

**DAHL-WOLFE, LOUISE** Louise Dahl-Wolfe (1895–1989) was born in San Francisco. Aspiring to a career as a painter, she attended the California School of Design (now the San Francisco Art Institute), where she was greatly influenced by Rudolph Schaefer, known for his color expertise.

#### Dahl-Wolfe's Early Career

After completing her studies, Dahl-Wolfe designed electric signs from 1921 to 1923; in 1924 she began working for a leading decorator. In 1921 she was invited to the studio of photographer Anne Brigman; this meeting prompted her to buy her first camera, an Eastman bellows camera with a reflector made from a Ghirardelli chocolate box. She used her mother as the subject of her first pictures. Early photographic adventures included taking shots of herself and some friends nude on a beach, using the soft-focus style of her mentor. After Dahl-Wolfe befriended another San Francisco photographer, Consuela Kanaga, who taught her to use a 31/4-by-41/4-inch Thornton-Pickard English reflex camera with a Verito soft-focus lens, the two traveled together to Europe in 1927. While in Paris, Dahl-Wolfe bought a Pathé camera; in Germany she purchased a small film pack camera. On an excursion to Africa, she met Meyer (Mike) Wolfe, an artist from Tennessee, whom she subsequently married.

Dahl-Wolfe returned to San Francisco in 1928 and began taking commercial black-and-white photographs. Two years later, she and her husband spent a summer in a rented log cabin in the Great Smoky Mountains of Tennessee, where she began photographing still-life subjects and the local mountain people. She developed her film with a darkroom light powered by the battery of a Model A Ford. After moving with her husband to New York, Dahl-Wolfe was introduced to Frank Crowninshield, then editor of *Vanity Fair*, who decided to publish her work. The documentary pictures of her Tennessee subjects were a sensation when they first appeared in the November 1933 issue of *Vanity Fair*. This success led to the publication of her first black-and-white fashion work in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1936 and her first color work a year later.

# Dahl-Wolfe's Work in Color

Dahl-Wolfe was one of the first and most important practitioners of fashion photography in color. Kodachrome

film came on the market for the first time in 1935, although the product at that time could not reproduce colors reliably either in the studio or in natural light. A striking aspect of Dahl-Wolfe's work was her color sensibility—a flawless instinct for combinations of colors. This emphasis on the painterly values of tone, line, and color is not surprising, since she had been trained as a painter and strongly influenced by the philosopher of art Clive Bell's theory of significant form. Bell maintained that color is an inherent part of the expressive quality of form and that arrangements of colors carry emotional weight—particularly bright luminous colors, which have a pleasing effect. Dahl-Wolfe's early training in color theory with the painter Rudolph Schaefer also influenced her interest in color photography. In order to achieve the exact effects she desired, she worked with the new eightinch by ten-inch sheets of Kodachrome because they gave the highest degree of resolution and detail. She often consulted with the printers of the magazines she worked for in order to retain her subtly beautiful effects on the printed page.

Many of Dahl-Wolfe's photographs seem to be built up of colored planes rather than objects. Many of her shots for Harper's Bazaar are masterly combinations of compositional lighting, varied textures, repeated patterns, and a broad variety of shades, particularly earth-tone colors. For example, a simple black-and-white suit is seen through a darkened archway leading into a room of exotic warmth; in the room the model is the focal point within the mix of textures, patterns, and colors. The same natural light, here bounced through various screened patterns, is seen in another picture, where it filters through the organdy curtains in a room of lovely femininity and charm. The setting of this photograph was Louise Dahl-Wolfe's own bedroom in her home in Frenchtown, New Jersey, one of her favorite shooting locations. In addition to her pioneering use of color, she was also one of the first fashion photographers to make use of location shots, using architectural backgrounds and exotic locales to add interest to the way the clothing was pictured.

## Dahl-Wolfe's Importance

Dahl-Wolfe's style—elegant yet casual, sophisticated yet at ease—was ideally suited for depicting the independent American woman, wearing comfortable ready-to-wear styles by such American designers as Claire McCardell, Hattie Carnegie, and Norman Norell. Both the models and the clothes had a naturalness and authenticity that conveyed a cool and comfortable yet ineffably chic informality. This informality is perhaps the essence of Dahl-Wolfe's style: The models, the clothes, and the way she chose to portray them reflected the relaxed accessibility of a distinctly American fashion sense.

Dahl-Wolfe had a long and productive career as a fashion photographer. She worked for *Harper's Bazaar* for twenty-two years, from 1936 to 1958, leaving shortly after the magazine's editor Carmel Snow and its legendary art director Alexey Brodovitch resigned. Her career included eighty-six *Harper's* covers and over six thousand color photographs as well as thousands of blackand-white pictures. After leaving *Harper's Bazaar*, Dahl-Wolfe worked briefly for *Vogue* before finally retiring from professional photography in 1960.

See also Fashion Magazines; Fashion Photography; Mc-Cardell, Claire; Norell, Norman; Vogue; Vreeland, Diana.

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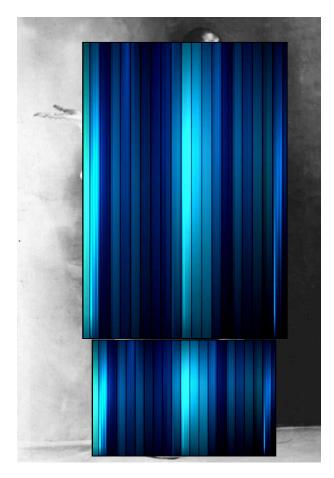
Nancy Hall-Duncan

## DAMASK. See Weave, Jacquard.

**DANCE AND FASHION** The roots of the relationship between Western dance and fashion lay in the Renaissance period, where social dancing reflected the values of society. Dance as a channel of communication was as important as having the appropriate costume for socializing. After the French Revolution in 1789, professional ballet dancers left the Court spectacles in favor of the stage. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the European ball culture emerged as a social activity and had an enormous impact on fashion and vice versa.

## The Waltz Century

The nineteenth century was dedicated to the waltz, which had developed as a bourgeois activity in Europe and America. In *May I Have the Pleasure?*, Belinda Quirey argues that in the wake of political, romantic, and industrial revolutions, the waltz was a completely new dance



Josephine Baker in banana costume. Baker's revealing dance costumes caused much scandal and controversy, but her style also served as an inspiration for designers of mainstream fashion. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

form that perfectly suited the new conditions of modern life—socially, psychologically, and materially. These nine-teenth-century developments in dance were reflected in elaborate dance costumes for lower- and middle-class women, although upper-class ballroom-dance dresses were distinctively splendorous for women. The *danse à deux* activity reinforced the pleasure of watching other people: how they harmonized and what they wore. Ballroom fashion was therefore an enormously important component of acceptance by polite society.

## Tango Craze

Modern ballroom dancing began just before World War I, when dance halls flourished in Europe. The Hammersmith Palais de Danse in London was among the first popular dance halls that provided an up-to-date program for modern ballroom dancing. Although the polka and the quadrille still remained very popular dance forms before the outbreak of World War I, the tango craze started and the fox-trot also became very fashionable. The origins of the tango lie in turn-of-the century Argentina and



## ETIQUETTE HINTS FOR THE BALLROOM: DRESSED TO IMPRESS

Hillgrove's Complete Practical Guide to the Art of Dancing (1863) offers a vivid description of the importance of dress in the European ball culture:

Ladies should remember that men look to the effect of dress in setting off the figure and countenance of a lady, rather than to its cost. Few men form estimates of the value of ladies' dress. This is subject for female criticism. Beauty of person and elegance of manners in woman will always command more admiration from the other sex than costliness of clothing.

In another chapter, Hillgrove recommends that on entering a ballroom, all thought of self should be dismissed: "The pretty ambition of endeavoring to create a sensation by either dress, loud talking, or unusual behavior, is to be condemned." Not only the dress was im-

portant; society ladies had to take care of a fashionable hairstyle as well. In 1860, Florence Hartley recommends in *The Ladies' Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness* that "one has to be very careful, when dressing for a ball, that the hair is firmly fastened, and the coiffure properly adjusted. Nothing is more annoying that to have the hair loosen or the headdress fall off in a crowded ballroom." Accessories played a key role in fashionable dressing for social ballroom events. Henry P. Willis advises in *Etiquette, and the Usages of Society* (1860) that "ladies should draw on their gloves (white or yellow) in the dressing room, and they should not have them off for one moment in the dancing rooms. However, at supper the gloves can be taken off, because "nothing is more preposterous than to eat in gloves."

emerged among European and African immigrants. Since earlier dances did not have the close body contact of the tango, this new dance was considered very risqué at the time. With its sensual rhythm and intense body contact, the tango had a distinctly sexual connotation. In fact, the tango was at first deemed so illicit that it was thought suitable only for prostitutes and their pimps. However, when the tango was legitimized and came to Europe, it was soon taken up by Parisian high society, and ballroom fashion had to be adapted to this new "sexual" dance form. Dance costumes were designed to be more tightfitting and embellished with shiny paillettes and stones. Soon the tango dress style spread from cabarets and theaters to evening fashion. At the beginning of the twentyfirst century, the cinema industry has picked up the tango fashion in scenes of cult films such as Moulin Rouge.

## Josephine Baker: A Black Pearl

In her 1920s' performances in "barely there" dresses, Josephine Baker shocked Parisian society with her display of naked skin. In the following decade, she became famous not only for her style of performing but also for her stage costumes: her elaborate headdresses and banana costume received standing ovations at the Folies Bergère. Although her look was considered vulgar, her dresses served as a source of inspiration for fashion in the 1920s and 1930s. Josephine Baker gave shape to a new culture, which liberalized fashion and dance to a new era of evening dresses.

# **Hollywood Screen Dancing**

In the late 1920s, screen dancing became popular, and Hollywood style spread from the screen to day and evening fashion. The lightweight Charleston dress, with its long fringes, became part of the Roaring Twenties lifestyle. Anne Massey describes in Hollywood Beyond the Screen that the films Our Dancing Daughters in 1928, and Our Modern Maidens in 1929, represent the debut of the art deco style reflected in architecture and fashion. In the 1930s, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers were the source of inspiration for fashion-oriented cineastes in movies such as Top Hat (1935), and Swing Time (1936). The Hollywood culture and its concept of glamour advanced the Americanization of dance culture, which in turn influenced the fashion scene. During the harrowing Great Depression, dance marathons, with their emphasis on nonstop endurance for the entertainment of the masses, became popular in social dance clubs. Fashion companies advertised at these events to promote club fashion.

## Lindy Hop: Swinging Parties

In 1926, the Lindy hop craze started at the Savoy ball-room in Harlem, New York. In the early 1930s, high society was interested in seeing Lindy hop performers entertain at parties. The resulting swing-dance fashion became popular: cotton blouses with fitted waists and puffed sleeves combined with an A-line skirt—sometimes with detachable suspenders to give maximum hold—for female Lindy hoppers, and high-waisted pants with matching fitted vests for their male counterparts. The Savoy style spread quickly over to Europe, and the Lindy hop and its fashions were adopted by the London and Parisian elites.

## **Broadway Dreams**

In the 1940s, the evolution of dance on film had a crucial influence on the whole world of dance. The pre-

dominantly working-class audience was getting real Hollywood value for little money in the cinemas of the 1940s. Those who could afford musical theaters enjoyed the pleasure of live performances on Broadway. With the advent of television in the 1950s and movie theater attendance drastically down, financially strapped Hollywood studios turned to film adaptations of successful Broadway shows, as this was a more economical option than developing original screenplays. Film makeup and clothes of Broadway shows had a strong influence on everyday fashion. Department stores such as Bullocks in Los Angeles became the place where both Los Angeles inhabitants and foreign visitors bought their musical dance-inspired wardrobe. Later on, such Broadway shows as West Side Story (1957), a modern-day retelling of Romeo & Juliet, had a lasting influence on the American teenager, who copied the Broadway look.

## From Rock and Roll to Saturday Night Fever

In the 1950s, the postwar generation brought a new form of dance into the nightclubs. Rock and roll—derived from African American rhythm and blues-and stars such as Elvis Presley and Bill Haley immortalized the image of the rebellious teenager and also influenced fashion and hairstyles well into the 1960s. Social dance moved away from couple dancing, and new freedom was expressed in checked shirts and tight-fitting denim jeans for young men, while teenage girls wore petticoats and backcombed their hair. By the end of the 1960s, a particular dance form no longer existed, and young people moved their bodies to the music in whatever way they wanted. The disco scene emerged and exerted a crucial influence on the fashion world. DJs combined records, encouraging dancers to stay on the floor for a long period. Fashion designers took advantage of the en vogue disco style and immortalized dance film stars such as John Travolta in Saturday Night Fever (1977). His white disco suit in the movie acquired iconic status, establishing disco as part of mainstream culture until the 1980s, when the public had lost its interest in it, and punk and new wave style challenged its dominance.

# Street Style: Hip-hop, Break-Dancing, and Techno

In the early 1980s, hip-hop culture gained a mass appeal when black and Hispanic DJs evolved the use of backbeats in New York City and Los Angeles clubs. Break dancing and hip-hip were very athletic styles, often mimicking robotic movements, and therefore required a more casual clothing style. Sport brands such as Adidas, Nike, and Puma flourished among street-style dancers. During the following decade, the house music style developed from hip-hip and brought alive a new generation of club culture, and club fashion became less casual. In the late 1980s, the rave scene emerged. Rave represented more than a dance party; it illustrated a physical and mental state, unifying the club dancers. Melissa Harrison's *High Society: The Real Voices of Club Culture* offers a detailed description of the rave phenomena. Rave accessories such

as glow-in-the dark-jewelery and clothing with utility bags became very important.

# As Seen on Screen: Music Video Style

In the mid-1980s, music stars such as Michael Jackson and Madonna based their performances on dance, and revolutionized the power of music videos. In concept, music videos were based on song, choreography, special effects, and fashion, which was widely copied among club-goers. With the emergence of boy bands, girl bands, and teenage music groups at the beginning of the 1990s and their promotion through videos, a new generation was influenced by the music stars. Mainstream fashion was strongly influenced by performers such as Backstreet Boys, Spice Girls, Take That, Britney Spears, and Justin Timberlake, who pioneered and set up fashion trends, such as tank tops, low-cut jeans, very conspicuous and ostentatious gold jewelry for both male and female teenagers, and "visible" underwear for girls. At the start of the twenty-first century, music performers created a mixture between club style and contemporary dance while using the medium of fashion to create a celebrity style, which became an essential part of the music and dance industry.

See also Dance Costume; Film and Fashion; Music and Fashion; Theatrical Costume.

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Thomas Hecht

**DANCE COSTUME** The relationship between dance and dance costumes is complex and does not simply reflect dance practice in a specific period, but also social behavior and cultural values. Dance costumes can be

divided into the following categories: historical, folk or traditional, ballroom, modern, and musical dance costumes. Influence has spread from fashion to dance and back again.

## **Historical Dance Costumes**

From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, festivities at European courts required highly elaborate dance costumes. The style of court dance costumes tended to be similar to everyday dress of the period, incorporating, for example, laced corsets, puffed and slashed sleeves, farthingales with skirts and applied decoration. In the early twenty-first century, the reproduction of historical dance costumes was evident in the activities of historical dance organizations, such as the Institute for Historical Dance Practice (IHDP) in Ghent, Belgium.

#### **Folk-Dance Costumes**

From the fifteenth century onward, folk dance developed steadily in Europe. The field of European folk-dance costumes is very complex, as each of the country's regions has its own dances, dress, and customs. Eastern European folk dances, such as czardas, mazurkas, and polkas, soon spread to England and France. Folk-dance costumes re-

flected the East European look in the use of bright colors on dark backgrounds. Costumes were often highly decorated with beads, metal, and silk threads. The basic women's dress was a short, light-colored chemise and a petticoat, over which several layers of fabric were worn. A draped headdress indicated the marital status of the wearer (fancy headgear indicated that the girl was unmarried). European folk dance formed the basis for square-dance activities. European settlers who came to America introduced this special type of country dance and its costume first in New England, but before long, square dance started to spread across the country. Evening dress was the standard outfit for dancers: ankle-length hooped skirts for the women and formal jackets for men. During the following two centuries, the cultural mix of European settlers in America has led to a variety of national folkdance costumes. Farmer and cowboy dance wear were mainly based on components of everyday clothing: shirts, cotton trousers, and cowboy boots for men, and anklelong cotton gingham dresses for women. The minuet, polka, waltz, and quadrille via France and England brought more elaborated dance costumes to America: tailored long-sleeve shirts and trousers in a Western-cut style for male dancers and full floral-embroidered skirts



**Dancers in unitards.** These one-piece garments are typically made from spandex or a similar stretchy, pliable fabric, giving the dancer nearly unlimited range of motion. © JULIE LEMBERGER/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and blouses for females. Accessories such as Western belts, string ties, or silk kerchiefs completed the square-dance outfit.

In the late 1990s, high-end designers such as Dolce & Gabbana, Roberto Cavalli, and Miu Miu had created an "urban cowboy look" with Western-inspired dress embellished with floral patterns on such articles of clothing as tuxedo shirts and jeans, as well as traditional pointed-toe cowboy boots.

In the early 2000s, amateur and professional female square dancers often wear double-swirl skirts with alternating ruffles in the fabric and wide white lace. The lace is used on bodice and sleeves, and an appliqué and bow are sewn on the fitted midriff. Male square dancers wear cowboy-style shirts with scarf tied around the collar, high-pocket jeans, and sometimes a cowboy hat. Pants cuffs are usually worn inside the cowboy boots. The United Square Dancers of America (USDA) booklet, *Square Dance Attire*, is probably the best resource for the history of square-dance costumes.

## **Belly-Dance Costumes**

Oriental, or belly, dance originates from snakelike movements provided by the sisters of a woman giving birth as

they tried to inspire her to deliver the baby. In 1893, belly dance was brought from the Arabic world to the United States on the occasion of the Chicago World's Fair. Exotic-colored fabrics embroidered with semiprecious stones, paillettes, and beads are characteristic of the style. Semitransparent tops with fringes reveal the stomach and navel while brassieres and wraparound skirts swing rhythmically to the beat of Middle Eastern music. Coin belts and hip scarves are an essential part of the belly-dance outfit. Sometimes belly dancers cover their face with a veil, especially when the dance is performed by a male dancer (cross-dressing). Alternatively, shoulder-to-floorlength beaded and sequinned tunics over harem pantaloons are worn. Historically, evidence points to the crucial influence of Islamic Orientalism in European fashion during the twentieth century, starting with the French designer Paul Poiret's use of the tunic shape and updating old-fashioned styles with exotic harem pants and veils wrapped around the body in the 1920s. In the 1990s, the prêt-à-porter and haute couture collections of Western European and American designers, such as Miguel Adrover, Jean Paul Gaultier, John Galliano, Alexander McQueen, and Rifat Ozbek, have been influenced by Oriental belly-dance costumes. Nancy Lindis-



**Greek folk dancers.** While traditional Greek costumes vary from island to island, some similarities can be found, such as basic construction, the use of certain fabrics, and head coverings such as those seen here. © GAIL MOONEY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.



#### PROFESSIONAL AND AMATEUR BALLROOM DRESS

# Tango dress:

Usually one piece with a tight-fitting top and a swinging bottom slit high to reveal the leg. Stretch materials are used to guarantee a tight silhouette. The dance dress is often highly decorated with rhinestones, beadings, glitter and paillettes.

## Swing and Latin dress:

Very similar to tango dresses, but the much shorter hemline makes the dress more sexual and can reveal the complete leg. Animal prints such as tiger or leopard intensify the wild connotation of these dresses.

## Waltz and fox-trot dress:

Elegant one-piece dress often made in expensive lightweight silks or satins. A wide-swinging, ankle-length style intensifies the soft movements of these dances.

#### Charleston dress:

The necessary freedom of movement was guaranteed by knee-length shirt-dresses embroidered with glass beads and paillettes. The light weight of the dress and long fringes made it swing rhythmically according to the movements of the dance, which was part of the lifestyle of the Roaring Twenties and became the most popular

American dance in Germany and Europe; thanks in great part to Josephine Baker, who gave performances in 1927 with her Charleston Jazz Band in Berlin.

#### Polka and mazurka dress:

Folkloric traditional dress with colorful print design and usually a peasant blouse and a wraparound skirt embellished with opulent frills and garlands. During the 1970s, peasant blouses became very fashionable in everyday clothing, and high-end designers such as Emilio Pucci designed ethnic-style garments with embroideries and frills. Floral peasant blouses with soft ruffled hems had a revival in the late 1990s when designer brands such as Yves Saint Laurent, Dolce & Gabbana, Moschino, and Christian Dior created a folkloric fashion theme.

#### Rumba and samba dress:

With contrasting ruffles on the skirt and sleeves, this dress is often designed in a Caribbean style with bright colors.

## Cha-cha dress:

A two-piece dress with a tight-fitting top and a wide offthe-shoulder neckline, while the skirt is full and flounced at the bottom. Rhinestones are usually attached to the fabric to give a glamorous effect.

farne-Tapper's Languages of Dress in the Middle East is a detailed source about Middle Eastern dress in both the ancient and the modern world.

## **Ballroom-Dance Costumes**

From the early nineteenth century, ballroom dances were taken up by a broad public, and special evening dresses were designed to fit these occasions. The waltz, fox-trot, polka, mazurka, and Viennese waltz required an elegant style. By the twentieth century, dance costumes for the tango, swing and Latin, Charleston, rumba, bolero, chacha, mambo, and samba were more erotic.

## Modern-Dance Costumes

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Isadora Duncan's natural movements on stage characterized a new era for dance. Duncan's modern dance style has been influenced by Greek art, folk dances, social dances, and athleticism. Free-flowing costumes and loose hair permitted a great freedom of dance movement. After World War I, modern-dance groups emerged with predominantly female dancers. During the following decades, avant-garde choreographers, such as George Balanchine and Martha

Graham, and later Merce Cunningham, Paul Taylor, Alvin Ailey, and Pina Bausch, reformed and liberalized traditional dance and its costumes. Moving away from traditional ballet techniques, modern dance gave rise to a new era of costuming. Costumes and makeup took on a unisex look as choreographers felt it less relevant to differentiate female and male dancers. Theater designers experimented with seminude costumes: transparent T-shirts and short black trunks for men and simple bodices and plain tights for women were the standard outfits.

In 1934, neoclassical dance choreographer George Balanchine was the first to dress ballet dancers in rehearsal practice clothes for public performances. The use of noncolors characterized Balanchine's costumes, which were almost always black and white. His sense for minimalism on the stage developed through the revealing of nudity.

Martha Graham was one of the first to promote dance without pointe shoes on stage. In *Diversion of Angels* (1948), she dressed female dancers in draperies, and men were almost naked. Isamu Noguchi–inspired special crowns and hat pins by Graham became particularly famous as part of the modern-dance costume. Newly in-

vented cuts made skirts and dance dress appear like trousers, permitting a great freedom of movement. At the beginning, Graham's dances were performed on a bare stage, which underlined the minimalism she demonstrated in the costumes. Later on, she also replaced the traditional ballet tunics of male dancers and the folk dress and tutus of female dancers with straight, often dark and long shirts or rehearsal leotards. Awarded the Medal of Freedom in October 1976, Martha Graham was the first dancer to receive that distinction.

In the 1950s, costumes of Balanchine- and Grahamoriented contemporary dance choreographers, such as Merce Cunningham and Paul Taylor, tended to continue an emphasis on the seminude style, though prints on leotards personalized the individual contemporary dance style and its costumes. In 1958, the artist Robert Rauschenberg created shiny silky tights speckled with rainbow dots for Cunningham's *Summerspace*. The designs of choreographer and costume designer Alwin Nikolais influenced the contemporary stage with performances such as *Noumenon Mobilus* (1953) and *Imago* (1963).

#### **Musical-Dance Costumes**

Evidence of musical theatres date to the eighteenth century when two forms of this song-and-dance performance emerged in Britain, France, and Germany: ballad operas, such as John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728), and later on comic operas, such as Michael Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl* (1843). At this time, many plays had short runs, and



#### MEN IN TIGHTS: THE MALE DANCER

In Russia, male dancers are highly regarded, and usually classical ballet training is the basis for a career in dance. Though a growing interest in dance exists among boys in other countries, many are too shy to take dance lessons and be obliged to wear tights, commonly considered a female article of clothing. Therefore, certain dance schools allow young male students to practice in T-shirts and short pants. Under the practice clothes, dancers usually wear suspensories, designed to isolate and support the testicles. Alternatively, a dance belt, specialized underwear, can be worn under tights. In both cases, the pouch in front is triangular, tight, and nearly flat to give support and form during dance moves. The subject of masculinity in dance has received popular treatment in such movies as The Children of Theatre Street (1977) and Billy Elliot (2000). Ramsay Burt's book The Male Dancer explores the subject of masculinity in dance in greater depth.



#### **TAP-DANCE SHOES: FAMOUS SOUNDS**

The origins of tap dance, a style of American theatrical dance with percussive footwork, lie in slave dances in the southern states that incorporated African movement and rhythm into European jigs and reels in the early nineteenth century. Tap dance was adopted in theaters from 1840, and clogging in leather-soled shoes became more and more popular. At the fin-desiècle, turn of the century, two different styles of tapdance shoes had been established: stiff wooden-sole shoes, also called buck-and-wing, made popular by the duo Jimmy Doyle and Harland Dixon, and soft leathersole shoes popularized by George Primrose. In the 1920s, metal plates (taps) had been attached to leathersole shoes, which made a loud sharp sound on the floor. In the 1940s and 1950s, dancers such as Fred Astaire, Paul Draper, and Gene Kelly popularized tap shoes to a wider audience through the medium of Hollywood films.

stage costumes were often based on everyday-dress design. In the late 1880s, comic operas conquered Broadway in New York, and plays, including *Robin Hood*, were designed for popular audiences. From the 1880s until the 1920s, the musical-comedy genre in London emerged, and designers such as Lady Duff-Gordon, known as Lucile, elaborated fashionable costumes for singers and dancers. In the early 1920s, tap-dance techniques were popularized and specially designed tap-dance shoes were available on the open market.

In the fifties, musicals such as My Fair Lady (1956) surprised the audiences with numerous costume changes. Costume designer Cecil Beaton had created costumes enhancing the transformation of Eliza, the main character, from a common flower vendor into a society lady. In 1975, Michael Bennett's A Chorus Line opened on Broadway, and aerobic and dance outfits became popular on stage and in everyday life. Bright neon shades in pink, green, and yellow dominated the range of colors. Dance tights, leggings, headbands, and wristlets spread from stage to fashion and vice versa. In 1988, the musical Fame, inspired by the movie and TV series, opened in London and reflected the fashion of the eighties, showing leotards and shorts. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, A. R. Rahman's Bollywood musical Bombay Dreams (2002) opened in London, and its Indian costumes demonstrated the ethnic influence on stage design.

See also Dance and Fashion; Ballet Costume; Music and Fashion; Theatrical Costume.

