EARRINGS Earrings, ornaments decorating the ears, have been one of the principal forms of jewelry throughout recorded history. The term usually refers to ornaments worn attached to the earlobes, though in the late twentieth century it expanded somewhat to include ornaments worn on other parts of the ear, such as ear cuffs, and is used to describe pieces of jewelry in earring form, even when they are worn through piercings in other parts of the body (for example, in the nose). The most common means of attaching earrings to the earlobes has been to pierce holes in the lobes, through which a loop or post may be passed. But a variety of other devices have also been used, including spring clips, tensioning devices such as screw backs, and, for particularly heavy earrings, loops passing over the top of the ear or attaching to the hair or headdress.

In many cultures and contexts, earrings have traditionally been worn as symbols of cultural or tribal identity, as markers of age, marital status, or rank, or because they are believed to have protective or medicinal powers. Even when they have served other purposes, however, the primary function of earrings has been a decorative one. As earrings are so prominently placed near the face, and at the juncture between costume and coiffure, they, perhaps more than any other element of jewelry, have been particularly responsive to changes in fashion; as hairstyles, hats, collars, and necklines have risen and fallen, earrings have correspondingly increased and decreased in size and prominence, and during many periods they have been instrumental in balancing and tying together the desired fashionable appearance.

The Ancient World

In antiquity, earrings were one of the most popular forms of jewelry. The crescent-shaped gold hoops worn by Sumerian women around 2500 B.C.E. are the earliest earrings for which there is archaeological evidence. By 1000 B.C.E., tapered hoop (also known as boat-shaped) earrings, most commonly of gold but also of silver and bronze, had spread throughout the Aegean world and Western Asia. In Crete and Cyprus, earrings were embellished with twisted gold wire, clusters of beads, and pendants stamped out of thin sheet gold.

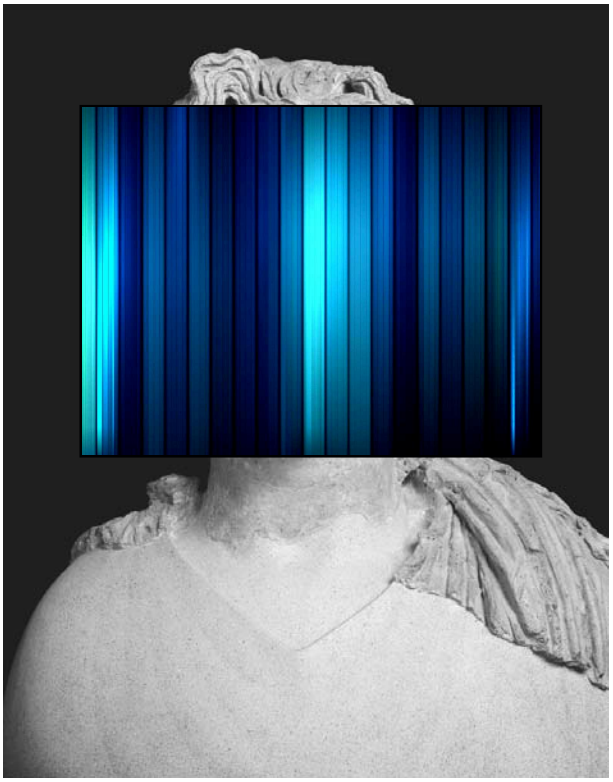
In Egypt, earrings were introduced about 1500 B.C.E. and were later worn by both men and women. Many Egyptian earrings took the form of thick, mushroom-shaped studs or plugs, which required an enlarged hole to be stretched in the earlobe; these could be of gold, with a decorated front surface, or of humbler materials such as colored glass or carved jasper. Ear studs consisting of two capped tubes that screwed together could be worn alone, but some also had elaborate pendants of gold cornflowers, or falcons with flexible tail feathers inlaid with glass.

In the first millennium B.C.E., Etruscan and Greek goldsmiths brought new refinement and artistry to earrings, which were valued as both an adornment and a sign of wealth. Variations on the hoop were the so-called leech earring, a thick tube secured by a hidden wire, and the Etruscan box-type earring, which encased the earlobe in a wide horizontal cylinder. Disk earrings, with pendants in the form of amphorae (ancient Greek jars), figures of Eros, and decorative beads and chains, were another popular form, joined about 330 B.C.E. by twisted gold hoops with animal-head finials. All of these forms were stamped out of thin sheets of gold and decorated with fine palmettes, scrolls, and flowers in twisted wire and granulation; such earrings were fairly light in weight, but gave an extremely rich effect.

Roman earrings were similar to Etruscan styles until the first century C.E., when new styles with disks and pendants mounted on s-shaped ear hooks appeared. Colored stones and pearls were favored, and earring styles proliferated to satisfy the Roman taste for ostentatious display. At its height, the Roman Empire had the effect of standardizing styles of jewelry over much of the known world; after the center of influence shifted to Byzantium (Constantinople) in C.E. 330, and Roman influence began to decline, local variations once more emerged. Characteristic Byzantine earrings were plain gold hoops with multiple pearl pendants hung on chains, and crescent-shaped earrings of gold filigree.

The Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

In Europe, earrings virtually disappeared between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries, as hairstyles and headdresses that completely covered the ears, and later high



Roman bust of woman wearing earrings. The Roman Empire's influence at its height of power resulted in the standardization of jewelry styles over much of the known world. © ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ruff collars, made them impractical. Earrings finally began to revive in the late sixteenth century, as ruffs gave way to standing collars. At first, complex enameled designs were popular, but improved techniques of gem cutting soon shifted the emphasis to faceted diamonds. In the seventeenth century, large, pear-shaped pearl pendants were a favorite earring style, and those who could afford to do so wore two in each ear. It was also fashionable to wear pendant earrings on strings or ribbons threaded through the earlobes and tied in bows, and to tie ribbon bows at the tops of earrings to achieve the same effect. Similar earring styles were also worn by fashionable gentlemen, but usually in one ear only.

By the late seventeenth century, earrings had become an essential element of dress, and larger and more elaborate forms began to develop. Two of these became the dominant styles of the eighteenth century: the girandole, in which a single top cluster branches out like a chandelier to support three pear-shaped drops, and the pendeloque, a top cluster with a long single pendant. New sources of diamonds, along with new methods of cutting them, developed early in the eighteenth century, made them the material of choice for jewelry, and high-quality paste imitations were also available. Glittering girandoles and pendeloques, visually tied to the ears by stylized ribbon bows of diamonds set in silver, effectively balanced the high, powdered hairstyles of the period. Despite their refined and delicate appearance, such large earrings were quite heavy; some had additional rings soldered to the tops, permitting the wearer to take some of the weight off of her ears by tying the earrings to her hair.

The Nineteenth Century

When the neoclassical style of dress and simpler hairstyles came into fashion at the end of the eighteenth century, earrings became lighter and simpler. Jewelry of cut steel, seed pearls, Berlin iron, and strongly colored materials such as coral and jet, harmonized well with neoclassical fashions, and classically inspired cameos and intaglios were set in all kinds of jewelry. Heavy girandoles gave way to pendant earrings composed of flat, geometric elements connected by light chains. "Top-and-drop" earrings, composed of a small top element attached to the ear wire, from which a larger, often teardrop-shaped element is suspended, also came to the fore around 1800, and remained the most popular earring style throughout the nineteenth century. Matched sets of jewelry, known as parures, assumed new importance in the nineteenth century, and they were available even to women of modest means. These sets usually included at least a matching necklace or brooch and earrings, but could also include bracelets, buckles, and a tiara or tiara-comb.

In the 1810s and 1820s, the trend toward lighter and more delicate jewelry continued, and settings of gold filigree or elaborate wirework (known as cannetille) were very popular. In the 1820s, a romantic interest in the past also inspired jewelry designers to revive historical styles from the ancient world to the eighteenth century, and a modified version of the girandole earring returned, along with elaborate gothic tracery and rococo-revival scrollwork. As hairstyles became more elaborate in the 1830s, earrings became more prominent, with small tops and long drops reaching nearly to the shoulders. In spite of their size, these earrings were fairly light in weight, owing to lightweight settings of gold cannetille or of *repoussé* (embossed relief raised from behind with a hammer), which had largely replaced cannetille by the 1840s. Earrings with long, torpedo-shaped drops of carved gemstones with applied gold filigree were also popular, many with detachable drops to allow the tops to be worn alone.

In the late 1840s and through the 1850s, a new hairstyle, with hair parted in the middle and gathered to the back of the head in loops that covered the ears, caused a virtual disappearance of earrings. Around 1860, once again owing to a return to upswept hairstyles, long pendant earrings made a comeback, and through the 1860s and 1870s they were produced in an astonishing variety of styles. One major theme was historical revival, with Egyptian and Classical styles particularly popular. Some revival earrings, such as those produced by the Castellani family in Rome, were fairly faithful reproductions

of recent archaeological discoveries; others were fanciful pastiches of classical earring forms, architectural elements, and other motifs such as amphorae. Earrings with carved classical reliefs of coral or lava, or Roman glass micro-mosaics, were very fashionable, and were often brought back as souvenirs by travelers to Italy. Other popular styles were naturalistic renditions of leaves, flowers, insects, and birds' nests in gold, enamel, and semiprecious stones; enameled renaissance-revival styles; and, for more precious gems, floral sprays and cascades. A new style in the 1870s was the fringe or tassel earring, with a graduated fringe of pointed drops suspended from a large oval pendant.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, large pendant earrings went out of fashion, in part because they were incompatible with the newly fashionable high dress and blouse collars, and with the elaborate "dog collar" necklaces worn for evening, which almost completely covered the neck. Small single-stone and cluster earrings, either firmly mounted to the ear wire or mounted as pendants to move and catch the light, were the most commonly worn style through the early twentieth century. The most fashionable earrings of all were diamond solitaires, which became more available after the opening of the South African diamond fields in the late 1860s. New cutting machines and open-claw settings, both of which increased the amount of light reflected by diamonds and made solitaire earrings more appealing, were developed in the 1870s. To prevent valuable diamond earrings from being lost, catches were added to secure the bottoms of the ear wires. Another innovation, first patented in 1878, was the earring cover, a small hinged sphere of gold, sometimes finished in black enamel, which could be snapped over a diamond earring to protect it from loss or theft. By the end of the century diamond ear studs (also called screws), with a threaded post passing through the ear, and held securely in back by a nut screwed onto the post, were also popular.

The Twentieth Century

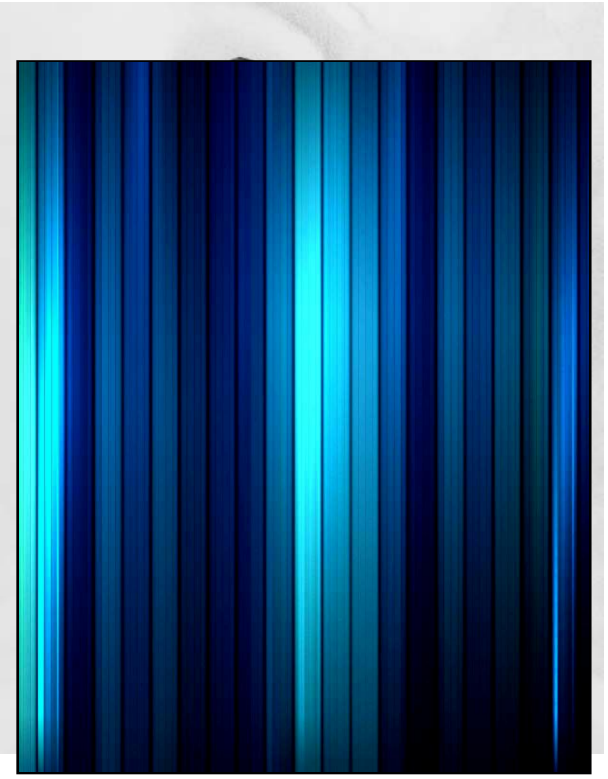
By 1900, as earrings declined in size and importance, many women stopped wearing them altogether. Some commentators denounced ear-piercing as barbaric, and women who pierced their ears were considered "fast," or not quite respectable. (In the United States, some of the reaction against pierced ears may be credited to the desire of "native" Americans to distinguish themselves from the large numbers of immigrant women, almost all with pierced ears, who were arriving from Europe at the time.) In spite of piercing's negative image, small screw earrings continued to be worn, and new screw-back fittings, which could be tightened onto unpierced earlobes, were available for those who did not wish to pierce their ears. Around 1908, pendant earrings were revived, but with light, articulated drops of smaller stones rather than single-stone drops; diamonds, pearls, and stones matching the color of the costume were the most popular materials.

The earring revival continued into the 1910s, aided considerably by a growing acceptance of costume jewelry. Jewelry could now be selected for its decorative value rather than its intrinsic value, and women could afford to own many pairs of earrings to match particular costumes; the rise of costume jewelry also made ear piercing less necessary, as women were less concerned about losing inexpensive earrings. (Many women, as was still true in the early 2000s, also had adverse reactions to the cheaper metals used in costume jewelry, which made pierced earrings seem less practical.) The fashion for the Oriental and exotic inspired by Paul Poiret and the Ballets Russes was reflected in bead necklaces and long drop earrings of Chinese amber, jade, black and red jet (glass), and carved tortoiseshell. Empire-revival fashions also inspired a revival of nineteenth-century jewelry styles and materials, including cut steel and cameos.

By the early 1920s, earrings were again almost universally worn, and the range of exotic styles had expanded to include hoop and pendant earrings of Spanish or Gypsy inspiration, Egyptian styles inspired by the discovery of King Tutankhamen's tomb in 1922, nineteenth-century antiques, and picturesque "peasant" styles from around the world. As reported by the *New York Times* in 1922, in the 1920s earrings could "no longer … be considered as an article of jewelry; they are *the* article of jewelry." With dress styles now comparatively simple, and many women bobbing their hair, earrings were considered an essential finishing touch—a means both of filling in the area between the ear and shoulder and of expressing the wearer's personality. Bold geometric pendant earrings, made of diamonds and platinum contrasted with strongly colored materials such as onyx and lapis lazuli, were displayed at the Exposition International des Arts Décoratifs in 1925, and this style, which became known as Art Deco, remained popular for both precious and costume earrings for the remainder of the decade.

In the early 1930s, although there was no sudden change in style, earrings began to move closer to the head again, partly in response to smaller, close-fitting hats and the return of high, tied and ruffled collars. Another major influence was the introduction, in 1931, of clip fastenings for earrings, which made it possible to concentrate ornamentation over the earlobe, and compact designs following the line of the ear soon became popular. Matching earrings, bracelets, and other jewelry made of brightly colored bakelite were another signature 1930s look. For evening, long earrings in Art Deco style were still popular, but earrings with white stones (diamonds or pastes) were now the most popular, and the pendants now added volume by branching out to the sides, in a modern version of the girandole, or "chandelier," style.

In the 1940s, compact clips or screw backs, often made with a matching brooch, were the dominant earring style. Gold, strongly colored stones, and bolder, more sculptural forms were now preferred, in keeping with the



Gold hoop earring. Hoops are the earliest known form of earrings, dating from about 2500 B.C.E., and they have been a popular style for most of the proceeding centuries. © IMAGES.COM/ CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

padded shoulders and highly structured coiffures of the period. Close-to-the-ear styles, with clip or screw backs, continued to be the most popular in the 1950s, but settings became more delicate, to harmonize with the more deliberately feminine fashions in the years following Christian Dior's 1947 "New Look" collection. An important look of the 1950s was the matched set of choker necklace and button earrings, and these were produced in a wide variety of styles and materials, including newly developed plastics. White and colored rhinestones were popular, as were beads and faux pearls of all kinds, colors, and finishes, often looped in multiple strands around the neck, and fastened with a clasp of clustered beads matching the earrings. Ear piercing, while still not common, began to revive in the early 1950s; in the United States, the trend began as a fad among college girls, and Queen Elizabeth II set an example for many in England when she had her ears pierced in order to be able to wear diamond earrings she received as a wedding present in 1947.

In the 1960s, as in the 1920s, clean-lined dresses and hairstyles, including the long, straight hair popular later in the decade, provided an ideal background for large and decorative earrings. Earrings were again among the most important of accessories, and were often designed to stand alone, rather than as part of a matched set. In both fine and costume jewelry, abstraction was popular, and creative design, visual impact, and wit were often considered more important than the intrinsic value of jewelry. Hoop earrings were one of the signature styles of the decade, and they appeared in designs inspired by tribal jewelry, enormous space-age styles of chrome and plastic, and kinetic designs of concentric, articulated rings. Ethnic styles, particularly from India and the Near East, were also popular, and delicate dangling earrings helped to propel handcrafted sterling silver jewelry, which had been growing in popularity since the 1940s, into the fashion mainstream.

By the early 1970s, the new fashionable ideal was the "natural look," and large costume earrings disappeared in favor of smaller and more delicate earrings, usually of silver or gold, and almost always worn in pierced ears. In terms of design, earrings remained fairly inconspicuous throughout the decade, though they were given new prominence by the fashion for multiple piercings in the same ear, which began as a teenage fashion around the middle of the decade, and continued into the twenty-first century to be a popular way to wear earrings. Earrings worn in the upper part of the ear, and ear cuffs, which grip the edge of the upper ear, were fashions introduced late in the decade. The 1970s was also when earrings for men returned to fashion after a 300-year absence; earrings had continued to be worn by sailors, by some homosexual men, and by members of groups such as motorcycle gangs, but many more men now began to wear single earrings largely for their decorative value.

Large and flashy earrings, both real and frankly fake, returned in the 1980s, to balance the bolder shapes and colors, padded shoulders, high-volume hairstyles, and dramatic makeup then in fashion. Chunky button earrings covering the lower half of the ear and large pendant hoops were popular styles, and common finishes were shiny gold, bright colors contrasted with black, and a variety of bronzed and iridescent metallic finishes. Even relatively understated earrings tended toward strong shapes, worn close to the earlobe; though most women still had pierced ears, clips were popular because they kept earrings close to the head, and because they distributed the weight of heavier styles.

In the early 1990s, silver, brushed finishes, and simple, elegant earrings began to succeed the shiny gold and jagged shapes of the 1980s, in keeping with the monochromatic and minimalist mood of fashion. At the same time, the trend toward simple, versatile clothes that could be dressed up or down inspired women to use elaborate or unusual earrings to vary the effect of an ensemble, and earring styles proliferated. Since the mid-1990s, there has not been a dominant style in earrings, although historical revivals have been an important trend; the popularity of glamorous "chandelier" earrings inspired the return of girandole and top-and-drop designs from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, along with the more familiar kinetic designs of

the 1920s and 1960s. Earrings have become a popular form of personal expression, and how and when they are worn, along with their function within an ensemble, became largely a matter of personal choice.

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrews, Carol. *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery.* London: British Museum Publications, 1990.

Bury, Shirley. *Jewellery 1789–1910—The International Era.* 2 vols. Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.: Antique Collectors' Club, 1991.

Fales, Martha Gandy. *Jewelry in America 1600–1900.* Woodbridge, Suffolk, U.K.: Antique Collectors' Club, 1995.

"Fashions: Earrings Essential Now for Smart Dressing." *New York Times* (23 July 1922): 80.

Flowers, Margaret. *Victorian Jewellery.* New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1951.

Mascetti, Daniela, and Amanda Triossi. *Earrings from Antiquity to the Present.* London: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1990.

Scarisbrick, Diana. *Jewellery.* London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1984.

———. *Tudor and Jacobean Jewellery.* London: Tate Publishing, 1995.

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. *Jewelry, Ancient to Modern.* New York: Viking Press, 1979.

Susan Ward

ECCLESIASTICAL DRESS The term "ecclesiastical" derives from the Greek *ekklesiastikos*, from *ekklesia*, an assembly or meeting called out, which in turn derives from *ekkalein*, to call forth or convoke, *ek*, out, and *kalein*, to call. This assembly often referred to the Christian Church and its clergy. Ecclesiastical dress refers here to garments worn by Christian leaders, including members of monastic orders—as distinct from the laity—from the early Christian era until the present, not only in the West but also in all parts of the world where the Christian religion is practiced.

Historical and Cross-Cultural Examples

The origins of ecclesiastical dress have been debated, with some attributing early forms to garments worn by Jewish religious leaders, while others have argued that these vestments derived from everyday Roman dress worn during the early Christian era. In the early 2000s, the latter explanation prevails. Different forms of ecclesiastical dress have developed with the expansion and elaboration of the Western and Eastern Churches. The forms and meanings of ecclesiastical dress have changed over time and have variously been used to separate the mundane from the spiritual, to emphasize the glory of God through beautiful raiment, to express religious humility and piety, and to identify individuals within the church hierarchy.

Depictions of early Christians in the Catacombs of St. Domitilla in Rome include a painting of the Good Shepherd, wearing a white tunic or *tunica*, a rectangle of white material—made either from linen or wool—with a girdle holding it in place. The secular use of this garment was as an undergarment, covered by a toga. Church leaders adopted the dalmatic, also a tunic-like garment, worn in ancient Rome, by the eighth century as an upper-vestment worn by bishops, deacons, and sub-deacons. The *paenula*, which was worn as an outer garment, was the secular precursor of the chasuble, a term derived from the Latin, *casula*, little house or cottage—a circular piece of cloth with a head opening and sometimes a hood, which protected its wearer like a house. It was formally decreed as an outside garment for clergy in 742 by the Council of Ratisbon. One of the earliest examples of the wearing of these garments by church leaders come from depictions of the chasuble or *paenula*, dalmatic, and *pallium* (a long woven band of white wool, decorated with crosses) in the sixth century mosaic from the Church of St. Apollinaire, in Ravenna.

Ecclesiastical dress in the West and East developed along the same lines until the eleventh century; however, there were differences in the meanings and uses of these garments. In the West, vestments were worn to express Christian beliefs about the sacred and the mundane, as well as to distinguish the roles of clergy within the Church hierarchy. In the Eastern churches, these ideas were also present although the belief that ecclesiastical vestments literally represented the garments of Christ also existed. This belief was visually expressed, for example, in the vestment known as the *stichar*ion, a tunic-like garment that had its counterpart in the alb, a white linen tunic used as a vestment in the West by the twelfth century. The *stichar-ion* had two bands of red ornamentation, known as *clavi*, which referred to the wounds made on Christ's body during the Crucifixion. Similarly, embroidery at the ends of the *stichar*ion's narrow sleeves was meant to represent the manacles with which Christ's wrists were bound. While embroidered pieces known as apparels were used on albs, dalmatics, and tunicles to represent Christ's stigmata when placed at the end of sleeves and at hems, the practice of incorporating this form of ornamentation on vestments was gradually replaced by the use of lace in Western vestments during the sixteenth century.

Vestments used in the Eastern Church include the *phelonion;* the *saccos* (a tunic with wide sleeves, worn by patriarchs); as well as the priestly insignia—the *omophorion*—the Western *pallium*—worn by bishops; two forms of stole—the *epitrachilion* and the *orarion*, worn by priests and deacons, respectively—and the square ceremonial cloth known as the *epigonation*, symbolically representing "the Sword of God," worn only in the Greek and Armenian churches by vested bishops. The *phelonion*, as depicted in medieval frescoes, was a round cloak sim-

Embroidered chasuble. Long a staple of the Roman Catholic Church, the chasuble has been worn by clergy members since at least the sixth century. © PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ilar to the medieval bell-shaped chasuble. Initially, it was made from white or colored materials alone, but by the eleventh century it was embroidered with small crosses. The art of Byzantine embroidery of ecclesiastical dress flourished during the period of the Palaeologus Dynasty, from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fifteenth century. Byzantine embroiderers used gold, silver, and silk thread to depict a range of scenes and personages from the Old and New Testaments on silk vestments. Several extant embroidered *sacci* from the fourteenth and early fifteenth century illustrate this Byzantium style of vestment, including two *sacci* associated with the Metropolitan Photius of Moscow (1408–1432). One side of the Grand *Saccus* of Photius includes heavily embroidered portraits of the Grand Prince of Moscow, along with a depiction of the Crucifixion, the Prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, and three Lithuanian martyrs, all on a blue silk background, with the embroidery outlined with pearls.

The Byzantine or Eastern Orthodox Church also includes the Syrian, Armenian, Nubian, Ethiopian, and the Coptic Churches, with their own traditions of ecclesiastical dress. There was considerable overlap in the vestments of the early Coptic Church with those of the other Byzantine churches. For example, the *sticharion* (tunic), *orarion* (strole), *epitrachelion* (stole), and *phelonion* (chasuble) were used by both. Later developments, particularly the introduction of the stole-like *ballin* that was worn by priests and bishops during church services, distinguished Coptic practice. Much of what is known of early ecclesiastical dress worn in these churches comes from texts, illuminated manuscripts, and wall paintings.

During the Medieval Period, ecclesiastic dress in the Roman Catholic Church included a range of vestments used in relation to church services: the alb, cassock (an ankle-length garment with sleeves), chasuble, cope (a capelike garment used as outerwear), dalmatic, hood (a hood attached to cope, often nonfunctional), maniple (a folded cloth or narrow strip worn over the left shoulder of bishops, priests, deacons, and sub-deacons during Mass), mitre (a cap worn by bishops often with two tabs—lappets—of cloth hanging from the back), stole (a long strip of cloth, worn in particular ways to identify members of priesthood), and surplice (a loose, white, outer ecclesiastical vestment usually of knee length with large open sleeves). It was also during the thirteenth century that the English embroidery of ecclesiastical dress flourished, referred to as Opus Anglicanum. In continental Europe, vestments made of patterned silk velvets with intricately embroidered orphreys, decorative woven bands (used in the forms of crosses, pillars, and simple selvage bands on copes, dalmatics, and chasubles) were also produced at this time. With the separation of the Church of England from Rome in 1534, the embroidery of vestments in England fell into decline, to be resumed there during the nineteenth century Gothic Revival.

