designed occasional pieces for her, and Maison Gripoix continued to make up many of her designs—notably those in romantic floral and rococo-revival styles. From the mid- to late 1930s Chanel's heavy triangular bibs of colored stones and coins and her silk cord necklaces with tassels of brilliantly colored stones showed influences from India and Southeast Asia.

Fashions of the later 1930s. Chanel's daywear continued to be characterized by its simplicity, but—perhaps surprisingly—she participated in the vogue for Victorian-revival styles, presenting cinch-waisted, full-skirted, and bustle-backed evening gowns worn with shoulder-length lace gloves and floral accessories. Decidedly more modern was the trouser suit worn by the fashion editor Diana Vreeland in 1937–1938 that consisted of a black bolero-style jacket and high-waisted trousers entirely covered with overlapping sequins. The metallic sheen of the sequins contrasted with a soft cream silk chiffon and lace blouse with ruffled neckline and fastened with pearl buttons. Chanel's dramatic combinations of black with white or scarlet remained popular. In the late 1930s her evening wear revealed influences from gypsy and peasant sources: skirts in multicolored taffetas, sometimes striped or checked, and worn with puff-sleeved, embroidered blouses.

The war years. Chanel closed her fashion house during World War II but continued to sell her perfumes. For the duration of the war she lived in Paris at the Hotel Ritz with her German lover, an officer in the German army named Hans-Gunther von Dincklage. When Paris was liberated in 1944, Chanel fled to Switzerland and did not return to the rue Cambon for almost a decade.

The 1950s

Fashions of the 1950s. Chanel started working again at the age of seventy in 1953, partly to boost her flagging perfume sales. Her fashion philosophy remained unchanged: she extolled function and comfort in dress and declared her aim of making women look pretty and young. On 5 February 1954 she presented her first post-war collection, a line of understated suits and dresses. The general press response, however, was that Chanel was too old and out of touch with the modern market, and only a few models sold. On the other hand, American *Vogue* (15 February 1954) thought "the great revolutionist" sufficiently important to justify a three-and-a-half-page article devoted to her career and fashion philosophy: "A dress isn't right if it is uncomfortable. . . . A dress must function; place the pockets accurately for use, never a button without a button-hole. A sleeve isn't right unless the arm moves easily. Elegance in clothes means freedom to move freely" (American *Vogue*, p. 84).

"The maison Chanel might be called the 'Jersey House', for the creations of Mlle. Chanel have long been and long will be in jersey. Of late, a thin firm quality of cotton velvet has been used by Chanel for cloaks and certain frocks." (British *Vogue*, early October 1917, p. 30).

By modernizing the formulas that had brought her so much success earlier in her career, Chanel succeeded in reestablishing herself as a fashion designer of international stature. For spring–summer 1955 she presented a gray jersey suit consisting of a softly-fitted jacket complete with pockets and a full box-pleated skirt, worn with a bow-tied white blouse. Navy jersey suits had schoolgirl-style blazer jackets and were banded with white trim or worn with knitwear striped in navy and white. Buttons were often covered in fabrics that matched the suit, and sometimes meticulously trimmed with the contrasting fabric that was used to outline the pockets and form the attached shirt cuffs. Other buttons were molded in bold brass, sometimes featuring a lion's head—Chanel's birth sign was Leo—or made in more delicate gilt, perhaps with a cutwork floral motif.

In 1957 Chanel introduced braid trimmings to her cardigan-style jackets. For fall–winter 1957–1958 her suits had a wrap pleat that ran down the side of the skirt and concealed a trouser-style pocket. Unusually, she showed a hat with every model—these were upturned sailor-style hats made in soft fabrics that matched the suits with which they were worn. As always, she paid great attention to the linings of her coats and suits: this season, camel hair was lined with red guanaco, gray tweed with white squirrel, and red velour with fluffy gray goatskin. Her coats were cut in the same style as her suit jackets, simply lengthened to the same level as the skirt hem.

Chanel's modern suits in nubby wools, tweeds, or jersey fabrics with their multiple functional pockets, teamed with gilt chains and fake pearl jewelry; her distinctive handbags; and her sling-back shoes with contrasting toe caps, became fashion staples for the affluent. And as before, her designs were widely copied for the mass market: the company sold toiles to the British chain store Wallis so that it could legitimately reproduce Chanel's designs.

For evening Chanel offered variations on her suits in such lavish materials as gold-trimmed brocade, and she remained faithful to her love of black-and-white laces for dresses. A cocktail dress from the spring–summer 1958 collection had a bodice of navy-and-white-striped silk with a large bow at the neckline and a full skirt of white organdy, banded at the hem with the same striped fabric.

For spring–summer 1959 she presented a black lace dress, dipping low at the back and molded to the hipline, which was threaded with black ribbon and flared into a full skirt; it was accessorized with a long chain with linked pearls and chunky, colored stones. That season the collection was modeled by the designer's friends—stylish young women who were accustomed to wearing her clothes.

Perfumes and accessories. In 1954 Chanel introduced a man's fragrance, Pour Monsieur. The same year Pierre and Paul Wertheimer, who already owned Parfums Chanel, bought her entire business, and it remained within the Wertheimer family as of the early 2000s.

In 1955 Chanel introduced quilted handbags with shoulder straps of leather plaited with gilt chains with flattened links, similar to those used to weight her jackets. The bags were offered in leather or jersey and were initially available in beige, navy, brown, and black, lined with red grosgrain or leather—Chanel chose a lighter color for the interior to help women find small items in their bags. Updated each season, Chanel's distinctive handbags were still top sellers in the early 2000s.

The 1960s

By 1960 fashions by Chanel were no longer at the forefront of style. She abhorred the miniskirt, believing that a woman's knees were always best concealed. But nonetheless she continued to clothe a faithful clientele in suits that were subtly reworked each season. One of her most high-profile and stylish clients from this period was Jacqueline Kennedy.

A suit that Chanel herself wore during the mid-1960s (model 37750) was purchased by London's Victoria and Albert Museum. It consists of a three-quarter-length jacket and a dress made of black worsted crepe that reaches just below the knee, accessorized with a black silk stockinette-brimmed hat. Pristine white collar and cuffs are integral to the jacket—some clients complained that these touches wore out long before the jacket itself. Neat, unadorned, monochrome, and entirely functional, the suit has echoes of a school uniform.

In 1962 Chanel was again invited to design for the cinema, this time to dress Romy Schneider in Luchino Visconti's film *Boccaccio '70* and Delphine Seyrig in Alain Resnais's film *Last Year at Marienbad*. In 1969 Chanel herself became the subject of a Broadway musical called *Coco*, written by Alan Jay Lerner. With Chanel's permission, the title role was played by Katharine Hepburn.

Chanel died on 10 January 1971 in the midst of preparing her spring–summer 1971 collection. Her personal clothing and jewelry was sold at auction in London in December 1978.

Postscript

Following Chanel's death, Gaston Berthelot was appointed to design classic garments in the Chanel tradition between 1971 and 1973. The perfume No. 19, named after Chanel's birthday, was launched in 1970. From 1974 Jean Cazaubon and Yvonne Dudel designed the couture line; in 1978 a ready-to-wear range was designed by Philippe Guibourgé; and in 1980 Ramon Esparza joined the couture team. But it was not until 1983, when Karl Lagerfeld was appointed chief designer, that the House of Chanel once again made fashion headlines: it remains the ultimate in desirability for a clientele of all ages in the early 2000s.

Since his appointment, Lagerfeld has continued to reference the Chanel style, sometimes offering classic interpretations and at other times making witty and ironic statements. Ultimately, he has developed the label to make it relevant to the contemporary market. Like its founder, he draws on sportswear for inspiration: surfing and cycling outfits inspired his fall–winter 1990–1991 collection; training shoes bearing the distinctive interlocked CC logo were shown for fall–winter 1993–1994; nautical styles were shown for spring–summer 1994; and skiwear styles were featured in fall–winter 2003–2004. While Chanel looked to the utilitarian dress of the working man, Lagerfeld derives his ideas from contemporary social subcultures. He has presented fetishistic PVC jeans, lace-up bustiers, dog collars, and plastic raincoats (fall–winter 1991–1992); biker-style leather jackets, trousers, and boots (fall–winter 1992–1993 and fall–winter 2002–2003); B-Boy- and Ragga-inspired styles (spring–summer 1994); and a more eclectic "rock chic" (fall–winter 2003–2004). The tweed suit continues to be a mainstay of the collections, satisfying classic tastes with cardigan styles and the more adventurous younger clients with tweed bra tops and micro-miniskirts. The classic cardigan-style suit has also been offered in terry cloth, while denim jackets are trimmed with Chanel's favorite camellia flowers (both for spring–summer 1991). Costume jewelry is used in abundance, and the little black dress is still inextricably associated with the name of Chanel.

To ensure the survival of the refined craft skills of the couture industry, the House of Chanel purchased five artisan workshops in 2002: the top embroiderer François Lesage, the expert shoemaker Raymond Massaro, the flamboyant milliner Maison Michel, the feather specialist André Lemarié, and the leading costume jeweler Desrues.

Chanel perfumes remain top sellers. Since the founder died, the company has launched Cristalle (1974), Coco (1984), No. 5 Eau de Parfum (1986), Allure (1996), Coco Mademoiselle (2001), and Chance (2002) for women and Antaeus pour Homme (1981), Egoïste (1990), Platinum Egoïste (1993), and Allure Homme (1999) for men.

See also **Costume Jewelry; Handbags and Purses; Lagerfeld, Karl; Little Black Dress; Paris Fashion; Perfume; Vreeland, Diana.**

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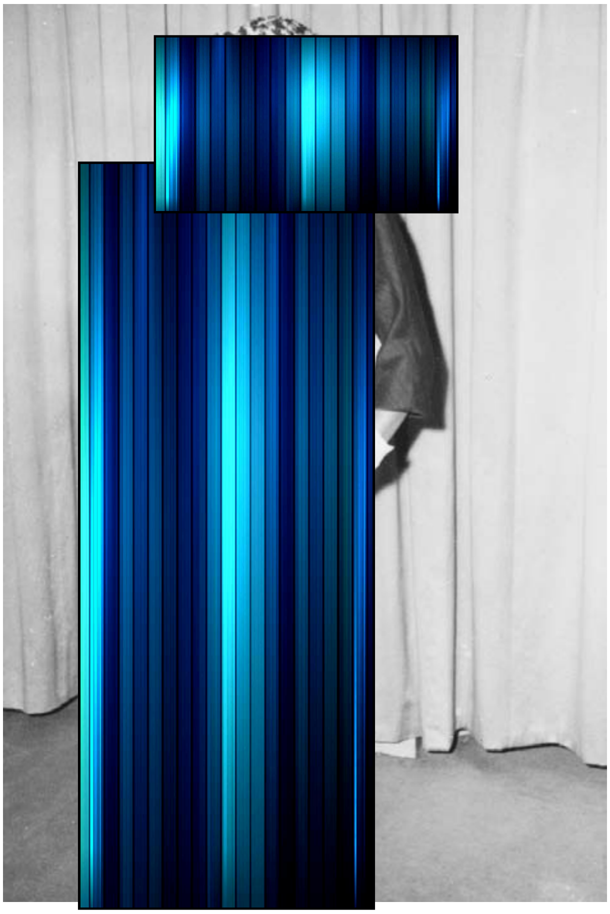
Amy de la Haye

CHEMISE DRESS The term "chemise dress" has traditionally been used to describe a dress cut straight at the sides and left unfitted at the waist, in the manner of the undergarment known as a chemise. This term has most often been used to describe outer garments during transitional periods in fashion (most notably during the 1780s and the 1950s), in order to distinguish new, unfitted styles from the prevailing, fitted silhouette.

In the eighteenth century, the primary female undergarment was the chemise, or shift, a knee-length, loose-fitting garment of white linen with a straight or slightly triangular silhouette. The term chemise was first used to describe an outer garment in the 1780s, when Queen Marie Antoinette of France popularized a kind of informal, loose-fitting gown of sheer white cotton, resembling a chemise in both cut and material, which became known as the *chemise à la reine*. After chemise dresses, cut straight and gathered to a high waist with a sash or drawstring, became the dominant fashion, around 1800, there was no longer a need to describe their silhouette, and the term "chemise" reverted almost exclusively to its former meaning.



Christian Dior chemise. Beltless sack dresses such as this were introduced in 1957, immediately spawning great debate. While many praised their comfort, others complained because they concealed the feminine figure. © HULTONARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Dresses were next described as chemises around 1910, when loosely belted, columnar dresses recalling early-nineteenth-century styles became popular. (The chemise was still worn as lingerie, but by the 1920s, it evolved into a hip-length, tubular, camisole-like garment with narrow straps.) Though the straight, unbelted dresses of the 1920s were more like chemises than any previous dress style, and have since been called chemise dresses by historians, the term was only occasionally used at the time. After fashion returned to a more fitted silhouette in the 1930s, the chemise dress reappeared around 1940, this time in the form of a dress cut to fall straight from the shoulders, or gathered into a yoke, but always meant to be worn belted at the waist.

The most important decade of the twentieth century for the chemise dress, however, was the 1950s. Early in that decade, the Parisian couturiers Christian Dior and Cristóbal Balenciaga, along with other designers in Europe and the United States, began experimenting with unfitted sheath and tunic dresses, and belted chemise dresses continued to be popular. The major change, however, came in 1957, when both Dior and Balenciaga presented straight, unbelted chemise dresses that bypassed the waist entirely. Called chemises or sacks, these dresses were considered a revolutionary change of direction in fashion, and became the subject of heated debate in the American press; many commentators, particularly men, considered such figure-concealing styles ugly and unnatural, while proponents praised their ease and clean-lined, modern look. (The term "sack" may have been a reference to the eighteenth-century sacque, or sack-back gown, which Balenciaga revived in the form of chemises with back fullness, but it was also an apt description of the bag-like chemise silhouette.)

Waistless styles, both straight and A-line, continued to be controversial over the next several years, but they were gradually incorporated into most wardrobes, and became a staple of 1960s fashion. The term "chemise," however, faded from use early in the 1960s, possibly because the press uproar of 1957 and 1958 had given it negative connotations (or because the lingerie chemise was a distant memory, having last been worn in the 1920s). Straight-cut dresses were now called shifts; more voluminous variants were the muumuu and tent dress. After another period of more fitted garments in the 1970s, unfitted dresses were again revived in the 1980s. Since then, however, women have had the option of choosing from a variety of silhouettes, and unfitted styles have simply been described as straight, or loose-fitting.

See also **A-Line Dress; Dior, Christian.**

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Susan Ward

CHENILLE. *See* **Yarns.**

CHEONGSAM. *See* **Qipao.**

CHILDREN'S CLOTHING All societies define childhood within certain parameters. From infancy to adolescence, there are societal expectations throughout the various stages of children's development concerning their capabilities and limitations, as well as how they should act and look. Clothing plays an integral role of the "look" of childhood in every era. An overview history of children's clothing provides insights into changes

Nurse holding swaddled newborn in Mongolia. Although not practiced in Western cultures since the eighteenth century, swaddling infants continues to be practiced in many South American, eastern European, and Asian cultures. © DEAN CONGER/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in child-rearing theory and practice, gender roles, the position of children in society, and similarities and differences between children's and adults' clothing.

Before the early-twentieth century, clothing worn by infants and young children shared a distinctive common feature—their clothing lacked sex distinction. The origins of this aspect of children's clothing stem from the sixteenth century, when European men and older boys began wearing doublets paired with breeches. Previously, both males and females of all ages (except for swaddled infants) had worn some type of gown, robe, or tunic. Once men began wearing bifurcated garments, however, male and female clothing became much more distinct. Breeches were reserved for men and older boys, while the members of society most subordinate to men—all females and the youngest boys—continued to wear skirted garments. To modern eyes, it may appear that when little boys of the past were attired in skirts or dresses, they were dressed "like girls," but to their contemporaries, boys and girls were simply dressed alike in clothing appropriate for small children.

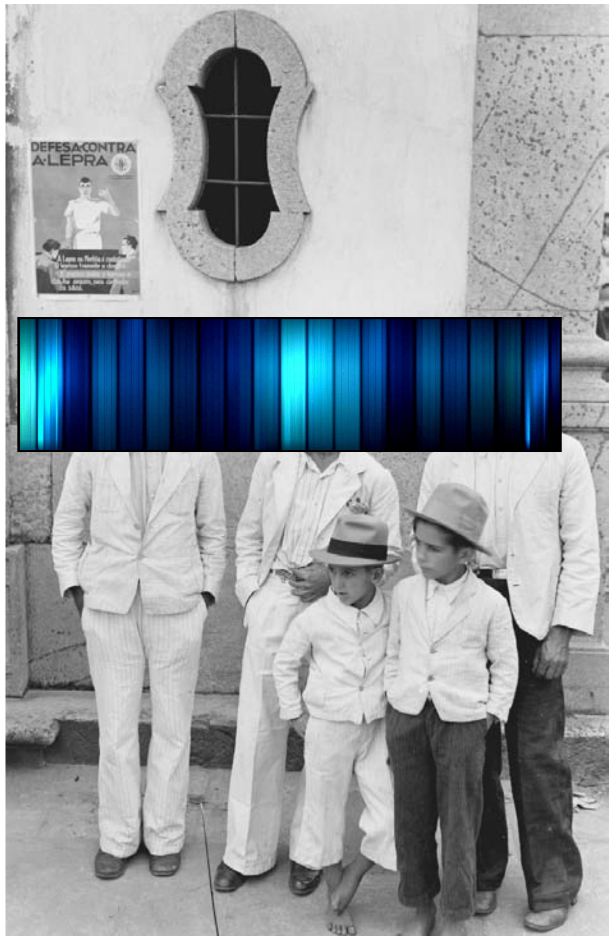
New theories put forth in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries about children and childhood greatly influenced children's clothing. The custom of swaddling—immobilizing newborn infants with linen wrappings over their diapers and shirts—had been in place for centuries. A traditional belief underlying swaddling was that babies' limbs needed to be straightened and supported or they would grow bent and misshapen. In the eighteenth century, medical concerns that swaddling weakened rather than strengthened children's limbs merged with new ideas about the nature of children and how they should be raised to gradually reduce the use of swaddling. For example, in philosopher John Locke's influential 1693 publication, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, he advocated abandoning swaddling altogether in favor of loose, lightweight clothing that allowed children freedom of movement. Over the next century, various authors expanded on Locke's theories and by 1800, most English and American parents no longer swaddled their children.

When swaddling was still customary in the early years of the eighteenth century, babies were taken out of swaddling at between two and four months and put into "slips," long linen or cotton dresses with fitted bodices and full skirts that extended a foot or more beyond the children's feet; these long slip outfits were called "long clothes." Once children began crawling and later walking, they wore "short clothes"—ankle-length skirts, called petticoats, paired with fitted, back-opening bodices that were frequently boned or stiffened. Girls wore this style until thirteen or fourteen, when they put on the front-opening gowns of adult women. Little boys wore petticoat outfits until they reached at least age four through seven, when they were "breeched" or considered mature enough to wear miniature versions of adult male clothing—coats, vests, and the exclusively male breeches. The age of breeching varied, depending on parental choice and the boy's maturity, which was defined as how masculine he appeared and acted. Breeching was an important rite of passage for young boys because it symbolized they were leaving childhood behind and beginning to take on male roles and responsibilities.

As the practice of swaddling declined, babies wore the long slip dresses from birth to about five months old. For crawling infants and toddlers, "frocks," ankle-length versions of the slip dresses, replaced stiffened bodices and petticoats by the 1760s. The clothing worn by older children also became less constricting in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Until the 1770s, when little boys were breeched, they essentially went from the petticoats of childhood into the adult male clothing appropriate for their station in life. Although boys were still breeched by about six or seven during the 1770s, they now began to wear somewhat more relaxed versions of adult clothing—looser-cut coats and open-necked shirts with ruffled collars—until their early teen years. Also in the 1770s, instead of the more formal bodice and petticoat combinations, girls continued to wear frock-style dresses, usually accented with wide waist sashes, until they were old enough for adult clothing.

These modifications in children's clothing affected women's clothing—the fine muslin chemise dresses worn by fashionable women of the 1780s and 1790s look remarkably similar to the frocks young children had been wearing since mid-century. However, the development of women's chemise dresses is more complex than the garments simply being adult versions of children's frocks. Beginning in the 1770s, there was general movement away from stiff brocades to softer silk and cotton fabrics in women's clothing, a trend that converged with a strong interest in the dress of classical antiquity in the 1780s and 1790s. Children's sheer white cotton frocks, accented with waist sashes giving a high-waisted look, provided a convenient model for women in the development of neoclassical fashions. By 1800, women, girls, and toddler boys all wore similarly styled, high-waisted dresses made up in lightweight silks and cottons.

A new type of transitional attire, specifically designed for small boys between the ages of three and seven, began to be worn about 1780. These outfits, called "skeleton suits" because they fit close to the body, consisted of ankle-length trousers buttoned onto a short jacket worn over a shirt with a wide collar edged in ruffles. Trousers, which came from lower class and military clothing, identified skeleton suits as male clothing, but at the same time set them apart from the suits with knee-length breeches worn by older boys and men. In the early 1800s, even after trousers had supplanted breeches as the fashionable choice, the jumpsuit-like skeleton suits, so unlike men's suits in style, still continued as distinctive dress for young boys. Babies in slips and toddlers in frocks, little boys in skeleton suits, and older boys who wore frilled collar shirts until their early teens, signaled a new attitude that extended childhood for boys, dividing it into the three distinct stages of infancy, boyhood, and youth.



Brazilian men and boys in front of a church, 1942. While children's clothing was once more distinct from that of adults, by the twentieth century children's dress more often mimicked that of their elders. © GENEVIEVE NAYLOR/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In the nineteenth century, infants' clothing continued trends in place at the end of the previous century. Newborn layettes consisted of the ubiquitous long dresses (long clothes) and numerous undershirts, day and night caps, napkins (diapers), petticoats, nightgowns, socks, plus one or two outerwear cloaks. These garments were made by mothers or commissioned from seamstresses, with ready-made layettes available by the late 1800s. While it is possible to date nineteenth-century baby dresses based on subtle variations in cut and the type and placement of trims, the basic dresses changed little over the century. Baby dresses were generally made in white cotton because it was easily washed and bleached and were styled with fitted bodices or yokes and long full skirts. Because many dresses were also ornately trimmed with embroidery and lace, today such garments are often mistaken as special occasion attire. Most of these dresses, however, were everyday outfits—the standard baby "uniforms" of the time. When infants became more active at between four and eight months, they went into calf-length white dresses (short clothes). By mid-century, colorful prints gained popularity for older toddlers' dresses.

The ritual of little boys leaving off dresses for male clothing continued to be called "breeching" in the nineteenth century, although now trousers, not breeches, were the symbolic male garments. The main factors determining breeching age were the time during the century when a boy was born, plus parental preference and the boy's maturity. At the beginning of the 1800s, little boys went into their skeleton suits at about age three, wearing these outfits until they were six or seven. Tunic suits with knee-length tunic dresses over long trousers began to replace skeleton suits in the late 1820s, staying in fashion until the early 1860s. During this period, boys were not considered officially breeched until they wore trousers without the tunic overdresses at about age six or seven. Once breeched, boys dressed in cropped, waist-length jackets until their early teens, when they donned cutaway frock coats with knee-length tails, signifying they had finally achieved full adult sartorial status.

From the 1860s to the 1880s, boys from four to seven wore skirted outfits that were usually simpler than girls' styles with more subdued colors and trim or "masculine"

Young girls in Brownie uniforms. Children, in a mimicry of adults, wear uniforms for certain occasions. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

details such as a vest. Knickerbockers or knickers, knee-length pants for boys aged seven to fourteen, were introduced about 1860. Over the next thirty years, boys were breeched into the popular knickers outfits at younger and younger ages. The knickers worn by the youngest boys from three to six were paired with short jackets over lace-collared blouses, belted tunics, or sailor tops. These outfits contrasted sharply to the versions worn by their older brothers, whose knickers suits had tailored wool jackets, stiff-collared shirts, and four-in-hand ties. From the 1870s to the 1940s, the major difference between men's and schoolboys' clothing was that men wore long trousers and boys, short ones. By the end of the 1890s, when the breeching age had dropped from a mid century high of six or seven to between two and three, the point at which boys began wearing long trousers was frequently seen as a more significant event than breeching.

Unlike boys, as nineteenth-century girls grew older their clothing did not undergo a dramatic transformation. Females wore skirted outfits throughout their lives from infancy to old age; however, the garments' cut and style details did change with age. The most basic difference between girls' and women's dresses was that the children's dresses were shorter, gradually lengthening to floor length by the mid-teen years. When neoclassical styles were in fashion in the early years of the century, females of all ages and toddler boys wore similarly styled, high-waisted dresses with narrow columnar skirts. At this time, the shorter length of the children's dresses was the main factor distinguishing them from adult clothing.

From about 1830 and into the mid-1860s, when women wore fitted waist-length bodices and full skirts in various styles, most dresses worn by toddler boys and preadolescent girls were more similar to each other than to women's fashions. The characteristic "child's" dress of this period featured a wide off-the-shoulder neckline, short puffed or cap sleeves, an unfitted bodice that usually gathered into an inset waistband, and a full skirt that varied in length from slightly-below-knee length for toddlers to calf length for the oldest girls. Dresses of this design, made up in printed cottons or wool challis, were typical daywear for girls until they went into adult women's clothing in their mid-teens. Both girls and boys wore white cotton ankle-length trousers, called pantaloons or pantalets, under their dresses. In the 1820s, when pantalets were first introduced, girls wearing them provoked controversy because bifurcated garments of any style represented masculinity. Gradually pantalets became accepted for both girls and women as underwear, and as "private" female dress did not pose a threat to male power. For little boys, pantalets' status as feminine underwear meant that, even though pantalets were technically trousers, they were not viewed as comparable to the trousers boys put on when they were breeched.

Some mid-nineteenth-century children's dresses, especially best dresses for girls over ten, were reflective of women's styles with currently fashionable sleeve, bodice, and trim details. This trend accelerated in the late 1860s when bustle styles came into fashion. Children's dresses echoed women's clothing with additional back fullness, more elaborate trims, and a new cut that used princess seaming for shaping. At the height of the bustle's popularity in the 1870s and 1880s, dresses for girls between nine and fourteen had fitted bodices with skirts that draped over small bustles, differing only in length from women's garments. In the 1890s, simpler, tailored outfits with pleated skirts and sailor blouses or dresses with full skirts gathered onto yoked bodices signaled that clothing was becoming more practical for increasingly active schoolgirls.

New concepts of child rearing emphasizing children's developmental stages had a significant impact on young children's clothing beginning in the late-nineteenth century. Contemporary research supported crawling as an important step in children's growth, and one-piece rompers with full bloomer-like pants, called "creeping aprons," were devised in the 1890s as cover-ups for the short white dresses worn by crawling infants. Soon, active babies of both sexes were wearing rompers without the dresses underneath. Despite earlier controversy about females wearing pants, rompers were accepted without debate as playwear for toddler girls, becoming the first unisex pants outfits.

Baby books into the 1910s had space for mothers to note when their babies first wore "short clothes," but this time-honored transition from long white dresses to short ones was quickly becoming a thing of the past. By the 1920s, infants wore short, white dresses from birth to about six months with long dresses relegated to ceremonial wear as christening gowns. New babies continued to wear short dresses into the 1950s, although by this time, boys only did so for the first few weeks of their lives.

As rompers styles for both day and night wear replaced dresses, they became the twentieth century's "uniforms" for babies and young children. The first rompers were made up in solid colors and gingham checks, providing a lively contrast to traditional baby white. In the 1920s, whimsical floral and animal motifs began to appear on children's clothing. At first these designs were as unisex as the rompers they decorated, but gradually certain motifs were associated more with one sex or the other—for example, dogs and drums with boys and kittens and flowers with girls. Once such sex-typed motifs appeared on clothing, they designated even styles that were identical in cut as either a "boy's" or a "girl's" garment. Today, there is an abundance of children's clothing on the market decorated with animals, flowers, sports paraphernalia, cartoon characters, or other icons of popular culture—most of these motifs have masculine or feminine connotations in our society and so do the garments on which they appear.

A baby layette set. Parents in the late twentieth century could choose between gender-neutral and gender-specific clothing for their babies. Accents such as ribbons and flowers are designed for wear by a baby girl, wheareas sports- or automobile-related graphics are designed for boys. TIME LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Colors used for children's clothing also have gender symbolism—today, this is most universally represented by blue for infant boys and pink for girls. Yet it took many years for this color code to be come standardized. Pink and blue were associated with gender by the 1910s, and there were early efforts to codify the colors for one sex or the other, as illustrated by this 1916 statement from the trade publication *Infants' and Children's Wear Review:* "[T]he generally accepted rule is pink for the boy and blue for the girl." As late as 1939, a *Parents Magazine* article rationalized that because pink was a pale shade of red, the color of the war god Mars, it was appropriate for boys, while blue's association with Venus and the Madonna made it the color for girls. In practice, the colors were used interchangeably for both young boys' and girls' clothing until after World War II, when a combination of public opinion and manufacturer's clout ordained pink for girls and blue for boys—a dictum that still holds true today.

Even with this mandate, however, blue continues to be permissible for girls' clothing while pink is rejected for boys' attire. The fact that girls can wear both pink (feminine) and blue (masculine) colors, while boys wear only blue, illustrates an important trend begun in the late 1800s: over time, garments, trims, or colors once worn by both young boys and girls, but traditionally associated with female clothing, have become unacceptable for boys' clothing. As boys' attire grew less "feminine" during the twentieth century, shedding trimmings and ornamental details such as lace and ruffles, girls' clothing grew ever more "masculine." A paradoxical example of this progression occurred in the 1970s, when parents involved in "nonsexist" child-rearing pressed manufacturers for "gender-free" children's clothes. Ironically, the resulting pants outfits were only gender-free in the sense that they used styles, colors, and trims currently acceptable for boys, eliminating any "feminine" decorations such as pink fabrics or ruffled trim.

Over the course of the twentieth century, those formerly male-only garments—trousers—became increasingly accepted attire for girls and women. As toddler girls outgrew their rompers in the 1920s, new play clothes for three- to five-year-olds, designed with full bloomer pants underneath short dresses, were the first outfits to extend the age at which girls could wear pants. By the 1940s, girls of all ages wore pants outfits at home and for casual public events, but they were still expected—if not required—to wear dresses and skirts for school, church, parties, and even for shopping. About 1970, trousers' strong masculine connection had eroded to the point that school and office dress codes finally sanctioned trousers for girls and women. Today, girls can wear pants outfits in nearly every social situation. Many of these pant styles, such as blue jeans, are essentially unisex in design and cut, but many others are strongly sex-typed through decoration and color.

Adolescence has always been a time of challenge and separation for children and parents but, before the twentieth century, teenagers did not routinely express their independence through appearance. Instead, with the exception of a few eccentrics, adolescents accepted current fashion dictates and ultimately dressed like their parents. Since the early twentieth century, however, children have regularly conveyed teenage rebellion through dress and appearance, often with styles quite at odds with conventional dress. The jazz generation of the 1920s was the first to create a special youth culture, with each succeeding generation concocting its own unique crazes. But teenage vogues such as bobby sox in the 1940s or poodle skirts in the 1950s did not exert much influence on contemporary adult clothing and, as teens moved into adulthood, they left behind such fads. It was not until the 1960s, when the baby-boom generation entered adolescence that styles favored by teenagers, like miniskirts, colorful male shirts, or "hippie" jeans and T-shirts, usurped more conservative adult styles and became an important part of mainstream fashion. Since that time, youth culture has continued to have an important impact on fashion, with many styles blurring the lines between children's and adult clothing.

See also **Shoes, Children's; Teenage Fashions.**

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Colleen R. Callahan

CHINA: HISTORY OF DRESS Chinese clothing changed considerably over the course of some 5,000 years of history, from the Bronze Age into the twentieth century, but also maintained elements of long-term continuity during that span of time. The story of dress in China is a story of wrapped garments in silk, hemp, or cotton, and of superb technical skills in weaving, dyeing, embroidery, and other textile arts as applied to clothing. After the Chinese Revolution of 1911, new styles arose to replace traditions of clothing that seemed inappropriate to the modern era.

Throughout their history, the Chinese used textiles and clothing, along with other cultural markers (such as cuisine and the distinctive Chinese written language) to distinguish themselves from peoples on their frontiers whom they regarded as "uncivilized." The Chinese regarded silk, hemp, and (later) cotton as "civilized" fabrics; they strongly disliked woolen cloth, because it was associated with the woven or felted woolen clothing of animal-herding nomads of the northern steppes.

Essential to the clothed look of all adults was a proper hairdo—the hair grown long and put up in a bun or topknot, or, for men during China's last imperial dynasty, worn in a braided queue—and some kind of hat or other headgear. The rite of passage of a boy to manhood was the "capping ceremony," described in early ritual texts. No respectable male adult would appear in public without some kind of head covering, whether a soft cloth cap for informal wear, or a stiff, black silk or horsehair hat with "wing" appendages for officials of the civil service. To appear "with hair unbound and with garments that wrap to the left," as Confucius put it, was to behave as an uncivilized person. Agricultural workers of both sexes have traditionally worn broad conical hats woven of bamboo, palm leaves, or other plant materials, in shapes and patterns that reflect local custom and, in some cases, ethnicity of minority populations.

The clothing of members of the elite was distinguished from that of commoners by cut and style as well as by fabric, but the basic garment for all classes and both sexes was a loosely cut robe with sleeves that varied from wide to narrow, worn with the left front panel lapped over the right panel, the whole garment fastened closed with a sash. Details of this garment changed greatly over time, but the basic idea endured. Upper-class men and women wore this garment in a long (ankle-length) version, often with wide, dangling sleeves; men's and women's garments were distinguished by details of cut and decoration. Sometimes a coat or jacket was worn over the robe itself. A variant for upper-class women was a shorter robe with tighter-fitting sleeves, worn over a skirt. Working-class men and women wore a shorter version of the robe—thigh-length or knee-length—with trousers or leggings, or a skirt; members of both sexes wore both skirts and trousers. In cold weather, people of all classes wore padded and quilted clothing of fabrics appropriate to their class. Silk floss—broken and tangled silk fibers left over from processing silk cocoons—made a lightweight, warm padding material for such winter garments.

Men's clothing was often made in solid, dark colors, except for clothing worn at court, which was often brightly ornamented with woven, dyed, or embroidered patterns. Women's clothing was generally more colorful than men's. The well-known "dragon robes" of Chinese emperors and high officials were a relatively late development, confined to the last few centuries of imperial history. With the fall of the last imperial dynasty in 1911, new styles of clothing were adopted, as people struggled to find ways of dressing that would be both "Chinese" and "modern."

Cloth and Clothing in Ancient China

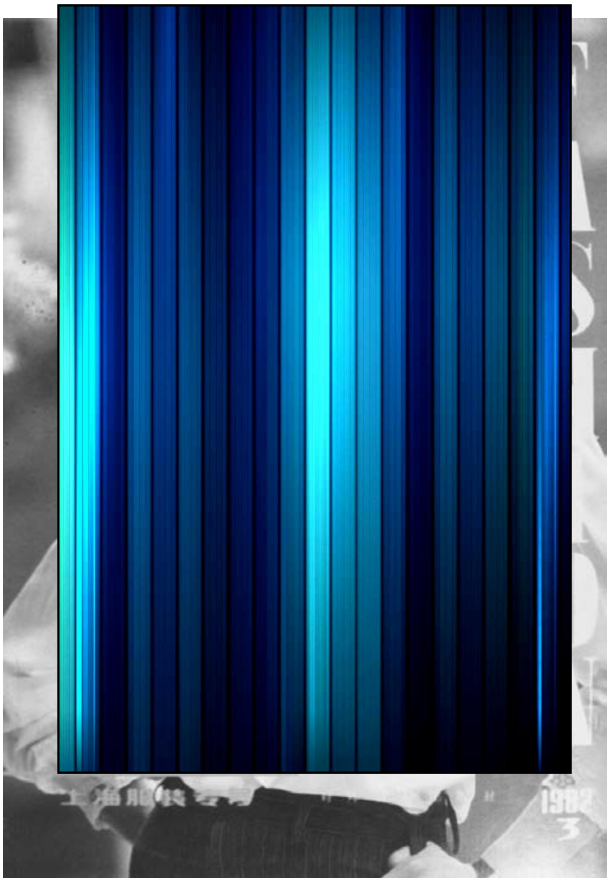
The area that is now called "China" coalesced as a civilization from several centers of Neolithic culture, including among others Liaodong in the northeast; the North China Plain westward to the Wei River Valley; the foothills of Shandong in the east; the lower and middle reaches of the Yangtze River Valley; the Sichuan Basin; and several areas on the southeastern coast. These centers of Neolithic cultures almost certainly represent several distinct ethnolinguistic groups and can readily be differentiated on the basis of material culture. On the other hand, they were in contact with each other through trade, warfare, and other means, and over the long run all of them were subsumed into the political and cultural entity of China. Thus the term "ancient China" is a phrase of convenience that masks significant regional cultural variation. Nevertheless, some generalizations apply.

The domestication of silkworms, the production of silk fiber, and the weaving of silk cloth go back to at least the third millennium B.C.E. in northern China, and possibly even earlier in the Yangtze River Valley. Archaeological evidence for this survives tombs from that era; pottery objects sometimes preserve the imprint of silk cloth in damp clay, and in some cases layers of corrosion on bronze vessels show clear traces of the silk cloth in which the vessels had been wrapped. Silk was always the preferred fabric of China's elite from ancient times onward. As a proverbial phrase put it, the upper classes wore silk, the lower classes wore hempen cloth (though after about 1200 C.E. cotton became the principal cloth of the masses).

Depictions of clothed humans on bronze and pottery vessels contemporary with the Shang Dynasty (c. 1550–1046 B.C.E.) of the North China Plain show that men and women of the elite ranks of society wore long gowns of patterned cloth. Large bronze statues from the Sanxingdui Culture of Sichuan, dating to the late second millennium B.C.E., show what appears to be brocade or embroidery at the hemlines of the wearer's long gowns. Later depictions of commoners portray them in short jackets and trousers or loincloths for men, and jackets and skirts for women. Soldiers are shown in armored vests worn over long-sleeved jackets, with trousers and boots.

Ceramic statuette of a woman in empire-line dress. During the Tang Dynasty an empire-waisted dress tied below the bustline and a short jacket became a popular ensemble. John S. Major. Reproduced by permission.

Chinese silk textiles of the later first millennium B.C.E. (the Warring States Period, 481–221 B.C.E.) testify to the possibility of making very colorful and elaborately decorated clothing at the time. Surviving textiles also demonstrate the widespread appeal of Chinese silk in other parts of Asia. Examples of cloth woven in the Yangtze River Valley during the Warring States Period have been discovered in archaeological sites as far away as Turkestan and southern Siberia. Painted wooden figurines found in tombs from the state of Chu, in the Yangtze River Valley, depict men and women in long gowns of white silk patterned with swirling figural motifs in red, brown, blue, and other colors; the gowns are cut in such a way that the left panel wraps over the right one in a spiral that goes completely around the body. The gowns of the women are closed with broad sashes in contrasting colors, while the men wear narrower sashes. Bronze sash-hooks are common in tombs from the second half of the first millennium B.C.E., showing that the style of narrow waist sashes lasted for a long time. Elite burials also demonstrate a long-enduring custom of the wearing of jade necklaces and other jewelry.



Chinese fashion magazine cover during the post-Mao period. Fashionable clothing returned to China in 1978, and by the 1980s the fashion industry surged with a re-establishment of fashion magazines, shows, and classes. JOHN S. MAJOR. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Han Dynasty

Under the Qin (221–206 B.C.E.) and the Han (206 B.C.E.–7 C.E..; restored 25–220 C.E.), dynasties, China was unified under imperial rule for the first time, expanding to incorporate much of the territory within China's boundaries today. The famous underground terra-cotta army of the First Emperor of Qin gives vivid evidence of the clothing of soldiers and officers, again showing the basic theme of long gowns for elites, shorter jackets for commoners. One sees also that all of the soldiers are shown with elaborately dressed hair, worn with headgear ranging from simple head cloths to formal official caps. Cavalry warfare was of increasing significance in China during the Qin and Han periods; in funerary statuettes and murals, riders are often shown wearing long-sleeved, hip-length jackets and padded trousers.