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Institute for Historical Dance Practise (IHDP) 2004. Available from <a href="http://www.historicaldance.com">http://www.historicaldance.com</a>.

Thomas Hecht

**DANDYISM** Walter Benjamin, in his treatise *Charles* Baudelaire, writes: "The dandy is a creation of the English" (p. 96). If dandyism, the style and the practice, is a uniquely English construct, it was the French who defined it in prose and poetry. The French author Jules Barbey D'Aurevilly, in his 1845 essay "Du dandysme et de George Brummell," described it as a nationally characteristic mode of vanity combined with "the force of [an] English originality . . . as profound as her national spirit." The dandy's dandy, George Bryan "Beau" Brummell, captured in the turn of his cuff and the knot of his cravat the studied irony and languor that defined his age. At the height of his popularity, from 1799 to 1810, Brummell, the son of a minor nobleman, held the entire British aristocracy in his sway. Attracted to no one particular feature of character (Brummell was neither great poet nor eminent thinker), his admirers were ostensibly captivated by his urbane sangfroid and impeccable dress, a clever and consummately constructed package that aimed to "astonish rather than to please" (Walden, p. 52). Essentially Brummell's philosophical stance was to stand for nothing in particular, a posturing that aptly crystallized the uncertainty of a period that witnessed the decline of aristocracy and the early rise of democratic politics. Sartorially, he refined a mode of dress that adopted English country style in a renunciation of the affectations of Francophile fashion (ironically so, if one considers that these very fripperies have become so linked to the dandyism of contemporary imagination). As the dress historian James Laver, writing in 1968,

points out, "whatever else it was, [dandyism] was the repudiation of fine feathers" (p. 10).

If Brummell was considered oppositional, it was in the privileging of this country clothing for wholly urban pursuits. Not an innovator (Thomas Coke of Norfolk was the first of the nobility to present himself in court in "sporting" attire over half a century previously), Brummell merely encapsulated and reflected back to society the sentiments of the times. In the early 1800s, the "sporting costume" of the English nobility reflected the increase in time spent supervising their estates; a top hat and tails in sober tones, linen cravats, breeches, and sturdy riding boots were a uniform of practicality and prudence. That Brummell appropriated this style for promenading through London's arcades and holding court at one of the many gentlemen's clubs of which he was a member served a dual purpose—suggesting the validity of entertainment as the "occupation" of the leisured classes while eradicating any immediate visible difference in status between himself and the "working" man.

In his recorded witticisms and his style, Brummell appeared to contemplate no distinction other than taste. His preoccupation with pose and appearance was derided as the last gasp of aristocratic decadence, but in many ways he anticipated the modern era—a world of social mobility in which taste was privileged above birth and wealth. Elevated as a style icon, he presaged the contemporary dominance of fashion and celebrity; clothing is as powerful a tool now as it was two hundred years ago for conveying new social and economic directions. Dedicated to perfection in dress (his lengthy toilette was legendary) and the immaculate presentation of his body, Brummell's total control over his image finds its legacy in twenty-first-century masculine dress styles.

# Dandyism in France

Dandyism was a potent cocktail that swiftly endeared itself to England's European neighbor, France (and much later to Russia), privileging a love of beauty in material goods while appearing to nod to the revolutionary sentiment of the times. Most notable of France's dandies was the young Alfred Guillaume Gabriel, count d'Orsay. Only a teenager when dandyism first crossed the seas to Paris, d'Orsay's sartorial power had risen to Brummellian heights by 1845.

Unlike Brummell, however, d'Orsay's pursuit of dandyism was a search for personal fulfillment rather than social power. Already powerful by token of birth, d'Orsay's legacy was of dandyism as fashion plate, and he became known as the original "butterfly dandy." There was also none of Brummell's austerity; the French imagination had already mixed dandyism with English romanticism, as evidenced in d'Orsay's more sensual, lavish, and luxurious approach to dress—silk replaced linen, curves replaced stricter lines, gold for silver. That much of France's dandy traditions grew from literary interpretation

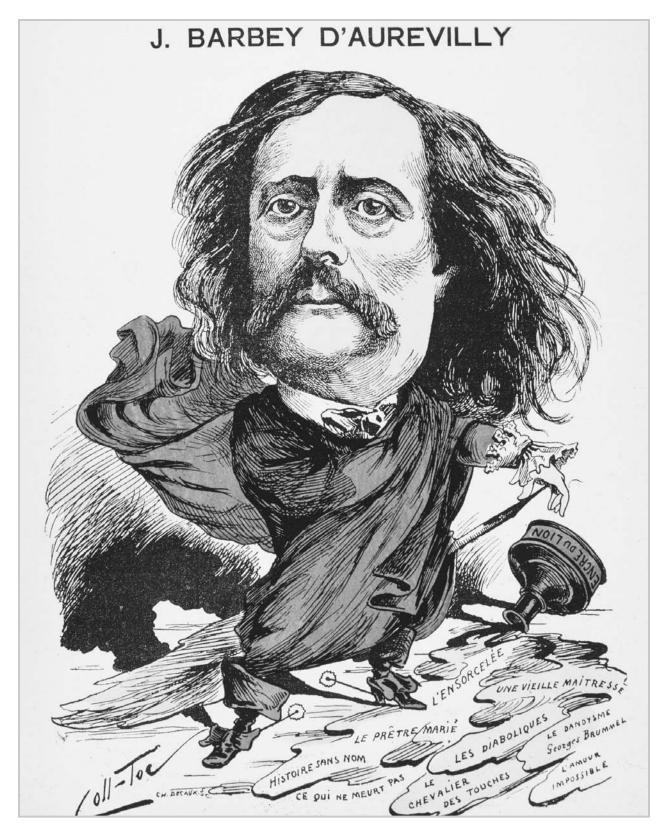


Illustration of French author Jules Barbey d'Aureyville. D'Aureyville was a major force in defining dandyism in a positive way, placing more emphasis on the dandy's intellectual pursuits and bohemian spirit than on his clothing. © LEONARD DE SALVA/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

is important in the context of the development of dandyism into a moral and artistic philosophy.

# **Dandy Philosophy**

Defining dandyism is a complex task, and few writers have done so more successfully than Lord Edward Bulwer-Lytton in his treatise on the dandy of 1828, *Pelham; or, The Adventures of a Gentleman*. Considered at the time to be a manual for the practice of dandyism, it amply demonstrates the growing link between the promotion of the self and promotion through the social ranks. Notable maxims include: "III: Always remember that you dress to fascinate others, not yourself," and "XXIII: He who esteems trifles for themselves is a trifler—he who esteems them for the conclusions to be drawn from them, or the advantage to which they can be put, is a philosopher" (pp. 180–182).

That Bulwer-Lytton associates dandy practice with philosophy was concordant with later literary movements such as Barbey D'Aurevilly's toward enshrining dandyism as intellectual pose rather than fashionable consumption. More immediately, however, Pelham inspired a Victorian backlash against dandvism that was to define the 1830s. At around the same time as d'Orsay reached the peak of his influence, back in England William Makepeace Thackeray was releasing the serial of his novel Vanity Fair, at the venerable age of thirty-six. Thackeray had contributed significantly to the Victorian approbation of dandyism in the 1830s, epitomized by the views expressed in Thomas Carlyle's Sartor Resartus [The tailor retailored] (1838). Thackeray's regular columns and later novels, Vanity Fair and The History of Pendennis, were vivid representations of the moral and religiously driven belief that dandvism was a shallow and louche behavioral deficiency but they ironically were informed by his association with, and enjoyment of, the company of dandies such as d'Orsay.

It was the French, in particular D'Aurevilly, that were to define dandyism, through literature, as a positive practice and "robust moral philosophy" (Breward, p. 3). D'Aurevilly's Du dandyisme et de Georges Brummell had a profound influence on all the texts, British and French, that followed it. Although D'Aurevilly never met Brummell, he formed an intimate friendship with Guillaume-Stanislas Trébutien, a scholar and native of Caen, the provincial French town to which Brummell escaped following his indebtedness and ultimate disgrace in the English court. Trébutien met and befriended William Jesse, a young officer who had in turn met Brummell at a social event in Caen and was impressed with Brummell's "superlative taste." Jesse's accounts of Brummell, relayed to D'Aurevilly through Trébutien, were to form the basis of D'Aurevilly's text. Jesse was to broaden D'Aurevilly's already significant knowledge of dandvism, Regency literature, and the history of the Restoration, which formed the background to the practice by introducing him to more obscure texts that would never have

reached the shores of France. D'Aurevilly was a little known author and poet prior to *Dandyisme* and found it hard to find a journal willing to publish his text. Consequently he and Trébutien decided to publish it themselves, further driven by the notion that a book on dandyism should be, anyway, an "eccentric, rare and precious" (Moers, p. 261) object.

D'Aurevilly, for the first time, celebrated dandyism and dedication to pose as a distinction. Dress, while important, was relegated to second place behind D'Aurevilly's emphasis on the "intellectual quality" of Brummell's position. As Ellen Moers points out in her seminal text The Dandy, "Barbey's originality is to make dandyism available as an intellectual pose. The dandy is equated with the artist; society thus ought to pay him tribute. Brummell is indeed the archetype of all artists, for his art was one with his life" (p. 263).

The understanding of dandyism as an artistic presentation of the body related to the single-minded pursuit of bohemian individuality was developed thoroughly in the writings of Charles Baudelaire. Baudelaire was not that interested in Brummell, but more in the modernity, as he saw it, of the ideas that he expressed. Baudelaire saw in Brummell's dandyism the elevation of the trivial to a position of principle that perfectly mirrored, and offered an ideal framework for, his own beliefs. Baudelaire and D'Aurevilly maintained close contact through the 1850s and 1860s, exchanging letters, books and ideas about the practice. It was primarily through D'Aurevilly's writings that Baudelaire's bohemian dandy philosophy was made clear, although Baudelaire's one essay on the subject Le peintre de la vie moderne later came to define Baudelaire's approach to the subject. As Moers suggests, D'Aurevilly's text on Brummell was so definitive as to liberate Baudelaire to "reach for the Dandy whole, as a symbol in the poetic sense" (p. 276).

Baudelaire's view of dandyism as an "aristocracy superiority of [the] mind . . . [a] burning desire to create a personal form of originality" (Benjamin, p. 420), was taken up by the Aesthetic movement as a righteous crusade, a veneration of beauty and abhorrence of vulgarity that was defined by the Oxbridge scholar Walter Pater and, later, the decadent aestheticism of Oscar Wilde. Wilde's earlier interpretation of dandyism took little from Brummell's original aesthetic, influenced as his style was by the material tactility and medieval styling of the period (he later threw off the aesthetic-inspired costume in favor of a more somber style). What appealed to Wilde was the idea of beauty and perfection as expressed through the body and dress—the cultivation of the person as an art form that Baudelaire had crystallized in La vie moderne. Like Brummell (and Honoré Balzac, the Victorian-era dandy Benjamin Disraeli, and the Parisian aesthete Count Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac), Wilde promoted himself and his work through the presentation of his public body and quickly rose to the top of Britain's social circle as a result. The era of decadence

was the apogee of dandy performance in a world that was increasingly dominated by "advertising, publicity and showmanship," in front of a far greater audience than Brummell could ever or would have wished to envisage. Wilde's performed individuality and flamboyant costume were shackled to his desire for notoriety.

Like other notable dandies of the period, Aubrey Beardsley, Max Beerbohm, and James McNeill Whistler, Wilde also looked upon dandyism as a refuge from and bulwark against the burgeoning democracy of the times (although the dandyism of the fin de siècle was fueled by new money in a way that the Regency elitists would have decried). Although Wilde believed, hoped, that aestheticism would prevail, he was perhaps more accurate with his comment that London society was "made up of dowdies and dandies—The men are all dowdies and the women are all dandies."

## The Female Dandy

The emergence of the female dandy was to coincide with the downfall of Oscar Wilde. In Joe Lucchesi's essay "The Dandy in Me," he cites the American artists Georgia O'Keeffe and Romaine Brooks as notable female dandies of the period along with Brooks's London-based circle of friends—in particular the aristocrat Lady Troubridge, the British artist "Peter" Gluck, and the writer Radclyffe Hall. By the 1900s, dandyism had reached New York, with O'Keeffe and her circle drawing on Baudelaire's dandy philosophy "to make of one-self something original" (Fillin-Yeh, p. 131). Certainly Brooks's adoption of the dandy code was conscious; she noted that "They [her admirers in her London circle] like the dandy in me and are in no way interested in my inner self or value" (Fillin-Yeh, p. 153).

Brooks's dandyism was bound up in her lesbian sexuality. The sartorial lexicon of dandy practice offered these women a model for negotiating a social position for themselves that shared signifiers with the dress of the modern woman. Joe Lucchesi writes that "lesbians adopted the signifying dress of the modern woman as a way of expressing their sexuality yet also linking it to a similar but less dangerous figure" (Fillin-Yeh, p. 173).

As Virginia Woolf was to note in A Room of One's Own (1929), the woman's position within the sphere of cultural production was still difficult to carve out in what was a male-dominated community. It seems to be no coincidence that Woolf's shape-shifting Orlando ultimately takes on masculine form in the character's twentieth-century incarnation. Baudelaire had suggested that lesbians were the "heroines of modernism... an erotic ideal... who bespeaks hardness and mannishness" (Benjamin, p. 90), and for Brooks and her circle, there was a direct link between the invisibility of the female artist and the invisibility of female homosexuality. The figure of the dandy, certainly following Wilde, united concerns of the self as art form, the feminized homosexual, and the position of the individual within the urban environment.

Inspired by her compatriot and friend James McNeill Whistler, Brooks's dress shared many similarities with his (and de Montesquiou-Fezensac's) gentlemanly elegance and refined creativity. Although the fashions of Brooks's portraits were already thirty years out of date for men, they emerged in parallel with the notion of the modern, heterosexual woman and the modernity of Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel. Masculine dress, within the fashion arena, served to emphasize the sexualized and idealized female physique in the same way that it had always done for the male body. In addition, it offered a means for women like Chanel, who went from country girl to courtesan to milliner to designer to affect a revolution in their social status and representation. Drawing inspiration from masculine, aristocratic sporting clothing, Chanel understood as deftly as Brummell its practical and social value. As Rhonda K. Garelick writes, "By casting off the complicated frill of women's clothing and replacing them with solid colours, simple stripes and straight lines, Chanel added great visual 'speed' to the female form, while granting an increased actual speed to women who could move about more easily than before" (Fillin-Yeh, p. 41).

## **Contemporary Dandies**

The figure of the dandy provides an abundance of material for the subversive and frequently ironic interventions that have come to be associated with British cultural production. Throughout the twentieth century, periods of acute social upheaval have witnessed parallel and intense bursts of dandy behavior. Masculine consumption, and the relationship of material goods to class and status, have played an important role for social and cultural arrivistes from Noel Coward and Cecil Beaton in the 1920s and 1930s to the publisher Tyler Brûlé and the designer Ozwald Boateng in the 1990s. "And," as writer George Walden suggests, "English sensitivities are acutely alive to anything to do with social nuance, whether accent, posture, conduct or clothes" (Walden, p. 29).

The desires of Regency dandyism were amply catered for by a plethora of specialist boutiques that had grown up in and around the streets of London's Mayfair and Piccadilly. The tailors; breeches, boot, and glove makers; milliners; and perfumiers that vied to tend to the immaculate bodies of their dandy customers were sandwiched between numerous specialists catering to the refined tastes of their client's stomach, interior décor, and cultural entertainment and welfare. The consumerism of the Regency dandy makes him a particularly analogous figure to the contemporary British dandies of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Moving beyond the golden triangle to Carnaby Street in the 1960s, and latterly Islington, Spitalfields, and Hoxton Square, the sites of dandy consumption are, for the most part, reassuringly familiar—small, select boutiques, elite tailors, exquisite restaurants and bars, exclusive members clubs, artisan publishers, and celebrity delicatessens still dominate the dandy landscape.

In the twenty-first century, the steady spread of globalization, of branded culture, is once again providing fertile ground for the emergence of the contemporary dandy. The figure of the dandy presents a sartorial and behavioral precedent that allows for the celebration of beauty in material culture while cultivating an aura of superiority to it, and the early twenty-first century has seen a resurgence of interest in the traditional purveyors of material status. London's Savile Row is increasingly populated by filmmakers, recording artists, visual artists, and designers, joining the existing ranks of the traditional British gentleman who is these tailors' staple client. At the same time, brands such as Burberry, Aquascutum, and Pringle, who have traded for decades on their status as suppliers of quality and standing, have seen their customer profile alter to include an international audience in search of distinction as well as a more specific sartorial subculture closer to home—the Terrace Casual.

The early 1980s Casual project was vehemently patriotic. Forays into Europe in the early 1980s showed Britain's football fans in stark contrast to their Italian and French counterparts whose immaculate dress prompted a revolution in British working-class style that saw the football fan become the principle consumer of mostly European luxury sporting brands. Today's Terrace Casual springs from similar terrain. What separates him from his forebears is that the garments he favors are principally British, the upper-class sporting pursuits which with they are associated redolent of the masculine camaraderie and corporeal engagement of club life favored by Brummell and his circle. As with Brummell, the Terrace Casual style is engaged in the positioning of traditional upper-class "country" style in the urban environment, coopting it for the pursuit of leisure rather than the management of rural estates. While adopting the trappings of aristocracy disrupts perceived social status, it acts as a celebration rather than rejection of all the mores and moralities that these garments imply.

Oscar Wilde once said, "One should either be a work of art, or wear a work of art," and Hoxton style is the ultimate expression of the "music/fashion/art" triumvirate that characterizes British street style in the twenty-first century. As Christopher Breward writes, "D'Aurevilly's dandy incorporated a spirit of aggressively bohemian individualism that first inspired Charles Baudelaire and then Joris-Karl Huysmans in their poetic celebrations of a sublime artificiality . . . . It is possible to see this trajectory leading forward through the decadent work of Walter Pater and Oscar Wilde to inform....twentieth century notions of existential 'cool'" (Breward 2003 p. 3). While Wilde's bohemian decadence runs like a seam through the Bloomsbury set; the glam-rock outrage and rebelliousness of Jimi Hendrix, Mick Jagger, and David Bowie; the performativity of Leigh Bowery and Boy George; and the embodiment of life as art in Quentin Crisp, it is the Hoxton Dandy, as epitomized by the singer Jarvis Cocker, who presents an equally subversive contemporary figure. Originality is as crucial for the Hoxton Dandy as it was for Brummell and Hoxton Square, once a bleak, principally industrial quarter of East London, now at the heart of a trajectory of British bohemianism that began in Soho in Brummell's time. Hoxton has quickly become a hub of new media/graphic/furniture/ fashion design style that embraces its gritty urban history of manufacturing. Artisan clothing has often drawn upon dress types more usually associated with the workingman in order to emphasize the masculinity of artistic pursuit, the physical labor involved in its production. This is no less true of the Hoxton style, which is rooted in a flamboyant urban camouflage—a mix of military iconography, "peasant" staples, and industrial work wear, made from high-performance fabrics whose functionality always far outweighs their purpose.

In his time, the modernity of Brummell's monochromatic style marked him out in opposition to more decadent European fashion and made him a hero to writers such as Baudelaire. Modernism in the twentieth century continued to struggle to establish itself as a positive choice in British design culture, yet the periods of flirtation with clean lines and somber formality were intense and passionate, a momentary reprieve from the ludic sensibilities British designers more commonly entertained. The early British Modernists of the 1950s sought to emulate the socially mobile elements of American society. Stylistically, they drew inspiration from the sleek, sharp, and minimal suit favored by the avant-garde musicians of the East Coast jazz movement. Philosophically, early mods saw themselves as "citizens of the world" (Polhemus 1994 p. 51), a world in which it only mattered where you were going, not from where you came. In 2003 clean lines and muted colors once more afforded relief from the riot and parody of postmodernism that had dominated British fashion since the emergence of Vivienne Westwood and, latterly, John Galliano. The Neo-Modernist style draws, as it did in Brummell's day, on established sartorial traditions but subverts them through materials (denim for suits, shirting fabrics for linings), form (tighter, sharper, and leaner than the norm) and, ultimately, function.

Brummell was, in fact, almost puritanical in his approach to style. Max Beerbohm wrote in the mid-twentieth century of "'the utter simplicity of [Brummell's] attire' and 'his fine scorn for accessories,' " which has led contemporary commentators such as Walden to note that "Brummell's idea of sartorial elegance, never showy, became increasingly conservative and restrained" (Walden, p. 28). Aesthetically, British gentlemanly style is the closest to Brummellian dandyism. As in previous centuries, the gentleman is defined by class and by his relationship to property (rural and urban). This easy, natural association reflects the apparent effortlessness of dress, manners, and social standing. Gentlemanly dress is loaded with expressive, but never ostentatious, clues; as Brummell suggested, "If [the common man] should turn . . . to look at

you, you are not too well dressed; but neither too stiff, too tight or too fashionable." Brummell's refusal of finery for a more practical costume can be seen in the contemporary confinement of his own style of cravat, frock coat, and highly polished boots to special-occasion wear. In this, the early twenty-first-century gentlemanly uniform of gray or navy suit, black lace-up shoe, white shirt, and modestly colorful tie more than nods to Brummell's stylistic approach.

See also Benjamin, Walter; Brummell, George (Beau); Europe and America: History of Dress (400–1900 C.E.); Fashion, Historical Studies of; Fashion and Identity; Wilde, Oscar.

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Alice Cicolini

**DASHIKI** A dashiki is a loose-fitting, pullover shirt usually sewn from colorful, African-inspired cotton prints or from solid color fabrics, often with patch pockets and embroidery at the neckline and cuffs. The dashiki appeared on the American fashion scene during the 1960s when embraced by the black pride and white counterculture movements. "Dashiki" is a loanword from the West African Yoruba term danshiki, which refers to a short, sleeveless tunic worn by men. The Yoruba borrowed the word from the Hausa dan ciki (literally "underneath"), which refers to a short tunic worn by males under larger robes. The Yoruba danshiki, a work garment, was originally sewn from hand-woven strip cloth. It has deep-cut armholes with pockets below and four gussets set to create a flare at the hem. Similar tunics found in Dogon burial caves in Mali date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Bolland). In many parts of West Africa today such tunics of hand- or machine-woven textiles (with or without sleeves and gussets) are worn with matching trousers as street clothes. In the 1960s, the dashiki appeared in the American ethnic fashion inventory, along with other Afrocentric clothing styles, possibly from the example of African students and African diplomats at the United Nations in New York (Neves 1966). A unisex garment, the American dashiki varies from a sleeveless tunic to the more common pullover shirt or caftan with short or dangling bat sleeves. Both sexes wear the shirt, and women wear short or full-length dashiki dresses.

# Dashiki as American Fashion

In the United States the term "dashiki" entered American English circa 1968 (Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary 2000). Following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the popularity of Afrocentric clothing grew along with pride in racial and cultural heritage among Americans of African descent. First worn as an indicator of black unity and pride, the dashiki peaked in popularity when white counterculture hippies, who "set the tone for much of the fashion of the late sixties" (Connikie, p. 22), included the colorful shirts and dresses in their wardrobes. The aesthetics of mainstream male fashion shifted toward the ethnic, men began to "emulate the peacock," and the dashiki became trendy by the end of the 1960s. Worn by increasing numbers of young white Americans attracted to the bright colors and ornate embroidery, the dashiki lost much of its black political identity and epitomized the larger scene of changing American society. By the late 1960s, American retailers imported cheap dashikis manufactured in India, Bangladesh, and Thailand. Most of these loose-fitting shirts and caftans were sewn from cotton "kanga" prints, a bordered rectangle printed with symmetrical bold colorful designs, often with central motifs. Kanga prints were introduced in the nineteenth century by Indian and Portuguese traders to East Africa, where in the early twenty-first century women still wore them as wrappers (Hilger, p. 44). Contemporary kanga, manufactured in Kenya and Tanzania, was discovered by African American fashion designers in the 1960s (Neves

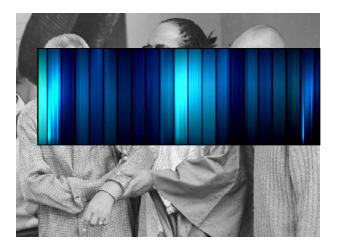
1966) and was ideal for the simply tailored dashikis. One kanga-patterned dashiki with chevron, geometric, and floral motifs became a "classic" and was still manufactured in the twenty-first century.

# Dashiki as Symbol

Throughout its history in American fashion, the dashiki has functioned as a significant, but sometimes ambiguous, identity marker. In its earliest manifestation, with the Afro hairstyle, headgear, and African beads, it was associated with black power, the "Black Is Beautiful" movement, and the development of Afrocentrism. The historian Henry Louis Gates Jr. recalls, "I remember very painfully those days in the late sixties when if your Afro wasn't 2 feet high and your dashiki wasn't tri-colored, etc., etc., then you weren't colored enough" (Rowell, p. 445). Initially, the garment had strong political overtones when "dashiki-clad cultural nationalists . . . typified the antithesis of the suit-and-tie integrationists" (Cobb, p. 125). Political activists such as Huey P. Newton and Stokely Carmichael of the Black Panthers Party sometimes combined the dashiki with the black leather jacket, combat boots, and beret that identified the militant group (Boston, pp. 204-209). However, the dashiki never gained a clear militant identity in the African American community. Leaders of the more moderate wings of the Black Civil Rights movement, such as Jesse Jackson and Andrew Young, sometimes wore dashikis to project a distinctive Afrocentric look as they promoted the more peaceful goals of Martin Luther King Jr. (Boston, p. 67). As the dashiki grew popular with African Americans as a symbol of cultural pride, it gained metaphorical significance in black activist rhetoric. The educator Sterling Tucker stated, "Donning a dashiki and growing a bush is fine if it energizes the wearer for real action; but 'Black is beautiful' is dangerous if it amounts only to wrapping oneself up in one's own glory and magnificence" (Tucker, p. 303). The Black Panther Fred Hampton wore dashikis but declared, "we know that political power doesn't flow from the sleeve of a dashiki. We know that political power flows from the barrel of a gun" (Lee).

#### Dashiki in the Twenty-first Century

In the early days of the twenty-first century, the dashiki has retained meaning for the African American community and a historical marker of the 1960s counterculture. While seldom seen as street wear, the dashiki is worn at festive occasions such as Kwanzaa, the annual celebration to mark the unity of Americans of African descent and express pride in African heritage (Goss and Goss). A 2003 Internet search called up over 5,000 entries for "dashiki," largely from marketers who offer a range of vintage or contemporary African clothing. Vintage clothing retailers market dashikis as "a must for all hippie freaks" and for "wanna-be hippies." Costume companies offer "the dashiki boy" with a classic dashiki shirt, Afro wig, dark glasses, and a peace pendant necklace. Purveyors of African clothing have expanded the meaning of dashiki



Stevie Wonder wearing a dashiki. South African president Nelson Mandela escorts singers Kenny Latimore and Stevie Wonder at his Johannesburg home in 1998. Although the dashiki's popularity as everyday-wear waned after the 1960s, some African Americans continue to wear dashikis to festive occasions and as a symbol of pride in their African heritage. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

beyond the distinctive shirt to include a variety of African robe ensembles and caftan styles. The dashiki's popularity as a street style has faded, but it continues as an integral part of the African American fashion scene for festive occasions and as a form of dress evocative of the lifestyle of 1960s America.