Controversies Relating to Ecclesiastical Dress

During periods of religious reform and political change, ecclesiastical dress has often served as a symbol of the old regime, which must be replaced or denigrated by reformers, while those opposing the abandonment of older forms of ecclesiastical dress (and the church doctrine associated with them) have sought to maintain them. One famous example of a controversy was the debate over the white linen surplice, which became a symbol of Roman Catholicism during the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century England. With the separation from the Roman Catholic Church made final by an act of Parliament in 1534 and the subsequent establishment of the Church of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558–1603), the surplice became the universal vestment of all Anglican clergy in 1563. Yet surplices, along with copes, albs, and chasubles, were seen as remnants of "popish dress" by Protestant religious reformers such as the Puritans, Methodists, and Baptists. Tracts with titles

such as "A briefe discourse against the outvvarde apparell and ministring garmentes of the popishe church" written by Robert Crowley in 1578 were published and some Protestant leaders were imprisoned for refusing to wear a surplice during church services. These leaders preferred to wear simple, everyday dress, which did not distinguish them from the laity or from everyday affairs. Nonetheless, Anglican Church leaders preserved distinctive ecclesiastical garments, particularly those that continued to be used for royal services. During the seventeenth century, English Protestant ecclesiastical dress was modeled on contemporary dress fashions—specifically, a simple black suit, including a coast, waistcoat, and knee breeches, and a white neckcloth, while Anglican clergy wore cassocks and gowns. However, during the 1840s, those associated with the Gothic Revival in England sought to reinstate the practices of the Church of England during the reign of King Edward VI. In 1840, the Bishop of Exeter directed Anglican clergy to wear surplices, which led to the Surplice Riots when mobs in Exeter pelted those wearing surplices with rotten eggs and vegetables. The Bishop's order was rescinded, but by the second half of the nineteenth century, ecclesiastical dress—including surplices, copes, and albs—was incorporated into Anglican services, modeled after gothic vestments design, as interpreted by Victorian artists. This revival of the use of vestments coincided with the fluorescence of the Arts and Crafts movement during the nineteenth century in England. One prominent member of this movement, William Morris, who as an Anglo-Catholic, had supplied specially designed vestments to the Roman Catholic Church following the Catholic Emancipation of 1829. In 1854, the Ladies' Ecclesiastical Embroidery Society was organized to produce embroidered replicas of medieval designs (Johnstone 2002, p. 123). Along with these specialized workshops, ecclesiastical dress, which was mass-produced and mass-marketed through catalogs, also became available, in part, due to the increasing demand for such vestments from missionaries working in the British colonies during this period.

Another example in which ecclesiastical dress became the focus of controversy took place in Mexico. Prior to the Mexican Revolution, the wealth and political power of the Roman Catholic Church was evident in ornate cathedrals and ecclesiastical dress. During the second half of the eighteenth century, dalmatics, copes, chasubles, and stoles made with silver and gold threads and elaborately embroidered with the emblem of the Convent of Santa Rosa de Lima, were probably made in the Mexican city of Puebla. While the Church had considerable popular support, its extensive landholding and its association with the political elite contributed to the view that it was an impediment to economic progress and social justice. During the Mexican Revolution that began in 1910, a series of anticlerical measures were taken, culminating with the writing of the Constitution of 1917, which provided for the confiscation of church lands, the replacement of religious holidays with patriotic ones, and the banning of public worship outside of church buildings, including processionals (Purnell 1999, p. 60). While these laws were enacted, they were not always strictly enforced until 1926, when Government leaders sought to further restrict the power of the Church through the Calles Law. This law outlawed Catholic education, closed monasteries and convents, and in Article 130, restricted the wearing of ecclesiastical dress in public. When the Mexican Episcopate ordered the closing of churches in response to the Calles Law, a popular uprising known as the Cristero Rebellion resulted, primarily in central West Mexico, during the period from 1926 to 1929. With the state's agreement to stop its insistence on registering priests and with the restoration of religious services—including the wearing of ecclesiastical dress—the rebellion ceased.

Ecclesiastic dress has also served as a vehicle for expressing anticolonial sentiments in Africa, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, many early African Christian converts did not reject European styles of vestments, but rather incorporated indigenous elements into ecclesiastical dress as an expression of their discontent. In colonial Nigeria during the first half of the twentieth century, converts who occupied leadership positions in Roman Catholic and orthodox Protestant churches—primarily, Anglican, Methodist, and Baptist—generally wore the tailored garments (cassocks, chasubles, surplices, copes, and mitres) used by home church leaders. These garments distinguished Christian converts from those practicing various forms of indigenous religion, which had their own, often untailored, dress traditions. Yet some early Nigerian Christian leaders sought to assert independence from Orthodox churches over doctrinal disputes, often concerning polygynous marriage. Establishing their own churches, referred to generally as African Independent Churches, they did not entirely abandon tailored, Western-style vestments. Rather, these leaders developed distinctive ecclesiastical dress forms that identified these new churches and emphasized particular aspects of their doctrine. For example, Bishop J. K. Coker, the founder of the African Church, incorporated indigenous textiles, for example handwoven narrow strip cloths, into ecclesiastical dress. Leaders of the Independent African Churches such as Bishop Coker were the predecessors of nationalist independence leaders who supported secular independent states based on Euro-American models combined with African social and cultural elements.

The controversies surrounding freedom of religious expression have, at times, been moderated through gradual change in ecclesiastical dress, which reflected church leaders' responses to changing political and social contexts. For example, early members of the Marist Brothers apostolic movement, which was founded in France by Father Marcellin Champagnat (1789–1840), wore "a sort of blue coat, . . . black trousers, a cloak, and round hat" garments, which he believed were imbued with spiritual power that

protected its wearers from anticlerical attacks. While these vestments helped to attract and visually to distinguish new members during the post-revolutionary period in France, they also gave followers a sense of special protection. However, with the incorporation of the Marist Brothers' Institute as a religious order of the Roman Catholic Church in 1863, Marist ecclesiastical dress came to lose its mystical aspects and shifted to a uniform prescribed by the Church authorities, including a black soutane, white rabat, and a black cloak. With the Second Vatican Council in 1962, Marist Brothers' ecclesiastical dress again changed as a loss in church membership suggested a simpler, less-clerical style—such as a suit—would be more appropriate to modern worship. However, by 1987, some Marist priests returned to wearing the soutane, while others continued to wear secular suits, depending on their preferences and those of their parishioners. This shift from distinctive ecclesiastical dress that identified Catholic orders according to particular configurations and types of garments to current secular dress styles, indistinguishable from contemporary clothing is also evident in Western nuns' garb. Western nuns or Women Religious, whose name as well as dress changed with Vatican II, as of the turn of the twenty-first century wore everyday garments as a way of emphasizing their role in modern society, rather than their separation from it.

Role in Contemporary Society

In the West, this shift back to simplicity in Roman Catholic and Anglican ecclesiastical dress is expressed in simple, fully-cut vestments made from materials using natural fibers, reminiscent of those of the early Christian era. A leading figure in this movement is Sister M. Augustina Fluëler, a Capuchin nun, associated with the Cloisters of St. Klara, in Switzerland. One chasuble that she designed was made of off-white, plain-weave wool, with a stole of plain-weave silk with two embroidered crosses in gold thread. In a simple and elegant wool and silk dalmatic, she used narrow bands of rose and purple as edging, with broader alternating bands of these colors incorporated into the sleeves.

Other expressions of this simplicity of vestment design may be seen in the embroidered works of Beryl Dean Phillips (England), in the handwoven chasubles of Barbara Markey Wallace (United States) and copes and mitres with lappets of Lennart Rodhe (Sweden), in the painted chasubles of Willam Justema (United States) and in the appliquéd chasubles of Henri Matisse (France). While utilizing different techniques—embroidery, handwoven twills, overshot, and tapestry, painting, and appliqué in their production, they share a spareness of patterning—often of crosses or of stylized floral patterns with little background ornamentation—and of natural materials—silk, wool, cotton, and linen. The design and production of these vestments by craftswomen and men underscores the belief that the careful and creative making of objects used in divine service is in itself a form of worship. These vestments convey "a certain splendid sobriety," the essence of the reform of the Roman Catholic Church associated with the *General Instructions* of 1962 that emphasize that the beauty of ecclesiastical vestments derives from "the excellence of their material and the elegance of their cut" (Flannery, p. 197), rather than from their elaborate ornamentation or color. The concept of the simple yet distinctive beauty of vestments coincides with Anglican views of contemporary ecclesiastical dress, the use of which should mark special religious events, but without ostentation.

Ecclesiastical Dress and Globalization

The counterpart to simplicity of ecclesiastical dress produced by vestment makers in the West, which in the Roman Catholic Church was associated with the reforms instituted by Vatican II, is seen in the appearance of individual national churches, whose identities are expressed, in part, through use of local materials in vestments. The basis for the local development of ecclesiastical dress is found in the General Instruction on the Roman Missal:

> 304. Bishops' Conferences may determine and propose to the Holy See any adaptations in the shape or style of vestments, which they consider desirable by reason of local customs or needs.
>
> 305. Besides the materials traditionally used for making sacred vestments, natural fabrics from each region are admissible, as also artificial fabrics which accord with the dignity of the sacred action and of those who are to wear the vestments. It is for the Bishops' Conference to decide on these matters. (Flannery, p. 197)

The use of local materials may refer to particular techniques—types of weaving, embroidery, or drawnwork—and types of materials—cotton, wool, lurex, among others. In the Philippines, for example, locally made vestments are constructed from handwoven cloth of pineapple (*piña*) and *abaca* (commonly known as Manila hemp) fibers. Abaca fibers are processed from the long plant stalks and the finely spun threads are handwoven into plain-weave abaca cloth, with designs made through discontinuous supplementary weft patterning (*sinuksok*) and resist-dyed ikat techniques. Abaca cloth made into vestments may also be embellished with a range of decorative techniques including, embroidery, appliqué, beadwork, and cut-and drawn work. Chasubles, copes, stoles, and mitres with lappets made from cloth handwoven with *piña* fibers are similarly decorated. A new type of vestment was introduced in the Philippines in the 1970s, the chasuble-alb, known in the Philippines as the tunic. This vestment, worn with a stole, serves as both an alb and a chasuble, thus limiting the number of vestments needed by concelebrants and reducing the discomfort of wearing multiple layers of cloth in a tropical climate. However, not all liturgists have agreed with this change and in 1973, the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines restricted its use to particular circumstances.

In Nigeria, there has been a shift from the purchase of ecclesiastical dress, mainly from Great Britain to the production of vestments in Nigeria itself, using locally woven narrow-strip cloth and batik-dyed textiles. Chasubles, mitres, and stoles, machine-embroidered with depictions of scenes and texts from the Old and New Testament as well as with more abstract shapes and symbols, may be produced by individual specialists or by nuns working in convent workshops. One woman, Mrs. Anne Salubi of Ilorin, a university-trained artist, is renowned throughout Nigeria for her chasubles, which have been commissioned by bishops in various Nigerian cities as well as in Ireland. During the recent visit of Pope John Paul II to Nigeria, Mrs. Salubi was commissioned to make the chasuble given to the Pope during his visit. Anglican and Methodist church leaders in Nigeria have also begun to incorporate handwoven cloth strips into ecclesiastical dress, using them mainly as stoles in different colors used for particular church seasons, with simple machine-embroidered design such as crosses. Smaller workshops combine the production of church stoles and choir robes with academic gowns.

The mass-production and mass-marketing of ecclesiastical dress through catalogues reflect the accelerating interdependence of nations and communities in a world system linked through economics, mass media, and modern transportation systems. For example, Mexico-style ecclesiastical vestments are marketed on the website of the Mexican American Cultural Center, of San Antonio, Texas, which includes embroidered chasubles produced by the congregation of Sisters in Guadalajara, Mexico, as well as stoles made with locally handwoven *zarape* cloth strips. The web not only facilitates the marketing of vestments but also serves as a source of materials, such as metallic threads, which might not be available locally. Thus, globalization allows for specialization of local styles of ecclesiastical dress while also expanding the availability of supplies and the marketing of these national or ethnically identified vestment styles to communities outside the immediate homeland.

Pope John Paul I wearing richly detailed epitrachelion. The epitrachelion is the second fundamental vestment in the Christian Church and is worn by both priests and bishops. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Conclusion: Main Themes

Several recurrent themes have emerged during the long history of ecclesiastic dress. Early church dress consisted of simple forms, using natural materials, in part due to the persecution of Christians and in part due to a lack of well-defined church doctrine on dress. By the third century, with the acceptance of Christianity by Constantine, there was a shift toward ecclesiastical dress, which both identified wearers as Church leaders and also indicated their rank within the church. These two tendencies—one, toward visually portraying church hierarchy with ever more elaborate ecclesiastical dress, exalting the worship of God and Christ through beautiful vestments; the other toward downplaying distinctions between church leadership and laity through simple, unadorned styles of dress and, in the case of the Protestant Reformation, abandoning ecclesiastical dress entirely—have been expressed in various ways over the centuries. A related theme, uniformity and individualism, has also been expressed in ecclesiastical dress. For example, U.S. "women religious" have abandoned wearing habits, in order to address the contradiction between American social ideals of secular individualism and the religious uniformity that ecclesiastical dress represent, and to function more effectively in the secular world. These themes also reflect the relationship of changes in ecclesiastical dress and political, economic, and social changes, with reformers tending toward simplicity and contemporary secular garments, and with counter-reformers tending toward more elaborated vestments which reflect a nostalgia for past "traditions" in preference to secular "modernity." Contests between church and state have also been reflected in controversies over the wearing of ecclesiastical vestments.

The themes of worldliness and spirituality, unity and individualism, and simplicity and elaboration, have been concerns expressed largely in terms of vestment use in Western and Eastern Churches in Europe and in the United States. The use of ecclesiastical vestments as expressions of anticolonial sentiments and, more generally, to counter assumptions about Western cultural hegemony are themes that emerge in Christian communities

in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where conversion to Christianity has been more recent. European ecclesiastical dress has been viewed as a sign of modernity but also as a symbol of acquiescence to Western power. With national independence and with the later reforms of Vatican II introduced in 1962 and thereafter, African, Asian, and Latin American Roman Catholics began to incorporate locally produced vestments using indigenous materials into religious worship, supporting modern local and Roman Catholic identities simultaneously.

Ecclesiastical dress is especially appropriate for asserting different identities and distinctions among individuals and groups because of the range of materials, colors, embellishments, and styles into which this dress can be shaped. Ecclesiastical dress may also be used to construct new identities that acknowledge cultural distinctiveness, while at the same time emphasizing membership in a universal world church. The continually changing configurations of vestments used in Christian worship attest to this aspiration for unity and distinction. The attempts to find an acceptable balance of old and new ways, of simplicity and ornamentation, of indigenous and foreign ideas and practices, reflect a striving for the harmonious unity of humankind and at the same time, a need for distinctive identities and beliefs, both expressed through the use of ecclesiastical dress.

See also **Religion and Dress.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Innemée, Karel C. *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East.* Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1992.

Mayo, Janet. *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress.* New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1984.

Elisha P. Renne

ECONOMICS AND CLOTHING The economics of clothing involve three processes: production, making the clothing; distribution, getting the clothing from the maker to the consumer; and consumption, actually using the clothing. Although consumption drives production and distribution, the three processes are in many ways inseparable. The system is fiercely competitive at all stages, partly but not entirely because clothing is a fashion good. Although some plain utilitarian garments may seem to be little affected by fashion, their production and distribution are highly competitive as well.

In developed nations, fashions in clothing and other goods and services change so rapidly and in so many ways that it's difficult to keep track. People may assume that, in ancient cultures or isolated societies, styles of clothing, dwellings, tools, and customs remained static for generations. Yet scholars discern small incremental changes when they can find sufficient data. Major features of the economics of clothing today have roots in the distant past.

Perhaps in prehistoric times, or on the frontier of pioneer America, isolated family units produced all their own clothing. But in fact, most people probably hunted in groups for large, fur-bearing animals and specialized in doing certain tasks. Production of apparel has always been highly labor-intensive, and evidence of specialization appears early.

Twenty thousand to twenty-six thousand years ago, in the north of what is now Russia, a young man was buried in a shirt and trousers elaborately embroidered with ivory beads. At roughly the same time, in what is now France, craftsmen were carving delicate sewing needles from bone. To shape and drill beads or make needles with the materials and tools available then would require both inherent manual skill and considerable practice. Probably only one person in a settlement or a cluster of settlements mastered the skills for such work; others did tasks such as harvesting and processing fibers or skins and assembling garments. Presumably these specialists bartered what they made for goods and services of other group members. Specialization optimizes use of individuals' time and abilities and makes better quality clothing possible for all. Scientists who uncovered the grave of the youth in the beaded outfit concluded that he was a person of importance—he or his family possessed wealth or power to command a costume of such splendor. Clothing already expressed status, more than 200 centuries ago.

A Global Economy

The apparel economy is truly global. From earliest times, it has extended to the limits of human occupation. In each geographic area, people exploited native plants, animals, and minerals. The Chinese learned the secrets of the silkworm; linen grew in the Nile valley, cotton in the Indus River valley; Mesopotamians raised sheep for their wool. Shellfish found at the eastern end of the Mediterranean sea provided precious purple dye. Polar cultures relied upon the furs and skins of local creatures, both land and sea. Natives of what is now the Pacific coast of Canada used cedar bark garments to shed rain; some peoples made cloaks of grasses.

In time, precious textiles, furs, and ornaments moved by long, difficult overland trade routes or hazardous water voyages. Later, textile centers evolved where people demanded large quantities of luxury fabrics and were willing to pay well for them. Byzantium, as well as Sicily, produced fine silks during the Middle Ages, although they were far from the original sources of silk. Even so, proximity of raw materials gave some geographic areas advantages over others. Certain districts in Italy, Germany, Flanders, and England became textile centers, specializing in locally produced fibers and distinctive techniques. In medieval times, traveling merchants transported fine textiles from production centers to regional trade fairs on a regular basis.

The ramifications of trade in textiles and other apparel materials extended far beyond the obvious. In an-

The Concept of Fashion

"Fashion" is a complex concept, but economic analyses require simple, operational definitions. Therefore this essay uses definitions based on those stated by Paul Nystrom in his 1928 book, *Economics of Fashion.* He defined "style" as "a characteristic or distinctive mode or method of expression in the field of some art" (p. 3) and "fashion" as "the prevailing style at any given time" (p. 4). A source of confusion is that the word "fashion" can be used to mean either "content" or "process."

In writing or speech, the word "fashion" is often misused as a synonym for women's clothing. Yet most consumer goods and services are subject to the fashion process. Fashion also affects noneconomic matters such as social customs. The economic structure of consumer goods industries reflects the role of fashion, which in turn indirectly affects basic industries. Because "fashion" can involve virtually all aspects of contemporary life, this essay concentrates on the economics of clothing.

cient Mesopotamia, the need to record exchanges of these and other goods stimulated development of counting systems and writing. Eventually, coinage evolved to expedite transactions. Still later, Italians pioneered bookkeeping, banking, and legal systems to facilitate and organize international commerce.

The great plague, the Black Death, which killed as many as one-third of the people in Europe, may have reached Europe from Asia in the middle 1300s, transported by infected fleas on furs carried by caravans along the ancient silk road. As the plague abated, fashion change accelerated because of greater concentration of population in cities, shifts in the distribution of wealth, and growing importance of commercial life. The demand for furs in the sixteenth century, including beaver skins to make fine felt hats, became a major force driving the exploration of North America. Remote Australia and New Zealand were settled largely because sheep could be raised profitably there.

Guilds

In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, members of guilds produced elegant and costly clothing to order for wealthy and high-ranking people on the European continent. Guilds were part civic associations, part trade associations, part labor unions. Guilds specialized in certain crafts ranging from hats to shoes. Membership was strictly controlled; new members served long apprenticeships and had to meet strict criteria for admission. Detailed rules served to uphold quality of production and limit competition. In general, men dominated the guilds; women did certain specialized tasks such as embroidery but had little role in governance. Not until the late 1600s, as guilds were ebbing in power, was the first guild controlled by women, the mantua makers, officially recognized in France.

National Pride and Profit

Nations have long promoted fashions to stimulate demand for their products. In the 1600s, King Louis XIV displayed the beauty of French silks and laces by wearing them and dictating that members of the French nobility also showcase French products. France sent dolls dressed in the latest fashions to other nations to create desire for French goods among the upper classes. According to Mr. Pepys' diary, Charles II of England introduced a subdued style of men's clothing in England in 1666, partly to promote English wool and linen fabrics.

The Origin of Ready-to-Wear

During the reign of Charles II, according to Beverly Lemire, the ready-to-wear clothing industry originated when shipowners or the British navy ordered plain, coarse garments in quantity to outfit crews of English ships heading to sea on voyages lasting months or years. There were as yet no garment or textile factories in the modern sense. Garment production was controlled by (mostly) men who contracted with the government or shipping companies, bought materials in quantity and then hired workers who

"Demand" is not a quantity; it is the relationship between prices and how much consumers are willing to buy at various prices. If demand for a commodity is great, people will generally buy larger amounts of it at various prices than they will buy if demand is small.

took the supplies home with them to make the garments by hand. Workers were paid by the unit, and the contractors often cheated them. The system of subcontracting clothing production continues today.

Mechanization of Production

Although production of ready-to-wear clothing began before sewing machines existed, an English clergyman had invented a hand-operated knitting frame near the end of the sixteenth century. Queen Elizabeth I refused to grant him a patent because she feared it would put English hand-knitters, using knitting needles and mostly working at home for contractors, out of work. But by the eighteenth century, England led the industrial revolution with a stream of inventions that eventually reduced prices of many goods and improved their quality so that ordinary people could afford them. By the later 1700s, English factories were turning out fabric on water- or steam-powered spinning and weaving equipment. Demand for inexpensive clothing gradually increased in England as lower-class people, some of them employed in the new factories, began to have a bit more money to spend, as well as a growing interest in fashionable clothing. London stores began to display appealing merchandise in lighted shop windows and encouraged shopping as recreation. Even low-income people could buy small ribbon ornaments and other accessories (See McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb).

Meanwhile, clothing styles of English noblemen became simpler and more functional as they supervised agricultural activities on their estates rather than hanging around the royal court, as was the case in France. French noblemen copied English styles when the French Revolution made it dangerous to be seen in public wearing silks and laces.

By the early nineteenth century, workingmen's clothing was being cut and hand-sewn by workers who specialized in specific tasks rather than each making a garment from start to finish. In American coastal cities, workers constructed garments for sailors in lofts where sails were made, from the same sturdy materials. Inventors designed the first sewing machines, but handworkers, who feared losing their jobs, broke up the machines, which didn't work very well anyway. Improved versions soon followed; the 1800s brought numerous apparel-related inventions and discoveries, including shoemaking machinery, vulcanized rubber, artificial cellulosic fibers, and synthetic coal-tar dyes.

Wars such as the American Civil War created demand for large quantities of uniforms. Based on measurements of servicemen, standardized sizing of men's clothing evolved. By the later 1800s, men's factory-made clothing of reasonably good quality and fit was being produced in quantity. Although wealthy men still wore custom-made clothing, moderate-income men could dress better than ever before.

The situation for women's clothing differed from that for men's clothing. Styles were relatively simple in the later 1700s and early 1800s, but then outfits became increasingly ornate and complex and remained so for the rest of the nineteenth century. This complexity, plus lack of measurement data for women, delayed large-scale factory production of women's clothing. Late in the century, when separates—shirtwaist and skirt styles and tailored women's suits—became fashionable, it was easier for women to find ready-made clothing to fit. By the end of the 1800s, output of women's factory-made clothing was growing rapidly.

Paris Couture

Although wealthy people still wore custom-made clothing in the 1800s, the guilds were gone by the time Charles Worth, ironically an English immigrant to Paris, opened the first couture house in the mid-nineteenth century. The Paris couture, offering exclusive new styles for women to be made-to-order each season, reached its peak volume in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Only the richest women could afford couture apparel, and volume was never large, but the couturiers were masters of publicity. Actually, the practice of holding well-publicized "showings" of new fashions each season originated in England not with clothing designers but with such enterprising businessmen as Josiah Wedgwood, who in the late eighteenth century invited well-to-do customers to seasonal openings of his latest designs in tableware and decorative ceramics (See McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb).

Fashion for Everyone

With the help of fashion magazines, which originated in the early 1800s, and paper dress patterns for home sewers, introduced later in the century, seamstresses copied or adapted couture designs for middle-class clientele far from fashion centers. In America, some dressmakers traveled from household to household twice a year, spending a couple of weeks making new clothes for all females in a family. Electric-powered sewing machines were installed in factories, but home sewers and dressmakers used machines with foot treadles so they were not dependent on electricity.

The first department stores opened in major cities in the United States and Europe in the mid-1800s, with clothing as a major category of merchandise. Instead of bargaining with customers over selling prices, as small shopkeepers did, department stores began putting price tags on their goods. Retail magnates such as B. Altman, John Wanamaker, and Marshall Field built palatial stores to dramatize shopping as recreation. Streetcar transportation, first horse-drawn and later electric-powered, brought customers downtown. Smaller stores specializing in men's or women's apparel, children's clothing, undergarments and lingerie, or shoes, profited from customer traffic attracted to city centers by big stores.

Catalog order firms such as Sears, Roebuck originated in the 1800s as postal service and railroads developed in the United States. Mail order made ready-to-wear clothing available to rural and small-town residents. The first outlying shopping centers opened in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, as automobiles multiplied; Sears, Roebuck opened its first retail store in an early shopping center. After World War II, building of suburban branches of large department stores and major regional shopping centers accelerated, leading to the decline of downtown shopping and the closing of many central city stores. Giant regional shopping centers capitalized on the entertainment aspect of shopping and consumers' seemingly limitless appetite for variety.

Competition for Consumers' Money

Accelerating competitive trends in the apparel business has been the gradual decline of clothing's share of total consumer spending. What limited records survive show that during the Middle Ages and Renaissance in Europe, in the heyday of the guilds, rich people spent huge proportions of their incomes on luxurious clothing for themselves. Furthermore, the nobility outfitted the various ranks in their households, even down to the lowest servant, in appropriate styles and the manor's heraldic colors for specific festivals or occasions.

Once, there were only limited ways to spend money to demonstrate one's wealth—what Thorstein Veblen named "conspicuous consumption." In the past 150 years, factory production has made clothing for ordinary people less expensive, while many appealing new products have become available: phonographs and parlor pianos, household appliances—including sewing machines—motor vehicles, and electronic goods, starting with telephones and radios. All of these impressed people's friends and rivals, competing with clothing for the consumer's money. Of every twenty dollars Americans now spend, only about one goes for clothing. Simultaneously, long-term fashion trends, dating back at least to Charles II of England in the 1600s, have moved toward ever-simpler, less-formal, more casual clothing even for people in the upper ranks of society. As more women work outside the home, fewer of them dress to showcase their husbands' wealth and prosperity, as they might have in Veblen's world. Demand for men's tailored clothing declined in the later twentieth century, as did the number of specialty stores selling men's clothing, as men chose more casual clothing and active sportswear.

Growing Ferocity of Competition

Couture was not profitable after World War I; its client base dwindled further during the Depression of the 1930s. Designers tried to control copying of their designs and sometimes produced lower-priced replicas of their own exclusive models. Design piracy has long been a plague for clothing manufacturers and designers, but no tactics seem to stop it, especially when consumers are eager for the latest fashions at the lowest possible prices. The spending of fickle teenaged customers, anxious to look like popular entertainers, accelerates the pace of fashion change.