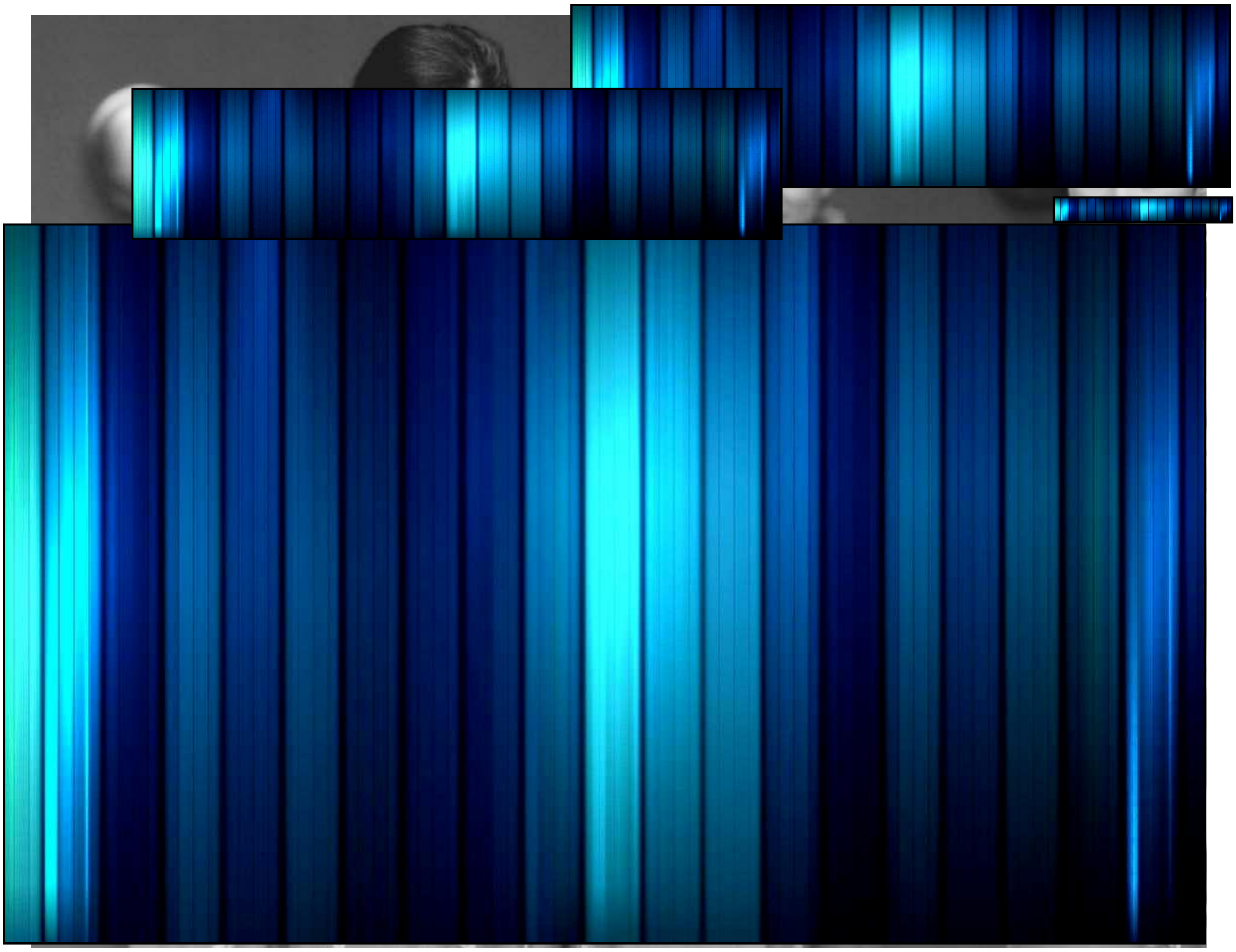
The well-preserved tomb of the Lady of Dai at Mawangdui, near Changsha (Hunan Province, in south-central China) has yielded hundreds of silk dress items and textiles, from spiral-wrapped or right-side-fastening gowns, to mittens, socks, slippers, wrapped skirts, and other garments, and bolts of uncut and unsewn silk. The textiles show a great range of dyed colors and weaving and decorating techniques, including tabby, twill, brocade, gauze, damask, and embroidery. Textual evidence from the Han period shows that government authorities attempted through sumptuary laws to restrict the use of such textiles to members of the elite landowning class, but that townsmen including merchants and artisans were finding ways to acquire and wear them also.

The period 220–589 C.E. (that is, from the fall of the Han to the rise of the Sui Dynasty), was one of disunity, when northern China was frequently ruled by dynasties of invaders from the northern frontier, while southern China remained under the control of a series of weak ethnically Chinese rulers. Depictions of dress from northern China thus show a predominance of styles suitable for horse-riding peoples. Elite men are sometimes shown wearing thigh-length wrapped jackets over skirts or voluminous skirtlike trousers. In southern China the traditions of colorful Yangtze River Valley silks predominated (though with a discernible trend toward plainer everyday clothing for elite men). Buddhism arrived in China via Central Asia during the late Han period, prompting the production of typical patchwork Buddhist monks' robes, as well as more formal embroidered or appliqué ecclesiastical garments.

The Tang Dynasty

Under the Sui (589–618) and Tang (618–907) dynasties, China was reunified and entered upon a period of unprecedented wealth and cultural brilliance. The capital city of Chang'an (now Xi'an) was, during the eighth century, the largest and most cosmopolitan city in the world. It supported a true fashion system, comparable to that of the modern West, in which rapidly-changing prevailing modes were adopted by fashion leaders and widely disseminated by emulation. Hairstyles (including the use of elaborate hairpins and other hair ornaments) and makeup also changed rapidly in fashion-driven patterns. Ceramic statuettes, produced in huge numbers during the Tang for placement in tombs, often depict people in contemporary dress, and thus give direct evidence for the rapid change of fashions at the time.

Under the Tang, trade along the Silk Route between China via Central Asia to the Mediterranean world flourished, and influence from Persian and Turkic culture areas had a strong impact on elite fashions in China. Chinese silk textiles of the Tang period show strong foreign influence, particularly in the use of roundel patterns. Young, upper-class women outraged conservative commentators by wearing "Turkish" hip-length, tight-sleeved jackets with trousers and boots; some women even played polo in such outfits. (Women more commonly went riding in long gowns, wearing wide-brimmed hats with veils to guard against sun and dust.) Another women's ensemble consisting of an empire-waisted dress tied just below the bustline with ribbons, and worn with



Chinese beauty pageant. The contestants wear *qipaos,* a colorful, tight-fitting garment, frequently slit up to the knee, which became the traditional dress of modern Chinese women by the mid-twentieth century. © CHINA PHOTO/REUTERS NEWMEDIA INC/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

a very short, tight-sleeved jacket. This style would reappear several times in later ages, notably during the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644); it strongly influenced the development of the Korean national costume, the *hanbok.*

Dancers at court and in the entertainment districts of the capital and other cities were notable trendsetters. In the early eighth century, the fashionable ideal was for slender women wearing long gowns in soft fabrics that were cut with a pronounced décolletage and very wide sleeves, or a décolleté knee-length gown worn over a skirt; by mid century, the ideal had changed to favor distinctly plump women wearing empire-line gowns over which a shawl-like jacket in a contrasting color was worn. One remarkable later Tang fashion was for so-called "fairy dresses," which had sleeves cut to trail far beyond the wearer's hands, stiffened, wing-like appendages at the shoulders, long aprons trailing from the bustline almost to the floor, and triangular applied decorations on the sleeves and down the sides of the skirt that would flutter with a dancer's every movement. "Sleeve dancing" has remained an important part of Chinese performative dance since Tang times. Near the end of the Tang period, dancers also inspired a fashion for small (or small-looking) feet that led to the later Chinese practice of footbinding.

The Tang Dynasty was an aristocratic society in which military prowess and good horsemanship were admired as male accomplishments. Depictions of foot soldiers and cavalrymen in scale armor and heavily padded jackets, and officers in elaborate breastplates and surcoats, are common in Tang sculptural and pictorial art.

The Song and Yuan Dynasties

In the Song Dynasty (960–1279), influenced by an increasingly conservative Confucian ideology and social changes that saw the gradual replacement of a basically aristocratic society by one dominated by a class of scholar-gentry officeholders, clothing for both men and women at the elite level tended to become looser, more flowing, and more modest than the styles of the Tang. Women, who sometimes had bound feet, stayed home more, and sometimes wore broad hats and veils for excursions outside the home.

Portraits of emperors and high-court officials during the Song period show the first use of plain, round-necked robes worn either by themselves or as over-robes above more colorful clothing, and also the first appearance of the "dragon robes" embroidered with roundel figures of dragons as emblems of imperial authority.

The Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368) was the Chinese manifestation of the Mongol Empire conquered by Genghis Khan and ruled by his descendants. Mongol men in China, as well as men of Chinese ethnicity, wore loose robes similar to those of the Song period; horsemen wore shorter robes, trousers, and sturdy boots. Round, helmet-like hats were adopted for official use, replacing the earlier black horsehair or stiffened silk official cap. Women of the Yuan period sometimes wore two or more gowns at once, cut so as to show successive layers of cloth in harmonizing colors at the collars and sleeve-openings; Mongol women also wore high, elaborate headdresses like those of the Mongols' traditional homeland.

The Ming and Qing Dynasties

In Ming (1368–1644) times, both men and women wore voluminous clothing, a long robe with wide sleeves for men, a shorter robe worn over a wide skirt for women. In the early and middle Ming, there was a revival of the Tang style of empire-line dresses worn with short jackets, especially for young women. For much of its nearly three centuries of existence, the Ming was a time of prosperity and expanding production of goods of all kinds; there was a concomitant expansion of the type and variety of clothing available to all but the poorest members of society. Cotton, which had been introduced into China during the Song Dynasty, began to be raised extensively in several parts of the country. A short indigo-dyed cotton jacket worn over similar calf-length trousers (for men) or a skirt (for women) became and remained the characteristic dress of Chinese peasants and workers. Cotton batting substituted, in cheaper clothing, for silk floss in padded winter garments.

The dragon robe was adopted for standard court wear for emperors, members of the imperial clan, and high officials. The dragon robe evolved a standard vocabulary of motifs and symbols; typically such a robe was embroidered with large dragons, coiling in space and with the head shown frontally, on the chest and back; smaller dragon roundels on the shoulders and on the skirt of the robe; the space around the dragons embroidered with other auspicious symbols, and the bottom hem showing ocean waves and the peak of Mt. Kunlun, the mountain at the center of the world. The background color of the robe indicated rank and lineage, with bright yellow limited to use by the emperor himself. Official court robes for women were similar but decorated with phoenixes (mythical birds depicted as similar to pheasants or peacocks), the feminine *yin* to the male *yang* of the dragon. (Hangings, banners, and other decorative items showing both a dragon and a phoenix are wedding emblems.)

Associated with the dragon robe and the codification of court attire was the use of so-called "Mandarin squares," embroidered squares of cloth that were worn as badges of office for civil and military officials. These indicated rank in the official hierarchy by a set of sixteen animal or bird emblems—for example, a leopard for a military official of the third rank, a silver pheasant for a civil official of the fifth rank. These embroidered squares were made in pairs to be worn on the back and front of an official's plain over-robe, the front square split vertically to accommodate the robe's front-opening design.

The Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) brought new rulers to China—Manchus from the northeast, who overthrew the Ming Dynasty and preserved their hold on imperial power in part by being careful to preserve Manchu dress and other customs in order to keep the small population of conquerors from being submerged culturally by the much more numerous Chinese. The Manchus introduced new styles of clothing for official use; men were to wear short robes with trousers or wide skirts, cut more closely to the body than the flowing Ming styles, fastening at the right shoulder and with a high slit in front to accommodate horse-riding. A distinctive feature of the Manchu robe was its "horseshoe sleeves," designed to cover and protect the back of a rider's hands. Other Manchu styles were the "banner robe" (*qipao*), a straight-cut long robe worn by Manchu troops, and the "long gown" (*changshan*), a straight, ankle-length garment worn by Manchu women (who wore platform shoes on their unbound feet). Ethnic Chinese women wore loose-fitting jackets over wide skirts or trousers, often cut short enough to reveal the lavishly embroidered tiny shoes of their bound feet.

At court, the emperor, his kinsmen, and high officials wore dragon robes, the symbolic elements of which had been elaborately codified in the mid-eighteenth century; other officials wore plain robes with Mandarin squares. For all ranks, conical hats with narrow, upturned brims were worn for official occasions; buttons of precious or semiprecious stones at the hat's peak also indicated the wearer's rank.

Throughout China's history, the country's population has included many minority peoples whose language, dress, food, and other aspects of culture have been and remain quite different from those of the Han (Chinese) ethnic majority.

Chinese Dress in the Twentieth Century

After the Nationalist Revolution of 1911, it was widely felt in China that, after a century of foreign intrusion and

Chinese public official and family. During the Ming Dynasty, embroidered "Mandarin Squares" began appearing on the robes of court officials (third man from right). These squares indicated the wearer's rank in the government hierarchy. © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis. Reproduced by permission.

national decline, the country needed to rid itself of old customs in order to compete with the other nations of the modern world. Thus began a search for new styles of clothing that were both "modern" and "Chinese." The simple adoption of Western clothing was not a popular choice; foreign menswear was associated with Chinese employees of foreign companies, who were derided for being unpatriotic; fashionable Western women's clothing struck many Chinese as both immodest and odd. Loose, baggy Western dresses introduced at some missionary schools in China were modest but unattractive.

Many men continued to wear a form of traditional clothing until the mid-twentieth century—a plain, blue, long gown for scholars and older, urban men, jacket and trousers of indigo-dyed cotton for workers. But among urban elites, there emerged in the 1910s a new outfit, based on Prussian military dress and seen first in China in school and military-cadet uniforms; this had a fitted jacket fastened with buttons in front, decorated with four pockets, and made "Chinese" by the use of a stiff, high "Mandarin" collar, worn over matching trousers. This suit was often made, Western-style, in woolen cloth, the first time that wool had ever been the basis of an important Chinese garment type. This outfit became known as the Sun Yat-sen suit, after the father of the Chinese revolution.

Several proposals for creating a modern women's dress for China met with little enthusiasm, but in China's cities, and especially in Shanghai, women and their dressmakers were trying out a modern variation of Manchu dress that was to have lasting consequences. The Manchu "banner robe" (*qipao*) and "long gown" (*changshan*, generally known in the West by its Cantonese pronunciation, *cheongsam*) were adapted by fashionable women to be somewhat more tightly fitting, with a closure folded left-over-right to the shoulder, then down the right seam, often fastened with decorative "frogs" (cloth buttons and loops), and sometimes with a slit to knee height. This new style, in colorful silk, rayon, or printed cotton, was widely publicized in "calendar girl" advertising prints of the1920s and 1930s, and soon became firmly entrenched as China's appropriately modern women's wear. The *qipao* (or *cheongsam*) continued to evolve to become more form fitting, and by the mid-twentieth century was widely accepted, both in China and the West, as China's "traditional" women's dress.

For a few years after the Communist revolution of 1949, older forms of dress, including the man's long "scholar's robe" and the women's *qipao*, continued to be worn in China. But by the late 1950s, there was strong political and social pressure for people to dress in "modest, revolutionary" styles—the Sun Yat-sen suit (usually in blue cotton, now beginning to be known as a "Mao suit"), or as an alternative, a modest blouse and calf-length skirt. By the time of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the *qipao* had been denounced as "feudal," and the wearing of the blue Mao suit was nearly obligatory.

Fashion made a cautious return to China in 1978, with the promulgation of the post-Mao "Four Modernizations" program of economic reform. By the early 1980s, fashion magazines had resumed publication, fashion shows were held in major cities, and fashion design and related subjects were beginning to be taught once again at the high school and college level. The *qipao* also has had a revival, both in China and in overseas Chinese communities, as formal wear that conveys a sense of ethnic pride, and as "traditional" dress worn by women in the hospitality industry. But in general, Chinese dress today is a reflection of global fashion. By the turn of the twenty-first century, prestigious international brands were a common sight in the shopping districts of Shanghai, Guangzhou, Beijing, and other major cities, and Chinese consumers were participating fully in international fashion. Meanwhile China had become the world's largest manufacturer and exporter of garments.

See also **Asia, East History of Dress; Footbinding; Mao Suit; Qipao; Silk.**

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John S. Major

CHINOS. *See* **Trousers.**

CHINTZ Originally, chintz was a brilliantly colored cotton calico from India. In the early 2000s, chintz, or glazed chintz, describes a firm, medium to heavyweight, balanced plain weave, spun-yarn fabric converted from print cloth or sheeting and finished with friction calendering. Chintz is usually all cotton or a cotton/polyester blend. Single carded and combed yarns are used in sizes ranging from 28 to 42 and counts ranging from 64 to 80 warp (lengthwise) yarns per inch and 60 to 80 filling (crosswise) yarns per inch. Chintz has a smooth, shiny glazed face and a dull back. Fully glazed chintz is finished with a compound that stiffens the fabric. A padding machine applies the finishing solution, then the fabric is partially dried, and friction calendered. One roll of the friction calender rotates faster than the other and polishes or glazes the fabric surface. If the solution is starch or wax, the effect is temporary. If the solution is resin based, the effect is permanent. Semi-glazed or half-glazed chintz has no stiffening agent and is friction calendered only. Similar fabrics are cretonne (not glazed) and polished cotton (glazed).

Chintz is usually printed in large, bright, colorful floral patterns. Sometimes it is dyed a solid color or printed with geometric patterns such as dots and stripes. It is made with fine, medium-twist warp yarns and slightly larger, lower-twist filling yarns. Chintz is used in draperies, curtains, slipcovers, and lightweight upholstery fabrics. Upholstery chintz usually has a soil- and stain-resistant finish. Chintz is sometimes used in women's dresses, skirts, and blouses, and children's wear. Permanently finished chintz can be machine washed and dried. Otherwise, dry cleaning is necessary to preserve the surface glaze. Chintz is a smooth, crisp fabric that drapes into stiff folds. The glaze may grow dull with use.

Glossary of Technical Terms

Filling yarn: Crosswise yarn in a woven fabric.

Friction calendering: Passing woven fabric between heated rollers that oscillate. After this treatment fabric has an increased shine, which will be permanent only if either the fibers or a finishing material applied to the fabric and thermoplastic.

Warp yarns: Lengthwise yarns in a woven fabric.

Weft yarns: Crosswise yarns in a woven fabric.

History

The word "chintz" is from the Hindustani *chhint* or *chint*, derived from the Sanskrit *chitra* for spotted or bright. *Chints* was the original plural spelling of *chint*.

In the seventeenth century, plain weave cotton fabrics that had been hand-painted or block printed in India with brilliantly colored patterns of plants and animals were imported into Europe and America. The establishment of import/export companies in India by various European countries enhanced the trade of chintz as did the policy of sending sample patterns to India for craftsmen to copy. These novel fabrics were used for gowns, dresses, lounging jackets, robes, bed hangings and coverings, and household textiles. These fabrics quickly became popular because of their novel prints, texture, soft drape, and easy care. Because of their popularity, French craftsmen began to try to duplicate the patterns. This created competition problems for silk and wool goods produced by local weavers. Because of the potential loss of revenue and jobs, in 1686 the French government restricted production and importation of these fine quality, multicolored printed cotton fabrics (*Indiennes*) from India. England also restricted imports, even though India was an English possession.

In spite of various bans and prohibitions, the French, Dutch, Portuguese, and English imported chintz became the basis of European dress and furnishing designs throughout the rest of the seventeenth century and into the mid-eighteenth century. The imported fabrics combined indigo, madder, and an unknown yellow dye with a variety of mordants to achieve an amazing range of colors including blue, green, black, lilac, and crimson. The process of achieving this range of color with only a few natural dyes was not well understood in Europe at that time. The development of domestic printing facilities and the research needed to identify mordant and natural dye combinations and thickening agents for print pastes produced the European textile industry. Research by English, German, and French dyers led to advances in dye chemistry and ultimately the development of synthetic dyes.

By the 1740s, demand for white goods from India increased as European printing houses were established. By the early 1750s, a drop in the quality of Indian printed goods had occurred, probably due to pressure for increased production and lower costs. By 1753, the Indian chintz export trade to Europe had virtually ceased. Efforts to minimize the costs and time needed to produce the fabric and the demand for more printed fabric with better performance led to the development of new mechanized printing methods.

The influence of Indian chintz has not disappeared. Some contemporary floral elements related to early Indian chintz patterns include the use of sprigs and bouquets, trailing floral patterns, and large realistic, brightly colored flowers.

The Original Process

The cloth was flattened and burnished with buffalo milk and myrobolan (a dried fruit containing tannin) to give it a smooth surface. The protein in the milk probably provided bonding sites for the dyes. The pattern was drawn on paper. Holes were pierced through the paper along design lines. Powered charcoal was rubbed on the paper to transfer the pattern to the fabric. The design outlines were painted in. Then, the entire fabric surface was coated with wax except for those areas designed to be blue or green in the finished fabric. The fabric was immersed in an indigo vat, a requirement for fast blues and greens. After immersion in indigo, the dye was oxidized in the air and the fabric was dried. The fabric was scraped and washed to remove the wax. Most of the rest of the design was achieved by painting on a combination of mordants with thickening agents followed by dipping the fabric in a madder bath. Colors achieved in this manner include orange, brown, pink, crimson, lilac, purple, and black. Washing the fabric removed most of the madder in the non-mordanted areas. The fabric was aged in the sun to remove any residual color in the non-mordanted areas and to set the color in the mordanted areas. Finally, any areas requiring yellow (including any area dyed blue that was designed to be green in the finished fabric) were painted with saffron or another yellow dye. Unfortunately, since the yellow dye had poor light fastness, most historic chintz prints have lost that component of the design.

See also **Calico; Cotton; Dyeing.**

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Sara J. Kadolph

CLARK, OSSIE British designer Raymond (Ossie) Clark (1942–1996) was born on 9 June 1942 in Liverpool, England. He was known by his nickname Ossie, after Oswaldtwistle, the Lancashire village to which the family was evacuated during World War II. Clark started making clothes at the age of ten for his niece and nephew. Although he was not regarded as academically promising—he went to a secondary modern school where he learned building skills—he began to draw and developed a love of glamour and beauty, encouraged by his art teacher and mentor, who lent him copies of *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*. For Clark, Diana Vreeland was always "top dog."

Early Career

Clark's copies of fashion pictures and ballet dancers showed skill. In 1958 he enrolled at the Regional College of Art in Manchester, where he was the only male student in the fashion course. The college emphasized technical training, so that Clark learned pattern cutting, construction, tailoring, and glove making—skills in which he excelled and which formed the basis of his distinctive style. In 1959 he saw a Pierre Cardin collection in Paris; he was struck by chiffon "peacock" dresses cut in what he described as a "spiral line," which influenced his later work. In 1960 Clark became friends with Celia Birtwell, who was studying textile design at Salford College, and with the artist Mo McDermott, through whom he met David Hockney in 1961. Clark began a postgraduate course in fashion design at the Royal College of Art in London in 1962, under the aegis of Professor Janey Ironside.

The Royal College of Art produced not only such leading artists as Peter Blake and David Hockney, but also fashion designers who became well known in their own right: Janice Wainwright, Marian Foale, Sally Tuffin, Leslie Poole, Bill Gibb, Zandra Rhodes, and Anthony Price. Textile designer Bernard Nevill taught the students the history of fashion, taking them to the Victoria and Albert Museum, where they observed the collections, particularly those of clothing from the 1920s and 1930s. The students were introduced to the *Gazette du bon ton*, and Neville had them produce illustrations in the styles of George Barbier, Georges Lepape, and other artists of the period. Clark became an admirer of Madeleine Vionnet and Charles James; both designers influenced him, as did Adrian, who had designed the costumes for the film version of *The Women* (1939). "Bernard Nevill . . . opened all the students' eyes to the fact that fashion wasn't about rejecting what your parents stood for. . . . the glamour of the thirties and the satin bias; we thought, why can't people on the street wear them?"

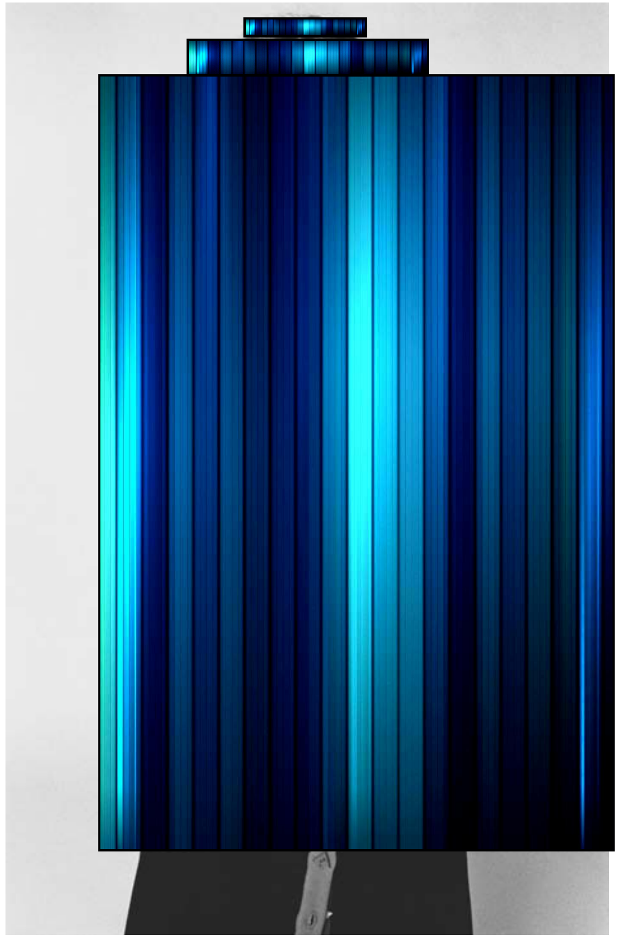
Clark graduated from the Royal College in 1965, the only student in his class to complete the course with distinction. He was photographed by David Bailey for *Vogue*, with the model Chrissie Shrimpton wearing his Robert Indiana op art–print dress. His degree collection was sold at the Woollands 21 boutique; he also began designing for Alice Pollock, part owner of the boutique Quorum in Kensington, close to Barbara Hulanicki's Biba and the Kings Road. Quorum quickly became part of "the most exciting city in the world," as described by writer John Crosby in a 1965 article that discussed youth, talent, and sexual freedom in "swinging London." The new post-Profumo society had a Labour government; unemployment was low, exports were high, and young working women were wearing Mary Quant's miniskirts. Clark and Pollock articulated the new freedom through their clothes. In 1966 Clark's Hoopla dress, a short shift cut to fit without darts and influenced by John Kloss, was featured in *Vogue*.

Success

In 1967 Clark's Rocker jackets and culottes defined the look of "Chelsea Girls" like Patti Harrison, Anita Pallenberg, Marianne Faithfull, Amanda Lear, and Jane Rainey, who was married to Michael Rainey, the proprietor of the Kings Road boutique Hung On You. All were friends for whom Clark made clothes. At this time Alice Pollock suggested to Celia Birtwell that she should design fabrics for Quorum, especially for Clark's styles. Birtwell's floral patterns were influenced in color and design by the work of the Russian artist Leon Bakst as well as by flowers, naturalistic early imagery from manuscripts, and the textiles from collections at the Victoria and Albert Museum, consisting of printed silk chiffon, marrocain crepes, and velvets. Birtwell's fabrics were discharge-printed at Ivo Printers, and used to create such dresses as "Acapulco Gold" or "Ouidjita Banana." Clark cut chiffons and crepes on the straight and turned them to fit the body on the bias, to form the "spiral line" that he had seen at Cardin's show. He also experimented with alternatives to zippers, in particular ties or numerous covered buttons. His versatility in the period from 1967 to 1968 was best illustrated by his use of a range of materials as well as by the clothes themselves. Clark made use of snakeskin and leather as well as chiffon, satin, crepe, tweed, and furs. In 1967, the year in which the film *Bonnie and Clyde* was released and marked a return to nostalgia in fashion, Clark dropped his hemlines, shifting the focus to the wearer's bosom and shoulders, back, or waist to "find a new permutation and erogenous zones," he said. In 1968 *Vogue* featured his tailored redingote in a new "maxi" length. At the end of the same year he launched his "Nude Look," transparent chiffon dresses worn with little or no underwear. His couture pieces, made for such friends as Kari-Anne Jagger, had small hidden pockets, just big enough to hold a key and a five-pound note to pay the cab fare home. At the same time, a Clark menswear range was launched, which included ruffled shirts and printed chiffon scarves that were worn by the Rolling Stones, David Hockney, and Jimi Hendrix.

Both Quorum and the Ossie Clark name were sold to a middle-market company, Radley Gowns, in 1968. There were now three Clark lines: a couture line, Ossie Clark for Quorum, and Ossie Clark for Radley—which retailed at an accessible price not only at Quorum, which had relocated to the Kings Road, but also at other boutiques and department stores. In 1969 Clark and Birtwell were married when she became pregnant with their first child. Prudence Glyn, the fashion editor of *The Times*, chose a nude-look ruffled top and matching satin trousers made in Birtwell's trefoil print as the dress of the year for the Museum of Costume in Bath. "Ossie Clark is I believe in the world class for talent; in fact I think that we should build a completely modern idea of British high fashion around him," she wrote. Clark's contemporary Leslie Poole argued his importance at this point in his career: "He liberated women by constructing the low neckline with a bib front, tied at the back that could fit anybody. He borrowed lots of things like pointy sleeves and bias cut, but he effectively altered fashion through this new construction."

In 1970 Clark was invited to design a ready-to-wear collection by the French manufacturer Mendes, to be distributed in France and the United States. It was launched at the musée du Louvre on 22 April 1971 to high acclaim. Clark's collection featured top-quality chiffons, velvets, and silks, cut into frills and parachute pleats, 1940s-inspired panels and plunging necklines, floating shapes and tightly tailored wools. He produced one collection, for reasons still unclear, but continued to show and work in London, dressing Mick Jagger in jumpsuits based on anatomical drawings by Leonardo da Vinci, and making trouser suits for Bianca Jagger. David Hockney's portrait *Mr and Mrs Clark and Percy* (1970–1971) commemorated one of the most famous couples in fashionable London—and their pet cat.



Ossie Clark ensemble. Clark utilized numerous different materials in his designs and showed a preference for garments that were tied or buttoned, rather than zipped.

Last Years

Clark's early success did not last. In 1974 he separated from business partner Alice Pollock, and was divorced by Birtwell, who had grown tired of his affairs with men. In October 1974, Clark was the featured speaker at a fashion forum at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London; he discussed marketing opportunities for the future on that occasion while admitting that he was living the lifestyle of a rock star. Unfortunately his work became disjointed by depression and alcohol abuse in the mid-1970s and appeared in magazines only intermittently. A relaunch in 1977 was not a success because Clark's clothes were not in touch with the London of Vivienne Westwood and punk style. Clark had little business sense, and declared bankruptcy in 1981. Shortly before his death however, he had started to make clothes again. Clark was stabbed to death in October 1996 by a former lover, Diego Cogolato. Designers working today influenced by Clark include Anna Sui, John Galliano, Christian Lacroix, Dries van Noten, Marc Jacobs and Clements Ribeiro.

See also **Adrian; Biba; Cardin, Pierre; Celebrities; Galliano, John; Lacroix, Christian; London Fashion; Rhodes, Zandra; Vreeland, Diana.**

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Judith Watt

CLASS. *See* **Social Class and Clothing.**

CLEAN-ROOM SUITS. *See* **Microfibers.**

CLOSURES, HOOK-AND-LOOP

The hook-and-loop closure has been voted one of the best inventions of the twenty-first century by scientists. "Hooked" to numerous articles of our day-to-day life, hook-and-loop fasteners are used to secure footwear and clothing as well as to anchor equipment on NASA's space shuttles and simplify storage and fastening solutions.

The hook-and-loop closure was conceived in 1948 by the Swiss mountaineer George de Mestral who loved two things—inventing and the great outdoors; he went on to become an engineer. Confident that Mother Nature was the best engineer of all, George de Mestral was both intrigued and annoyed by the burrs that stuck to his wool hunting pants and his dog's fur. Determined to rid himself of the annoying and tedious task of their removal from clothing and fur, George de Mestral examined the burrs under a microscope. He discovered that each burr consisted of hundreds of tiny hooks that grabbed into the threads of fabric and animal fur. Convinced that nature had created something that could simplify fastening solutions, he discussed his idea of a hook-and-loop fastener that could compete with the zipper with textile experts in Lyon, France.

The first hook-and-loop closure was initially produced on a small handloom. The potential for mass production was not realized until de Mestral accidentally discovered that by sewing nylon under an infrared light, loops which were virtually indestructible could be formed in the same interlocking fashion as his cotton system.

In 1951 George de Mestral applied for a patent for this hook-and-loop invention in Switzerland and received additional patents in Germany, Great Britain, Sweden, Italy, Holland, Belgium, France, Canada, and the United States. Thus, de Mestral's company, Velcro S.A., was born.

Key Manufacturers

The name Velcro is derived from the French words "velour" (velvet), and "crochet" (hook). Although the patent expired in 1979, Velcro is a registered trademark of Velcro USA and the company is the largest manufacturer of apparel hook-and-loop fasteners. Over 251 trademark registrations are held in more than 100 countries. The 3M Company is its only significant competition in adhesive-back hook-and-loop closures. The 3M Company focuses on adhesive backed products instead of sew on, and therefore is not geared to the apparel industry. Hook-and-loop closures are integral components of outerwear garments, active sportswear, knee and elbow pads, as well as sports helmets. The elderly and handicapped greatly benefit from its versatility. The children's wear industry makes significant use of hook-and-loop closures in many aspects of apparel. Because of its child-friendly application, these closures are also used on a variety of notebooks, backpacks, and footwear.

The infant and newborn segment of the children's wear market takes full advantage of the benefits of hook-and-loop closures as the fastener of choice on diapers. Nike, who began the use of the Velcro brand fastener on infant sneakers in the late 1970s, continues in the twenty-first century with a sneaker that can be placed on the baby's foot with one hand. Children often wear shoes with Velcro brand fasteners before they learn to tie their shoes. Velcro brand products are manufactured in Canada, China, Mexico, Spain, and the United States.

See also **Children's Clothing; Shoes, Children's; Sport Shoes; Sportswear.**

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Joanne Arbuckle

CLOTHING, COSTUME, AND DRESS

Clothing, costume, and dress indicate what people wear, along with related words like "apparel," "attire," "accessories" "garments," "garb," "outfits," and "ensembles." Many writers have tried to figure out why and when human beings began to decorate and cover their bodies; the reasons go beyond obvious considerations of temperature and climate, because some people dress skimpily in cold weather and others wear heavy garments in hot weather. Common reasons given are for protection, modesty, decoration, and display. One can only conjecture or speculate about origins, however, because no records exist detailing why early humans chose to dress their bodies.

Dress functions as a silent communication system that provides basic information about age, gender, marital status, occupation, religious affiliation, and ethnic background for everyday, special occasions and events, or participation in cinema, television, live theater, burlesque, circus, or dance productions. What people wear also can indicate personality characteristics and aesthetic preferences. People understand most clearly the significance and meaning of clothing, costume, and dress when the wearers and observers share the same cultural background. The words "clothing," "costume," and "dress" are sometimes used interchangeably to refer to what is being worn, but the words differ in several ways.

Clothing

"Clothing" as a noun refers generally to articles of dress that cover the body. "Clothing" as a verb refers to the act of putting on garments. Examples of clothing around the world include articles for the torso such as caftans, wrappers, sarongs, shirts, trousers, dresses, blouses, and skirts, as well as accessories for the head, hands, and feet such as turbans, hats, gloves, mittens, sandals, clogs, and shoes.

Costume

"Costume" as a noun describes garments of many types, particularly when worn as an ensemble. "Costume" as a verb often refers to designing an ensemble for an individual to wear. Frequently, "costume" refers to the clothing items, accessories, and makeup for actors, dancers, and people dressing up for special events such as Halloween, masquerade balls, Carnival, and Mardi Gras. A useful distinction between clothing and costume results when clothing refers to specific garments and costume refers to the ensemble that allows individuals to perform in dance, theater, or a masquerade, hiding or temporarily canceling an individual's everyday identity.

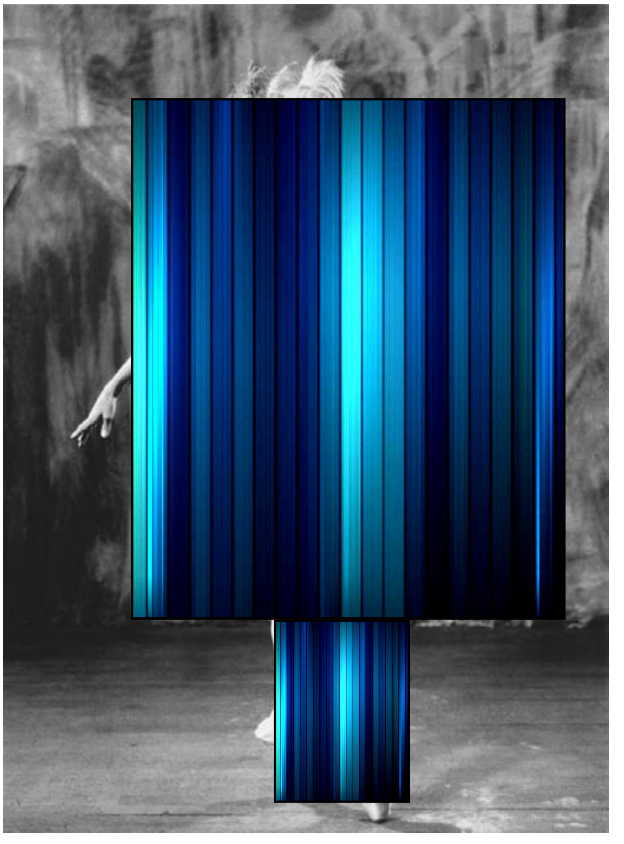
The words "costume" and "custom" are closely related, and the word "costume" can also refer to ensembles of clothing (folk costume) worn by members of an ethnic group for special occasions that serve as an affirmation of the group's traditions and solidarity.

Dress

As a noun, "dress" is used in several ways: to indicate a woman's one-piece garment, to indicate a category of garments such as "holiday dress" or "military dress," or as a general reference to an individual's overall appearance or various identities. As a verb, "dress" indicates the process of using various items to cover, adorn, and modify the body. The act of dress involves all five senses and encompasses more than wearing clothes. Getting dressed includes arranging hair, applying scent, lotion, and cosmetics, as well as putting on clothing of various textures and colors and jewelry, such as necklaces, earrings, and jangling bracelets. Dress ordinarily communicates aspects of a person's identity.

Distinctions among Clothing, Costume, and Dress

Items of clothing are components utilized in both costume and dress and designate specific garments and other apparel items such as footwear, headwear, and accessories. Costume is an ensemble created to allow an individual to present a performance identity for the theater, cinema, or masquerade, or to assert an identity as a member of an ethnic group on special occasions or for special events. Dress is the totality of body alterations and additions that help an individual establish credibility of identity in everyday life. In the United States, the term "costume history" ordinarily indicates the chronological study of dress, but in the United Kingdom, the term "dress history" is most frequently used.



Tutu and feathered headdress. Margot Fonteyn struts en pointe her lavishly decorated ballerina tutu and feathered headdress as the lead in the 1956 production of *Firebird.* Feathers and ruffles contribute to the creation of the *Firebird* costume look.

Requirements for Costume and Dress

Costume. Designers for theater, cinema, and dance carefully plan the array of costumes to represent and highlight various roles to be played; principal characters are set apart and highlighted by costume from the rest of the cast or dance troupe. Some costumes designed for single-time use also involve countless hours of fastidious design and construction for adults in high-visibility and prestige Halloween or Mardi Gras events. For example, members of organized groups such as the various Krewes (masking and parading clubs) celebrating a New Orleans Mardi Gras or the San Antonio debutantes selected to be the duchess or princesses in their special ball engage in advance planning and execute intricate costume designs. In contrast, some Halloween costumes for adults or children may be quickly, even carelessly, made and worn for a short evening of venturing out for "trick or treat" candy or a casual masquerade party.