See also African American Dress; Afrocentric Fashion.

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Norma H. Wolff

**DEBUTANTE DRESS** Once restricted to young women from wealthy families on the social register, the traditional long, white formal dress and opera-length kid gloves of the debutante are more and more frequently also worn by daughters of the middle class. Cultural variations, such as the Hispanic *quinceañera*, not only introduce a young woman into society but also reinforce ethnic identity. While making a debut no longer necessarily signifies that the deb is looking for a husband—the age of a debutante ranges from fifteen to the mid-twenties—it is still a rite of passage denoting adult status socially.

## **Development of Debuts**

The term "debut," to enter into society, is French in origin but became familiar to English speakers during the reign of King George III (1760-1820) when Queen Charlotte began the practice of introducing young aristocratic women at court. From 1837 on, they were called "debutantes," later shortened to "debs." The Lord Chamberlain's Office developed strict regulations regarding proper dress for court presentations. From 1820 to 1900, ladies wore fashionable evening dresses, a mandatory headdress of veiling and feathers plus a train attached first at the waistline and, in later years, at the shoulders. Long, white kid gloves, bouquets, or fans were often added (Arch and Marschner 1987). In the United States of the early nineteenth century, elite families gave relatively small parties to introduce their marriageable-age daughters to their friends and to single men of appropriate age and status.

After the Civil War and the emergence of new wealth based on industry and railroads, the parties began to grow into lavish balls as old and new wealth vied with one another for status. One party featured an artificial lake with a large papier-mâché swan that exploded on cue, sending hundreds of roses into the air. American debutantes wore full evening dress but did not add the headdresses and trains of their English counterparts. White became standard for English debs by the end of the nineteenth century while American girls could also choose a color, as long as it was a very pale pastel. Male escorts wore formal evening wear, either tails or tuxedos, just as in the early twenty-first century. As an alternative to the private parties, exclusive social clubs, usually all male, were formed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries



**Debutantes at a ball.** Though variations exist, traditional dress for debutantes consists of a white formal gown, usually sleeveless, and long, white kid gloves. © SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER COLLECTION; MUSEUM OF HISTORY & INDUSTRY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

to present a group of their daughters or granddaughters at a cotillion or ball. Social club cotillions are usually more formal than family balls with a master of ceremonies and a grand march or promenade before the dancing begins. All of the girls in the group must wear the same color, almost invariably white, but may choose their own style of dress. Long, white gloves are usually worn with strapless or sleeveless gowns (Post 1937, 1969, 1997). Individual parents may give an additional party sometime within the debutante social season, traditionally the period between Thanksgiving and New Year's when university students are home for the holidays (Mills 1959; Tuckerman and Dunnan 1995).

In the twentieth century, debutante balls, whether given by a family or by one of the exclusive social clubs, gained media attention, and the public began criticizing the lavishness of the events, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1950s, subscription dances were organized to raise money for charity through debuts. For an entrance fee, debutantes could be introduced at an annual ball and the proceeds contributed to a charitable cause. One of the largest is the National Debutante Cotillion and Thanksgiving Ball, of Washington, D.C., benefiting the Children's Hospital National Medical Center. In addition to couching the social event within philanthropy, subscription debutante balls allow middle-class parents to

give their daughters a debut, as long as they have a sponsor from the cotillion organization. Financial requirements for balls usually include a participation fee, the purchase of a table for eight, and sometimes the purchase or sale of space in a souvenir book, and, of course, the mandatory dress and gloves. Subscription balls or cotillions vary in prestige and exclusivity, and the costs reflect these differences.

# **Ethnic and Cultural Debuts**

Every year thousands of fifteen-year-olds from a wide variety of Hispanic backgrounds celebrate their birthdays with a quinceañera, a unique combination of religion and debut that emphasizes cultural identity. Few young African American women make their debuts through the older social clubs, but many debut through African American organizations. The Van Courtlandt Society in San Antonio, Texas, was founded in 1915 and shortly thereafter began holding balls, and in Savannah, Georgia, the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity has sponsored the Annual Debutante Presentation and Ball since 1944. Some African American debuts are as expensive and exclusive as those of the white balls, but others, like the Club Les Dames Cotillion of Waterloo, Iowa, are quite inexpensive and focus on the debutantes' social and academic accomplishments. The Chicago chapter of the Kosciuszko Foundation emphasizes scholastic achievement and community service in addition to the debs' Polish heritage. The San Marino Woman's Club of California requires that its debs perform a number of volunteer hours in community projects (Lynch 1999; Salcedo 1997). With the exception of the quinceañera, a fashionable white evening gown with long, white kid gloves is the standard dress for all of the above debuts.

## **Regional Variation**

Debutante events vary ethnically and socioeconomically, but the biggest difference in dress is regional. Mardi Gras debutantes in New Orleans wear jeweled gowns and long trains with Medici collars as well as glittering crowns, while Texas debs stray the furthest from classic white formals. For instance, in Laredo, Texas, young women from the oldest families wear elaborate eighteenth-centurystyle ball gowns with panniers, and middle-class debs wear heavily beaded ultra suede "Native American" costumes in pageants held during the annual George Washington Birthday celebration. During Fiesta in San Antonio, Texas, twenty-four duchesses, a princess, and a queen wear elaborately bejeweled gowns and trains in a faux coronation. The trains are based upon the requirements for English court presentations. The earliest ones were usually of satin and lightly beaded, but soon became the background upon which motifs from such themes as "The Court of Olympus" (1931) or "Court of the Imperial House of Hapsburg" (1987) could be represented in rhinestones and beads. They may weigh up to seventyfive pounds, and up to thirty-five thousand dollars is spent



# QUINCEAÑERAS: A HISPANIC RITE OF PASSAGE

Quinceañeras (from quince or fifteen) are traditional celebrations of a daughter's fifteenth birthday. Unlike Sweet Sixteen celebrations, they combine religious and social elements. A quinceañera begins with a full Catholic mass followed by a dinner and dance. Most parish priests require attendance at special religious classes before the event. The honoree wears a white or pastel dress with yards of ruffles and lace and is crowned with a tiara by her grandmother at the dance. Ten to fourteen of her closest friends and relatives, who with their escorts make up the court of honor, wear matching bridesmaid-like dresses. A boudoir-style "last doll" is dressed identically to the honoree and symbolizes the end of childhood (Salcedo 1997).

on the handwork. While wearing all of those rhinestones and beads, the young women must perform the royal bow in which they lower their bodies until they are essentially sitting on the floor and then bend forward from the waist until the head almost touches the floor. The bow has been copied all over Texas and is known as the "Texas dip" when it is performed by Texas debs at the International Debutante Ball in New York City (Haynes 1998).

#### Conclusion

Although many people feared that debuts would disappear in the 1960s when such elitist and ostentatious displays of wealth came under heavy social criticism, debuts have actually become more prevalent. The benefits of debuts have even extended to young men at times. A small number of quinceañeros have been given for fifteenyear-old boys in Hispanic communities, and in Dayton, Ohio, the Beautillion Militaire has been held annually since 1968 for African American males. The organizers felt that since debutante events seemed to enhance selfesteem and raise the aspirations of the young women who participated in them, similar benefits might accrue to their young men taking part in similar events. Now, thousands of daughters (and a few sons) from a wide socioeconomic range become Cinderellas (or Prince Charmings) for a night.

See also Evening Dress; Fancy Dress

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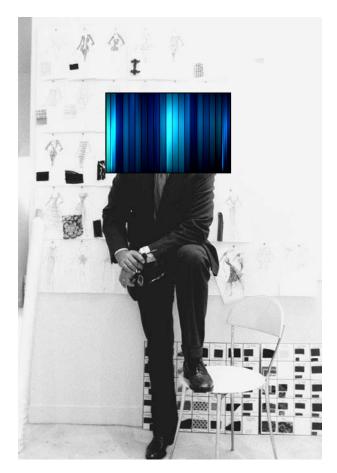
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Michaele Haynes

DE LA RENTA, OSCAR Born in Santo Domingo, in the Dominican Republic, on 22 July 1932, Oscar de la Renta traveled to Madrid when he was eighteen to study art at the Academia de San Fernando with the intention of becoming a painter. His career in fashion began when Cristóbal Balenciaga was shown some of his fashion illustrations, which led to a job sketching the collections at Eisa, Balenciaga's Madrid couture house. In 1961, eager to move to Paris, de la Renta went to work as an assistant to Antonio Castillo. Moving to New York in 1963, he was invited to design a couture collection for Elizabeth Arden. He later joined Jane Derby, Inc., as a partner in 1965 and founded his own company in 1967 to produce ready-to-wear.

Also in 1967, de la Renta married Françoise de Langlade, editor-in-chief of French *Vogue*. Together they became part of New York's fashionable social scene, often appearing in the society columns and giving valuable publicity to the label. His clothes initially showed the influence of his time at Balenciaga and Castillo: daywear of sculptural shapes in double-faced or textured wool that were cut to stand away from the body. It was also during his time at Lanvin that he developed his talent for creating feminine, romantic evening wear, which has remained his trademark.

In 1966 de la Renta became inspired by young avantgarde street fashions and produced minidresses with hotpants and embroidered caftans. However, his love of the exotic and the dramatic soon surfaced, and by the 1970s he was one of the designers to tap into the desire for ethnic fashion, inspired by the hippie movement with its appropriation of other cultures. His embroidered peasant blouses, gathered skirts, fringed shawls, and boleros became part of mainstream fashion for the rich and the leisured. When in the 1970s the midiskirt was introduced, it was received with ambivalence and Oscar de la Renta was one of the designers to resolve the hemline quandary by incorporating trousers into his collections. The prevailing attitudes to women wearing trousers became much



**Oscar de la Renta.** Though probably best known for his romantic eveningwear, de la Renta dabbled in many styles of clothing, such as ethnic fashions and elegant casual wear. © OWEN FRANKEN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

more relaxed as he and other designers sought to give panache to what was then only associated with casualwear and informal occasions. His evening wear in many ways continued the tradition of the American "sweetheart" dress, full-skirted, with a fitted bodice and belted waist and big sleeves, very often in a paper taffeta, brocade, or chiffon, and embellished with ruffles.

In January 1981 the inauguration of President Reagan reintroduced the notion of formal dressing and entertaining to Washington, D.C., replacing the southern homespun style of the previous incumbents of the White House, the Carters. Charity balls and black-tie dinners gave society every opportunity to dress up in lavish ball gowns, following the lead of the impeccably groomed Nancy Reagan. There was a new appetite for the luxurious and the ornate. Oscar de la Renta anticipated the change, remarking, "The Reagans are going to bring back the kind of style the White House should have" (Kelly, p. 259).

As one of the First Lady's favorite designers, and alongside Adolfo Domínguez, James Galanos, and Bill

Blass, he was favored with invitations to state dinners. It was a period when designers became part of the social scene, invited as guests to the grand occasions for which their clients required clothes.

De la Renta's talents lay in designing and producing spectacular ball gowns and evening dresses, reflecting the 1980s' predilection for ostentatious display and conspicuous consumption that epitomized the Reagan years. From 1980 to 1985 the American dollar had never been stronger, and it was during this period that de la Renta was able to consolidate his business, becoming a multimillionaire with eighty international licenses from household goods to eyewear. Television soap operas, such as Dynasty and Dallas, made universal the desire to dress up in luxurious fabrics and expensive accessories. During the 1980s de la Renta particularly favored the use of black with a single bright color, such as black and bright pink or black and emerald green, with a somewhat narrower silhouette and lavish use of embroidery, passementerie, and beading. Following the ingenue 1960s and hippie 1970s, fashion once more became about glamour for grown-ups. These classic dresses appealed to the more mature, leisured socialites, rather than the working women who were "power-dressing" in Donna Karan.

De la Renta introduced his signature perfume Oscar in 1977, for which he received the Fragrance Foundation Perennial Success Award in 1991. It was his scent Ruffles, however, in a distinctive fluted glass bottle, and produced in 1983, that reflected the ultrafeminine aspect of his clothes. As the advertisement read, "When a woman thinks of Oscar de la Renta she thinks of Ruffles."

Twice winner of the Coty American Fashion Critics' Award, in 1967 and 1973, de la Renta was inducted into the Coty Hall of Fame in 1973 and received the Lifetime Achievement Award from the Council of Fashion Designers of America in 1990

In 2001 the designer was elected to the fashion walk of fame and honored with a commemorative plaque embedded into the sidewalk of New York's Seventh Avenue.

International acknowledgment came with his appointment as designer for the French couture house Pierre Balmain in 1993, the first American designer to be recognized in this way, and a reflection of the growing status of American designers worldwide.

The year 2001 saw the introduction of Oscar accessories—bags, belts, and jewelry, scarves and shoes—that reflect his passion for the ornate decoration of his native country. De la Renta has had a consistently high profile in fashion, from being the favorite designer of film star Dolores Del Rio in the early 1960s to receiving the Womenswear Designer of the Year Award from the Council of Fashion Designers of America in 2000, the honor that succeeded the Coty awards. His clothes reflect his passion for the romantic and the exotic resulting from a childhood and youth spent in the Dominican Republic and Spain. De la Renta's strength as a designer has al-

ways been his ability to combine his trademark love of the dramatic, with its roots in his Latin inheritance, with the American need for sophisticated elegance.

See also Balenciaga, Cristóbal; Evening Dress; Fashion Designer; First Ladies' Gowns.

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Marnie Fogg

**DELAUNAY, SONIA** The artist Sonia Delaunay sought ways to bring modern art out of the confines of traditional easel painting. She carried this out by refashioning everyday objects as tools to explore her theories of color and by infiltrating daily life with art in a way that traditional painting could not. While her involvement in the fashion business spanned less than a decade, her prolific career in textile designs and color studies continues to influence fashion designers.

Sonia Terk was born 14 November 1885 into a poor Jewish family in the Ukrainian village of Gradizhsk and adopted by her well-to-do aunt and uncle in Saint Petersburg at an early age. She studied art periodically in Karlsruhe, Germany, and continued her studies at the Académie de la Palette in Paris, where the intense color palette of artists of the fauvist movement influenced her early development as a painter.

In 1910 she married the painter Robert Delaunay, whose research into the theory of "simultaneity," or "Orphism," served as the basis for her lifelong experiments in color. This new style, which attempted an instantaneous visualization of the experience of modern life in all its complexity, conveyed rhythmic energy and dynamic movement through the creation of color contrasts on the painted surface. Sonia Delaunay's first "simultaneous" paintings include Contrastes simultanés (1912) and Le Bal Bullier (1913), and she created her first simultaneous dresses in 1913 to match the energy of the new foxtrot and tango at the popular Parisian dance hall Le Bal Bullier. She also collaborated with the poet Blaise Cendrars to design a simultaneous book, La Prose du Transsibérien et de la Petite Jehanne de France (1913). In the initial years of her marriage, she integrated the realms of home and art by fashioning her apartment in the simultaneous style, creating blankets, cushion covers, lampshades, goblets, and curtains.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 resulted in the cutting off of Delaunay's substantial family income, so she turned to her marketable designs as a new means of financial support. Living briefly in Spain, she quickly established her public reputation as an innovator in both costume and fashion there by designing costumes for Sergey Diaghilev's *Cléopâtre* (staged in 1918) and showcasing simultaneous dresses, coats, home furnishings, and accessories in her store, Casa Sonia. This exposure earned her interior-decorating commissions from wealthy patrons and the Petit Casino theater (opened 1919).

In 1921 Delaunay returned to Paris and developed a new genre, *robes-poèmes* (poem-dresses), by juxtaposing geometric blocks of color and lines of poetry by Tristan Tzara, Philippe Soupault, and Jacques Delteil onto draped garments. She received a commission for fifty fabric designs by a Lyons silk textiles manufacturer, and over the next thirty years, the Dutch department store Metz and Company purchased nearly two hundred of Delaunay's designs for fashion and home decoration. In 1923 she designed costumes for Tristan Tzara's theater production *La coeur à gaz* (The gas-operated heart) and her first exhibition-style presentation of her textiles and clothing took place at the Grand Bal Travesti-Transmental.

The following year, Delaunay established her own printing workshop, Atelier Simultané, so that she would be able to supervise the design process of her prints. Embroideries in wool and silk combinations, sometimes accented with dull metal and mixed furs, incorporated a new stitch she invented, *point du jour*, or *point populaire*. Delaunay's meticulously embroidered and appliquéd coats brought commissions from the wives of fashion designers, artists, and architects, and from film and theater actresses including Gloria Swanson, who brought the Atelier much publicity.

Delaunay approached her textile designs in the same manner as her paintings. She incorporated rigorous yet simple geometric shapes, stripes, spirals, zigzags, and disks, crossing and intermingling with the strict discipline typical of constructivism. Colors were limited to four, occasionally five or six, contrasting hues in the same design: deep blues, cherry reds, black, white, yellow, or green, or softer combinations of browns, beiges, greens, and pale yellows. The vibrant synergy of these colors exemplified Delaunay's concept of modernity and the rhythms of an electrified modern city.

At the 1925 Exposition des Arts Décoratifs, Delaunay collaborated with the furrier Jacques Heim in displaying female fashion, accessories, and interior furnishing in her Boutique Simultané. That same year, the Librairie des Arts Décoratifs responded to the positive reception of her work by publishing an album of her fashion plates titled Sonia Delaunay, ses peintures, ses objets, ses tissus simultanés, ses modes. Delaunay's success with fashion lay partly in the adoption of the liberating, contemporary silhouette for female clothing that developed during World War I. The stylish, unadorned tunic cuts of the mid-1920s, with straight necklines, no waistlines, and few structural details, served as a blank, two-dimensional canvas for her

geometric forms. Shawls, scarves, and flowing wraps for evening gave her additional flat surfaces on which to explore, enabling her to expand her business. She also challenged traditional practices in the fashion industry. In a lecture at the Sorbonne, "The Influence of Painting on Fashion Design," she explained the *tissu patron* (fabric pattern), an inexpensive invention that allowed both the cutting outline for the dress and its corresponding textile design to be printed at the same time.

Financial pressures during the Great Depression, coupled with the 1930s trend toward fabric manipulation and construction details that did not accommodate her designs, led Delaunay to close her couture house in 1931. She foresaw that the future of fashion was in ready-to-wear, not the custom pieces she was creating. While she turned away from fashion design after this point, she continued to take private orders from the couturiers Chanel, Lanvin, and especially Jacques Heim.

Delaunay spent the rest of her life concentrating on painting and continued to apply her theories to a wide range of objects, including tapestries, bookbindings, playing cards, and a children's alphabet. She also became involved in projects with the poet Jacques Damase. Toward the end of her life, she exhibited frequently and was honored in 1967 with a major retrospective exhibition at the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris for her contribution to modern art. She died on 5 December 1979 at the age of ninety-four.

Textile and fashion design gave Delaunay the freedom of experimentation and spontaneity that she later transposed into her paintings. She brought art to the streets and made her wearable paintings an integral part of the everyday. Her artistry has had a profound influence on the work of contemporary fashion designers including Marc Bohan for Christian Dior, Perry Ellis, Yves Saint Laurent, and Jean Charles de Castelbajac, all of whom have referenced her work in their collections.

See also Art and Fashion; Chanel, Gabrielle (Coco); Dior, Christian; Fashion Designer; Ellis, Perry; Lanvin, Jeanne; Saint Laurent, Yves.

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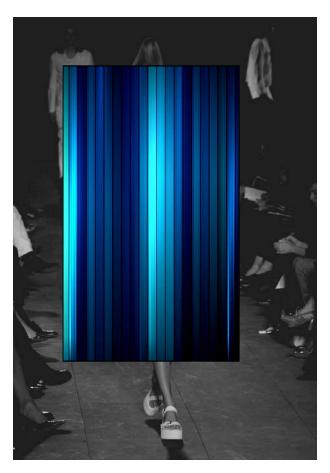
Angel Chang

**DEMEULEMEESTER, ANN** Ann Demeulemeester (1959-) was born in Courtrai, Belgium. When she presented her first winter collection in Paris in 1987, six years after graduating in fashion design from the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp, the press release described her work as "a collection for the conscious woman." The text went on to say, "[her] inspiration sources are neither directly definite nor visual; the clothes are brought about by personal impressions. A logical evolution, that is a result of a purification of ideas, which forms a specific style with its own atmosphere." These words seemed appropriate in the early twenty-first century, as Demeulemeester's work could be read as an interpretation of a very personal universe—one that was not immediately traceable, but could be felt in every article of apparel she designed. At their core lay the study of form and the development of a personal signature, rather than introductions of new trends or fashions or working around seasonal themes. For Demeulemeester, designing was a form of problem-solving. In a rational, almost scientific manner, she sought a solution for each "problem," often over several successive seasons. Cut and pattern were explored until the solution presented itself and perfection was achieved.

The experimental subject in this design laboratory was the designer's own body. Demeulemeester consistently tried out new creations on herself or on a select number of friends. The semiscientific aspect of Demeulemeester's creative process was in stark contrast with her ultimate silhouettes, which bore witness to intense emotion and extensive experience of life. However exhaustively thought out the cut may have been, the result was never sterile. The nonchalance that characterized her style was natural vet profoundly investigated; it was never just a matter of course. This dichotomy in Demeulemeester's creative process distinguished her entire oeuvre. Ann Demeulemeester sought out paradox; she seemed to go along with a certain duality or opposition in order to ultimately undermine it. Her investigation was in fact a study in search of balance, with the underlying thought that perfect balance is unattainable, just as the symmetrical body is in fact nonexistent—and for the designer, perhaps of no interest anyway. The shortcomings, the incompleteness, and the voids are what generate artistic creation. It was this continual search that lay at the root of Ann Demeulemeester's drive and passion—or as the text on a T-shirt and invitation suggested: Aimer, c'est agir ("to Love is to act").

## **Motion and Gravity**

Motion was a leitmotif throughout Demeulemeester's work. The challenge of gravity, a force that allows ap-



Model wearing Demeulemeester ensemble. Demeulemeester liked to challenge gravity in her designs, creating garments that appeared to be in motion or were just barely held in check on the body. AFP/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

parel to appear to be in motion even when its wearer is standing still, was technically explored in ever new applications, season after season. One symbol of this investigation was the feathers that reappeared in each new collection in the form of necklaces or jewelry, chosen for their beauty and natural perfection.

We are accustomed to the fact that gravity causes everything to fall, so how does one mislead a law of nature? How does one dislodge the balance of human form into balance, and how does one cut an article of clothing so that it looks as though it is being blown open? How does one summarize the beauty of a T-shirt that just happens to glide off the shoulder? Questions of this nature served as starting points for collections in which the different movements of Demeulemeester's models repeatedly accentuated and revealed different parts of the wearer's body—shoulders, stomach, or hips.

Unforgettable pieces in this context included Demeulemeester's asymmetrically-cut trousers that revealed part of the hips. Whether or not these garments were

held up with a subtle ribbon, they looked as though they were just on the verge of sliding to the floor. The movement was subtle yet introduced a hint of danger. Such techniques as drapery and asymmetrical cut as well as ribbons and belts provided the technical tools. When gravity could not be conquered, Demeulemeester made use of ribbons or belts—which had evolved into fetish elements in her collections—to hold the fabric against the wearer's body.

The designer felt a need to find different ways to develop an article of clothing without traditional pattern techniques. Demeulemeester's 1998 winter collection began with a piece of cloth into which she cut holes for her arms. Careful observation of what subsequently happened to the fabric led her to develop a number of wrapping techniques, which in turn produced new forms. In her winter collection for 1999, she pushed this approach even further by applying the wrapping techniques to sheepskin. The result was a most unexpected interpretation of the *mouton-retourné*.

The feeling of motion and nonchalance in Demeulemeester's work found its counterweight in her elegant jackets and pantsuits of the 1990s, which exuded a certain discipline and masculinity. Perfect in cut and shoulder line, here too, it was such details as an asymmetrically-buttoned blouse or the selection of a subtly hanging fabric, for example, that softened the severity of the whole. In her 1997 winter collection, both aspects came together in a jacket that closely hugged the body on one side with the help of a belt, but fell loosely on the other side.

## Materials

Alongside Demeulemeester's use of such supple fabrics as rayon, viscose, and silk, she had a passion for leather and fur, two hard-to-control materials that combine such opposites as aggression and tenderness. The tough character of the materials was undermined by the manner in which they were worked into the final pieces. One need think only of her elegantly draped wraparound jackets in fur (autumn–winter 2000–2001) or the jackets with large imposing capes that were produced in the finest leather for her 2002–2003 winter collection. The materials symbolized what the total silhouette demonstrated: the "wild warrior" versus the "fragile innocent girl."

A third noteworthy material was white painter's linen or canvas, which Demeulemeester initially used for invitations, catwalks, the interior of her shop in Antwerp, and a table she designed in 1995—for which she was awarded the first prize in design from the Flemish Community. Demeulemeester first worked this white canvas into her apparel collection in 1999. Since Demeulemeester studied art before going into fashion design, she was especially fascinated by the nude female body and its proportions—a factor that continued to play a central role in her fashion design. Beginning from nothing, from empty space or nudity, in order to then add only the es-

sentials without excess decoration, translated equally strongly into her emphatic choice of black and white, the two extremes of the color spectrum—a choice that is both hard and poetic. In the same way that a black-and-white photograph can embody the essence of an image, Demeulemeester was more interested in nuances, shadows, and forms than in decoration and color.

#### **Gender Issues**

Demeulemeester showed her first collection for men in 1996, which was presented together with her collection for women. For Demeulemeester, men and women are not opposites, but rather form a balance around the same extremes. The flow and interchange of masculine and feminine characteristics could be found in the mannequins who modeled her clothes, in the punk singer Patti Smith (her frequently mentioned and quoted muse), but above all in the apparel itself. It is worth noting here that tough-looking shoes or boots more than once formed a symbolic counterpoint within one of Demeulemeester's silhouettes, such as her 1998 shoe, which mounted a man's shoe form on a high heel.

See also Belgian Fashion; Gender, Dress, and Fashion; Margiela, Martin; T-Shirt.

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Kaat Debo and Linda Loppa

**DEMIMONDE** Nineteenth-century Paris was acknowledged by contemporaries as the "capital of pleasure" (Rearick, p. 40). Its reputation as a city of diversions and licentiousness was established following the Revolution and Reign of Terror during the period of the Directory (1795–1799), when a heterogeneous, parvenu society indulged itself in a hedonistic lifestyle. Returning émigrés, the newly distinguished, and the recently wealthy, as well as many visiting foreigners, enjoyed the city's luxury shops, restaurants, cafés, dance halls, public gardens, and boulevards. The pleasure-seeking atmosphere that characterized Paris in the Directory set the tone for the next hundred years.