For a time after World War II, couture houses licensed their names to other firms to produce lower-priced clothing merchandise and accessories. Some ventured into men's wear, with limited success. In Europe and North America, the number of establishments producing fine custom-made clothing and the number of customers that bought it had declined. Demand continues to shrink for complex and costly custom-made apparel such as elaborately embroidered or beaded garments. To the extent that such clothing is still produced, production moves to India and other Asian countries.

By the late twentieth century, large European corporations, some outside the apparel business, competed to buy Paris couture houses and leading Italian design firms, while other high-end design houses gobbled up each other. Sales of expensive apparel and luxury accessories to wealthy people and entertainers all over the world burgeoned in the 1990s' economic boom. Designer-name firms outdid each other by opening showy retail stores, designed by avant-garde architects, in major cities around the world, but some of these stores attracted more lookers than purchasers and soon closed. Young design-school graduates from England, Belgium, New York, California, and elsewhere started their own small firms; only a lucky few achieved enough recognition or financial backing to stay in business.

A Low-Paid Workforce

Clothing workers have always been poorly paid. Clothing for serfs and servants on medieval estates was produced on-site, usually from materials grown, harvested, and processed by serfs—essentially, slave labor. Slaves made their own clothing on American cotton plantations. Clothing production prospers where cheap labor is plentiful. Although some operations require great skill, most construction tasks are divided into small steps that can be learned quickly. In the past 200 years, garment factories have been among the first large-scale manufacturing enterprises to open in developing nations. In nineteenth-century New York, manufacturers crowded hundreds of poorly paid immigrants into high-rise buildings, often in unsafe situations. Contracting and homework were widespread. One group of immigrants after another supplied the labor—German, Irish, Jewish, Italian; in the twentieth century, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Blacks joined the list. Even today, "sweatshops" owned by and employing immigrants from Asia flourish in New York City. During the second half of the twentieth century, garment manufacture spread to Hong Kong, then to China and other parts of southeast Asia, not to mention Latin America and African locations that have large numbers of people willing to work for low wages. Although machines facilitate clothing construc-

tion, much of the process resists automation. Reading clothing labels is a lesson in geography.

Factoring

A longtime practice in the fashion industry is "factoring," whereby a company takes out short-term loans to buy fabrics and other materials to produce garments for the season, then repays the loans as retailers purchase the goods. The specialized lenders are called "factors." Factoring is not limited to apparel production; it also exists in other industries where fashion changes quickly, such as toys. A plague of the fashion business is that retailers squeeze manufacturers by returning unsold goods or paying less than the agreed-upon price. Because the garment business is so competitive, profits are low and existence is risky.

The Used Clothing Trade

Trade in secondhand clothing has been important for many centuries. Once wealthy and high-ranking people gave their unwanted clothing to servants. Usually, servants sold the garments—they had no use for them and needed the money. Patrons of theatres such as Shakespeare's Globe donated clothing to actors who could not otherwise afford credible costumes when playing high-ranking characters. Used clothing, including stolen items, was sold by peddlers alongside crude, early ready-to-wear. In the nineteenth century, the first factory-made garments were sometimes introduced by secondhand clothing retailers. Stores selling both used and new clothing (including military surplus) existed until after World War II. Postwar, "yard" and "garage" sales became common, apparently inspired by such sales on military bases, especially when officers' families had to move to totally different climate zones. Consignment shops, operated by charitable organizations or private entrepreneurs, multiplied.

As the quantity of discarded clothing in Europe and North America exceeded the capacity of welfare agencies to distribute it to the poor, large quantities of used clothing have been shipped to developing nations. In Africa, inexpensive used clothing can displace traditional apparel and compete with local industries. At the other extreme, "vintage" clothing—used couture or high-fashion women's clothing—has become so popular and acceptable that leading Hollywood actresses may wear old designer gowns to the Academy Awards ceremonies. Exclusive auction houses sell vintage designer clothing for high prices; retail stores in New York and Los Angeles specialize in such clothing.

Continuing Change

The garment business consists of all sizes of firms from giant to tiny. Although the trend is giant companies, these are not assured of success. Large corporations manufacture clothing under many labels. Some famous brand names produce different qualities of clothing for different types of retailers, contracting out production of some merchandise lines to other corporations. Major producers can go bankrupt unexpectedly; failure lurks just around the corner due to shifting customer tastes and a variety of other uncertainties. International trade regulations, tariffs, and quota systems engage the services of a corps of lawyers and other specialists.

Everything changes quickly in the apparel world. Cities of developed nations are littered with abandoned factories, empty retail stores, defunct design houses, and wreckage of supporting industries. Once-famous department stores are now history; Montgomery Ward is nearly forgotten; Sears Roebuck slips in importance. Someday Wal-Mart may fade away. As more shopping centers and big-box stores open, downtowns and old shopping centers die. Everyone in the business knows that there is too much retail space, yet they keep building stores. Change is the only certainty.

The next phase in clothing distribution may be the Web, whether goods are sold by conventional retail stores, catalog retailers, Web-based retailers, or something completely different. Auction sites such as eBay offer vintage clothing and also help manufacturers and retailers trade large quantities of materials and clothing among themselves.

See also **Department Store; Fashion Industry; Globalization; Labor Unions; Mantua; Ready-to-Wear; Retailing; Secondhand Clothes, Anthropology of; Secondhand Clothes, History of; Sewing Machine; Sweatshops.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benson, Susan Porter. *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940.* Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Cobrin, Harry A. *The Men's Clothing Industry: Colonial Through Modern Times.* New York: Fairchild Publications, 1970.

Cooper, Grace Rogers. *The Sewing Machine: Its Invention and Development*, 2nd ed. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press for the National Museum of History and Technology, 1976.

Cray, Ed. *Levi's.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978.

Danish, Max D. *The World of David Dubinsky.* Cleveland: The World Publishing Co., 1957.

DeMarly, Diana. *The History of Haute Couture, 1850–1950.* New York: Holmes & Meier, 1980.

Frick, Carole Collier. *Dressing Renaissance Florence—Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg. *Salula: The World of Secondhand Clothing and Zambia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Helfgott, Roy B. "Women's and Children's Apparel." In *Made in New York: Case Studies in Metropolitan Manufacturing.* Edited by Max Hall. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Hendrickson, Robert. *The Grand Emporiums.* New York: Stein and Day, 1979.

Kirke, Betty. *Madeleine Vionnet.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1998.

Lemire, Beverly. *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660–1800.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Lockwood, Lisa. "Mega-Merger Mania: The New Blueprints of Five Ravenous Firms." *WWD* 186, no. 36 (2003): 1, 6–7.

McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb. *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth–Century England.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Nystrom, Paul H. *Economics of Fashion.* New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1928.

Rexford, Nancy E. *Women's Shoes in America, 1795–1930.* Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 2000.

Sandars, N. K. *Prehistoric Art in Europe*, 2nd ed. New York: Viking Penguin, 1985, pp. 49–50.

Spufford, Peter. *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe.* New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 2003.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: Macmillan, 1899. Reprint, New York: The Modern Library, 1934.

Walker, Richard. *Savile Row: An Illustrated History.* New York: Rizzoli International, 1989.

Winakor, Geitel. "The Decline in Expenditures for Clothing Relative to Total Consumer Spending, 1929–1986." *Home Economics Research Journal* 17 (1989): 195–215.

Geitel Winakor

EGYPTIAN COTTON. *See* **Cotton.**

ELASTOMERS When most textile fibers are stretched more than around 10 percent of their length, they may recover a little of this distortion rapidly, some more slowly, but some permanent distortion remains. In contrast, an elastomeric fiber will typically recover rapidly and completely from elongations of 100 percent or more. They provide textiles with greater stretchiness and recovery than is possible by the use of texturized yarns and knitted structures and are used in waistbands, sock tops, foundation garments, and exercise wear.

The prototype elastomeric fiber is rubber. Natural rubber latex can be coagulated in many forms (balloons and rubber gloves, for example) and also in the form of fibers, although it is not possible to produce rubber as fine as most other textile fibers. Rubber fibers are difficult to dye, so when incorporated into a fabric that is stretched, the white rubber is visible. For that reason, most rubber is covered by another fiber spun or wrapped around it, such as cotton, which can be dyed. Fabrics containing covered rubber yarns are used in waistbands, sock tops, and foundation garments. Natural rubber is cheap, but suffers from degradation by chlorine bleach, and in the longer term by body oils, atmospheric contaminants, and metal salts.

Occasional shortages of natural rubber have led to a search for synthetic alternatives, and fibers have been produced from many synthetic rubbers. Anidex and Lastrile are two generic names assigned to such elastomeric fibers, although these are now obsolete.

Spandex dominates the synthetic elastomeric fiber market in the early 2000s. Originally developed by DuPont as "Lycra," it is produced by many manufacturers around the world. Chemically, spandex is a polyurethane, and in Europe such fibers have been simply called polyurethane, but more often are referred to as "elastane."

Spandex is a comparatively weak fiber (it has a tenacity of around 0.7g/d) but since it will stretch 3 to 7 times its length before breaking, its lack of strength is not cause for concern. It can be produced as fine as most other manufactured fibers, and it is dyeable. It can be incorporated directly into fabrics (knitted or laid in to knits), or like rubber, it may be covered or core spun with another fiber for weaving. Depending on the end use, spandex may comprise 2 to 20 percent of a blend. It shares many of rubber's end uses and is also incorporated in less-specialized fabrics such as those used for swimsuits, exercise wear, and regular fashion apparel. In low percentages, it improves the recovery of worsted and denim fabrics. Its dyeing properties are similar to those of nylon, and it is commonly found in blends with that fiber. Blends with polyester are cheaper, but the high temperatures useful for dyeing polyester are damaging to polyurethanes, and such blends are less common than expected. While spandex is less susceptible to chlorine than rubber, it is still damaged by chlorine: polyester-based spandex fibers are less prone than the polyether-based versions. It melts at around 450°F and one of its few drawbacks is a relatively high cost.

Research into new elastomeric fibers continues. Recently, Dow has introduced a metallocene-based, cross-linked olefin elaostomeric fiber, Dow XLA, that has been given the generic name "lastol." It is heat resistant, and maintains its stretch properties through processes such as dyeing and finishing, although the fiber itself is not dyeable. The FTC has also given the generic name "elasterell-p" to DuPont's fiber T400. Elasterell-p is based on a combination of polyester polymers.

See also **Dyeing; Fibers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adnaur, Sabit. *Wellington Sears Handbook of Industrial Textiles.* Lancaster, Pa.: Technomic, 1995.

Cook, J. Gordon. *Handbook of Textile Fibers. II: Man-Made Fibers*, 5th ed. Durham, U.K.: Merrow, 1984.

Moncrieff, R. W. *Man-Made Fibres.* 6th ed. London: Newnes-Butterworth, 1975.

Martin Bide

ELLIS, PERRY Perry Ellis (1940–1986) was regarded as an outstanding designer of American sportswear in the 1970s and 1980s. In order to appreciate the far-reaching allure of his best-known invention, a deceptively simple homemade-looking sweater, one should understand the

Model in Perry Ellis design. Perry Ellis launched his sportswear collection in 1978, garnering instant acclaim for his concept of separates that could be mixed and matched. © REUTERS NEWMEDIA, INC./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

potent appeal that American sportswear held in the 1970s. Separates dressing at that time meant individual style—a radically new approach after more than a century of one dominant silhouette following another. And individual style was particularly relevant at a time when gender roles were being tossed in the air. What Perry Ellis did best was take elements of classic American style—stadium coats, tweed jackets, and culottes—and adapt them to suit changing times.

Perry Ellis was born on 3 March 1940. He grew up in Churchland, a small suburb of the Virginia coastal town of Portsmouth. Ellis earned a B.A. in business from the College of William and Mary, and went on to acquire a master's degree in retailing from New York University. He then went to work in Richmond at Miller and Rhoads, a Virginia department store that was similar in size and quality to such New York emporia as B. Altman or Bonwit Teller. During Ellis's tenure with Miller and Rhoads, his department, junior sportswear, had the highest sales in the store.

At Miller and Rhoads, Ellis worked closely with manufacturers, making design suggestions as he saw fit. His suggestions sold well, leading a favorite supplier, John Meyer of Norwich, to offer Ellis a job in 1968 as design director. This firm's preppy style was aimed at high school and college students, offering coordinated ensembles of cotton print blouses with Peter Pan collars, cable-knit cardigans, and corduroy skirts. In 1974 Ellis moved to Manhattan Industries, where he became vice president and merchandising manager for Vera Sportswear. Vera Neumann was an artist whose popular scarves and outfits were based on her signed paintings. Ellis was intrigued by the challenge of working with her designs, and came up with styles that attracted considerable positive attention in the fashion press. In 1975 he debuted his own line for Manhattan Industries, which was known as Perry Ellis for Portfolio. He then launched his own label, Perry Ellis Sportswear, in 1978. Acclaim was instant. A menswear line and various licensing arrangements soon followed, as did a number of professional honors. After winning two Coty awards each for women's wear and men's wear, Ellis was voted into the Coty Hall of Fame in 1981. He also received awards from the Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA) for women's wear in 1981 and men's wear in 1982.

The launch of Perry Ellis Sportswear for the fall–winter season of 1978 was memorable. The show opened with a group of Princeton University cheerleaders wearing little pleated skirts and sweaters emblazoned with a large "P." This collection firmly established what became the signature Perry Ellis look—what he coined the slouch look. It consisted of separates based on pieces that could work in different combinations: oversize jackets, thick yarn sweaters, lots of layers, ribbed socks worn rumpled like leg warmers, men's Oxford shoes for women. While the riffs on scale and silhouette were sophisticated, the casual fabrics seemed fresh. Although the references

might have been collegiate, these were clothes for adults who were confident enough to thumb their noses at the rigid styles associated with dressing for success.

Further notable collections followed. The fall 1981 collection featured a mix of challis prints in deep jewel tones with duck and pheasant motifs, with all scales of prints and colors worn together in a single ensemble. Ellis's spring 1982 collection coincided with the release of the film *Chariots of Fire*, and featured relaxed flapper lines in pale linens. The fall–winter 1984 collection was an homage to French painter Sonia Delauney—bold geometric patterns in deep rich colors for men and women.

Much has been made of Ellis's perfectionism. What seemed mandatory for the visually oriented person in the early twenty-first century, such as insisting on a specific look for everything from the company's logo and store interiors to bouquets of flowers sent to fashion editors and the postage stamps used on invitations to shows, was noteworthy in the late 1970s for a Seventh Avenue designer—especially one working in the less glamorous area of sportswear. Ellis's perfectionism extended to every part of his collection; the models' hair and makeup had to look natural, and nail polish was forbidden. Manolo Blahnik designed shoes for Perry Ellis, usually ghillies, ankle boots, or spectator pumps in an Edwardian or prairie mood. Patricia Underwood designed strikingly simple hats, and Barry Kieselstein-Cord made jewelry, belts, and hair ornaments in precious metals.

At a time when fashion designers were becoming glamorous celebrities, Perry Ellis remained somewhat of an enigma. He was startlingly handsome, yet dressed in an antifashion uniform consisting of khaki pants, a dress shirt with the cuffs rolled up, and Topsider shoes left over from his college fraternity days. Famously shy, he exuded charisma. Although heralded as an overnight sensation, he had definitely paid his dues on the way up. A household name, he kept his personal life private. One minute he was at the top of his game, or so it seemed, and next came the shocking news of his death. After an appallingly rapid decline, witnessed silently by his staff, friends, and the fashion industry, he died of AIDS on 30 May 1986.

After Ellis's death, his long-time assistants Patricia Pastor and Jed Krascella designed for the company. The firm then hired a rising star, Marc Jacobs, in 1988. As a teenager, Jacobs had asked Perry Ellis for career advice, and was told to go to Parsons School of Design, where he won the Perry Ellis Golden Thimble Award in 1984.

At first Perry Ellis and Marc Jacobs seemed like a good combination. Jacobs's stretch gingham frocks, cheerful colors, and prints suited the mood of the firm and the late 1980s. Then came the infamous grunge collection, shown in 1993, which appalled the press and potential buyers alike. However, like most controversial fashions, the grunge look of layered vintage military surplus pieces was merely ahead of its time. After Jacobs left the company, Perry Ellis International decided against having a star designer, choosing for a time to have a team of people developing the brand. In 2003 Patrick Robinson was hired as designer. His fall–winter 2004 collection, based in part on a vintage Perry Ellis scarf found for sale on an Internet site, received good reviews. A particularly American touch from Robinson's spring 2004 collection—the models wore Converse sneakers—paid homage to both Perry Ellis and Marc Jacobs.

See also **Blahnik, Manolo; Dress for Success; Grunge; Seventh Avenue; Sportswear.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brubach, Holly. "Camelot." *New Yorker* (25 July 1988): 83–86.

Diamonstein-Spielvogel, Barbaralee. *Fashion: The Inside Story*. New York: Rizzoli International, 1985.

Milbank, Caroline Rennolds. *New York Fashion: The Evolution of American Style*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1989.

Moor, Jonathan. *Perry Ellis: A Biography*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.

Caroline Rennolds Milbank

EMBROIDERY Embroidery is an ancient form of needlework that has been used worldwide to embellish textiles for decorative and communicative purposes. In terms of form and aesthetics, embroidery may add color, texture, richness, and dimension. Used on clothing, it may reveal the wearer's wealth, social status, ethnic identity, or systems of belief. Typically, embroidery is executed in threads of cotton, wool, silk, or linen, but may also incorporate other materials such as beads, quills, metal, shells, or feathers. Some materials, techniques, and stitches occur across many cultures, while others are specific to region.

Historical Overview

The origins of this art form, mentioned in the Bible and in Greek mythology, are lost. Textile scholar Lanto Synge posits that it probably originated in China, and documents early surviving fragments that are estimated as being 4,500 years old. In South America embroideries from the fifth century B.C.E. have been recovered from tombs.

Throughout the history of embroidery, religious institutions have been among its greatest patrons. For example, the Medieval church in Europe fostered one of the greatest peaks in needlework history—*Opus Anglicanum* (English work). A type of needlework made in England during the Middles Ages, it was widely exported throughout Europe. Worked by highly skilled professionals in embroidery workshops, *Opus Anglicanum* was known for its artistry of ecclesiastical vestments. The sophisticated embroideries, made with the finest linens and velvets, were worked with silk threads in a split-stitch technique and also utilized an underside couching technique to secure the decorative gold and silver threads. Couching is an embroidery technique in which threads

are laid in a design on the surface of a base fabric and sewn to the fabric with small stitches that cross over the design threads. The religious designs were well conceived and executed in a form of needlepainting, or *acupictura*. Figures of the Virgin Mary and the saints as well as religious scenes were executed in flowing circles and geometric patterns.

Opus Anglicanum illustrates the potential of embroidery as a conveyor of narrative and of ecclesiastical power; simultaneously, the courts of Europe applied embroidery to secular dress whose lavish decoration served to display secular power and prestige. During the Medieval period, the production and consumption of embroidery became increasing codified. Guilds regulated the training of professional embroiderers, while sumptuary laws attempted to restrict the wearing of embroidered garments to specific socioeconomic classes. Renaissance court costume was often elaborately embroidered with floral imagery. Inventories of Queen Elizabeth I's wardrobe list gowns embroidered with roses, oak leaves, and pomegranates. As with *Opus Anglicanum*, metal thread work was employed to connote the prestige of the subject—in this case human rather than divine.

For centuries, European court dress was often lavishly embroidered as a signifier of status. Catherine of Aragon, arriving in England in 1501 with embroidered blackwork as part of her trousseau, is credited with encouraging the use of Spanish-style embroidery, rich in blackwork. Blackwork, which originated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Islamic Egypt, is a type of embroidery stitched in monochrome on white or natural linen. Traditionally worked in black, it was also worked in red, blue, and dark green and often enriched with gold and silver threads. Geometric and scrolling patterns are executed in backstitch or double-running stitch, a reversible stitch used for edgings of collars and cuffs that could be seen on both sides. Little of this dress survives because it was worn out or recycled. It is through inventories and portraiture that much information about historic costume is gleaned. In portraits of Henry VIII and the royal family, Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543) so clearly defines the stitching technique used in their elaborate costumes that the double-running stitch is also known as the Holbein stitch. Eighteenth-century portraiture again reveals much about the elegance and refinement of embroidery on high society dress.

As has been the case across many time periods and cultures, embroidery was practiced in different settings, and by different levels of society. Both men and women worked in professional workshops, while women embroidered at home for domestic use and recreation. Additionally, producing embroidery at home for sale has been a means of economic sustenance for women in many cultures, as the following case illustrates.

Many countries have traditions of whitework embroidery, executed with white thread on a white ground. *Hardanger*—a counted thread technique originating in the west of Norway and brought by emigrants to the United States—Madeira cutwork, Dresden whitework, and Isfahani whitework are a few examples. In terms of application to dress, some of the most widely consumed whitework was produced in Scotland and Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The example of Ayrshire whitework provides a fascinating insight into the interaction of professional designers, workshops, individual women, and commercial and philanthropic interests within the fashion system.

This intricate whitework was characterized by floral motifs worked with fine cotton thread on a cotton ground, typically in satin stitch, stem stitch, and needlepoint in-filling. Labor-intensive and delicate in appearance, it was used to decorate babies' christening gowns, women's dress, and undergarments. Its production was highly organized by commercial firms and philanthropic organizations concerned with improving living standards in rural areas. A woodblock or lithograph design was printed on the cloth, which was then distributed to individual households, and executed by women and children. With agents as intermediaries, the finished cloths were sent to depots in large cities, made up into garments, and sold in Britain or exported to Europe and America. By the mid-nineteenth century, Ayrshire whitework was a significant industry, with an individual firm contracting with 20,000 to 30,000 workers.

Against this context another distinctive embroidery movement in Scotland evolved—that of the Glasgow School of the early twentieth century. Influential teachers such as Jessie Newberry and Ann Macbeth revolutionized the teaching of embroidery, stressing self-expression in design, and a more simplified approach to form, typically incorporating appliqué outlined in satin stitch.

Embroidery and Couture

Because of its decorative potential as well as its ability to connote status, hand embroidery was from the beginning included in the battery of haute couture's specialized techniques. The lavishly time-intensive, specialized nature of the art, and the costliness of the materials, made it the ultimate signifier of luxury. Embroidery houses, employing highly talented designers and technicians, became an integral part of the couture industry. The most famous of these was the House of Lesage.

It is fitting that Charles Frederick Worth, designer of the Empress Eugenie's court clothing, was a master in the incorporation of embroidery as a status confirming (or conferring) accoutrement. An early design that won a medal at the 1855 Exposition Universelle was of bead-embroidered moire. Jeanne Lanvin typically eschewed patterned fabrics for embroidery. She was one of the first designers to exploit the use of machine embroidery, incorporating parallel line machine stitching as a decorative motif.

Designers such as Mary McFadden and Zandra Rhodes have adopted embroidery, with a particular interest in the manipulation of textiles for artistic effect. When combined with other techniques such as stenciling, batik, quilting, or handpainting, embroidery draws attention to the textile as a rich surface, rather like a canvas. In other cases designers use embroidery to float over the surface fabric. Dior was a master of this illusionary approach to embroidery, which ignores seamlines and construction, creating its own field of vision.

Ethnic embroidery inspirations have long infused couture, from Lanvin's designs of the 1920s to Yves Saint Laurent's "peasant" blouses and skirts. Other designers have mined long-established associations between embroidery and femininity; the sensuous aesthetic of Nina Ricci and Chloé is often heightened by delicate embroidery.

World Traditions

All cultures have traditions of embroidery. Influences and cross-fertilizations can be traced across trade routes and patterns of migration. In other cases, techniques and stitches are unique to geographic area.

China has a long and rich tradition of embroidery centered on the ceremonial dress of the Imperial court. From the Tang dynasty (618–907) onward, silk ceremonial robes were heavily embroidered to communicate the status of the wearer within a strict hierarchy. Mythological creatures, birds, flowers, waves, and clouds were some of the panoply of forms used symbolically to situate the wearer, or allude to personal qualities or aspirations for longevity and good fortune.

The embroidery on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century robes reached an apogee of technical perfection. Motifs were meticulously rendered in satin stitch, chain stitch, and Chinese stitch—a form of backstitch interlaced with a second thread. Areas were intricately in-filled with tiny knots. As with Renaissance court dress in Europe and Medieval church vestments, liberal use of couched metal thread conveyed status and wealth.

Throughout the history of its production, the development of embroidery traditions has been fostered by imperial patronage. The Ottoman court in Istanbul was a major patron for embroidery. However, in the Ottoman Empire, embroidery was also highly integrated into everyday life. The court commissioned fine embroideries from workshops and professional women working at home, but the making of embroidered clothing and household items was part of most women's everyday activities. Within the Empire embroidery was an important commercial and domestic enterprise. The major Ottoman embroidery style is *dival*, in which metal threads are secured to the ground with couching threads.

Native American embroidery also has its own culturally expressive characteristics. The techniques of porcupine quillwork and beading predate European explorers to North America. Traditionally, this decorative art was embroidered on skins, but after the arrival of Europeans and the subsequent acquisition of new materials, it was worked on cloth. All items of dress were embellished with needlework—coats, jackets, shirts, hoods, leggings, moccasins, and accessories such as medicine bags.

Of various techniques employed in quillwork embroidery, sewing was the most common method. Bone bodkins were used to accomplish these designs until the white trader brought needles to America. The stitch methods are similar to modern sewing terms used today: backstitch, couching stitch, and chain stitch.

Beading was another long-held practice of the Native Americans who initially used crude beads that they made from natural materials. Later, Europeans introduced finer quality beads known as trade beads that proved to be highly desirable to the Indian tribes in their embroideries. Beads were strung on thread and sewn onto the skin or cloth according to the pattern by either massing the beads in little rows or working them in an outline formation.

On one level, Native American embroideries communicate systems of beliefs. This too has been an important function of embroidery worldwide. One example is *shishadur*, or mirror work, practiced by the Baluchi people of western Pakistan, southern Afghanistan, and eastern Iran. Fragments of silvered glass attached to a cotton ground were believed to deflect evil. In Eastern Europe a folk belief that embroidered designs on clothing protected the wearer from harm infused the development of embroidery. Items of clothing such as dresses, blouses, skirts, aprons, shirts, vests, and jackets, as well as ecclesiastical vestments, were embellished with beautiful embroideries.