Costumes for the theater, dance, Halloween, and Mardi Gras have special requirements in fit, color, and effect. Garments must allow the performer's body to

Man wearing African elephant mask. With some more extreme costumes, such as this one made mostly from palm fronds, much of the body is covered from view. © CAROLYN NGOZI EICHER. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

move easily and be well made. For example, costumes of professional actors and dancers often receive hard wear. Constant use or vigorous movement for dancers, circus clowns, and acrobats can put a strain on garments, thus requiring sturdy fabrics and specific construction considerations like seam reinforcement. When many viewers see costumes from afar, colors or other aspects of design may be exaggerated for effect. Some colors, therefore, may be more bold or brilliant than choices for everyday dress. Others may be drab. Such choices depend on the interpretation of the costume designer in planning the garb for each performer's individual role and for the interaction among the performers.

Dress. In contrast to costume, dress establishes individual identity within a cultural context, emphasizing common social characteristics: age and gender, marital status, and occupation. Much information about identity is communicated through sensory cues provided by dress without the observer asking questions. Most individuals, especially in urban settings, have a variety of identities that are connected to dress, such as occupation, leisure-time activities (sports), and religious affiliation.

Costume, dress, and the body. Costumes and dress can reveal or conceal the body. Costumes or dress reveals the body by allowing bare skin to be displayed; for example, shoulders, arms, legs, and feet in the case of the classic ballerina tutu or a swimsuit. In such examples as an ice-skater's bodysuit or dancer's leotard, the costume may cover but closely conform to and reveal the body shape. Sometimes aspects of a costume are exaggerated for ridicule and irony, as in the giant shoes seen on circus clowns or the padded bosoms of drag queens. In variations of Carnival and Mardi Gras costume, the body, including the head and face, is completely covered and the body is not easily discernible. Among the Kalabari people in the Niger delta of Nigeria one masquerade costume representing an elephant is made of massive palm fronds that eclipse the dancer's body. A small, carved sculpture of an elephant nestles among them, barely visible.

See also **Fashion.**

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Joanne B. Eicher

COAT A very important item in any cold climate, a coat is an outerwear garment with sleeves and a center-front closure, and as such incorporates many variations of style and shape including the chesterfield, crombie, British warm, and loden. The garment is designed specifically to be worn outdoors to protect the wearer from the damp, cold, wind, and dust and is most commonly worn over the rest of the clothes, so is generally slightly longer and wider than normal pieces of the wardrobe. However, although designed with protection in mind, not all coats are waterproof. Coats that are used to provide the wearer with extra warmth may be cut from cashmere, tweed, or fur. Coats worn as protection from the rain or snow, such as the classic raincoat or cape, will be made from lighter materials like gabardine or cotton, since they might be used in warm or cold weather.

History

Although a man's wardrobe has always contained at least one piece of outerwear that can be worn as protection from the elements (such as a cloak, gambeson, gown, cote-hardie, or mantle), the overcoat has been a popular garment for both men and women since technical advances in the art of tailoring during the seventeenth century. The emphasis has been placed primarily on fit rather than on material and flamboyant style.

Many clothing styles throughout history either have filtered up from working dress or derive from garments worn by the military or for sporting activities. This was true of the functional long, loose coat worn by the military in the early seventeenth century for riding. Cut with two front panels and two at the back, cuffed sleeves and straight side seams to allow the wearer's sword to pass through, the coat had become fashionable among gentlemen by the last quarter of the century.

In much the same way, the frock—a loose overgarment worn by workingmen—was also given the tailor's treatment. Originally known as a justcoat, buttons were added, sleeves were shortened and trimmed with broad cuffs (which were matched to the color of the waistcoat), and it became known as a frock coat. By 1690, the frock coat was characterized by its collarless neck, narrow shoulders, and buttoned front. It also featured conspicuously large front pockets and an opening for a sword. By the 1730s it had become a fashionable piece of outerwear and would continue to be so, albeit with slightly altering shape, for many years to come.

Eighteenth Century to the Twentieth Century

With the riding coat firmly established as a fashionable staple garment, another form of overcoat known as the greatcoat would also become a functional style that influenced mainstream fashion. Available in either single-breasted or double-breasted options, with cape collar and center vent cut into the back, the greatcoat was considered essential for riding. By the latter part of the century, the greatcoat would feature overlapping collars similar to those on the coat worn by coachmen. By the early nineteenth century, greatcoats had become fashionable all-weather garments, worn both in the cities and the countryside. At this time some greatcoats would be lined or trimmed in velvet, have metal buttons, and the main body of the coat would be made from wool.

Taking the more practical or functional types of coats and turning them into fashionable garments remained a design and manufacturing trend that continued throughout the nineteenth century and is still noticeable today. A bewildering number of long or short coats, single- or double-breasted, would continue to be produced. Some coats were skirted, some would have pockets hidden in the pleats or otherwise flap pockets positioned on the skirt itself. The better-known styles from the period, coats still worn, would include the paletot (which was a shorter version of the greatcoat), inverness, covert, and the chesterfield that derived from a version of the earlier frock coat.

By the late 1850s coats were beginning to be cut with raglan sleeves which gave the wearer greater ease of movement, particularly if the coat was worn for riding. The raglan or a shorter version of a single-breasted chesterfield, known as a covert coat, became "à la mode" for the growing trend for outdoor pursuits such as shooting and even country walking.

The biggest area of growth in the manufacturing of coats at the end of the nineteenth century and the turn of the twentieth century was the development of the raincoat. Effective waterproofing methods had been discovered by Charles Macintosh in the 1820s.

Aside from the move toward the development of the raincoat, overcoats remained much the same until the development of the driving coat in the first decade of the twentieth century. Once again a fully functional garment, the driving coat, produced by wardrobe companies such as Lewis Leathers (who would go on to produce iconic leather jackets during the 1950s) was designed to protect wearers from dust and water while keeping them warm in their open-top vehicles. Driving coats were often made from leather with a fur lining and worn with gauntlets and goggles.

Overcoats designed primarily for use in World War I made the transition to civilian use soon afterward. The British warm, as it is called in the United Kingdom, was a melton, double-breasted coat with shoulder tabs. It was developed for officers in the trenches and remains a popular style in the early 2000s. This was also true of the water-repellent and breathable Burberry trench coat made from fine-twilled cotton gabardine especially for trench warfare.

Coats changed very little during the interwar years. World War II again led to innovation, providing men's wear with the only classic coat to have a hood—the duffel coat. Worn principally by servicemen in the Royal Navy, and popularized by Field Marshal Montgomery, this style flooded the market when they were sold as surplus after the war.

Coats in the Twenty-first Century

Few coat styles have changed since the 1950s. Some may be shortened or lengthened, cut tighter to the waist, or even cut from a different cloth, but no classic new styles have been developed. Although the overcoat is still an essential item in the male and female wardrobe, heated offices and cars, central heating in the home, and the development of more technical fabrications have made it of much less importance than ever before.

See also **Jacket; Outerwear; Raincoat.**

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Tom Greatrex

COCKTAIL DRESS During the 1920s, newfound concepts of individuality and a repudiation of the Edwardian matronly ideal of respectable womanhood gave rise to the new phenomenon of the "Drinking Woman," who dared to enjoy cocktails in mixed company (Clark, p. 212). She emerged at private cocktail soirées and lounges, and the cocktail dress, as a short evening sheath with matching hat, shoes, and gloves was designated to accompany her. The cocktail affair generally took place between six and eight P.M., yet by manipulating one's accessories, the cocktail ensemble could be converted to appropriate dress for every event from three o'clock until late in the evening. Cocktail garb, by virtue of its flexibility and functionality, became the 1920s uniform for the progressive fashionable elite.

Birth of the Cocktail Ensemble

By the end of World War I, the French couture depended rather heavily on American clientele and to an even greater extent on American department stores that copied and promoted the French *créateurs* (Steele, p. 253). As cocktailing had originated in the United States, the French paid less attention to the strict designations of line, cut, and length that American periodicals promoted for their *heure de l'aperitif.* Instead, the couturières Chanel and Vionnet created garments for the late afternoon, or "after five," including beach pajamas—silk top and palazzo pant outfits worn with a mid-calf-length wrap jacket. Louise Boulanger produced *les robes du studio,* chic but rather informal sheaths that suited the hostess of private or intimate cocktail gatherings.

As the popularity of travel grew, both in American resort cities like Palm Beach, "the Millionaire's Playground," and abroad with the luxury of the Riviera, these French cocktail garments gained favor in wealthy American circles. But while America's elite were promoting the exclusive designs of the French couture, the majority of the United States relied on the advertisements of *Vanity Fair* and American *Vogue,* as well as their patronage of American department stores to dress for the cocktail hour. Created by Chanel in 1926, the little black dress was translated to ready-to-wear as a staple of late afternoon and cocktail hours; American women at every level of consumption knew the importance of a practical "Well-mannered Black" (*Vogue,* 1 May 1943, p. 75).

Mid-1920s skirt lengths were just below the knee for all hours and affairs. Though cocktail attire featured the longer sleeves, modest necklines, and sparse ornamentation of daytime clothing, it became distinguished by executions in evening silk failles or satins, rather than wool crepes or gabardines. Often the only difference between a day dress and a cocktail outfit was a fabric *noir* and a stylish cocktail hat. Hats in the 1920s varied little from the cloche shape, but cocktail and evening models were adorned with plumes, rhinestones, and beaded embroideries that indicated a more formal aesthetic. Short gloves were worn universally for cocktail attire during this period and could be found in many colors, though white and black were the most popular.

From Day to Evening

In the early 1930s, Hollywood sirens like Greta Garbo embodied a casual, sporty American chic that paired easily with the separates ensembles favored by the French. The more privatized cocktail party of the silver screen began to gain popularity, replacing the smoking rooms of Paris and the dance clubs of New York. The stock market crash of 1929 and the resulting economic depression dictated that it was no longer fashionable to display wealth by throwing ostentatious public affairs. Exclusive lounges emerged rapidly on the Paris scene; Bergère, the Blue Room, and Florence's were as popular for after-dinner cocktails as for the private affairs of the early evening. *Dames du Vogue* like Vicomtesse Marie-Laure de Noailles and Mrs. Reginald (Daisy) Fellowes, members of the elite international café society, became notorious for their exclusive soirées. Their patronage of Chanel, Patou, and Elsa Schiaparelli, all made famous by separates designs, helped popularize day-into-evening wear for upper-class Parisians and American socialites.

While Mademoiselle Cheruit had her *smoking,* a fitted jacket ensemble for early evening affairs, Schiaparelli was the most famous purveyor of the cocktail-appropriate dinner suit. Her suit consisted of a bolero or flared jacket that could be removed for the evening, revealing a sleeveless sheath dress. Unlike the previous decade, the 1930s dictated different skirt lengths for different hours: the silk, rayon, or wool crepe sheath of the dinner suit was steadfastly ankle or cocktail length.

In light of the economic hardships of the early 1930s, American designers like Muriel King designed "day-into-evening" clothes by championing a simple, streamlined silhouette and emphasizing the importance of accessories. Cartwheel hats, made of straw or silk and decorated with velvet ribbons or feathers, and slouchy fedoras of black felt were equally acceptable for the cocktail hour. Gloves were a bit longer than in the previous decade, but were still mandatory for late afternoon and evening. Costume jewelry, whether as a daytime pin or an evening parure, became the definitive cocktail accessory. Excessive jewelry was promoted as both daring and luxurious when clothing itself was regulated to be modest and unfettered.

During World War II, the hemline of the cocktail dress rose again to just below the knee, but the convenience and accessibility of the fashionable cocktail accessory sustained. Parisian milliners like Simone Naudet (Claude Saint-Cyr) produced elegant chapeaus with black silk net veils for the cocktail hour. In New York, Norman Norell attached rhinestone buttons to vodka gray or billiard green day suits to designate them cocktail ensembles. By the mid-1940s, cocktailing was made easy by the adaptability of cocktail clothing and the availability of the indispensable cocktail accessory.

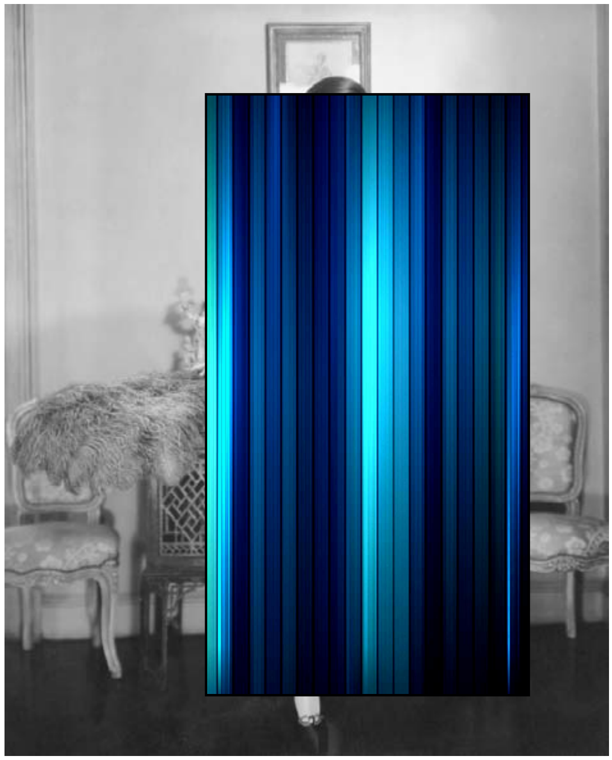
A New Look for Cocktails

With his New Look collection of 1947, Christian Dior brought romanticism back to the catwalk. His cinched waists and full, mid-calf length frocks enforced a demure feminine aesthetic (Arnold, p. 102). The cocktail hour began to represent universal social identities for women: the matron, the wife, and the hostess. Cocktail parties rose to the height of sociability, and cocktail clothing was defined by strict rules of etiquette. While invitees were required to wear gloves, the hostess was forbidden the accessory. Guests were obligated to travel to an engagement in a cocktail hat (which had retained the veil made popular in the 1940s), but they were never to wear their hats indoors.

Parisian cocktail dresses were executed in black velvets and printed voiles alike, but they all retained the short-length of the original 1920s cocktail dress. American designers like Anne Fogarty and Ceil Chapman emulated the "New Look" line, but used less luxurious fabrics and trims. Dior, along with Jacques Fath and milliners Lilly Daché and John-Fredericks, quickly saw the advantages of promoting cocktail clothing in the American ready-to-wear market, designing specifically for their more inexpensive lines: Dior New York, Jacques Fath for Joseph Halpert, Dachettes, and John Fredericks Charmers.

Dior was the first to name the early evening frock a "cocktail" dress, and in doing so allowed periodicals, department stores, and rival Parisian and American designers to promote fashion with cocktail-specific terminology. *Vogue Paris* included articles entitled "*Pour le Coktail: L'Organdi*," while advertisements in *Vogue* out of New York celebrated "cocktail cotton" textiles (*Vogue Paris*, April 1955, p. 77). Cocktail sets, martini-printed interiors fabrics, and cocktail advertisements all fostered an obsessively consumer-driven cocktail culture in America and, to some extent, abroad.

Though Pauline Trigère, Norman Norell, and countless Parisian couturiers continued to produce cocktail models well into the 1960s, the liberated lines of Galitzine's palazzo pant ensembles and Emilio Pucci's jumpsuits easily replaced formal cocktail garb in privatized European and American social circuits. Often direct appropriations of midcentury designs, the cocktail dress and its partner accessories exist today on runways and in trendy boutiques as reminders of the etiquette and formality of 1950s cocktail fashions.



Chanel cocktail dress. In 1926, Coco Chanel originated the concept of the "little black dress," which, with the addition of certain accessories, could be worn for the evening cocktail hours. © COND&EACUTE; NAST ARCHIVE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

See also **Chanel, Gabrielle (Coco); Dior, Christian; Little Black Dress.**

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Elyssa Schram Da Cruz

CODPIECE The codpiece was a distinguishing feature of men's dress from 1408 to about 1575 C.E. Originally a triangle of cloth used to join the individual legs of men's hose, the codpiece emerged as a nonverbal statement of political and economic power.

The codpiece began as a solution to changing fashion. Throughout the Renaissance, various forms of the doublet-and-hose combination characterized men's dress. A doublet was a fitted, often quilted jacket that varied in length from above the knee to the natural waist. Hose were individually tailored legs of woven fabric cut on the bias grain. Each leg was stitched up the back and laced to the doublet, similar to the system of garter belts and stockings used by women in the middle twentieth century. An early version of underpants made of linen or wool was worn underneath. As doublets shortened, hose were cut longer and wider to cover the underpants up to the waist. Across the genitals, a triangular gusset laced to the front of the hose between the legs. It satisfied decency requirements and calls of nature. By the sixteenth century, the codpiece was both shaped and padded. Squire and Baynes report that the term "cod" was both a Renaissance-era word for bag and a slang word for testicles. By the mid-1500s, the embellishment of the codpiece with jewels and embroidery exaggerated the genitals so that little was left to the imagination.

Henry VIII in codpiece. Often worn as a symbol of wealth or power, the codpiece had its heyday during the Renaissance period. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Once the codpiece achieved a pouch shape, it was used for a variety of purposes, including as a purse for small objects. When the fitted doublet/hose/codpiece combination is compared with the ankle-length, draped, and pleated robes of earlier periods, Renaissance men's dress appears slim and ready for action. However, the bias cut of woven hose, while more elastic than straight grain, does not allow for a full range of movement. The successful application of knitting to create fine, well-fitting hose contributed to the decline of the codpiece by the turn of the seventeenth century.

Clear examples of the codpiece can be seen in sixteenth-century court portraits by Clouet, Titian, and Holbein. During this period, men's dress extended the body into an overall horizontal silhouette. Codpiece, shoulders, and doublet were padded; luxury fabrics were slashed and their contrasting linings pulled out through the slits; and heavy gold chains were draped from shoulder to shoulder. Squire and Baynes describe the "aggressive solidity of appearance" and the "fantastic air of brutality" (1975, p. 66). Squire describes the fashionable man as, "broad-shouldered and barrel-chested, while a proudly displayed virility between his legs projected forcefully through the skirts of his jerkin" (1974, p. 52). In fact, the sixteenth century was a period of aggressive kingdom building in which more and more power was consolidated into the hands of fewer, very strong individuals. The codpiece contributed, in part, to the visible, and not at all subtle, expression of the power and the spirit of those times.

See also **Doublet; Penis Sheath.**

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Sandra Lee Evenson

COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM The term "empire" covers a range of ways of incorporating and managing different populations under the rule of a single dominant state or polity, as for example in the Roman Empire, the Carolingan Empire, and the British Empire. A more detailed categorization might distinguish between colonialism as the ruling by an external power over subject populations and imperialism as intervention in or dominating influence over another polity without actually governing it. The two processes differ largely in terms of the extent to which they transform the institutions and organization of life in the societies subject to their intrusion; the transformations of colonialism tend to be more direct than those of imperialism.

Many European nations, the United States, China, and Japan have at one time or another exerted colonial rule over subject populations as part of regionally shifting geopolitical strategies combined with economic motives for gain. Although they applied diverse approaches to governing local societies, most colonial powers considered the people they ruled to be alien and different. Entering into the affairs of other societies, differentiating between groups and individuals in racial, ethnic, and gender terms, colonial rule reorganized local life, affecting colonized people's access to land, property, and resources, authority structures and institutions, family life and marriage, among many others. These vast transformations of livelihoods had numerous cultural ramifications, including on dress.

Colonial powers have tended in recent centuries to be developed countries with strong agricultural and manufacturing economies and powerful urban centers. Their populations, and especially individuals directly involved in the colonial enterprise, have often regarded colonized indigenous peoples as "backward," both culturally and socioeconomically. Appearance was a strongly contested area in the relations between colonizers and colonized. Indigenous people in many colonized societies adorned their bodies with cosmetics, tattooing, or scarification, wore feathers and other forms of ornament, and habitually went naked or dressed in animal skins or other nonwoven materials. When they did wear woven cloth, it was often in the form of clothing that was draped, wrapped, or folded rather than cut, stitched, and shaped to the contours of the body. Dress and textiles conveyed information about gender and rank in terms different from those familar to the colonizers. Such vastly different dress practices, especially nakedness, struck colonizers as evidence of the inferiority of subject populations. Because colonizers considered their own norms and lifestyles to be proof of their superior status, dress became an important boundary-marking mechanism.

Clothing Encounters

The cultural norms that guided the West's colonial encounters were shaped importantly by Christian notions of morality and translated into action across the colonial world by missionary societies from numerous denominations. The colonial conquest by Spain and Portugal of today's Latin America developed caste-like socioeconomic and political systems in which indigenous people and African slaves were forced to convert to Christianity and to wear Western styles of dress. Yet the rich weaving traditions of the Maya and Andean regions did not disappear but developed creative designs combining local and Christian symbols. When the Dutch colonized Indonesia in the seventeenth century and introduced Christianity, Islam was already long established. Subsequent interactions encompassed three distinct cultural spheres: Dutch and European, Muslim, and non-Muslim indigenous. The Dutch initially reserved Western-style dress for Europeans and for Christian converts.

Clothing "the natives" was a central focus of the missionary project in the early encounters between the West and the non-West, for example in Africa. In Bechuanaland, a frontier region between colonial Botswana and South Africa, the struggle for souls entailed dressing African bodies in European clothes to cover their nakedness and managing those bodies through new hygiene regimes. Missionaries were pleased when indigenous peoples accepted their clothing proposals, seeing it as a sign of religious conversion in the new moral economy of mind and body. In the Pacific, the encounter between missionary and indigenous clothing preferences sometimes produced striking results, as in the cultural synthesis in Samoan Christians' bark cloth "ponchos" that not only expressed new ideas of modesty but also in fact made modesty possible by providing new ways to cover bodies. In a number of island societies, Pacific Islanders' innovations and transformations of clothing resulted in new styles and designs.

In Melanesia, missionaries saw the eager adoption of printed calico as an outward sign of conversion, or at least openness to conversion, while Melanesians interpreted these patterns with reference to ideas about empowered bodies. Native peoples in North America also found floral designs on European printed cloth to be very attractive, incorporating them in embroidery on garments and crafts objects in increasingly stylized and abstract forms. Throughout the colonial world, missionary-inspired dress, often with links to traditional dress, developed in many directions. European styles and fabrics were incorporated in many places, such as in the smocked *Sotho* dress and the *Herero* long dress that serve as visible markers for "traditional" dress in southern Africa. Following independence from colonial rule, many such dress practices have come close to being considered national dress and are associated with notions of proper womanhood.

Colonial Behavior

Western civilization set the standards of dress for colonizers in foreign outposts in a way that stereotyped the differences between colonizer and subject populations. For example, Westerners often made a point of dressing

British soldiers in naval uniforms attack Malay villagers. Indigenous peoples were often considered inferior by colonizers, in part because of their different dress practices, causing dress to become a status-defining mechanism. JOHN S. MAJOR. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

in full European attire (woolen suits for men, corseted dresses for women) when touring up-country in the African bush or the jungles of Java; they wished their willingness to endure discomfort for the sake of dressing "properly" to be viewed as evidence of moral and cultural superiority. Although some Europeans in early encounter situations adopted local elements of dress, for example loose-stitched gowns of cotton and silk in India, colonial dress practice became increasingly rigid and formal. As time went by, colonial dress codes regarded cultural cross-dressing (a sign of "going native") to be an affront to the standards of the ruling group. Obsessions over dress extended to climate and disease. The British in India and Africa wore special underwear to guard themselves against sudden weather changes. They wore *sola topis*, flannel-lined solar helmets, to protect themselves against the dangerous rays of the sun. The fears associated with the physical environment provoked a form of a sometimes suicidal depression that contemporary medical doctors in east and southern Africa decribed as tropical neurasthenia.

Oppression and Resistance

In cases where colonial rulers regarded indigenous dress as a potential focus of resistance to the occupying power, suppression of local dress might be rigidly enforced. For example, when Korea was a Japanese colony (1910–1945), all markers of Korean cultural identity, including the use of the spoken and written Korean language and the wearing of the national *hanbok* costume, were ruthlessly suppressed. In contrast, in the Japanese colony of Taiwan (ruled 1895–1945), there was no readily identifiable national dress, and so the Japanese authorities did not pay particular attention to what Taiwanese people wore.

Colonizers often could not fully control how subjected people dressed. Migrant labor, urban life, and education introduced new consumption practices and desires, among them factory-produced textiles and European-styled fashions. Local people sometimes wore the new garments as they saw fit. They were highly selective about which items of foreign dress they absorbed into their local dress repertoires. With new clothes also came new etiquettes that might be at variance with local ways, such as the practice in India and Indonesia of removing one's shoes when entering a building and covering one's head as signs of respect.

Indigenous persons of high rank, the new elite, and men were among the first to incorporate items of Western clothing into their wardrobes. Because the suit was a hallmark of colonial authority, jackets and trousers signified status, education, and colonial employment. In India, some men who adopted Western fabrics retained Indian dress styles while others had Indian garments tailored to take on a European look. New combination garments consisted of both Indian and European clothes—for example, shoes and trousers worn with coats in local styles and distinctive hats, a Western-style jacket on top of locally styled trousers or a sarong. In parts of Africa, highly decorated military uniforms were worn by kings and paramount chiefs on special occasions in combination with other styles of dress and accessories such as animal skins. The big robes, *boubous*, worn by Muslim men in West Africa, were not widely abandoned in favor of Western suits and are today worn with pride as evidence of a different dress aesthetic than the strong linear form of the Western suit.

Except for the elite, women in many parts of the colonial world were more resistant to adopt the new dress styles. Adopting European fabrics while retaining regional styles was popular among Indian women, who might add new accessories such as shoes, petticoats, and jackets to their Indian dress. Their saris might incorporate the latest trends in color and design from Europe. European suit jackets, often acquired in the used-clothing trade, are combined with indigenous garments in hybrid styles of men's clothing from Africa to Afghanistan. Across most of Africa, women eagerly appropriated factory-produced cloth, much of it manufactured in Europe incorporating "African" designs, into their everyday dress style of wrapper and headtie, tailored and highly constructed dresses, alongside a variety of Western-style garments.

Exoticizing Dress Practices

In early colonial encounters, the British in India and the Dutch in Indonesia mapped and organized the diversity of the peoples they ruled in terms of dress. In late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Paris, Brussels, London, and Chicago, among other places, preoccupations with the racial attributes of dress were showcased at expositions displaying colonial subjects in "traditional" clothes. The contemporary desire to catalog the world by parading exotic people in "traditional" dress as ethnographic specimens helped to accentuate the difference between the familiar and exotic in highly stereotypical ways. Postcards, produced for example in Algeria and Indonesia, displaying women in erotic stances and exotic clothing, made women's dress central to the marking of cultural difference. With the West as voyeur, such postcards projected invidious images of the exotic onto women's dressed bodies.

Dress as Artifact and Cultural Revival

Not all segments of colonial society advocated the adoption of Western dress for their local subjects. Some, who were able to adopt an attitude of cultural pluralism, appreciated differences in dress without assuming the superiority of European styles, while others promoted the revival of local dress and adornment as a way of safeguarding threatened cultures and their aesthetics. In northeast Canada, French Ursuline nuns promoted pictorial and floral imagery among Native Americans in sewing and embroidery, stimulating a commodification of Indian curios. Over time, these depictions shifted from images of "noble savages" to colonial nostalgia scenes depicting the imminent disappearance of a way of life dependent on nature. Similar managed efforts in support of cultural survival were instituted in many places in Latin Americia, Africa, India, South and Southeast Asia, and the Pacific. Products of these cultural revival movements often did not remain within the societies that produced them, but were acquired for private and public collections and museums of textile arts. Although they all have given rise to interpretations about authenticity, such artifacts were everywhere the products of complex interactions and influences that demonstrate continuous incorporation of new developments and inspirations into "tradition."

The retention or revival of some of these clothing and textile traditions sometimes served to express rejection of colonialism, such as in Gandhi's call on Indians to wear homespun cloth. Some dress and textile traditions are used to make claims for political representation in states where indigenous people are subordinated or threatenend, for example in the Amazon region of Brazil. Another development of the cultural revival of textiles and dress practices has turned the process into fashion, in which newly developed styles that are considered ethnically chic attract consumers in former colonies and the world beyond.

The Seductions of Imperialism

Imperialism, which in the modern usage of the term usually involves influence on another country or culture but not direct colonial control, can have a powerful effect on the clothing of the subject culture. The effect is usually voluntary (as opposed to the actual imposition of new forms of dress by missionaries and colonial administrators), but it can be seen as a form of cultural coercion in which voluntarism is compromised. The effects can take a wide range of forms.

In Japan during the Meiji Period (1868–1912), the government energetically promoted modernization as a way of strengthening the country, with a twofold goal: to prevent Japan's being taken over as a colony by any European power, and to prepare Japan to compete on equal terms with Europe as a colonial power itself. The effort to emulate the strength of the West included a promotion of beef-eating (formerly nearly unknown in Japan) and a wholesale adoption of Western-style clothing, at least by urban elites.

In China at the end of the nineteenth century, a deliberate effort was made to design a new-style military and school uniform that would be "modern" but not too "Western." The result was an early version of the Sun Yat-sen suit (later to be known in the West as the Mao Zedong suit), based on the Prussian military uniform but with a collar derived from that of the traditional Chinese long gown.

A third example, one so ubiquitous as to be part of the common wisdom about the modern world, has been the worldwide spread of sartorial markers of Western popular culture: the T-shirt, jeans, and running shoes. No one has forced any teenager in the Third World to wear these garments; almost no one (short of fanatical religious dictatorships such as the Taliban in Afghanistan) has succeeded in preventing them from doing so. Denounced by nationalists and cultural conservatives as "cultural imperialism," the trend nevertheless seems irreversible.

Transformative Encounters and Contesting Clothes

Colonies and empires exerted a limited form of rule over subject populations both in relation to the exercise of power and the will and ability to transform society. The clothing practices colonialism inspired in many parts of the world demonstrate an important lesson about the relation between colonialism and dress. Colonialism was always a transformative encounter in which subject people were active participants rather then passive respondents to sartorial impositions from the outside. When dress served as a boundary-making mechanism, it did so in ways that were contested. Because the meanings of the dressed body everywhere are ambiguous, the colonial encounter enabled local people to take pride in long-held aesthetics expressed in new dress media and forms. It enabled the creation of styles of "national dress" that as invented traditions have served as cultural assertions for shifting claims to political voice and representation between the late colonial period and the present. Last but not least, colonial dress practices from Latin America, to India, to Japan have become part of everyday wardrobes everywhere, opening a world of dress for which everyone is the richer.

See also **Africa, North: History of Dress; Africa, Sub-Saharan: History of Dress; America, Central, and Mexico: History of Dress; America, North: History of Dress; Americas, South: History of Dress; Asia, East: History of Dress; Asia, South: History of Dress; Asia, Southeastern Islands and the Pacific: History of Dress; Asia, Southeastern Mainland: History of Dress.**

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Karen Tranberg Hansen

COLOR IN DRESS

COLOR IN DRESS Color attracts attention, creates an emotional connection, and leads the consumer to the product (Brannon, p. 117). Color is often a primary reason why a person is attracted to and buys a particular item of clothing. A new T-shirt in a different color can help transform the look of a product year after year. Color captures a viewer's interest because it is both easily recognizable and distinctive. We often describe clothing in terms of color, such as "a blue suit."

The study of color is complex and involves light, vision, and pigment as well as science, technology, and art. In addition, colored pigment behaves differently than colored light. Although there are many models of color classification, the Munsell color system with its numeric notation for each color is widely used and accepted to describe color pigments and the color properties that relate to dress.

Color Dimensions

All pigment color systems recognize that three dimensions describe color—hue (the name), intensity (brightness/dullness), and value (lightness/darkness). All three dimensions are present in every color and every color starts with hue. Value and intensity are adjectives that describe variations of any hue (light bright green, or deep dull red, for instance).

Hue. The name of the color as designated on the color wheel is its hue—the visual sensation of blue, for example. Each hue has an individual physical character: pri-

Color for the Individual

Packaging of colors for individual selection has been used to market color (Jackson 1981; Pinckney and Swenson 1981). Color selection for clothing is based upon colors that are grouped according to some easily remembered system, such as nature's seasons. Winter and spring colors are described as clear, vivid, and bright, while summer and fall are less intense. Winter and summer colors are cool; spring and fall colors are warm. Personal color analysis systems range from offering small pre-packaged color palettes, to specifically selected colors for each individual.

The Color Key system categorizes color according to warm or cool overtones that contain all basic hues, values, and intensities (Brannon 2000). Color Key 1 consists of cool, clear colors and Color Key 2 includes warm, earth tone colors; each has a corresponding color fan of paint chips that can be used to coordinate paint for interiors and apparel colors. This color key system implies that people will look and feel better when surrounded by colors that reflect their personal coloring.

mary pigment hues are red, yellow, and blue. No other colors combine to make them, but these colors combine to make all other hues. The secondary hues, orange, green, and violet are mixtures of the adjacent primary hues; orange is a mixture of red and yellow; violet is a mixture of red and blue. The hue spectrum runs from red to violet, and is usually depicted as a circle of hues with the primary hues separated by the secondary. Tertiary hues (sometimes called intermediate) result from mixing a primary and a secondary, that is, red-orange or blue-violet.

Groups or categories of colors that share common sensory effects are often called families. Related hues (sometimes called analogous) such as blue-violet, violet, and red-violet, are adjacent on the color wheel and constitute a color family. Contrasting colors are separated from each other on the color wheel. Contrasting color schemes include complementary and split-complementary. Hues opposite each other, such as yellow and purple-blue, are called complementary because they complete the spectrum; each contains primaries the other lacks. Complementary hues can produce an afterimage of each other. If you stare at one hue for several seconds, when you glance away to a neutral surface, you will see an image of its complement. In a split-complementary scheme the color on either side of the complement is selected, green, red-orange, and red-violet, for example.

Value. Each hue has a specific normal or home value; the home value of yellow is close to white or light gray, and violet is as dark as very dark gray. Values have an effect upon colors in combination. For example, the complements red and green have similar values, offering hue contrast but not value contrast. However, the complementary hues of yellow and violet at normal value offer both hue and value contrast.

Contrasting values can affect the perception of edge in adjacent surfaces. A light value surface placed next to a dark one offers a strong visual pull to the difference between the two surfaces. Applications can be found in the value contrast between a white shirt and black trousers, light skin and dark hair, or dark hair and skin and pastel suit.

Intensity. The relative purity or saturation of a color is its intensity, sometimes referred to as chroma. This dimension describes the strength of a color. Saturated colors are primary and secondary hues at their purest and strongest on the color wheel. Each hue has a range of saturation from full intensity to neutral gray. Intensity provides hue with its vividness or neutrality. Intensity yields a variety of expressions. A saturated hue is intense and usually evokes a response of excitement or energy. Less saturated hues range from nearly bright to almost muted incorporating many moods. Hues in the lowest intensities are neutral colors and often are the foundation of a wardrobe. If used together at full strength, complementary colors can vibrate. The addition of a hue's complement lowers its saturation toward neutral gray and can increase its livability.

Intensity is influenced by surface texture. Even minor surface irregularities reflect minute areas of light that cast miniature shadows; this has the effect of dulling the intensity of a color. If a fabric with a distinct weave or surface were dipped into the same dye bath as a smooth material, it would appear duller in color because of the softening effect of the napped texture. Conversely, a smooth shiny surface will make a soft color appear stronger (Goldstein and Goldstein 1960, pp. 184–185).

Psychophysical Effects of Color

Psychophysical effects can be tied to hue characteristics. The temperature of a hue, the space from which it is viewed, and the color combinations used to create it can influence perception.

Warm and cool. Warm hues, light values, and strong intensities seem to advance while cool hues, dark values, and desaturated hues recede. Hues that advance also expand a shape. Warm colors and dark values are perceived as dense or solid and are often associated with muted earth tones such as brick or red-orange, ocher, or golden brown. Cool colors seem to reduce a shape. Cool hues and light values are associated with air, distant mountains, and water and may present an appearance of distance, depth, shadow, coolness, and lightness.

Warm hues, light values, and saturated colors such as bright orange or shocking pink can seem loud or noisy. Cool hues, dark values, and desaturated colors like deep taupe or dark violet are quiet by comparison.

Spatial position. Hues viewed singly can produce an afterimage and this affects colors on the body. When the viewer concentrates on a clothing surface and then glances at the face, the skin can appear to take on tinges of the complement to the hue of the clothing. Thus after looking intensely at a green sweater, a viewer who glances up at the face may find it tinged with the complement, red.

Whether a hue is directly surrounded by another hue or is separated in some way will influence its perceptual effect. When individual colors are separated by black or white, both their singleness of character and their interaction are suppressed somewhat. Black causes adjacent hues to seem lighter and more brilliant; a surround of white often appears to darken them.

Visual mixing. Colors combined in very small patterns or woven together appear to mix visually. When two or more colors are interwoven onto one surface the result can be more vibrant than a surface of just one color. Complementary hues or black and white threads woven together will create a surface that appears gray or neutral when viewed from a distance. If the size of the black and white threads is increased, a salt-and-pepper effect is created.

Color and the Body

Color and dress enter a relationship with color and the body. As a composite of colors, human coloration can be analyzed in the same way as other pigments to predict the effects of color in dress. Similarity of any of the attributes of colors placed upon the body can form a powerful visual relationship with the body.

A person's appearance is a combination of the surfaces placed upon the body and the individual's personal body coloring. Included in appearance are the body colors of skin, hair, and eyes. What surrounds a particular color affects how it appears. The pre-existing colors of the body are influenced by other colors placed upon it, so the body colors affect the surfaces placed upon it and the reverse is also true. In addition, the clothed body can be greatly influenced by colors of the surrounding environment and by lighting effects.

By matching, naming, and locating personal body colors, an individual can begin to understand color relationships. Intensity is a difficult dimension of color to describe when applied to body colors because the skin surface requires noting small and subtle differences. "Highlights" in one's personal coloring may include areas of the hair, skin, or eyes that seem more intense than other areas. "Undertone" is used to describe underlying colors of skin and hair. Identifying both highlights and undertones for an individual helps in placing colors on the body that are related by similarity or contrast.

Color as a source of association. Color is associated with many natural objects of similar color and therefore can acquire similar meaning according to that association. Sunshine is yellow and warm: yellow is warm. Blue is cool and distant as the mountains and water. Red is exciting like fire and in many cultures red signals danger. Mood is associated with color, too; we have the "blues," or we are "green" with envy.

Colors may be associated symbolically with specific peoples or historic periods. In the 1960s in the United States, psychedelic colors were symbolic of the decade and included combinations of intense hues of pink, yellow, blue, green, and purple. Koreans favor celadon green, a pastel blue-green, because of its traditional association with pottery and ceramics, and white is used for mourning dress in Korea (Geum and DeLong).

Color preferences. Human response to colors can be measured and identified both collectively and individually, and psychologists have studied the formation of and reaction to color preferences. Eysenck (Brannon 2000) published research in 1941 that showed a consistent order of color preferences in adults: blue, red, green, purple, yellow, orange. According to Itten (1973) people have subjective individual preferences that include dimensions of hue, value, and intensity. The Lüscher Color Test (1969) links personality to color preferences. Subjects are asked to arrange color chips in order of preference and the results are analyzed to take into consideration both the meaning and impact of the colors as selected.

Color Marketing

Color is rated as the most important aesthetic criterion in consumer preference (Eckman, Damhorst, and Kadolph 1990). Because color is a complex phenomenon, marketers can present merchandise in coordinated colors in an effort to help the consumer select purchases. When a line of clothing is color coordinated, wardrobe planning may seem less difficult to the consumer. Designers and manufacturers may coordinate colors within a season, or from one fashion season to another so that colors of a suit from the past season will coordinate with a shirt the next season. Selections of cosmetics are a part of color coordination of the body in a clothing ensemble and may be linked to personal coloring or to one's wardrobe colors.

Fashion in colors. Color has had a fashionable aspect historically. Editors of contemporary fashion often cite a color for a season as a means of marketing clothing. History is often recognized by the colors or color combinations fashionable at the time. Examples include the raspberry pink and lime green of mid-twentieth century, or the pastels and filmy light tints at the end of the nineteenth century.

Forecasters take advantage of the importance attached to color by advancing a color palette for a given season. Color forecasting began in 1915 (Brannon 2000) and is based upon analysis of cultural demographics and color patterns. A cyclical pattern of color coordination occurs from High Chroma, Multicolored, Subdued, Earth Tones, Achromatic, Purple, and then back to High Chroma (Brannon 2000).