The political upheaval of 1789 created a less rigidly stratified society than that of the *ancien régime*, a society in which birth and wealth no longer dictated access to power. Under Napoleon I and increasingly throughout the nineteenth century, a growing and affluent bourgeoisie claimed its right to the lifestyle and privileges formerly the prerogative of the elite. In this opportunistic culture of burgeoning capitalism and materialism, men and women were on the make. The social mobility, economic expansion, and, to a degree, the political uncertainty of nineteenth-century France gave birth to *le demimonde*.

Coined by Alexandre Dumas fils in 1852 for a title of his play *La dame aux camelias*, the inspiration for *La Traviata* and adapted as the film *Camille*, the term "demimonde" (literally, half-world) originally designated a class of fallen society women. But the definition came to be much broader, including all women of loose morals who lived at the edge of respectable society and, by extension, the men—royal, aristocratic, bourgeois, and bohemian—who frequented that ambiguous world. Although the demimonde certainly existed prior to the mid-nineteenth century, it was during the Second Empire (1852–1870) and the early Third Republic (1870–1914), that it flourished and that its supreme type, the courtesan, achieved spectacular notoriety.

#### The Courtesan

In an age of limited career possibilities for women, the courtesan took maximum advantage of one of the oldest professions open to her. Prostitution was widespread in nineteenth-century Paris, but the courtesan was set apart from the anonymous streetwalker by virtue of the wealth and status of her protectors and her own celebrity and visibility on the social scene. In addition to their physical beauty and sexual attractiveness, the most successful courtesans were also personages. In Colette's novella, Gigi (1944), Madame Alvarez, a former demimondaine and Gigi's grandmother, sums up a (real-life) leading courtesan: "She is extraordinary. Otherwise she would not be so famous. Successes and celebrity are not a matter of luck" (Colette, p. 24). Accomplished in the arts of gallantry, courtesans were strong-willed and independent women as well as cultivated, entertaining, and witty.

The cocottes (literally, hens) and "grand horizontals" of the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century were the culmination in an evolution of women of dubious character. The grisette (a reference to her gray work dress) of the First Empire (1804–1814) and Bourbon Restoration (1814-1830) was a tenderhearted, goodnatured young woman, toiling in the fashion trades, who formed a relationship—based on love and necessity—with a student, artist, or writer. The more venal lorette made her appearance during the July monarchy of the bourgeois king, Louis-Philippe (1830-1848), a time of rapid growth and industrialization in France. In 1841, the French writer Nestor Roqueplan applied the name lorette to the kept women who inhabited the newly developed area in the ninth arrondissement, around the parish church, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette. Unlike the grisette, the lorette did not work for a living; instead, she sold her favors and relied on liaisons (sometimes simultaneous) with men of substantial (though not lavish) means to support her.

The ostentatious lifestyle and moral corruption of the Second Empire produced *la garde*, as the group of about a dozen of the most flamboyant *grandes cocottes* was designated. In fact, the *fête impérial*, or imperial party, has been described both by those who lived through it as well as later historians as the heyday of the demimondaine.

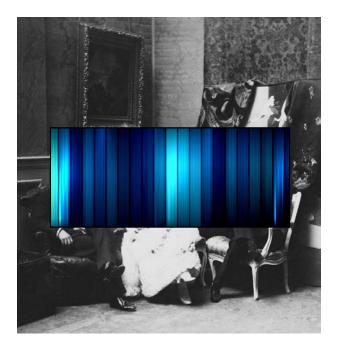


**Demimonde poster by Georges Redon, 1904.** Liane de Pougy, a star of the Belle Epoque, strikes an uninhibited pose. De Pougy reigned at the top of the social structure of the "grand horizontals," leading an ostentatious and flamboyant lifestyle. © SWIM INK/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Napoleon III himself set the example; among his several mistresses were some of the era's most celebrated courtesans: Marguerite Bellanger, the Countess Castiglione, and Giulia Benini, known as la Barucci.

The Belle Epoque, too, contributed its stars to the demimonde firmament. Liane de Pougy, Caroline Otero ("la Belle Otero"), and Emilienne d'Alençon, known as *Les grandes trois*, were the undisputed trio at the apex of the coterié of grand horizontals.

In his essay "The Painter of Modern Life" (1863), the French poet Charles Baudelaire refers to the courtesan (and her alternate type, the actress) as "a creature of show, an object of public pleasure" (p. 36). And indeed the larger-than-life personae of these women not only inspired novels, plays, and paintings (themselves often controversial), but also provided regular fodder for gossip columns in the popular press. Their fabulous gowns, extravagant jewels, lavishly decorated mansions, superb horses and carriages, notable lovers, and outrageous ex-



**Demimonde** *cocotte,* **ca. 1900.** Dressed in a long, ruffled evening gown and matching headpiece, a Frenchwoman entertains three men. *Cocottes* were women of dubious character in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. © Bettmann/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

ploits riveted the public's attention. The avariciousness of the courtesans earned them the unflattering neologism of *mangeuses* (eaters—of men and fortunes). Throughout the period, social commentators and writers such as Honoré de Balzac, Emile Zola, and Walter Benjamin linked the courtesan (and prostitution in general) with the rise of capitalism, speculation, commodity exchange, and a culture of consumption, and deplored their degenerative influence on society.

## The Courtesan and Fashion

As a signifier of modernity, fashion played an important part in nineteenth-century French society as a whole and for the courtesan in particular, for whom it was the primary vehicle by which she flaunted her power and challenged respectable women of the elite. The rules had changed since the eighteenth century when fashions were set by the court. Adopting a no-holds-barred attitude, the demimondaine used her enormous wealth and status as an outsider to wear the newest, most daring styles. Courtesans became the acknowledged leaders of fashion whose flashy ensembles were reported on, avidly studied, and often copied by upper- and middle-class women.

For the demimondaine, fashion operated on a number of levels. Many courtesans came from a background of poverty and obscurity. As the mistress of a wealthy man, having the means to dress in the height of fashion was surely a gratifying indulgence and a welcome source

of attention. But fashion was also a weapon in the battle between the *mondaine* (society lady) and the demimondaine. In the somewhat fluid society of nineteenth-century France, clothing was an all-important tool in the creation of persona. Fashion was unquestionably women's territory, and they were expected to take an active interest in its pursuit. Yet the society woman was confined by strictures of etiquette to maintain respectability in dress. The courtesan, on the other hand, was not bound by these same limitations. In fact, her conspicuous toilettes not only attested to her own originality in taste and sophisticated chic, they also reflected the wealth and generosity of her protector—in all likelihood, a married man. For the demimondaine, fashion was both socially and sexually empowering.

One of the most famous scenes in Emile Zola's novel Nana (published in 1880 but set in the Second Empire) illustrates this usurpation of sartorial prestige and supremacy by the courtesan. At the height of her success, Nana attends the Grand Prix de Paris at Longchamp dressed in a strikingly avant-garde and brazenly seductive ensemble. As a courtesan, Nana is prohibited from entering the weighing-in enclosure. However, on the arm of one of her aristocratic lovers, she gains admission to this exclusive preserve, where she walks slowly past the stands in full view of the empress and the wife of another noble lover whom she will eventually ruin. Zola's description of the dresses of the women in the enclosure is intentionally generalized; it is Nana's splendid costume that merits close observation in details of cut and color.

The blurred boundaries between the monde (high society) and the demimonde were nowhere more evident than in the patronage of leading couturiers by courtesans and society women alike. Charles Frederick Worth, considered the father of haute couture, created opulent toilettes for Empress Eugénie and women of the imperial circle. But his other, equally famous clients included Cora Pearl, who counted among her lovers the duc de Morny and Prince Napoleon (respectively half-brother and cousin to Emperor Napoleon III) la Païva, and other demimondaines of the era. At least on one occasion, a socialite and a demimondaine found themselves waiting for a fitting with Worth. Apparently, the couturier gave precedence to the courtesan. At the turn of the twentieth century, Maison Worth as well as more recently established designers such as Jacques Doucet and Jeanne Paquin continued to dress both women of the upper ranks and courtesans and actresses.

## The Urban Landscape

Paris of the Second Empire and Third Republic provided the appropriate setting for the demimonde and the courtesan. Under the direction of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Napoleon III's prefect of the Seine, Paris was transformed from a still largely medieval city with insular neighborhoods of dark, winding streets to a mod-

ern metropolis with a more uniform architectural style, straight, broad boulevards, and public parks. In this new urban landscape, arenas of fashionable life multiplied. Already fixtures of the Parisian scene, theaters, restaurants, cafés, and dance halls proliferated, while newer venues such as the *café-concerts* (music halls) became popular toward the end of the century. In Montmartre, the Moulin Rouge and the Folies Bergère drew large audiences from both the moneyed and the plebeian public.

Within Paris itself, the haunts—and breeding ground—of the demimonde were located on the Right Bank. Certain areas such as the Faubourg Saint-Honoré had been known for their luxury shops and bôtels particuliers since the eighteenth century. In the first half of the nineteenth century, other fashionable neighborhoods developed north of this older quarter, and by the second half of the century, the epicenter of "le high life" encompassed the Rue de la Paix, the Place Vendôme, the Rue Royale, the Boulevard des Italiens, and the Opera. The most renowned couturiers, jewelers, and silk and lingerie merchants all had their premises here. The wellknown Théâtre des Variétés, which figures in the opening scene of Nana, and legendary restaurants such as the Café Anglais, the Maison Dorée, and Maxim, the scenes of dazzling parties and amorous intrigue, were also located in this area.

Fashion was an integral part of the demimondaine's public lifestyle and one that required a different toilette for each occasion. Morning, afternoon, and evening dress varied depending on the season and the venue. Carriage dress, appropriate for the obligatory afternoon ride along the Champs-Elysées to the Bois de Boulogne, was deliberately showy. The scene in Nana referred to above depicts the fashion contest that took place at Longchamp amid the wide cross-section of society that attended the annual Grand Prix. At theaters catering to an upper-class audience, high fashion was on display both on the stage, as worn by leading actresses, and in the private boxes, where courtesans in décolleté gowns presided in the company of their admirers. Demimondaines of the Second Empire also made their mark at public dance halls such as the Jardin de Mabille, an open-air garden in the Avenue Montaigne patronized as well by Princess Metternich (a Worth client) and members of the exclusive Jockey Club. Since they were constantly on view, it was imperative for leading courtesans to make the most of fashion opportunities in their daily social schedule.

#### The Demimonde Legacy

World War I brought to an end the rarified lifestyle of the Belle Époque and with it the phenomenon of the demimonde and courtesan. The social, economic, and cultural conditions that permitted the excesses of debauchery and squandering of fortunes were irreversibly changed. The demimondaines who lived beyond the war years were no longer the idolized, public figures they had been. In their old age, many returned to a life of economic deprivation and obscurity.

Nonetheless, the demimonde has left its legacy in the wider world of twentieth-century fashion and celebrity culture. Actresses and performers such as Josephine Baker, Mae West, Marlene Dietrich, and Madonna have capitalized on their erotic appeal as a form of power and a significant aspect of their personae. Madonna in particular, in her collaboration with the French designer Jean Paul Gaultier, has explicitly challenged dress norms, exploiting the implications of both hyperfeminine and androgynous fashions. More than mere sex symbols, these women have an insolence and a flamboyance that derive from the example of the courtesan.

Popular culture of the past century has embraced different elements of the demimonde lifestyle, modes of behavior, and attitude toward fashion. Rock-and-roll musicians and their fans, for example, have carried on the tradition of social and sartorial rebellion and self-creation through clothing that defined the demimondaine. The discotheque and nightclub scene re-creates in a sense the ambiguous and socially mixed terrain of the demimonde with an undercurrent of dangerous glamour. The notoriously public lifestyle of celebrities in the early 2000s (film and sports stars, rock musicians, artists, socialites, and even royals), followed closely in the press, also mirrors that of the late nineteenth century. In these forms, the spirit of the demimonde continues to exert its influence.

See also Balzac, Honoré de; Benjamin, Walter; Fashion and Identity.

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Michele Majer

**DEMOREST, MME.** Madame Demorest (1824–1898) created one of the most important and influential fashion empires in the late nineteenth century. She was born Ellen Louise Curtis in Schuylerville, New York, on 15 November 1824. After graduating from Schuylerville Academy at the age of eighteen, Ellen moved to Saratoga Springs, where she opened a millinery shop with the financial help of her father, a hat factory owner. She apparently achieved some success and decided to move to New York City with her business. There she met a widower, William Jennings Demorest, a dry goods merchant who had recently opened Madame Demorest's Emporium of Fashion on Broadway. Ellen Curtis and William Demorest married in 1858. A perfect embodiment of the new Madame Demorest's Emporium, Ellen was pivotal to the expansion and diversification of her husband's business and became one of the most influential arbiters of fashion of her era.

#### **Fashion Innovations**

Madame Demorest's entrepreneurial success can be attributed to her astute understanding of the American fashion business as a combination of creativity, marketing, distribution, and brand identity. She claimed a number of innovative products, including a line of comfortable corsets, an affordable hoopskirt, the Imperial Dress-elevators (loop fasteners enabling skirts to be raised), and a sewing machine that could sew backwards; moreover, she developed the Excelsior Dress Model drafting system, a tool for making dress patterns. However, her mass-produced and marketed paper dress patterns remain her most important contribution. Madame Demorest's foray into paper patterns came at a time of great social change, when a growing middle class was clamoring for access to affordable fashions and technical advances like the sewing machine were becoming increasingly common in the home, making these fashion ambitions possible. Madame Demorest's paper patterns reached women across America and Europe, bringing them up-to-date fashions, a feat of no little importance.

#### **Evolution of Patternmaking**

A Madame Demorest tissue-paper pattern for a boy's jacket was advertised in Frank Leslie's *Ladies Gazette* as early as March 1854. These early patterns were unsized and sold for twenty-five to fifty cents. Starting first with children's garments, Demorest moved to women's dress. The aim was to sell patterns for separate garments—bodices, sleeves, mantles, basques—that could be used in combination with others. Madame Demorest later made custom patterns by special order available. It was not until the early 1870s (nearly a decade after her archrival Ebenezer Butterick) that Madame Demorest was massproducing sized patterns. The business burgeoned into an international enterprise within a few short years. In 1876 Madame Demorest sold over 3 million paper patterns throughout America and Europe.

#### **Demorest Publications**

Marketing played an enormous role in the success of Madame Demorest's fashion empire. By employing the title "Madame," Demorest imbued her products with the cachet and allure of French fashions, reinforced in the early advertising in fashion journals such as Frank Leslie's Ladies Gazette and Godey's Lady's Book. Madame Demorest also promoted her products, especially the paper patterns, in the Demorests' own publications, which were generally managed by her husband. In 1860 Madame Demorest's Mirror of Fashions began quarterly circulation. The magazine featured plates of their own dress patterns and included a paper pattern stapled to the inside as an enticement to the reader. In 1864 the magazine was expanded to be Demorest's Illustrated Monthly Magazine and Madame Demorest's Mirror of Fashions. In 1865 the name was changed to Demorest's Monthly Magazine and Demorest's Mirror of Fashions (commonly referred to as Demorest's Monthly) and reached over 100,000 readers. At the peak of her career, Madame Demorest also produced Madame Demorest's What to Wear and How to Make It (1877-1884) and quarterly catalogs. She also expanded the Demorest's Monthly to London circulation.

# Merchandising

In addition to marketing through the magazines, the paper patterns were sold through a nationwide network of shops called "Madame Demorest's Magasins des Modes." In the mid-1870s there were 300 shops employing 1,500 (mainly women) sales agents. In addition to the paper patterns, the Excelsior drafting system was also showcased and sold at these satellite stores, which were located in major cities in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Cuba.

Madame Demorest continued to use the flagship Emporium store on Broadway to merchandise the full array of Demorest products. In the earliest years, Madame Demorest's Emporium of Fashion was located at 375 Broadway near Lord and Taylor and Brooks Brothers; then the business was moved to 473 Broadway in 1860. In 1874 the Emporium moved farther uptown, to 17 East Fourteenth Street, and catered to an increasingly fashionable set. The Emporium provided custom dressmaking services to wealthy clients, as well as ready-made accessories and undergarments; Demorest's unique line of cosmetics and perfumes; and, of course, the monthly magazines and paper patterns. Although it was only a small part of their overall business, the custom dressmaking service at the Emporium lent prestige and luxury to their name, a marketing tool that Madame Demorest was savvy enough to harness.

Madame Demorest's participation in numerous national and international exhibitions cemented her reputation as a fashion arbiter. A frequent exhibitor at London and Paris shows, she is noted as having created a large display at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876 in which she installed several women's and children's



#### Mrs. Stratton's Wedding Trousseau

One of Madame Demorest's most newsworthy custom dressmaking projects was the wedding trousseau she designed for Mrs. Charles Stratton, née Miss Lavinia Warren, in 1863. The Strattons were better known at the time as General and Mrs. Tom Thumb, midgets who toured with P. T. Barnum's circus. After their wedding in New York City, which was attended by 2,000 people, Mr. and Mrs. Stratton headed to Europe on a world tour that included reception at several royal households. The Madame Demorest reception dresses, worn by Mrs. Stratton at these functions, were widely publicized.

fashions; her drafting tool, "Dress Model"; and a huge case filled with paper patterns.

## **Progressive Causes**

In the 1880s Madame Demorest's fashion empire began to decline. Unlike her competitor Ebenezer Butterick, Madame Demorest had never filed patents for her paper patterns and eventually lost out in this arena. The paper pattern business was sold in 1887. In later years both Ellen and her husband, William, turned their attention to social causes that had always been of interest to them. William was deeply committed to the temperance cause, which often found expression in the pages of the *Demorest Monthly* magazine. Ellen increasingly supported women's causes. Both Demorests were strong advocates of abolition and deserve particular recognition for their unusually progressive business policy of hiring African American women agents who were treated equally with their white employees, sharing workplaces and receiving equal pay.

At the height of her career in the 1870s, Madame Demorest could rightly claim to be one of the most influential fashion disseminators of her era. Her paper patterns and fashion magazines reached millions of women in America and Europe, bringing sophisticated yet affordable fashions to the masses. At the same time, Madame Demorest created brand identity through her innovatively named lines of accessories and cosmetic products, while burnishing her reputation for quality through her luxury dressmaking establishment. While it could be said that she appeared at the right place at the right time when a population of women had the inclination and means, via the sewing machine, to make fashions at home, Madame Demorest was singularly astute in her comprehension of women's fashion needs and her ability to market to them through the widely read Demorest publications.

See also Godey's Lady's Book; Patterns and Patternmaking; Sewing Machine.

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Lauren Whitley

**DENIM** Twill patterns of weaving seem to have developed early in the first millennium B.C.E. Hallstatt culture in Europe. Technically speaking, denim is a warp-faced twill weave fabric. The most basic twill weave calls for passing the weft (crosswise) yarn over two and under two warp (lengthwise) yarns (2/2 twill), a pairing that gives the pattern its name, two-ing or twill. In warp-faced twills, warp yarns are predominant on the front or face of the fabric and because warp yarns have a higher twist, the resulting fabric is stronger than many other weaves. In denim, the warp-faced twill pattern calls for passing the weft yarn over one and under two (1/2), or over one and under three warp (1/3) yarns. Because there are fewer lacings in twills than in plain weaves, the yarns are freer to move when being worn resulting in a fabric that is both flexible and resilient. The fewer the lacings, as in twills compared to plain weaves, the closer together yarns may be packed, thus producing a higher number of varns per inch, making the resulting fabric stronger yet.

Popularly speaking, denim has been associated with fabric coloring, garment style, and lifestyle. Whole books have been written about twentieth-century denim and its popularity with teenagers and celebrities. The word has become so popular and generic in its use that rock bands, stage troupes, and even bottled water, have taken the name denim. The name itself is derived from Nimes, a small city in southern France that had long been famous for its textile industry.

Levi Strauss is given the credit for the common use of denim in the rugged trousers first sold to gold miners



#### GOODBYE TO AN AMERICAN ICON

On 26 September 2003, the *San Francisco Chronicle* announced that in 2004 plant closings would mark the end of the Levi's U.S. jeans-making era. Levi Strauss & Co. was a reflection of more than 150 years of American history, from the rough days of the California Gold Rush and the opening of the wild west, through the Great Depression. The impact of Levis grew during two world wars and Vietnam resulting in fashions that emphasized casual dress and conspicuous consumption simultaneously. Through it all, Levi Strauss & Co. became an icon with undisputed class.

during the California gold rush of the 1850s and 1860s. While the twill weave used in those first trousers for gold miners was undeniably hardier than the plain weave that canvas miners had been wearing, it was the metal-riveted pockets that began to appear in the 1860s and 1870s that most interested the miners.

Jacob Davis, a tailor and wholesale customer of Levi Strauss, came up with the idea of putting metal rivets at the points of stress on denim trousers. Strauss hired Jacob Davis to oversee the manufacturing in San Francisco of the blue denim "waist overalls" as they were called. On 20 May 1873, Davis and Strauss received patent #139,121 from the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office for an "Improvement in Fastening Pocket-Openings." The riveted waist overalls were made from denim fabric furnished by the Amoskeag Mill in Manchester, New Hampshire. The waist overalls that are commonly called "jeans" or "blue jeans" were a hit with miners and other workers whose clothing had to be rugged. Cowboys who often spent days, and even nights, in the saddle herding cattle wore the trousers extensively.

In the 1900s, denim was most associated with rugged trousers dyed indigo blue. It is not known exactly when or why jeans or waist overalls yarns first began to be dyed blue. One of the best reasons given is that blue seems to hide dirt and stains better than the tan first associated with waist overalls. The uneven surface of twill weaves hides soil as well. Also, because the yarns can be more tightly packed in twills than in plain weaves, the fabric resists soiling by liquid spills.

Until the 1920s and 1930s denim waist overalls were scarcely known east of the Mississippi River. They were worn in the West as work pants.

From the mid-to-late 1950s and 1960s, blue denim ceased to be used mostly for work clothes. Indigo or blue

denim became a hot fashion item. Men's and women's suits were made from denim, as well as evening dresses, which began to be studded with rhinestones instead of rivets. In the 1960s denim blue jeans became one of the signs of rebellion among teenagers and twenty-something young adults. The young rebels, known as hippies and flower children, embroidered their jeans and painted them with flowers, peace signs (in protest of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam), and psychedelic designs.

In the 1980s and 1990s, denim became associated with various shades of blue as much as with its twill weave. Sheets, pillowcases, upholstery, bathing suits, dresses, leather and cloth shoes, underwear, paper, and even pencils were called "denim." Wood furniture was stained to have a denim appearance.

Almost every well-known European and U.S. designer from Calvin Klein to Giorgio Armani has made denim part of their fashion lines. Denim was seen as an American lifestyle fabrication and style. Denim was no longer the fabric of choice for just the blue-collar worker. It became an upper-class classic, even "preppy" look. Casual denim skirts and trousers were often combined with cashmere jackets and mink or ermine coats on the runway and on the streets. Denim trousers became accepted in high profile, black-tie events, worn with a formal tuxedo shirt and jacket. Virtually the only place where the casual nature of blue jeans remained unacceptable was in the dress of attorneys in the courtroom.

Old or vintage blue denim was very popular in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly in Asia and the United States. In Japan, the demand for vintage denim blue jeans was so great in the 1990s that it outstripped supplies.

Blue denim jeans in the 1990s were decorated extensively with colorful braid and glass bead fringe at the waist and edges of trouser legs. Legs of denim jeans were often slashed from the mid-thigh to the trouser leg edge and then laced with cord. Cotton was combined with latex for a fabrication that could be worn skintight and yet remain comfortably elastic. Denim was produced in colors other than blue, including black, green, pink, and tan—but those colors never attained the popularity of blue denim. In the early 2000s, it appears that denim will never be seen as a fad. It is an international classic.

See also Jeans; Levi Strauss & Co.

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Carol Anne Dickson

**DEPARTMENT STORE** The birthplace of the department store was Paris. The Bon Marché opened in 1852, soon followed by Printemps (1865) and the Samaritaine (1869). Existing shops in the United States— Stewart in New York, Wanamaker in Philadelphia and Marshall Field in Chicago—adopted the format during the 1870s. The department store brought together a series of retail methods tested out in smaller European and American shops earlier in the century, for example, the proto-department stores in industrial cities in the north of Britain (Lancaster, chapter 1). The department store proper was distinctive from previous experiments in its scale, lavishness, and resonance with the society that spawned it. The early Parisian stores were hugely influential models for subsequent stores springing up all over the world. The history of the department store has been largely located in Western Europe and North America. The arrival of the format in East Asian cities such as Shanghai and Tokyo in the early twentieth century has been associated with westernization, but the stores were often locally owned and managed, creating complex issues surrounding their identity.

The conditions for the rise of the department store lay in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization, which led to the growth of prosperous, urban, middle-class populations and the ready availability of mass-produced consumer goods, along with an increasingly sophisticated understanding of the pleasurable rather than merely utilitarian possibilities of consuming them. Important department stores were situated in urban centers, on principal shopping streets, working in conjunction with other shops, entertainment venues, and transport networks. However, well-heeled suburbs also had department stores in their high streets. By the late nineteenth century, considered the hey-day of the department store, these shops had become emblematic of metropolitan modernity and were famously made the backdrop of Émile Zola's novel *The Ladies' Paradise*.

The major department stores of each important city for example, Harrods, Liberty's and Selfridges in London quickly became urban landmarks and cultural institutions, cited in guide books as tourist attractions. During the early twentieth century, American stores took the lead as innovators, becoming increasingly influential on their European counterparts. During the interwar and early postwar periods, while alternative shopping sites were developing, fashion magazines such as Vogue show that the big department stores retained their central position within urban consumption practices in many cities. However, despite stores' attempts to address broader sections of the population, the opening of teen departments and the provision of new buildings, fundamental modernization of the format did not occur. The combined competition from the multiple store and alternative boutique in the urban high street and from the suburban shopping center and out-of-town mall led to a slow decline in the cultural and economic importance of the department



Moscow's GUM department store. Formerly known as the State Department Store, Gosudarstvenny Universalny Magazin (GUM) is located in Moscow's Red Square. Its three stories of shops boast some five kilometers of shelves. © DAVID H. WELLS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

store from the 1960s, accelerating during the 1980s. There were several factors that increased a store's chances of survival: possession of an international reputation, such as that of Harrods, London; absorption into a larger group, such as the House of Fraser or the John Lewis Partnership; positioning on a major metropolitan shopping thoroughfare or as the anchor in a shopping center. The early twenty-first century has witnessed a revival of the metropolitan department store, connected with a renewed focus on luxury goods and designer fashion, prime examples being Selfridges and Liberty in London. The department store has proved to be enduring.