The unique appearance of Eastern European needlework comes from the precise use of materials, designs, techniques, and colors that when combined can often indicate a specific region of the country. Embroidery stitches in the straight, satin, and cross-stitch families are employed; but, for example, among the specialty stitches in Ukrainian embroidery are the *Yavoriv* stitch, a diagonal satin stitch, and the *Yavoriv* plait stitch, a variation on the cross-stitch.

In the early 2000s, embroidery remained a vibrant component of dress. In a global marketplace, designers and consumers may choose from an infinite variety of world traditions. For example, mirror work was absorbed into western fashion trends of the 1970s, and has periodically resurfaced as a trend in clothing and home furnishings. Embroidery has remained a pervasive element of couture and has had an enormous influence on ready-to-wear. As sewing machines for the home sewer become increasingly sophisticated, the application of machine embroidery to home-sewn clothing has burgeoned. And, possibly as a reaction to mass-production, a thriving industry has grown around the provision of custom embroidery as a means of personalizing dress.

See also **Beads; Feathers; Sewing Machine; Spangles; Trimmings.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Embroidery. London: The Embroiderers' Guild. An informed periodical with articles on historic, ethnographic, and contemporary embroidery, exhibition, and book reviews.

The Essential Guide to Embroidery. London: Murdoch Books, 2002.

Gostelow, Mary. *Embroidery: Traditional Designs, Techniques and Patterns from All Over the World*. London: Marshall Cavendish Books Ltd., 1982. Useful for a cross-cultural perspective of embroidery.

Harbeson, Georgiana Brown. *American Needlework: The History of Decorative Stitchery and Embroidery from the Late 16th to the 20th Century*. New York: Coward McCann, Inc., 1938.

Krody, Sumru Belger. *Flowers of Silk and Gold; Four Centuries of Ottoman Embroidery*. London: Merrell Publishers Ltd., in association with The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 2000. Excellent discussion of a major embroidery tradition within its cultural context. Well-illustrated with close-up details, and glossary of stitches.

O'Neill, Tania Diakiw. *Ukrainian Embroidery Techniques*. Mountaintop, Pa.: STO Publications, 1984.

Parker, Rozsika. *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*. New York: Routledge, 1984. Insight into the sometimes overlooked role of women as professional embroiderers and discussion of embroidery and the construction of femininity.

Swain, Margaret. *Scottish Embroidery: Medieval to Modern*. London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1986. Useful discussion on methods of production and the role of embroidery as a commercial and domestic activity.

Swan, Susan Burrows. *Plain and Fancy: American Women and their Needlework, 1650–1850*. Rev. ed. Austin, Tex.: Curious Works Press, 1995.

Swift, Gay. *The Batsford Encyclopaedia of Embroidery Techniques*. London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1984. A comprehensive guide to techniques and their applications to historic clothing.

Synge, Lanto. *Art of Embroidery: History of Style and Technique*. Woodbridge, U.K.: Antique Collectors' Club, 2001.

Lindsay Shen and Marilee DesLauriers

EMPIRE STYLE In its broadest sense as a term in contemporary fashion, "empire style" (sometimes called simply "Empire" with the French pronunciation, "ompeer") refers to a woman's dress silhouette in which the waistline is considerably raised above the natural level, and the skirt is usually slim and columnar. The reference is to fashions of France's First Empire, which in political terms lasted from 1804 when Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself Emperor, to his final defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. It should be noted that the styles of this period, when referring specifically to English or American fashions or examples, may be termed "Regency" (referring to the Regency of the Prince of Wales, 1811–1820) or "Federal" (referring to the decades immediately following the American Revolution).

None of these terms, whose boundaries are defined by political milestones, accurately encompasses the time frame in which "empire style" fashions are found, which date from the late 1790s to about 1820, after which skirts widened and the waistline lowered to an extent no longer identifiable as "empire style."

The Empire style in its purest form is characterized by: the columnar silhouette—without gathers in front, some fullness over the hips, and a concentration of gathers aligned with the 3–4" wide center back bodice panel; a raised waistline, which at its extreme could be at armpit-level, dependent on new forms of corsetry with small bust gussets, cording under the breasts, and shoulder straps to keep the bust high; soft materials, especially imported Indian white muslin (the softest, sheerest of which is called "mull"), often pre-embroidered with white cotton thread; and neoclassical influence in overall style (the silhouette imitating Classical statuary) and in accessories and trim.

Neoclassical references included sandals; bonnets, hairstyles, and headdresses copied from Greek statues and vases; and motifs found in ancient architecture and decorative arts, such as the Greek key, and oak and laurel leaves. The use of purely neoclassical references was at its peak from about 1798 to just after 1800; after that, they were succeeded by other influences.

The adoption of these references has been linked with France's Revolution and adoption of Greek and Roman democratic and republican principles, and certainly the French consciously sought to make these connections both at the height of their Revolution, and under Napoleon, who was eager to link himself to the great Roman emperors.

Applying this political reference to America is more problematic. The extremely revealing versions of the style were seldom seen in America, where conservatism and ambivalence about letting Europe dictate American fashions ran deep. However, Americans did adopt the general look of the period, and plenty of dresses survive to testify that fashionable young women did wear the sheer white muslin style. Moreover, there is ample evidence that women of every class, even on the frontiers, had some access to information on current fashions, and usually possessed, if not for everyday use, modified versions of them.

The origins of the neoclassical influence are visible in the later eighteenth century. White linen, and later, cotton, dresses were the standard uniform for infants, toddlers, and young girls, and entered adult fashion about 1780. During the 1780s and early 1790s, women's silhouettes gradually became slimmer, and the waistline crept up, the effect heightened by the addition of wide sashes, whose upper edge approached the level that waistlines would in another decade. After 1795, waistlines rose

dramatically and the skirt circumference was further reduced, the fullness no longer equally distributed but confined to the sides and back. By 1798, fashion plates in England and France show the form-clinging high-waisted neoclassical style, with England lagging a little behind in its adoption of the extreme of the new look.

As England and France were at war for nearly all of this period, English styles sometimes took their own direction, showing a fluctuating waistline level (which should not be taken literally, as garments from this period show remarkably little deviation from a norm) and numerous decorative details borrowed from peasant or "cottage" styles, historic references, especially medieval and "Tudor," and regional references such as Russian, Polish, German, or Spanish. Often, contemporary events inspired fashions, such as the state visit of allies in the Napoleonic wars; military uniforms also inspired trim and accessories in women's fashions during these years.

Several myths persist about the styles of this period, including the idea that the style was invented by Josephine Bonaparte to conceal her pregnancy, and that ladies of fashion dampened their petticoats to achieve the clinging-muslin effects seen in classical statues. Fashions can rarely be attributed to one person (although a hundred years earlier, a pregnancy at the French court did inspire the invention of a style) and the most cursory glance at fashions of the 1780s and 1790s shows a clear progress of internal change in fashion.

The dampened petticoat myth may have arisen from some early historians', and historical novelists', misunderstanding of some comments on the new style. Compared to the heavier fabrics and stylized body shapes (created by heavily-boned, conical-shaped corsets and side-hoops) that immediately preceded them, the new sheer muslins, worn over one slip or even, by some European ladies, a knitted, tubular body stocking, would have revealed the contours of the natural body to an extent not seen in centuries. Several contemporaries and early fashion historians wrote that women looked *as if* they had dampened their skirts. However, no evidence, including scathing denunciations of the indecent new style, as well as gleeful social satirists' commentary and caricatures, exists to document that this was ever done.

The Empire style has seen numerous revivals, although modern eyes must sometimes look closely for the reference, as it is always used in tandem with the silhouette and body shape fashionable at the time. Tea gowns of the 1880s and 1890s are sometimes described as "empire style." Reform dress often borrowed the high waist and slender skirt of the Empire period, perhaps finding the relatively simple construction notably different from the styles it rejected, the high waist providing freedom from the era's constrictive corsets. By about 1908, "empire style" dresses were a large segment of fashionable offerings. The 1930s saw another minor revival, as did the 1970s. The release in the late 1990s of several film and television adaptations of Jane Austen's novels, all set during the Empire period, inspired another revival.

See also **Dress Reform; Maternity Dress; Tea Gown.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashelford, Jane. *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society 1500–1914.* Great Britain: The National Trust. Distributed in the United States by Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1996.

Bourhis, Kate, ed. *The Age of Napoleon: Costume from Revolution to Empire, 1789–1815.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, 1989.

Cunnington, C. Willet. *English Womens' Clothing in the Nineteenth Century.* London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1937. Reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1990.

Ribeiero, Aileen. *Fashion in the French Revolution.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988.

———. *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.

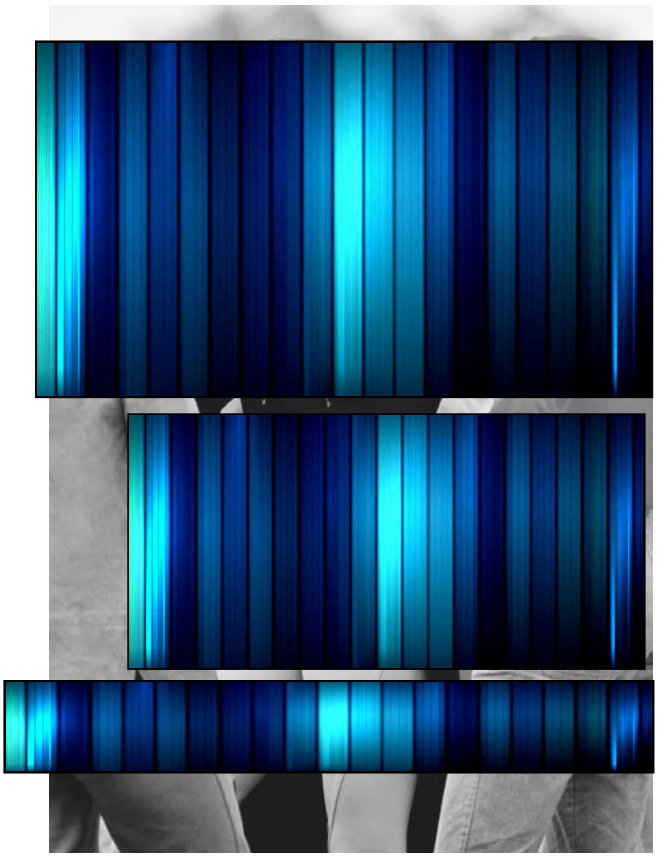
Alden O'Brien

EQUESTRIAN COSTUME Comfort, practicality, and protection from the elements are central qualities of riding attire, though it has always been considered stylish. Distinctive accessories marked equestrian costume from streetwear: sturdy knee-high boots with a heel and sometimes spurs for both men and women, a crop, whip or cane, gloves to spare the wearer from the chafing of leather reins, and most importantly a hat for style and later a helmet for safety. Contemporary riding dress still emphasizes comfort and protection but modern materials are used in its construction, including cotton-lycra fabrics for breeches, polystyrene-filled helmets, and Gore-Tex jackets, bringing it in line with high-technology clothing used in other sports.

Construction and Materials

The materials worn for riding from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries were easily distinguished from the silks, muslins, and velvets of fashionable evening dress. Equestrian activities required sturdy and often weatherproof fabrics such as woolen broadcloth, camlet (a silk and wool or hair mixture), melton wool, and gabardine for colder weather and linen or cotton twill for summer or the tropics. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, habits were frequently adorned with gold, silver, or later woolen braiding, often imitating the frogging on Hussar or other military uniforms.

For example, in Wright of Derby's double portrait of Mr. and Mrs. Coltman exhibited in 1771, both wear stylish riding dress. Thomas Coltman's dress consists of a deep blue waistcoat trimmed with silver braid, a loosely fitting frock coat, high boots, and buckskin breeches fitted so tight that the outline of a coin is visible in his right-hand pocket. British styles of equestrian dress strongly



Princess Anne of Great Britain in riding attire. Women's riding trousers, such as these, were introduced during the Victorian period, and gained in popularity after riding sidesaddle fell out of fashion. In the early twenty-first century, there was little difference between riding habits for men and women. © TIM GRAHAM/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

influenced civilian fashions in other countries. In particular, French Anglophiles imitated British modes as early as the eighteenth century. The British frock coat became known as the *redingote* in France, a corruption of the word "riding-coat." Equestrian influence has subtly shaped men's dress to the present day, and vestiges of it remain in the single back vent of coats and suit jackets, which derive from the need to sit comfortably astride a horse and wick off the rain. Mary Coltman sits sidesaddle and wears a habit in one of the most fashionable colors for women in the eighteenth century when red, claret, and rose were in vogue. Her light waistcoat is trimmed with gold braid and she sports a jaunty plumed hat. Other portraits that feature eighteenth-century riding dress include Sir Joshua Reynolds's portrait of Lady Worsley and George Stubbs's double portrait of the Sheriff of Nottingham and his wife, Sophia Musters.

In the nineteenth century, riding dress became more subdued in style and hue for both sexes. The early nineteenth-century gentleman wore a single-breasted tailcoat, sloping in front with a single-breasted waistcoat and cravat or stock. On horseback, he wore the same garments on his upper body but his coat might have distinctive gilt buttons. His legs required more specialized garments: breeches made from buckskin were typically worn and for "dress" riding trousers or pantaloons with a strap to keep them from riding up. If he wore shoes rather than boots, he could use knee-gaiters to protect his legs.

Because of their practicality, lack of decorative detail, and allowance for mobility, women wore riding habits not only on horseback but also as visiting, travelling, and walking costumes during the day. For women, the upper half of riding habits often differed little from the clothing worn by their male counterparts, with the addition of darts and shaping for the bust. The bottom half of the horsewoman's costume expressed her femininity. Because ladies were expected to ride sidesaddle from the fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries, they wore skirts specially designed for the purpose. This contrast between the masculine upper half and feminine lower half led one early eighteenth-century writer to call it "the Hermaphroditical." While skirts tended to be relatively simple in cut and construction and quite voluminous in the early modern period, the Victorian habit-skirt was a masterwork of tailoring. Because the skirt could catch on the saddle in the event of a fall, injuring or killing the rider, many "safety skirts" were designed and patented by British firms like Harvey Nicholl and Busvine. These asymmetrical shorter skirts took many forms, including the apron-skirt, a false front that covered the legs when mounted and could be buttoned at the back when the rider dismounted.

Emerald green habits with short spencer jackets were popular in the early decades of the nineteenth century and during the 1830s followed the fashions for leg o'-mutton sleeves. During the Victorian period, as men's dress became more somber, so did women's riding habits. This is because riding habits were made by tailors rather than dressmakers and cut and fashioned with the same techniques from the same selection of fabrics. By the end of the century, black was the most appropriate color for women's riding dress. As riding became a popular leisure activity for the middle classes, etiquette and equitation manuals aimed at those who had no experience of riding flourished, and these often included strict advice about dress. As Mrs. Power O'Donoghue wrote in *Ladies on Horseback* (1889):

> A plainness, amounting even to severity, is to be preferred before any outward show. Ribbons, and coloured veils, and yellow gloves, and showy flowers are alike objectionable. A gaudy "get-up" (to make use of an expressive common-place) is highly to be condemned, and at once stamps the wearer as a person of inferior taste. Therefore avoid it.

The Victorian period introduced breeches and riding trousers for women. This garment prevented chafing

and was concealed under the skirt. Tailors and breeches-makers often advertised a lady assistant to measure a woman's inseam, and the resulting breeches were made from dark wool to match the habit and remained invisible if the skirt should fly up.

Colonialism, female emancipation, and increased participation in a wide variety of sports, especially bicycling, changed women's relationship with the riding costume. On their travels, women used horses for practical transportation and exploration and these animals were not always broken to ride sidesaddle. For safety and comfort, women had to ride astride and new habits with breeches or "zouave" trousers and jackets with long skirts were devised. Jodhpurs, named after a district in Rajasthan, were based on a style of Indian trousers that ballooned over the thighs and were cut tightly below the knees. These became popular for both men and women on horseback. "Ride astride" habits began to become acceptable in the first decades of the twentieth century, though many women continued to ride sidesaddle until mid-century. A 1924 illustration in American *Vogue* shows both a more formal black sidesaddle habit worn with cutaway coat and top hat and a tweed ride-astride habit worn with jodhpurs and a floppy-brimmed hat. Tweeds were standard for informal riding wear such as "hacking jackets." In the second half of the twentieth century riding had evolved in the directions of both recreation and competitive sport and specialized clothing with higher safety standards had become the norm, and less expensive materials like rubber replaced leather boots while polar fleece, Gore-Tex, and down jackets were used for warmth and waterproofing.

Different types of equitation demanded variations in dress and etiquette. While horses were often the most practical means of transportation in the eighteenth century, the advent of rail travel increased the popularity of riding as a leisure activity. The degree of formality in dress depended on whether the activity was an informal country hack, an aristocratic foxhunt, or a ride in an urban park. The most fashionable urban sites for riding were Rotten Row in London and the Bois de Boulogne in the west of Paris.

Functional clothing worn for work with horses included the carrick or greatcoat of the coachman with triple capes to keep off rain and snow. Each equestrian profession, from the groom to the liveried postillion, had a distinctive form of dress. Those who worked in agricultural contexts around the world developed specialized attire, such as the leather or suede chaps worn by the American cowboy, the sheepskins worn by herders in the French marshes of the Camargue, or the poncho worn by gauchos in South America.

Hunting clothing was often regular riding clothing adapted for convenience and protection from the elements. In the eighteenth century some hunts adopted specific colors and emblems, though the red coat was by no means universal and green, dark blue, and brown were popular. Red woolen frock coats or "hunting pinks" with black velvet collars were the mark of the experienced fox-hunter.

Racing developed its own specialized clothing as well. In contrast with the thick and waterproof garments worn on the hunt, the jockey's clothing had to be light and streamlined, fitting the body very tightly. By the early eighteenth century, jockeys were wearing attire that is recognizable in the early-twenty-first century: tight jackets cut to the waist, white breeches, short top-boots, and peaked cap with a bow in front. At that time, the cap was black; but the bright and highly visible, often striped or checked "colored silk" livery of the jacket made the owner's identity clear. Satin weaves gave these silks their glossy sheen. Because of its sexual appeal and bright coloring, jockey suits were often copied in women's fashions by nineteenth-century couturiers like Charles Worth.

For example, in Zola's novel *Nana*, the eponymous heroine, a Parisian courtesan, goes to the races dressed in a jockey-inspired outfit:

> She wore the colours of the De Vandeuvres stable, blue and white, intermingled in a most extraordinary costume. The little body and the tunic, in blue silk, were very tight fitting, and raised behind in an enormous puff . . . the skirt and sleeves were in white satin, as well as a sash that passed over the shoulder, and the whole was trimmed with silver braid which sparkled in the sunshine. Whilst, the more to resemble a jockey, she had placed a flat blue cap, ornamented with a feather, on the top of her chignon, from which a long switch of her golden hair hung down in the middle of her back like an enormous tail. (pp. 289–290)

Manufacture and Retail

Because of its traditions of equestrian sport, Britain has led the Western world in making riding costumes. Men could go to their habitual tailors who specialized in sporting dress.

The fabric used for making women's habits could be very expensive and because of the amount of cloth needed, it often cost substantially more than an evening gown. Like men's suits, riding habits were expected to last several years and to stand up to intensive use. Despite its elite connotations, ready-made habits were available in the eighteenth century from mercers and haberdashers' shops, and in the nineteenth century from department stores and working-class men's clothiers and outfitting firms trying to move upmarket by advertising "ladies' habit rooms." At the upper end of the market, firms offered luxury services to their clientele. In the 1880s, British tailoring firms such as Creeds opened branches in Paris. The suites of the British women's tailor and couturier Redfern in Paris, situated on the rue de Rivoli, were celebrated as "the rendez-vous of all the

sportswomen whom the foreign and Parisian aristocracy count among their number." Redfern proposed stuffed block horses of several colors so that his clients could choose their habits in a tone that matched the hide (*robe*) of their favorite mount. The word for the hue of a horses' hide and woman's dress were the same in French.

Riding attire has always symbolized grace and leisured elegance. It implied that its wearer belonged or aspired to belong to the horse-owning classes. Wearers often used it to challenge formal social mores in dress, deportment, and gender roles. Its rustic simplicity and informality connoted youth, ease, and sometimes impudence. For example, the dandy George Bryan Brummell made riding dress fashionable in the salons of Regency Britain, bringing "rural" modes into an urban setting. For horsewomen, etiquette was more stringent. Any woman who wore gaudy or overly ornate habits or who made a spectacle of herself was in danger of being branded a "pretty horsebreaker" or "fast woman" rather than a "fair equestrienne" in the Victorian period. Contemporary fashion designers continue to recycle traditional equestrian motifs and fabrics in haute couture and prêt-à-porter collections. In this context riding costume is most often used to connote country elegance and traditional elite English style.

See also **Boots; Breeches; Brummell, George (Beau); Protective Clothing.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnold, Janet. "Dashing Amazons: The Development of Women's Riding Dress, c.1500–1900." In *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity*. Edited by Amy de la Haye and Elizabeth Wilson, 10–29. Manchester U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Chenoune, Farid. *A History of Men's Fashion.* Paris: Flammarion, 1993.

Cunnington, Phillis, and A. Mansfield. *English Costume for Sports and Outdoor Recreation: From the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries.* London: Adam and Charles Black, 1969.

David, Alison Matthews. "Elegant Amazons: Victorian Riding Habits and the Fashionable Horsewoman." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 30, no.1 (2002): 179–210.

O'Donoghue, Power [Nannie]. *Ladies On Horseback: Learning, Park-Riding and Hunting, With Hints Upon Costume, and Numerous Anecdotes.* London: W. H. Allen, 1889.

Zola, Émile. *Nana.* London: Vizetelly and Company, 1884.

Alison Matthews David

ETHNIC DRESS Ethnic dress ranges from a single piece to a whole ensemble of items that identify an individual with a specific ethnic group. An ethnic group refers to people who share a cultural heritage or historical tradition, usually connected to a geographical location or a language background; it may sometimes overlap religious or occupational groups. Ethnicity refers to the common heritage of an ethnic group. Members of an ethnic group often distinguish themselves from others by using items of dress to symbolize their ethnicity and display group solidarity. The words "ethnic" and "ethnicity" come from the Greek word *ethno*s, meaning "people." Many anthropologists prefer to use the inclusive term "ethnic group" instead of "tribe," because the latter is often employed as shorthand for "other people" as opposed to "us." Sometimes the term "folk dress" is used instead of ethnic dress when discussing examples of ethnic dress in Europe and not elsewhere in the world. "Folk" and folk dress ordinarily distinguish European rural dwellers and peasants and their dress from wealthy landowners, nobility, or royalty and their apparel. Ethnic dress, however, is a neutral term that applies to distinctive cultural dress of people living anywhere in the world who share an ethnic background.

Ethnic Dress and Change

The readily identifiable aspect of ethnic dress arises from a garment characteristic (such as its silhouette), a garment part (such as a collar or sleeve), accessories, or a textile pattern, any of which stems from the group's cultural heritage. Many people believe that ethnic dress does not change. In point of fact, however, change in dress does occur, because as human beings come into contact with other human beings, they borrow, exchange, and modify many cultural items, including items of dress. In addition, human beings create and conceive of new ways of making or decorating garments or accessories, and modifying their bodies. Even though changes occur and are apparent when garments and ensembles are viewed over time, many aspects of ethnic dress do remain stable, allowing them to be identifiable. In many parts of the world, ethnic dress is not worn on a daily basis; instead items are brought out for specific occasions, particularly holiday or ritual events, when a display of ethnic identity is a priority and a source of pride. When worn only in this way, ethnic dress may easily be viewed as ethnic costume, since it is not an aspect of everyday identity.

Ethnic Dress and Gender

Across the contemporary world as well as historically, gender differences exist in all types of dress, including ethnic dress. Thus, ethnic dress and gender become intertwined. Sometimes women retain the items of dress identified as ethnic while men wear items of dress and accessories that come from the Western world, especially in urban areas. For example, in India, many women commonly wear a sari or *salwar* and *kameez*, but many men wear trousers and a shirt or a business suit. One explanation is that those who work in industrial and professional jobs connected with or stemming from Westernized occupations begin to wear types of tailored clothing that have arisen from Europe and the Americas.

Another explanation for the continued wearing of ethnic styles is that a widely shared cultural aesthetic in dress may influence preferences for particular garments. For example, the soft lines of the sari in India, and the shapely but body-covering sarong and blouse (*kain-kebaya*) in Indonesia, reflect the cultural ideal of femininity in those countries.

Selected Examples of Ethnic Dress

Garments and accessories for ethnic dress are fashioned from a wide variety of materials, often thought to be made by hand. In today's world, however, many are manufactured by machine. Textiles of many types are most frequently used for garments, although in some locations, people wear furs, skins, bark cloth, and other fibers. Particularly in tropical and subtropical areas in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, examples of ethnic dress include wrapped garments, such as the wrapper, also called *lappa*, the sari, sarong, and pareo. In moderate and cold climates on all continents, tailored or preshaped clothing is cut and sewn to fit the body closely to provide warmth.

Asia and the Pacific

On the Asian continent, where the climate extends from tropical to Arctic, garment types range from wrapped to cut-and-sewn examples. Throughout India, women wrap six to nine yards of unstitched fabric in specific styles to fashion the wrapped garment called the sari, which is ordinarily worn with a blouse (called a *choli*). Many styles of wrapping the sari exist that distinguish different ethnic backgrounds within India. Indian men wrap from two to four yards of fabric to fashion garments called *lungi* and *dhoti* that they wear around their lower body. Among the Hill Tribes of Thailand, Hmong women wear a blouse and skirt with an elaborate silver necklace, an apron, a turban-type head covering, and wrapped leg coverings. In the steppe lands of Asia (for example, Mongolia), tailored garments of jacket and trousers are worn with caps and boots. In China, types of dress have changed over time, in relationship to contact with other peoples. Turks, Mongols, Manchus, and other peoples of China's Central Asian and northern borderlands sometimes influenced the cut and style of tailored garments in China itself. The fitted, one-piece women's garment with mandarin collar and side-slit skirt known as a cheongsam, or *qipao*, was invented in Shanghai in the 1920s as a garment that was acceptably both "Chinese" and "modern." Its use declined in the People's Republic of China after the late 1950s, but it continued to be worn in Chinese communities outside the mainland and is widely regarded as the "ethnic dress" of Chinese women. In Japan, variations of the garment known as kimono are cut and sewn, as well as wrapped. The kimono's body and sleeves are formed by stitching textiles together, but the body of the garment wraps around the human form and is secured by a sash known as the obi. The Korean ensemble called a *hanbok* includes a skirt for women and pants for men that are cut and sewn, but the top garment, a jacket for both men and women, is called *chogori* and wraps across the breast.