Target markets. Color is used for brand identification. Conceived broadly, this could include a designer's line of clothing or the introduction of a single color. Ralph Lauren tends to select middle value hues of low intensity for his depiction of "traditional" values. Elsa Schiaparelli introduced a single identifier, "shocking pink."

See also **Aesthetic Dress; Appearance; Dyeing.**

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Marilyn Revell DeLong

COMME DES GARÇONS Rei Kawakubo was born in Tokyo in 1942, the daughter of a senior academic at Keio University. She studied fine art (both Japanese and Western) at Keio and, after graduating in 1964, joined the advertising department of the Japanese chemical company Asahi Kasei, which produced acrylic fabrics. From 1967 she worked as a freelance fashion stylist, but, critical of the selection of clothes available in Japan, she started designing them herself.

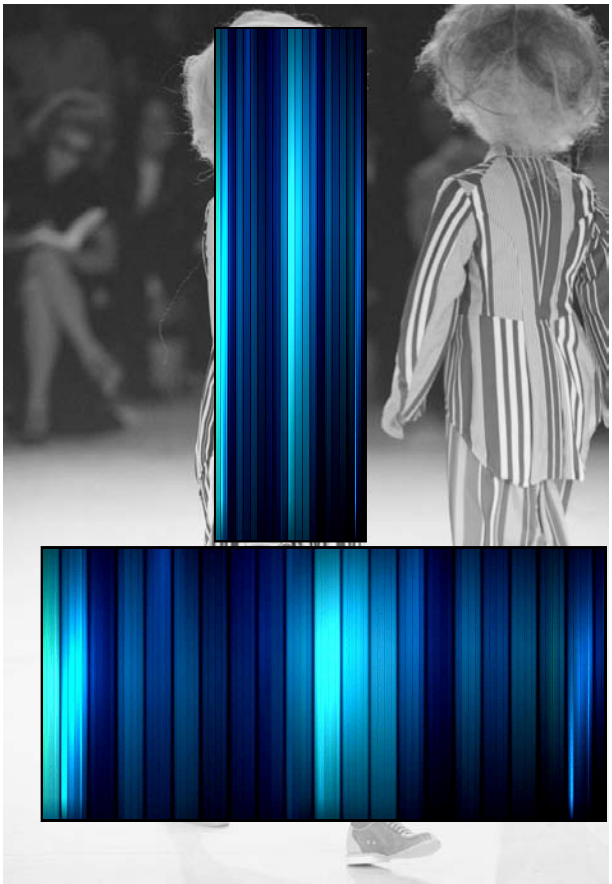
> I wanted to have some kind of job to earn money because at that time, having money meant being free. I never dreamt of being a fashion designer like other people. When I was young, it was just a way of earning a living by doing something I found I could do: making clothes and taking them around the shops to sell them. (Frankel, p. 8)

By 1969 she was producing clothing under the label Comme des Garçons, and in 1973 she formed a limited company. The moniker was typically enigmatic; named after the title of a French soldier's song meaning "Like the Boys," she designed clothes that eschewed conventional sexuality.

Distinctive Looks and Products

In 1975 Kawakubo showed her first collection in Tokyo, and in 1976, in a collaboration with the architect Takao Kawasaki, who has since designed most of Comme's typically calm and austere outlets, the first Comme des Garçons shop opened in the Minami-Aoyama district. The first shop did not even have mirrors, because Kawakubo wanted women to buy clothes because of how they felt rather than the way they looked. In 1978 Kawakubo introduced the Homme line; she followed it with Tricot and Robe de Chambre in 1981 and Noir in 1987. In 1981 Kawakubo launched her first women's collection in Paris at the same time as her compatriot Yohji Yamamoto, and soon afterward she joined the Chambre Syndicale du Pret-a-Porter.

Although the West was aware of other Japanese designers, such as Kenzo Takada and Issey Miyake, who had trained in Paris and New York, Kawakubo's vision was uncompromisingly severe and challenging. Her early shows made an indelible impression on the fashion world with their monochrome palette and distressed fabrics, with exposed seams and fraying edges influenced by Japanese work wear. Rather than echoing the contours of the body, she enclosed it in oversized swathes of fabric. The voluminous, layered, asymmetrical forms were accessorized with flat footwear, and the cosmetics and



Woman models Comme des Garçons dress. Japanese designer Rei Kawakubo's style is unconventional and cerebral, and she admits to favoring creations that are "difficult to wear."

hair styles seemed apocalyptic to many, but the influence of her clothes soon spread, particularly for those who were prepared to be challenged by clothing, "I think that pieces that are difficult to wear are very interesting, because if people make the effort and wear them, then they can feel a new form of energy and a certain strength. I want to give people that chance" (Petronio, pp. 154–155).

Early supporters included Joan Burstein, proprietress of Browns, who stocked Comme des Garçons beginning in 1981, and more recent enthusiasts from the art and media world include contemporary art gallery owner and collector Charles Saatchi, furniture designer Tom Dixon, chef Ruth Rogers, Lucy Ferrry (rock-star Brian Ferry's wife), the actress Miranda Richardson, the rock star Sting, and Sting's wife, Trudi Styler. Kawakubo has explored color, and her silhouettes tend to be more fitted, but her work continues to be typified by complex patternmaking and experimentation with natural and man-made textiles. For those uncomfortable with overt sexuality in fashion and intrigued by her cerebral approach to material and form, Kawakubo's work offers an alternative aesthetic language to mainstream Western fashion. Kawakubo's clothes are architectonic, concentrating on structure rather than surface. A black pullover with holes in it in the Victoria and Albert Museum's collection of 1982 is an essay on deconstruction of form and the contained chaos that it inhabits.

Consistent Image

Kawakubo's aesthetic vision extends beyond clothes to embrace every facet of her company, giving consistency to her image all around the world. The controlled presentation of her clothes within the architecture of her shops includes photography, graphics, and packaging. She explains, "Everything that I do or that is seen as the result of Comme des Garçon's work is the same. They are all different ways of expressing the same shared values, from a collection to a museum, a shop or even a perfume" (Petronio, pp. 154–155). (Rather than having a name, each fragrance is simply numbered, based on its chemical components, and then vacuum packed like coffee in a plastic sachet.) Kawakubo's innovative graphics have been evident from early on in her career in a series of photographic catalogs of the collections and numerous brochures, posters, greetings, and announcement cards.

In 1988 she launched the biannual magazine *Six*, which is characterized by having little text, for Kawakubo prefers the images to speak for themselves. *Six* mixes images of clothes with portraits, photographic features, and shots of things that she finds beautiful, such as wildflowers growing beside a road or plastic sheeting flapping in the wind. This aesthetic was emulated in the photographic essay she designed for the exhibition catalog of the Victoria and Albert Museum's exhibition *Radical Fashion* (2001).

Creative Collaborations

Kawakubo's creativity has extended to many events and collaborations, from museum and gallery exhibitions to performances to collaborations with architects, photographers, graphic designers, and even a floral artist. She has worked with the artists Cindy Sherman and Jean-Pierre Raynaud, and in 1997 she designed the set and costumes for Merce Cunningham's work *Scenario*, performed at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and the Palais Garnier in Paris. Kawakubo said that fashion and modern dance are

> really the same. With a collection presentation, I think about the total concept, the environment, the lighting and the make-up as well as the clothes. And the pressure to create something new and beautiful is similarly the same. Of course, the added dimension is the dancers' movements which was the risk. When I saw the rehearsal for the first time, I was fascinated how the shapes changed and came alive with the movements of the dancers. (Johnson, p. 49)

The designs for *Scenario* derived from Kawakubo's spring 1997 collection, Body Becomes Dress, Dress Becomes Body, in which she used feather padding to produce bulges under the clothes, an effect that altered the natural silhouette of the body. Kawakubo said, "It is always stimulating to do new things. The goal of my work for 'Scenario' is the same as my goal for everything: to create something strong, and beautiful and new" (Johnson, pp. 48–53).

Distinctive Collections

Although Kawakubo's clothes are typified by an independence from mainstream fashion, the collections often obliquely reflect current styles. For example, she included strips of camouflage (which was fashionable at the time) in her Optical Shock collection of 2001. Her autumn–winter 2002 collection parodied overtly provocative clothing with large, tulle, 1950s skirts and bras with squashed-in cups worn on top of jackets or even slung around the posterior, while the back seams of billowing trousers gaped open to reveal an arc of flesh. This was really modern erotica. She remarked,

> What I would love to transmit and tell people isn't so much in my working method or creative approach, but more in the values in which I believe. It wouldn't be interesting if everyone wore the same clothes or worked the same ways. I would want to convince people to be courageous and try things differently. (Petronio, pp. 154–155)

Kawakubo's spring–summer 2004 collection featured skirt after skirt shaped like inverted flowers, teamed with a simple gauze top over bared breasts, radical because of its insistence on presenting only one form. The effect was to make the viewer focus on the variations on form and cloth, which varied from beige cotton to bright, bold patterns, completed with tricorn fabric headgear. Kawakubo described the collection as abstract excellence. Suzy Menkes described it as "an expression of artistry, imagination and a certain sweet elegance. And it represented the power of Paris to accommodate ideology in the industry."

Overview of Company

In the early twenty-first century Comme des Garçons is an extremely successful company. Its various lines are designed to appeal to audiences in both the West and the East, all overseen by Kawakubo herself. In 1982 and 1983 she opened her first shops in Paris and New York, and in 1984 the Comme des Garçons Homme plus collection was introduced. In 1986 an American subsidiary company was launched, and in 1988 the shirt line, which was manufactured in France and provided affordable garments to a European audience, was introduced. In 1989 the Comme des Garçons flagship store opened in Aoyama, Tokyo. Having first designed furniture pieces specifically for her stores, Kawakubo turned her attention to a retail line of furniture in the late 1980s. In 1987 Comme des Garçons's furniture showrooms opened in Tokyo and Paris, with the furniture manufactured by the Italian company Pallucco. In 1992 along with her protégé Junya Watanabe she launched the Junya Watanabe Comme des Garçons collection, and in 1993 the Comme des Garçons Comme des Garçons line was introduced. In 2000 a perfume boutique was opened in Paris.

Recognitions and Legacy

Kawakubo has received many honors in recognition of her achievements. They include the following: Night of the Stars award from the Fashion Group, New York (1986); the Mainichi Newspaper award (1988); the Business Woman of the Year award from Veuve Clicquot (1991); and Chevalier de l'Ordre des arts et des lettres, awarded by the French Ministry of Culture (1993). In 1997 she received an honorary doctorate from the Royal College of Art, London, and in 2000, the Excellence in Design Award from the Harvard University Graduate School of Design, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Her work has also been celebrated in many museum and gallery exhibitions, such as *Mode et photo*, an exhibition of Comme des Garçons photography at the Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris (1986), and *Three Voices: Franco Albini, Kris Ruhs, Rei Kawakubo*, Paris (1993). She has had a furniture exhibition at the Galleria Carla Sozzani, Milan, and the *Essence of Quality* exhibition of Comme des Garçons Noir with the Kyoto Costume Institute, Kyoto, Japan. In 1995 she participated in the *Mode and Art* exhibition in Brussels, Belgium. In 1996 she participated in the *Art and Fashion* exhibition at the Florence Biennale Internazionale dell'Arte Contemporanea in Italy. She featured in the *Three Women: Madeleine Vionnet, Claire McCardell and Rei Kawakubo* exhibition at the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York, and in *Radical Fashion* at the Victoria and Albert Museum in 2001.

Since Rei Kawakubo's first show in Paris, Comme des Garçons clothes have continued to be characterized by complex patternmaking and an unmistakable mix of the hand-crafted and technology. Her role in the history of twentieth- and twenty-first-century fashion is about the creative fusion of two cultures and two audiences. In her words, "If my ultimate goal was to achieve financial success, I would have done things differently, but I want to create something new. I want to suggest to people different aesthetics and values. I want to question their being" (Frankel, p. 158).

See also **Art and Fashion; Dance and Fashion; Fashion Designer; Fashion Magazines.**

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Claire Wilcox

COMMUNIST DRESS Communist dress appeared in diverse guises in Russia and East European countries during seventy-two years of communist rule, and both similarities and differences between them were informed by the political, economic, and social organization of society in the respective countries. The differences between those countries were twofold. The first group of differences is related to dogmatic implementation of communist orthodoxy, while the second refers to the fact that Soviet Russia turned to communism in 1917 and went through a series of very different communist practices, from Leninism through the NEP and its re-introduction of semicapitalism, to Stalinism, even before World War II. Soviet-style communism was imposed on other East European communist states, and after 1948 they were forced to reject their own fashion traditions and to officially accept the centralized Soviet model of clothes production and distribution. In that way, the periodization of communist dress codes from the 1950s onwards followed similar patterns in Soviet Russia and the East European countries. Still, practices of dress were diversified. Contrary to the prevailing image of communist dress as uniform and gray, three styles of clothing—official, everyday, and subversive—coexisted in communist societies, even though all communist regimes initially rejected the notion of fashion as decadent and bourgeois.

Bolshevik Rejection of Fashion

In 1917, Bolshevik Russia attempted to abolish Western-style dress. The sartorial eclecticism that nevertheless prevailed in everyday life was heavily attacked, first by the futurists and later by the constructivists, as part of petit-bourgeois culture.

The constructivist artists Varvara Stepanova, Liubov Popova, Aleksandr Rodchenko, and Vladimir Tatlin all proposed simple, hygienic and functional clothes. In 1923, Stepanova's programmatic article, "The Dress of Our Times: The Overall," with its insistence on functionality, anonymity, simplicity, efficiency, and a precise social role for clothes, was the most radical proposal. In practice, only Popova and Stepanova entered into real production when, in 1923, they became textile designers in the First State Textile Print Factory in Moscow. They abolished the traditional motives of flowers, but their minimalist geometric patterns never had a real chance compared with the old decorative florals, either inside the factory floor or among the traditionally oriented mass consumers.

Nadezhda Lamanova

After seizing power, the Bolsheviks nationalized both textile factories and retail establishments, and their activities centralized. The most prominent pre-revolutionary Russian fashion designer, Nadezhda Lamanova, who catered for both the aristocracy and the artistic elite, and had been officially recognized as a couturier to the court, embraced the political and social changes brought by the revolution. She lost her well-established high-class fashion salon, but subsequently either was in charge of, or actively involved in, the various state-initiated institutions dealing with clothes and fashion, and worked simultaneously as a costume designer for theater and film.

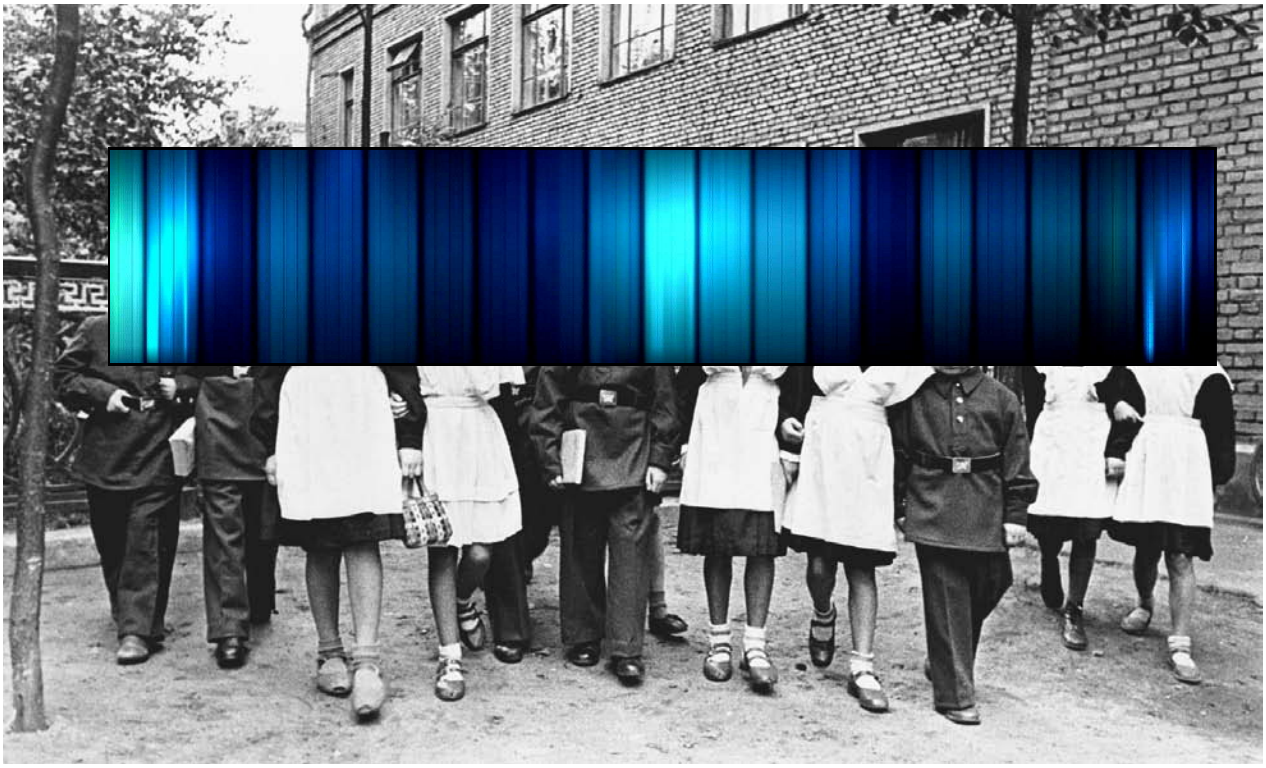
Westernized NEP Fashion

When the Bolsheviks finally won over their external and internal enemies in 1921, they had no resources left to implement their avant-garde social and cultural programs. In 1921, with the approval of Lenin, the New Economic Policy (the NEP) was established. By recognizing private ownership and entrepreneurship, the NEP signaled the return of capitalistic practices and a bourgeois way of life. In the NEP circles of newly-rich Russian capitalists, Western fashion experienced a true revival. The designer Alexandra Exter was instrumental in starting the Atelier of Fashion (Atel'e Mod) in Moscow, founded in 1923 by the Moskvochvey textile company. It was supposed to fulfill two tasks: supplying prototypes for mass production and catering to individual customers. In reality, Exter and her colleagues dressed the new NEP bourgeoisie in highly decorated, luxurious clothes. The aesthetics of the Atelier of Fashion was laid out in a fashion magazine *Atelier*, of which only one issue was published, in 1923. During the NEP period, the Western-style flapper dress found itself in the company of jazz and Hollywood movies, as attitudes toward the Western bourgeois urban culture shifted.

In 1924, Lamanova was put in charge of the artistic laboratory that supplied prototypes for the Kustexport, the craftsmen's association founded in 1920 in collaboration with the Ministry for Foreign Trade to export folk art. She and her collaborators (Vera Mukhina, Alexandra Exter, Evgeniia Pribylskaia, and Nadezhda Makarova) agreed on the approach of putting Russian folk motifs on current Western women's wear, and her folk-embroidered day dresses received the Grand Prix at the International Exhibition of Applied Arts in Paris in 1925.

Stalinist Representational Dress

Stalin's rise to power and the introduction of the First Five Year Plan in 1929 brought the NEP to its end. Dur-



Children walking to school. Political changes in Eastern Europe heavily influenced fashion, ranging from the austere, functional, classless communist dress during the post-World War II years to a more open attitude toward Western fashion influence in the 1950s.

ing the mid-1930s, the Stalinist regime encouraged social distinctions by creating huge disparities in wages and created a new socialist middle class, which received material goods, from housing to fashion, in exchange for supporting the system. For the first time, communism recognized the relation of fashion to femininity and adornment, allowing its incorporation into the new mass culture that was emerging.

In the mid-1930s, a huge official campaign of civilizing the new socialist middle class dictated, among other things, both good manners and appropriate dress. Stalinism abolished all previous socialist dress styles: the avant-garde, the westernized NEP, and the thematic textiles, which in the late 1920s featured the urgent issues of the day—construction, electrification, and agriculture. Stalinism needed a different, conservative fashion style.

Moscow House of Fashion

In 1934, fashion consciousness was officially confirmed as part of Stalin's mass culture with the opening of the House of Fashion in Moscow. The established fashion designer Nadezhda Makarova was its first director, while the doyenne of Russian fashion, Nadezhda Lamanova, was appointed artistic consultant. The main task of the designers and the sample-makers engaged by the House of Fashion was to impose genuine Soviet styles and to make prototypes for mass-production by huge textile companies.

Two luxurious fashion publications, the monthly *Fashion Journal (Zhurnal mod)* and the bi-annual *Fashions of the Seasons (Modeli sezona)*, were designed in the House of Fashion and published under the auspices of the Ministry of Light Industry. In 1937, the same ministry advertised chic hats, fur coats, and perfumes, featuring fashionably dressed and made-up women, contrasting sharply with the poverty-stricken reality. Houses of Fashion were instituted in the other cities and capitals of the Soviet Republics, making clothes production highly controlled and centralized. But in the centrally organized system, which did not recognize the market, access to goods was the main privilege and determined hierarchically. Clothes and fashion accessories were either too expensive or unattainable for the masses.

Whereas the early Bolsheviks rejected even the very word "fashion" and insisted on functional clothing, Stalinism, in a sharp ideological turn, granted fashion a highly representational role. Stalinist dress featured a new Stalinist aesthetic, a blend of Russian folk tradition and Hollywood glamour, appropriate to Stalinist ideals of classical beauty and traditional femininity. The Bolshevik austere and undecorated "New Woman" became a "Super

Woman" during Stalinism, and dresses with accentuated waistlines and shoulders followed her curvy body.

East European Communist Dress

The Soviet system of centralized production and distribution of clothes was forced on East European countries after 1948, when the communists seized power, regardless of their previously higher levels of technical and stylistic skill in clothing design and production. The East European communist regimes embraced early Soviet ideology, officially rejecting Western fashion. East European communist dress was not only born inside a reality burdened with postwar material poverty, but also inside a reality stripped of all previous clothing references. Clothing was forbidden to evoke beauty or elegance. It was officially claimed that functional, simple, and classless communist dress, which would fulfill all the sartorial needs of working women, would result from serious scientific and technical research.

In the following decades, however, the East European communist regimes' attitudes toward clothes and fashion were influenced by political changes in the Soviet Union. A new ideological turn occurred when Khrushchev affirmed his rule in 1956 and declared war on excessive Stalinist aesthetics. Leaving the worst practices of Stalinist isolationism behind, Khrushchev opened the U.S.S.R. to the West. In the late 1950s, official attitudes toward Western fashion mellowed in the communist countries. Nonetheless, with neither tradition nor market, and aspiring to control fashion change within their centralized fashion systems, the communist regimes could not keep up with Western fashion trends. By the end of the 1950s, the official version of communist fashion returned to traditional sartorial expressions and practices of traditional femininity, bearing witness to the regimes' inability to create a genuine communist fashion.

Communist Fashion Congresses

From that period onward, the official fashions were exhibited in glamorous fashion drawings and photo shoots in state-owned women's magazines, representative fashion shows, and ambitious presentations at domestic and foreign trade fairs. However, clothing design, production, and distribution remained highly centralized throughout the communist world, leading eventually to serious shortages and dilution of quality. A glamorous official communist version of fashion existed as an ideological construct, despite the shortages and poor quality of clothes in everyday life. Annual fashion congresses between communist countries, at which new fashions were proposed and adopted, began in 1949 and continued through the end of the communist period.

As the need for an official communist fashion increased at the end of the 1950s, when the regimes rushed to clothe their emerging communist middle classes, the fashion congress became more ambitious and rotated among communist capitals, for which participant countries prepared collections of prototypes. The official communist fashions included orgies of luxurious fabrics and extravagant cuts for excessive evening wear and day wear of ensembles of overcoats and matching dresses or conservative suits, accompanied by ladylike handbags, shoes with high heels, hats, and gloves. This conservative style was diluted into anonymous and moderate dress codes through official womens' and fashion magazines. Media insistence on timeless and classical sartorial aesthetics conformed with socialist values of modesty and moderation and discomfort with individuality and unpredictability.

As the race between West and East to industrialize transformed into competition over standards of living and consumption, political and social shifts affected communist fashion trends. After decades of rejection of Western fashion, Christian Dior presented a prominent fashion show in Moscow in 1959, and in Prague in 1966. In 1967 an international fashion festival took place in Moscow, presenting both Western and East European collections. Coco Chanel's presentation was recognized as the best current trend, but the grand prix was awarded to the Russian designer Tatiana Osmerkina for a dress called "Russia." When mass culture and Western youthful dress and music trends could not be held back anymore, the communist regimes officially recognized a rationalized version of consumption, and the Five Year Plans in the 1960s and 1970s addressed fashion and appearance concerns. The fashions in the plans, however, did not materialize in the shops.

Everyday and Subversive Dress

Jeans provide the best examples of both the production inadequacies of the planned economies and the futility of their attempting to ignore fashion demands. Domestic production of jeans started in the Soviet Union, East Germany, and Poland only in 1975 but was marked by failures. In 1978, the Soviet media reported that manufacture of a new denim fabric, the fifty-sixth in a row, was officially promised to begin. The official ambivalence toward Western fashion continued throughout communist times, informed by isolationism, fear of uncontrollable fashion changes, and the rejection of the market.

In everyday reality, however, women in those societies found alternative ways of acquiring clothes, from doing it themselves (communist women's magazines regularly published paper patterns), to the black market, seamstresses, and private fashion salons, which catered to both the ousted prewar elite and the new ruling elite.

Scarcities in state shops and black market activity made Western fashion goods particularly attractive, and the immaculate and fashionable personal look became an ideal for millions of women in communist countries, who were prepared for many sacrifices in order to achieve it. From the end of the 1960s, unofficial channels, with the discreet approval of the regimes, became increasingly important, and dress and beautifying practices occupied an important position in second societies and economies. Small fashion salons, shoe repair shops, hair salons, and beauty parlors offered goods and services that the state did not provide.

In contrast to the official communist fashion, which suited the slow and over-controlled communist master narrative ideology, everyday dress reflected a wide range of influences, from bare necessity to high fashion. Fashionable street dress undermined the command economy by manifesting change, encouraging individual expression, and breaking through communist cultural isolationism.

But overtly subversive dress also existed in communist countries. Throughout the 1950s, the Soviet "Style Hunters" (*Stilyagi*) had their counterparts in other communist countries, such as *Pásek* in Czechoslovakia and the Bikini Boys (*Bikiniarze*) in Poland. Their rebellious dress codes produced the first elements of a Westernized youth subculture that became very important in the following decades. Western rock arrived in communist countries in the mid-1960s, and, by the 1970s, many domestic rock bands already existed. Youth subcultures, expressing themselves through distinct dress codes, continued to grow throughout the 1970s, and especially in the 1980s, throughout the communist world. Each Western youth trend had its Soviet counterpart, from *metallisti* (heavy metal fans) to *khippi* (hippies), *panki* (punks), *rokeri* (bikers), *modniki* (trendy people), and *breikery* (breakdancers).

In parallel, the communist regimes allowed the activities of groups who expressed their creativity through dress as an art medium. Because they catered to small numbers of like-minded people, they were believed to pose no threat to official ideology.

In Russia and East European communist countries, the official relationship with fashion was informed by ideological shifts inside the communist master narratives. It fluctuated between a total rejection of the phenomena of fashion in 1920s Russia and in the late 1940s in East European countries to a highly representational role of the official version of communist fashion from the 1950s onward. But the communist regimes failed to produce a genuine communist fashion. From the late 1950s, communist women's magazines started to promote classical, modest, and moderate styles, which suited the communist fear of change and its ideals of modesty. Throughout the communist times, design, production, and distribution of clothes and fashion accessories were centrally organized, which eventually led to serious shortages and a poor quality of goods. For communist officialdom, fashion could be art or science, but it was never recognized as a commodity. That is the reason why in the other two communist dress practices—everyday and subversive dress—fashionable items retained a large capacity for symbolic investment. While the official communist fashion was an ideological construct unaffected by poor offer of clothes in shops, everyday and subversive dress used a whole range of unofficial channels, from DIY (do-it-yourself) to black market, private fashion salons and networks of connections. From the 1960s to the end of communism, those unofficial channels grew in importance, and fashionable dress found place inside second societies and second economies in the respective communist countries.

See also **Fascist and Nazi Dress; Military Style.**

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Djurdja Bartlett

CORDUROY Many sources claim the origin of the word is derived from the French *corde du roi* or "the king's cord." The fabric was supposedly used to clothe the servants of the king in medieval France. However, there are no written documents to credit this etymology. It is more likely that the term originated in England, from a fabric called "kings-cordes," which is documented in records in Sens, France, from 1807. Another possible origin of the name may be from the English surname Corderoy. This spelling was used in reference to the fabric as early as 1789 in America in a newspaper advertisement from a corduroy weaver in Providence, Rhode Island.

Corduroy is a durable fabric that is woven with three sets of yarns and has vertical ribs, or wales, that are formed by cut-pile yarn. The third set of yarns, which is generally loosely spun, is woven into a plain or twill weave backing in the filling direction to form floats that run over four or more warp yarns. A corduroy with a plain-weave backing may be referred to as "tabbyback," and a twill-backed corduroy can be called a "Genoa-back." Twill backing is more durable because the weave is denser and the pile tufts are held more tightly. The floats are cut after weaving to form ribs through the use of specialized machinery. The uncut fabric is run through the cutting machines once for ribs that are widely spaced apart and twice for closely-set ribs. The ribs are rounded with the longest floats in the center and the shorter floats on either side. After the pile is cut, the fabric is often singed and brushed to produce an even-ribbed finish.

Corduroy may be piece-dyed or printed in patterns and is named according to the number of wales per inch. Variations of corduroy include featherwale, pinwale, medium wale, thick-set corduroy, broad wale, wide wale, and novelty wale corduroys, in which different widths of wales are arranged in patterns.

Corduroy is used for trousers, shirts, jackets, skirts, dresses, and in home furnishings such as pillows and upholstery. Developments in the production of corduroy include the addition of spandex to provide more stretch in the fabric that is used for close-fitting garments.

See also **Napping.**

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Marie Botkin

CORSET The corset is a garment with a long and controversial history. A rigid bodice, usually incorporating vertical and diagonal boning, and laced together, the corset was designed to shape the female torso to the fashionable silhouette of the period. Corsets have been worn by women in the Western world from the sixteenth century through the early twentieth century, at which point girdles and brassieres replaced them. Men, especially dandies and military officers, have also sometimes worn corsets. The primary significance of the corset, however, is its role as an essential element of women's fashionable dress for a period of about 400 years.

Throughout its history, the corset was frequently criticized as an "instrument of torture" and a cause of ill health and even death. Feminist historians have often argued that corsetry functioned as a coercive apparatus through which patriarchal society controlled women and exploited their sexuality. Recently, some historians have questioned this interpretation, arguing that corsetry was not one monolithic, unchanging experience that all women endured, but rather a situated practice that meant different things to different people at different times. Some women did experience the corset as an assault on the body. But for others, the corset also had positive connotations of social status, self-discipline, respectability, beauty, youth, and erotic allure. This revisionist view, which aims for a balanced and non-ideological history of corsetry based on carefully considered evidence, must not be confused with the uncritical defenses of corsetry that have been published by corset "enthusiasts." As for the long-standing claim that corsets were a source of disease and death, historians continue to disagree about the medical consequences of corsetry.

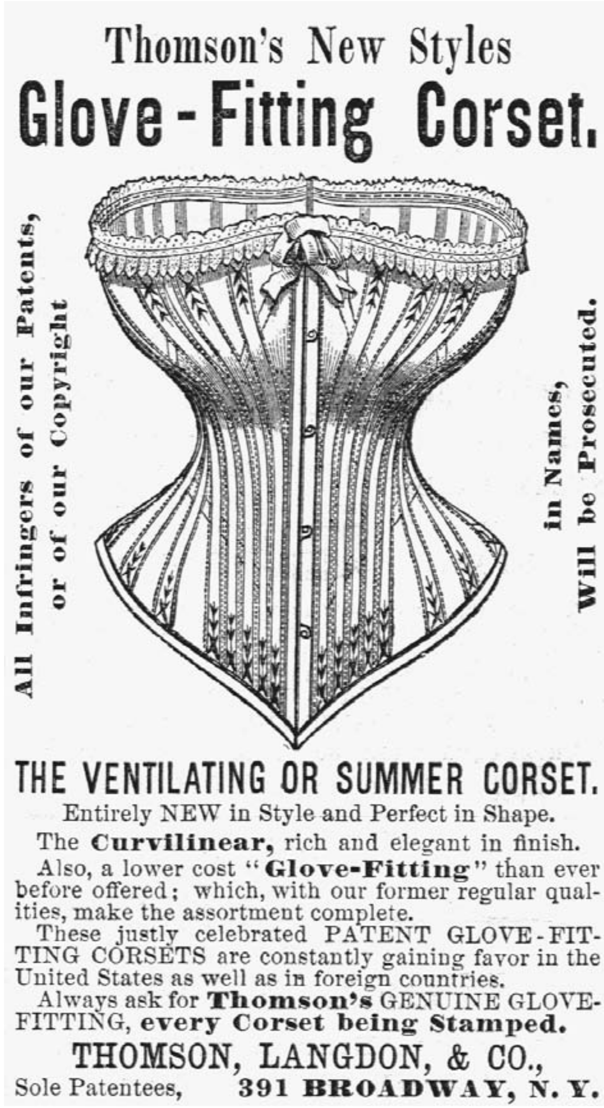
The word "corset" derives from the French *corse*, which simply designated a bodice. Early corsets were known as *corps à la baleine* (or in English, whalebone bodies), because strips of whalebone, or, more accurately, whale baleen, were inserted into the fabric (usually linen or canvas) to stiffen the cloth bodice. As whalebone became more expensive in the nineteenth century, lengths of steel increasingly replaced it. Traditionally, down the center front of the corset was inserted a *busk*, which, in shape and size, was not unlike a ruler. Busks were variously made of wood, horn, and whalebone; they were often elaborately carved and given as lovers' gifts. By 1850 the traditional, inflexible one-piece busk had been replaced by a steel, front-opening style, which made it much easier for women to put on and take off their corsets. Prior to this, women had usually relied on assistance to lace and unlace their corsets.

Corsets were also known as "stays," a term probably derived from the French *estayer* (to support), since they were thought to support the body. Because women were looked upon as the "weaker sex," it was commonly believed that their bodies habitually needed additional support. For similar reasons, children were also often placed in stiffened bodices, which were supposed to make them grow up straight. However, by the eighteenth century, many doctors argued that children's bodies were more likely to be deformed by corsets that were too tight. They also increasingly warned that women were endangering their health (and that of their unborn children) by wearing corsets. Over the course of the nineteenth century, medical journals published numerous articles criticizing corsetry. Yet the vast majority of middle- and upper-class women continued to wear corsets, and increasing numbers of working-class women also adopted corsets.

In her book, *Health and Beauty; or, Corsets and Clothing Constructed in Accordance with the Physiological Laws of the Human Body* (London, 1854), the English corsetière Madame Roxey A. Caplin defended corsets—at least if they were well-made: "It never seems to have occurred to the Doctors that ladies must and will wear stays, in spite of all the medical men of Europe." Because women "desire to retain as long as possible the charm of beauty and the appearance of youth," they wear corsets, which conceal "defects" (such as a thick waist or belly) and give support "where it is needed" (for example, in the absence of brassieres, corsets support "the fullness of the breasts"). Caplin even claimed that a French doctor had told her, "Madame, your corset is more like a new layer of muscles than an artificial extraneous article of dress!" It would be many years, however, before the majority of women stopped relying on corsets and started developing their own muscles.

The history of the corset is replete with myths and exaggerations. For example, the notorious "iron corsets" of the Renaissance were not fashion items worn by the ladies at the court of Catherine de Médicis, as is often claimed. Rather, they were orthopedic braces meant to correct spinal deformities. (Some of these metal corsets are also modern forgeries.) Accounts of extreme tight lacing are also problematic. During the second half of the nineteenth century, several English periodicals, most famously *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, published numerous letters purporting to describe how the authors had achieved waists of fifteen inches or even less. Although fashion historians and journalists have frequently quoted excerpts from this "corset correspondence," they cannot be taken at face value. Both internal and external evidence indicate that many of these letters represent sexual fantasies rather than descriptions of authentic experiences. Certainly the scenarios described, which often focused on coercive practices at anonymous boarding schools, were not typical of the average Victorian girl or woman, although they may reflect the role-playing practices of fetishistic subcultures.

Thorstein Veblen, author of *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), famously described the corset as "a mutilation undergone for the purpose of lowering the subject's vitality and rendering her permanently and obviously unfit for work." In reality, however, ladies of the leisure class were not the only ones to wear corsets. By the mid-nineteenth century, with the development of cheap, mass-produced corsets, many urban working-class women also wore corsets. Clearly, the corset did not render them unfit for work, but did it lower their vitality?



Nineteenth-century advertisement for corsets. Although many doctors warned of various health risks related to the wearing of corsets, the rigid bodices were a common clothing item for centuries. © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Certainly many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century doctors regarded the corset as a health hazard. They blamed the corset for causing dozens of diseases, including apoplexy, asthma, cancer, chlorosis (a type of anemia), curvature of the spine, deformities of the ribs, damage to internal organs such as the liver, digestive disorders, respiratory and circulatory diseases, and birth defects and miscarriages. Other doctors, however, approved of "moderate" corsetry, condemning only "tight lacing" (a notoriously imprecise term). In 1785, Dr. von Soemmering published comparative illustrations of corseted and uncorseted rib cages, which indicated that corsetry caused permanent deformity. Twentieth-century X-rays also show that a tightly laced corset compresses the ribs and moves the internal organs, although when the corset is removed, the body seems to revert to its normal appearance.

During the nineteenth century, relatively little was understood about the causes of various diseases, to say nothing of the treatments. One cannot, therefore, automatically accept the diagnoses of nineteenth-century doctors, many of which are patently absurd. This is not to say that corsets were totally harmless. Most authorities today agree that extremely tight corsets might risk various kinds of physical impairment or harm. There is no consensus among experts, however, on what risks were involved in ordinary corset wearing. Although contemporary scholars disagree about how dangerous corsets really were, corsets undoubtedly did contribute to some health problems. Spirometry (lung volume) testing conducted by Colleen Gau and her associates has demonstrated that corseted women suffered depleted lung volume, as well as changes in breathing (from normal diaphragmatic breathing to reliance on the accessory muscles of the chest wall). Lessened lung capacity would not necessarily contribute to respiratory disease, but it could certainly lower vitality and cause fainting. This would seem to lend credence to nineteenth-century accounts that associated corsetry with shallow breathing and fainting. In the 1880s, using an adaptation of the sphygmomanometer (blood pressure machine), the New York obstetrician Robert L. Dickinson measured corset pressure on several hundred women, recording pressures as high as eighty-two pounds per square inch. He believed that corset pressure caused digestive and breathing problems, as well as serious effects on the reproductive organs, such as prolapse of the uterus. It is sometimes alleged that some women underwent the dangerous surgical procedure of having their lower ribs removed in order to achieve a smaller corseted waist. There is, however, no evidence at all that any Victorian woman ever had her ribs removed; rib removal appears to be entirely mythical.

Some doctors and corsetieres tried (or claimed) to develop safer and more comfortable corsets. During the 1890s, for example, Dr. Inez Josephine Gaches-Sarraute designed the so-called straight-front corset, which she described as a "health" corset. However, recent physiologic testing using reenactors found the straight-front corset to be more uncomfortable and constraining than the hourglass styles of the mid-Victorian era.

The shape and construction of the corset changed dramatically over time, but there was no simple progression toward greater ease. Between about 1790 and 1810, the rigid cone-shaped stays of the eighteenth century were temporarily abandoned in favor of a shorter, lighter style, some variants of which resembled a brassiere. However, as high-waisted Empire dresses gave way to lowered waists and fuller skirts, the boned corset reemerged. Now, however, it was shaped more like an hourglass. Over the course of the nineteenth century, technological developments, such as steam molding, contributed toward the fashion for long *cuirasse* corsets. At the turn of the century, the fashionable straight-front corset pushed the pelvis back and the bosom forward, creating the so-called S-silhouette. Yet as women engaged in more sporting activities, such as bicycling, they increasingly adopted flexible elasticized sports corsets. By the 1920s elastic girdles and brassieres had largely supplanted rigid corsets, particularly among the young. In 1939, and again after World War II, fashion showed renewed emphasis on femininity and the corset had a brief resurgence in the form of the "Merry Widow" or *guépière* (waspy).