# Stock Diversity and New Selling Methods

An important innovation of department stores was their wide variety of merchandise, breaching the boundaries of previously largely trade-specific shop-keeping. Many of the early department stores actually developed from smaller existing shops, most commonly drapers. They

grew department by department, taking over neighboring properties to house the expanding businesses, until it was necessary to provide a new building or reface the existing ones to provide coherence. Department store pioneer William Whiteley famously boasted that he sold "everything from a pin to an elephant." The system worked on a basis of low margins and high turnover. The stores were certainly a place for the sale of massproduced goods and have been associated with the rise of ready-to-wear clothing. However, most stores continued to provide traditional tailoring and drapery well into the twentieth century. The diversity of stock was matched by an array of amenities and entertainments, including banks, restaurants, travel agents, fashion shows and live music, and services such as free delivery and alteration of garments.

Store histories are entwined with those of their owning dynasties, who usually gave their name to their stores, for example, the Wertheims and Schockens in Germany and the Lewises in England. Stores often merged with or were taken over by other stores, for example, the evolving nature of Britain's House of Fraser described by Moss and Turton. The business was organized in a hierarchical, rational, and paternalistic manner. Strict control of the workforce was balanced with benefits such as healthcare, pensions, and social clubs. Indeed during the early days many of the employees lived in the upper stories of the building. This practice faded out following several high profile, devastating fires caused by gas lighting and poor fire-proofing of buildings. The stores required vast staffs; for example, Harrods of London had 4,000 employees in 1914. For nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social commentators and novelists, the figure of the young female shop assistant symbolized the dubious respectability, moral ambiguity, and blurring of class boundaries they found so disturbing about the department store. However, until the interwar period, the majority of employees were actually male and lower middle class. Positions were sought after, although salaries were low.

# Customers and a New Kind of Shopping

From the beginning, the department store was associated with bourgeois consumers. As Miller has argued, "The department store was . . . a bourgeois celebration, an expression of what its culture stood for and where it had come over the past century" (Miller, p. 3). It was also initially seen as the exclusive province of women. The stores' provision of basic amenities such as lavatories and refreshment rooms made a day trip to town newly accessible for suburban and provincial middle-class women, enabling them to take advantage of improved public transport networks. Early department store owners, such as William Whiteley of Bayswater in London, were vocal in their claims to make shopping in the city a safe and respectable activity for unchaperoned women (Rappaport). However, they also attempted to exploit feminine desires using new ideas about consumer psychology.

The distinctiveness of the department store model lay as much in the presentation of shopping as a pleasurable leisure activity as with the nature or number of goods available. Previously, shopping models had largely favored counter service and the acknowledgment of an obligation to buy once the shop was entered. In the new stores, the role of the retail staff was redefined and a different kind of shopping was encouraged, characterized by window shopping and browsing through displays of goods with fixed and ticketed prices. These practices drew on the cultures of the international exhibitions that followed London's Great Exhibition of 1851. All this, it was believed, would encourage impulse buying.

During the early twentieth century, department stores began to cater to men with dedicated departments. In 1936 Simpson Piccadilly opened in London's West End, claiming to be the first department store entirely for men. The lower ground floor alone was designed to house a barber's shop, soda fountain, gun shop, shoe shop, chemists, florist, fishing shop, wine and spirit shop, luggage shop, snack bar, dog shop, sports shop, cigar and tobacconists, gift shop, saddlery shop, theater agent, and travel agent. During the opening months the aviation department even exhibited full-sized airplanes. The opening of the store coincided with new ideas about masculinity, which allowed for the adoption of shopping methods previously labeled feminine. The Lady (7 May 1936) commented on this, "It is amusing to find that the man's shop is designed and set out with all the allure of one devoted to women's luxuries. Shopkeepers, evidently, do not share that masculine theory that a man always knows just what he wants and so is immune from display or advertisement."

## Design, Display, and Advertising

Zola called the department stores "cathedrals of commerce" and they were certainly associated with lavish, striking, and fashionable architecture, acting as an advertisement for the goods inside. Famous and innovative architects were often employed: Victor Horta designed Innovation in Brussels (1901), Louis Sullivan designed Carson Pirie Scott in Chicago (1899-1904), and Erich Mendelsohn designed the Schocken store in Stuttgart (1926-1928). The Scotsman commented on the opening of Simpson Piccadilly in London designed by the modernist architect Joseph Emberton, "the building is an expression in every way of the modern spirit" (4 May 1936). But the buildings were not just fashionable shells. The latest technological advances were used to assist the retail process. Iron then steel frames created vast uninterrupted expanses of floor space and plate glass technology facilitated story-high bands of display windows flanking the shopping street. Inside, escalators and lifts were installed, helping to sustain a continuous flow of customers between the street and the upper echelons of the building. Pneumatic tube systems were provided for communication and placing orders. Tiers of galleries allowed light from the roof to penetrate the shop floor, assisted by the pioneering use of first gas then electric lighting. Lighting was also used on the facade of the building—floodlighting, lit signage, and window illumination—so that the stores had a nighttime presence in the city, catching the eye of revellers.

Department stores led the way with developments in retail display, with opulent displays of goods inside the stores, in the shop windows, and sometimes spilling onto the streets. Displays were often themed in relation with events being held in the stores or national celebrations. It was the shop window in particular that became emblematic of the department store's contribution to the urban spectacle and seduction of customers. The early department stores had a particularly sophisticated understanding of the power of advertising. To the consternation of traditional smaller-scale retailers, significant amounts were spent on newspaper and magazine advertisements, and on regular publishing of catalogs, the Bon Marché in Paris distributed 1.5 million catalogs. In 1894 (Crossick and Jaumain p. 12). This emphasis on design, display, and advertising was integral to the new kind of shopping promoted in the department store, encouraging consumption through the exploitation of visual pleasures.

See also Boutique; Liberty & Co.; Retailing; Shopping; Window Displays.

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Bronwen Edwards

**DIANA, PRINCESS OF WALES** In 1997 the influential fashion photographer Mario Testino shot a series of seminal images of Princess Diana wearing Gianni Versace for *Vanity Fair* magazine. These photographs have come to define the look and glamour of a woman who became an important fashion icon of the twentieth century. In the early twenty-first century, media interest in her image remained undiminished.

Diana Frances Spencer (1961–1997) was born in Park House on the Queen's estate at Sandringham, the third child of Johnny, eldest son of the seventh earl of Spencer and a member of one of England's most important aristocratic families. In 1969 when Diana's parents were divorced, her father retained custody of the children, and in 1975 when Diana was fourteen, the seventh earl died, and the family moved to their ancestral home, Althorp in Northampton. When she was seventeen, her father bought her an apartment in Kensington, London, where Diana found work as a nanny until the day of her engagement to Prince Charles was announced.

The couple married on 29 July 1981, at St. Paul's Cathedral. Diana's wedding dress, designed by Elizabeth and David Emanuel, was a fairy-tale fantasy showcasing traditional English craftwork. It featured woven silk taffeta by Stephen Walters of Suffolk and historic lace from a flounce of Carrickmacross lace owned by Queen Mary and from the Nottingham Company, Roger Watson. The dress became one of the most famous outfits in the world, and the twenty-five-foot train added a touch of theatricality that would create an enduring image of the event, which was watched on live television by more than one billion people worldwide.

From that moment the princess became an international figure, photographed and documented wherever she went, and she became a global fashion icon. Diana loved clothes; they were a personal passion but also a requirement of her new public life. As one of the most important members of the British royal family, her wardrobe requirements were fixed in a world that required ball gowns and matching hats, shoes, and handbags, items that were not typical of mainstream fashion for young women in the early 1980s.

It is not surprising then that in the early years of her marriage she was steered toward established British fashion designers, including Murray Arbeid, Belville Sassoon, and Gini Fratini, whose traditions of classic tailoring for day and romantic evening wear dated back fifty years. Diana was, however, determined to stamp a modern and youthful personal style on this public and formal persona, and, more than any other British designer, Catherine



Dress worn by Princess Diana. Diana worked within the boundaries of royal tradition to create her own modern style, which was both elegant and youthful, quickly elevating her to fashion icon status. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Walker helped her to develop an elegant, tailored look that became her own.

From the 1980s Catherine Walker helped Diana create a streamlined modern version of clothes for her public life as the Princess of Wales. After her divorce from Prince Charles, Diana went on to develop a more individual style that reflected her new independence and freedom. Diana understood her role as a fashion icon and that everything she wore—every new accessory and change of hairstyle—would be scrutinized. In the 1990s, in search of a new look, she remained loyal to British designers, notably Jacques Azagury, who encouraged her to wear dresses cut revealingly low and to wear shorter skirts. Increasingly, however, she turned to European designers—the Italian designers Versace and Valentino and to the French couture houses of Dior, Lacroix, and Chanel. Her look became more international with a sophisticated and simple silhouette and an effect that was all in the details. Superb cut and luxurious materials worn with coordinated colored accessories, handbags, jewelry, and shoes became her hallmark. It is this image that defined an enduring fashion look of the late twentieth century.

See also Royal and Aristocratic Dress.

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Catherine McDermott

DIOR, CHRISTIAN The French couturier Christian Dior (1905–1957) was born in Granville, France. Descendant of a manufacturing family of the Norman bourgeoisie, Dior spent his early childhood in the comfortable surroundings of the family villa, Les Rhumbs, located on the Channel coast in Granville, which now houses a museum dedicated to his memory. At that time the little port was celebrated as a fashionable seaside resort, and in summertime it was transformed into "an elegant Paris neighborhood." The family moved to Paris in 1911, to the new bourgeois neighborhood of Passy, near the bois de Boulogne.

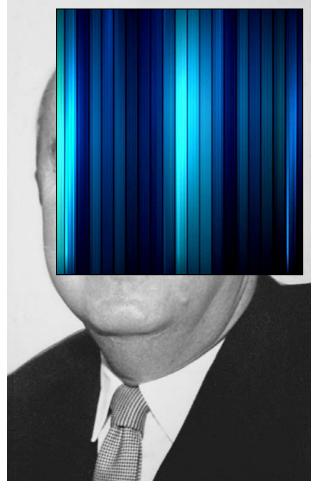
Following his father's wishes, Dior registered at the École de Sciences Politiques in Paris after passing his baccalaureate. He eagerly followed Parisian artistic developments and met various writers, painters, and musicians, befriending, among others, Pierre Gaxotte, Maurice Sachs, Jean Ozenne and his cousin Christian Bérard, Max Jacob, and Henri Sauguet. In 1927, after his military service and with his father's support, he opened an art gallery at 34, rue de la Boétie. Because his parents refused to have their name on a commercial sign, the establishment was given the name of his associate, Jacques Bonjean. The gallery exhibited the works of such contemporary artists as Giorgio de Chirico, Maurice Utrillo, Salvador Dalí, Raoul Dufy, Marie Laurencin, Fernand Léger, Jean Lurçat, Pablo Picasso, Ossip Zadkine, Georges Braque, and Aristide Maillol.

Christian Dior's carefree youth soon came to an end: in 1931 his brother was institutionalized, his mother died, and his father was completely ruined financially. "In the face of this accumulation of tragedies," Dior reacted by a "flight to the East." He was "naïvely impelled by a desperate search for a new solution to problems that this crisis of capitalism had made acute," embarking on a study trip to the Soviet Union with a group of architects, only to find on his return that his associate was also ruined. His impoverished family abandoned Paris, retreating first to Normandy and later taking refuge in the village of Callian, near Cannes. Dior stayed behind in Paris, closing his first gallery and later joining the gallery of Pierre Colle on the rue Cambacérès. He thus went from "losses to forced sales while continuing to organize surrealist or abstract exhibitions that drove away the last art lovers." In 1934 he had an attack of tuberculosis, and his friends took up a collection to send him for treatment. The following year he found himself in Paris with no income and no place to live. He survived on the sale of one of his last canvases, Le plan de Paris of Raoul Dufy, which the designer Paul Poiret had sold to Dior when he was in similar destitute circumstances.

## Couture and Costume

Jean Ozenne, who was designing for couture houses, introduced Dior to the fashion world and to his clientele. At the age of thirty, Dior devoted himself to studying fashion drawing, referring only to what he knew and appreciated of Edward Molyneux, Coco Chanel, Elsa Schiaparelli, and Jeanne Lanvin. He managed to sell his first sketches of hats and then of dresses. His clients were fashionable hat makers and couture houses but he "also sold ideas to foreign buyers." Publication of his drawings in *Le figaro* produced his first public recognition. In 1937 the couturier Robert Piguet selected four of his designs and asked him to produce them for his "half-collection" (midseason collection). Christian Dior was just thirty-two, and these were, he said, the "first dresses that I really created."

In June 1938 Robert Piguet offered him a position as a designer in his couture studio located at the Rond Point of the Champs Élysées. There he designed three collec-



Christian Dior. Christian Dior opened his first salon in Paris in 1946 and had expanded his network of shops to twenty-four countries before his death by a heart attack in 1957. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

tions in a row. The second contained his "first wide dresses," inspired by dresses worn by young heroines of the French second empire children's literature "les petites filles modèles" (well-behaved little girls). They were characterized by a "raised bust, round width starting from the waist, petticoat of English embroidery." As the creator of a successful design called "English coffee," he was introduced to Carmel Snow, editor of Harper's Bazaar. In 1939 his last prewar collection for Piguet launched the line of what came to be called "amphora dresses" marking the "beginning of rounded hips." In parallel with his work as a designer, Dior designed theater costumes for individual clients. He dressed, for example, the actress Odette Joyeux in Captain Smith by Jean Blanchon (at the théâtre des Mathurins, December 1939) and in The School for Scandal by Richard Sheridan (at the same theater, February 1940).

Dior was mobilized at the outbreak of war in 1939 and then joined his family in the unoccupied zone of France after the 1940 armistice. Piguet, still in Paris, asked him to resume his prewar position, but Dior was late in replying and found the position already taken by Antonio del Castillo in the fall of 1941. Dior then went to work for Lucien Lelong, together with another young designer, Pierre Balmain. The two shared design responsibilities throughout the war: "Balmain and I never forgot that Lelong taught us our profession in the midst of the worst restrictions," said Dior. The personality of Lucien Lelong, the clever president of the Chambre syndicate de la couture parisienne (association of haute couture) throughout the German occupation of France, deeply influenced the future couturier. After his study trip to the United States in 1935 and the launch of his Edition line, Dior had developed an interest in foreign markets and high-end ready-to-wear. In contrast, he saw fashion under the German occupation as "appalling" and exclaimed: "With what vengeful joy did I do the opposite later."

It was nonetheless a productive period for him: films (Le Lit à colonne by Roland Tual [1942], Lettre d'amour [1942] and Sylvie et le fantôme [1945] by Claude Autant-Lara, Échec au roi by Jean-Paul Paulin [1943], and Paméla; ou, L'énigme du temple by Pierre de Hérain [1945]) and Marcel L'Herbier's play Au petit bonheur (at the théâtre Gramont, December 1944) gave him the opportunity to escape from the textile rationing that governed ordinary clothing and to conceive, often for Odette Joyeux, historically inspired costumes full of long dresses and extravagant designs.

After the Liberation, Dior's colleague Pierre Balmain opened his own couture house in 1945 on rue François Ier and encouraged Dior to do the same. Marcel Boussac, a major French textile manufacturer and president of the cotton-marketing syndicate, offered Dior the artistic direction of the Gaston firm (formerly called Philippe et Gaston) on rue Saint-Florentin. Considering the business outmoded, Dior suggested instead that he start a couture house "where everything would be new, from the state of mind and the personnel to the furnishings and the premises," in view of the fact "that foreign markets, after the long stagnation of fashion due to the war, were bound to demand really new fashions." Marcel Boussac invested sixty million francs in the project.

## The House of Dior

In 1946 Dior chose a private mansion located at 30, avenue Montaigne as the site of his own firm, which was established on 8 October 1946. The enterprise had four models and eighty-five employees, sixty of whom were seamstresses. The management team, in addition to the head couturier, included a financial director (Jacques Rouet), a studio head (Raymonde Zehnacker, who came from Lelong), a head of workshops (Marguerite Carré, who came from Patou), and an artistic adviser and head of high-fashion design (Mitzah Bricard, a designer from Molyneux). The couture house itself included two workshops for dresses and one for suits (whose head was Pierre

Cardin, then twenty years old). From the outset, it also had, on the ground floor, a shop selling articles and accessories not requiring fitting. Salons and shops were decorated by Victor Grampierre in tones of white and pearl gray and furnished in neo–Louis XVI style.

The opening was widely publicized: "When the summer 1946 collections came out, everyone was talking about Christian Dior, because an extraordinary rumor was spreading that the financial assistance of Marcel Boussac, the French king of cotton . . . would enable him to create his own house." Even before it was seen, Dior's first collection thus made news, and he won the support of the editors of Vogue, Le figaro, and Elle. The newcomer among couture houses, Christian Dior finally unveiled, at the conclusion of the winter shows, his first collection for spring 1947. Considered the opening shot for the New Look, it immediately gained notoriety for the couturier at the age of forty-two. "The first season was brilliant, even beyond my hopes," he said. The second, in which the couturier carried "the famous New Look line to its extreme," achieved "breathtaking" success and was accompanied by the launch of his first perfume, Miss Dior.

With this impetus, Dior spent the last ten years of his life developing his couture house and extending his influence on world fashion. (In 1955 the Dior firm had one thousand employees in twenty-eight workshops and accounted for half the exports of the French couture industry.) For his first collection, Dior received the Neiman Marcus Award in 1947. From his trip to the United States, he learned, as he put it, that "if I wanted to reach the large number of elegant American women . . . I had to open a luxury ready-to-wear shop in New York." The following year, he set up the subsidiary Christian Dior New York, Inc., at 745 Fifth Avenue. He repeated the process in Caracas in 1953 (Christian Dior Venezuela), in London in 1954 (Christian Dior, Ltd.), and later in Australia, Chile, Mexico, and Cuba. These companies custom-made styles from Paris and sold accessories. But it was not until 1967 that a real line of ready-to-wear was distributed, under the label Miss Dior.

In 1948 the Christian Dior perfume company was set up, and it launched the second fragrance, Diorama, in 1949, followed by Eau Fraîche (1953) and Diorissimo (1956); the first lipsticks came out in 1955. Dior opened a stocking and glove division in 1951 and established the Christian Dior Delman company, which made shoes designed by Roger Vivier; finally, the Paris shop added a gifts and tableware department in 1954. The range of products with the Dior label was enlarged thanks to a very innovative policy for licenses, the first of which was granted in 1949. By this means, the label was attached to all the accessories of female dress, from girdle to jewelry, but also, and very early on, to totally distinct articles, such as Christian Dior Ties (1950).

The growth of the house was fostered by a simple and effective public relations policy: little direct adver-

tising but excellent relations with the press, which guaranteed great visibility for the fashions as well as for their creator (who was featured on the cover of Time on 4 March 1957). The couturier gave many interviews, designed disguises for memorable parties (among them, the Venetian ball of Carlos de Beistegui given at the Palazzo Labia on 3 September 1951), and continued to dress stars, such as Marlene Dietrich in Alfred Hitchcock's Stage Fright in 1950 and Henry Koster's No Highway in the Sky in 1951 and Ava Gardner in Mark Robson's The Little Hut in 1956. In Christian Dior et moi (1956), Dior described his career, strewn with Parisian celebrities, pitfalls, coups de théâtre, and palm readers' predictions. In passing, he reassured the reader about the motives for his long-ago trip to the Soviet Union and emphasized his admiration for the entrepreneurial spirit, thus helping to forge the paradoxical myth of the creator of scandals with a reassuring face.

The attention given to the collections was intensified each year by the expectation—followed by the announcement-of a new major change (affecting, notably, the length of skirts). The couturier himself issued descriptive communiqués adopted by the press that frequently took a peremptory tone, such as "No yellow" or "No hats with clean and tailored style," giving force to the new fashion tendency. The collections, each containing approximately two hundred items, unveiled in succession contradictory lines that imposed on fashion a rate of change never seen before: Corolle and 8 (1947), also known as the "New Look collection"; Zig-Zag and Envol, followed by Ailée (1948); Trompe-l'œil and Milieu de Siècle (1949); Verticale and Oblique (1951); Ovale ou Naturelle and Longue (1951); Sinueuse and Profilée (1952); Tulipe and Vivante (1953); Muguet and H (1954), A and Y (1955); Flèche and Aimant (1956); and Libre and Fuseau (1957).

## La Belle Epoque Influences on the New Look

Differing in their lines, his creations were always related to one another through the constancy of certain characteristics. Structurally, the dresses came out of the intention to sculpt the silhouette along predefined lines. Whether it was the New Look, the Shock Look (the English name for the Vivante line), or the Flat Look (the H line), the body was always strongly stylized. The waist was displaced, cinched, or unbelted. The hips swelled or shrank thanks to the choice of materials able to express in shapes the energetic and tense designs of the couturier: shantung, ottoman silk, thick taffetas and satins, velvet, organza, woolen cloth, and cotton piqué generally replaced the customary use of fluid woolen and silk crepes. Originator of a style that used a large quantity of material, artifices, and ornaments, Christian Dior stimulated the growth of a number of parallel industries: corset makers, feather makers, embroiderers, makers of costume jewelry, flower designers, and also illustrators. Thus, the image of the creations of Christian Dior includes the shoes of Roger Vivier, the prints of Brossin de Méré, the tulles of Brivet, the fabrics of Rébé (René Bégué) and Georges Barbier, the jewels of Francis Winter, and the drawings of René Gruau. As for furs and hats, they were manufactured in specialized workshops of the couture house.

Stylistically, Dior's creations were frequently distinguished by ornaments that came directly from pre-1914 fashion. Simulated knots; false pockets; decorative buttons; play with cuffs, collars, basques, and tails; false belts; and bias cuts punctuated his collections with their trompe-l'oeil effects and, from the outset, erased any modernist intentions.

Dior did not specify the origin of his stylistic borrowings. In particular, he expressed only elliptical intentions to justify the inspiration for his New Look: "I have a reactionary temperament, a characteristic that is too often confused with the retrograde; we had barely come out of a deprived, parsimonious era, obsessed with tickets and textile rationing. My dream therefore naturally took on the form of a reaction against poverty." Hence, it is in the context of the presentation of his shows that we should look for an explicit expression of his historical inspiration. Speaking of the renovation of the mansion on the avenue Montaigne, the couturier asserted that he was striving "to prepare a cradle in the style and the colors of the years of [his] Paris childhood" and described "this neo-Louis XVI, white paneling, lacquered white furniture, gray hangings, glass doors with small beveled panes, bronze wall lamps, and small lamp shades that ruled from 1900 to 1914 in the 'new' houses of Passy." He displayed a "crystal chandelier and a proliferation of palms," while the shop, on the advice of Christian Bérard, was given a hanging of cloth of Jouy "in the tradition of notion shops of the eighteenth century."

In parallel with this nostalgic neo-neo-Louis XVI style, a veritable mirroring of pastiche, Christian Dior seemed throughout his career to draw the material artifice of his pleated, draped, corseted, and decorated effects from the clothing vocabulary of the Belle Époque. "I thank heaven that I lived in Paris during the last years of the belle époque . . . whatever life has granted me since then, nothing will ever be able to equal the sweet memory of those days," he wrote. But by choosing as his favorite period one in which taste was eclectic, the designer avoided the domination of a single style in order to free himself to adopt all possible reinterpretations of the past.

Neither the structural artifices nor the proliferation of appliquéd ornaments interfered with the readability of the line. Paradoxically, Dior's creations attracted primarily through their sobriety. As evidence of an eclectic sensibility, the ornamental resources derived from turn-of-the-century fashion were effectively deployed with a concern for modernity hostile to the composite. The conception of each model seemed to be guided only by emphasis on a single effect at a time. From one model to the next, one's attention was shifted, for example, from

the emphasis of a cut to the shimmering of a pattern or to the luxuriance of the embroidery. The directed gaze, channeled by the erasure of the superfluous—by the notorious choice of uniform and subdued colors when the cut was to be emphasized or, on the contrary, the choice of a simple cut to emphasize the fabric—guaranteed the visual impact of each model and pointed up its strong identity. It thus was beyond the individual model and only in the course of the show that the succession of appearances enabled the presentation of an aesthetic of the whole, both composite and romantic.

The constancy of stylistic borrowings from the past revealed a veritable postmodernist stance on the part of this man who was so admirably ensconced in his century. As Dior himself said:

It is strange that in 1956 people applied the names avant-garde and aesthetic of the future to the works and the masters that we had admired between the ages of fifteen and twenty and who had already been famous for ten years among the most aware of our elders, guided by Guillaume Apollinaire.

But for Dior, "the new at all costs, even to create the absurd, is no longer the essential area of exploration." Far from the aspirations of prewar surrealism, he confided the origin of his first collections: "After so many years of wandering, weary with consorting with only painters and poets, couture wished to return to the fold and rediscover its original function which is to adorn women and to beautify them." As a result, his haute couture, while remaining a privilege of the wealthy, appeared comprehensible to everyone. Christian Dior thereby gave his signature to the first democratization of taste, if not of fashion.

By conforming the feminine silhouette to design, by dictating the choice of accessories and the circumstances appropriate for every outfit, the couturier left little room for personal expression, risk, and feminine fantasy. On the other hand, the steadiness of his "total look" guaranteed his popularity. It enabled him to satisfy an enormous public, who saw in Christian Dior, whatever their national or individual clothing cultures, the label of a guaranteed elegance. In the end, Dior's conception of a wearable fashion was also that of an exportable fashion.

Christian Dior was, in succession, an avant-garde amateur, an artisan of a kind of return to order, and, finally, a manufacturer of elegance. The first superstar couturier, he died of a heart attack at the age of fifty-two in Bagni di Montecatini, Italy. The financier Marcel Boussac thought at the time of closing the house, but in the face of pressure from license holders, he appointed the young assistant Yves Saint Laurent as artistic director, and in this way the label survived its founder. When Yves Saint Laurent left in 1960, Marc Bohan took his place and held it until Gianfranco Ferré took over in 1989. Their designs upheld the image of a couture distanced from the multiple challenges and manifestos of contemporary fashion. The classicism of Christian Dior was not shaken until the arrival in 1997 of John Galliano, who

revived the active media exposure established by Dior himself.

See also Art and Fashion; Balmain, Pierre; Film and Fashion; Galliano, John; Haute Couture; New Look; Perfume; Ready-to-Wear; Saint Laurent, Yves; Theatrical Costume.

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Eric Pujalet-Plaà

**DISTRESSING** Distressing refers to a surface treatment of fabric that makes the material appear faded or wrinkled, as if from long, steady use. In order to obtain good results in distressing, it is important to have a good understanding of the fabric being treated. Necessary information includes the types of fibers that make up the fabric, how the fabric was made (for example, is it woven or knitted), the dyes used to color the fabric, and any other treatments or decorations that the fabric has undergone. Various sorts of fabrics can be distressed, and techniques for each may vary.