In Indonesia, cloth (*kain*) is wrapped around the lower body for both women and men, and is worn with a blouse (*kebaya*) or a shirt (*baju*). Another option for clothing the lower body is the sarong, cloth sewn to make a tubular garment. (This word was borrowed by Hollywood to refer to the wrapped garment worn by Hedy Lamarr and Dorothy Lamour that also covers the breasts. Among many of the peoples of Indonesia, the latter style is regarded as highly informal, worn for example by women on their way to the bathing pool.) Bare feet or various types of sandals and slippers are worn with these garments.

On many of the islands of the Pacific, such as Samoa and Hawaii, the wrapped garment is called a pareo. The long, shapeless dress called a muumuu, or *robe mission* ("mission dress"), introduced by missionaries to clothe women who traditionally were only lightly dressed, is now widely accepted as a form of ethnic dress throughout the Pacific islands. Elaborate feathered headdresses are worn in many parts of New Guinea with few other body coverings. At the time of European arrival in Australia, Aborigine dress consisted of animal skin cloaks, belts, and headbands along with body piercings, scarification, and body paint. Tattooing various parts of the body has been common among many groups in the Pacific, such as the Maori people of New Zealand and some groups of Japanese.

Because of extensive colonization in Asia and the Pacific, Europeans influenced garments and accessories of indigenous people. In return, the colonizers were influenced by exposure to Asian types of dress and borrowed or modified Asian garments, such as the cummerbund, the pajama, and bandannas, into both everyday and formal dress, thus culturally authenticating them.

Africa

The African continent extends from the Mediterranean Sea to the Cape of Good Hope and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean, providing a wide variation in climate, temperature, and terrain. A majority of indigenous garments include wrapped textiles. Both men and women in West Africa wear wrappers that cover the lower body and a shirt or blouse on the upper body. African women's head ties also exemplify a wrapped textile. In Ghana, some men's garments wrap the body with a large rectangle of cloth pulled over one shoulder that extends to the feet, similar to the Roman toga. Many indigenous people wrap blankets and skins around their bodies in South Africa, and in East Africa ethnic groups like the Maasai and Somali wear variations of garments wrapped around the torso and over one shoulder to below the knees, exposing bare legs and sandals. Distinctive printed textiles that evolved from Dutch influence in

Indonesia are highly visible in African ethnic dress, but the patterns and motifs are now specifically African and often manufactured on the African continent. In North Africa, Islamic influence in dress exists that ties some of this region of Africa to other countries that are primarily Islamic in the Middle East with such examples as the gowns called caftan, djellaba, and *jilbab.* Tailored fashions with European influence also prevail across the continent, particularly in cosmopolitan cities, where the frequency of Africans wearing ethnic dress is particularly diminished. Many Africans have traveled elsewhere in the world, are exposed to mass media such as television, cinema, magazines, and newspapers, and also share knowledge of fashions from Europe and the Americas based on their colonial past. Schoolchildren frequently wear Western-style school uniforms. The secondhand market of clothing from Europe and America has also affected what Africans wear in many countries. Alterations change the garments into local fashions. In comparison to the higher prices of ready-made or tailor-made garments, the lower cost makes secondhand clothing highly desirable. Europeans and Americans who have visited or lived in African countries borrowed items and styles of dress that became incorporated into their wardrobes. Examples are the dashiki, the Yoruba shirt adopted by returning Peace Corps volunteers who served in West Africa during the 1960s, African women's head ties and hairstyles (such as cornrowing) worn by African American women, and children, and garments made from the striped Ghanaian textile called *kente.*

Europe and Eurasia

Ethnic dress in Europe and Eurasia consists primarily of ensembles, often called folk dress that relate to garments generally from the eighteenth century on. Many such examples can be found in folk museums, such as the Benaki Museum in Athens or the Nordiskmuseet in Stockholm. Sometimes the distinctive aspect of ethnic dress appears minimally to be one item, such as the plaid or tartan kilt of men in Scotland or the elaborate lace headdress of women in Brittany that is known as the *coiffe.* Such items become romanticized as ethnic dress, worn for special events and holidays. A strong argument has arisen that indeed the tartan is a relatively recent invention that arose for clan distinction in Scotland. Among most European countries, from as far north as Norway and as far south as Greece, smaller geographic areas are often identified with a specific ethnic group that initially occupied the area. The members of these groups may vary their ensembles or particularly distinct dress items only minimally to set themselves apart from other groups within that country as in the examples of both Norwegian and Greek ethnic dress. The Saami (formerly known as Lapplanders) who live in northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland wear a distinctive tunic-suit, sedge-grass boots, and the "four-winds" hat with four corners that allow the storage of items. For those coming from the ethnic backgrounds known as Czech and Slovak, a large linen shawl and a matron's cap surface as ethnic social indicators.

The Americas

The enslaved Africans arrived with few examples of garments or their traditions remaining from their past, except for the African women's tradition of wearing a wrapped piece of cloth on her head. In the northern part of North America, the Inuit people (formerly known as Eskimo) fashioned furs to keep their bodies snugly warm from frigid winter temperatures. The many examples of indigenous people across the two continents often called Indians (also known as Native Americans or Native Peoples, depending on government policy and idiomatic expressions) had traditions that stemmed from various weaving and embroidery practices in Central and South America. Many weaving traditions continue from earlier times that first set apart the garments of indigenous people from the Spaniards and Portuguese who encroached upon their land and wore European-types of clothing. In such cases, it is tempting to call only the indigenous examples "ethnic dress," yet the Argentine gaucho ensemble that arose from the work traditions of Argentinean cowboys can equally be called ethnic.

See also **Caftan; Clothing, Costume, and Dress; Dashiki; Jilbab; Kente; Qipao; Sari; Sarong.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baizerman, S., J. B. Eicher, and C. Cerny. "Eurocentrism in the Study of Ethnic Dress." *Dress* 20 (1993): 19–32.

Barnes, R., and J. B. Eicher, eds. *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Context.* Oxford and Providence, R.I.: Berg, 1992.

Boulanger, C. *Saris: An Illustrated Guide to the Indian Art of Draping.* New York: Shakti Press, 1997.

Chapman, Malcolm. "Freezing the Frame: Dress and Ethnicity in Brittany and Gaelic Scotland." In *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time.* Edited by J. B. Eicher. Oxford and Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1995.

Eicher, J. B., ed. *Dress and Ethnicity: Change across Space and Time.* Oxford and Washington, D.C.: Berg, 1995.

Hansen, Karen Tranberg. *The World of Secondhand Clothing and Zambia.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Hobsbawn, E., and T. Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Kennet, F. *World Dress.* New York: Checkmark Books, 1995.

Tarlo, E. *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Van der Plas, Els, and Marlous Willemsen, eds. *The Art of African Fashion.* Trenton, N.J., and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, 1998.

Welters, L., ed. *Folk Dress in Europe and Anatolia.* Oxford and New York: Berg, 1999.

Joanne B. Eicher

ETHNIC STYLE IN FASHION During the 1990s and the first years of the new millennium, ethnic style has been one of the strongest influences in fashion. Designers such as Christian Lacroix, Dries van Noten, John Galliano, Kenzo, Vivienne Tam, Yeohlee and many others have taken their inspiration from a variety of Asian, African, Arctic, Native American and several other dress forms and aesthetic styles and created colorful, syncretic styles evocative of the past or faraway lands. They have also found sources for ethnic fashion within the West, for example in the folk traditions of Northern and Eastern Europe. The fantasy element is strong in ethnic fashion; even when based on detailed research, designs are typically given a twist so they appear contemporary.

For many Western designers, non-Western aesthetics have provided a fertile subject matter, which has enabled them to develop creatively. This ability to break conventions is associated with a way of seeing, rather than faithful adherence to any particular ethnic style. The overall eclecticism of ethnic fashion is expressed, for example, by Dries van Noten, as noted in *Touches d'exotisme, xiv^e–xx^e siècles*:

> For me, exoticism is the elsewhere, the other, the difference. It is generally associated with distant countries. But for me, it is rather everything that reroutes us from the ordinary . . . from our habits, our certainties and from the everyday to plunge us into a world that is amazing, hospitable and warm. (p. 203)

Fashion theory has been informed by the distinction between fashion—modern, changeable, and emanating from Western urban centers—and ethnic clothing—stable, oriented toward tradition, and belonging in the periphery. This distinction has not always been precise; however, it has had a profound influence on how society thinks about fashion. Many accounts of ethnic fashion thus tend to overemphasize the original reworking of exotic designs on the part of Western creators, just as they exaggerate the fixity of non-Western dress. In this respect, the ongoing impact of ethnic styles on Western fashion has been marginalized.

Historically, luxury has been associated with foreign origins. It is therefore impossible to date the starting point of ethnic style in Western consumption modes; in ancient times, novel and sumptuous goods arrived through trade routes from Persia, Egypt, and Central Asia, and later from India, China, Japan, Colombia, Mexico, and elsewhere. Designs and production methods of these imports were imitated, and whole industries—such as Italian and French silk production—were founded to cater for what had initially been a demand for exoticism. The taste for the foreign was also evident in the initial popularity of the cashmere shawl as a fashion item among European and American women from 1800 to 1870. Materials such as silk and cashmere are now fully naturalized in Western fashion, but from time to time their foreign origins are rearticulated in the context of ethnic fashion, for example in the recent trend for *luxe povera*.

Looking at clothes design in a stricter sense, ethnic styles were an important element in the intense experimentation with female dress in the first decades of the twentieth century. Paul Poiret adapted the lines and silhouette of the Japanese kimono to contemporary dresses, and a few years later, he picked Middle Eastern inspiration to a sultan-and-harem mode of loose garments and bold color combinations. Mariano Fortuny combined inspiration from contemporary Middle Eastern clothing and European art, especially Italian renaissance, in pleated dresses that follow the lines of the body. His artistic dresses connote both timelessness—they are not made for special occasions or age brackets and are beyond the seasonal changes of fashion—and femininity that comes "from within," in the sense that it is less formal and less manifestly visible than the conventional gender code.

The second wave of ethnic fashion came in the late 1960s with such representatives in haute couture as Yves Saint Laurent, Kenzo, and Sonia Rykiel. Also in this period, ethnic style was associated with transcendence of conventions, thereby allowing perceived deeper sensual qualities to be expressed. The philosopher Hélène Cixous said about a jacket by Sonia Rykiel, and by implication about ethnic fashion as such: "A garment which is not a noisy manifestation of the street, but a fine manifestation of the world" (p. 97). She adds, "The dress doesn't separate the inside from the outside, it translates, sheltering" (p. 98).

In the 1960s and 1970s, ethnic style provided a rich field for fashion without designers: Palestinian scarves, Latin American skirts, Indonesian batik sarongs, Moroccan djellabas, Chinese jackets, rattan baskets, embroidered purses, leather sandals, and tribal jewelry, bought either in special third-world import stores or on long-distance travels, were worn in combination with ordinary clothes. Ethnic style thus became a highly personal as well as cosmopolitan way of dressing, sometimes associated with a political attitude.

An important issue is the position of non-Western fashion designers. When Japanese avant-garde designers, including Issey Miyake, Yohji Yamamoto, and Rei Kawakubo (of Comme des Garçons), presented the most sought-after collections in Paris in the 1980s, the international fashion press wrote them off as a mere exotic—in the pejorative sense of passing—influence. There was a tendency to interpret their designs in the light of traditional Japanese aesthetics, rather than acknowledge them as innovative designers working with a minimalism that self-consciously fused elements of East and West with very few overt ethnic references. In this respect, the Western fashion world has pushed non-Western designers towards self-exoticization. While some Asian fashion designers find it stimulating to apply their creative skills to their cultural backgrounds, others experience the demand for exoticization as devaluation of their talents and skills in the highly globalized fashion business.

In some markets, especially in the United States, there has been considerable recognition of non-Western designers; however, they have tended to remain identified with a particular ethnic style as aesthetic exponents of multiculturalism. A key example is Vivienne Tam: born in China, educated in Hong Kong, resident of New York City in the early 2000s. She incorporates Chinese motifs in her designs, but highly eclectically, so that her clothes have included both Buddhist and Maoist imagery. In contrast to Western designers, whose engagement with ethnic styles tends to be superficial, Tam's consistent work with Chinese aesthetics has led to a deep involvement with cultural tradition, including spiritualism, architecture, medicine, art, and performance.

There are also minority niche markets where diaspora women in the West find their *salwar-kameez*, the so-called Punjabi suit, or their Vietnamese *ao dai*. These markets are typically operated by women entrepreneurs without any formal training in fashion design. They tend to keep in touch with the styles current in the homeland; however, this does not stop them from influencing dynamics of fashion in the West, as was the case with the Punjabi suit in the late 1990s.

Ethnic style in fashion is an important, yet somewhat neglected, area of fashion studies. As fashion continues adjusting to the multicultural condition, both within each Western nation and at the transnational level, ethnic style provides a particularly rich and diverse field of study—one that is likely to produce major future developments in fashion theory.

See also **Fads; Folklore Look; Galliano, John; Miyake, Issey; Saint Laurent, Yves; Yamamoto, Yohji.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bhachu, Parminder. "Designing Diasporic Markets: Asian Fashion Entrepreneurs in London." In *Re-Orientating Fashion: The Globalisation of Asian Dress.* Edited by Sandra Niessen, Ann Marie Leshkowich, and Carla Jones. London: Berg, 2003.

Cixous, Hélène. "Sonia Rykiel in Translation." In *On Fashion.* Edited by Shari Benstock and Suzanne Ferriss. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994.

Kondo, Dorinne. *About Face: Performing Race in Fashion and Theatre.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

Legrand-Rossi, Sylvie, et al. *Touches d'exotisme, xiv^e–xx^e siècles.* Union centrale des arts decoratifs. Paris: Musée de la mode et du textile, 1998.

Leshkowich, Ann Marie. "The *Ao Dai* Goes Global: How International Influences and Female Entrepreneurs Have Shaped Vietnam's 'National Costume.'" In *Re-Orientating Fashion.* Edited by Sandra Niessen, Ann Marie Leshkowich, and Carla Jones. London: Berg, 2003.

Skov, Lise. "Fashion-Nation: A Japanese Globalization Experience and a Hong Kong Dilemma." In *Re-Orientating Fashion.* Edited by Sandra Niessen, Ann Marie Leshkowich, and Carla Jones. London: Berg, 2003.

Steele, Valerie, and John Major. *China Chic: East Meets West.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999.

Tam, Vivienne, with Martha Huang. *China Chic.* New York: Regan Books, 2000.

Lise Skov

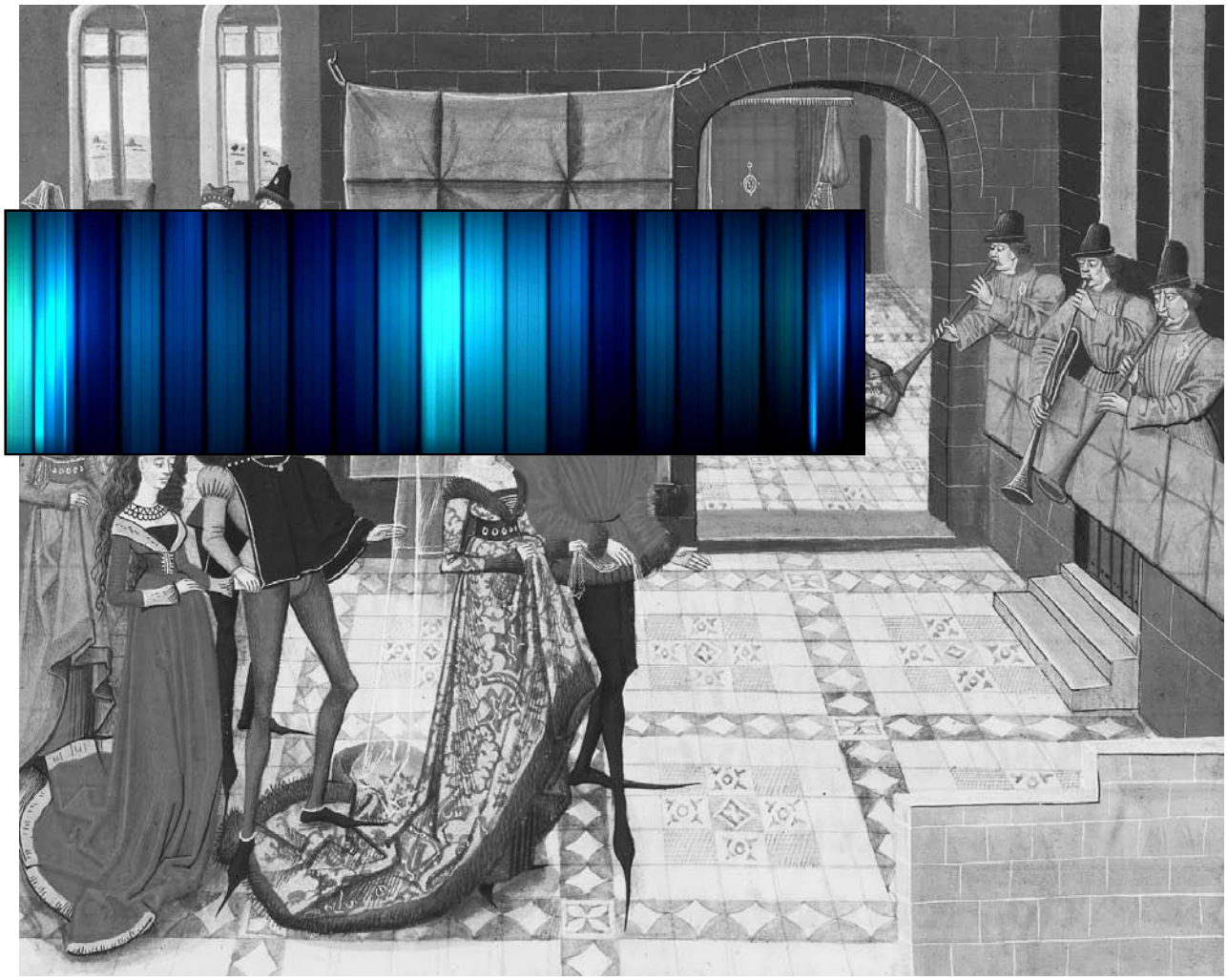
EUROPE AND AMERICA: HISTORY OF DRESS (400–1900 C.E.) For historians, the naming in 395 C.E. of two consuls, or emperors—one for the Eastern and one for the Western parts of Europe—marks the end of the Roman Empire. As the Western empire gradually fell under barbarian control, the empire in the East (its capital in Constantinople) flourished. Dress in Byzantium was an amalgam of Roman and Eastern styles. From the East came elaborate ornaments, decorative motifs, and textiles—especially those of silk. The result was extensive use of embroidery, appliqué, precious stones, or woven designs added to the long or short tunics and some of the draped outer garments characteristic of Roman dress.

As the major cultural center, these styles of the Byzantine court influenced all the courts of Western Europe from about 400 to 900 C.E. It was not until after the tenth century that a European economic recovery began, making Byzantine influences somewhat less important.

Dress in the Early Middle Ages

The period from 400 to 900 C.E. in Western Europe is known as the Dark Ages. As the name implies, the picture of cultural developments over this period is somewhat obscure. Clear images of dress are few. Apparently dress in Europe combined Roman forms with those of the barbarians. Men wore long or short tunics with a sort of trousers that were gaitered (wrapped close to the leg) with strips of cloth or leather. Women wore an under tunic and an outer tunic covered by a cape, or mantle. Married women covered their hair with a veil. Among royalty and the upper classes, Byzantine influences were most evident in the use of silk fabrics, manufactured in Byzantium and imported, and in ornamental bands that trimmed sleeves, necklines, hemlines, and other areas of tunics.

The basics of dress remained fairly constant in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Middle Ages for both men and women. Next to his body a man typically wore *braies*, an undergarment similar to underpants, and a shirt. A woman wore a loose-fitting undergarment called a chemise. Undergarments were made of linen. Outer garments for both men and women consisted of an under tunic and an outer tunic. These were most likely made of wool. For important occasions, royalty might wear silk. Men of higher status who did not need to be physically active wore longer tunics. The under tunic often was of a contrasting color or fabric and showed at the hem, the neckline, and the end of the sleeves. Art shows both solid and figured fabrics, although solid colors predominate.



Medieval bridal procession. An illustration from the tale *L'histoire de Renaud de Montauban* depicts the types of clothing worn by the upper class in the late fifteenth century. © BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Twelfth-Century Changes in Dress

By the twelfth century, artistic and literary evidence indicates that significant changes in political, economic, technological, and social life had begun to affect clothing. After the Roman government of Europe broke down, local rulers administered smaller or larger areas. Charlemagne (768–814), one of the kings of a Germanic tribe called the Franks, came to exercise significant power over much of Western Europe and was crowned emperor by the pope in Rome in 800 C.E. This empire did not long survive Charlemagne.

A feudal society developed in which local lords granted land (fiefs) to subjects who, in turn, provided loyalty, payment, and military support to the lord. These lords or kings built castles where large numbers of people lived and worked. Such centers provided a stage for the display of status, which was often expressed through dress.

As the European economy prospered and courts expanded, the Christian church served as a unifying force with its central authority, the pope, in Rome and local bishops in important cities and towns. When the pope called on the many feudal lords and their soldiers to liberate the Holy Lands from the Muslims, who had taken control of that region, thousands responded. Their reasons for joining the Crusades ranged from genuine religious fervor to opportunities for looting and pillaging. The impact on dress was significant. The crusaders, who continued their warfare for almost 200 years, brought back new fabrics, design motifs, and clothing styles that were adapted for European dress. At the same time, civilian dress incorporated elements of military dress.

While the Crusades increased trade and communication with the Middle East, European traders were rekindling trade with the Far East as well. Marco Polo

(c. 1254–1324) wrote of his adventures as a trader in a book that helped to encourage commerce with the Far East.

In decline over the post-Roman period, urban centers once again became the hubs of production and trade after the feudal period. Technological advances in the production of textiles such as water-powered fulling (finishing) of wool, a horizontal loom at which the worker could sit and use foot treadles and a shuttle, and a spinning wheel that replaced the hand spindle all served to increase the capacity of the growing textile industry. Craftsmen formed guilds that set standards and pay rates. Trade opportunities expanded, and wealth extended beyond the courts and royalty to this newly affluent merchant class.

The Beginnings of Fashion

Though the precise origins of fashion change in dress are still debated by costume historians, it is generally agreed that the phenomenon of a large number of people accepting a style for a relatively short period of time began during the Middle Ages. The aforementioned social and economic changes established the necessary conditions for fashion. Textile manufacturing advances provided the raw materials needed for increased production and consumption of clothing. The courts provided a stage for display of fashions. Social stratification was becoming less rigid, making it possible for one social class to imitate another. Increased trade and travel spread information about styles from one area to another.

Evidence of the international spread of information about style change can be found in developments in the arts. Architectural styles changed radically after circa 1150 when buildings in the Romanesque style gave way throughout Europe to the newer Gothic forms. Both used carvings as ornamentation and to tell biblical stories. These, along with the images portrayed in stained-glass windows, have served as a major source for information about dress. Manuscript illumination also began to show more lay figures dressed in contemporary costume.

These statues and drawings of the twelfth century show alterations in fit that clearly resulted from changes in the cut of clothes. Instead of being loose tunics, garments followed the lines of the body closely from shoulder to below the waist where a fuller skirt was sewn to the upper bodice. Sleeve styles varied. Some outer tunic sleeves were shorter in order to show more of the under tunic sleeve. Some were wide, and some were so elongated that they had to be knotted to keep from dragging on the ground.

French writers of the period called elaborate versions of these fitted styles *bliauts.* The garment is described as being made of expensive silk fabrics. Its appearance indicates that the fabric was probably manipulated using bias (diagonal pieces with greater stretch) insets to assure a close fit and that elaborate pleats were used in the skirt. Clearly advances were being made in clothing construction.

Chainse, another French term, seems to refer to a pleated garment that was probably made from lightweight linen and may have been worn alone as a sort of housedress by women (Goddard 1927). Some versions of these garments seem to have closed by lacing, which allowed a closer fit.

Dress in the Middle Ages: 1200–1400

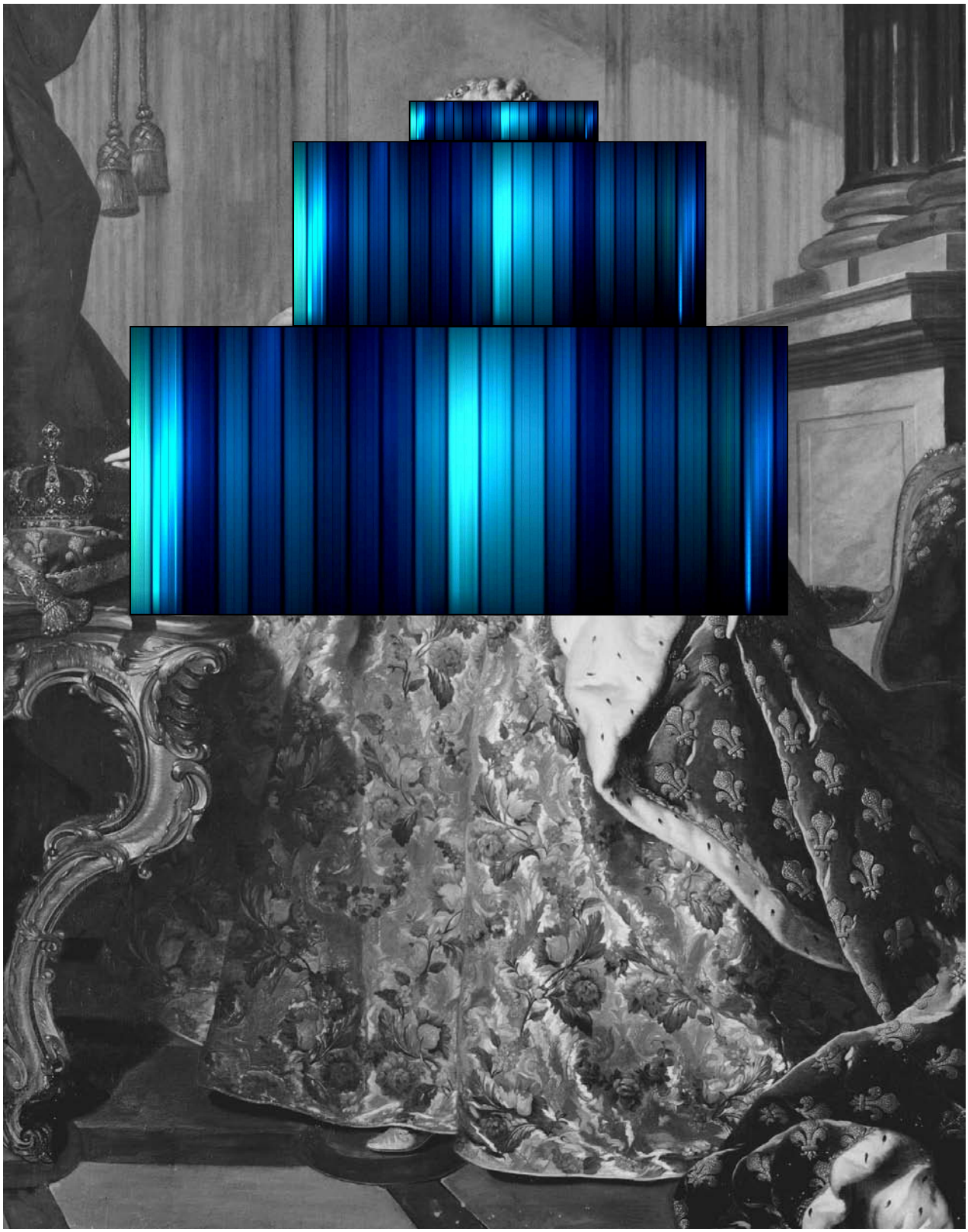
With the increased variety of dressing styles, terminology for items of clothing in these early periods grows more complicated and confusing. Names for garments often come directly from French. Frequently English-speaking costume historians adopt these French terms. This is especially evident when costume historians write about medieval styles of the thirteenth century and after. From this time on, the under tunic was usually called a *cote*; the outer tunic, a *surcote*, a word that has gained English usage.