By the 1960s and 1970s, however, a cultural focus on youth and body exposure resulted in greater reliance on diet and exercise, rather than foundation garments, to create a desirable figure. The corset was, thus, not so much abandoned as it was internalized through diet, exercise, and later, plastic surgery. A minority of corset enthusiasts, both male and female, continue to wear corsets and sometimes tight lace as part of fetishistic, cross-dressing, or sadomasochistic practices.

Beginning in the 1980s, inspired by subcultural fetish styles, avant-garde fashion designers, such as Vivienne Westwood and Jean Paul Gaultier, began to create corset fashions. Madonna famously wore a pink satin corset by Jean Paul Gaultier on her Blonde Ambition tour of 1991. Since then, every few years the fashion press reports on the reappearance of corsets by couturiers such as Christian Lacroix, Alexander McQueen, and Donatella Versace. Although some of these corsets incorporate lacing and (plastic or metal) boning, most are really more like zip-up bustiers than historic corsets. Cheaper versions are popular as club wear for both young men and women.

See also **Brassiere; Europe and America: History of Dress (400–1900 C.E); Gender, Dress, and Fashion; Girdle.**

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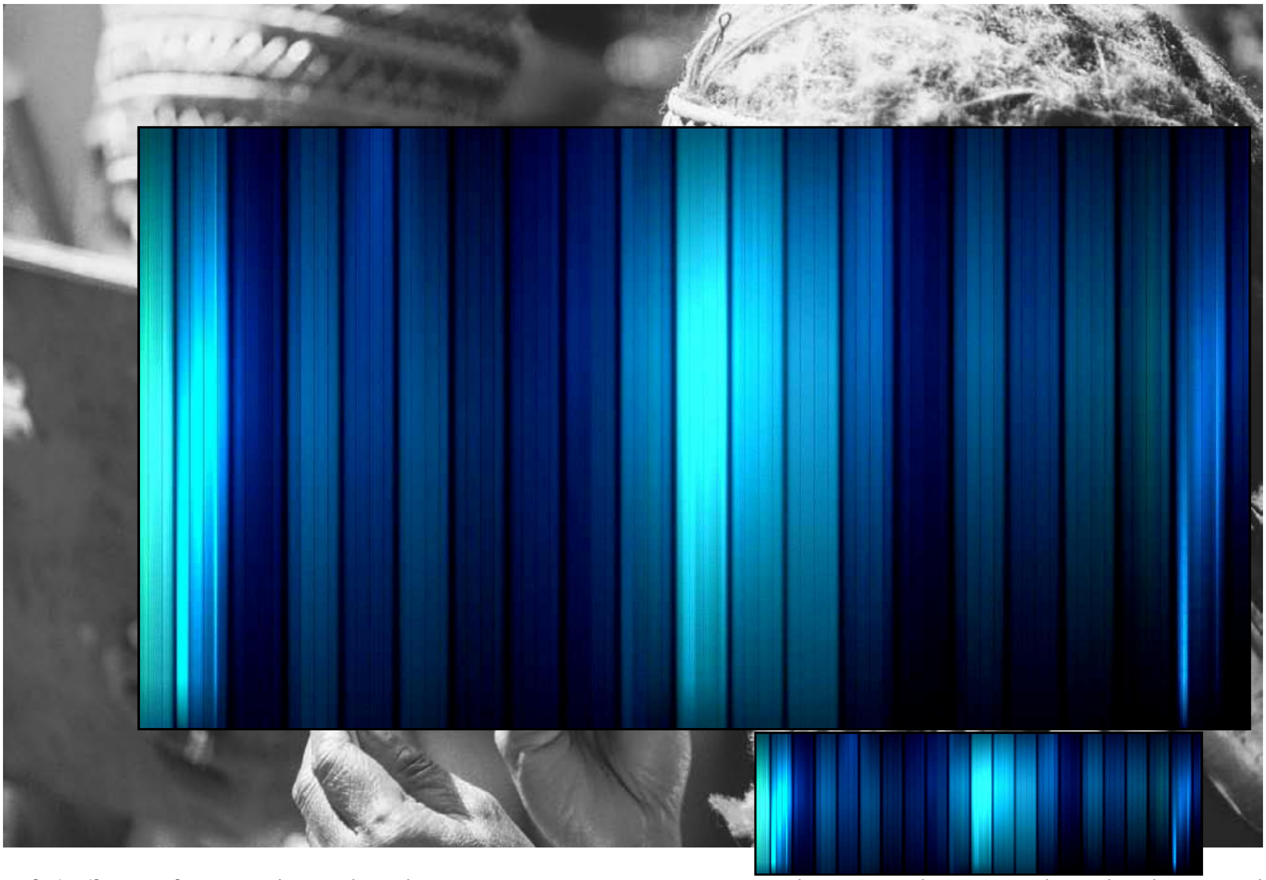
Valerie Steele and Colleen Gau

COSMETICS, NON-WESTERN The earliest evidence of the role of cosmetics in human society was found in the remains of artifacts used for eye makeup in Egypt of the fourth millennium B.C.E. Anthropological research also shows that there are several ways used by humans to transform the physical and social appearance of their bodies into cultural manifestations. People use their bodies and faces as objects of aesthetic elaboration or as a medium through which they can project themselves in religious and social life. We can thus identify two distinct, though related, senses of the term "non-Western cosmetic." The first pertains to personal taste and is con-



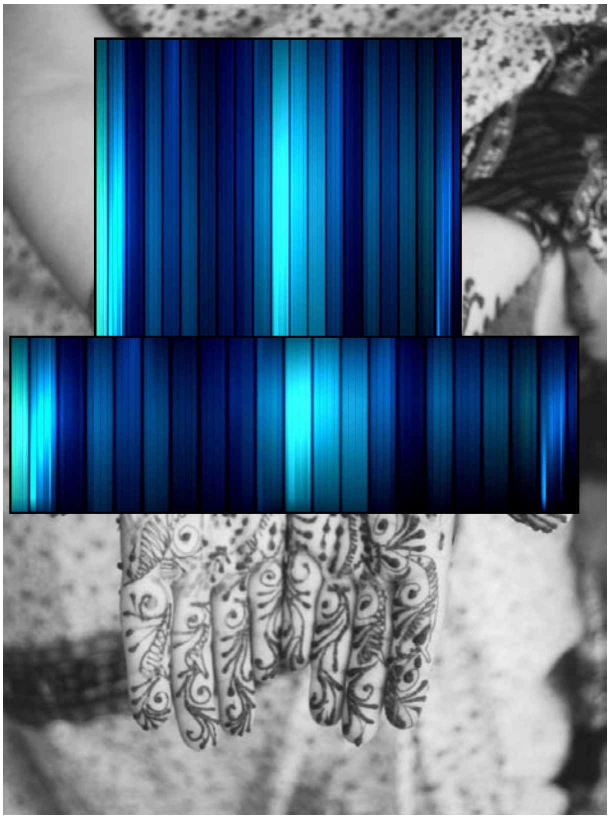
Wahgi tribe members. In tribes such as this one in New Guinea, paints are used to portray the varying physical and emotional aspects of their community, both positive and negative. © CHARLES & JOSETTE LENARS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cerned with the decorative/aesthetic aspect of non-Western cosmetic. The second is more general and is related to ritual and the symbolic essence of body decoration.

The ubiquitous interpretation of non-Western cosmetic in modern society is associated with the aesthetic or decorative. It is concerned with the visual and is related to personal style and denotes what is considered beautiful or fashionable. Non-Western cosmetic, in this case, is used in order to make a fashion statement. It is generally considered an exclusively feminine pursuit, used to aesthetically enhance the beauty of the person. Cosmetic and fashion industries make such physical appearances readily available under the rubric of the ethnic/tribal/oriental look. This look is epitomized by photographic studies of non-Western artistic practices and peoples confined to identifying what may be considered exotic and beautiful to the Western eye (Reifenstahl 1986; Ebin 1979; McCurry 1997).

Products originating from Africa, Asia, and South America and conceptualized in terms of respect for traditional beauty, natural or local ingredients, and non-animal tested products are sold in modern containers. This is meant to bring to mind ideas of purity, health, animal welfare, sunshine, adventure, travel, leisure, serenity, even exoticism and eroticism. Materials used include kaolin, henna, kohl, burnt cork, chalk, clay, and all sorts of vegetable, flower, and plant extracts. The growing demand for an exotic look in fashion has warranted their manufacture on a commercial scale. Production techniques, packaging, and advertising have helped to increase worldwide usage of such products. The best-known leader of this trend is the Body Shop.

The image industry created by advertising agencies mediates the changing aspect of the human body image through fashion and art in glossy magazines and books. This has privileged the aesthetic/decorative and attenuated the transcendent nature of the art of body painting (Baudrillard 1994). Conversely, in tribal and non-Western societies, the aesthetic aspect of body and face decoration often emphasizes the social aspect of the human body (Leach 1966). Non-Western cosmetic can thus be understood by looking into the interpretative properties of cosmetic in terms of rituals and symbols. This is especially helpful for clarifying the meaning of body adornment during festivities, ritual ceremonies, or even everyday occasions. For example, Tilaka is a vermilion



Henna tattoos. This reddish-orange dye is used by women in Africa and Asia to create elaborately beautiful tattoos, and by both women and men as a hair colorant.

mark applied on the forehead by Indian women as a sign of being in wedlock. It is also used by both sexes as a culturally designed communication code, which embodies ritual and sacred symbols. Although red predominates, a variety of other pigments such as yellow, white, gray, saffron, and black are employed. In some cases these pigments are applied on the forearms and the abdomen as well. The origins of these practices are said to lie in a primitive tribal past. This is the case of followers of Shiva, a deity worshiped by proto-Aryan societies in the Indian subcontinent. Even today, the smearing of colors on arms, torso, or face is an essential aspect of the Hindu festival of Holi.

Women and men wear the Tilaka as a sign of belonging to the Hindu religion. Its versatile form, shape, and color also indicate adherence to the various Hindu sects and subsects. Worshipers of the Lord Vishnu apply a "U" sign made of a mixture of red ocher powder (*Sindhura*) and sandalwood paste (*Gandah*). Worshipers of the Lord Shiva prefer to draw three horizontal lines made of ash (*Abhira*). For men the application of Tilaka, made up of their own blood, is an indication of solemn commitment to an oath or a pledge being undertaken (Kelly 2002).

In tribal societies of tropical and equatorial regions the visual and interpretative value of body adornment is used as a schematic representation of values, beliefs, symbols, and myths. Differing pigments and patterns are used for instant recognition of group identity, social status, or age group, while still allowing for gender differences and personal idiosyncrasy. The most elaborate forms of decoration involve lengthy preparation, much care and expense, and hence are generally seen on ceremonial and ritual occasions. Men and women employ a combination of colors and designs in order to make a statement about the nature of a particular occasion. The adornment favored by individuals or group participants is intrinsic to the ceremony and is vital for conveying messages about the community's social and religious values.

The Melpa and Wahgi of Papua New Guinea use body decoration as an essential part of ritual performances and gift exchange ceremonies. During happy occasions men paint their bodies and weapons with white wavy lines intended to represent patterns reflected in water. They adorn their faces with white and red pigments and place similar feathers and flowers in their hair to evoke "brightness." Bright colors symbolize the physical and moral strength, vitality, and well-being of the community. Conversely, war paint is deliberately meant to transform the human body into a terrifying warrior. In times of war, bodies are covered with a deep black charcoal-based pigment, a color associated with poison. Faces and accessories are similarly decorated with dark hues to transmit the message of aggressive power and fierceness. Women in Papua New Guinea wear less brilliant body decoration emphasizing their primarily domestic and agricultural duties. Similarly Australian aborigines paint their body and faces with white clay dots and lines prior to going hunting or war as a protective measure. They also decorate their bodies during initiation ceremonies or when they re-enact stories of their mythical past through music and dancing (Ebin 1979; O'Hanlon 1989, 1992; Strathern and Strathern 1983; Groning, 1996).

In parts of Africa and South America, design and color are used to separate the sexes and invoke magical powers, which are believed to be inherent in nature and the spiritual world. Tchikrin men from Central Brazil paint their bodies white and black; women prefer yellow and red. The Kayapo Indians of Brazil make a connection between the color red and abstract qualities such as heightened sensory sensitivity, energy, and health. They smear red pigments on their faces, hands, and feet, because they associate these parts of the body with swiftness, agility, and sensory contact with the outside world. Black is applied to the torso and signifies the integration of the inner man into social life (Turner 1969). Turning to West Africa, shamans in the Ivory Coast paint their eyes with white clay mixed with herbs and water from "sacred rivers" in order to see into the spirit world. Ghanaian priestesses smear their faces with white clay and paint parallel lines across their foreheads and cheeks.

The color white represents the divine nature of the gods, while parallel lines are meant to deflect the attacks of evil mystical beings. Ashanti women from Ghana draw designs on their arms with white clay to invoke mythical protection for themselves and their babies after giving birth (Ebin 1979; Fisher 1984; Groning 1996).

People's preoccupation with rituals and symbols in social life often merges with their purely aesthetic impulses to decorate their bodies. Young Nuba men from the Sudan spend long hours applying elaborate designs all over their bodies to enhance the beauty, elegance, and well-being of their bodies. Their adorned bodies become a field upon which they demonstrate their physical beauty, sexual attractiveness, or personal status. Particular patterns or colors are used to portray in visible terms the individual's progress from infancy through puberty and adulthood or personal status within society. Deep yellow and jet black are only allowed to older age groups. Younger age groups are immediately recognizable by their use of red ocher and simpler hairstyles. The decline in physical strength and attractiveness in old age compels old men to cease to decorate their bodies, shave their heads, and start wearing cloth. Nuba women wear appropriate colors indicating their membership in a particular kinship group (Faris 1972; Brain 1979; Ebin 1979; Strathern and Strathern 1983; Riefenstahl 1986). The above examples of body and face decoration are not merely indicative of our tribal past. They are kept alive in the Western imagination through books on art and photography and their many fashion conscious modern imitators (Thevoz 1984; Vale and Juno 1989; Randall and Polhemus 2000)

See also **Cosmetics, Western.**

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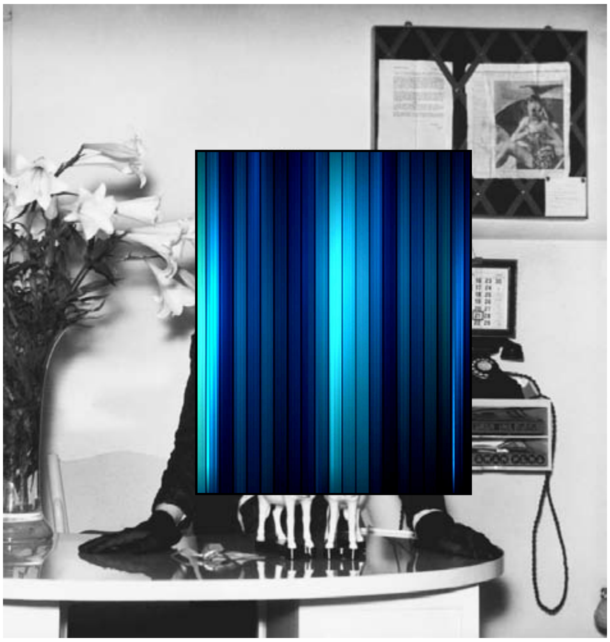
Paula Heinonen

COSMETICS, WESTERN In the twenty-first century, cosmetics include a full range of products to protect the skin and improve appearance, from moisturizers to makeup, manufactured by a multibillion-dollar, global cosmetics industry. Before the twentieth century, however, cosmetics were understood differently in Western cultures. In English, the word "cosmetic" referred to skin-improving substances, such as creams and lotions. Cosmetics to mask or color the skin were known as "paint" or, in a theatrical context, "makeup." This fundamental distinction was a legacy of the ancient world, and shaped the early use of cosmetics.

Cosmetics Before 1900

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European women prepared simple cosmetics from recipes appearing in household manuals and cookbooks or passed on orally from generation to generation. In that period, cosmetics were as much science as art, a branch of self-help therapeutics that women were expected to master. Recipes in early household manuals called for roots, wildflowers, and other plants to be mixed with water, beer, vinegar, and spices; these produced remedies to clear the complexion, improve color, and remove signs of smallpox. The principles governing these mixtures were based on Galen's theory of the humors, in which the correspondence between internal and external organs, and the balance between hot, cold, dry, and moist qualities, was the key to health and beauty. In addition, belief in the power of nature's cycles and astrology found their way into beauty preparations, in recipes using May dew, the first juice of spring plants, and "virgin milk."

Colonial Americans used similar cosmetic recipes, preparing cold cream, skin lotions, and lip salves from such common substances as wax, lard, nut oils, and sugar. They also incorporated the flowers and herbs of



Elizabeth Arden. The Canadian-born Arden opened a New York salon on Fifth Avenue in 1910, installing the trademark bright red door to make her shop distinctive. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the New World, such as puccoon-root or "Indian paint," prevalent in Algonquin therapeutics. Africans brought to the colonies as slaves similarly adapted native plants into traditional West African techniques of grooming and beautifying, using berries and roots to redden the skin, for example.

In addition to home preparations, a small but significant global trade made exotic herbs, extracts, dyes, and proprietary cosmetics available to the wealthy in the early modern period. French and English court society encouraged the use of enamels, white powder, rouges, and beauty marks to enhance appearance, serve fashion, and cover pockmarks and other disfigurements, and colonial elites followed suit. These paints, powders, and enamels to whiten the skin often contained dangerous substances, such as arsenic and lead, jeopardizing health while creating brilliant effects. Perfumers, hairdressers, and apothecaries in major cities offered fashionable cosmetics to both women and men. Until the early nineteenth century, cosmetics tended to mark rank as much as gender; they connoted gentility, social prestige, and political standing, and were as much a part of high culture as ornamental clothing and tea drinking.

Fashionable cosmetics became a source of controversy, however, in Europe and America. Puritans condemned painting as a mark of vanity and defiance of the divine order; masking the face falsified one's true identity. The American Revolution placed a political perspective on such cosmetics, valuing the plain appearance of republican virtue over the foppery of aristocratic men. In the early nineteenth century, the religious sensibilities and domestic ideals of an emergent middle class in the North emphasized both natural beauty and women's duty to be beautiful, to be achieved through healthful regimens and a moral life. White southern women, especially those on plantations, held onto the earlier ideals of gentility that permitted powder and rouge. Still, the association of cosmetics with prostitution—the "painted woman"—remained a strong one through the 1800s, and women who dared to use cosmetics did so covertly and with a light touch.

Sales of skin creams and lotions grew through the middle of the nineteenth century, but they remained small in scale when compared with such commodities as patent medicines and soaps. According to an 1849 manufacturing census, thirty-nine toiletries firms produced only $355,000 in merchandise in the United States. Nevertheless, the expansion of the market in this period made formerly rare preparations more available and affordable. Typically pharmacists would use a range of chemicals, herbs, and oils to "put up" skin creams under a house label. Commercial agents also imported goods from around the world, including English patent preparations, French perfumes, Portuguese rouge dishes, and Chinese color boxes, containing color-saturated papers of rouge, pearl powder, and eyebrow blacking.

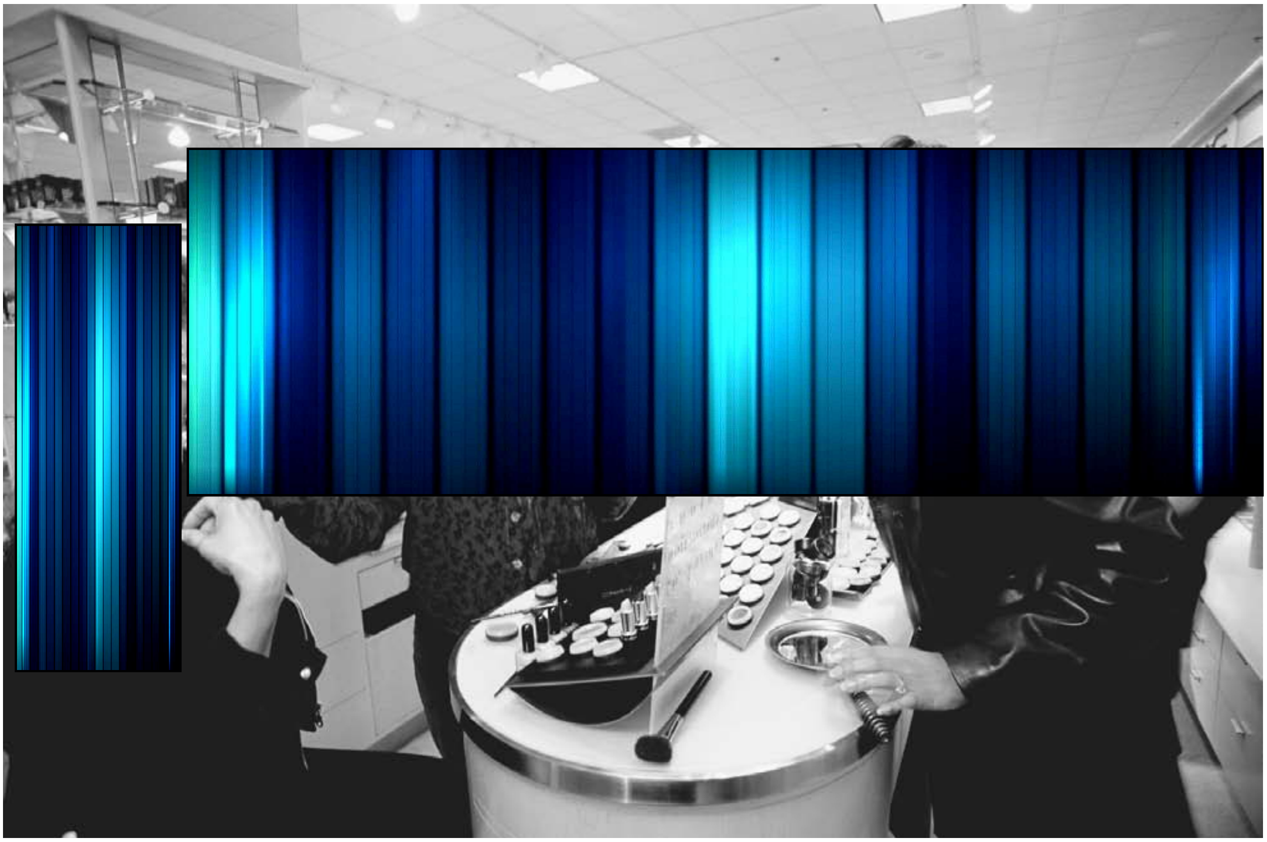
The most commonly used cosmetics of the nineteenth century, however, were skin whiteners and bleaches. Advertisements claimed they removed tan and freckles and made women look more refined and genteel. These were directed at white, middle-class women, playing on their social aspirations, as well as working-class, immigrant, and black women.

Cosmetics Use and the Beauty Industry

Cosmetics use began to increase in the late nineteenth century, a consequence of several key developments. Embracing photography and the theater, Americans became newly oriented to visual culture and social performances. In retailing, innovative department stores used mirrors, plate glass, and the latest fashions to encourage women to engage in self-scrutiny and display.

Many cosmetics businesses began as manufacturers of perfume, soap, and patent medicines and initially went into beauty aids as a sideline. Ponds, one of the leading sellers of skin-care products, started out making patent medicines; in an early instance of market research, it discovered a demand for skin-care products in the 1890s. By 1910, Ponds's advertising promoted cleansing cream at night and vanishing cream by day as a regular beauty treatment for women.

Most important, beauty salons and manicure parlors began to spring up in the nation's cities. These popularized a concept of "beauty culture," encouraging women to improve their looks systematically, using proper cos-



Cosmetic counter. Most major cosmetic lines have displays in department stores, complete with beauticians to demonstrate the products and make recommendations to customers. © GREG SMITH/CORBIS SABA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

metics and facial techniques. Emphasizing cleanliness, grooming, and skin care, they also sold tinted face powders, whitening creams, rouge, and lip pomades. Women entrepreneurs pioneered the new beauty culture and some became early leaders of the cosmetics industry. Helena Rubinstein and Elizabeth Arden created their New York salons in the 1910s; each developed a full line of cosmetics for facial treatments and home use. By World War I, each had expanded operations into manufacturing and distribution at the "class" end of the market, selling in exclusive stores, specialty shops, and a growing number of salons.

The Parisian fashion for maquillage was slow to be accepted in the United States, although by the 1910s style setters and socialites were purchasing French-made rouge and powder. Helena Rubinstein, Elizabeth Arden, and other women in the beauty business encouraged affluent American women to use makeup and quietly offered applications in their salons.

African American entrepreneurs also found a market for cosmetics within black communities. In the early twentieth century, Anthony Overton developed a "High Brown Face Powder" specifically for women with darker complexions. Although focusing on hair treatments, businesswoman Madam C. J. Walker also expanded her product line to include skin creams and powders for black women. Neither created products for the full range of African American skin tones at this time, but both sought to address black women's dignity and desire for good looks. In contrast, many of the cosmetics sold to African Americans manufactured by white-owned companies relied on blatantly racist appeals to bleach skin and look white. Such products were widely advertised in black newspapers and remained a subject of controversy through the twentieth century.

What is especially striking about cosmetics at this time, however, is the popularity of beauty preparations among workingwomen, including the daughters of immigrants. They embraced powder and paint, along with fashionable clothing, to assert a new sense of individuality. In the early twentieth century, when sexual mores were changing and young women had entered the workforce in large numbers, the "painted woman" could no longer be distinguished as a prostitute. Indeed, by the 1920s, women increasingly used the term "makeup" rather than "paint," thus indicating that cosmetics were not a means of covering up one's looks but rather an integral part of a public persona.

Beauty kit. In the early 1900s, cosmetics began being packaged for portability, increasing their popularity. © CONDÉ NAST ARCHIVE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Growing through the 1910s, the cosmetics industry took off after World War I. From 1909 to 1929, the number of American perfume and cosmetics manufacturers nearly doubled; by 1929, Americans were spending $700 million annually for cosmetics and beauty services. The transformation of women's appearance in the 1920s—corsetless and revealing clothing, bobbed hair, a thin body image—went hand-in-hand with the increased consumption of beauty products and makeup.

Still, cosmetics use spread unevenly across the United States and Europe, more popular among the young, employed, and urban women than their mothers or small-town sisters. Surveys of nonurban women's daily regimens in the 1920s showed that most simply washed the face with soap and water, then perhaps applied cold cream or white powder. It was not until the end of the 1930s that farm women's use of cosmetics approximated that of city dwellers.

A number of innovations in cosmetics and packaging appeared in this time. French cosmetics firms had produced finely textured and tinted powders, and American firms followed suit, selling a wider range of shades. These included, in the mid-1920s, powders and rouges to complement suntanned skin, which had become a popular craze. Metal compacts and lipstick tubes emphasized the portability of cosmetics, so that women could touch up throughout the day. Vanishing cream was typically used as a base for powder, but foundations began to appear in the 1930s. Among the most innovative and successful was Max Factor's Pan-Cake, a water-soluble foundation in cake form, invented for use by motion picture actors, then introduced to the general public in 1938.

In the first half of the twentieth century, however, most cosmetics manufacturers followed standard formulas, modifying basic creams, lotions, and other preparations. Firms selling lipstick, rouge, and eye makeup often depended on "private label" manufacturers, who offered similar products with small variations. Scientific discoveries led companies to make new claims for wrinkle removers, and small amounts of vitamins, hormones, and even radium were added to skin creams. By the 1930s, the public paid heightened attention to the composition of cosmetics and the exaggerated claims of advertisers. Consumer advocacy groups highlighted cases where women had been blinded by aniline dyes in mascara or burned by skin bleaches that contained a high percentage of ammoniated mercury, common in whiteners sold to African American women. Such concerns led to the increased regulation of cosmetics in the United States and passage of the Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act in 1938.

It was advertising and marketing, more than product development, that spurred the expansion of the beauty industry and cosmetics use. Cosmetics and toiletries were heavily advertised in women's magazines, second only to food items, and appeared frequently in general interest magazines, in newspapers, and by the 1930s, on radio. These advertisements invoked aspirational images of beauty, youth, and romance, on the one hand, but also touched anxieties about social competition and failed romance, especially during the Great Depression. Hollywood also played an important role; motion picture actresses established new beauty ideals and endorsed a range of products, including mascara and eye shadow, cosmetics few women wore at the time. Whether sold in department stores or five-and-dimes, cosmetics were often an impulse purchase; retailers set up eye-catching displays in the central aisles of their stores and hired saleswomen to demonstrate beauty techniques and promote specific brands.

Postwar Expansion

By the 1940s, makeup had become accepted as an integral dimension of women's everyday appearance. Home economics courses taught how to use makeup in classes on good grooming; department stores held beauty days for schoolgirls; white-collar personnel offices looked favorably on job candidates with carefully applied lipstick and rouge. Psychologists and other professionals insisted that cosmetics were essential to women's mental health and a mature feminine identity.

During World War II, bright red lipstick became a sign of women's patriotism among the Allies. As women went into industry in record numbers, they continued to use cosmetics to affirm their femininity and boost their morale. When the American government tried to restrict cosmetics as a conservation measure in 1942, it found itself backpedaling six months later. Although discontinuing metal containers and limiting some ingredients, it nevertheless made a wide range of beauty preparations available.

Cosmetics use increased dramatically in the postwar world. Women purchased cosmetics to complement seasonal changes in fashion, buying wardrobes of lipstick and nail polish. As the market for cosmetics matured, the beauty business created distinctive brands intended to appeal to women according to demographics and lifestyle. Maybelline, Revlon, and Noxzema (Noxell)—small-scale firms that before the war had specialized in eye makeup, nail enamel, and skin cream, respectively—became large corporations with extensive product lines. New women entrepreneurs also emerged after World War II, including Estee Lauder and Mary Kay Ash. Home-based selling proved highly successful in this period. Avon, founded in 1886, used door-to-door sales to expand from rural communities and cities into the burgeoning postwar suburbs. Using the multilevel marketing strategy pioneered by earlier black businesswomen, Mary Kay organized home parties for women to learn about and purchase cosmetics.

Postwar youth culture spurred cosmetic firms to market cosmetics especially for teenage girls. Noxzema's Cover Girl offered sheer, medicated foundations and lighter tints as a "clean makeup" that would appeal to both teens and their parents. In the early 1960s, the sale of eye makeup—mascara, eyeliner, and colorful eye shadow—finally took off, an aesthetic trend among young women that coincided with the miniskirt and long hair of the time. Grooming aids, powder, and lip gloss for young girls appeared as early as the 1950s; by the 1970s, toy companies and major cosmetics firms competed for these juvenile consumers.

Market segmentation meant that advertising varied considerably in this period. Compared with their prewar counterparts, however, advertisements in the 1950s and 1960s more boldly accentuated women's sexuality and need to appeal physically to men. Revlon's Fire and Ice campaign in 1952 cast a playful yet erotic and charged aura around a medium-red lipstick. During the "British Invasion" of the 1960s, Mary Quant's Love Cosmetics used phallic packaging and Mod design to tie teen cosmetics to the sexual revolution.

Politics of Cosmetics

By the mid-1960s, the counterculture and a nascent feminist movement attacked these trends in advertising, the commercialization of beauty, and women's sexual objectification in the media. Embracing a "natural" look, some women gave up makeup entirely, while others began to compound their own creams and lotions using herbs, berries, and other organic ingredients. Major cosmetics firms were slow to respond to this challenge. Estee Lauder introduced Clinique in 1968, emphasizing a scientific and hygienic appeal. A number of cosmetics lines appeared that contained natural ingredients and were not tested on animals; these often sold in food coops or other alternative outlets. The Body Shop, founded by Anita Roddick, became highly successful marketing to women sensitive to the environment and influenced by the counterculture.

In the 1960s and 1970s, women of color also protested the narrow images of beauty that appeared in fashion magazines and limited cosmetics lines available to them. African American businesses like Fashion Fair and entrepreneurs from the post-1965 immigrant groups have created niche makeup lines for black, Latina, Asian-American, and other women. Increasingly attuned to American ethnic diversity and the global economy, corporations like Maybelline began to manufacture foundation and other cosmetics for the full range of human skin tones.

The feminist critique of cosmetics continued to be heard in the last decades of the twentieth century, notably in the 1991 best-seller *The Beauty Myth.* That critique, in turn, was challenged in the 1980s and 1990s by postfeminists, postmodernists, lipstick lesbians, and devotees of such subcultural styles as punk. They rejected the "natural" as a measure of authenticity, and held instead to the view that cosmetics use could be a source of play, pleasure, and self-expression. Again, cosmetics companies have picked up on that attitude, marketing lipstick, eye makeup, and nail polish in unusual and extreme colors and such provocative names as Vamp and Juicy.

Developments in the Early 2000s

Western cosmetics became widespread in the global economy in the second half of the twentieth century. Corporations like Unilever and Ponds established subsidiaries, contracted with local import firms, and sold beauty preparations in Latin America, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. American manufacturers marketed cosmetics in a difficult balancing act, appealing to universal ideals of beauty, promoting the American style of actresses and models, and nodding to national and cultural differences. Avon's success in the international arena depended on native sales agents who understood local customs and concerns even as they projected the image of American beauty, lifestyles, and values. By the 1990s, "Avon calling" could be heard around the world, including post-communist and developing countries.

By the twenty-first century, cosmetics manufacturers had invested heavily in scientific research, working closely with chemists and dermatologists. These new "cosmeceuticals" went beyond the hypoallergenic products available since the 1930s and included creams and ointments containing such ingredients as Retin A, which appears to reduce the effects of aging and improves the skin. These products have increasingly blurred the lines between cosmetics, drugs, and medical specialties. The post-World War II baby-boom generation has fueled the growth of anti-aging research and product development, a trend that is expected to continue.

An important development in cosmetics is the partially successful effort to sell cosmetics to men, beyond the traditional grooming products like aftershave and cologne. Both mass manufacturers and some high-end firms, including Helena Rubinstein, tried unsuccessfully to sell cosmetics to men earlier in the twentieth century. Since 1980, however, a significant number of urban professional men and gay men have begun to use moisturizer, exfoliating liquids, and even bronzers to improve their appearance. Although often similar to women's cosmetics, these products are usually segregated in a separate men's counter in retail stores and appear with different brand names and packaging. Young men in such music and dance subcultures as heavy metal and goth will often wear colorful makeup as performers and audience members. Most makeup remains so deeply associated with femininity and effeminacy, however, that very few men choose to use it in everyday business and social life, and those who do seek a "natural" look.

See also **Appearance; Cosmetics, Non-Western.**

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Kathy Peiss

COSTUME DESIGNER Costume design as a profession is a twentieth-century phenomenon. Until the end of the nineteenth century, costumes for popular entertainments were assembled piecemeal, either by the director, the actor-manager or by the patron. Repertory companies were the norm in the nineteenth century, and it made sense for a company to maintain a stock of costumes that could be used in multiple productions. Individual actors, working with more than one company, might travel with their own costumes—a practice that continues in the twenty-first century among opera singers.

Exceptions to the piecemeal approach include entertainments devised by artists during the Renaissance and the court masques designed by Inigo Jones in seventeenth-century England, but both are rare examples of a unified vision.

The end of the nineteenth century saw a shift from companies of actors performing a rotating repertoire of plays to stand-alone productions with actors hired specifically for each role. With actors moving from show to show, it didn't make economic sense for producers to maintain a large wardrobe inventory. Simultaneously, a heightened interest in realism called for specialists with the ability to reproduce accurately clothing of the past. Enter the designer.

The First Designers

An article in the *New Idea Women's Magazine* says that by 1906 theatrical costume design firms flourished in most major cities. Some, like Eaves or Van Horn's, in New York and Philadelphia respectively, began as manufacturers of uniforms or regalia and expanded into the theatrical market. By contrast, Mrs. Caroline Siedle and Mrs. Castel-Bert, both in New York, established their ateliers specifically to cater to the growing theater industry.

Producers hired these pioneering designers at their discretion. They were under no obligation to commit to the services of a designer and many preferred to rent existing costumes. For a modern dress show, leading actresses might commission their dressmaker, while minor players raided their closets. Two events changed that.

The actor's strike of 1919 put an end to the practice of performers providing their own wardrobes. Thereafter, producers were required by contract to supply costumes for everyone. Then, in 1923, the stage designers unionized. As part of the collective bargaining agreement, producers of Broadway and touring productions had to hire a union designer. The first union members were set designers who might also design costumes. By 1936 the union recognized costume designers as a separate specialty.

Film designers also emerged in the 1920s. At first, actresses in contemporary films wore their own clothes, "so ladies with good wardrobes found they got more jobs" (Chierichetti 1976, p. 8). For period films, producers rented costumes.

Costumer designers at the Palais Garnier, Paris. Once the concept for a particular production has been agreed upon, the costume designer researches the script and creates sketches of possible garments for each character. © ANNEBICQUE BERNARD/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The industry moved from New York to California in the 1920s and the studio system replaced the independently shot films of the teens. Designers emerged partly because studio heads wanted their films to have a cohesive look but primarily because the shift from black and white to color film, and from silents to talkies, required costumes especially designed for the medium. The early film distorted colors. Blue, on film, appeared white. Red photographed as black. The early microphones were so sensitive to sounds that only soft fabrics could be used. Crisp fabrics rustled, drowning out the dialogue. By the end of the 1920s, every studio had at least one house designer, a support staff of sketch artists and costumers, and a research department and library.

The Process

The costume designer is responsible for the head-to-toe look of everyone who appears on stage or on screen. After reading the script, the designer meets with the director and others to debate their approach to the material. *Hamlet*, for example, has been set in medieval Denmark, in Vietnam, and in contemporary dress. All are valid approaches.

With the production concept agreed on, the designer has an interval for research. He or she develops color sketches for every costume worn in the show. Depending on the medium, a variety of people see and approve these sketches. In the theater, the director, producer, choreographer, and sometimes the star will have approval. For film, the costume designer works with the director, cinematographer, and art director in addition to the stars.

Once approved, the sketches go into the costume shop to be translated into three-dimensional garments. Many regional theater, opera, and ballet companies maintain their own costume shops. All university theater departments do so as well. For other venues, including Broadway and feature films, a range of independent theatrical costume shops submit bids for producing the costumes. Even when contemporary clothes are purchased or come from a rental house, fittings and alterations are performed by the costume shop.

In the Shop

With the sketches in the shop, the costume designer and assistants essentially move in for the length of the build time, which in theater equals the length of the rehearsal period, typically between three and five weeks. The practice differs for film and opera. In a university setting, the designers may do their own fabric and trim shopping. Elsewhere, costume shops have buyers whose job is to scour the market, bringing back swatches for the designer's consideration.

While the buyers are swatching, costume makers are creating custom-made patterns for each costume, which are then made up, usually in muslin. As each is completed, the actor who will wear it is called for the first of several fittings. An important function of the first fitting is to see that the actor can move well in a costume designed before rehearsals began. Once in rehearsal, the director or choreographer may decide that performing a somersault, despite the bustle gown, is integral to the show's concept. This is the designer's moment to learn that vital piece of information and to adapt the design to allow for the movement. For the 1972 Broadway production of *Pippin*, for example, director-choreographer Bob Fosse had insisted that the armor be rigid metal. When his designer, Patricia Zipprodt, saw what the dancers had to do, she realized that only something flexible would satisfy his needs.

At the first fitting, the designer also has a chance to see if the proportions of the garment suit the performer. At the second fitting, the costume has been made up in the actual fabric to be used. Custom underpinnings, shoes, and millinery are included so that both designer and performer can see the total look. At this fitting all the craftspeople have the opportunity to make adjustments that may increase the performer's comfort or that are requested by the designer.

The final fitting is in the completed costume with the expectation that no further work is necessary at this stage. The clothes move out of the shop and into the theater or onto location.

In Performance

Film designers view daily rushes to see how well their costumes work on screen, while a live performance will have one or more dress rehearsals and a series of preview performances before the opening night. The designer attends them all. This is the time when all of the production elements—scenery, lighting, movement, and costumes come together and occasionally what seemed like a good idea in the shop does not work in performance. With an original script, new scenes or musical numbers may be added, requiring new costumes. The designer has only a few days to produce new designs, get them into the shop, select the fabrics, attend fittings, and see the new costumes integrated into the production. The designer's job is finished only when the show opens to the public or when the last scene is filmed.