The most commonly encountered distressed fabric in modern times is denim. Almost everyone has a favorite pair of jeans whose fabric is worn in all the right places and washed out to the perfect color. Repeated wear may be the only natural way to get jeans just the way one wants them, but there are many ways to distress the denim to instantly create a pair of "worn" jeans. Fabric along the pocket tips may be distressed by using a sander or file to fray the denim until it has acquired the preferred look. The goal is to create wear in the fabric, but without tearing it, in any place where the jeans would normally show signs of wear. Jeans can also be distressed when launder-

ing them by adding some pumice stones to the washer; the effect is enhanced by using cold water and a detergent that contains no brighteners.

Using such methods, it is possible to make a do-it-yourself project of distressing jeans, but most people in the early 2000s prefer to purchase pre-distressed denim. This trend has changed the jeans business, because the cost of worn-look jeans is almost double that of new jeans. This style started catching on in the early 1990s, according to the *New York Times*, when fashionable young Japanese consumers began to seek out used older jeans. The discovery of jeans as antiques quickly created a market for "antique-look" jeans, which manufacturers were happy to supply. Pre-distressed denim is processed with bleach and potassium permanganate, tumbled with pumice stones, and digested with enzymes.

Techniques of distressing fabric have existed long before the fad of distressed jeans, however. Theatrical costume designers have been using distressing techniques to make costumes more believable for many years. Distressed fabric is often used in costumes for movies, TV shows, and theatrical productions. Almost every movie wardrobe is likely to include at least one garment made from distressed fabric. Costume designers for westerns, horror films, and other film genres pioneered the techniques of fabric distressing that have come to be used in fashionable clothing in the early twenty-first century.

See also Denim; Jeans.

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Aliecia R. McClain

**DJELLABA** Human clothing is about society and about culture. It communicates social standing, group identity, cultural values, gender, religion, cross-cultural influences, political resistance, and more. It can yield meaning at the material, the symbolic, and the sociocultural levels. Arab-Islamic clothing is no different. Not equally common among all cultures, however, is the fact that Arab culture has developed between a crossroads of cultures, empires, and civilizational developments since antiquity. Trade, contact, and conquest brought and spread diverse influences including clothing styles that enriched and diversified Arab dress forms and clothing vocabulary and their uses. Arab clothing serves in multiple ways, has various symbolic functions, and yields complex meanings in secular and religious settings. Despite cross-cultural and cross-ethnic similarities, certain symbolic and functional attributes and cultural nuances in usage and practices make Arab-Islamic clothing unique.

The word djellaba, or jillaba, refers to one of three related terms used in Arabic for a garment variably worn by men, by women, or by both. They are jilbab, jillaba, and gallabiyya (or jallabiyya)—the "g" consonant is characteristic of Egyptian Arabic and a few other spoken Arabic forms in different parts of the Arabic-speaking world. The verb derivative jallaba or tajallaba means to clothe or be clad in a garment, used in material or metaphoric terms. The djellaba connotes a mid-calf or (most commonly in the early 2000s) ankle-length, loose-fitting, shirtdress or garment worn in different Arab societies and among other Islamic groups. In most cases, it would be made of cotton, although less commonly of silk or wool fabrics. The garments referred to by the related terms jilbab, jillaba, and gallabiyya are similar in form and are worn as traditional secular garments throughout the region but acquire special meaning when applied to contemporary Islamic context.

In the contemporary Arabic usage, *jilbab* refers to a full-length, loose shirtdress and does not in itself connote head or face cover. In Morocco *jillaba* is the word used to refer to the long, hooded robe worn as an outer garment by both sexes. When hooded it is commonly referred to in Maghrebi societies (Arab societies of North Africa) as *burnus*. Neutral or dual-gendered dress among Arabs is not associated with unisex identity, behavior, or attitude. Even when similar or identical in form, dress items are "worn" differently by women and men, who carry themselves differently in ways that are culturally understood. Differences between culturally defined femininity and masculinity is seen in gait and body language evident even when both sexes wear identical garments.

It is significant to stress that men, not only women, in traditional Arab culture and in Islamic societies practice "veiling"—head and face covering. Islam and traditional Arab culture are concerned with clothing forms for both sexes, and that includes head and face covering for men and women. A systematic study (El Guindi) points to the importance of clothing, including veiling, for men and how, contrary to popular misconceptions, the Hadith sources point to the disproportional attention given by Prophet Muhammad during Islam's early days of community formation in the seventh century, to men's modesty in clothing and public behavior in comparison to women's. To fully understand Arab and Muslim dress, sartorial practices by both sexes must be examined.

Clothing is of special significance for Muslims because Islam prescribes a code about privacy-reserve-sanctity, which applies to cultural notions of body, dress, home, womanhood, and sacred space. In application, the code extends beyond body covering to general comportment and public behavior and applies to the notions of home, womanhood, and family (*bayt, harim*) and house of worship (*bayt al-haram*). Islam is specific about the extent of

body coverage for Muslim men and women in times of worship and in sacred spaces. It is less specific when it comes to ordinary life. The phases in an individual Muslim's life cycle are clearly marked by specific rites, all of which involve a sociomoral code that translates through clothing forms in sacred time and space, such as during daily prayer and during the annual pilgrimage (the *hajj*). The latter consists of a complex set of rites during the individual's pilgrimage in Mecca, much of which involves the body and how it is clothed.

The term *jillaba* is henceforth used in a generalized way to refer to both a traditional (secular) garment worn by men and women, and also to women's and in some cases men's garment as part of the overall contemporary Islamic dress (*libas shar'i* or *ziyy Islami*) revived during the mid-1960s in the Islamic world. In its beginnings, Islam did not introduce new clothing forms. There was continuity in dress forms from the earlier period in Arabia that extended into the period of formation for the Umma (Islamic Community) in the seventh century. Clothing style was, however, influenced by new ideas emerging and new meanings rendered during Islam's early days.

Among these were concerns about marking group identity, distinguishing the status of the Prophet's wives, protecting the moral integrity of Muslim women, and establishing a sociomoral code for public behavior of Muslim men and women. References to clothing for both sexes reflected these concerns. There was a stress on a general comportment of reserve. Men's clothing was to be austere and modest, layered during worship and prayer to prevent body exposure when bending and prostrating.

With regard to women, the Qur'an mentions two clothing items: khimar and jilbab. Reference to these two is found in poetry and other literary forms as evidence of their use in pre-Islamic society. With the birth of Islam, special significance was given to them. References in the Qur'an regarding these two clothing items are specific. First, consider the reference to khimar. The most cited is Sura (chapter) 24 that refers to khimar (women's head cover) in the general context of public behavior and comportment by both sexes. This passage implies that women are singled out for "reserve" and "restraint." This selectivity also distorts Islam's intent by the Sura. Preceding this, is a sentence which addresses men first about "reserve" and "restraint" translating thus: Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals; for that is purer for them, God knoweth what they do. The following sentence continues the same theme: And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals, and not reveal their beauty, except what does show, and to draw their khimar over their bosoms, and not to reveal their beauty except to .... (emphasis added).

*Jilbab* is mentioned in Sura 33:59, which enjoins the Prophet's wives, daughters, and all Muslim women to don their *jilbab* so they are easily recognized and protected from molestation or harassment. It translates as follows:

O Prophet tell your wives, daughters and believing women to put on their jilbabs so they are recognized and thus not harmed (33:59).

Jilbab refers to a long, loose shirtdress. It does not in itself connote head or face cover. However, cross-cultural ethnography and Islamic references point to the practice by which these and similar outfits (referred to by different terms) can be physically manipulated in different social situations to cover head or face. Examples can be found among the Rashayda Bedouins of the Sudan, Muslim rural Indian women, and elsewhere. A systematic study on dress of women and men in Arab-Islamic culture (El Guindi) reveals a pattern of flexibility and fluidity in the manner by which women and men use clothing to cover face and head. Long, wide sleeves are often used to cover the head and face, and head covers to cover face. Some clothing items are inflexibly used in a single way, but other items are fluidly used in multiple ways, to cover and uncover, tighten or loosen. The face veiling by the men in the Berber group, the Tuareg, is only for face covering but is manipulated fluidly. Such complex, nuanced movements that communicate different messages about rank, gender, and identity characterize men's face-veiling behavior.

In the several-decades-old contemporary Islamic movement in Egypt and subsequently the rest of the Arab region, *hijab* is used to refer to women's Islamic head cover. However, it also referred to the general Islamic attire for women composed of at least two items, body cover and head cover. Similarly, in Indonesia *jilbab* became commonly used to refer to women's overall Islamic dress. Like the Arabic usage *hijab*, *jilbab* in Indonesia sometimes refers to head covering only and sometimes to the entire Islamic outfit that includes garment and head cover.

There is a language underlying dress usage and meaning derives from the social and cultural contexts of dress and movement and manipulation of dress items in particular situations. Often focusing analysis on the code underlying dress forms can prove more revealing than exploring a clothing item in material and functional terms. Other than its religious dimension, clothing for Arab and Muslim women and men cannot be reduced to a material element with utilitarian functions. It reflects a core code of privacy, functions to communicate status and identity, and even when identical in form for both sexes it communicates gender boundaries. It is intricately connected with historical situations of resistance to foreign occupation and against European ideals and Eurocentric images imposed through state or colonial sartorial rules and restrictions on people's choices of dress.

See also Hijab; Iran: History of Pre-Islamic Dress; Islamic Dress, Contemporary; Middle East: History of Islamic Dress.

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Fadwa El Guindi

**DOLCE & GABBANA** Domenico Dolce was born in Polizzi Generosa (near Palermo, Sicily) on 13 September 1958. His family owned a small clothing business, where Domenico worked from childhood. Stefano Gabbana was born in Milan on 14 November 1962. He studied graphics but soon turned to fashion. After a brief period working as assistant designers, they founded the Dolce & Gabbana label, which had its first runway show as part of the New Talent group in Milan in 1985, upon the invitation of Italian fashion promoter Beppe Modenese.

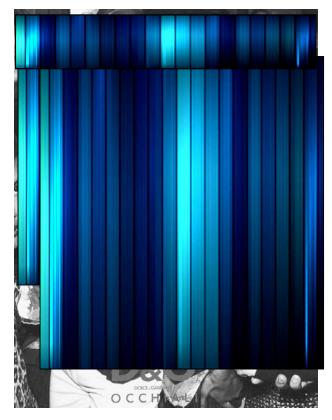
In 1986 they produced their first collection, called "Real Women." In 1987 they launched their knitwear line and in 1989 their beachwear and lingerie lines. Beginning in 1988 they produced their ready-to-wear line in Domenico Dolce's family-owned atelier, located in Legnano, Milan. The first Dolce & Gabbana men's collection appeared in 1990. In 1994 they launched the D&G label, inspired by street style and a more youthful look. The clothes were produced and distributed by Ittierre.

The company launched several fragrances, including Dolce & Gabbana Perfume, By Dolce & Gabbana, and Dolce & Gabbana Men. One of their perfume ads was directed by the Italian film director Giuseppe Tornatore, with whom Dolce and Gabbana developed a close relationship, going on to act in his 1996 film *The Star Maker*. They introduced a line of eyewear under the Dolce & Gabbana and D&G labels and produced music CDs.

In 1996, for their tenth anniversary, they published *Ten Years of Dolce & Gabbana*, which included their most important advertising images and texts. In 1999 D&G Junior was created, their collection for children, which was presented at the children's fashion show Pitti Bimbo in Florence.

In 2003 their newest store, covering three floors, opened in Corso Venezia in Milan, in the former home of Brigatti, perhaps Milan's best-known luxury sports-wear store. The store is designed in the round from a central piazza and includes a bar, a traditional barber-shop, and an ultramodern spa. The individual stores are illuminated by lamps of Venini glass, made according to designs by Domenico Dolce.

In a 1995 interview Dolce and Gabbana recalled their first professional foray into fashion during the Milan collections as eliciting "one of the strongest emotions we have ever experienced" (Gastel, p. 238). The show marked the occasion of the birth of the Dolce & Gabbana label, which was destined to play a fundamental role in the history of Italian ready-to-wear. The designers



An advertisement for Dolce and Gabbana, circa 2001. Dolce and Gabbana's 2001 collection celebrated the exuberance of youth street style and rock and roll culture. The Advertising ARCHIVE LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

showed full-length garments of stretch jersey, silk jackets, and oversize shirts that could be worn with casual sandals. The collection, characterized by fluidity and difference, soon found an enthusiastic public.

Dolce and Gabbana are considered the inventors of a Mediterranean style that draws its inspiration from the Sicily of Luchino Visconti's 1963 film The Leopard and the women of Italian realism, sensual and austere like Anna Magnani, to whom they dedicated a collection whose key element was the 1940s slip. At the beginning of their career, the designers also turned to Sophia Loren, Claudia Cardinale, and Stefania Sandrelli for inspiration. The Dolce & Gabbana woman is unbiased and brazen, but fearful of God and devoted to church and family, an attitude typical of southern Italian Catholicism. A woman who simultaneously reveals and conceals brassieres and corsets, lace, lingerie, and veils, and who is disturbing in her impetuous sensuality—a provocative woman proud of her body. The designers' models are soft, round, and full-figured. "Dark girls with dark eyes evoke the women of the south—carnal, provocative, yet austere and proud at the same time" (Sozzani, p. 5). At a time when fashion saw women as executives in two-piece suits with padded shoulders, Dolce & Gabbana's first collection in-



**Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana.** Dolce and Gabanna promote their fragrance "Sicily," at Saks Fifth Avenue in New York City in 2003. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cluded tulle and angora, twin sets in jersey lace, and soft, wide, extravagant skirts. Their favorite materials were crocheted lace, wool, and silk.

They were not looking for a retro look; however, Dolce & Gabbana turned to the past for innovation. The designers remarked, "We want to use the past to project it into the future" (Sozzani, p. 11). And making it modern involved the creative use of fabrics and colors, and the ability to blend various sources of inspiration, primarily those whose origins could be traced to the heterogeneous world of the Mediterranean.

The elements of Italian culture are reinforced through their meticulous attention to their image, and their publicity campaigns have always been handled by the world's finest photographers. Every shot is organized as if it were a film set. Their first campaign was photographed by their friend, the Sicilian photographer Ferdinando Scianna, who, with Dolce and Gabbana, was just getting started in fashion. Besides Scianna, other photographers who have worked with the label include Fabrizio Ferri, Steven Meisel—famous for his pictures of the Italian film star Monica Bellucci and the supermodel Linda Evangelista—Peter Lindbergh, and Helmut Newton.

The journalist Nicoletta Gasperini of *Donna*, the Italian fashion weekly that gave them their first cover—the model Marpessa photographed by Giovanni Gastel—helped define their image. "We convey to them how we feel and they give us back a mediated image of culture" (Gastel, p. 241).

The turning point in their international success began with their friendship with Madonna. The pop star ordered from their New York showroom a *guêpière* (corset) made of gemstones and a jacket to wear at Cannes to launch her film *Truth or Dare: In Bed with Madonna* by Alek Keshishian (1990). Madonna's participation in the 1992 D&G party and runway show publicized their friendship. Shortly after, the singer asked them to design the fifteen hundred costumes for her 1993 "Girlie Show" tour.

Dolce & Gabbana's Mediterranean style is not a rigid framework but the template of an imaginary world through which they draw inspiration. The collection changes for every season, ranging from the baroque to the plastic, from aristocratic to working class, brazen to bourgeois, from animal prints to a cardinal's cloak. In 1994, for example, after producing corsets, girdles, T-shirts, and styles emphasizing breasts and revealing cleavage, Dolce & Gabbana introduced a "Sapphic chic" masculine style for women characterized by short hair slicked down with brilliantine, which was exemplified by one of their earliest fans, Isabella Rossellini. In 2003 for their Milan men's show, they took their inspiration from contemporary soccer stars. The darlings of the Italian and international press, according to Suzy Menkes, a journalist for the International Herald Tribune, the two designers have the ability of being able to mix periods and countries, masculine and feminine looks, fabrics and styles.

Dolce & Gabbana is one of the best examples of the explosion in Italian ready-to-wear that occurred during the mid-1980s. Creativity and versatility, the union of the press and the star system, a range of products and clothing lines, and careful attention to distribution are all elements that contribute to the realization of an integrated system of communication.

See also Italian Fashion; Madonna; Music and Fashion.

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Simona Segre Reinach

**DOMESTIC PRODUCTION** The idea of a Golden Age of self-sufficiency, before the advent of the factory system, when a household's skills and labor in

domestic production could account for all its clothing and textile needs, is more nostalgia inspired by anti-industrial sentiment than a historical reality. In the modern period, working women and men formed a labor force that was interchangeable between small workshops and the home and domestic self-employment and outwork. Handicraft and mechanized mass production coexisted and developed differently in different regions and for different goods. For example, in the early nineteenth century some goods such as knitted hosiery were still commonly sent out to be made by hand on a cottage basis, while the spinning and weaving of cotton were already widely mechanized and centralized in factories. The history of home production of some kinds of clothing and textiles is evident in surviving architecture such as weavers' houses. The timetable of the move to factory production for all goods was complex and generally much debated by historians. In practice, before the domination of mass-production of clothing for men and women was completed in the early twentieth century, households were clothed by a combination of making, recycling, bartering, and buying new or secondhand from a variety of sources.

### Sewing

Clothing for women and children, and some simple items for men such as shirts, were made in many homes across the social spectrum in modern times for private consumption. This has been concurrent with clothing made at home in poorer homes for wages in a regular or irregular way as self-employment or outwork. Both practices have existed alongside the increasing consumption of factory ready-mades, a situation that prevails in the early 2000s, although unwaged home dressmaking has substantially declined. Not all domestic production has been prompted by thrift or economic necessity: women have also sewn clothes for pleasure and as a creative act and in this same period skill with the needle has been prized for its association with leisure and femininity. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the domestic production of clothes also embraced the efforts of literate, middle-class women to teach their peers to make clothes for the deserving poor or to teach poor women to sew for themselves. The trend was reflected in a new genre of instructional literature, such as an 1838 publication called The Workwoman's Guide. Although philanthropic in some respects, this activity also served to provide a flow of skilled girls into domestic service. The introduction of reliable domestic sewing machines in the 1860s, for those who could afford them, accelerated home production of garments for both waged and unwaged purposes, as did the spread of well-illustrated mass part-works, books, magazines, and paper patterns that increased through the nineteenth century and helped to disseminate knowledge of home sewing, knitting, embroidery, and other handicrafts associated with clothing such as crochet. Home sewing included significant time spent on mending and renovation, in all



"[M]any women who have started home dressmaking as a means to economy have continued it as a[n] . . . . adventure in creative expression . . . . These days the only way to stamp one's individuality on a wardrobe is to make one's own . . . . "

"[Y]ou don't have to be an expert to make a chic dress" (Butterick Publishing Company, pp. 2–3).

classes of household. "Make-do and Mend," a campaign introduced by the British government during World War II, encouraged clothing economies in the home at a time of acute shortages. It promoted many ingenious solutions but was not universally popular; it may have unintentionally contributed to the postwar move away from thrift to more throwaway attitudes to clothing. Home sewing was regularly taught to girls in schools until the last quarter of the twentieth century when it was replaced by other courses that emphasized design and new technologies.

# **Knitting**

Domestic hand knitting had been known for centuries as a convenient way of making shaped garments, especially smaller items such as hosiery and caps. Its precise origins are conjectural, though many believe otherwise. Historically, both men and women knitted, but it became a gentrified and fashionable pastime primarily for women during the first half of the nineteenth century in Britain and America. The craft was promoted by the publication of countless knitting books and helped by a ready supply of fancy wool yarns from Germany, from which also developed the hugely popular tapestry work known as "Berlin" work. Domestic knitting of this period produced a wide variety of small household objects such as pincushions, purses, and doilies, as well as shawls, baby clothes, cuffs, caps, scarves, gloves, and numerous other items of clothing. Domestic knitting was undertaken for items used in the household but also given as gifts and for charity. Knitting for the troops in both world wars was a continuation of this altruistic knitting practice, still seen in hand knitting for fund-raising or for distribution to developing countries. This strand of its history is distinct from the long history of small-scale commercial hosiery knitted by cottagers and the frame knitters, first incorporated in England as a worshipful company in 1657, whose mechanical knitting did not entirely replace commercial hand knitting for two hundred years. Massproduction of cheap knitwear has come to mean that "no one needs to knit in order to keep clothed" (Rutt p. 161). Hand knitting at home is a leisure activity and, since the

1970s, has become more glamorous due to innovative design and exciting yarns.

## **Embroidery**

Embroidery has a long history and, despite male practitioners, and a substantial role in the decoration of ecclesiastical vestments and furnishings, it has been closely linked to the domestic lives of women. "To know the history of embroidery is to know the history of women" (Parker p. vi). It has been used on small and large scale furnishing fabrics and on male and female clothing to great impact since medieval times in Europe. Samplers have been a way to demonstrate skill and catalog the rich range of stitches and effects available to embroiderers; historic samplers have become much appreciated and command high prices. Some feminist historians have identified embroidery, even more than other needlework, as a repetitive and repressive task promoted historically to construct a submissive femininity within patriarchy. However, in the early 2000s it is also widely acknowledged as an important textile art, an expressive and satisfying medium in its own right. Embroidery was famously represented in the feminist artist Judy Chicago's 1979 project The Dinner Party. It sustains large numbers of specialist publications, courses, and suppliers of yarns, kits, and patterns, and has enjoyed popularity as a way to customize mass-produced clothes such as jeans. In some developing countries, embroidery for export can represent a crucial source of cash for families and has replaced much domestic embroidery formerly done in richer countries.

See also Embroidery; Knitting; Seamstresses.

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Barbara Burman

**DOUBLET** The doublet is a man's upper body garment that was worn in Europe between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this time frame, it moved from undergarment to outer garment and from specialized military dress to fashionable civilian dress. The doublet's function as standard everyday attire was primarily to support men's hose, while providing warmth and shaping a man's upper torso. It was used to display appropriate decorative and stylistic features through each period, such as padding, paning (panes or narrow strips of fabric sewn over a contrasting lining), and slashing (pattern of deliberate cuts made in garments as a decorative feature), and it was one of the first garments to display highly technical construction and sophisticated cutting and tailoring skills after the Middle Ages.

## **Origins**

The doublet originated in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century as part of military dress, closely related to technological advancements in armor. By the end of the thirteenth century, as chain mail was replaced by plate armor, a layer of padding was needed to protect the body from abrasion by the tightly fitted, sharp-edged metal plates. Quilted undergarments and leather tunics were long used by soldiers as protection and under chain mail, but the early doublet, called a pourpoint or gipon (also jupon; and in Italian, giubbetto, zuparello, or zuppone), was a closely fitted undergarment heavily padded in front over the chest and quilted around the back. Worn over a loose linen undershirt and short linen drawers, the pourpoint was sleeveless, had a round neckline, and was closed down the center of the front using laces or numerous buttons. The padding gave extra definition to the silhouette of the upper torso and shaped outer garments. Length varied, but the French term *pourpoint* also explains an important functional aspect of this garment. Translated as pour les points or "for the points," laces held up a man's hose by tying them to the doublet through pairs of hand-sewn eyelets in the tops of the hose and in corresponding eyelets along the doublet's lower edge. The leather laces were capped with small metal tags or "points" at each end, giving the defining name to this garment.

## Late Fourteenth Century

After the mid-fourteenth century, the doublet was worn as a belted outer garment, serving a more fashionable function in civilian dress. Doublets were sleeveless or worn as a type of sleeved jacket, some with skirts extending over the upper thighs, shaped with a tightly tapered fit through the waistline. The points were attached to the inner lining and tied to the hose at the hips. Doublets became increasingly shorter through the second half of the fourteenth century, barely covering the hips, and many had full-length sleeves, ending below the wrist in a point over the knuckles and tightly fitted with a row of buttons from elbow to wrist. The narrow, two-part sleeves were seamed at the elbow and

set into wide, round-shaped armholes for full arm movement. Low, rounded necklines had short standing collars. By the end of the fourteenth century, as an outer layer of dress, the term "doublet" replaced *pourpoint* or *gipon* in general English usage, while *pourpoint* continued in French.

## Fifteenth Century

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, images show young knights in public without their armor, dressed in short, waist-length, padded and fitted doublets with full hose laced to their lower edges. This look eventually inspired a new body-dominant fashionable silhouette for civilian men. As the doublet shortened and more of a man's upper leg was exposed, construction of hose changed by joining two separate stockings into one garment that closed or overlapped in front with laces or a codpiece. The look of the doublet as outerwear also makes a visual reference to the dress of rural and urban laborers who often removed their outer tunics to work in underwear and hose. Images show laborers with their hose loosened and unfastened in back to relieve strain on the doublet when bending over to work. The need for this feature was a sign of low status. The expression "in zuppone" was equivalent to our contemporary reference about the informality of taking off one's business suit jacket and working in one's shirt sleeves.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, the doublet remained a short, waist-length garment with sleeves worn over a linen undershirt and layered under a jacket or outer tunic-like garment. The sleeves and collars were often the only visible portions of the doublet. By mid-century, the silhouette was pared down, more slender and elegant, and the waist-length doublet was expertly constructed and tightly fitted with four seams—down the front, back, and sides. Collars were removed and necklines lowered and squared-off. The center front was often open or slightly unlaced, revealing the edges of the linen shirt underneath, a feature that became more prominent through the end of the fifteenth century. Doublets that showed no front openings may have been pulled on over the head. At the end of the fifteenth century, detachable sleeves appeared or tightly fitted sleeves were slit at the elbow and along the forearm to allow movement.

## **Sixteenth Century**

In the sixteenth century, the doublet was a major men's garment covering the upper torso from neck to waist. It was tightly fitted with low, U- or V-shaped necklines and wide sleeves, and was constructed with panes or slashing of heavy velvet or satin fabrics. Doublets were worn under the man's jerkin or gown, but no longer served the function of supporting a man's hose. Instead, breeches and stockings were sewn together; the top of a man's breeches was held up with silk or linen laces at the doublet waist. Some doublets were cut with short, gored skirts, or worn with the separate military skirt called

bases. By mid-century, necklines were higher on the throat, and by century-end doublets had a stiff, standing collar to support the ruff. Doublet waistlines were lowered in front, and the elongated wool, bran, horsehair, or short, waste linen fibers, V-shaped waistline was padded and stuffed with wool, bran, horsehair, or short linen fibers by the end of the century, imitating the exaggerated style called a peascod belly. Layers of stiff linen canvas were stitched together to create the doublet front, and extra layers of stiffened linen strengthened the front button closure. Doublet waistlines were further accentuated with a row of small square flaps called pecadils. Doublet sleeves were padded with felted woolen cloth at the shoulders, and shoulder seams were constructed with a narrow wing or padded roll over the top.

# **Seventeenth Century**

The padding and exaggerated features of the doublet were gradually abandoned in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but the narrow-waisted silhouette remained. Through the 1630s, ribbon points tied into bows at the waist were used as a decorative feature. In the second quarter, the overlapping pecadils, or short peplum, lengthened to cover the hips, and waistlines were set slightly above the natural waistline. Heavy fabrics richly embellished with silk and metallic embroidery lend a stiff, formal silhouette to portraits in the early to mid-seventeenth century. By 1620, breeches were suspended from the doublet by large metal hooks sewn into their waistband and attached to metal eyelets on a tape sewn into the doublet waist. By the early 1660s, doublets were straight, unfitted, and shortened to above the waist; breeches were no longer tied to the doublet at all. By 1670, the doublet had been replaced by the waistcoat and coat of the three-piece suit introduced by the British monarch Charles II.