The layering remained the same as in earlier centuries and undergarments did not change radically, but the cut and fit of outer garments has started to alter with greater frequency. Also, a number of new outdoor garments appeared. These included the *garnache*, "a long cloak with capelike sleeves," the *herigaut* or *gardecorps*, "a cloak with long, wide sleeves having a slit below the shoulder through which the arm could be slipped," and the chaperon, "a hood cut and sewn to a chape" [cape] (Tortora and Eubank 1998).

The influence of important individuals on style is evident. The reign (1226–1270) of the pious King Louis IX of France coincided with a turn toward looser fitting, more modest, and less ostentatious dress.

Around the middle of the fourteenth century, a wider range of types of dress appeared. At the same time, dress for men and women started to diverge, length of skirt being a major difference. Men of all classes now wore short skirts. One important short-skirted garment was the *cotehardie.* The exact features of this garment seem to have varied from country to country, and it was probably a variant of the surcote. The Cunningtons, writing about English costume, define the term as a garment with a front-buttoned, low-waisted, fitted bodice with fitted sleeves that ended at the elbow in front and had a hanging flap at the back, with the bodice attaching to a short skirt (1952).

Under this garment, men wore a garment variously called a pourpoint, *gipon*, or doublet. In commenting on problems of terminology, Newton observes, "It is doubtful whether at any one time the exact differences between an aketon, a pourpoint, a doublet, a courtpiece, and a jupon were absolutely defined. In France the cotehardie comes into this category, and in England, from the early 1360s, the paltok" (1980). Probably adopted for civilian wear from a padded military garment, the pourpoint (later more likely to be called a doublet) attached to hose with laces that had sharp metal tips known as "points."



***Maria Leczinska, Queen of France,* by Louis Tocque, oil on canvas, 1740.** Skirts worn by the upper echelons of French society in the eighteenth century were up to eight feet wide. The skirt's broadness was created by hoops near the hem or padding at the hip. REUNION DES MUSEES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, NY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

This combination might be worn alone or under an outer garment. Hose were worn either with shoes or boots or had leather soles and required no shoes. Shoes often had very long, pointed toes and were called *poulaines* or *crackowes*, which may testify to a possible origin in Poland. Upper-class men wore the most extreme of these styles and thereby showed that they did not need to do any hard labor.

The *houppelande* was another important garment that appeared about 1360. Made in either thigh or mid-calf length or long, it was fitted over the shoulders, then fell in deep, tubular folds and was belted at the waist. Sleeves could be quite elaborate, sometimes long and full and gathered in at the wrist or widening at the end and falling to the floor. Fur trim was common.

Although women were wearing *houppelandes* by the end of the fourteenth century, they were more common in the fifteenth century. Other styles for women included close-fitting gowns, sometimes with either sleeved or sleeveless surcotes. Certain garments were visual statements of status. French queens and princesses wore surcotes cut low at the neck, with enormous armhole openings through which a fitted gown could be seen, and a hip-length stiffened panel with a row of jeweled brooches down the front. A full skirt was attached to the panel.

The imposition of sumptuary laws (limits placed on spending for luxury goods) on dress indicate that the elite classes feared that the lower classes were attempting to usurp their status symbols. Fashionable dress had become affordable to more people, and legislators attempted to restrict by rank the types of fur used, the types and quantities of fabric, kinds of trimmings, and even the length of the points of shoes. These laws were not obeyed and rarely enforced.

During the fifteenth century, styles continually evolved. Men's doublets grew shorter and hose longer, looking much like modern tights. A new construction feature, the codpiece—a pouch of fabric closed with laces—allowed room for the genitals. *Houppelandes* underwent some changes in style and construction, becoming more elaborate in trimming and sleeve construction. A short, broad-shouldered garment, sometimes called a jacket, had an attached skirt that flared out from the waist.

Women wore *houppelandes* and fitted gowns. One style appears so often in art that it has become almost a stereotype for modern illustrators who want to show medieval princesses. This gown had fitted sleeves, a deep V-neck with a modesty piece filling in the V, a slightly high waistline with a wide belt, and a long, trained skirt. Another style seen in Northern European art is a loose-fitting gown with close-fitting sleeves, a round neckline, and fullness falling from gathers at the center front. Some sources call this gown a roc.

Accessories. In the earlier centuries, medieval head coverings were relatively simple: veils that covered their hair for adult women and hoods or small caps like modern baby bonnets, called coifs, that tied under the chin for men. By the fifteenth century, upper-class men and women were wearing many fanciful styles. Men's hoods were wrapped turbanlike around the head, sometimes made with wide, padded brims. The prevalence of turbans may reflect contacts with the Orient. Hats with high crowns and with small brims resembled a loaf of sugar and were called sugar loaf hats. Adult women's hair was still covered, but coverings were often of decorative net fabrics, padded rolls, or tall, flat or pointed, structures. Lightweight, sheer veils were often attached.

Other accessories included purses, belts, and jewelry. Belts were often a mark of status, being highly ornamented and jeweled.

Dress in the Italian Renaissance: 1400–1600

In Italy circa 1400, scholars turned to the literature and philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome as a source of ideas about their world. Historians examining this period assigned the name "Renaissance" (French for "rebirth") to this time when a new focus on humanism contrasted with the medieval emphasis on spirituality.

These ideas spread from Italy to Northern Europe, influencing scholars and creative artists. The artists created realistic portraits and scenes of daily life and showed clear views of dress even to the point of showing where the seams were located. They faithfully depicted the lush velvets, satins, and brocades worn by their sitters.

Royalty wore the most lavish garments, but the well-to-do merchant classes could easily imitate court styles. Intermarriage among the rulers of European countries provided one means of spreading fashions from one country to another as royal brides and grooms dressed themselves and their retinues in the latest styles from their home country.

By the sixteenth century, the recently developed printing press was turning out books that purported to show clothing styles in different parts of the world. Such books, which are of some use to costume historians, require careful evaluation because many of the styles depicted are imaginary and contain both realistic and inaccurate representations.

Predominant styles. Styles worn in Italy in the early fifteenth century showed some similarities to those of Northern Europe in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. At the same time, with the proximity of Italy to the Middle East, Asian influences are evident in fabrics with Eastern design motifs, in clothing showing some similarities to Turkish robes, and in headwear in turbanlike forms. Part of the differences in styles came from the Italian failure to adopt northern styles such as the extreme pointed-toed shoes and the V-necked, high-waisted women's gown. Silhouettes of women's gowns were wider than those in the north. Necklines were low.

Bodices were attached to gathered skirts. Many gowns and men's doublets or jackets were made of figured velvets, brocades, and damasks produced by skilled Italian weavers. Small puffs of fabric of contrasting color were pulled through the elbow, armhole, and some seam lines.

This decorative idea became a feature of men's styles all over Europe in the early years of the 1500s. The exterior fabric was slashed and puffs of contrasting color pulled through the slits to make elaborate decorations. The silhouette for men grew wide and full.

Italians styles remained somewhat different from those of the north until the later 1500s when Spain, France, and Austria came to dominate the Italian city-states. By the sixteenth century, international events helped to move Spanish styles to the center of the fashion stage. Christopher Columbus's voyage to America in 1492 made Spain, which had financed the trip, rich. When Charles V became not only king of Spain but also ruler of the Low Countries and what has become Germany, Spanish influences spread throughout Europe. Dark, rich textiles were made into women's garments with fairly rigid, hourglass-shaped silhouettes. A stiff, hooplike structure held out skirts. Handsome black-on-white embroideries ornamented collars and undergarments. By the latter years of the century, the conservative, narrower, more rigid lines of Spanish origin also predominated for men.

Portraits and inventories of clothing provide an excellent picture of the dress of the colorful monarchs of England, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I, as well as that of the rulers of France and Spain. The evolution of men's shoulder shapes from broad at the beginning of the century to narrower, and of women's skirts from inverted cone shapes to barrel-like forms (called farthingales) is clear evidence of fashion as an integral part of dress. Narrow white frills at the neck grew wider, rounder, and still wider to become huge, stiff, starched, lace ruffs, which in the sixteenth century eventually subsided into wide, flat collars.

Dress in the Baroque and Rococo Period: 1600–1700

The styles in the fine arts from about the end of the sixteenth century to the first several decades of the eighteenth century is called baroque. Elements characteristic of baroque styles include extensive ornamentation, curved forms, and freely flowing lines, all in relatively large scale. The dress of the period clearly reflected these tendencies. Those who could afford to wear fashionable dress did so. The courts remained the most important stage on which to display opulent clothing. It has been said that Louis XIV (king of France from 1643 to 1715) used fashionable dress as a political tool, keeping his courtiers so busy following court etiquette and style that they had neither the funds nor the time to plot against him.

Clothing also played a political role in England. The royalist supporters of the King opposed the Puritan faction. The Puritans wanted to reform the Church of England and stress a simpler, more moralistic, and less lavish lifestyle. The resulting civil war led to the defeat and execution of King Charles I, after which a Commonwealth replaced the monarchy for about eighteen years. The Puritans dressed in more somber styles with little ornamentation. Their "Roundheads" nickname came from the short hairstyles they adopted. Portraits, inventories, and other written records show that although the Puritans stressed simplicity, their clothing followed fashionable lines. Among the affluent Puritans, high-quality, expensive fabrics were in use.

Eighteenth-century suit. During the reign of King Charles II, the three-piece suit, which consisted of knee breeches, a vest, and a jacket, became the standard dress for men. THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, PURCHASE, IRENE LEWISOHN BEQUEST AND POLAIRE WEISSMAN FUND, 1996. (1996.117A-C) PHOTOGRAPH, ALL RIGHTS RESERVED, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART. REPRODUCED BY PERMISISON.

The Pilgrims who settled in Massachusetts in 1620 were Puritans. The dress styles of the American colonists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries lagged behind those of Europe, but were otherwise the same. Only the trappers and explorers appear to have adapted some of the more practical elements of Native American dress such as moccasins; almost nothing made its way back across the Atlantic. Native Americans were depicted by portrait painters in garb usually containing European elements, whereas the dress of early American colonists is virtually indistinguishable from dress in Europe.

By contrast, trade with the Far East had a significant impact on fashion. These influences can be seen in the fabrics imported from India, China, and Japan and in some specific garments. The vest adopted by Charles II of England is one example of Eastern influences. The prototype of the vest may have been Persian men's coats (Kuchta 1990).

When the English monarchy was restored, Charles II (son of the executed Charles I) returned from exile in France under the protection of Louis XIV, and Puritan dress modifications were eclipsed by French influences and the court once again became the arbiter of style. One noteworthy item of dress adopted by King Charles II was the vest, the forerunner of what became a virtual uniform for men in the eighteenth century and later: the three-piece suit. Its seventeenth-century style consisted of knee-length breeches, a long, buttoned vest that reached just below the knee and covered the breeches, and a jacket of the same length over this.

The Puritans were not the only seventeenth-century group to deviate from contemporary styles. The conservative nature of Spanish society was probably responsible for the preservation of older styles and a slower adoption of new ones. The wide-skirted farthingale of the sixteenth century disappeared in the rest of Europe in the early seventeenth century. Spanish upper-class women adopted this style in the mid-1600s. The Spanish *guardinfante* (literally, "infant guard") consisted of an oval farthingale, very wide from side to side, worn with a bodice that extended far below the waistline to cover the top of the skirt. As Reade noted, "Since exertion was difficult for anyone wearing it, the vogue emphasized social distinctions" (1951). Spanish men continued wearing the ruff and trunk hose longer than men elsewhere in Europe. By the eighteenth century, the Spanish dressed in mainstream fashion.

How individuals acquired clothing differed depending on social status. Less affluent families bought used clothing or produced their own clothing, mostly by having women of the family make the clothes. Those sufficiently affluent hired professional tailors. Although most professional tailors were men, women did the fine hand and ornamental sewing. In 1675, responding to a petition from a group of French women seamstresses that they be allowed to make women's clothes, Louis XIV permitted the formation of a guild of women tailors. Over time, using female dressmakers to make women's clothes and male tailors to make men's suits became customary.

Some economists consider the economic changes that took place in England in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a consumer revolution. Consumer interest in less costly imported cottons from India led businesses to stimulate demand for fashionable goods in order to increase their profits. To accomplish this, they needed to provide information about current fashions to potential customers. Engraved, sometimes hand-colored, pictures of the latest fashions were sold. Dolls dressed in the latest styles were circulated, and by the late eighteenth century, paper dolls showing current styles were also available. Styles were given names, and fashion terminology increased exponentially.

As the demand for fashionable goods grew, more fibers, yarns, and fabrics were needed. Such requirements helped to fuel the industrial revolution and its mechanization of production. Consumer demand for cotton led to increased settlement in the colonies of the New World and to the use of slaves to cultivate and harvest the fiber. As supplies of cotton increased, invention of the cotton gin met the need to process more fiber. Inventors improved machines for spinning and weaving. Mass production of fabric made inexpensive fabrics available. As a result, by the end of the eighteenth century, following fashion was possible for all but the very poor and slaves.

The name "rococo" has been assigned to the subtle changes in the art and dress styles of the period from about 1720 to 1770. Rococo styles are characterized by smaller scale but still curvilinear lines; more delicate ornamentation; and Asian, Gothic, and floral motifs. After 1770, the arts and architecture experienced a classical revival. These neoclassical influences came into clothing styles gradually and were accepted as the prevailing mode only toward the close of the century.

The three-piece suit became the predominant component of men's clothing. Throughout the eighteenth century, men wore knee breeches, a vest, and an outer coat. When coat, vest, and breeches were made of the same fabric, the outfit was called a "ditto suit." The length of the vest, and the cut of both the vest and coat, varied over time. Early in the century, coats and vests were wide and full. When the coat was buttoned, it hid the vest. By midcentury, the coat was slimmer. So was the vest, which also shortened. The coat no longer buttoned shut, but remained open and the vest and breeches were visible. For formal wear, coats and vests were elaborately embroidered or made of very decorative fabric. A frock coat was looser and shorter than coats for more formal occasions. Early in the century, frock coats were worn in the country, but gradually they were also deemed proper for more formal wear.

The silhouettes and the ornate woven, embroidered, or printed designs of the fabrics from which upper-class

women's dresses were made in the 1700s reflected the curvilinear forms of baroque and rococo arts. The shape of skirts changed gradually. After the early eighteenth century, when loose, full sacque gowns were popular, the silhouette altered and bodices fitted the front of the body closely. Necklines were low, square, or round. In back some dresses were fitted, while others had full pleats at center back that opened into a loose, flowing skirt. Costume historians of the nineteenth century called this style a "Watteau back" after Jean-Antoine Watteau, an eighteenth-century artist, who frequently painted women in this style of dress.

Skirts were held out by supporting hoops (called *paniers* in France) that were first cone-shaped, then dome-shaped, next narrow from front to back and wide from side-to-side. By the period from 1740 to 1760, skirts were enormously wide (as much as 2 ¾ yards). Double doors helped to accommodate the passage of women in these *panier*-supported dresses, and small tables often had raised edges to prevent objects from being swept from them by a passing skirt. After the 1760s, *paniers* were replaced by cushions or pads worn at the hip, and the fullness of skirts moved toward the back.

Hints of the classical revival in the arts could be seen in the dress of small girls, who wore high-waisted, slender white muslin dresses reminiscent of Greek Doric chitons. Women, too, began to wear white muslin dresses and moved away gradually from the full-skirted silhouette, but the adoption of styles closely modeled on Greek and Roman women's dresses came only after the French Revolution (1789–1795).

The French Revolution and the Empire Style

Costume is said to reflect the zeitgeist, or "spirit of the age," and fashions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are frequently cited to illustrate this point. Political developments in France were to a considerable extent inspired by the examples of the ancient Greek and Roman republics. As previously noted, classical influences were already evident in architecture, and the fine and decorative arts. By the last decade of the eighteenth century, they permeated women's dress as well.

Because the marble statues of antiquity had been bleached white over time, it was believed that the Greeks and Romans had worn white garments. The high-waisted styles of Hellenic Greek Doric chitons served as the model for slender, white muslin dresses with high waistlines. Fashionable women wore classically inspired sandals. Men cut their hair in "Titus style" (named after a Roman emperor). Women dressed their hair *à la Greque.* Although specific details changed year-by-year, the high-waisted dresses were the basis of a fashionable silhouette that was to persist for more than two decades.

Dress in the Nineteenth Century

Many cultural forces contributed to the stylistic changes of the nineteenth century. These included the industrial revolution, the French Revolution, changes in women's roles, changes in the political climate, the expansion of the United States, and artistic movements.

The industrial revolution produced not only technological but also social and economic changes that affected dress. The ability to produce textiles rapidly and less expensively facilitated participation in fashion. As industrialization brought more women into the workforce, giving them less time to make clothing for their families, by the end of the century, some garments were being mass-produced. Rural workers who migrated to urban areas needed different kinds of clothes.

As the United States expanded, it gradually took on a more important role in the Western world as a producer of raw materials and manufacturer of goods. Technological innovations and refinements made in the United States such as the patenting and distribution of the first commercially successful sewing machine, the development of the sized-paper pattern, and the invention of machines that could cut multiple pattern pieces contributed to the growth of mass fashion. Immigration brought skilled workers to work in the mass production of clothing, and immigrant consumers expanded the market for inexpensive ready-to-wear.

Although ready-to-wear fashion came later to Europe than to the United States, Europe remained the center of innovation in fashions. British tailoring set the international standard for menswear. And the beginnings of the haute couture in Paris at midcentury confirmed the preeminent place of Paris in women's fashion.

Charles Worth is considered to have been the father of the haute couture. He first came to public notice around 1860 when the French empress Eugénie began wearing clothes he had designed. His atelier was soon known around the world, and women from Queen Victoria to Parisian courtesans were dressed by Worth. Worth was instrumental in founding an organization of French couturiers, the Chambre Syndicale de la Couture Parisienne, in 1868 that regulated the French high-fashion industry.

Political events on both sides of the Atlantic also influenced dress. For example, the restoration of the French monarchy spawned a host of fashions named after earlier royals and the Italian revolutionary leader Giuseppe Garibaldi inspired women to wear red blouses like those of his soldiers.

The nineteenth-century movement of Europe and America toward more egalitarian societies contributed to an overall revolution in men's dress. The lavishly decorated eighteenth-century suits with knee breeches worn by the nobility were, henceforth, replaced by dark, trousered, three-piece suits. The skill of its tailoring and quality of the fabric in these suits attested to the status of the wearer.

Through its ornamentation and obvious cost, women's clothing had to bear the burden of attesting to the wealth and social standing of the family. Thorsten Veblen (1857–1929) recognized this role for women in his classic study, *Theory of the Leisure Classes.* He noted that upper-class women's clothing showed that their husbands or fathers could afford to spend lavishly on elaborate clothing (conspicuous consumption) and, furthermore, these women could not do any menial labor when encumbered by such dresses (conspicuous leisure) (Veblen 1936).

At the same time, some women were beginning to question the roles assigned to them in nineteenth-century society. After the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of England in 1837, the ideal Victorian matron was wife and mother of a large family who ran the household smoothly, supervised the servants, and led a sedate, scandal-free life. The example set by abolitionists working to free the slaves at the time of the American Civil War led some women to state that they, too, were held in a type of bondage. Some women active in the women's suffrage movement believed that women's clothing was a severe handicap to freedom of movement and physical activity. Attempts to reform dress and establish more rational styles for women such as the Bloomer costume were not especially successful at first. The Bloomer costume (named after women's-rights author and lecturer Amelia Bloomer, one of its more visible proponents) consisted of a shorter version of the full-skirted dress of the 1840s worn over a pair of full trousers gathered in to fit tightly at the ankle. The style was based on the dress worn by women in European health sanitariums (Foote 1980). Though abandoned by suffragettes after a few years, photographs show that the style was adopted by some American women settlers for the westward trek and the rigors of pioneer life. Variations of the style also showed up in gymnastics classes for young women, evidence of increased importance given to women's health and fitness.

By the 1890s, women were participating actively in many sports. Bicycling was especially popular and special dress, including bloomer suits called rationals and split skirts, had been adopted.

Throughout history, connections between the fine arts and dress can be found. In the nineteenth century, the pre-Raphaelites and participants in the aesthetic movement made conscious efforts to apply their philosophies to dress. In rejecting contemporary art forms, the pre-Raphaelites drew their inspiration from the art of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The artists painted women in idealized costumes from these earlier periods, and women of the group began to wear styles based on the paintings while rejecting the tight corseting and wide skirts of the 1840s and 1850s. In the 1880s and 1890s, the ideas of the small pre-Raphaelite group inspired followers of the more popular aesthetic movement. Women wore no corsets, few or no petticoats, and large leg-of-mutton sleeves. Oscar Wilde, British writer, lectured about aestheticism in a softly-fitted velvet jacket and knee breeches worn with a wide, soft collar and loose necktie. While this costume was worn in protest, the protest was against the aesthetics of the time and not against the inconvenient and unhealthy aspects of dress to which feminists and health reformers objected.

Means of spreading information about current styles expanded. Magazines for women incorporated hand-colored, engraved fashion plates, making it possible for women of all socioeconomic levels to see styles from Paris and keep abreast of current fashion each month. Full-sized paper patterns were bound into some magazines in the late 1800s. The invention of photography in the 1840s provided another way of spreading style information.

Silhouette and style changes. The nineteenth century was marked by increasingly rapid style changes. Costume historians recognize this by dividing the century into a number of relatively short fashion periods that cover ten to twenty years. These periods were characterized by an incremental evolution of fashions year-by-year that eventually added up to a distinct new style.

The more somber styles worn by men throughout the 1800s showed only relatively subtle changes. One can see parallels in the cut of men's suits and the silhouette of women's dresses. When women's sleeves were large, men's tended to be enlarged; when women's waists were narrow, tailors made men's jackets with nipped-in waistlines. But it was in women's clothing that the more pronounced changes in style were evident.

The Empire period (1790–1820) is named after Napoleon Bonaparte, the first Emperor of France. For women, the high-waisted, relatively narrow silhouette first seen in the late 1700s continued to be the predominant line throughout this period. In fashion terminology, this high waistline placement is still known as an "empire waist."

The expanded trade with the Far East and the military campaigns of Napoleon in Egypt fueled fashions with Asian links. Imported cashmere shawls were all the rage. Napoleon tried to ban the importation of these shawls in order to protect the French textile industry. Soon European mills were copying them. The output of the mills in the town of Paisley, Scotland, was so prodigious that the shawls became known as paisley shawls.

Year by year, subtle changes appeared in the Empire styles until the high waistline had moved lower, approaching the anatomical waist, the skirt had flared out, and sleeves had grown larger, eventually becoming enormous. By the 1820s, that line was distinctive enough for costume historians to see this as a new period that they named after the art and literary movements of the same time: the Romantic period (1820–1850).

Differences in style between the late Romantic and the later Crinoline period (1850–1870) were subtle. In

some costume histories, the period from circa 1838 to 1870 is known as the early Victorian period, Victoria having acceded to the British throne in 1837. The most distinctive aspect of the silhouette of this period was the increasing width of the skirt, the return of the waistline to its natural anatomical position, and a dropped shoulder line. Until the invention of the cage crinoline, or hoopskirt, in the mid-1800s, skirts were held out by heavy layers of starched petticoats that were often reinforced with fabric stiffened with horsehair (*crin* is French for "horsehair," and *lin*, "linen," hence the name of the fabric: crinoline). The originator of the nineteenth-century hoopskirt is unknown. The basic structure was a series of horizontal hoops of whalebone or steel of gradually increasing size that were fastened to vertical tapes. Far lighter than the many layers of petticoats, the hoop was an immediate success.

The hoopskirt itself went through numerous transitions, being first round, and then gradually swinging its fullest areas to the back. As the back fullness increased, the front flattened, and by 1870, the bustle had taken over as the preferred shape.

The silhouette of the Bustle period (1870–1890) might be divided into three distinct phases. In the first phase (1869–1877) the fullness at the back of the dress was supported by a bustle. Bustles were structures equipped with some device to hold skirts out in the back. The skirt shape was flat in front with a full, draped fall of fabric and ornamentation down the back. Most sleeves were three-quarters length or longer and were set in at the shoulder instead of being dropped below the shoulder on the arm, as in the Crinoline period. Bodices were tightly fitted. In the second phase (1878–1883), the bustle itself disappeared, garments were fitted closely from neck to hip in what was called a cuirass bodice, below which the skirt remained tight at the front. The decoration of the skirt dropped to below the hips in back. Many skirts had long, ornamental trains. In the third phase (1883–1890), the bustle structure returned with a vengeance, looking like a shelf at the back of the dress. Dresses had high, tightly fitted collars and very close-fitted bodices.

By the final decade of the nineteenth century, the back fullness of the Bustle period had diminished to a few pleats. The silhouette was hourglass-shaped, with enormous leg-of-mutton sleeves balancing a full, cone-shaped skirt that was wide at the bottom. The ubiquitous high-standing collar remained, however.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baines, V. B. *Fashion Revivals from the Elizabethan Age to the Present Day.* London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1981.