See also **Ballet Costume; Dance Costume; Theatrical Costume; Theatrical Makeup.**

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Whitney Blausen

COSTUME JEWELRY The earliest costume jewelry was simply an imitation of precious jewelry and had little intrinsic value or original style of its own. However, once the French couturiers put their names to costume jewelry it became desirable, acceptable, and expensive. In the early 1910s, couturier Paul Poiret became a proponent of costume jewelry, accessorizing his models with necklaces of silk tassels and semiprecious stones designed by the artist Iribe.

Coco Chanel, Jean Patou, Drécoll, and Premet were also among the first famous couturiers to create costume jewelry along with clothing, which propelled its acceptance. By 1925, the Marshall Field's department store catalog described costume jewelry in positive terms, announcing, "The imitation is no longer a disgrace."

The most ubiquitous jewelry imitation in the 1920s was a pearl necklace. Strands of pearls or colored beads neatly circled the neck or swung to waist, hip, even knee-length, made to move with fast-paced dances like the Charleston. At the end of the period when the little black dress became a daytime standard, shorter strands of light-colored beads and pearls continued as the accessories of choice. Rhinestone jewelry also blazed into prominence, as it was the perfect foil for two fashion innovations: suntans and white evening gowns.

Beginning in the 1920s and continuing throughout the 1930s, fashion and jewelry shared a multitude of influences including Art Deco, the Far East, North Africa, and India. Egyptian motifs were inspired by the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922. The Colonial Ex-

1960s costume jewelry. The versatility of plastic allowed costume jewelry designers of the 1960s to create jewelry in a wide variety of styles and colors. PHOTO COURTESY OF JOY SHIELDS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

hibition in Paris in 1931 and the New York World's Fair in 1939 expanded the vocabulary of foreign influences, and rough, raw, "barbaric" materials (real and imitation), including ivory (and faux versions), bone, amber, wood, and even cork, were used for over-scale jewelry. Chanel's signature necklace in 1939 was a massive East Indian–inspired bib of faux pearls, uncut emeralds, ruby beads, and dangling metal pieces with a cord tie.

In the mid-1930s, fashion's palette turned Technicolor, as plastic was produced in bright colors for the first time and metal jewelry was hand-enameled to add color. Toy-like novelty accessories (both costume and precious jewelry) were wildly popular, inspired by the Surrealists, couturier Elsa Schiaparelli, and Walt Disney's cartoons. The queen of whimsy, Schiaparelli put metal insects and caterpillars on necklaces, and her brooches ranged from miniature musical instruments, roller skates, harlequins, blackamoors, and ostriches. Influenced by the lively antics of cartoons, jewelry also had movable parts: Brooches and necklaces were adorned with "trembler" flowers, hanging plastic fruit, or charms. Clips could be deconstructed into separate pieces. This silly jewelry lightened up the lapels of the fashionable severe and sober, fitted suits.

At the same time, the romantic rococo and Victorian styles flourished, lingering into the 1940s. Rococo jewelry, associated with the Empress Eugenie, was typically frivolous bow-knots, swags and ribbon curves, sparingly ornamented with large, faux-semiprecious cut stones. It was usually plated with real gold (pink, white, yellow) or sterling silver. Victorian styles were copied directly from the originals: lockets, cameos, chokers, even hat pins. Black plastic was the substitute for nineteenth-century jet.

During World War II, imports from Europe were cut off, and many jewelry materials were also restricted. Desperate costume jewelers bought beaded sweaters, evening dresses, and even stage costumes, and harvested their beads, rhinestones, and pearls. They also fashioned jewelry from humble materials that were readily available during wartime: pumpkin seeds, nuts, shells, olive pits, clay, leather, felt, yarn, and even upholstery fabrics. Women wore hand-carved wooden brooches, necklaces of multicolored painted shells, cork, and bits of driftwood. There was little difference between quirky, childish, commercially made jewelry and what the women made themselves following do-it-yourself instructions published in magazines.

Patriotic motifs flourished during wartime, ranging from red, white, and blue to all-American motifs related to California, Hawaii, Native American Indians, and cowboys. Costume jewelry also took on a militaristic theme, and miniature model tanks, airplanes, battleships, jeeps, soldiers, and even hand grenades were made up in metal or wood and worn as brooches, necklaces, and earrings. In the summer of 1940, "V" for victory was a popular design. As Mexico was America's wartime ally, jewelry imported from that country and its imitations was highly fashionable. Two notable Mexican artisans who worked in silver, Rebajes and Spratling, had their sophisticated jewelry featured at top department stores across the country. Patriotic jewelry completely vanished during peacetime.

Postwar fashion succumbed to couturier Christian Dior's highly structured New Look, followed by a series of equally severe styles: the chemise, sheathe, trapeze, and sack dress. The transformation was radical. Clothing concealed most of a woman's body, and only chokers, earrings, bracelets (notably charm bracelets), and brooches were visible. Dresses and suits in heavy, rough-textured fabrics were weighty enough to support the hunky, oversized circles, ovals, snowflake, or starburst-shaped brooches (associated with the atomic bomb), typically three-dimensional. Rhinestones were standard, produced in a rainbow of colors including white, black, pink, blue, yellow, and iridescent, which was an innovation.

Tailored jewelry was the most conservative accessory in the 1950s. Neat and small scale, it was made up in gold or silver metal with little ornamentation. Although clothing concealed their figures, women wore their hair upswept, in a ponytail, or cropped gamine short, to show off hoop, button, and neat pearl earrings. Later in the decade, metal jewelry was thicker, its surface scored, chiseled, or deeply etched, a treatment that lingered into the 1960s.

The distinction between accessories for day and night blurred as casual Italian sportswear became popular. For example, in 1959 actress Elizabeth Taylor was featured in *Life* magazine wearing Dior's black jet choker with a low-cut black sweater. Entertaining at home also created another new fashion category. Theatrical, oversized chandelier and girandole earrings complemented lounging pajamas, caftans, and floor-length skirts, which remained stylish hostess garb into the 1960s.

Chanel plundered the Renaissance for jewelry inspiration. With her signature suits, in 1957 she showed pendants (notably the Maltese cross), brooches, and chain sautoirs in heavy gold set with baroque pearls, lumpy glass rubies, and emeralds. This style still continues to be identified with Chanel today.

In the 1960s, bold, pop-art graphic "flower power" motifs were fashion favorites. The ubiquitous daisy was produced in every material from plastic to enameled metal, and in a palette of neon bright colors. Daisies were linked into belts, pinned on hats and dresses, and suspended from chains around the neck. Even Chanel and Dior produced flower jewelry, although their brooches, necklaces, and earrings were petaled with fragile poured glass.

Hippies and the counterculture rejected this sophistication in favor of handmade and ethnic jewelry in humble materials: clay and glass beads, yarn, temple bells, papier-mâché, macramé, and feathers. Both men and women pierced their ears, crafted their own headbands, ornamented their clothing with beads and embroidery, strung love beads, or hung a peace sign, ankh, or zodiac symbol on a strip of rawhide around their necks. Singer Janis Joplin typically performed while weighed down with a massive assortment of new and vintage necklaces and bracelets.

Vogue and *Harper's Bazaar* also cultivated this theatrical style. Diana Vreeland, editor-in-chief of *Vogue*, commissioned wildly dramatic, oversized jewelry specifically for the magazine. Usually one of a kind, tenuously held together with wire, thread, and glue, these pieces were too fragile to be worn outside the photo studio. There were breastplates of rhinestones or tiny mirrors, golf-ball-size pearl rings, shoulder-sweeping feather earrings, wrist and armloads of painted papier-mâché bracelets.

Technology also contributed to this fantastical mode. In 1965, plastic pearls were produced for the first time in lightweight, gigantic sizes. They were strung together into multistrand necklaces, bibs, helmets, and even dresses.

Style-wise, costume jewelry was a match for fine jewelry. The so-called beautiful people gleefully mixed costume jeweler Kenneth Jay Lane's $30 rhinestone and enamel panther bracelets (inspired by the Duchess of Windsor's original Cartier models) with their real ones. Lane was well known for his weighty pendant necklaces, shoulder-length chandelier earrings set with gaudy, multicolored fake stones, and enormous cocktail rings. His clients ranged from Babe Paley to Greta Garbo and the Velvet Underground.

Chanel continued to produce Renaissance-style jewelry, notably Maltese crosses and cuff bracelets embellished with large stones, which morphed into a more exaggerated version. Diana Vreeland chose this style as her signature, sporting a pair of bejeweled enamel cuffs reportedly designed by Fulco di Verdura.

At the end of the 1960s and into the 1970s, "space age" style was an alternative to this ornate jewelry. Coolly modern, geometric, it was made up in industrial materials such as transparent plastic and metal hardware. This hard-edged jewelry was a match for clothing ornamented with oversized buckles, zippers, grommets, and nail heads.

Around the same time, punk ruled the streets. The devotees of this style favored leather jackets and jeans that were as aggressive and unisex as their accessories: dog collars and leather armbands bristling with nail heads and spikes, thick chains worn as chokers and around waists. The most notorious punk ornamentation was also the simplest: a safety pin stuck through an ear, nose, lip, or cheek.

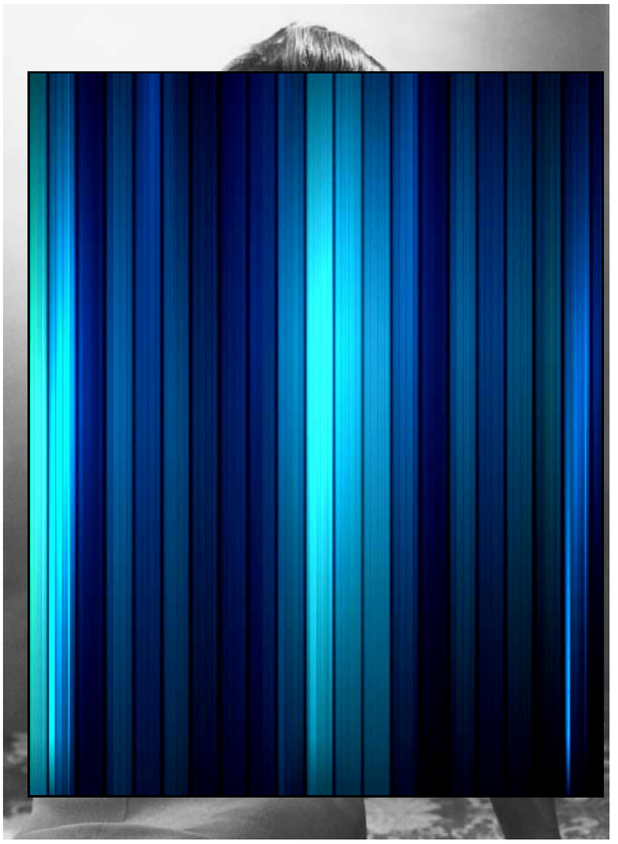
Two designers, Elsa Peretti and Robert Lee Morris, heavily influenced costume jewelry during this period. Peretti began designing for Tiffany in 1974, and costume jewelers immediately copied her small-scale, streamlined "lima bean" and "teardrop" pendants, and "diamonds by the yard" of cut stones strung on slender chains.

In New York City, Robert Lee Morris set up his own boutique, Artwear, as a showcase for his handmade gold-bead necklaces, gladiator-size cuffs, metal breastplates, and hefty belt buckles. Fashion designer Donna Karan accessorized her line with Morris's bold and simple creations for several seasons.

In the 1980s, entertainers Cyndi Lauper and Madonna were the female forces that drove style through the new media of music videos, and both mixed lingerie with vintage clothing, and vintage jewelry with cheap new baubles. Madonna wore armloads of rubber bracelets with religious-cross pendants and rosaries. Hip hop and rap music stars sported jewelry in heavy gold or gold-plated look-alikes: nameplate pendants, knuckle rings, ID bracelets. A gold-covered front tooth was a more permanent and extreme ornament.

As the simplified styles of designers Giorgio Armani and Calvin Klein became popular, jewelry gradually shrank in scale until it disappeared. As minimalism ruled fashion, the jewelry business was abysmal. However, costume jewelry came back to glitzy glory in the early 1990s, propelled by the whimsical accessories of Christian Lacroix and Karl Lagerfeld at Chanel. Lagerfeld successfully revived and restyled many of Chanel's signatures, including multistrand pearl necklaces, and Renaissance-style jewelry. He used the "CC" logo as decoration on everything from earrings to pocketbooks.

Entertainers and movie stars steered fashion in 2000, and they wore the real thing, not costume jewelry. Pop music figures Jennifer Lopez and Lil' Kim flashed enormous precious stones on their fingers. Impresario Sean Combs (a.k.a Puff Daddy, P. Diddy) flaunted enormous diamond-stud earrings and monster diamond rings. A long line of movie stars, including Nicole Kidman and Charlize Theron, borrowed jewelry, usually fine antique pieces, from established jewelers such as Harry Winston and Fred Leighton. It was a sign of the times when Chanel launched a line of precious jewelry, and Prada installed precious jewelry from Fred Leighton in their Soho store. Once again, the cycle had turned, and costume jewelry imitated precious jewelry, or "bling bling" as the blinding real thing was called in 2003.



Coco Chanel, late 1930s. By the 1930s, costume jewelry embraced bold designs and different influences of styles and cultures, becoming highly fashionable due in part to the influence of style icons such as Coco Chanel. Here Chanel models a sophisticated costume necklace. PHOTO COURTESY OF JODY SHIELDS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

See also **Bracelets; Brooches and Pins; Earrings; Jewelry; Necklaces and Pendants.**

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Jody Shields

COTTON Cotton plants are native to several parts of the world, and the use of cotton fiber originated independently at least 7,000 years ago in both the India/ Pakistan and the Mexico/Peru regions. One of the oldest extant cotton textiles dates to about 3000 B.C.E. Because cotton plants cannot be grown in cooler locales such as northern Europe, climate was an important limiting factor in the spread of cotton cultivation.

Cotton textiles were traded widely in Roman times, and the growing and production of cotton soon spread from India to Egypt and China. Cotton production did not begin in Greece until C.E. 200 or in Spain until tenth century C.E. By the thirteenth century, though, Barcelona was a thriving cotton industry center specializing in producing cotton canvas for sails. England began using imported cotton in the thirteenth century. Widespread use began in the seventeenth century when significant quantities of raw fiber began to be imported to Great Britain from the expanding British colonies for processing and weaving into cloth.

Cotton textiles were widely used in pre-Columbian Meso-American and Andean civilizations. With the beginning of European colonization of the Americas, cotton originating in Mexico and Peru began to be cultivated wherever climate and soil were suitable. Cotton became an established crop in many parts of the American South, and later spread into the regions now known as Texas, Arizona, and California.

Cotton also became an important global trade commodity. For example, England exchanged American cotton fiber for Indian and Egyptian cotton textiles. Among these trade goods, the finest cotton textiles were from long, fine staple cotton fiber. In fact, Indian prints and gauze cottons surpassed the popularity of fine woolens in the seventeenth century and played a role in greatly diminishing the demand for wool and tapestry textiles.

The cotton trade figured in the American War for Independence, as the British struggled to hold onto their source of raw fiber. Cotton production also played a controversial role in the slave trade; cotton, produced by slaves in America, was among the trade goods used to obtain other slaves in Africa. The emphasis on hand labor in cotton production increased the demand for slave labor at the same time that slave labor became ethically intolerable to many Americans (Parker 1998). The plantation system that was at the heart of cotton production thus was an issue in the controversies and regional disputes that led to the American Civil War.

With the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, cotton became a much higher volume commodity, as the machine took over one of the most laborious steps in cotton production, the separation of fibers from seeds. The cotton gin thus was a key component in the development of the U.S. textile and apparel industry. By 1859, two-thirds of the world production of cotton fiber came from the United States (Parker 1998).

Meanwhile, immigrants from Europe brought with them the knowledge and the technology to establish textile production in the United States. Using available water power to drive spinning and weaving machinery, New England became the center of the early textile industry. During the Civil War, a severe reduction in cotton fiber available from the American South led the British industry to seek other sources for cotton fiber and thus expanded cotton production globally. In the United States, both the production of cotton fiber and its processing into cloth continued to evolve according to changing economic circumstances. Between World Wars I and II, a majority of the U.S. textile mills relocated from the Northeast to the South and fiber production expanded in Texas and California.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, cotton production was led by China, the United States, Russia, India, Pakistan, Brazil, and Turkey. Cotton fiber had become an important economic force in as many as eighty countries worldwide. Cotton remains the most important fiber in apparel with nearly half of the world demand for apparel fibers traceable to cotton and cotton blends.

Processing Cotton Fiber

Cotton fiber is a seed hair removed from the boll (seed pod) of the cotton plant that bursts open when fully developed. Bolls emerge from blossoms that fall off to leave the exposed boll. One boll can produce more than 250,000 individual fibers. The cotton plant is a four- to six-foot tall shrubby annual in temperate climates, but a treelike perennial in tropical climates. The best qualities of cotton grow in climates with high rainfall in the growing season and a dry, warm picking season. Very warm, dry climates in which irrigation substitutes for rainfall, such as Arizona and Uzbekistan, are also well suited to cotton production. Rain or strong wind can cause damage to opened bolls. Cotton is subject to damage from the boll weevil, bollworm, and other insects as well as several diseases. Application of insecticides and development of disease-resistant varieties have helped achieve production goals for cotton. Recent innovations in organic cotton and genetically colored cottons continue the progression of putting science into the production process.

Processing cotton includes many stages. While *picking* mature cotton bolls by hand yields the highest quality, mechanized picking makes high production more feasible and affordable. In many countries where hand labor is more affordable than equipment, cotton continues to be hand-picked. *Ginning* is used to clean debris from cotton and prepare it for spinning into yarn. *Grading* separates cotton into quality levels in which short fibers tend

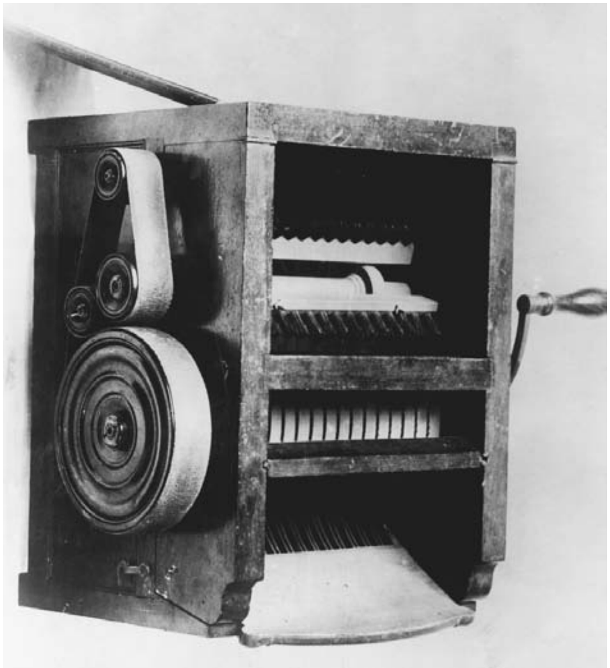
Genetically modified cotton in India. Recent scientific advancements have made it possible for genes to be injected into growing cotton. These genes target the main pests that feed on the plant without harming beneficial insects. © PALLAVA BAGLA/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

to correspond to coarse and long fibers to make very fine quality textiles. *Carding* is the next step in all cotton fiber processing and is used to further clean and minimally align fibers. An additional processing called *combing* is used to further clean and align higher quality cottons. Yarn creation involves *drawing* fibers into a thinner strand that is then *spun* into a finished yarn ready for fabrication into the textile. So-called greige-good (unfinished) fabrics undergo final finishing, which typically involves s*inging* (burning off loose particles) and then *tentering* to align the grain of the fabric and adjust the width. Either at the fiber, yarn, fabric, or product stage, cotton may be subject to *bleaching* to remove natural colors (tan through gray) at which point fashionable colors can be added through *dyeing* and *printing* processes. Other final *finishing* processes might be used to obtain special features such as *sizing* for smoothness; durable press; a polished surface; or a puckered surface texture.

Characteristics of Cotton Textiles

Cotton fiber varies in length from as little as ⅛-inch linters that are not useable as fiber up to ultrafine long staple cottons of 2½ inches. Short staple fibers (¾–1 inch) are used for relatively coarse textiles like bagging; medium to long staple (1–1⅜ inches) are the Upland cottons used for a majority of cotton products; and extra long staple (1⅜–2½ inches) cottons labeled as *Egyptian*, *pima*, *Supima*, *sea island*, and *Peruvian* cottons are used for very high quality exclusive cotton goods. Many are hand picked to achieve top quality. Natural colors for cotton fibers include off-white, cream, and gray; selective breeding of naturally colored cottons has expanded the color range to include brown, rust, red, beige, and green. Higher quality, long staple cottons are closer to white than coarse shorter fibers. But regardless of natural color, bleaching is required to produce white or pure colors.

Cotton fiber is a flat, twisted, ribbon-like structure easily identified under the microscope. This characteristic can be somewhat modified by finishing fiber or fabric with sodium hydroxide (caustic soda) or liquid ammonia and thereby swelling the fiber. This rounder mercerized or ammoniated fiber is more lustrous and stronger than typical cotton. It also accepts dye better than untreated cotton. Applying this treatment in a pattern yields plissé,



Cotton gin. The 1793 invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney helped revolutionize the United States's textile industry and bolstered the value of cotton as a commodity. © UNDERWOOD & UNDERWOOD/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

a puckered textured surface effect quite unlike the typical cotton fabric surface, which is flat, slightly wrinkled, and somewhat dull. Long-staple fine cottons exceed this standard and are often hard to differentiate from silk in surface smoothness. Cotton tends to be neutral on the skin, so is considered a comfortable fiber for everyday wear.

Cotton is cellulosic and thus has aesthetic, comfort, and performance characteristics reminiscent of linen and rayon textiles. These include high absorbency and low insulation and a tendency to be cool in hot temperatures. Cotton does not dry as quickly as linen and silk. As a relatively heavy textile, cotton is more useful for keeping cool or for dressing in layers than it is in providing warmth. Cotton is subject to linting, that is, the shedding of fibers that can result in bits of fiber lying on the surface of the textile. Cotton is also somewhat subject to abrasion and will become thin or develop holes in areas of recurring abrasion. Highly bleached cotton textiles have lower strength and durability than those that retain natural color. Cotton fibers resist absorbing dyes and fade easily in sunlight and from abrasion. Therefore the "faded" effect commonly found among fashionable cotton fabrics since the 1970s optimizes cotton's natural character.

Cotton is a medium strong fiber with a tendency to wrinkle. Wrinkling is diminished when fibers are long and fine and yarns are flexible. Wrinkle resistant finishes can help overcome lack of resiliency. Blending cotton with synthetic fibers such as polyester is the most common way to overcome wrinkling. This solution without careful attention to yarn quality can lead to pilling as short cotton fibers break off and synthetic fibers hold onto the broken fibers.

The twisted cotton fiber results naturally in a somewhat fuzzy spun yarn that holds onto dirt particles. Water- and oil-borne staining is also commonplace due to high absorbency. Cotton has high heat resistance, is stronger wet than dry, and withstands cleaning, pressing, and creasing very successfully. Cotton is resistant to most cleaning detergents but damaged by acid such as air pollutants. Cotton shrinks back to original dimensions when wet and thus experiences relaxation shrinkage. Because it can be sterilized by boiling, cotton is useful in clean room and medical applications. Cotton seldom irritates the skin or causes allergies. Cotton textiles are flammable and subject to damage by mildew, perspiration, bleach, and silverfish.

Cotton in Fashion across Time

Cotton holds a unique place in history, evolving from being more highly valued than silk and wool in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to becoming an everyday, comfort-oriented textile in contemporary apparel worldwide. Early Indian cottons were so ultra-fine that they were extremely valuable as trade goods and were highly competitive with fine woolen and silk textiles of the era. Cotton was originally available only to the wealthy due to the intensive hand labor needed to process fiber into yarns. In the early nineteenth century, wool held nearly 80 percent of world market share, with cotton and linen taking second and third place. However, by the early twentieth century, cotton became and remains in the early 2000s the leading apparel fiber worldwide. Liberty cottons are an example of the continued success of cotton as a prestige fabric; they have remained a trademark for the very finest Egyptian long staple cottons since 1875 when Liberty of London began copying Indian cotton prints onto ultra-fine long staple cottons. The advent of synthetic fibers proved strong competition for cotton in the 1970s, but cotton production rebounded as comfort became more important to many consumers than price. Faded cotton is an example of the power of the "comfort" aesthetic. Every decade since the 1970s has returned faded cotton to current fashion. While synthetic fibers can achieve the aesthetics of cotton, they only very recently came close to both the feel and the comfort of cotton with the advent of microfiber polyester. The widespread adoption of "casual Friday" dress codes by much of corporate America in the 1990s continued to make cotton an important element in the fashion aesthetic. Cotton has also achieved a good reputation as a "green" textile, because it is biodegradable.

Common Cotton Textile Uses

Cotton is highly valued for comfort and launderability. It is highly tolerant of heavy use. Wordwide, approximately 50 percent of apparel is made of cotton fiber, but pure cotton products are not as prevalent as cotton blends. In apparel, 100 percent cotton cloth is preferred for uses that demand being next to the skin or high physical activity. This includes a wide range of activewear that focuses on jersey, interlock, and sweatshirt knitwear for the upper body and woven textiles such as denim and khaki for the lower body. Apparel for situations where appearance is more important than comfort in physical activity is frequently made from cotton blends.

About 60 percent of all interior textiles (excluding floor coverings) are made of cotton or cotton blends; this category includes sheets, towels, blankets, draperies, curtains, upholstery, slipcovers, rugs, and wall coverings. In many of these applications, cotton's natural character is aesthetically pleasing, but performance characteristics such as high absorbency and tendency to soil are not advantageous. Manufacturers combat this tendency with stain-resistant finishes and often try to achieve the aesthetic qualities of cotton in cotton-synthetic blends.

Industrial uses account for less than 10 percent of cotton production, reflecting the advantages of synthetics for industrial applications requiring strength and durability. Cotton is preferred for many medical uses because it can easily be sterilized, is highly absorbent, and does not retain static electricity.

See also **Fibers; Textiles and International Trade.**

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Carol J. Salusso

COURRÈGES, ANDRÉ André Courrèges (1923–) was born in Pau, in the Basque part of France. He studied engineering before pursuing a career in fashion. Courrèges worked first under the illustrious couturier Cristóbal Balenciaga from 1950 until 1961, when he left to open his own house. Balenciaga, whose clients were primarily mature and conservative women of wealth, was paradoxically often years ahead of his time. He produced sculptured garments that served as architecture for the woman's body, and it was from Balenciaga that Courrèges learned a highly disciplined yet innovative approach to design.

Early Career

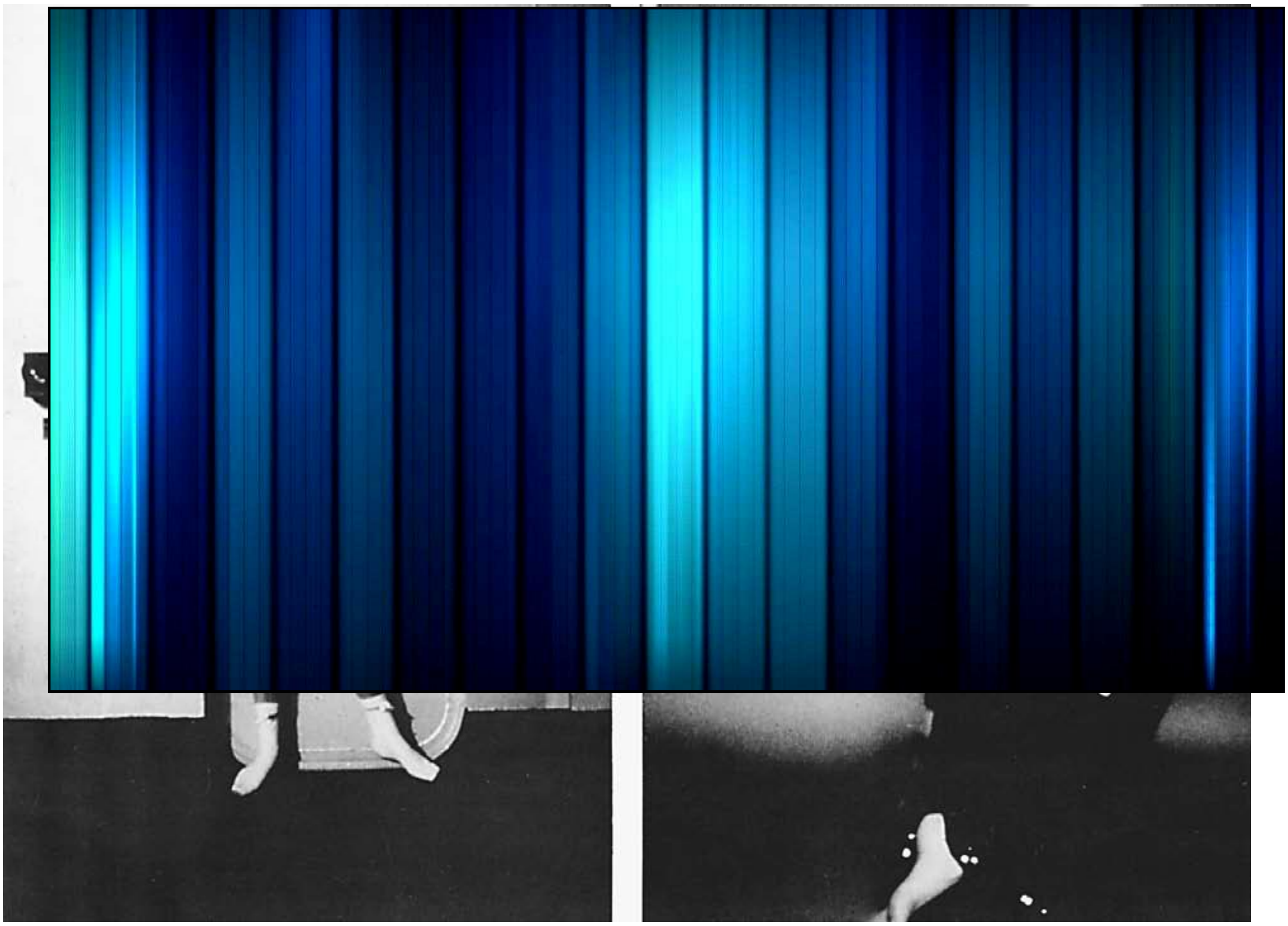
The London "youthquake" of the early 1960s produced experiments in fashion that glorified young people and sent shock waves all the way to Paris, the capital of haute couture. André Courrèges's success was based on his ability to revitalize and preserve high fashion by injecting elements of the youthquake into haute couture. Along with London-based Mary Quant, Courrèges was a leading figure in the introduction of the miniskirt—the article of clothing most closely associated with youthfulness in its disavowal of traditional social codes and the rules of fashion. The miniskirt offered minimal coverage of the lower body, the better to flaunt the young legs that became so visible in the 1960s. Gone were the days of ladylike propriety, now banished by the emphasis on youth.

Although opinion is divided as to who actually "invented" the miniskirt, Quant or Courrèges, it is generally accepted that Mary Quant was first, although only after "the girls on the street." Courrèges initially showed his miniskirts in the early 1960s, followed by futurist-inspired pantsuits, coats, hats, and his trademark white kid boots. *British Vogue* declared 1964 "the year of Courrèges" (Howell, p. 284). The spring–summer collection of 1964 represented a couture version of youth-oriented styles with the invention of the "moon girl" look; the collection ultimately secured for Courrèges the title the designer of the Space Age.

Courrèges's Space Age Design

Courrèges's 1964 Space Age collection unveiled, among other pieces, architecturally-sculpted, double-breasted coats with contrasting trim, well-tailored, sleeveless or short-sleeved minidresses with dropped waistlines and detailed welt seaming, and tunics worn with hipster pants. Vivid shades of pink, orange, green, and navy complemented the designer's bold repeated use of white and silver. Accessories for each ensemble included oversized, white, tennis-ball sunglasses or goggles with narrow eye slits, gloves, helmet-shaped hats and other hats recalling baby bonnets, and square-toed midcalf boots made of soft, white kid leather. Perhaps his most famous contribution to fashion after the miniskirt itself was the "Courrèges boot," originally designed in 1963. The entire 1964 spring collection was a phenomenal success and influenced other designers such as Pierre Cardin and Paco Rabanne to create their own versions of futuristic fashion. It also led ready-to-wear manufacturers, hoping to rake in huge profits, to copy and mass-produce similar designs.

Courrèges's visionary approach to fashion made use of clean geometrical lines and rejected superfluous material. He employed a minimal amount of decorative ornamentation; when he used it at all, it was most often his trademark daisy motif, chosen for its symbolic association with youth. The couturier's love of sharp lines and the angular crispness of his forms reflected his background in engineering. Courrèges's clothing not only



Andre Courrèges designs. Two outfits illustrate Courrèges's preference for streamlined shapes and dramatic use of the color white. DESIGN BY ANDRÉ COURRÈGES, 1963, PHOTOGRAPH. COURRÈGES DESIGN.

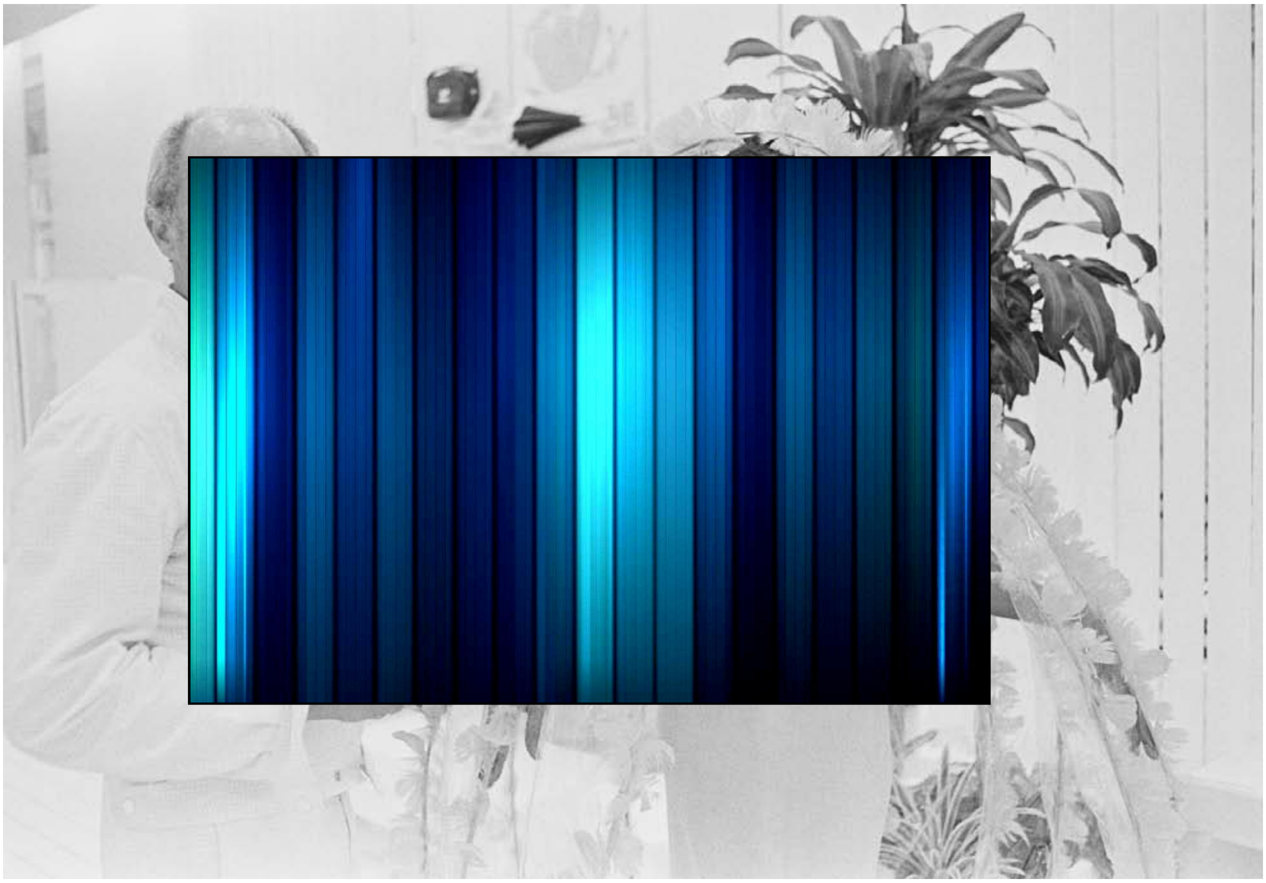
emphasized technologically advanced synthetic materials that were evocative of the times, but also pushed fashion further into the future by situating it within modern life. This intellectual component, typical of Parisian design, carried over into Courrèges's work at his studio on the avenue Kléber, where he dressed luminaries from the duchess of Windsor to Jacqueline Kennedy, Lee Radziwill, and Jane Holzer. The "white" salon, as the studio was known, personified the designer's ideals of functionality and practicality with its modern minimalist decor. André Courrèges created modern clothes for modern women living in modern times.

Courrèges's first official couture collection made its debut in 1965; two years later Prototype, the made-to-order custom line, was introduced. The introduction of luxury prêt-à-porter with Couture Future at the end of the decade marked Courrèges's transition into the 1970s. The new decade saw the establishment of the designer's first fragrance, Empreinte, in 1970 along with a men's ready-to-wear line in 1973. The need to reach a mass-market audience brought with it the lower-priced Hyperbole line in the early 1980s, and the desire to solidify a world-renowned brand name through profitable licensing arrangements led to the sale of the company in 1985 to the Japanese firm Itokin.

Courrèges's Legacy

Along with his contemporaries Paco Rabanne and Pierre Cardin, André Courrèges helped to create an unmistakable style that defined an era. His lasting impact on fashion design was his astute recognition of the revolution launched by the younger generation. The explosion of the "youthquake" onto the scene fundamentally altered the direction of fashion in the 1960s. Fashion now not only celebrated the present but also looked forward to the future. The future was conceivably Courrèges's greatest muse, and the infinite possibilities of tomorrow stimulated his experiments with form.

The mod revival spearheaded in the early 1990s by Miuccia Prada recalled the design principles and iconic looks pioneered by Courrèges three decades earlier.



Andre Courrèges with model. Courrèges made his mark during the 1960s by capitalizing on his ability to inject high fashion with a dose of bold, youthful energy.

From white, A-line minishift dresses to nylon microfiber accessories, Prada's continual search for innovation is influenced by Courrèges's designs from the 1960s. Furthermore, the fall 2003 collections represented a direct backward glance at youthquake fashion. Designs that evoked the Space Age appeared on catwalks from New York to Paris. White and metallic "lunar" shades with occasional splashes of bright color dominated the palette. Geometrical lines were everywhere. The miniskirt reappeared in full force at Chanel, Marc Jacobs, and Donna Karan, while midcalf leather boots accessorized mod ensembles at Moschino and Tommy Hilfiger. The focus on youth, the contemporary use of architecturally shaped minimalist designs in bold contrasting colors, and the deliberate application of detailing demonstrates the lasting impact of 1960s fashion. Henceforth, every retro mod fashion will forever be traced back to the work of André Courrèges.

See also **Balenciaga, Cristóbal; Cardin, Pierre; High-Tech Fashion; Miniskirt; Prada; Quant, Mary; Rabanne, Paco; Space Age Styles; Techno-Textiles; Youthquake Fashions.**

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Jennifer Park

COURT DRESS In the increasingly informal society of the early 2000s, in which many social barriers have broken down, it is arresting to read of the rigid code of manners that once determined who was, and who was not, eligible to be received at court, and who was, or was not, therefore part of "Good Society." In Europe, by the seventeenth century, wearing the correct dress on this occasion was quite as important as having the right background.

Within a royal household, officers were appointed to supervise aspects of royal life. The officer, often called a lord chamberlain, who had charge of public and ceremonial events, would usually oversee the regulation of dress and matters of etiquette. By the nineteenth century, as the categories of people eligible for court presentation increased, and the styles of court dress became ever more various and complex, all earlier printed dress instructions were drawn together and published as formal regulations. In Great Britain, "Dress Worn at Court," first published in 1882, was updated and reissued at about five-yearly intervals until 1937. Subsequently, hand-lists have been provided to specific individuals within the Royal Household, Foreign Office, Parliament, and Law Courts where the wearing of court dress may survive.