See also Breeches; Hosiery, Men's.

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Susan J. Torntore

DOUCET, JACQUES Claiming to have been established in Paris in 1817, the House of Doucet reached its greatest prominence under the design influence of the founder's grandson, Jacques Doucet (1853-1929). While many members of the Doucet family were involved in various aspects of the apparel and related trades, the fashion house of Doucet can be traced to Antoine Doucet (1795-1866) and his wife (née Adèle Girard, d. 1866), who began as vendors of items of lingerie, laces and embroideries, and related merchandise for customers of all ages and both sexes. In 1869 the haberdashery aspect of the business was sold. By 1840 the firm had been established on the rue de la Paix, an increasingly important shopping street, and the second of the couple's six offspring, Edouard (1822-1898), was taking an increasing role in the business. Edouard Doucet, Jacques's father, took the firm over in the early 1850s.

Surviving from the last third of the nineteenth century are a number of stylish garments carrying the label of Mme. Doucet, 21, rue de la Paix. (With the renumbering of streets, the old address number of 17 became the new 21.) What is unclear is who might be behind the courtesy title "Mme.," as Adèle was deceased, and there is no indication that either her daughters or daughtersin-law were involved in business at this address. Beginning in 1858 Maison Doucet is listed in a business directory under the category of "nouveautés confectionnées," and by 1870 Edouard was supplying the queen of Wurtemberg with couture garments. Royal commissions, awards at numerous international exhibitions, actress modeling and patronage, and a long-established association with a highly desirable and valued material, lace, assured interest from a wide client base at Maison Doucet. During the house's peak, Jacques Doucet's personal friend, the well-known actress Réjane, became a onewoman advertising vehicle for the house.

Jacques, who was born on the rue de la Paix and died in Paris, grew up in the family business, which he appears to have joined in 1874. While Jacques Doucet is generally credited with being the house's designer, there is enough evidence to question the scale of such a role. As late as 1894 fashion correspondents do not give readers a clue as to whether they are dealing with the elder or younger Doucet, believing that readers are versed in the knowledge of who indeed is "Doucet, the famous dressmaker." Additionally, M. José de la Peña worked at the house as a fitter and designer from the 1870s into the 1920s. Another designer of the time, Paul Poiret, saw

flashes of brilliance in de la Peña's fingers that were unmatched by the house's titular head.

There is no question that Jacques Doucet was interested in apparel and what visual message it could convey. He was a fastidious personal dresser, and he happily applied aesthetic judgments not only to the garments made by the house that bore his name but also to the historic garments he personally collected. Indeed, he was one of the greatest art connoisseurs of his day, first establishing an internationally recognized collection of eighteenth-century artifacts and then a second remarkable collection of modern art. Garments carrying the Doucet name frequently incorporate an historical fashion reference or two, particularly to the modes of the eighteenth century. For decades, the prevailing taste for festoons of lace was sympathetically incorporated by the house into a variety of creations. Embroideries, especially floral and insect interpretations, frequently were executed in prevailing styles, such as art nouveau. Moreover, many of the garments were executed in more fluid fabrics than is usually associated with applications in such decades as the 1880s or 1890s.

As a promoter of fashions Jacques Doucet is best recognized for endorsing delicate, feminine toilettes featuring laces and other fripperies, but the house has also been credited with creating one of the enduring staples of a woman's wardrobe, the tailored suit or tailleur. Another innovation accorded Doucet is that of working with furs as if they were fabric, specifically making fitted coats. Doucet garments were popular with American clients, and by 1895 American merchants were busily buying models to export and copy. By the end of the nineteenth century the couture house was one of the largest in Paris, with a yearly turnover in business of more than thirty million francs. Between 1896 and 1912 it was the training ground for two of the emerging and talented young designers who would go on to define fashion in the early twentieth century: Paul Poiret, who worked for Doucet from 1896 to 1900, and Madeleine Vionnet, who worked there from 1907 to 1912. Vionnet's first collection is said to have been revolutionary not only for the house but also the time. Interestingly, but for very different reasons, neither Poiret's nor Doucet's houses productively survived World War I. Initially Jacques Doucet had had the luck to land in a period of fashion that perfectly matched his own design sensibilities. The Great War changed not only what women wore, however, but also how they wore it, and the aging Doucet simply could not keep up with the times. In 1924 the house merged with the lesser firm of Doueillet, and the combined firms ceased business in 1932.

See also Lace; Paris Fashion; Poiret, Paul; Vionnet, Madeleine.

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Elizabeth Ann Coleman

DRESS CODES Dress codes may broadly be defined as rules that regulate an individual's appearance. Sociological variables—age, occupation, class, gender, religion, or ethnicity—stipulate what can and cannot be worn. However, most people probably have a narrower, more specifically modern understanding in mind of dress codes. This stricter definition is associated with a massive uniformization of populations that began in the early nineteenth century as workers and students were disciplined to meet the demands of capitalism, industrialization, and national state formation.

Dress codes, whether explicit or implicit, may apply to small groups (for example, school or company) or an entire nation (China's "Mao suit"). Besides mandating what should be worn, dress codes dictate what should not be worn, and they can be better appreciated by conceptualizing a continuum of uniformity, ranging from strict integration into a politico-economic order to being free from its constraints. Some of the variations are as follows:

- highly standardized, group-dominated, clear hierarchy (military uniforms);
- standardized, group-oriented, hierarchy (occupational dress);
- nonstandardized, displays individuality, no hierarchy (casual dress); and
- anti-standardized, overly individualistic, anti-hierarchy (avant-garde fashion).

As an example of how politico-economic institutions regulate daily dress codes, consider how the life cycle of most individuals in Japan is characterized by uniformization, de-uniformization, and re-uniformization. During the first phase (ages 3-18), individuals begin to don school-specific uniforms that have been inspired by European military uniforms. Boys are outfitted in a blue or black jacket with brass buttons and stand-up collar. Girls often wear the sêrâ-fuku ("sailor clothes"), modeled after the traditional English sailor suit. It consists of a sailortype collar and a pleated skirt. During the second phase of de-uniformization (ages 18-22), the dress code is relaxed as students are allowed to dress casually while at university or other postsecondary schooling institutions. The final phase, re-uniformization (ages from 22), begins after leaving postsecondary schooling and entering the adult workforce.

Inducted into Japan's corporate culture, individuals are required to adopt dress codes that reflect socioeconomic class and gender variables. White-collar male workers, or *sararîman* ("salary man"), are expected to don a white cutter shirt, red necktie, dark blue or gray suit, and black leather shoes. Hair should be short, preferably in the "seven-three part." Facial hair is generally frowned upon. Accessories complete the picture: a briefcase (or shoulder bag or attaché case). Blue-collar workers are seen in uniforms with an open collar, large, functional pockets, and a tag with name or section on the breast pocket. Helmet, boots, work gloves, and safety belt com-

plete the ensemble. Women, who are lower in the corporate pecking order, must adhere to more standardization. OLs ("office ladies") or secretarial staff typically wear a company uniform of white blouse, vest with name tag, skirt (usually 1.9 in, 5 cm, below the knees), and high heels.

At some companies, dress codes are enforced by military-like morning inspections. Besides company loyalty and dedication to work, adhering to dress codes indicates an individual's aspiration to work toward a middle-class lifestyle as well as commitment to Japan's collective project of economic nationalism.

See also Mao Suit; Uniforms, Diplomatic; Uniforms, Military; Uniforms, Occupational; Uniforms, School; Uniforms, Sports.

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Brian 7. McVeigh

DRESS FOR SUCCESS "Dress for success" is the modern equivalent of "clothes maketh the man"—that is, it articulates the belief that what you wear matters in everyday life. However, in its modern guise, this is a discourse specifically on business dress that proclaims the importance of sartorial presentation in the workplace. Dress for success became popular during the mid-1970s and 1980s in the United States and Europe, but the principles that underpin it stem back much further. The idea that one can dress for success is closely aligned to the more general notion of "impression management," the origins of which go back to the work of sociologist Erving Goffman and his dramaturgical metaphor (the idea that the social world functions like a stage and we, its social actors, are performers). Goffman's work on "the presentation of self in everyday life" demonstrates how mundane features of body management are essential to the ongoing maintenance of a person's identity: Specifically, how our body looks and behaves is often the basis of how others read and judge us (1971). While Goffman's work was concerned with describing social order and interaction, his ideas were popularized outside sociology and have since achieved wide social application. Today "impression management" has become part of mainstream popular psychology and management and business studies, with dress for success a central plank of both. For evidence of the cultural significance of dress for success, one needs look no further than the huge market for books and services offering advice on how to dress effectively at work. Alongside popular "self-help" books, there is a huge industry in "image consultancy" offering all manner of "expert" advice on body presentation, from color analysis to wardrobe and shopping services. More recently, alongside such money-making ventures have sprung not-for-profit, dress-for-success shops offering services to the unemployed.

### The Dress-for-Success Manual

The exposition of the "rules" of business dress are laid down in dress manuals, such as the now-classic John T. Molloy's two manuals, *Dress for Success* (first published in the United States in 1975) and Women: Dress for Success (published in the United States in 1979). These manuals describe his formula for "successful" dressing. What Molloy calls his "wardrobe engineering" is a (pseudo) "science of clothing" based on quantitative "testing" of the different meanings individuals give to individual garments. What kind of dress did Molloy find was the most "effective" at conveying "one means business"? The dress found to "succeed" is conservative, tailored, and always "smart." However, the way in which men and women should dress for the world of work differs. For men, this means black and gray suits, teamed with not-too-daring ties, and smart, polished shoes. However, while the traditional trousered suit works for men, it does not work for women. Indeed, by the very fact of his writing two manuals on work dress, Molloy points to the way in which dress at work is gendered, both reflecting and reproducing sexual difference. While both manuals have the same goal—the acquisition of status and power at work—men and women must attain it by different means, according to Molloy, and for a woman this means managing her sexuality. While an aspiring professional man need only worry about his dress (which suit to wear and in which color, which briefcase to carry, and so on), his female counterpart must also worry about her body, since her body is sexualized in a way that the male body is not.

The public world of work is a world that demands a clear separation from the erotic, and thus, women's potentially sexual bodies must be covered appropriately. Women, Molloy argues, have to dress for "authority" since their social position, as women, puts them at some disadvantage compared with men at work. The wearing of tailored clothing, namely a smart jacket with tailored knee-high skirt is, according to Molloy, the most "effective" dress. It would seem, therefore, that while suggestive clothes must be avoided, women should aim to look "feminine" at all costs: the wearing of a skirt and the deployment of decorative items, a necktie, brooch, or other accessory, help to soften the severity of the suit. Indeed, Molloy warns career women against trying to "ape" men and claims that his 1980 manual was, in part, a response to those women who had been adopting the garb he had outlined in his first manual. His second stated reason is captured by his story of how, in the mid-1970s, when meeting three businesswomen in a bar, he was unable to spot them. The businesswoman was literally not "visible" as such and was, according to Molloy, in need of a "uniform" that could be relied upon to connote the appropriate status.

The "uniform" that he subsequently helped inaugurate became known as the "power suit" and was a major phenomenon of the 1980s, defining a style of female professional dress that has now become something of a sartorial cliché: tailored skirt suit with shoulder pads, in gray, blue, or navy, accessorized with "token female garb such as bows and discreet jewelry" (Armstrong 1993: 278). These dress-for-success rules arose against the historical backdrop of the women's movement into more prestigious forms of paid employment and addressed the increasing problem of how to rise on the career ladder and break the so-called "glass ceiling." Note that in maintaining the suited torso, the tailored jacket and fitted skirt aimed to separate this female worker from her secretarial counterparts. Power dressing articulated the "career woman" and in doing so gave visible evidence of a new relationship of women to work that had once been the preserve of men (Entwistle 1997, 2001).

That fact that the "power suit" became a major fashion story for women in the 1980s is beside the point for "experts" such as Molloy. The aim of dress for success was to devise techniques that eliminate fashion from the daily process of dressing. The dress-for-success discourse is, in fact, an oblique and sometimes open critique of the fashion system. By virtue of its incessant momentum, fashion keeps the range of choices open, choices left to individuals who run the risk of making the "wrong" one. As individuals come to feel that more is at stake in how they look, especially at work, such a universe of choice is a problem. As a pseudoscience of clothing strategies, dress-for-success formulas, such as Molloy's "wardrobe engineering," offer clearly established guidelines to circumnavigate this precarious world of choice and provide a stable basis upon which to base decisions as to what to wear to work.

## **Historical Precursors**

As it is primarily a "self-help" manual, the modern dress manual sets out to mold and shape the self, calling upon readers to think about themselves and act upon themselves in particular ways. Molloy's manual can therefore be examined as a "technology of the self," to draw on Foucault's concept (1988). "Technologies of the self permit individuals to effect . . . . a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being so as to transform themselves" (Foucault 1988, p. 18). In this way, dress-for-success strategies encourage particular ways of thinking and acting upon the self, producing the individual as a "reflexive subject" (Giddens 1991); that is, a person who thinks about and calculates body and self, in this case, developing skills and techniques for dressing and presenting the self as a committed career-minded person. The idea that one's dress conveys something of the "self" and that, specifically, one can dress for success at work may seem almost "common sense" today. However, these ideas have arisen out of particular historical circumstances and beliefs about the body and its relationship to personal identity. These are closely related to the emergence of particular forms of modern individualism.

One can trace the circumstances that gave rise to discourses on dress and appearance as far back as the eighteenth century, to the emphasis placed on the "self-made man" under conditions of industrial capitalism and the rise of Romanticism. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries heralded an era of upward mobility: the new capitalist classes were achieving status and power through their own efforts, not through privileges of the old aristocracy. Individuals could, in other words, rise through the social hierarchy by virtue of their own efforts. This idea of the "enterprising" self reached its apotheosis with the ascendancy of neo-liberalism in the 1970s and 1980s under Reaganomics and Thatcherism; in other words, around the same time as dress-for-success ideas took hold. However, in the history of our modern self, another discourse at variance with capitalism is also important, namely Romanticism, and it underpins the idea of dress for success. Romantic poets, painters, and writers emphasized the idea of the "authentic" self and suggested that one's outward appearance unproblematically reflects the inner self. While up until the eighteenth century public life had allowed a distance between outward appearance and inner self-a clear separation between public and private—under conditions of modern life, according to Richard Sennett (1977), one's public appearance has to be a "true" reflection of the self. This Romantic notion of authenticity has become attached to the public sphere and is the dominant theme permeating discourse on the self at work, suggesting that how you look, from the first day of your job interview, signals your identity and commitment as a worker. Thus, in contemporary society, our bodies are bearers of status and distinction, as the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) has described in detail. This makes the body, its dress and manners, matters of great import in terms of the "envelope" of the self. As Joanne Finkelstein (1991) notes, increasingly over the nineteenth century appearance comes to stand as an important indicator of inner character and she suggests that the eighteenth-century socialite and "dandy" Beau Brummel exemplifies the wider social movement toward the self-styled or "fashioned" individual, concerned with promoting the self through the careful deployment of clothing. Finkelstein also analyzes the emergence of various "physiognomic" discourses over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such discourses link outward appearance, from the shape of the face and overall body to dress, to inner "self." She points to how, in America over the course of the nineteenth century, there was a movement toward individual self-promotion through dress: "for upwardly mobile young men how they looked was important not only as a means of business advancement,

but also as a measure of self-esteem" (Branner, in Finkelstein 1991, p. 114).

Important to the heightening self-consciousness of body and its outward appearance, and introducing the idea of dress for success, was the dress manual. It is important to note that such manuals are not, therefore, a recent phenomenon and can be seen as closely aligned with other kinds of "self-help" publications which have a longer history (Hilkey 1997). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as in the first half of the twentieth, one can find manuals on "how to dress like a lady" and how to put together a lady's wardrobe on a modest budget. What is different about the manuals on dress that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s was the type of self they addressed and the kind of success sought. A number of commentators (Giddens 1991; Featherstone 1991; Lasch 1979; Sennett 1977) have argued that a new type of self has emerged in the twentieth century and an examination of the dress manual can be seen to indicate this. Featherstone calls this new self "the performing self" which "places greater emphasis upon appearance, display, and the management of impressions" (Featherstone 1991, p. 187) while Lasch (1979) calls it the "narcissistic self." Featherstone (1991) argues that a comparison of self-help manuals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries provides an insight into the development of this new self and conveys the movement from notions of "character" to "personality." In the earlier self-help manual the self is discussed in terms of character values and virtues—thrift, temperance, self-discipline, and so on-and dress is discussed in terms of such things as thrift and "ladylike" decorum. In the twentieth century we find how "personality" in the self-help manual depends upon how one appears as opposed to what one is or should become; how, for example, to look and be "magnetic" and "charm" others. In this way, appearance comes to be something malleable, something transmutable. The increasing significance of appearance from the eighteenth century onward meant that people began to be concerned with the control of appearance and clothing. Contemporary Western societies testify to the intensification of these processes with more and more aspects of outward appearance "correctable" through diet, exercise, makeup, and plastic surgery, as well as dress, and with these appearances increasingly linked to identity. All these physiognomic discourses proclaim the notion that achieving the "right" outward appearance will result in greater personal happiness and, of course, success.

# Conclusion

It may well seem that the dress-for-success formulas of the 1980s have long since been replaced by more "individuality" and "creativity" in clothing. Indeed, the backlash to all these rules came in the 1990s with "dress down on Friday" introduced in offices both in the United States and United Kingdom. While we may like to think we are "individual" and while dress choice is welcomed by some, the business and professional worlds remain conservative places, even today. Indeed, there has been a swing away from casual Fridays after some offices found that employees dressed far too casually to perform their duties effectively. Meeting a client in jeans or shorts is still taboo in most professions. Only in the "creative industries" are fashion and individuality openly welcomed, indeed, here one finds them essential. The body at work has to fit in with the overall business ethos of the office or sector. In young industries, like popular music, advertising and graphic design, for example, informality rules. However, older professions and industries still prefer the bodies at work to look suitable-that is, in a suit. The dress-forsuccess idea lives on and a lucrative industry of self-help advice and "experts" maintain the notion that what we wear to work really matters in our overall career "success."

See also Casual Business Dress; Fashion and Identity; Suit, Business.

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Joanne Entwistle

**DRESS REFORM** Over the course of history the emergence of unorthodox clothing styles has revealed much about the social norms governing appearances. New ideologies concerning spirituality, health, hygiene, and gender have not only subverted existing social boundaries but also shaped the trajectory of fashion in the process. Quakerism, Bloomerism, aesthetic dress, and Jaeger dress may be examined as catalysts for both fashion and social change.

### Nonconformist Quaker Dress

During the years following the English Civil War of 1642, various influential clothing-reform movements flourished. One of the nonconformist groups that emerged during this time was the Religious Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers. The group's founder, George Fox, established a set of social practices that were based on Christian ideologies and utopianism. The main thesis proposed by Fox was simplicity of appearance and lifestyle. His favor of spirituality over what he considered to be the unholy virtues of fashion signaled a radical move within the history of fashion.

The alternative clothing choices embraced by George Fox and his followers were set in direct opposition to the fashionable styles of the time. Quakers believed that the focus on aesthetics within the fashion industry was immoral. Instead Quakers wore modest, unstructured, and natural-colored garments that better reflected their Christian values of humility, piety, and simplicity. The strict adherence to their faith led Quakers to eschew contemporary fashions and any decorative clothing.

Both male and female apparel was constructed of functional, utilitarian fabrics such as calico and flannel. The simple color palette for both sexes consisted of gray, brown, cream, and pale green tones. Women commonly wore loose-fitting, long-sleeved dresses, aprons, and bonnets. Men wore unstructured coats, plain hats, trousers, and buckled shoes. For both sexes, functional garment details were also kept simple. Pockets were often placed internally, the use of buttons was restricted, and small accessories or jewelry was forbidden. The commonality of dress between the sexes not only created group uniformity but also visually reinforced their detachment from the wider society.

Quaker dress maintained popularity within marginal groups until the 1920s. The Quaker adherence to plain dress styles was a nonverbal protest against the aesthetic focus of fashion. "Plain clothing" was adopted by other religious groups as well, such as some sects of German Pictists. Although the movement only achieved minority status, it nevertheless succeeded in challenging the ornamental nature of eighteenth-century dress.

## Dr. Gustav Jaeger

Another revolutionary movement within the history of fashion involved the promotion of a healthy and rational approach to dress. During the eighteenth century, various medical professionals gradually began to question the irrational and unhealthy nature of the existing fashionable garments. Many argued that corsets and heavily layered undergarments restricted movement, crippled the spine, and harmed internal organs. As a consequence, certain medical professionals began to encourage men and women to turn their attention away from aesthetics and toward their health.

During the 1880s, Dr. Gustav Jaeger, a German Professor of Physiology and Zoology at the University of Stuttgart, promoted what he believed to be a healthy alternative to conventional dress. In 1884 Dr. Jaeger developed a unique system of dress based on the belief that wearing undyed sheep wool against the skin would enable skin to breathe freely and prevent perspiration. Dr. Jaeger recommended avoiding clothing made of silk, cotton, or linen—or any cloth which had been dyed. He was also highly critical of the corset.

The nonconformist apparel Dr. Jaeger introduced was designed to follow the contours of the body closely, so as to prevent exposure to drafts that he believed dangerous to the health. Jaeger was best known for undyed woolen undergarments for both sexes, including chemises, petticoats, and breeches. The range was later expanded to include other items of clothing such as jackets and trousers, as well as bedsheets.

The protective properties of woolen undergarments were widely promoted. Dr. Jaeger was an exhibitor at the *International Health Exhibition* of London in 1884. He also published widely and released a book in 1887 titled *Essays on Health Culture*. Although the Jaeger mode of dress was targeted to all, it initially only acquired a minority and predominately middle-class following.

As the system gained gradual acceptance however, London retailer Lewis Tomalin purchased the name and opened a store on London's Regent St. As public interest in health and comfort progressed, Lewis Tomalin gained popularity among male and female consumers alike. Competitive retailers gradually became aware of the changing social consciousness and began producing varied ranges that expanded upon Jaeger's original ideologies.

By the 1920s, however, the popularity of Dr. Jaeger's undergarment designs gradually began to wane as fashions became increasingly fitted. Nevertheless, the adoption and persistence of his health-reform movement illustrates that a portion of society was prepared to choose clothing primarily on the grounds of supposed health benefits rather than fashionability.

## **Bloomerism**

In the nineteenth century, as male clothing became increasingly utilitarian, certain women began to feel constrained by the fashionable clothing styles available to them. The most famous dress-reform movement was called Bloomerism. The movement was named after New York resident, Amelia Jenks Bloomer. In 1851 Bloomer

published an article in the feminist publication she edited called *The Lily*, stressing the importance of introducing reformed garments for women. The article was later reprinted in popular American press and gained a wide-spread readership. Later that year, along with her friends Elizabeth Smith Miller and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, she was seen in public dressed in a shortened skirt with Turkish trousers. Although Amelia was not the first woman to wear or invent the garment, the name evolved as a consequence of her association with *The Lily*.

The bloomer costume consisted of loosely fitting, Turkish-style trousers that gathered and frilled at the ankle with an elasticized cuff. The trousers were worn beneath a shortened skirt that fell below the knee, and a fitted bodice. In contrast to the prevailing fashions, the outfit was claimed to be comfortable, convenient, safe, and healthy. Bloomer dress focused not on the way one looked, but rather on the way one felt. The original intention of the garment was thus not to challenge established gender boundaries, but rather to increase mobility and function.

A majority of Victorian society was highly critical of the innovative style of dress. Since trousers were considered to be a traditional symbol of masculinity, female devotees of Bloomerism were subject to ridicule and abuse. For example, satirical caricatures of Bloomers appeared in magazines such as *Punch*. As a consequence, most abandoned the costume after only a few months.

Amelia Bloomer had herself discarded the costume by the mid-1850s. Although the movement was short lived, it exposed entrenched gender stereotypes and challenged the dominant ideals of femininity. As a consequence the innovative costume signaled an advance in the direction of female emancipation.

## **Rational Dress**

The bloomer costume was revived through the establishment of the Rational Dress Society in London during the 1880s. The Society was chaired by Viscontess Haberton and sought to advocate the development of a rational system of clothing. During the late 1880s, the Society started publishing the *Rational Dress Society Gazette* that campaigned against restrictive fashions.

One of the main premises of the Society was the belief that women should forsake heavy undergarments and corsets, as such items restricted movement. In later years members adopted short jackets with bifurcated kneelength skirts, as it was believed such garments enhanced physical mobility. The introduction of new sports such as bicycling and lawn tennis greatly assisted the growing tendency toward functional clothing. In these arenas bifurcated garments became an acceptable mode of sports dress.

### **Aesthetic Dress**

During the same period, the Aesthetic Movement began to emerge out of the field of decorative arts. Aesthetic devotees encouraged women to discard the restrictive garments in vogue and adopt loose-fitting, "artistic" apparel instead.

The style of dress was inspired by the work of Pre-Raphaelite painters such as Rossetti and consisted of loosely draped, medieval-styled robes. The style appealed to a significant number of middle-class women. Oscar Wilde was an avid supporter of the movement. In London, the Liberty Company produced aesthetic dresses.

In the early twentieth century, reform styles influenced the fashions created by avant-garde designers such as Paul Poiret and Mariano Fortuny.

See also Aesthetic Dress; Bloomer Costume; Corset; Gender and Dress; Liberty & Co; Politics and Fashion; Religion and Dress.

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Kristina Stankovski

**DRESS SHIRT** Interestingly, the term dress shirt has a different meaning on both sides of the Atlantic. In the United Kingdom, a dress shirt is known as a formal shirt. In the United States, the dress shirt makes up part of the standard ensemble required for evening dress for formal occasions. A man will be required to wear a dress shirt, which essentially must be white with double French cuffs and cuff links, with his tuxedo, cummerbund, and butterfly or bat-wing black tie.

### History

Shirts appeared first in European dress in the seventeenth century as a kind of underwear, designed to protect expensive waistcoats and frock coats from sweat and soil. By the early nineteenth century, shirts had assumed importance as garments in their own right. The emphasis placed by Beau Brummell and other dandies on wearing clean, perfectly styled linen brought the shirt into increased prominence as an essential male garment.

Even up to the turn of the twentieth century, the white shirt was considered to be the symbol of a gentleman. But in order for shirts to look clean, particularly the collar, a man would have to have enough money for them to be washed frequently. According to popular legend, Mrs. Orlando Montague of New York City realized the collars on her husbands' shirts needed washing much more than the main body and set about removing all the collars and sewing on strings to reattach them once they had been washed. The trend soon caught on, even though many men struggled to piece their shirts back together again.