Boucher, E. *20,000 Years of Fashion.* London: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1987.

Breward, C. *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

Byrde, P. *The Male Image: Men's Fashion in England 1300–1970.* London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1979.

Chenoune, F. *A History of Men's Fashion.* Paris: Flammarion, 1993.

Cunnington, C. W., P. E. Cunnington, and C. Beard. *A Dictionary of English Costume 900–1900.* London: Adam and Charles Black, 1972.

Davenport, M. *The Book of Costume.* 2 vols. New York: Crown, 1948.

DeMarly, D. *Fashion for Men: An Illustrated History.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985.

———. *Dress in North America.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1990.

Tortora, P., and K. Eubank. *Survey of Historic Costume.* New York: Fairchild Publications, 1998.

Waugh, N. *The Cut of Men's Clothes, 1600–1900.* London: Faber and Faber, 1964.

———. *The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600–1930.* New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1968.

Medieval Dress

Cunnington, C., and P. Cunnington. *Handbook of English Medieval Costume.* Northampton, U.K.: John Dickens, 1973.

Evans, J. *Dress in Medieval France.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1952.

Goddard, E. R. *Women's Costume in French Texts of the 11th and 12th Centuries.* New York: Johnson Reprints, 1973.

Newton, S. M. *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince.* Totowa, N.J.: Rowan and Littlefield, 1980.

Piponnier, F., and P. Mane. *Dress in the Middle Ages.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

Scott, M. *The History of Dress: Late Gothic Europe, 1400–1500.* New York: Humanities Press, 1980.

———. *Visual History of Costume: 14th and 15th Centuries.* London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1986.

Renaissance Dress

Arnold, J., ed. *Lost from Her Majesty's Back.* Birdle, Bury, England: Costume Society, 1980.

Ashelford, J. *The Visual History of Costume: The 16th Century.* New York: Drama Book, 1983.

———. *Dress in the Age of Elizabeth I.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988.

Birbari, E. *Dress in Italian Paintings, 1460–1500.* London: John Murray, 1975.

Cunnington, C. W. *Handbook of English Costume in the Sixteenth Century.* Boston: Plays, 1972.

Frick, C. *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing.* Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Herald, J. *Renaissance Dress in Italy, 1400–1500.* New York: Humanities Press, 1981.

Vecellio, C. *Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book.* Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977.

Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Dress

Baumgarten, L. *What Clothes Reveal.* Williamsburg, Va.: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection, 2002.

Buck, A. *Dress in 18th Century England.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979.

Cumming, V. *A Visual History of Costume: The 17th Century.* New York: Drama Book, 1984.

Cunnington, C., and P. Cunnington. *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century.* London: Faber and Faber, 1957.

———. *Handbook of English Costume in the Seventeenth Century.* London: Faber and Faber, 1972.

Delpierre, M. *Dress in France in the Eighteenth Century.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

De Marly, D. *Louis XIV and Versailles.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988.

Hart, A., S. North, and R. Davis. *Fashion in Detail from the 17th and 18th Centuries.* New York: Rizzoli International, 1998.

Kuchta, D. M. "'Graceful, Virile and Useful': The Origins of the Three-Piece Suit." *Dress* 17 (1990): 118.

Reade, B. *Costume of the Western World: The Dominance of Spain.* London: Harrap, 1951.

Ribeiro, A. *A Visual History of Costume: The Eighteenth Century.* New York: Drama Book, 1983.

———. *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe: 1715–1789.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985.

———. *Fashion in the French Revolution.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988.

———. *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.

Roche, D. *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Nineteenth-Century Dress

Bradfield, N. *Costume in Detail.* London: Harrap, 1975.

Buck, A. *Victorian Costume.* Carlton, Bedford, England: R. Bean, 1984.

Cunnington, C., and P. Cunnington. *A Handbook of English Costume in the 19th Century.* London: Faber and Faber, 1970.

Earle, A. M. *Costume of Colonial Times.* Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1974.

Foote, S. "Bloomers." *Dress* 5 (1980): 1.

Foster, V. *A Visual History of Costume: The 19th Century.* New York: Drama Book, 1983.

Hall, L. *Common Threads: A Parade of American Clothing.* Boston: Bulfinch Press, 1992.

Newton, S. M. *Health, Art, and Reason: Dress Reform of the 19th Century.* New York: Schram, 1976.

Severa, J. *Dressed for the Photographer. Ordinary Americans and Fashion 1840–1900.* Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1995.

Steele, V. *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History.* New York: Berg, 1998.

Veblen, T. *Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: Viking Press, 1936.

Walkey, C., and V. Foster. *Crinolines and Crimping Irons: Victorian Clothes. How They Were Cleaned and Cared For.* London: P. Owen, 1978.

Phyllis Tortora

EVENING DRESS Simply put, evening dress is the prevailing style prescribed by fashion to be worn in the evening. Though straightforward in its basic definition, there are surprisingly complex expectations related to appropriateness of fashionable dress for evening. Regardless of the era, evening dress is intricately connected to fashions of the day, with specific characteristics that distinguishes it from everyday dress. An evening gown is a special form of dress that amplifies a woman's femininity and often proclaims her desirability. In general, necklines are low, bodices are tightly fitted, arms are bared, and skirts are extravagantly designed. Fabric surfaces vary from reflective to matte, textured to smooth, and soft to rigid. Gowns may be bouffant or hug the body, emphasizing every curve and swell. Regardless of these distinctions, there tends to be an overall emphasis on the woman's body and in many instances on the gown itself. Through the decades, undergarments have played a critical role in reshaping the body into the desired silhouette, from corsets and petticoats of the nineteenth century to control-top panty hose and padded Wonderbras of the twenty-first century.

Historical Overview

Although formal court dress has existed for centuries, there is consensus among dress historians that evening dress materialized as a discrete category in the mid-1820s. It is probably not coincidental that this form of dress emerged at roughly the same time the Romantic Movement in art and literature surfaced as an influence in European and American cultures. Romantics accentuated passion and sentiment, placing a greater emphasis on love rather than on duty. Other cultural factors such as increased fabric production, a thriving textile industry, and an expanding ready-made clothing industry resulted in greater access to resources. By the 1820s, fashion had been fairly democratized. Additionally, Parisian and American fashion magazines experienced a burgeoning popularity among women in the United States and Europe. Dresses of the 1820s were frequently identified in *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Peterson's Magazine* according to explicit activities or time of day. Women viewed fashion plates with captions like morning dress, day dress, walking dress, promenade dress, carriage dress, seaside dress, dinner dress, evening dress, or ball dress. From these labels, it seems the evening dress was born.

1820 to 1899

During the last eighty years of the nineteenth century, women's fashions evolved from an X-shaped silhouette (1820s) to the introduction of the cage crinoline (1850) through the bustle period (1870–1890) and ended with an hourglass silhouette (1890s), and in each era evening dress took its profile from current styles of the day. However, evening dress was discernible by its use of opulent and supple gauze and satin fabrics, the cut of the neckline—typically low or off-the-shoulder—short sleeves, and by

the lavishness of surface embellishment. Skirts were especially complex in ornamentation—with layers of swags and puffs and such trim details as artificial flowers, ribbons, rosettes, and lace. During the bustle period and the 1890s, trains were frequently attached to full-length skirts.

1900 to 1945

The early years of the twentieth century included a progression in women's fashions from an S-shaped silhouette to a revival of Empire styles to the flapper style of the 1920s to the bias-cut fashions of the 1930s. With the exception of the latter part of this time-period, evening dress followed the conventions of daytime dress. Necklines tended to be deep and wide, sleeves were short or were mere straps on the shoulder, skirt lengths varied according to fashions and frequently involved complex floating panels, draping, or layers. Fabrics were extravagantly pliant chiffons and satins and luxuriant velvets and taffetas. Pleating, embroidery, lace, beading, fringe, braid, and ruffles decorated the surfaces.

During the 1930s, evening dress made an uncharacteristic split from daytime styles, remaining floor-length while daywear fluctuated in length from mid-calf to ankle. Evening gowns were designed in bias-cut styles and were usually constructed with an open back, with fabric skimming the body to the hips and flaring out and to the floor.

1945 to 2003

The late 1940s through the early 1960s saw the last of a singular identifiable fashion for evening. Dior's New Look—with a rounded shoulder line, a nipped waist, and either an exceptionally full skirt or a pencil-slim skirt—defined the style of the day. Evening dress generally paired strapless bodices with full rather than narrow skirts and it was not unusual for skirts to be floor-length.

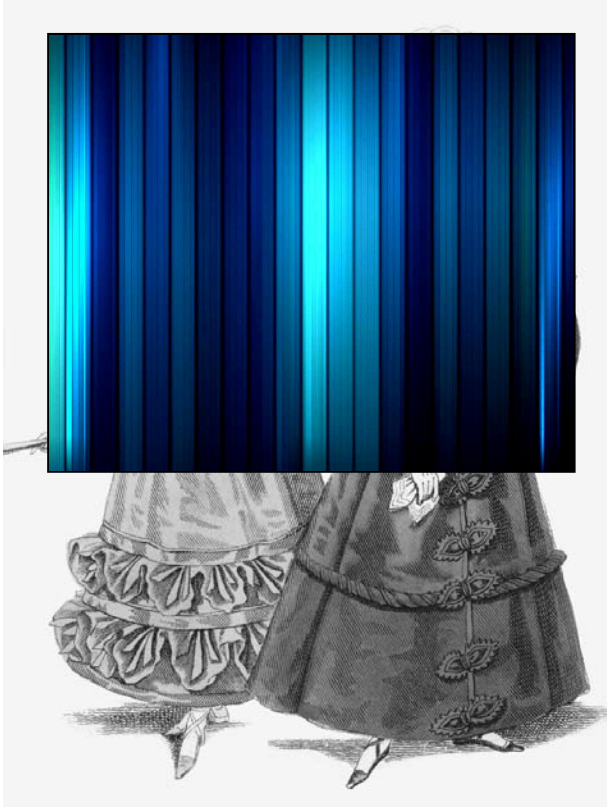
By the 1960s, a plethora of options in evening wear emerged. Mini-skirted straight dresses were made from metallic fabrics or brilliantly patterned fabrics, and surfaces may have been trimmed with sequins, beads, or plastic bits. By the late 1960s, evening dresses had returned to floor length. Pantsuits with full-legged trousers and palazzo pants paired with a coordinating top also became viable options. In the mid-1970s, fashionable evening dress was typically long and made from fabrics that were soft, clinging, and often knitted. In the 1980s, the glamour of evening dress contrasted with professional dress for career women and integrated bright and vibrant colors with plenty of glitter, embroidery, sequins, and beading. Lacroix introduced a gown with a short wide puffy skirt, nicknamed *Le Pouf*, which was eagerly copied and made available to the masses. Wide-skirted, short styles called mini-crinolines were also popular. By the late 1980s, evening dresses made from elasticized fabrics hugged the body were short, and were strapless or had tiny shoulder straps. In the early 1990s, basic slip dresses made from soft crepe fabrics became popular. By the mid-1990s, full-skirted, short, strapless evening gowns re-

1913 advertisement for evening dress created by Georges Barbier. This dress, with its low neckline, tight bodice, draped skirt, and eye-catching fabrics, is a typical example of the style of early twentieth century evening wear. © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

emerged. Also fashionable were lace or elaborately decorated bustiers and fitted evening gowns and black was the color of choice.

Contemporary Use of Evening Dress

Today, evening dress is limited to such formal or semi-formal events as balls, high school proms, gala fundraisers, pageants, and awards ceremonies. While men's dress tends to be quite typical (usually a standard dark-colored suit or tuxedo), women's gowns vary drastically from demure black garments to revealing objets d'art, as might be seen on celebrities at the Academy Awards. Despite the range of possibilities for contemporary evening



Nineteenth-century dresses. The evening dress on the left is a classic example of the X-shaped silhouette that was prevalent during the 1820s. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

dress for women, a gown will undoubtedly include a low-cut neckline, a constricting bodice, bared arms, and lavish skirts. Evening dress draws attention to a woman's body and serves to define her gender, establishing her as an object to be gazed upon by her audience.

See also **Ball Dress; Cocktail Dress.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boucher, François. *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987.

Laver, James. *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History.* London: Thames and Hudson, Inc., 1982.

Lobenthal, Joel. *Radical Rags: Fashions of the Sixties.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1990.

Milbank, Caroline Rennolds. *New York Fashion: The Evolution of American Style.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989.

Mulvey, Kate, and Melissa Richards. *Decades of Beauty: The Changing Image of Women 1890s–1990s.* New York: Octopus, 1998.

Payne, Blanche, Geitel Winakor, and Jane Farrell-Beck. *The History of Costume.* 2nd ed. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, Inc., 1992.

Russell, Douglas A. *Costume History and Style.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1983.

Steele, Valerie. *Women of Fashion: Twentieth-Century Designers.* New York: Rizzoli International, 1991.

———. *Fifty Years of Fashion.* New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2000.

———. *The Corset.* New Haven, Conn., and London: Yale University Press, 2001.

Tortora, Phyllis, and Keith Eubank. *Survey of Historic Costume.* 3rd ed. New York: Fairchild Publications, 1998.

Watson, Linda. *Vogue: Twentieth Century Fashion.* London: Carlton Books Ltd., 1999.

Jane E. Hegland

EXTREME FASHIONS In any single culture, the definition of what constitutes an extreme fashion may be agreed upon; but extreme fashion, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder. Particularly between Western and non-Western views there are very different ideas of what is excessive or outlandish, or verging on the unacceptable.

The most common denominator of fashion considered "extreme" is exaggerated broad shoulders and wide skirts, or small waists and small feet. It is possible to make the general statement that in Western Europe the body is usually amplified or reduced by the application of a garment or accessory, while in some African and Asian cultures, the body is permanently altered, and the alteration often augmented by accessories or garments.

As Harold Koda states, "There is no doubt that much of the material has a multitude of meanings and intentions: displays of status, wealth, power, gender, cultivation, ceremony, and group affiliations" (p. 11). An extreme fashion may, and most likely does, perform more than one function simultaneously. Ragnar Johnson points out that any type of body adornment is rarely, if ever, purely utilitarian, and the form that adornment takes depends on a variety of factors, from the resources available in a particular society to the relative social standing and aesthetic tastes of the individual.

Permanent body alteration, which is more common in African and Asian cultures, has traditionally held a negative connotation in the West, with the relatively recent exception of tattooing. The word "mutilation" is often used to describe any lasting modification to the natural body's appearance. To mutilate is defined in Webster's dictionary as: "to deprive . . . of a limb or other essential part, to disfigure, or make imperfect." Since the latter part of the twentieth century, however, publications have elucidated these traditions and have begun to erode the notion that dramatic permanent alterations are forms of deviant or perverse behavior.

The culture of study and criticism of extreme fashion is probably as old as extreme fashion itself. The European clergy were active in their criticism of fashions that distorted or exaggerated the human silhouette. A fifteenth-

century source criticized stiffened skirts for their ability to deceive the viewer as to the fullness of a woman's hips, and therefore her suitability as a child-bearer. Travelers recorded non-Western fashions as soon as the Age of Exploration commenced by the late fifteenth century.

Western Fashions

For the Western fashion historian, the corset is perhaps the first example of extreme fashion that comes to mind. Stiffened underbodices were worn by women from the 1400s through the early twentieth century. The corset, or "stays" as they were also called, was condemned when incidents of "tight-lacing," to make the waist appear as small as possible, began to appear. In that form, it was seen as deforming and detrimental to women's health almost from its inception. However, not all societies value a diminished female waistline; in Japan the waist is emphasized but not minimized with the obi—a wide sash of contrasting fabric—wrapped over the kimono, and tied at the back with an elaborate knot of huge proportions.

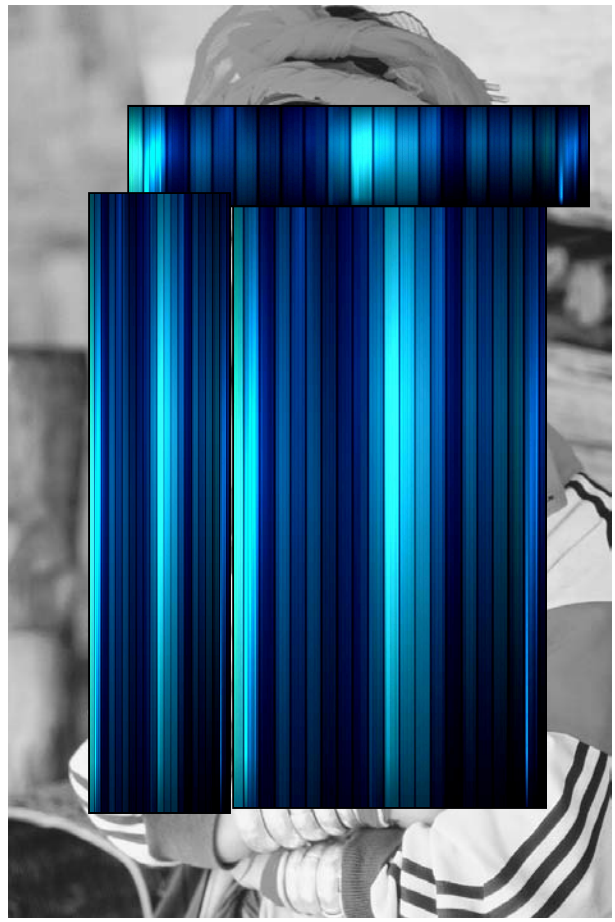
The exaggerated skirt appeared in the form of the round sixteenth-century farthingale, the wide eighteenth-century pannier, and nineteenth-century hoopskirt or crinoline. All of these skirt shapes in their largest forms could prevent a woman from moving freely. In her classic study of undergarments, Norah Waugh surmises that upper-class women could afford to be more physically burdened by fashion, as they were not required to be active, as in battle. This premise has led to a situation where women's fashion is more often criticized for its extreme manifestations in Western society, but men have participated in extreme displays as well.

The pleated collar known as a ruff is one example of a style worn by both sexes in Western Europe, notably at the court of Elizabeth I. It developed from a simple embellishment of the collar and grew to the cartwheel proportions evident in portraits of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The face-framing function of the ruff was appreciated by men and women alike.

Non-Western Fashions

The most commonly remarked upon body modification of Eastern cultures is certainly the practice of Chinese footbinding. Feminist theorist Andrea Dworkin suggests that footbinding and other body "mutilations" (quoted in MacKendrick, p. 3) may contain an element of romanticized tolerance of pain that signals the participant's character. In the case of footbinding, which is only performed on women, it may signal the willingness of women to endure the pain of childbirth and other forms of self-denial, as she is rendered unable to walk on her tiny feet.

While a long, slender neck has been valued in the West, the practice of elongation of the neck reached exaggerated proportions among the Paduang people of Burma. The wearing of metal neck rings, increasing in number over time, forces the collar bones down, giving the illusion of a longer neck, and the rings are worn constantly to further decorate the exaggerated area.



Paduang woman. Some women of the Paduang tribe begin wearing a brass coil around their necks at age six, adding a ring or two every year until the age of sixteen. © KEVIN R. MORRIS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Piercing of the ears has become entirely acceptable in Western society, but in numerous African cultures the pierced hole is manipulated to accept larger and larger accessories. This practice is notable in Ethiopia, where piercing is only the beginning of a long process of stretching either the earlobes or the lower lip in order to receive further decorations, known as labrets.

Twentieth-Century Fashions

The advent and acceptance of cosmetic surgery has brought permanent body modification to mainstream Western society. Generally the results are not meant to be extreme, or even noticeable, but the possibility of dramatic alteration has been explored. Bodybuilding can be pushed to the extreme as well.

Two genres of extreme fashions have developed in the twentieth century: fashions that are deliberately

provocative or unattractive, and those that are intellectually challenging. In the 1970s, the punk movement, with Vivienne Westwood as its leading design creator, set out to provoke shock with its mix of overt sexual display and aggression. In the 1990s, the work of the Japanese avant garde was seen as unintelligible in the accepted fashion vocabulary. Rei Kawakubo's 1997 "Lumps" collection exemplifies the intellectual challenge to either renounce or alter traditional ideas of beauty.

"Although one zone may be the focus of a period or culture, any extreme intervention is often accompanied or balanced by other manipulations of the body's proportions," notes Koda (p. 11). No matter how outrageous or extreme a garment or accessory is, it does not function in a vacuum and is stabilized by the other zones of the fashionable body.

See also **Footbinding.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Johnson, Ragnar. "The Anthropological Study of Body Decoration as Art: Collective Representations and the Somatization of Affect." *Fashion Theory* 5, no. 4 (2001): 417–434.

Koda, Harold. *Extreme Beauty: The Body Transformed.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of New York, 2001.

MacKendrick, Karmen. "Technoflesh, or 'Didn't That Hurt?'" *Fashion Theory* 2, no. 1 (1998): 3–24.

Robinson, Julian. *The Quest for Human Beauty: An Illustrated History.* London, 1998.

Rubin, Arnold, ed. *Marks of Civilization: Artistic Transformations of the Human Body.* Los Angeles: University of California, 1988.

Rudofsky, Bernard. *The Unfashionable Human Body.* New York: Doubleday and Company, 1971.

Waugh, Nora. *Corsets and Crinolines.* London: B. T. Batsford, Ltd., 1954. Reprint, New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1970, 1991.

Wilcox, Claire. *Radical Fashion.* London: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.

Melinda Watt

EYEGLASSES The term "eyeglasses" is used to indicate lenses that are held up to or worn before the eyes, either as an aid to vision or as a fashion accessory. This term formerly encompassed a wide variety of single and double lenses and kinds of frames; in modern American usage, it is taken to mean spectacles (the term more commonly used in the United Kingdom). Originally a practical vision aid, eyeglasses have at various times in their history served as such fashionable symbols of status, learning, and other desirable qualities that they have even been worn by those with perfect vision. Although their form has been influenced by fashion throughout their history, not until the twentieth century did they truly evolve from a practical necessity into a fashion accessory in their own right, becoming a vehicle for design, individual expression, and enhancement of personal appearance.

Early History

The earliest double eyeglasses, which appeared in Italy by the late thirteenth century, took the form of two magnifying lenses with the handles riveted together, and needed to be held in front of the eyes or balanced on the nose. The round lenses were ground from beryl, quartz (known as pebble), or glass, with frames of iron, brass, horn, bone, leather, gold, or silver. As eyeglasses were primarily used by monks, scholars, and those both learned enough to be able to read and wealthy enough to own them, they became associated with persons of importance. The demand for eyeglasses increased dramatically with the invention of printing in the fifteenth century, and mass-production methods evolved to produce inexpensive eyeglasses for the new reading public.

Once spectacles were available to everyone by the early seventeenth century, the wealthy and fashionable sought means of distinguishing themselves from the lower classes. Spectacles, therefore, dropped out of fashion, at least for public wear, and would remain so for the next three centuries. Since fashionable people did still need to see clearly, beautifully made hand-held lenses came into favor, in part because they provided an opportunity for elegant gesture and display. Variations included the so-called perspective glass, a small single lens with a handle, worn attached to a cord or ribbon around the neck; elaborate scissors glasses, a pair of lenses held up to the eyes with a long, Y-shaped handle; and small spyglasses (telescopes), which were incorporated into fans and walking sticks, or worn around the neck like charms.

The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In the early eighteenth century, spectacle-makers introduced steel spring bridges and frames, and the first spectacles with temples (rigid side pieces). Improvements in the design of eyeglasses continued in the nineteenth century; rimless glasses became commonly available around the middle of the century, and the invention of fine steel wire riding bow and cable temples, with the end curved around the ear, greatly improved the fit and practicality of spectacles in the 1880s. Frames of tortoiseshell, steel, silver, and gold were the most commonly worn, joined later in the century by celluloid, hard rubber, gold-filled, and aluminum frames.

Although spectacles had become quite practical by the nineteenth century, it was still not considered attractive, especially for ladies, to wear them in public. The lorgnette, a pair of folding glasses held up to the eyes by a handle at the side, was introduced around 1780 and remained popular for women through the early twentieth century. A new eyeglass style for men, the monocle, a single lens held in the eye socket and attached to a ribbon or cord, experienced brief periods of popularity in the 1820s, 1880s, and 1910s. The most commonly worn

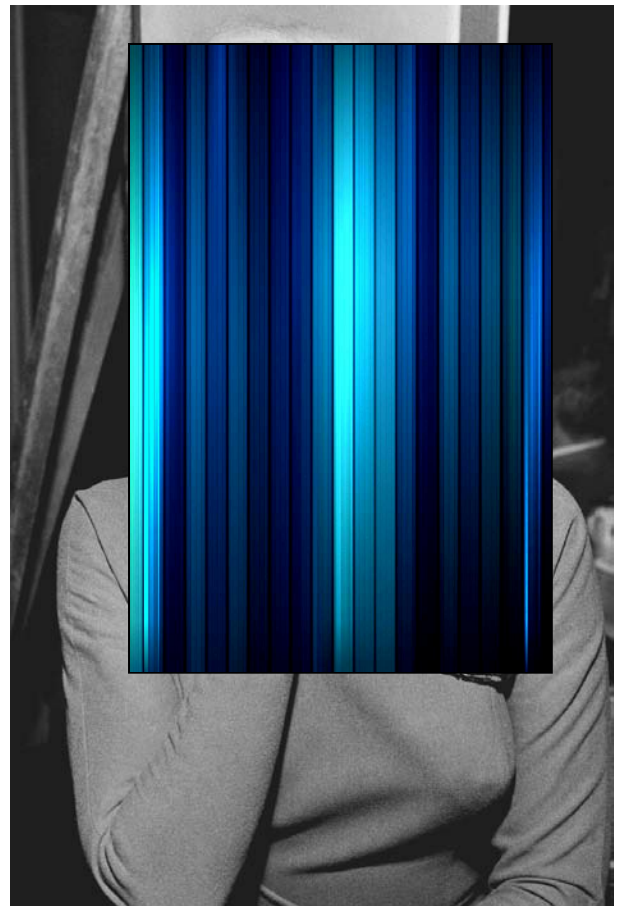
form of eyeglasses from the mid-century on, however, for both sexes, was the pince-nez. These consisted of two small lenses (oval, rectangular, octagonal, or semicircular), attached by a bridge, with a variety of spring and nosepiece arrangements to keep them in place. Lacking temples, they were known at the time simply as eyeglasses (as distinct from spectacles). They were usually worn attached to a cord, chain, or ribbon, which was attached to the vest or dress, looped around the neck, or, for ladies, attached to a hairpin. An 1883 article in the *New York Times* declared that eyeglasses had "virtually driven spectacles off the field," and noted that they were considered so stylish that some young ladies and gentlemen were adopting them simply "because they think it gives them a distingué appearance" (p. 14).