Until the late eighteenth century, in many European countries, many offices and titles remained as the personal gift of the monarch and members of his family. Both politicians and merchants found it essential to demonstrate to potential supporters that they enjoyed the favor of the court, to see their projects succeed. Even as the political importance of the court began to wane, there was always social advantage to be gained and special efforts continued to be made within the royal household to regulate the numbers and social standing of those attending. It was necessary for any new aspiring attendee to locate someone who had already been presented, to serve as his or her sponsor. In seventeenth-century France, a set of rules called "les honneurs de la cour" were drawn up. A French lady craving admittance had to prove a title of nobility extending back to 1400. Since the eighteenth century, there is evidence that this system could be abused: court officials could be bribed to gain admittance, the services of a sponsor could be bought, and sometimes the monarch himself would override the rules allowing a person of humble birth to attend as "une faveur de choix."

The Spanish court was the earliest to actively promote a distinctive court dress from the sixteenth century. All courtiers, state officials, and those attending court had to wear a doublet and close-fitting knee breeches, made of silk or wool in a somber color, worn with the stiff "gorilla" collar of white linen. Eventually, the practice was adopted throughout the Spanish Empire, in Austria, and certain Catholic German states.

By the mid-seventeenth century, Louis XIV was concerned with promoting himself, the prestige of the French court, French fashion, and culture. In 1661 he devised a system whereby fifty of his closest friends and supporters were allocated by special warrant a specific court dress. It was composed of a blue coat called a "justaucorps a brevet," lined with red and trimmed with gold and silver galloon (braided trimming with scalloped edges), to a degree not allowed within earlier sumptuary legislation. The outfit was completed with a waistcoat, knee breeches, red-heeled shoes, and a sword. When the dauphin reached his majority, a brown coat similarly embellished was devised as the regulation dress for his household.

In about 1670, Louis XIV, perhaps with his brother, Philippe, duc d'Orleans and his wife, established the "grand habit" as a court dress for women. This dress had a stiff-boned bodice with a low, round neckline and cap sleeves trimmed with tiers of ruffles called "engageantes." The skirt was cut full, and pulled back to reveal the petticoat worn beneath. This was often richly decorated. For their first presentation to the French king the "grand habit" had to be black. Subsequently, colored dresses could be worn. By about 1730 the petticoat was worn supported on large side hoops. A train replaced the skirt.

French court dress was adopted with small variations as court dress throughout Europe. By 1700 it had even become the regulation dress at the Spanish court for all but the most formal occasions.

In Great Britain the "grand habit" or "stiff bodied gown" was worn by members of the royal family and their immediate circle for royal weddings and coronations. However, by about 1700, the mantua was the customary dress worn by ladies attending court. It had an unboned bodice and full skirt. The neckline was cut square, and the bodice was closed in front with a separate stomacher. The elbow-length sleeves were finished with tiers of ruffles. The skirt was lifted back to reveal a petticoat worn beneath and by about 1750 served as little more than a train. By 1730 the petticoat was supported with large side hoops.

Ladies attending court in 1750 were generally wearing ostrich feathers as a hair ornament, and in 1762 Horace Walpole notes that they were considered "de rigueur." Lace lappets had also emerged as the enduring trimming.

Men's court dress in Great Britain was also simpler than its French counterpart, comprising a coat, waistcoat, and knee breeches, often made of fine silks and velvet, and frequently lavishly embellished with embroidery.

The "grand habit" saw its demise in 1789 with the French Revolution. However, by 1804 a new official dress had been devised by Jean-Baptiste Isabey for French government officials, as well as Napoleon, his family, and inner circle. For ladies a court train alone was retained, worn over fashionable evening dress.

The second half of the eighteenth century had seen many European courts beginning to devise special uniform liveries to be worn by members of the royal family and royal circle. In France, Louis XV established a green and gold costume as "uniforme des petits chateaux." In 1734 Frederick, Prince of Wales in Great Britain, had devised a blue and buff uniform. His son George III in 1778 was responsible for the introduction of the Windsor uniform with its blue coat and distinctive red facings. It was also in 1778 that Gustavus III of Sweden put together a comprehensive order of court uniforms not only for his family and household, but also encompassing government officials, military officers, legal officials, and even university staff and students. They were of a consciously archaic style having its origin in seventeenth-century fashion, a period associated with Swedish greatness. Small variations in materials and ornament served to differentiate classes of officials. A court dress was also devised for Swedish ladies on similar lines. It was generally black and had a low round neckline trimmed with lace, and distinctive white puffed sleeves trimmed with a lattice of black ribbon.

Isabey's new system of official dress in France included uniforms for almost every office. By 1815 a similar program had been devised in Great Britain, the uniforms based on a pattern used by the French Army. This had a blue coat, embroidered with gold, worn with white knee breeches, silk stockings, flat pumps, a "chapeau bras" and a court sword. As the century progressed, more uniforms were added as new classes of officials were drawn into the system. Typically a uniform would be fashionable at the date of its introduction, but was rarely updated as the years passed. The embroidery would include motifs associated with the nation concerned or those, such as laurel or oak, traditionally associated with valor and steadfastness.

In early nineteenth-century Britain, the cloth court dress, worn by men for whom no uniform was prescribed, maintains the link with eighteenth-century custom. This was replaced in 1869 by "Velvet Court Dress" cut on very similar lines. While a more fashionable option was devised in the 1890s, this style of dress may still be seen worn in the early 2000s.

The French Revolution had comparatively little impact on women's court dress in Great Britain. The mantua continued to be worn, supported with an immense court hoop until 1820 when George IV suggested it should be abandoned. After this date court trains were worn over fashionable evening dress, with ostrich feather headdresses and lace lappets. By 1867 lace lappets were proving increasingly difficult to obtain, and the lord chamberlain permitted the wearing of two silk net streamers instead. In 1912, the lord chamberlain established that the streamers should be no more than forty-five inches long. The great profusion of ostrich feathers included in court headdresses of the early nineteenth century had been reduced to two or three by mid century. In the dress regulations published in 1912, it is noted that there should be three feathers worn after the manner of the Prince of Wales's crest toward the left side of the head. In 1922 the lord chamberlain ordained that the court train was restricted to eighteen inches from the heels of the wearer. The color of ladies' court dress was not prescribed, but it became the convention that the dresses were of a pale hue, particularly for those being presented to the monarch for the first time. Special permission had to be sought to wear black court dress, should the lady being presented be in mourning.

The nineteenth century saw the development in many nations of a distinctive court dress. Some countries such as Russia and Greece followed the Swedish lead and introduced elements of traditional dress into their design. Other countries, as diverse as Venezuela, Norway, and Japan, selected a system of uniforms based on European military patterns. Tailors, in London, Berlin, and Rome in particular, provided a comprehensive service designing as well as manufacturing the garments.

Many of the European courts, where the wearing of court dress had been so enthusiastically promoted, were swept away during World War I. The British court proved more resilient, and in London court dress continued to be worn until the outbreak of World War II in 1939. But Britain emerged from this conflict very changed. The social mores that had underpinned the court system had broken down. Even though court presentation continued until 1958, a special dress was not prescribed.

Court dress is rarely worn in the early 2000s. In most European countries a few particular officials working in the foreign office, parliament, and the law courts may be required to wear it on occasion. In Sweden, Denmark, and Norway since 1988 the wearing of a court dress within the royal family and its immediate circle has been reintroduced for the grandest ceremonial occasions. The new Swedish pattern is based in the eighteenth-century Swedish tradition. The styles in Norway and Denmark are modern creations.

See also **Royal and Aristocratic Dress.**

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COUTURE. *See* **Haute Couture.**

COWBOY CLOTHING "Cowboys," "vaqueros," "gauchos," each of these words conjures a different image, yet all these occupations originated in the Salamanca and Old Castile region of twelfth-century Spain where cattle herders wore low-crowned hats, bolero jackets, sashes, tight-fitting trousers, and spurred boots. The dress of gauchos, vaqueros, and cowboys may have originated in Spain but new articles of dress were added because of the various environments in which cattle herders performed their work. The dress of all three changed because of innovations in ranching culture and in technologies used for producing clothing; however, there is one characteristic that still remains among all three groups—their love of flamboyance in dress.

Typical cowboy outerwear. While low-crowned hats, leather chaps, and spurred boots have been major components of traditional cowboy garb for centuries, blue jeans are a more recent stylistic addition.

Gaucho Dress

The dress of gauchos reflected the influence of Spain while responding to environmental conditions found in South America. Nineteenth-century paintings show them wearing low-crowned hats, vests, and bolero jackets, all having Spanish influence. They also wore *calzoncillos* that bear a remarkable resemblance to petticoat breeches that were fashionable in sixteenth-century Europe. *Chiripá* that consisted of loose diaper-like pants were worn over the *calzoncillos.* The gauchos of Argentina and Chile added ponchos that originated among the native people of the region for protection from cold winds and rains generated by the Andes Mountains that rose above the pampas. During the colonial period, Argentinean gauchos wore *bota de potro*, boots made of the leg skins of colts. By the nineteenth century machine-made boots replaced the *bota de potro* since Argentineans enacted laws forbidding use of homemade boots to prevent the killing of colts. The most elaborate part of traditional gaucho's dress was a wide belt called a *cinturon*, trimmed with coins and fastened with a large plate buckle. By the mid-twentieth century, the *calzoncillos* and *chiripá* were replaced by wide-legged trousers called *bombachas* tucked into tall leather boots, but the *cinturon* remained a traditional part of gaucho dress. Gauchos in the twenty-first century still resemble their early-twentieth-century ancestors, since they are dressed in low-crowned, broad-brimmed hats, short jackets, *bombachas* tucked into tall boots, and, most important, *cinturons* decorated with coins and wide plate buckles. Some gauchos still use ponchos, both for decoration as well as for protection.

Vaquero Dress

Vaqueros of Mexico, the most direct ancestor of the American cowboy, also wore clothing that resembled the clothes worn in Spain, though there were differences. The low-crowned hat, bolero jacket, sash, and spurred boots remained, but a new form of dress developed in the North American Southwest. *Armas* were an early form of chaps made of slabs of cowhide hung from the saddle and folded back to protect a vaquero's legs from the thorny brush that was part of the New World environment. *Chaparejos* that fully enclosed a rider's legs were the next practical evolution of protective gear for Mexican vaqueros. By the late sixteenth century, vaquero dress included a leather *chaqueta* or jacket, a sash, knee breeches called *sotas* that were usually made of leather, long drawers visible under the *sotas*, leather leggings that wrapped to the knee, and spurs attached to buckskin shoes. Vaqueros, too, changed their dress to reflect changing technology and culture. By the mid-nineteenth century, their dress consisted of wide-brimmed, low-crowned hats, short jackets, thigh-high *chaparreras* tied to a belt at the waist that were worn over trousers, boots and large rowelled spurs. The twenty-first century vaquero wears *chaparejos* that resemble those developed over 400 years ago but he wears a broad-brimmed hat with a higher crown trimmed with a fancy hatband and ready-made shirt and pants.

Close-up of spur. Mexican *vaqueros* began attaching spurs to their shoes around the sixteenth century, and they have remained a traditional part of cowboy attire.

Cowboy Dress

Working cowboys. Woolie chaps, made of leather with the hair left on, originally developed in California, were introduced to northern cowboys by vaqueros who drove cattle from Oregon to Montana mining camps during the 1860s. They did not represent cowboy culture until the cattle industry had expanded to the northern plains during the 1880s when woolies, as they were called, were particularly useful for protecting cowboys from the cold that was a part of northern plains life.

Dude ranch dress. Eastern visitors to the West still sometimes buy flamboyant cowboy gear but they are more likely to do their horseback riding in running shoes and T-shirts instead of cowboy boots and satin shirts. One reason for this is that most dude ranch visitors no longer spend six to eight weeks on western ranches summer after summer, but visit a dude ranch for one or two weeks once in a lifetime.

Twenty-First-Century Western Dress

Cowboy dress is important in American culture, especially to those who live in the West. Often formal events are excuses for westerners to put on their best western outfits consisting of broad-brimmed Stetson hats, western-cut shirts with curved yokes and pearl snaps, tooled belts with fancy plate buckles (or trophy buckles if available), tight, boot-cut jeans, and high-heeled boots. Even ladies dress up in their best Native American jewelry, well-cut western shirts, full skirts, and high-heeled boots. Western style is hard to resist.

Gauchos, vaqueros, and cowboys are important in South and North American folk culture. All three represent fierce independence and self reliance but it is their clothing and gear that defines each group. Gauchos are recognized by their tall boots, wide-legged pants, coin-decorated belts, and wide-brimmed hats. Vaqueros wear sombreros that have decorated high crowns and very broad brims. They still wear *chaparreras* and boots and fancy spurs, but their pants and shirts are more formal than those worn by their ancestors. Cowboys often wear Stetson hats that have broad brims, bright-colored shirts, and blue jeans that are now part of the cowboy image. Slant-heeled cowboy boots, spurs, and tooled belts with fancy buckles are also part of the cowboy image. Rodeo cowboys now wear chaps made of leather embellished with Mylar in bright colors like shocking pink and turquoise that flash in the sun as the cowboys demonstrate their skills in the arena. Although gauchos, vaqueros, and cowboys can trace their origin to Spain, little in their appearance reflects the dress of twelfth-century Salamanca. Instead, each wears the clothing that developed because of changes in technology and culture.

See also **America, Central, and Mexico: History of Dress; America, North: History of Indigenous Peoples Dress; America, South: History of Dress; Boots; Fashion and Identity; Hats, Men's; Jeans; Protective Clothing.**

"He was dressed like a Wild West Show cowboy, with such . . . extras as . . . a bandanna worn full in front like a lady's big bertha collar, instead of tied tight around the neck to keep dust out and sweat from running all the way down into your boots." Bronco Billy Anderson, a real cowboy who starred in *The Great Train Robbery*.

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CREPE "Crepe" is the name given to fabric having a crinkled or pebbled texture, often used for blouses and dresses with graceful drape. Almost any fiber may be used, and the fabric can be thin and sheer, fine and opaque, or even heavy. Crepe (alt. crape) fabric may be stretchy, requiring care to cut and sew accurately. Its distinctive surface may be achieved by taking advantage of yarn twist, by arranging a suitable weave structure, by employing uneven warp tension, or by applying a chemical treatment.

The first type utilizes the kinetic energy of two kinds of tightly-spun weft yarns (yarn that runs crosswise)—one S-twisted and the other Z-twisted—(spun so that the twists angle upward to the left or to the right, respectively), which are alternated singly or in pairs in a plain-weave cloth. Upon release from the loom's tension, the springy yarns attempt to unwind within the confines of the web, thus imparting the characteristic rippled surface of "flat crape" or *crêpe lisse*, as it was known in the nineteenth-century. Occasionally this technique is used in both warp (yarn that runs lengthwise) and weft, as in early nineteenth century Chinese export silk shawls. Georgette is a sheer, crisp, flat crepe; chiffon, a relatively modern fabric, is also sheer and crisp but has a smooth, uncraped surface. Since the terms "flat crepe" and *crêpe lisse* seem to have passed from common use, this fine crepe seems to have acquired the default name of "chiffon" as well.

Crepe de chine wrap. Crepe de chine is a crepe made from silk or a similar thin, lightweight fabric. These crepes have a subtle luster and are frequently painted.

The second type of crepe is made of yarns with ordinary twist in a weave having small, irregular floats that look fairly bumpy. This method is most effective in heavy fabrics whose larger threads produce an appreciable texture.

The third type of crepe, seersucker, has warpwise puckered stripes resulting from slack tension in the weaving. When the cloth is released from the loom's tension, it relaxes to a shorter length with closer-spaced wefts than the puckered stripes, which are forced to bulge from the fabric plane. It is usually an ideal choice for summer suiting, underwear, pajamas, and children's wear because it sheds wrinkles and needs no ironing.

The fourth crepe requires the application of a special finish that causes the fabric to shrink wherever it is applied. The method was first patented in England in 1822, when a plain, thin silk gauze stiffened with shellac was passed under a heated, engraved copper cylinder to receive embossed patterns. At this time, heavily textured crepes, particularly the printed varieties, were called "crepe." The term for flat crepes—*crêpe*—eventually came into use for all, no doubt because of the irresistible fashion cachet of anything French.

Heated, engraved rollers are still used to impress chemicals on cloth to make puckered "plissé" designs that may not be permanent. However, cottons printed with alkali are permanently altered by shrinkage. Synthetics, being heat sensitive, can be craped handily and permanently not only at the factory, but inadvertently at home by a mismanaged iron.

Well into the twentieth century, crisp, dull black, silk mourning "crepes" were woven in the gum and heat-treated with chemicals to produce the characteristic deeply grooved texture.

See also **Fibers; Mourning Dress.**

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CRINOLINE In the mid-nineteenth century, the ideal feminine figure was an hourglass above a broad base of full skirts. Wide skirts, which made the waist look smaller and were thought to give women dignity and grace, were supported by layers of petticoats, some made of crinoline, a stiff fabric woven from horsehair (the name derives from the French *crin*, horsehair, and *lin*, linen). Crinoline, however, was expensive, heavy, crushable, easily soiled, and could not be cleaned. To enable women's skirts to become as immense as fashion desired, a more effective skirt support was needed. Petticoats were distended with cane and whalebone—and even with inflated rubber tubes—but with limited success.

In 1856, a new support was introduced, made of graduated, flexible sprung-steel rings suspended from cloth tapes. The names for these structures included "hoopskirts," "steel skirts," and "skeleton skirts"; they were also called "crinolines," since, confusingly, this term was applied to all skirt expanders, and sometimes referred to as "cage crinolines" or "cages."

Indeed, some have perceived hoopskirts as cages imprisoning women. The hindrance of hoops reflected the ideal, cloistered social role of women of the time, who were, as a male commentator in *Godey's Lady's Book* of August 1865 (p. 265) put it, "unfitted by nature and constitution to move easily or feel in their place in the bustle of crowds and the stir of active out-door life." To many Victorian women, however, hoopskirts promoted "a free and graceful carriage" and were hailed as a blessing. In contrast to numerous hot and heavy petticoats, hoopskirts were lightweight, modest, healthful, economical, and comfortable.

Hoopskirts were a marvel of contemporary technology and manufacturing, with many possible variations in construction. Most hoopskirts were made using tempered sprung steel, which had an incredible ability to return to shape. This was rolled into thin sheets, cut into narrow widths, and then closely covered in cotton tubular braid finished with sizing to give a smooth surface. To make a hoop, a length was cut and the ends secured, usually with a small piece of crimped metal. Graduated hoops were then arranged on a frame in the desired shape and suspended from cotton tapes, secured either by metal studs or put through specially made double-woven pockets in the tapes. At the top, partial hoops left an opening over the stomach so the hoop could be put on and secured by a buckled waistband. The entire hoop weighed a mere eight ounces to less than two pounds.

The large skirt supports of earlier centuries, such as the Elizabethan farthingale and the eighteenth-century pannier, had been the preserve of the upper classes; by the mid-nineteenth century, however, more women could participate in fashion. Middle-class women and even maids and factory girls now sported hoopskirts, although their cheaper versions had twelve or fewer hoops while more expensive models with twenty to forty hoops gave a smoother line. The pretensions of the "lower orders" was one of the many aspects of hoops that inspired caricaturists. Also ridiculed—and exaggerated—was the balloon-like appearance of overdressed ladies in immense hoops and flounced skirts. (At the extreme, hoopskirts could be up to four yards in circumference, although three yards or less was more common.) More risqué cartoons highlighted the tendency of springy hoops to fly up revealingly; for modesty's sake, many respectable women now adopted long loose underpants or drawers.

The demand for hoopskirts was so great that factories flourished across the United States and Europe. *Harper's Weekly* of February 19, 1859 (p. 125) claimed that two New York factories each produced 3,000 to 4,000 hoopskirts per day. As production continued to increase throughout the 1860s, the hoopskirt industry employed thousands, consumed vast quantities of raw materials, and utilized the latest technologies. As numerous patent applications show, great ingenuity was applied to creating improved hoop machinery and specialized features. Advertisements touted the superiority of their products and gave them impressive names, such as "Champion," "Ne Plus Ultra," and one brand named after the fashion icon of the time, the French empress Eugénie.

During the era of the hoop, skirt silhouettes gradually evolved. The dome-shaped skirts of the 1850s gave way to tapered skirts that flared from waist to hem, so supports were correspondingly smaller on top and often had hoops only below the knee. Hoopskirts similarly responded to the fluctuations of fashionable skirt lengths. When the hoop was first introduced, women's skirts touched or nearly touched the ground, but shorter skirts increasingly became the rage in the 1860s, and skirts also began to be looped up over a shortened underskirt for walking, causing what some claimed was an "unseemly display of ankle." In the same period, trained skirts, dragging nine inches or more on the ground, also became increasingly fashionable; by the mid-1860s hoopskirts were specially designed with extra fullness at the bottom back to gracefully support and keep the train away from the feet.

The demise of the hoop skirt was forecast by fashion arbiters from the time of its introduction, yet hoops remained indispensable to most women throughout the 1860s. By the very late 1860s, attention shifted to the back of the skirt and emphasis was on the bustle which now augmented the hoop. As bustles became more pronounced, the hoop was definitively declared out of fashion by the early 1870s. However, even into the 1880s some women wore small hoops—as little as eighteen or even sixteen inches in diameter, which must have been a hindrance when walking—to keep their skirts clear of their legs.

Marvels of technology, industry, and ingenuity, hoopskirts perfectly suited the societal and aesthetic needs of their time. In the November 1861 issue of

Peterson's Magazine (p. 384), one writer went so far as to declare hoopskirts "a permanent institution, which no caprice of fashion will be likely to wholly destroy." While fashion soon belied this prediction, the hoop did enjoy a remarkably long reign, and stands as the defining garment of its era.

In the twentieth century, the hoop skirt was revived under full-skirted evening dresses, or *robes de style*, in the late 1910s and 1920s and, most famously, as nylon net "crinolines" and featherboned hoopskirts supporting bouffant New Look and 1950s fashions. The recurring popularity of hoopskirted looks for romantic occasions such as weddings continues to keep this extremely feminine fashion alive even into the twenty-first century.

See also **Petticoat.**

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CROCHET Crochet, from the French for hook, is a form of needlework consisting of a doubly interlooped structure built from a chain foundation. The basic stitch is a simple slip loop yet a multitude of different stitches may be created by varying the number of loops on the hook and the ways in which they are integrated with the structure. Hooks of varying fineness are frequently made of metal, wood, or bone, and common threads used are cotton, wool, silk, or linen. This versatile and potentially rich and complex craft has been practiced by both men and women in many countries. Perhaps the most ubiquitous item of crocheted clothing today is the *kufi* cap, often worn by Muslim men.

Origins and History

Researchers have encountered considerable difficulty finding early examples of crochet, in contrast to woven or knitted artifacts. The textile scholar Lis Paludan has conducted extensive research into the origins of crochet in Europe but has been unable to document its practice before the early 1800s. Yet items of crocheted clothing from India, Pakistan, and Guatemala can be found in museum and private collections; non-European traditions of crochet would seem a promising area for future investigation.

Crochet in Europe seems to have developed independently in two quite different milieus. As with knitting, this technique was used to create insulating woolen clothing for use in inclement climates such as Scandinavia and Scotland, where an early-nineteenth-century version of crochet, known as shepherd's knitting, worked with homemade hooks improvised from spoons or bones. Through wear or design, these items became felted, offering further protection against the elements. Simultaneously, in the more leisured climate of the female drawing room, another form of the craft was developing out of a far older type of needlework called tambouring. Apparently originating in India, Turkey, and Persia, tambouring was executed with a very fine hooked needle inserted into fabric stretched over a frame. The transitional step was to discard the fabric and execute the looped chain stitch "in the air" as it was termed in France.

This latter form of crochet developed in Europe and the United States during the nineteenth century, primarily as a women's activity. Numerous crochet patterns appear in women's magazines of this period, ranging from conventional clothing applications such as collars, bonnets, scarves, blouses, slippers, and baby wear to such fantastical creations as birdcage covers. Museum collections contain a wealth of crocheted purses and bags from the second half of the nineteenth century. Some of the finest are miser's bags, worked with fine colored silks and tiny glass or steel beads. These bags were rounded at both ends or curved at one end and square at the other and had a small opening through which coins would fit.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, patterns for Tunisian crochet began to appear. This was a hybrid knitting/crochet technique capable of producing a firm, stable structure for clothing such as shawls, waistcoats, and children's dresses. The technique was also called Afghan stitch and is still practiced in southeastern Europe, suggesting other geographic avenues for further research into crochet's origins and dissemination.

While crochet was a pursuit of the leisured classes, it was also a cottage industry, providing economic relief in rural areas from the effects of industrialization and displacement. The most famous example of this industry, which produced some outstanding examples of crocheted clothing, was Irish crochet. This fine lacelike form (also called *guipure* lace) probably developed out of an economic imperative to find a cheaper alternative to needlepoint lace and bobbin lace. A variety of floral-like motifs were finely crocheted in cotton over thicker threads, and joined together with fine mesh to produce a lacelike structure often of great intricacy and delicacy. During the potato famine (1845–1850) Irish crochet provided a form of sustenance to hundreds of Irish peasant families. As with many cottage industries of this period, it was organized by upper-class philanthropic women who arranged classes and distribution (through agents) of inexpensive and widely fashionable Irish crochet collars, cuffs, and accessories. Irish crochet's success and dissemination through international exhibition led to its practice as an industry in several European countries such as France, Austria, and Italy, and clothing of Irish crochet was imported into the United States and Canada.

During the first part of the twentieth century interest in crochet waned; the ubiquitous crocheted plant holders and hot water bottle covers, often executed in heavy, coarse yarns, were indicative of a foundering creativity where repetition of form was matched by a decline in technical skill. As might be anticipated, though, the craft revival of the late 1960s and 1970s inspired renewed experimentation. Fiber artists realized that by crocheting in the round, crocheting free-form rather than by working in rows, and building up three-dimensional forms from the surface of the fabric, they could produce elaborate wearable sculpture. The increasing range of alternative yarns and the production of often imaginative and humorous garments led to an appreciation of the art form as a vehicle for self-expression.

At the same time, crochet's perceived status as an undervalued women's activity, and its accumulated associations with amateurism, were countered head-on by the conceptual art movement. Crochet became radicalized. Perhaps its best-known proponent in this field was Robert Kushner, who crocheted clothing to be used as performance art.

Ready-to-Wear and Couture

Unlike knitting, crochet has never become fully mechanized. Hence, it has not been a popular form of construction for ready-to-wear clothing. Discrete crocheted edging sometimes appears on the work of fashion designers best known for their knitwear, such as Adolpho. Otherwise, crochet has been used to great effect as part of the armory of couture techniques. The British design team Body Map has employed it in tongue-in-cheek homage to its "homemade" essence. The Irish designer Lainey Keogh uses knitting and crochet to celebrate a sensuous femininity. Vivienne Westwood has absorbed crochet into her stable of elaborate embellishment techniques and used it with aplomb on her reworkings of historical costume. Jean Paul Gaultier has combined knitting and crochet in ways that celebrate and subvert traditional patterns.

Crochet is an outstandingly versatile technique whose applications have ranged from the most basic utilitarian to haute couture. Over the past two centuries it has cycled in and out of fashion, but its potential for creative experimentation has regenerated attention from those who engage in it as a leisure pursuit, as well as professional designers. Regarding clothing and fashion, its potential for a mass market seems enormous if it were to become more mechanized.

See also **Knitting.**

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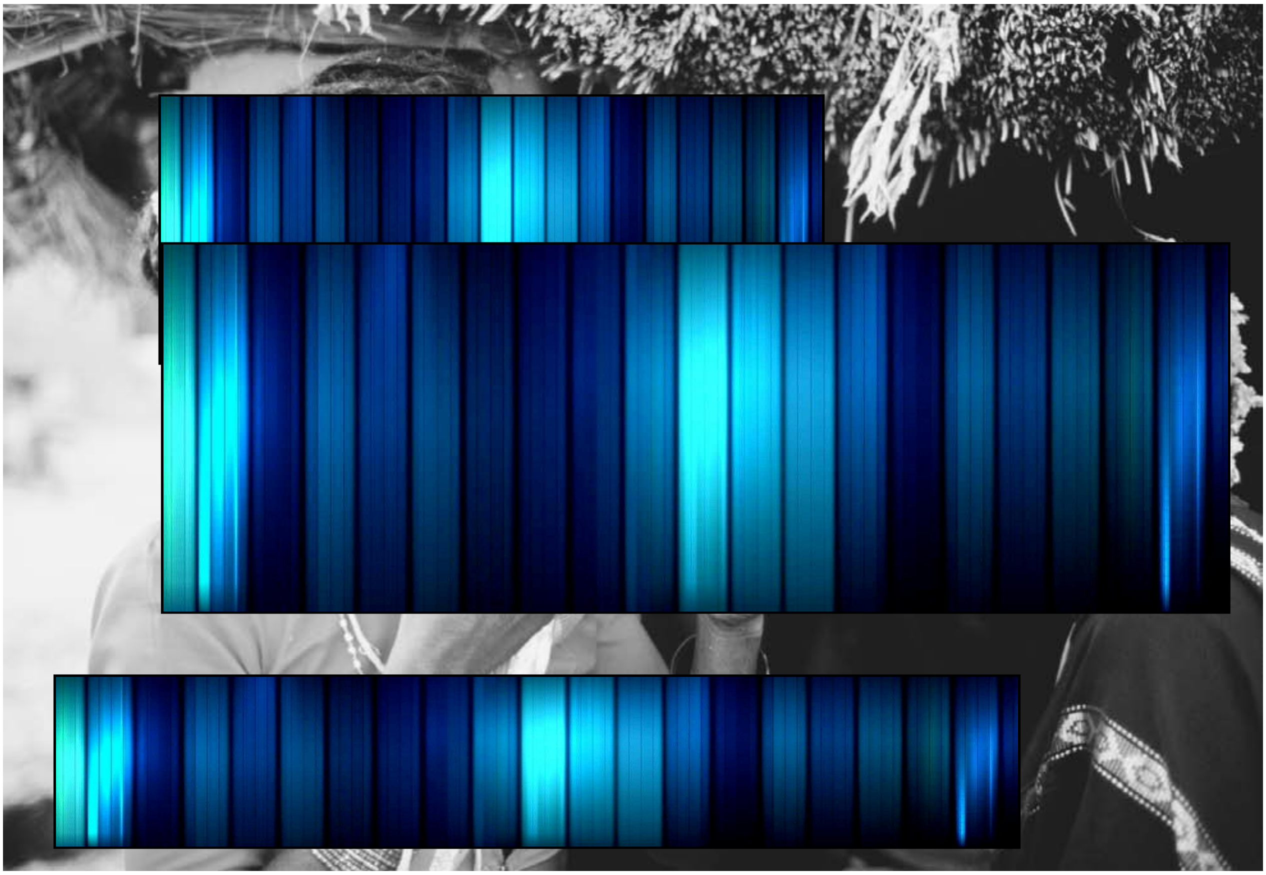
Lindsay Shen

CROSS-DRESSING Cross-dressing occurs for religious reasons, for burlesque, disguise, status gain, even for sexual excitement. It is as old as clothing itself. Mythology and history are full of cross-dressing incidents, mainly of men dressing or acting as women. Women cross-dressing and living as men began to appear in the early Christian Church where there are a number of women saints who were found to be women only upon their death. In fact, women living as men seemed to have been more successful at it in the past three centuries than men living as women, perhaps because their motivations were different. Many of them did so to overcome the barriers that women had to face in terms of economic opportunities and independence in the past.

Anthropologists, impressed by the variety of cultures where cross-dressing and gender change have been found, developed the term "supernumerary gender" to describe individuals who adopt the role and many of the customs of the opposite sex. In American Indian culture, for example, men who took on the roles of women were called berdaches. Berdaches took over special ceremonial rites and did some of the work attributed to women, mixing together much of the behavior, dress, and social roles of women with those of men. Often one can gain status by changing gender identification. Among one group of Blackfeet Indians, there are women known as "manly hearts," who have the character traits associated with men and often adopt the male role and clothing. Some groups such as the Navajo identify three, not two, sexes and designate the nonconformist to the third sex. Several identify more than three genders.



Hindu eunuchs. Members of the Sakhībhāva cult emulate women, often to the extent of being castrated, due to their belief that the god Krishnu is the only true male being in the world. © Karan Kapoor/Corbis. Reproduced by permission.

Male cross-dressing is part of religious worship in different Hindu sects. Sakti worshipers consider the godhead be essentially feminine, and men present themselves in women's costumes. In one Hindu cult, the Sakhībhāva, which holds that the god Krishna is the only true male while every other creature in the world was female, male followers dress like women and affect the behavior, movements, and habits of women, including imitating having a menstrual period. Many of them also emasculate themselves, and play the part of women during sexual intercourse, allowing themselves to be penetrated as an act of devotion. The technical term for these men is *hijra* (eunuch or transvestite). Some observers have called them homosexuals, although it is probably better to regard the role as asexual.

Such androgynous beliefs are not confined to Hinduism but exist in sects of other religions as well. In Islamic Oman, the Xanith are regarded by Oman society as neither male nor female but having the characteristics of both. Though they perform women's tasks, are classed as women, and are judged for beauty by women's standards, technically they do not cross-dress. Instead, they feminize their male costume in every way possible. A Xanith, however, can change her or his status in society by marrying and demonstrating his ability to penetrate a woman.

Because Islam is such a sex-segregated society, and public appearances by women limited, many Islamic areas have tolerated and institutionalized female impersonators. In Egypt one groups is called *khäal* ("dancers"). They perform at weddings and other ceremonial occasions, and though technically their costume is not quite like that of women, they do all they can to appear as women, including plucking out hairs on their face.

Though women's roles were not quite so restricted in the West, there were still strong prohibitions. They could not appear on the stage, for example, and women's roles were taken by female impersonators until the seventeenth century. This was also true in Japan, and in other countries as well, including ancient Greece.

The earliest recorded historical woman to dress and act like a man was Hatshepsut, an Egyptian from about the fifteenth century B.C.E. She is even portrayed in statues and carvings wearing a symbolic royal beard. After her death there was an attempt to obliterate her memory, but her record managed to survive. History, however, is less kind to male rulers who cross-dressed. A good example of this is the Assyrian king Sardanapulus (also known as Ashurbanipal) in the fifth century B.C.E., who is said to have spent much of his time in his palace dressed in women's clothing and surrounded by his concubines. When news of this behavior became widely known, some of his key nobles revolted. Although his cross-dressing was looked down upon because it showed feminine weakness, he fought long and bravely for two years, and before facing defeat, he committed suicide.

Greek literature is full of cross-dressing in both mythological tales and actual events. Greek writers reported that among the Scythians there were groups of individuals known as *Enarées*, who had been cursed with the feminine disease by the god Aphrodite for raiding her temple. Another Greek writer claimed that their cross-dressing was brought on by a temporary impotency caused by spending so much of their time on horseback. Cross-dressing was also part of religious rituals in Greece itself, usually as part of an initiation ceremony emphasizing the essential opposition between the male essence and the female one. Young men at such ceremonies appeared initially in women's clothing and after being initiated into manhood, tossed them aside. Cross-dressing figured prominently in the religious ceremonies associated with the god Dionysus, who according to some legends had been reared as a girl. Other gods and goddesses also required their worshipers to cross-dress at least some of the time. The ubiquity of such festivals might well indicate that the Greek who drew strict lines between sex roles and assigned a restricted role to women, needed periods during which the barriers were removed.

In Sparta, where marriage for men was delayed until they were thirty, men had to live in segregated barracks even after they were married. When they did marry, the young bride (probably a 14-year-old) was dressed in male clothing so that her husband could sneak away and come secretly to her in the night. She was not able to resume her traditional clothing until she had become pregnant, a true sign of womanhood.

Clearly temporary assumption of opposite gender by men was acceptable if the aim was laudable or if the alternatives to the impersonation were considered more socially undesirable than the disguise itself. Hymenaeus, a youth from Argive, disguised himself as a girl to follow the young Athenian maid he loved. Solon is said to have defeated the Megarians by disguising some of his troops as women to infiltrate the enemy forces. Achilles, in order to be protected from potential enemies, was said to have lived the early part of his life as a girl and was finally exposed by Odysseus. The legends are bountiful.

Latin literature, particularly of the imperial period, has a number of stories of cross-dressers. Julius Caesar found a man dressed as a woman at religious ceremonies held in his house who was there to arrange an assignation. The Emperor Nero cross-dressed, and so did the Emperor Elagabalus, who was proclaimed emperor as a fourteen-year-old boy in 218. In both of these cases, however, their cross-dressing was regarded as an indicator of their flawed character.

Christianity was hostile to cross-dressing, as was Judaism from which it derived. But as indicated above, a number of female cross-dressers are known, many of whom became saints. When their true sex was discovered, usually at their death, they were praised for their faithfulness and saintliness, and their ability to rise above female frailties. There were limits, however, on what was acceptable.

A recently discovered Medieval Romance, *Le Roman de Silence*, tells the story of a girl raised as boy in order to preserve the inheritance of her parents. Silence is told by her parents in her early teens that she is really a female; but, though torn by her "feminine desires," she maintains the male role until she is permitted to resume the woman's role by the king. There are other stories as well, but the easiest to document are the male actors who played feminine roles on the stage until they became too old to do so, up to the middle of the seventeenth century. Occasionally a legal case reports a cross-dresser, as did a London city record of a male prostitute who plied his trade as a woman. Even the woman's role in many operas was sung by castrati, a castrated male, until the nineteenth century.

Cross-dressing and impersonation was generally easier for a female to do than a male simply because of the beard problem. This meant that on the stage it was adolescents or young men who usually played the feminine role. Females, for their part, could pass as young men wearing loose clothing until fairly late in their life, and then with a false beard continue to do so. Some young enterprising Dutch girls served as seamen on ships bound for Indonesia, where they settled down. Many women fought as men in most wars and continued to do so until the twentieth century, when pre-induction physicals were established in the American and other armies.

Even the most dedicated transvestite, the Abbé de Choisy (1644–1724), whose memoirs of his life as a woman survive, more or less abandoned his public attempts to pass as a woman as he aged. He continued to cross-dress when the opportunity presented itself, but his identity was no longer a secret. To keep himself entertained he wrote fictional accounts of cross-dressing.

It was in eighteenth-century London where cross-dressing organizations appeared. A number of men's-only clubs were established and some of them became quite notorious. One group, known as the Mohocks, went out at nights regularly seeking lower-class women and girls whom they stood on their heads so that their skirts would fall down, exposing their bare bottoms. Not all clubs of this period, however, were quite so boisterous. One of the more subversive of the male tradition was the Molly club, whose members met in women's clothes to drink and party; Edward Ward, who in 1709 wrote *The Secret History of Clubs*, described their meeting where they dressed as women:

> They adopt all the small vanities natural to the feminine sex to such an extent that they try to speak, walk, chatter, shriek and scold as women do, aping them as well in other aspects. . . . As soon as they arrive, they begin to behave exactly as women do, carrying on light gossip, as is the custom of a merry company of real women. (p. 209)

Whether this club was an organization of homosexuals is not clear, but several historians believe that this was part of an attempt to establish a distinct gay identity.

Certainly there was a growing curiosity about cross-dressing and impersonation in public in both England and France in the eighteenth century. The most notorious cross-dresser was Charles d'Eon, known as the Chevalier d'Eon, who was a member of the personal secret service of the French King Louis XV. D'Eon apparently used his ability to pass as a woman to carry out his spying tasks, and later as he became involved in a struggle with the French government under King Louis XVI, he received a pardon from the King, providing he dressed as a woman that the king believed him to be and lived in exile. When gambling in England over his sex reached a peak, he apparently was involved in a bribery scheme in which two English physicians testified he was a woman, whereby his friends collected some money. For a time he became a sensation in Paris and in London, burlesquing the gestures and mannerisms of women, and when he ran into financial difficulties in England he supported himself by his expertise with the sword. He gave exhibitions and lessons while dressed in proper women's attire. He died in poverty in 1810; as his body was being prepared for burial, he was found to be a male. He might be called the first transvestite to become a media event.