Detachable versions of both the turndown and wing collar were available with the added advantage of being able to alter the collar depending on circumstance. Victorian men were also known to buy celluloid or paper collars to save money. However, due to the laborious process of refitting the collars on the shirts, the development of the domestic washing machine, and developments in fabric technology, the detachable collar has all but disappeared from the male wardrobe.

## The Twentieth Century

Shirts made to be worn with formal attire were traditionally cut with a stiff wing collar in the late nineteenth century, and that style remained standard into the period after World War I. The Duke of Windsor developed the move to a pleated front formal shirt with a turned-down collar in the 1920s. The Duke explained to his shirt maker that he wanted a softer alternative to the stiff-winged collar shirt. The pleated front of the dress shirt is designed not to extend below the waist, so that the front will not bulge forward when the wearer sits down.

The wing collar remains the more formal of the two styles and usually comes in reinforced pique and sometimes with a fly front to conceal the buttons. The wing-collared shirt remains the more flattering to those with long necks and the preferred choice for their partners by women.

By the late 1960s there was a trend in evening shirts toward more ornate styles. Almost-feminine dress shirts, with huge ruffles, horizontal pleats, embroidery, and lace all featured, were finished off with mandarin collars and a variety of new colors. This trend carried on until the 1970s, but such ostentation is considered a sartorial blunder in the early 2000s, and most men have reverted to the more traditional styles in white fabrics.

An interesting trend that developed during the 1980s was the adoption of the dress shirt by women, who wore it both formally to black tie events and as an item of casual wear. This trend has all but vanished. (The formal dress shirt had hitherto been an entirely masculine item of dress, though in the 1890s some women who adopted the tailored styles of the New Woman also wore blouses that somewhat resembled men's formal shirts.)

### The American Dress Shirt

A dress shirt in the United States is considered to be any shirt with a collar (attachable or detachable) that is

worn with a jacket and a tie. This includes both the wing-collared and turned-down collared shirts worn by men as evening wear, but these are referred to as formal shirts.

Styles of American dress shirts include pinned, button-down, Barrymore, plain, or tab-collared shirts.

See also Shirt; Sport Shirt.

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Tom Greatrex

**DRY CLEANING** Dry cleaning is the cleansing of a textile utilizing an organic solvent as opposed to water. The development of dry cleaning is predicated on the fact that as a solvent, water is ineffective in the removal of non–water soluble soils. These soils are primarily oilbased stains such as paint, grease, wax, tar, and body oils.

Early attempts at "dry cleaning" were uncovered within the ruins of Pompeii. Evidence suggests that clothing tradesmen used fuller's earth to absorb soils and grease from garments. Until the end of the seventeenth century, absorption by the means of fuller's earth, or (in later centuries) paper and a hot iron, were the only methods available for the removal of oily stains.

The first use of an organic solvent as a spot-removing agent occurred in Western Europe during the 1680s. Oil of turpentine is a by-product derived from the distillation of turpentine (pine pitch). Used in medicines and for the making of varnish, oil of turpentine was discovered to also be an effective solvent for removing grease stains from fabric. Fabric processors known as dyers and scourers began utilizing this new solvent to supplement the washing process.

By the early nineteenth century, two solvents—camphene (a mixture of oil of turpentine and naphtha) and benzine, a petroleum distillate—had replaced oil of turpentine for use in clothing care. Camphene, primarily sold as illuminating oil, was employed in an immersion

bath process for cleansing satin goods, silk dresses, fancy waistcoats, and lace. Another major benefit derived from cleaning natural fibers in dry solvents had been realized.

Dry solvents are liquids that do not wet or swell textile fibers. The cleaning mechanisms of dry solvents are thus different from water, in which wetting and swelling play a significant role. In natural fibers (silk, wool, cotton, and linen), this swelling can lead to shrinkage, distortion, finish loss, or dye bleeding. Cleaning with dry solvents is a gentler process that requires less finishing, thus prolonging the life and feel of the textile.

There were two problems associated with the use of these early solvents. The solvents were extremely flammable, having flashpoints around 70° F. (21° C.), and a strong odor remained in the clothes without proper drying.

Commercial dry cleaning was first practiced in the Jolly Belin Dye Works in Paris in 1825. William Spindler of Berlin visited the Jolly Works in 1854 and brought the process to Germany. James Pullar, Spindler's son-in-law, introduced commercial cleaning to Scotland.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, mechanized improvements such as rotating cleaning drums, hydro extractors, solvent purification systems, and the first dry solvent soap increased both the safety and effectiveness of the dry-cleaning process. The solvent of choice was gasoline.

Modern dry cleaning was ushered in with the development of two new solvents. In 1926 came Stoddard solvent, a petroleum-based hydrocarbon with a flashpoint of 100° F. (38° C.), and in 1932, nonflammable perchloroethylene, or perc, was introduced. Equipment advances derived from the electric motor and pneumatics allowed for controlled rotation of the cleaning drum and high-speed solvent extraction. The steam boiler enabled controlled drying, utilizing moist heat as well as providing steam for the finishing irons and presses.

In the late 1980s, perchloroethylene was designated a possible carcinogen, and stricter controls monitoring usage were imposed. This led to the development of several alternative solvents: the silicone-based Green Earth process, liquid carbon dioxide, and synthetic hydrocarbons with flashpoints exceeding 145° F. (63° C.). These solvents are considerably less aggressive, meaning they have less degreasing power than perchloroethylene. The benefit is that they can safely clean any material from feathers to a heavily beaded gown. With proper application, the equipment and solvent options available in the early 2000s can effectively clean any fabric or design element used in the realization of haute couture fashions.

See also Laundry.

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John Lappe

**DUFFLE COAT** Duffle is a coarse, heavy woolen fabric with a thick nap, traditionally worn by fishermen. Its name derives from the town in Belgium where it was originally manufactured beginning in the seventeenth century. The fabric is most commonly associated with a box-cut, loose-fitting, three-quarter-length coat with patch pockets and a square shoulder yoke, fastened with wooden or buffalo horn toggles and hemp loops. Sharing the name of its fabric, the duffle coat is the only classic overcoat to have a hood.

### History

Although hoods of a similar shape to that of the modern duffle coat were indeed used as far back as the Bronze Age (some think a monk's habit was the forerunner of the duffle coat), the actual design of the duffle coat originated in Poland (known as the Polish-coat) in the first half of the nineteenth century. John Partridge, a British purveyor of outdoor clothing, began to design and sell the duffle in 1890.

The duffle actually came into its own when the Royal Navy adopted it early in the twentieth century. Sailors wore the coat, sometimes with a pair of matching drawstring trousers, as protection from the elements when assigned to deck watch. It was further popularized by Army Field-Marshal Bernard Montgomery during World War II, and indeed the beige desert version he sported at that time became known, in Europe at least, as the "Monty." Huge quantities of army surplus duffles flooded the market after the war ended and it soon become a warm winter favorite with British and American consumers alike. Mothers would dress their young children in them due to their warmth, but duffle coats also achieved cult status among college students and intellectuals, worn with an former naval sweater, college scarf, and corduroy trousers.

## The Duffle in the Twenty-first Century

Little has changed with the duffle since its Polish origins. The classic version is generally tartan lined and has a hood and an extra layer of cloth around the shoulders for added protection against the elements. Genuine horn toggles and hemp-fiber loops add an element of authenticity.

Modern fabrication, fastenings, and styling have led to a new generation of duffle coats featuring zippers, reflective safety tape, Gore-Tex linings, and printed designs on the outer fabric.

The British designer Alexander McQueen produced a version of the duffle coat for his autumn 2002 collec-

tion. Jean-Charles de Castelbajac showed a duffle coat in 1990, cut in wool with leather trim. More interestingly, the Savile Row tailor Richard Anderson is the first tailor on the Row to create a bespoke option. Instead of the original classic beige and deep blue hues, consumers have a wide variety of colors to choose from, such as dark brown, yellow, red, racing green, and burgundy.

With fans spanning a spectrum from the actress Gwyneth Paltrow, to the rock band Oasis, the duffle continues to maintain a following that transcends class, wealth, or creed.

See also Coat; Outerwear.

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Tom Greatrex

**DYEING** A general term that describes many complex processes in which color is added in the form of a solution of synthetic or natural dyes to fibers, yarns, or fabrics. Dyes are organic chemicals that produce intense color, are water soluble or dispersible, and bond with fibers. When struck by energy in the form of light, the chemical absorbs, reflects, or transmits specific wavelengths of the energy. The wavelengths and concentrations of the reflected light determine the color seen. The composition and structure of the dye chemical determines its color and the fiber with which it forms a chemical attraction. This means that dyes are fiber specific. Dyes are incorporated into fibers by chemical reactions, absorption, or dispersion. Commercially important dyes must be relatively fast to resist environmental factors such as cleaning agents, light, air pollutants, and perspiration.

Dyeing is usually done by immersing and moving the textile in a heated, dilute dye solution in a bath or vat. Except for a few cases (for example, resist methods), the desired result is an even or level color. Dyeing includes some preparation steps, such as scouring, bleaching, and mordanting, as well as some after-treatment steps to improve the fastness of certain dyes. Dyeing can be classified based on the stage of processing of the textile when the dye is added, the process used in dyeing, or the type of dye used.

### **Dveing Stage**

In mass pigmentation, dope dyeing, or solution dyeing, colorant is added to manufactured and synthetic fibers

before fiber formation. Mass pigmentation is permanent and relatively expensive. Fiber or stock dyeing adds dye to loose fibers, fiber top, or sliver (a yarn precursor in producing yarn from staple fiber). Stock dyeing creates heather effects in which adjacent fibers are different colors. In yarn and skein dyeing, yarns are dyed for fabrics, such as denim and chambray, in which only the warp varns are dved. Yarn dveing produces better quality stripes, plaids, and structural designs with colored woven or knit designs. Piece dyeing is used to dye fabric lengths or yardages a solid uniform color. However, fiber blends, mixtures, and combinations present other options for piece dyeing. In cross dyeing, each fiber type absorbs a different color dye. Cross dyeing is one way of achieving a yarn-dyed appearance while skipping the yarn-dyeing step. In union dyeing, dyes from different classes are carefully selected to create a solid color on a fabric of two or more different fiber types. In product or garment dyeing, the textile is cut and sewn into the final product and then dyed. Careful preparation and selection of thread, closures, labels, and trims is necessary to ensure that all desired components are dyed the same color while other components (labels, for example) are not dyed or stained.

# **Dyeing Process**

Many different dyeing processes exist. In batch processes, a predetermined quantity of fiber or length of yarn or fabric is dyed. In continuous methods, very long lengths of varn or fabric are dyed. In skein dyeing, varns are wrapped around poles and vat dved. In package dveing, varn is wound onto perforated tubes through which dye is pumped. In beam dyeing, yarn or fabric is wrapped around a large perforated beam through which dye is pumped. In beck and jet dyeing, fabric is loosely twisted into a long loop and circulated around reels and guide rollers into and out of the dyebath. Jig dyeing is a batch process in which the fabric is under tension during dyeing as it passes through the dyebath and winds onto one roller, reverses direction, and passes back through the dyebath and onto the other roller. In continuous dyeing, the dye is padded onto the fabric, excess dye is removed by rollers, and steam heat sets the dye.

### **Dve Class**

Dye classes can be organized by application method. Acid dyes require an acidic pH, are used on wool, silk, and some manufactured fibers, and produce strong clear colors. Metalized or mordant dyes incorporate metal in their molecular structure that dulls color but improves wash fastness. Direct dyes are applied directly to cellulosic fibers in a neutral or alkaline bath and give slightly dull shades. They exhibit poor wash fastness, unless after-treated with a metal salt solution. Disperse dyes are slightly water soluble and used to dye most synthetic fibers. Fiber reactive or reactive dyes are applied in an alkaline environment, react with the hydroxyl groups of cellulose, and produce bright shades on cellulose. Sulfur



Dyers working in a tannery. Though most dyeing today is done with the help of machinery, the centuries-old process of hand dyeing has not completely disappeared. © JOHN R. JONES; PAPILIO/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and vat dyes are solubility cycle dyes that are applied to cellulosic fibers in a reduced, colorless form and reoxidized to the insoluble, colored form on the fiber. They have good fastness to washing and sunlight. Basic or cationic dyes are applied to cellulosic, protein, and some synthetic fibers in slightly acidic or neutral solutions. Azoic dyes are formed on the fiber through a coupling reaction of two components. Natural dyes are complex mixtures of components derived from plants, animals, or minerals.

## **History of Dyeing**

Dyeing was a hand process for thousands of years. Dyers used large containers or vats for coloring relatively short lengths of fabric or small quantities of fiber and yarn. Until the development of synthetic dyes, all dyes were natural compounds. Fastness varied widely among the natural dyes. The processes required to achieve certain colors were long and involved and carefully guarded by dyers. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, research into a better understanding of the chemistry of natural dyes led to the development of synthetic dyes. By approximately 1900, synthetic dyes had replaced natural dyes in almost all applications.

Developments during the industrial revolution increased the amount of fiber, yarn, or fabric dyed in a vat. Dye boxes, vats, and jigs were the primary pieces of equipment used to dye industrial quantities of fabric in batch methods. However, in the twentieth century, researchers developed continuous methods so that undyed fabric would enter and dyed fabric would exit the machine. Other twentieth-century developments increased production rates, improved dye quality, and lowered costs.

See also Dyeing, Resist; Dyes, Chemical and Synthetic; Dyes, Natural.

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Sara J. Kadolph

**DYEING, RESIST** Resist printing is a method used to apply a design on a fabric. It requires the covering of parts of the fabric in a way that will keep the dye from penetrating the open areas. The cover may be a variety of materials. Other than flat bed silk-screening and rotary silk-screening, resist-printing processes are hand methods. Wax is used in batik, while string or rubber bands are used in the tie-dye process. Similar to tie-dye is the ikat process, where the warp yarns are tied before dyeing. Another similar process to tie-dye is Shibori, where the fabric is given a three-dimensional form and folded, stitched, plaited, or twisted.

Also similar to tie-dye is the process called tritik. To prepare the fabric for dyeing, the fabric is stitched by hand or machine in the planned design. The thread is then pulled to draw the fabric. Where the fabric is close together it resists the dye.

Stencil printing is another form of resist printing. To make the stencil, designs are cut out of wood, paper, waxed paper, thin metal, or cardboard to cover the parts that will not be dyed. The open design areas need to be fastened to the adjacent areas; the attachments are usually noticeable in the print. A separate stencil is made for each color. The stencil is placed over the fabric. A color paste is applied to the open areas or the dye may be applied by an airbrush or spray gun. The stencil is removed and the next stencil is placed on the fabric.

Silk-screen printing is a process to apply designs either by hand or by automatic methods. The screen is coated with a material that is then removed in the design areas. Screens at one time were made from silk but in the early 2000s screens are either made from synthetic fibers or a metal mesh. A screen will be prepared for each color in the design. The screens are placed individually on top of the fabric by hand and the dye paste is forced onto the fabric through the open (design) areas of the screen by a squeegee. The screen is removed and moved to the next position on the fabric.

Flat bed silk-screening and rotary silk-screen printing are automatic methods. Flat silk-screening is similar to hand silk-screening but the fabric moves on a conveyor belt at regular intervals. The screens are placed above and are lowered automatically. Flat silk-screen printing is economically feasible for small runs and large designs.

Rotary silk-screen printing is a much faster system and used more often. Instead of flat screens, the screens are cylindrical and the dye paste is inside the roller. The squeegee forces the dye paste out of the roller on the fabric as it rotates. The design repeat is only as large as the circumference of the roller. Colorfastness of resist prints will be dependent on the dyestuff, the fiber, the pretreatment and absorbency of the fabric used, and the method of application.

See also Batik; Ikat; Tie-Dyeing.

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Robyne Williams

DYES, CHEMICAL AND SYNTHETIC Synthetic dyes are manufactured from organic molecules. Before synthetic dyes were discovered in 1856, dyestuffs were manufactured from natural products such as flowers, roots, vegetables, insects, minerals, wood, and mollusks. Batches of natural dye were never exactly alike in hue and intensity, whereas synthetic dyestuffs can be manufactured consistently. The use of computers and computer color matching (CCM) produces color that is identical from batch to batch.

William Henry Perkin, an eighteen-year-old English chemist, was searching for a cure for malaria, a synthetic quinine, and accidentally discovered the first synthetic dye. He found that the oxidation of aniline could color silk. From a coal tar derivative he made a reddish purple dye. The brilliant purple was called mauve. The dye was not stable to sunlight or water and faded easily to the color presently named mauve, a pale purple. This discovery resulted in additional research with coal tar derivatives and other organic compounds and an entire new industry of synthetic dyes was born. In the twenty-first century, synthetic dyes are less expensive, have better colorfastness, and completely dominate the industry as compared with natural dyes. Thousands of distinctly different synthetic dyes are manufactured in the world.

Dyes are classified by their chemical composition, the types of fibers to which they can be applied, by hue, or by the method of application. Dye molecules may attach to the surface of the fiber, be absorbed by the fiber, or interact with the fiber's molecules. Each fiber reacts differently to dyes. Fiber modifications will also react differently to the same dye. Within a dye classification, different hues will have different colorfastness.

The Society of Dyers and Colourists (SDC) and the American Association of Textile Chemists and Colorists (AATCC) classify dyes by their chemical composition. In the publication, *The Colour Index International*, dyes are listed by their generic name, which indicates the application class, and by a *Colour Index constitution number* (CI number) which indicates the chemical structure.

## Classes of Dyes

Acid (anionic) dyes are water-soluble dyes applied to wool, silk, nylon, modified rayon, certain modified acrylic, and polyester fibers. Fibers that will be damaged by acids, such as cellulosics, cannot be dyed with this family of dyes. The dyes in this class vary in their chemical composition but all use an acid bath. These dyes produce

bright colors and have a complete color range but colorfastness varies.

Azoic (naphthol) dyes are produced within the fiber of cellulose fibers. The fiber is impregnated with one component of the dye, followed by treatment with another component, thus forming the dye. When the two components are joined under suitable conditions (a low temperature water bath is employed) a large, insoluble, colored molecule forms within the fiber. Because the color is within the fiber, colorfastness is excellent. Excess color on the outside of the fiber will rub off (crock) if not removed.

Basic (cationic) dyes are very bright but have poor colorfastness; they have limited use on cellulosic and protein fibers. Wool and silk can be dyed by basic dyes in a dye bath containing acid. Cotton fibers can be dyed by basic dyes but only in the presence of a mordant, generally a metallic salt. The colored portion of the dye molecule carries a positive charge. Basic dyes are relatively colorfast on acrylic fibers. Nylon and polyester fibers that have been modified to accept basic dyes will exhibit excellent colorfastness. The first synthetic dye, mauveine, belongs in this class.

Direct (substantive) dyes are soluble and have an affinity for cellulose fibers. An electrolyte, salt, is added to the dye bath to control the absorption rate of the dye by the fiber. The dye is absorbed by the fiber; colorfastness to light is good but colorfastness to laundering is not. Direct dyes are best used when wet cleaning is restricted. Developed direct dyes are those that are developed on the fabric after dyeing. They produce an insoluble dye that forms a chemical bond with the fiber molecules. Developed direct dyes have better wash fastness but poorer light fastness as compared with direct dyes. Both are used on lower-cost fabrics.

Disperse dyes were first developed to dye acetate fibers. Hydrophobic fibers have little affinity for water-soluble dyes. A method to dye hydrophobic fibers by dispersing colored organic substances in water with a surfactant was developed. The finely colored particles are applied in aqueous dispersion and the color dissolves in the hydrophobic fiber. Disperse dyes are the best method for dyeing acetate and polyester. Acrylic, aramid, modacrylic, nylon, olefin, and polyester are dyed by dispersed dyes; colorfastness is good to excellent.

Pigment dyes are not dyes but insoluble coloring particles. Pigments are added to the spinning solution (the liquid fiber before extrusion) of synthetic fibers and become an integral part of the fiber. Colorfastness is excellent. Pigments are also printed on fabric using resin binders. The adhesive attaches the color to the fabric. Colorfastness is dependent on the binder or adhesive used rather than the pigment. Pigment printing is an economical and simple means of adding color to fabrics.

Reactive (fiber-reactive) dyes combine with fiber molecules either by addition or substitution. The color cannot be removed if properly applied. Colors are bright with very good colorfastness but are susceptible to damage by chlorine bleaches. Reactive dyes color cellulosics (cotton, flax, and viscose rayon), silk, wool, and nylon. Reactive dyes are used in conjunction with disperse dyes to dye polyester and cellulosic fiber blends. They were introduced to the industry in 1956.

Sulfur dyes are insoluble but become soluble in sodium polysulphide. They have excellent colorfastness to water. Another advantage is their low cost and ease of application. Dark shades—black, brown, navy blue—are typical of sulfur dyes. Newer sulfur dyes are available in brighter colors. They perform well if correctly applied. They are susceptible to damage by chlorine bleaches. Sulfur dyes color primarily cellulosics, such as heavyweight cotton and viscose rayon.

Vat dyes are insoluble in water but become soluble when reduced in the presence of an alkali. Oxidizing the dyed fabric produces a water insoluble dye. The term vat dyes is derived from the large vessels used to apply the dye. The first synthetic indigo dye, introduced to the industry in 1896, belongs to this class. Vat dyes have an incomplete color range but good to excellent color-fastness. They are primarily used to dye cotton work clothes, sportswear, prints, drapery fabrics, and cotton polyester blends. (1068)

See also Dyeing; Dyes, Natural.

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Robyne Williams

DYES, NATURAL Natural dyes are obtained from natural sources. Most are of plant origin and extracted from roots, wood, bark, berries, lichens, leaves, flowers, nuts, and seeds. Others come from insects, shellfish, and mineral compounds. Natural dyes were the only source of color for textiles, leather, basketry, and other materials until synthetic dyes were developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Of the thousands of natural color substances, very few became significant commercially. Dyestuff refers to the plant or other material from which the dye is extracted. Complete palettes are achieved by dyeing in one bath and sequential dyeing in two or more baths.

There are two types of natural dyes. Adjective or additive dyes such as madder must use a mordant (a chem-

ical that fixes a dye) to bond with fibers. These are the most common type and have been used for at least 2,000 years. Substantive dyes bond with a fiber without the use of a mordant or they contain tannin, a natural mordant. Examples of substantive dyes include safflower, cochineal, and black walnut. Mordants are chemical compounds that combine with the fiber and the dye forming a chemical bridge between the two. Madder, cochineal, and other commercially important natural dyes are polychromic, meaning that they yield different colors with different mordants. Common mordants are weak organic acids, such as acetic or tannic acid, and metal salts including aluminum ammonium or potassium sulfate, ferrous sulfate, and copper sulfate. Usually, the textile to be dyed is simmered in a mordant solution before dyeing (pre-mordanting). Other options include adding the mordant to the dyebath or treating with another mordant after dyeing to shift the color.

### **Current Use**

Natural dyes are used in small quantities by artists and craftspeople. Some commercial use of natural dyes is a response to concerns about synthetic dyes and environmental pollution. Natural dyes are a renewable resource and contribute to rural economic development. However, in most commercial applications, natural dyes do not compete with synthetic dyes that are available in more colors, more uniform in composition facilitating color matching, and of known ratings to fading agents. Contrary to common assumptions, some natural dyes have excellent fastness to light, cleaning agents, water, and perspiration. Commercially available natural dye extracts facilitate color matching and make the dyeing process less involved.

## Historic Natural Dyes

Evidence of well-developed dye works exists in many parts of the world. Ancient Egyptians, Phoenicians, and Peruvians were known for their excellent dyeing. Italian dyers were among the best from Roman times through the sixteenth century. Dyers from India were supreme in dyeing cotton. Dyers in China specialized in dyeing silk. Natural dyes were major trade items throughout history until the development of synthetic dyes. By the early years of the twentieth century, natural dyes had been replaced in most applications. However, most of these dyes remain important for artists, craftspeople, and niche producers.

Yellow dyes are the most numerous natural dyes, but most are weakly colored with poor lightfastness. The most important yellow dye in Europe was weld (*Reseda luteola*), which had better lightfastness than the dyes imported from Asia: saffron (*Crocus sativus*), safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*), and quercitron (*Quercus tinctoria nigra*). Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) is a contemporary dye extracted from wood and sawdust from a native North American tree.

Red dyes included madder, cochineal, kermes, lac, cudbear, and brazil wood. Madder is a fast, rich-red dye

obtained from the root of the Eurasian herbaceous perennial Rubia tinctoria. It was used in a long and complex process to produce Turkey Red on cotton and wool. With different mordants, madder produces a range of colors. Insect dyes include cochineal (Dactylopius sp.) from Central and South America, kermes (Kermoccus vermilis) of the Mediterranean region, and lac (Lakshadia chinensis and communis) of Asia. Cudbear (from Ochrolechia, Lasallia, and Umbilicaria spp.) is a lichen dye from northern Europe. Brazil wood (Caesalpinia spp.) from Asia and South America produces red, pink, and purple. Of these, madder and cochineal were the most important and the most readily available to contemporary dyers.

Indigo is extracted from the stems and leaves of plants of the *Indigofera* species from India, Central America, and Africa and from woad (*Isatis tinctoria*) from Europe. Indigo, originally from India, is used for cotton, wool, and silk. Woad was an important source of blue in Europe until it was replaced by imported indigo. Indigo from all sources was fermented to produce the dye. The dye must be reduced to be absorbed by the fiber and the fabric exposed to oxygen to develop the blue color.

Log wood (*Haematoxylon campechiancum L.*) from Central America was one of the most important black dyes. It also was used for blue and purple. Black walnut (*Juglans nigra*) is used in the twenty-first century to produce substantive black and brown dyes.

Purple dyes have been among the most difficult natural colors to achieve in large quantities. Shellfish (or Tyrian) purple was removed from shellfish of the species *Murex* found in the Mediterranean Sea and *Purpura* found along the coasts of Central America. Orchil, another important purple dye, was derived from lichens.

Mineral dyes include iron buff, iron black, manganese bistre, chrome yellow, and Prussian blue. They were used primarily on industrial fabrics.

## Dyeing with Natural Dyes

Natural dyes are most often processed in this way. The dyestuff is harvested or collected, soaked in water for several hours, and heated to a low simmer for approximately an hour or more to extract the dye. The extract is poured into another pot and water is added to achieve the desired dyebath volume. Wet, pre-mordanted textile is added to the dyebath, which is heated to a low simmer for approximately an hour. After the dyebath is cool, the textile is removed. Some dyers rinse before letting the textile dry. Other dyers prefer to dry the textile for several days before rinsing.

Contact dyeing is an alternate method in which the dyestuff, a tiny volume of water or other liquid, sodium chloride or mordant, and found materials like rusty nails or copper wire are placed in and around the textile that is sealed in a plastic bag or glass jar for several days, weeks, or months. Contact dyed textiles have unusual, one-of-a-kind patterns.

See also Dyeing; Dyes, Chemical and Synthetic.

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Sara J. Kadolph