The Twentieth Century

In the early twentieth century, though pince-nez continued to be worn, spectacles finally began to gain acceptance. Large, round spectacles, with heavy frames of real or imitation horn or tortoiseshell (referred to as horn-rims) were at first affected by university students, and by the 1910s had become fashionable for both men and women. They were considered to give an air of wisdom, seriousness, and sincerity to the wearer, an association exploited by the silent film comedian Harold Lloyd, whose earnest and sympathetic screen persona owed a great deal to his trademark horn-rim glasses.

By the mid-1920s, horn-rims began to decline in popularity, as women's bobbed hair and close-fitting hats made heavy frames uncomfortable and too conspicuous, and as Harold Lloyd's popularity made men see them as a symbol of comedy. Smaller rimless spectacles and frames of white gold became the style, and through the 1930s more attention was paid to making eyeglasses more becoming, largely by making them as inconspicuous as possible. Glasses were still considered a necessary evil, as famously summed up by Dorothy Parker in her 1927 poem "News Item": "Men seldom make passes / At girls who wear glasses." In an attempt to change this state of affairs, Altina Sanders designed the harlequin frame, with solid dark rims and upswept sides based on the shape of a carnival mask, which was introduced in New York in 1939. These were considered the first glasses designed solely with the idea of improving a woman's appearance, and eyeglasses began to be taken seriously as a fashion accessory.

By the early 1940s, eyeglasses were available in a wide variety of colored plastic frames to harmonize with the wearer's complexion or costumes, and women were advised to have a spectacle wardrobe, with jeweled frames for evening and special frames for beach and sportswear. After World War II, variations on the harlequin shape (later known as cat-eye or cat's-eye) were the dominant style for women, and they were available in many new textures and finishes—opalescent pastels, laminates of glitter, or patterned fabric—and embellished with carving, gilding, metal studs, and rhinestones. More conservative styles were also available, with solid eyebrow bars and clear plastic or light metal lower rims. With glasses so prominent, chic eyeglass wearers were advised to keep other accessories simple and subdued, advice that fit in well with the short coiffures, off-the-face hats, and button earrings of the 1950s. For men, the heavier metal-and-plastic brow-bar frame and thick black horn-rims such as those worn by the singer Buddy Holly were the most popular styles, and remained so well into the 1960s.



Marilyn Monroe wearing eyeglasses. After World War II, eyeglasses began to be fashionable and fun, and designers began marketing them in various colors, shapes, and styles. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Fashion Eyewear: 1960s to the Early 2000s

In July 1965, just as the use of contact lenses was on the rise, *Vogue* magazine devoted its "Beauty" section to eyeglass fashions, and noted that women with no eye problems were now "writing their own prescriptions: '20/20, but plenty of frame'" (p. 108). Simple, solid-colored frames, whether small and rectangular or large and round or hexagonal, were offered by a newly formed industry group, the Fashion Eyewear Group of America.

By 1965, the first retro fad in eyewear had emerged from the boutique scene in London and New York, and early-twentieth-century-style granny glasses, as worn by such celebrities as John Lennon and the Byrds's Roger McGuinn, continued in vogue for the rest of the decade.

The fashion designers Elsa Schiaparelli and Claire McCardell, among others, had designed some eyewear lines as early as the 1950s, but the first high-profile line of designer eyeglasses was launched in 1969 by Christian Dior. The trend toward designer frames continued in the 1970s, with designers such as Yves Saint Laurent, Diane von Furstenberg, and Halston joining the field. The decade's signature look was oversized frames with rounded corners, in semitransparent pastels or faux tortoiseshell, with tinted or gradient lenses in colors to coordinate with the wearer's eye makeup. Bolder styles, often with shiny gold accents and curved or wavy temples, were balanced by the high-volume, blow-dried hairstyles of the time, and were well-suited to the glitz of disco fashions.

In the 1980s, many more designer frames were available, often with visible designer logos, in new eyewear boutiques carrying thousands of styles for men, women, and children. The same style trends continued, but there were also harder-edged styles, in brighter, solid colors, in response to the new boxy silhouette and large, bold costume jewelry. Some retro styles from the 1940s and 1950s were produced to complement the trendy preppy and nerd looks. Toward the end of decade, designers such as Ralph Lauren, Giorgio Armani, and Calvin Klein started a move toward smaller frames, with cleaner, refined styling. These were updated versions of the serious horn-rims of the 1910s and 1920s, and celebrities such as Richard Gere soon adopted the new look, inspiring even contact-lens wearers and those with 20/20 vision to invest in new frames.

In the late 1980s, eyeglasses for sports, or performance eyewear, began to be reconsidered as an industrial design problem, and new materials such as titanium were employed to create stronger, lighter frames. In the 1990s, the high-tech, minimalist aesthetic carried over into fashion eyeglasses, and the quest for refinement continues to be an important theme in eyeglass design. At the same time, in synch with the decade's retro fashions, designers began to look more carefully at the past, and frame styles from every decade of the twentieth century are available in the twenty-first, either updated or faithfully reproduced, from a multitude of designer collections. Even deliberately unbecoming glasses have been embraced as nerd chic, a symbol of hipness and sophistication, and baby boomers have transformed humble drugstore reading glasses into a fun fashion accessory.

See also **Sunglasses.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

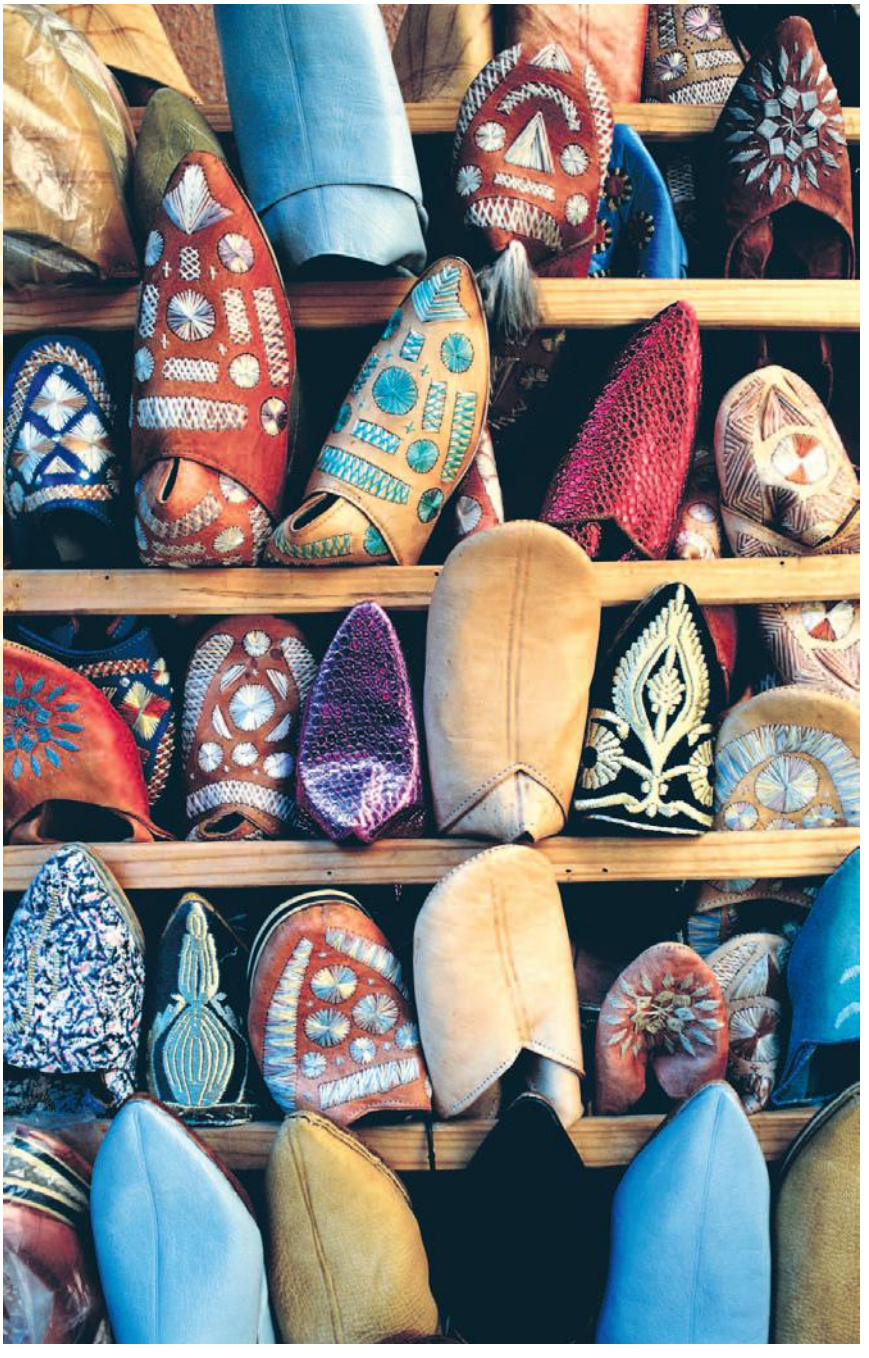
Acerenza, Franca. *Eyewear Gli Occhiali.* San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1997.

"All About Eye-Glasses." *New York Times* (6 May 1883): p. 14. Excellent contemporary account of nineteenth-century eyewear fashions.

Corson, Richard. *Fashions in Eyeglasses.* London: Peter Owen, 1967. Excellent and readable survey.

Schiffer, Nancy N. *Eyeglass Retrospective: Where Fashion Meets Science*. Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing, 2000. Short on documentation, but many examples are shown.

Susan Ward

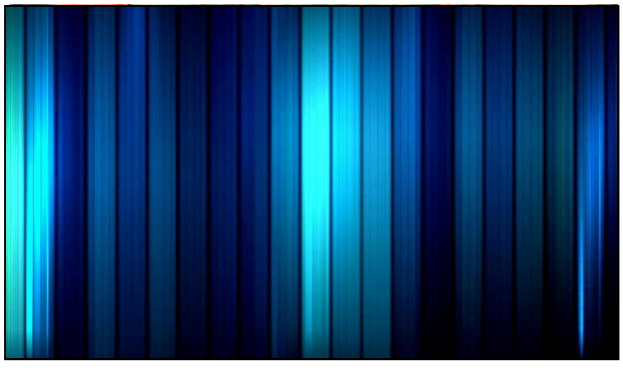


Moroccan slippers for sale. In the sixteenth century, Moroccan clothing styles began to be influenced by the Ottoman Empire, and some clothing has retained a Turkish flair. (*See* Africa, North: History of Dress) © Jeremy Horner/Corbis.

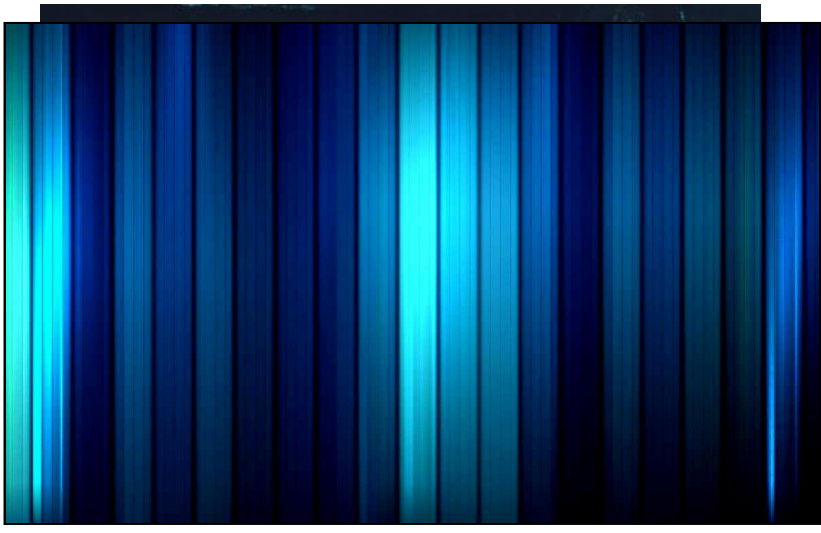
Left top: **Kapayo Indian tribe.** Due to the hot, humid climates found in many South American countries, some natives wear very little clothing, distinguishing themselves instead with ornamentation such as body paint, jewelry, and headdresses. (*See* America, South: History of Dress) © Whitemore Hank/Corbis Sygma.

Right top: **Indigenous men in Tarabuco, Bolivia.** The men carrying goods here exhibit colorful, wrap-around ponchos over wide-legged, short pants. Felt fedoras as well as helmet-like hats covering the ears, unique to Tarabuco, are also featured. (*See* America, South: History of Dress) © Lynn A. Meisch.

Bottom: **Kuna woman holding a *mola*.** The cotton molas (blouses) worn by the women of the Kuna tribe are brightly colored and often feature images pulled from advertisements or popular entertainment. (*See* America, Central, and Mexico: History of Dress) © Peter Guttman/Corbis.

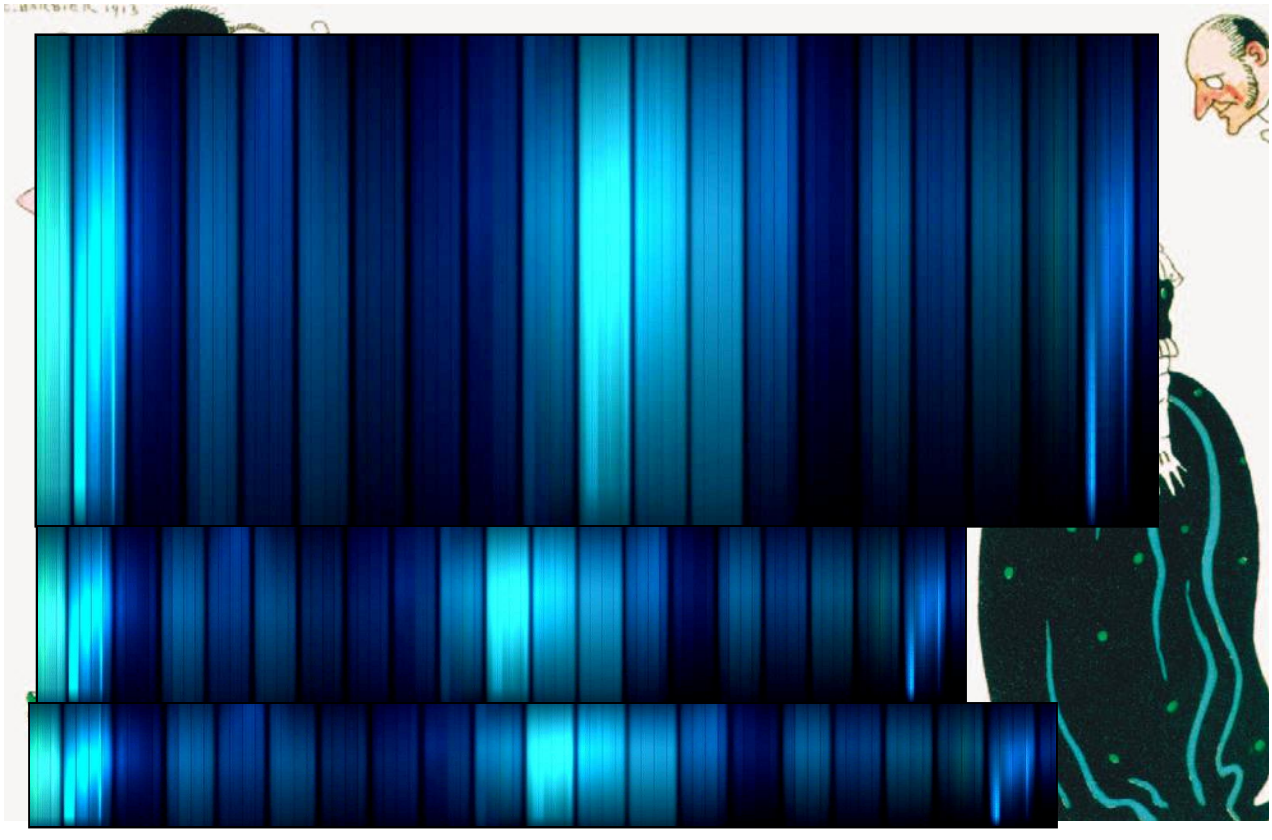


Veil designed by Elsa Schiaparelli. Italian designer Elsa Schiaparelli often collaborated with artists such as Salvador Dalí to add distinctive accents to her clothing designs. (*See* Art and Fashion) © Philadelphia Museum of Art/Corbis.



***Top:* Gauguin's *Tahitian Women on the Beach*.** The long, flowing dress seen on the right-hand figure is found on many of the Pacific Islands. Tahitians call it a *pareau,* but Americans know it better as the muumuu or the Mother Hubbard. (*See* Asia, Southeastern Islands and Pacific: History of Dress) © Bettmann/Corbis.

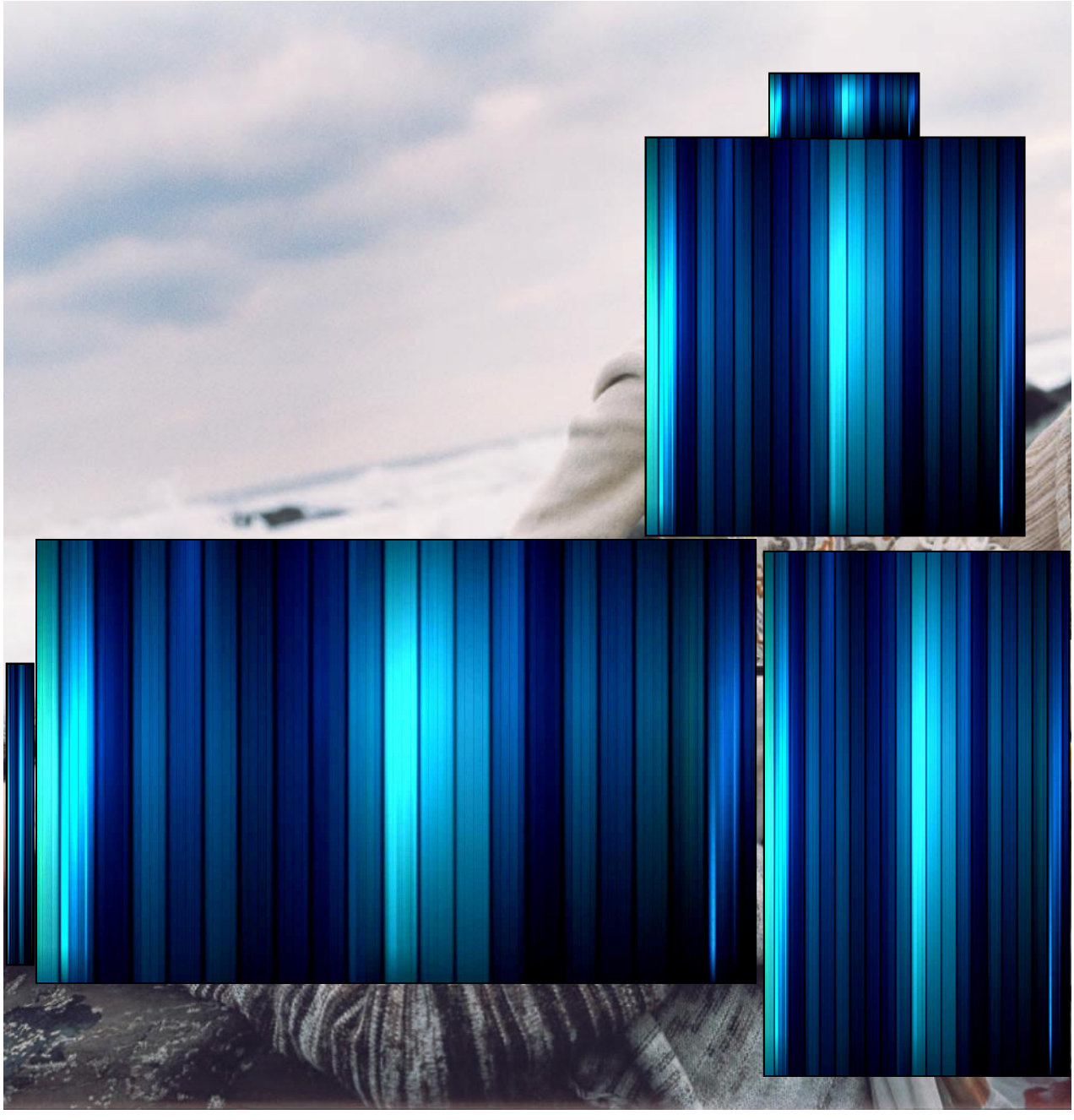
***Bottom: Dancers in Evening Wear,* 1914, by Georges Barbier.** A prolific and skillful artist, Barbier contributed widely to fashion magazines, albums, almanacs, and other publications. (*See* Barbier, Georges) © Historical Picture Archive/Corbis.



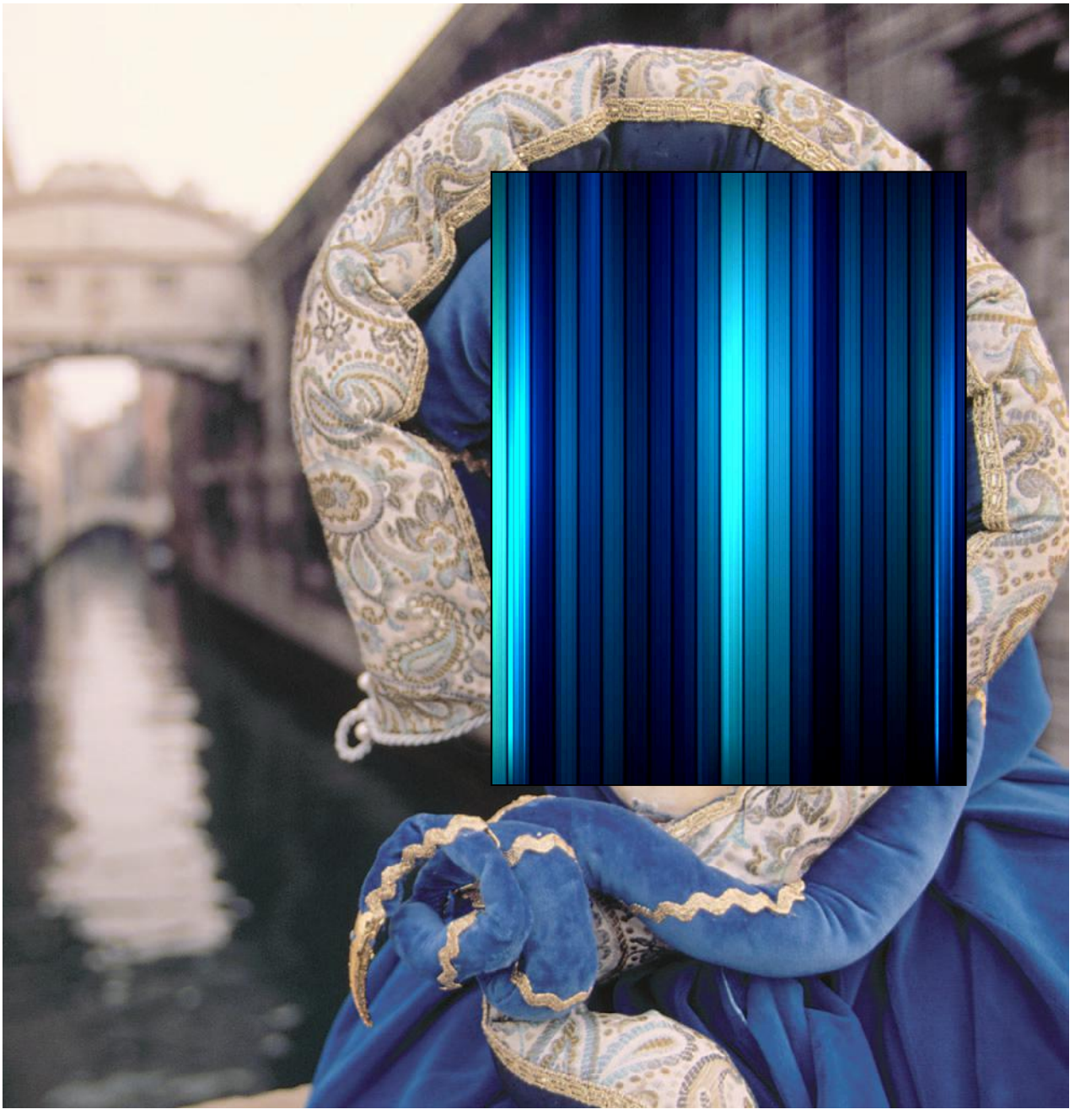
***Top:* *Batik* from Sri Lanka.** The *semen*-style batik features plants and animals in bright colors. Batik is a form of resist dyeing, some form of which has historically been practiced on all continents except Australia and the Pacific Islands. (*See* Batik) © Christine Osborne/Corbis.

***Bottom:* 1925 Lesage embroidery.** François Lesage, a Parisian designer, has been creating garments with embroidered beadwork since 1924. The Lesage design house spends 16,000 hours a year making samples for its twice-annual collections. (*See* Beads) © Julio Donoso/Corbis Sygma.

Dries van Noten autumn/winter 2002–2003 collection. Belgian designer Dries van Noten's fashions are known for their ethnic or historic tones and often evoke a sense of exoticism. (*See* Belgian Fashion) Dries van Noten; Autumn/Winter 2002–2003. Photo: Yelena Yemchuk.



Woman in carnival costume and makeup. Carnivals have been found in many countries and cultures throughout the centuries, and outrageous dress appears to have always been a key element. (*See* Carnival Dress) © Bob Krist/Corbis.



***Below:* Woman in colorful *chador*.** Worn by many Muslim women for reasons of modesty, the Islamic *chador* first developed during the Abbasid Era (750–1258), when the dynastic color was black. Most women continue to wear a black chador, though some choose color. (*See* Chador) © Keren Su/Corbis.

***Right top:* Corset worn by Madonna.** Jean-Paul Gaultier designed this famous corset for Madonna's 1991 Blonde Ambition tour. Thanks to Gaultier, Vivienne Westwood, and other designers, corsets saw a resurgence of popularity in the late twentieth century. (*See* Corset) AP/Wide World Photos.

***Right bottom:* Russian formal court dress.** During the nineteenth century, distinctive court dress began to evolve in many countries. Russian court dress incorporated traditional design elements, while other nations based their designs on military patterns. (*See* Court Dress) © Reproduced by permission of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia/Corbis.