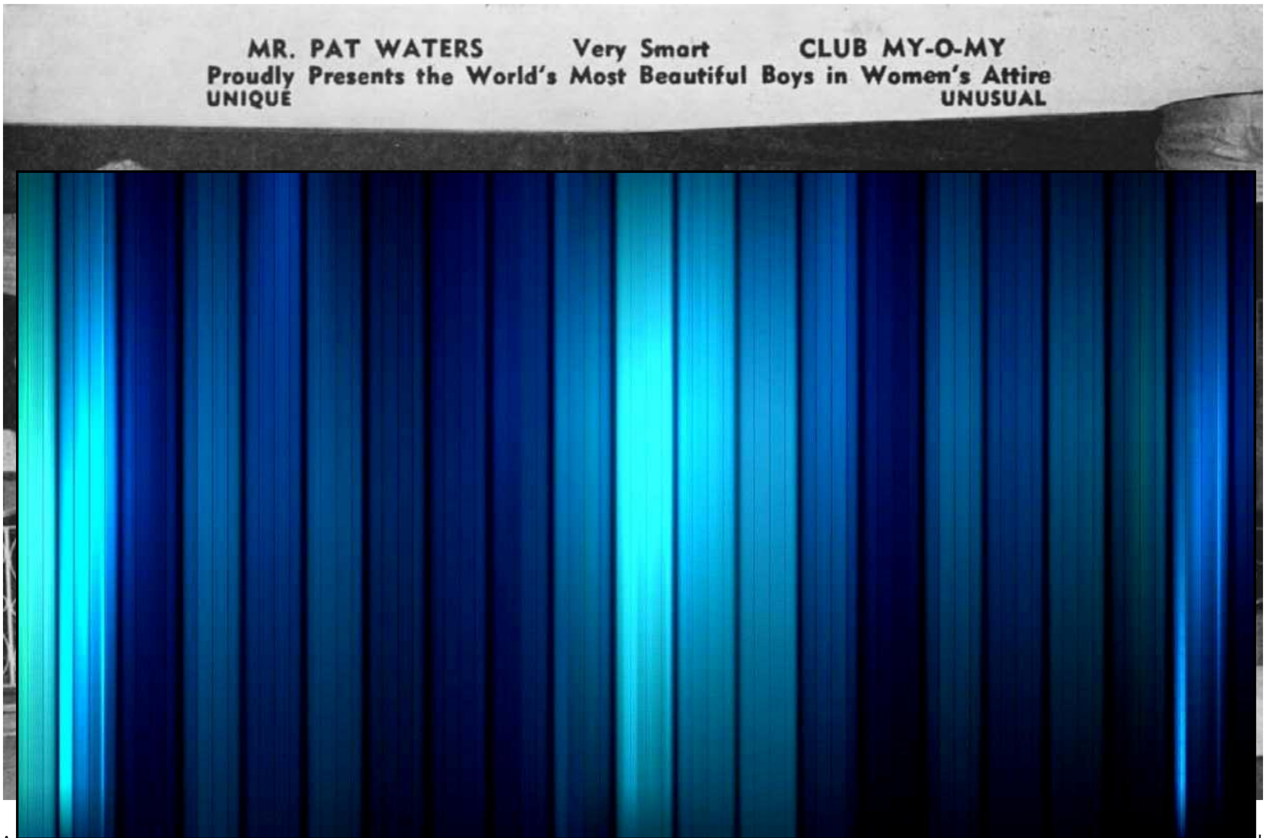
It was not until the last part of the nineteenth century that cross-dressers appeared in ever-increasing numbers. That period in history is when distinctions between male and female domains were strongly entrenched in the upper and middle classes. It was also when there was an increasing emphasis on sports and manliness in these circles. Carried to an extreme, the demands of masculinity could turn to a kind of bullying, as it often did in the English public schools. In America, masculinity, at its worst, was a kind of anti-intellectualism in which music, literature, and all the "finer" things were feminine, and those boys who were interested or excelled in those pursuits were defined by the dominant male group as feminine. Terms such as *queer*, *fag*, *fairy*, or even *girlish* were applied to boys who outwardly seemed to express an interest in anything assigned to the women's sphere. This continued on until the rise of the new wave of feminism in the 1960s. In my own studies of cross-dressers carried out in the 1980s, I found that the male cross-dressers who identified themselves as heterosexual had adopted an almost dichotomized personality in their youth. They were well adjusted outwardly to the male world, but in order to express what they regarded as the feminine side of themselves, they felt a need to cross dress. In this way they could express, even temporarily, some of the feminine qualities they felt they had but then safely return to the masculine identity.

The separate-sphere concept tended to make women less understandable and more mysterious to men; the stricter the separation, the more defined the spheres, the more mysterious women were. One result of this was the fetishization of women's apparel. Women spent a good part of their time trying to better understand men's needs as mothers, caregivers,and teachers, but men, rather than attempting to understand women, objectified and eroticized objects identified with the female, such as underclothes or even outer clothing. In some ways clothing seemed to be the ultimate of being female.

At the same time female clothing was eroticized. The corset is a good example since it was not sold as a waist cincher or form maker but as a preserver of feminine virtue. Corsets also helped rearrange the female figure, emphasizing a narrow waist and resultant hourglass figure that gave prominence to the bust and buttocks. One of the more interesting results of this was the growth of what might be called "corset literature," aimed at a male audience. In this fictional literature adolescent boys are put into corsets to form their figures and to feminize them. In the late nineteenth and first part of the twentieth century, such literature was widespread. Eroticization of clothing was undoubtedly influenced by the fact that so many of the items of women's apparel were designed to emphasize or bring attention to certain aspects of the female figure, from bras to nylon stockings to high heels. High heels, for example, force the wearer to lean backward, thereby accentuating the buttocks and the breasts. Heels also force women to walk with smaller steps emphasizing their supposed helplessness. It was almost as if clothing made the woman. Men wearing it would often get an orgasm.

A number of plays were written in the last part of the century that included plots in which men had to get into women's clothes. Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* is just one example. There were so many impersonator parts that some men made a career of playing them, including Ernest Boulton and Frederick William Park. They also dressed as women while offstage and were arrested for soliciting men.

Cross-dressing, in fact, had a significant role in the growing gay community. One way they could come together in public was in the masquerade or cross-dressing balls that began to be held in significant numbers in major urban centers in the late nineteenth century and continued through the twentieth. Not all cross-dressers, however, were homosexual and the phenomenon came under serious study by two pioneering sexologists, Havelock Ellis and Magnus Hirschfeld.



Advertisement for cross-dressing club. Though women still impersonate men, for them it is frequently more about the societal freedom than the clothing. With male cross dressers, wearing female clothing is usually an important part of the experience. © RYKOFF COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Ellis called the phenomenon *eonism*, after the Chevalier, while Hirschfeld coined the term "transvestism." Their pioneering studies were neglected by Americans, particularly Hirschfeld, who was not translated into English until the 1990s. The study of cross-dressing received renewed emphasis through the case of Christine Jorgensen, which received international publicity in 1952. Interestingly, the physician involved in the case called her a transvestite, and only gradually was the phenomenon of transvestism distinguished from transsexualism.

Organized transvestism began in the United States in 1959 through the efforts of Virginia Prince, a Los Angeles resident, who began meeting with a group of fellow transvestites she had met in a Hose and Heels club. She quickly emerged as a spokesperson for what she called heterosexual transvestites, to distinguish them from gay queens and transsexuals. The movement spread rapidly around the world so that there are clubs or groups with a variety of names in the majority of the countries of the world. In the United States there are competing national organizations and a lot of local groups that have no affiliation. Coinciding with this growth was the increase of merchants to supply clothes and accessories to would-be cross-dressers, whether gay, straight, or in between.

Interestingly, many of the cross-dressers in the organized groups dress in the style of clothes that were popular when they were young, almost as if there was an imprinting of what a woman should be. They seem to ignore the freedom that women have in clothing, and few of them for example, wear pants even if they lack a fly. One of the objectives of a significant number of transvestites is to appear in public as a woman without being read. This is the ultimate example of a cross-dresser. It is only the most daring of cross dressers who even belong to the organized groups, and it is estimated that there are hundreds of thousands of secret male cross-dressers who are closeted, keeping their clothes in a special suitcase or drawer, to be pulled out when the opportunity arrives. Often the only public indication of their secret life is in buying clothes, through catalogues or getting literature on the topic. Many have wives or significant others who do not know, although in organized transvestism there are wives and other female support groups to help them cope with the cross-dressing activities of the men in their lives.

Though women still impersonate men, it is not the clothing that interests most of them. With the clothing freedom women have, and the increasing breakdown of barriers to job and other economic opportunities for women, cross-dressing, in the sense that the men involved take part in, is almost nonexistent.

See also **Fashion and Homosexuality; Fashion, Gender and Dress; Politics and Fashion.**

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Vern L. Bullough

CROWNS AND TIARAS Throughout history, men and women of status have adorned their foreheads with various kinds of crowns and tiaras, which symbolized social superiority and power.

The ancient Egyptian pharaohs favored gold headbands that were sometimes decorated with tassels and other ornaments hanging over the forehead, temple, and down to the shoulders. A precious example was discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun, King of Egypt in ca. 1339–1329 B.C.E. The excavation of his tomb in 1922 revealed the young king's mummy adorned with a gold diadem formed as a circlet. At the front was a detachable gold ornament with the head of a vulture and the body of a cobra, symbolizing the unification of Lower and Upper Egypt.

The origin of the term "diadem" is derived from the Ancient Greek "diadein," which means "to bind around." Diadems were made from all kinds of metal, and with only a limited amount of gold available, Greek craftsmen decorated them with embossed rosettes or other motifs, including the Heracles knot, a reef knot often found in Hellenistic jewelry. After Alexander the Great opened up the gold supply from the Persian Empire in 331 B.C.E., the styles became less austere and diversified into intricate garlands of leaves and flowers.

The Romans expanded on the fashion for gold headbands, adding precious stones to their designs. The first real diadem, a golden band with a raised point at the front, is attributed to the Roman Emperor Gaius Valerius Diocletianus (C.E. 245–313). According to the British historian Edward Gibbon, (1737–1794), "Diocletian's head was encircled by a white fillet set with pearls as a badge of royalty." "Fillet" is another word for a narrow decorated band encircling the hair.

The term tiara, in its original form, describes the high-peaked head decoration worn by Persian kings. It was later adapted as the Pope's headwear with a second and third crown added in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, thus making up the Papal Triple Crown, which is used at the Vatican on ceremonial occasions.

To decorate the head with flowers or leaves was an ancient custom and signified honor, love, or victory. The Greeks celebrated victory in games by crowning the champions with a wreath made of natural laurel leaves. The Romans continued the tradition, but took it a step further by honoring their victorious generals with wreaths made of real gold, thus metaphorically turning perishable natural foliage into the eternal. While Roman conquerors were honored with golden wreaths of glory, Roman brides wore natural ones, made of flowers and leaves. Dressed in a white tunic and shrouded under a veil, the bride wore a bridal wreath symbolizing purity of body and soul. Lilies symbolized purity; wheat, fertility; rosemary, male virility; and myrtle, long life—metaphors followed by brides over the course of centuries thereafter. Symbolism was quintessential in the design of all ceremonial headwear. Emblems of victory, signs of virginity, or symbols of sufferance, like the crown of thorns placed on the head of Jesus Christ, were to play a part in the formation of religion, literature, and legends.

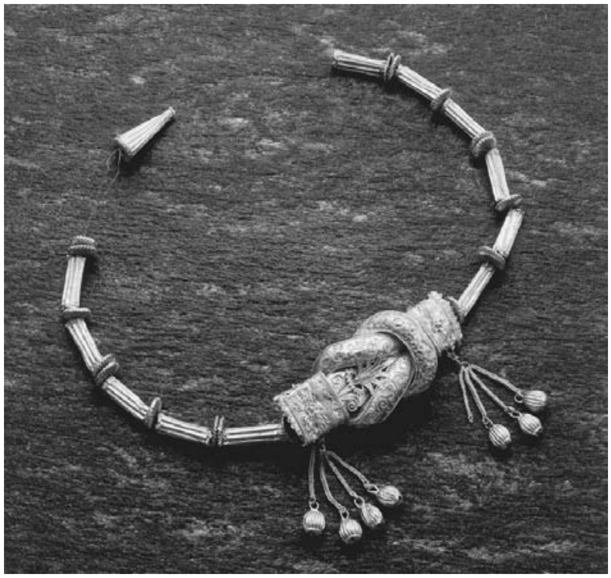
Tiaras were not popular during medieval times, as the demure fashion of the time dictated that a woman's head and hair should be covered by cone-shaped hats with soft or stiffened veils. The advent of the Renaissance changed social values again, and hair was allowed to assert its natural beauty with elaborate ringlets and waves framing the face. The tresses and curls could be tied back or flowing free and were adorned with a variety of natural or jeweled decorations, some of which came close to a diadem, but did not have the regal, stiff look of a tiara. Titian painted a sensual female lover in *The Three Ages of Men*, wearing a wreath of myrtle symbolic of everlasting love.

French society during Napoleon's reign (1799–1814) was inspired by a passion for classical aesthetics. With it, came a revival of the ancient fashion for diadems.

For his coronation in 1804, Napoleon wore a laurel wreath of golden leaves, each representing one of his victories. Made by the Parisian goldsmith Biennais after a design by the miniaturist Jean-Baptiste Isabay, it is alleged to have cost 8,000 francs. As Napoleon found the wreath too heavy to wear, six leaves were removed just before the coronation.

Napoleon's Roman wreath of victory was plagiarized by society ladies and a new fashion was born. Hairstyles had a new, swept-up classical look, which was perfectly complemented by the Spartan diadem, a high, flat tiara, pointed at the front, embossed in gold and decorated with jewels. Empress Josephine, Napoleon's consort until her divorce in 1809, was painted on several occasions, wearing different Spartan diadems, which were also known as bandeaux.

Napoleon bestowed an even more elaborate and costly diadem to his new Empress, Marie-Louise, Archduchess of Austria. In order to mark the birth of their only son, the King of Rome in 1811, Marie-Louise was presented with a parure of jewels. The most valuable piece was a magnificent Spartan diadem encrusted with 1,500 diamonds, surrounding four large crown-jewel diamonds. The most valuable one at the front was the "Fleur-du-Pecheur," a 25.53 carat stone from the collection of the Sun King's (Louis XIV) dynasty, ousted by the French Revolution. The diadem was designed and made by the Parisian jeweler F.R. Nitot, who charged the Emperor nearly one million francs.



Hellenistic tiara. Herculean knots, or sailing knots, such as the one seen here, were often incorporated into the diadems of ancient Greece to save gold. © ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The British Royal Court

While Napoleon was indulging in the purchase of illustrious jewels in France, a succession of Hanoverian Kings in England contented themselves with hiring the jewels for each coronation and leaving the crowns stripped and bare during their reigns. The young Queen Victoria, the niece of George IV, made a decisive change to this practice. She not only ordered a permanent crown to be made, but also started a collection of priceless tiaras, still owned by members of the British Royal Family today.

The nineteenth century also affirmed a trend of bridal purity expressed in dress. In Britain, Queen Victoria preferred a demure wreath of orange blossoms to a golden royal tiara when she married her German cousin, Prince Albert, in 1840. Countless brides followed the style of the romantic young Queen, which was accentuated by a white veil, symbol of virginity and chastity. Queen Victoria, crowned at the age of eighteen, appreciated floral symbolism. Her favorite diamond diadem had motifs of roses, shamrocks, and thistles, symbolizing her sovereignty over England, Ireland, and Scotland. This famous coronation circlet, made by Messr Rundell with hired diamonds in 1820, had belonged to her uncle, King George IV. Victoria had it restored and set permanently with her own diamonds, thus making it one of the most important heirlooms of the British Royal family. The present Queen Elizabeth II is portrayed wearing it on a series of British postage stamps.

The British Royal Collection of Precious Tiaras

The most splendid of all was the brilliant regal tiara especially made for Queen Victoria at the height of her reign in 1853. This diamond diadem, made by the royal jeweler Messr Garrard & Co, was to surpass all others in beauty and extravagance. Records in the company's ledger show that over 2,000 precious stones had been used to make this splendid tiara. The gems were set, forming a trellis framework around the central jewel, the most legendary of all diamonds, the Koh-i-noor or "Mountain of Light." This ancient, Indian diamond, weighing 186 carats, had been presented to the Queen by the Honorable East India Company after the Punjab fell under the rule of the British Crown in 1849. The five-thousand-year-old Koh-i-noor diamond was supposed to bring bad luck to all male rulers, but it had no such effect on Queen Victoria or on Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, who had the stone reset into her own crown in 1938.

The regal Indian or opal tiara was also made for Queen Victoria in 1853. This oriental-style tiara was set with 2,600 diamonds surrounding seventeen large opals. Fifty years later, in 1902, Queen Victoria's daughter-in-law, Queen Alexandra, considered opals unlucky and had them replaced with eleven rubies, which had been a Maharajah's gift to her husband, the Prince of Wales, in 1875.

Another noteworthy diadem in the Royal Collection is the Scroll and Collet Spike Tiara, Queen Mary's wedding gift in 1911, affectionately known as "Granny's tiara." Made in 1893, this piece of jewelry has 27 graduating brilliants, all worked into a collet setting and topped by upstanding pearl spikes.

The Tear Drop Tiara is distinguished by its interlacing circles. Acquired by Queen Mary from the Russian

Imperial family in 1921, its large drop pearls, which can be exchanged with emeralds or other precious gems, are surrounded by circles set with diamonds. Queen Elizabeth II inherited this tiara when her grandmother died in 1953 and still wears it on state occasions.

The Hanoverian Fringe Tiara is dated 1830 and was a favorite of Elizabeth the Queen Mother. The brilliants are an heirloom from King George III and were mounted in a special way, so that the tiara could also be worn as a necklace. Princess Elizabeth wore it as a tiara on her wedding to Prince Philip in 1947.

Very similar in style is the Russian Fringe Tiara. Shaped like a Kokoshink (the stiff halo-shaped peasant's headdress of Sythian origin), the tiara was presented to Princess Alexandra by a subscription of ladies of society on her Silver Wedding Jubilee, in 1888.

Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, adored diamonds and pearls as much as Queen Victoria once did. As the young Lady Elizabeth Bowes Lyon, she was often photographed wearing a Bandeau Tiara, worn deep down over her forehead, fitting the 1920s style and fashion. In later years, as Queen Elizabeth, she preferred wearing her tiaras high, embedded in her hairstyle. One of her favorites was the so-called "Modern Tiara," made for her from South African diamonds that had been presented to King Edward VII by de Beers in 1901. This diadem was designed in the form of a complete symmetrical circlet with a fleur-de-lis at the center front. Made by the French jeweler Cartier in 1953, the pattern, with three rows of interlocking diamonds, forming diamond-studded hexagons, is easily recognizable.

Tradition dictated that aristocratic ladies were married wearing their family tiara and Lady Diana, choosing her family's Spencer Tiara, was no exception when she married Prince Charles in 1981. The Queen presented her with another precious diadem as a wedding present, the Bow Knot Tiara, which had been designed for Queen Mary in 1914. Designed by the royal jeweler Garrards of London, it had nineteen drop pearls, each encircled by diamonds. The top edge is decorated with a row of delicate diamond bows, representing lover's knots, a motif first used on rings by the Romans.

Twentieth-Century Tiaras

During the twentieth century, Europe changed into a more egalitarian society, but, curiously, tiaras with their regal allure, survived. The turn of the century was a time of change and experimentation in all art forms, and jewelry was no exception. Art Nouveau and its parallel movement in Britain, called Arts and Crafts, evolved as a reaction to the Industrial Age of the previous century and aimed to restore the importance of individual craftsmanship. The Vienna Secession, founded by Gustav Klimt in 1897, was linked to the Wiener Werkstatten famous for art objects, including Jugendstil tiaras. The inspiration for many pieces of jewelry was based on a new discovery of nature, expressed in a new, modern style. In Britain, Frederick Partridge (1877–1942), used cow's horn, rock crystals, and enamels for making his highly original and charming tiaras. René Lalique (1860–1945), a leading Parisian designer of jewelry of the same period, broke with traditional conventions of symmetry and designed charming tiaras inspired by trees, shrubs, and insects, using ivory, horn, and cast glass. He pioneered a new technique called *plique à jour*, a development from cloisonné enamel, which allowed transparency on leaves, petals, and insect wings.

Art Nouveau jewelry was prolific in Paris and contributed to the fashion for head ornaments in great diversity. Famous designers included Henri Vever, René Foy, and La Maison Boucheron, who all exhibited exquisite tiaras at the Exposition Universelle in Paris, in 1900. Fantasy was allowed to run wild and some headpieces were crafted in pierced gold lace and enameled peacock feathers. Jewelry and tiaras had attained the status of art rather than function, with many pieces too avant-garde and costly to find a buyer. Sadly, much was later taken apart and did not survive for posterity.

As fashion and couture established their power, many designers used tiaras to instill fantasy into their collections. Coco Chanel designed a whole range of tiaras in 1932 and adorned her models with comets and stars hung over their foreheads. The Duke of Westminster, who was a friend of Chanel, might have been inspired by her when he ordered a diamond tiara from the Maison Lacloche in Paris. It was to be a present to his forth wife, Loelia, who set a new fashion by wearing this precious piece of Art Deco jewelry straight, from ear to ear, framing her face. The design had a strong Chinese influence with a detachable rivière necklace built in at the outer border.

In Britain, the coronation of King George VI in 1937 was a perfect catalyst for the ordering of new tiaras, and Cartier in Paris is said to have created 27 different Art Deco tiaras for this high-society event. The war years and the following decades of youth culture resulted in a decline of regal headdresses, but silver-screen film stars, such as Audrey Hepburn, kept glamour alive. She looked ravishing as a runaway princess wearing a tiara in Billy Wyler's film *Roman Holiday*, filmed in 1953, and again, as Natasha in Tolstoy's epic story *War and Peace*, filmed in 1955.

Ironically, the 1970s Punk rebellion brought tiaras back as fashion designer statements, notably reinvented by Vivienne Westwood, who is said to have been seen wearing her Italian coral diadem, bicycling around London. Westwood used tiaras on her celebrated catwalk shows, recreating ancient Spartan diadems as well as designing brightly colored plastic ones. The most original design, created in 1997 was a diamond-encrusted dog's bone with a bow, which might have been inspired by the love knots of the Victorian era.

Gianni Versace was a designer who celebrated glamour, and tiaras had to be included in his collections. In

1996, he won a de Beers Award with a diamond tiara, which was consequently worn by pop-star Madonna, who like many modern brides, might live their lives in jeans and T-shirts, but chose a regal style of dress for their wedding day.

Philip Treacy, London's top millinery designer, has created a number of modern tiara headpieces using metal, crystals, and feathers in his extravagant creative designs. He seems to be leading a number of artists and craftsmen, who like to express their creativity in tiaras, including Wendy Ramshaw, Jan Mandel, Jan Yager, and Viscount Linley (who, being a high-class carpenter, designed a wooden one). Many spectacular new designs were on show in London's Victoria & Albert Museum, in a special exhibition marking the Golden Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth in 2002.

The fashion of wearing precious tiaras has fluctuated with history and gone in tandem with society's appetite for egalitarianism or elitism, but it has not vanished. The downfall of many European monarchies might have diminished its importance, but curiously, the notion of elitism and the dream of being a princess, even for one day, has continued to seduce generations and the tiara has remained in fashion, in its classical styles as well as in new art forms.

Outward Signs of Kingship

A crown is the most precious and important symbol of royalty. Usually made of solid gold and richly embellished with ornamental jewelry, a crown bestows power and status to kings, queens, and emperors. The basic circular design was derived from the earlier versions of fillets, circlets, and diadems. Some crowns are characterized by arches, which can be topped with a monde, a globular ornament under a "cross formée." Crowns, like diadems and tiaras, were often modified and redesigned for political or economic reasons, and so was the St. Edward's Crown, the oldest of all British crowns, that originated from the ancient Crown of England, dating back to the ninth century. Lined with a "Cap of State" of purple velvet, it weighs four pounds and is set with 440 gemstones. It is part of the collection of British Royal Crown Jewels kept in the Tower of London.

The "Reichskrone," or crown of the Holy Roman Empire, has an important political as well as a religious history. Also known as the Crown of Charlemagne, the legendary King of the Franks, crowned Roman emperor by the Pope in 752, it consists of eight gold plates decorated with precious gems and biblical images. As "Kaiserkrone des heiligen romischen Reiches deutscher Nation," it was in the possession of the Habsburgs from 1273 to 1806 and is still kept in the Imperial Schatzkammer in Vienna, Austria.

A more modern crown is the British Imperial State Crown, made in 1838 for Queen Victoria and worn by each British sovereign since. The gold, jeweled circlet with four arches and topped with a monde and a "cross formée," is encrusted with one of the most valuable diamonds in the world, the Cullinan or "The Second Star of Africa," weighing 309 carats. In her later years, Queen Victoria developed a very personal and less ostentatious style and favored a miniature design of the large Coronation Crown. Perched high on her head with a lace veil draped down over her back, this silhouette of the Queen is the one easily recognized by future generations.

Coronets are smaller crowns worn by the British nobility of lower ranks. The highest and most important coronet belongs to the Prince of Wales, followed by various circlets for different members of the aristocracy. Their shapes and decorations follow a strict hierarchy. A Duke's circlet is adorned with eight strawberry leaves, a Marquess's has four strawberries and four pearls, an Earl's has eight pearled rays, alternating with eight strawberry leaves, a Viscount has sixteen pearls and a Baron has just six pearls. They are only worn on the ceremonial occasion of the coronation of a new sovereign.

See also **Jewelry; Royal and Aristocratic Dress; Wedding Costume.**

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CUFF LINKS AND STUDS A cuff link is a piece of jewelry that inserts into a buttonhole to fasten a shirt cuff around the wrist. Most commonly, cuff links come in pairs and consist of an ornamental head connected to a backing plate by a maneuverable link.

Studs consist of an ornamental head fixed to a protruding pin or knob; front and back connect using a detachable clasp. Akin to buttons, studs can fix permanently to a collar or shirtfront, or can be detached when desired. There are various methods of fastening available. Harold Newman describes five basic forms: the chain link, fastened to each head by a jump ring; the lentoid form, a backing head joined by a fixer bar to the ornamental head; the dumbbell, with one or both heads screwed into a vertical bar; the extension cuff, which conceals a retractable coil, thus allowing the shirtsleeves to rise to the elbow; and the snap lock, a simple press stud. Peter Hinks, as well as Eve Eckstein and Gerald Firkins, provide illustrations of such mechanisms and information regarding original patents.

In the early nineteenth century, cuff links and studs became widely accepted accessories for any gentleman of taste. This emerging fashion paralleled the rise of the lounge suit (which appeared in the 1880s) and the white tailored shirt, which sported a turned-down collar and unfastened cuffs. Previously, men's shirts had stiff upright collars that required minimal fastening; extravagant bows or buttons fastened the cuffs. However, such ornate fashions did give way to uniform formality, this more somber attire required practical and discreet adornment. As such, men's jewelry became restricted to an ensemble of complementary pieces, made up of cuff links, studs, a tie or cravat pin, and buttons. These often came as a set—presented in a box or on a card—they tended to complement a gentleman's signet ring, fob watch, and chain. In essence, chromatic unity was the order of the day.

Initially, cuff links and studs were made of 15 to 18 karat gold; this indicated wealth and did not discolor the shirt. Round, square, or oval in shape, both pieces were often decorated with fine engraving, enamel work, or ivory. Sometimes small gems, pearls, or onyx were placed in the center of the head to add value. However, in the mid-to-latter part of the century, mass production revolutionized manufacture. Due to their simple design, cuff links and studs were perfect for bulk replication. As hand finishing was widely abandoned, 9 karat gold became the metal of choice. Consequently, compromised standards became the norm.

By the late 1800s, Birmingham was the center of all industrial enterprise. However, the production of cuff links and studs also occurred in the colonies, France, and the United States. Firms such as George West, Greaves' Patent, W. E. Riley and Sons, the French F. Moore, and the U.S.-based Baer and Wilde improved fastening technology and competed for a share of the lucrative accessory market. Accordingly, advertisements promoted function and style, longevity, and decorative appeal.

In the late nineteenth century, the Arts and Crafts movement advocated a return to handmade pieces, sparking a revival in the collection of quality items. However, mass production has prevailed and cuff links and studs remain popular unisex gifts. Their ability to convey affiliations and interests endures through the novelty of the ornamental head.

See also **Canes and Walking Sticks; Formal Wear, Men's; Jewelry; Neckties and Neckwear; Watches.**

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Joanne McCallum

CUNNINGTON, C. WILLETT AND PHILLIS

C. Willett (1878–1961) and Phillis (1887–1974) Cunnington were medical doctors with a general practice in North London in the 1930s; they were also major dress historians. C. W. Cunnington served in World War I as a captain in the Royal Army Medical Corps after graduating from Cambridge University. He married Phillis in 1918. The Cunningtons amassed a vast collection of English costume between the 1920s and the late 1940s, which they stored in a big shed in the garden of their house in North London.

Together they published on British dress history from the Middle Ages through the 1950s in their five *Handbooks of English Costume*, their *History of Underclothes*, and their *Dictionary of English Costume*, all published between 1951 and 1960. C. W. Cunnington also published his *English Women's Clothing in the Present Century* in 1952, while three of his earlier books, written between 1941 and 1948, elucidated his own theories about dress, fashion, and sexuality. He died in 1961.

The Cunningtons' famous handbooks mapped the development of styles of male and female dress. Each volume was illustrated with quotes from novels and newspapers of the period in question, and was illustrated by small line drawings as well as photographs of paintings. This approach paralleled and extended the work of German and French dress historians of the period as Oskar Fischel, Max von Boehn, and Maurice Leloir.

C. W. Cunnington's medical training influenced his primary interest, which was the psychological motives that he considered responsible for changes in women's dress styles in the late nineteenth century. Born in 1878, he would have been familiar with the bustles of the 1880s, the S-bend of the early 1900s, and the flat-chested boy-girl fashions of the 1920s. His interest in the psychosexual functions of women's dress had been enhanced by the 1930 publication of the psychiatrist John Carl Flügel's study, *The Psychology of Clothes.* James Laver, who was the Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the Victoria & Albert Museum as well as C. W. Cunnington's friendly rival for the leadership of British dress historiography, also took an erudite but more popular approach to similar themes in his book *Taste and Fashion* (1937).

C. W. Cunnington published five books on psychosexual themes in women's dress. His first was *Feminine Attitudes in the Nineteenth Century* (1935), followed by *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century* (1937), *Why Women Wear Clothes* (1941), and *the Art of English Dress* and *The Perfect Lady* (both 1948). In *Feminine Attitudes* he used the fashionable middle-class Victorian garments he and his wife assiduously collected—which he called his "specimens"—as tools for studying "the psychological background of women," and specifically their sexuality (1935, p. 2). Cunnington added that "we were concerned with mass psychology, not with the psychology of the individual" (Tozer, p. 3).

Cunnington diagnosed "the feminine mind through analysis of a series of 'Attitudes,' … That is to say those unconscious postures of mind and body which members of a social group will display as features in common." The attitudes that Cunnington listed included "the Conventional Attitude of those multitudes of mute, inglorious females … who never did or said or thought anything that distinguished them from the mass of women of their day." The "Feminine Attitude," on the other hand, was influenced by the element of "sex attraction," while "the Herd Instinct" was defined as "the wish to imitate in appearance and conduct those in the same social group." Thus Cunnington showed that he shared Flügel's view of the centrality of sexuality as a driving motivation in fashion development among women. For example, he saw the development of the 1870s bustle as inspired by the "mating instinct," whereas that of the 1880s was inspired by the "maternal" instinct. He described the gait of Edwardian women, which he would have seen when he was in his mid-twenties, as "that provocative pelvic roll … perhaps the most sensual Attitude of the century" (1935, pp. viii, 254, 306).

The first doubts about the accuracy of Cunnington's opinions surfaced among women dress historians in 1949, when Doris Langley Moore wrote that she "had the strongest doubt that fashion . . . is motivated by sex appeal" (p. 21). Nonetheless, C. W. Cunnington's reputation as a leading dress historian and theorist remained in place for a further thirty-seven years. In 1986, however, his work was subjected to a feminist reconsideration led by Jane Tozer, a curator at the Platt Hall, Manchester, Museum of Costume. While acknowledging the value of the Cunningtons' famous handbooks for their details of style chronology, etiquette, and specific nomenclature, Tozer specifically targeted Cunnington's "dated sexism," denouncing it as a "simplistic and now outdated appraisal of the origins of human sexuality." She also questioned Cunnington's anecdotal approach as well as "his notorious vagueness" in naming sources in his books (pp. 11–12). Cunnington's reputation was undoubtedly damaged.

Phillis Cunnington built on this critique, and later developed a more academic approach to dress history. She produced five meticulously researched specialist studies after her husband's death: *English Costume for Sports and Outdoor Recreation* (1969); *Occupational Costume in England* (1967); *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths* (1972); *Costume of Household Servants* (1974); and *Charity Costumes of Children, Scholars, Almsfolk, Pensioners*, published posthumously in 1978.

In addition to their published books, the Cunningtons made a major contribution to the study of fashion history through amassing their dress collection. Put together at a time when almost no one was collecting old garments, let alone late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century middle-class clothing, the Cunningtons' collection has since become one of the most renowned in Britain. They sold it to Manchester City Council in 1947 to form the basis of the Museum of Costume at Platt Hall. The museum's first curator was Anne Buck.

The Cunningtons were medical practitioners. They were not professional museum curators and undertook all their research unpaid if not unrewarded. They were interested in finding examples of "ordinary" people's dress to use as general representations of garment types, which C.W Cunnington then related to his typology of feminine attitudes. He had no interest in the owners of individual garments and felt no need to record their names or to provenance sources. Thus much of this information was lost or never recorded. It was left to Anne Buck and to later generations of curators to put this remarkable collection into order.

While C. W. Cunnington's more theoretical comments have not withstood the passage of time, the handbooks he co-authored with his wife as well as Phillis Cunnington's own work still offer a carefully compiled and useful introduction to the history of English costume. Publishing and collecting through the 1930s to the 1970s, at a time when fashion history still had no academic status and very little standing in museums, the Cunningtons educated the next generation of dress historians and curators who professionalized the field.

See also **Clothing, Costume, and Dress; Europe and America: History of Dress (400–1900 C.E.); Fashion, Theories of; Fashion Museums and Collections; Flügel, J. C.**

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CUTTING The Oxford English Dictionary notes that the first recorded reference to the word "tailor" was made in 1297. By that date, guilds for tailoring, weaving, and cloth merchants were well established in Europe.

Boyer (1996) outlines that the Renaissance period saw a change from the loose robe, formed from one or two pieces of fabric draped around the body, to garments that were constructed by methods of cutting and sewing to follow the contour of the human form. This period also witnessed a shift from "homemade" to artisan and craftsman constructed garments. The division of labor in this latter professionalized sphere was divided into that of the cutter and the tailor. The cutter would make a paper pattern and cut the fabric while the tailor would construct the garment using sewing techniques. These craft skills were seen as both art and science and jealously guarded.

The Cutter

There have not been major changes in the process of cutting traditional tailored garments since the sixteenth century. The changes that have occurred have been more related to the mass-customization of tailored garments. There are still Master Tailors working today in Savile Row (London) and other major cities around the world who continue the traditional approach to tailoring methods and skills. It is in this world that the cutter may well advise the customer on their choice of cloth before taking the measurements, with a tape measure, writing down the figuration and style details that will form the worksheet for the finished product.

The cutter will meet the customer again when the garment is ready for the first fitting. The number of fittings can vary. Until relatively late in the twentieth century, it used to be as many as three, but today it is more often one fitting. The cutter "fits" the garment making adjustments using a series of chalk marks as instructions for recutting and for the tailor to follow to achieve a successful, well-fitting set of clothes. The cutter is responsible for producing the pattern, then marking and cutting the fabric. Sometimes an undercutter (striker) or apprentice will assist in this work.

The Process

First the client is measured to access the figure type. Then a pattern is cut in a card or paper. The fabric is laid onto the cutting table and inspected for any defects. The pattern pieces are positioned to ensure economic use of the fabric. The pattern is marked using a white cake of chalk, and then manipulated for any changes in the client's figure. Then the inlays are marked (extra fabric above the seam allowance to allow for future adjustments). The trousers may be drafted directly onto the fabric without using a pattern.

This process could include the use of block patterns. These are a set of patterns previously produced by the cutter for general use across all sizes and adjusted to each client's measurements.

When the marking is complete, the fabric is cut using traditional tailor's shears. When all the parts are cut they are passed to the "trimmer," who will thread mark the seam lines using cotton thread and cut the linings and interlinings. The cut parts are then rolled into a bundle ready for the tailor.

The cutter's tools include: shears, tape measure, chalk, set square (wooden), and a ruler (wooden). There have been some innovations which include a change from a clear-linen to a printed-linen tape measure.

The cut and style of tailored garments are usually unique to the "house" or the company. The cutter will build a reputation for a particular style of cut. Earlier cutting methods involved cutting shapes that were recut after the fitting of the garment and copied onto card or paper to establish a pattern. These patterns were developed into block patterns for future use. This helped to move the process forward without having to return to the start point with each new client and/or garment. A library of patterns would then be built up.

Training

The training of cutters usually followed a particular process: an apprentice would be assigned to a cutter. At first the apprentice would assist by learning to cut the canvases and pocket linings, working alongside the "trimmer." The apprentice would assist the cutter with spreading and checking the fabric prior to marking. This would include sharpening the chalk and having the tools ready for the cutter. Other elements would include the "fetching and carrying" to assist the cutter.

Gradually the apprentice would learn skills and become an undercutter. At this stage the apprentice would be present when the client was measured to learn this procedure. The apprentice would eventually acquire his own clients and develop his own cutting style This process would traditionally take approximately five years. Before the twelfth century until the mid-1800s, apprenticeships lasted seven years. Later on apprentice served five years followed by two years as an improver.

Cutting Systems

The taking and recording of measurements is still under the ownership of the cutter and is often closely guarded. Before the mid-1800s the cutter usually used a plain white linen tape onto which he would write using hieroglyphics to keep the exact nature of the measurements and figuration strictly to himself. It has been recorded that other methods of measuring using leather, parchment, and paper (Wampen 1863) was used by early cutters. The introduction of the printed tape measure was an important step forward, which, along with more accurate pattern cutting, allowed for the sharing of information.

The system of cutting from direct measurements and adding tolerances (for example, half chest measure plus 2½ inches) continued until the mid-1800s. Cutting became more scientific from the early 1800s with publications, which included *The True Principles of Scientific Cutting* (Good, 1842). In his book *Mathematical Instruction Constructing Modes and Draping the Human Figure*, Wampen (1863) uses "anthropometry" as the basis for his measuring system and makes references to "proportional measure" for the cutting instructions. The written instructions follow an alphabetic code identifying body points as A, B, C, etc., and uses formulas, such as B'=3u+u=4u, rather than direct measurements. Reference is made by Humphreys (*Coat Cutting*, 1881) to using scales based on half the chest measure. He refers to "Graduation Tapes," available from the "Tailor and Cutter" for cutting different sizes of garments. When the scale is used as a basis for cutting a jacket, it is based on half the chest measure—36 chest is an 18 scale. Different body proportions are then calculated using the scale rather than taking a direct measurement.

The jacket as it is known today developed from the 1860s with the changes in lifestyle and transport. The lounge style of jacket developed in the early 1900s and an example is by the Tailor and Cutter Academy in the book by Vincent (*The Tailor and Cutter Academy Systems of Cutting Part 11*). The topics covered include the lounge jacket, use of the graduation square, figuration (shoulders, stance, etc.), riding jacket, and boy's lounge. The Tailor and Cutter Academy were prolific in publications for the subject areas. This included a series named *The Cutters' Practical Guide*, available in both full and pocket-sized editions.

Pattern Technology

Pattern and garment engineering developed in the 1960s and has had an impact on the made-to-measure tailoring sector. The cutting systems are focused on the made-to-measure and mass-customization sectors of the menswear industry rather than the traditional tailoring sector.

Numerical cutting systems exist to draft patterns and cut directly onto fabric using laser, water jet, and mechanical (vertical and circular) cutting heads. These cutting methods are used and combined with traditional tailoring methods by the larger tailoring manufacturers.

The use of body scanning for both size surveys and cutting made-to-measure garments has developed during the 1990s, and research is ongoing with a number of industrial and academic collaborators. The process includes full-body scanning, recording information that builds the basis for individualized pattern construction. The linkage through CAD/CAM systems extends into cutting systems and interfaces with sewing systems for the assembly of custom garments.

See also **Tailoring.**

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