



FADS Here today, gone tomorrow. It is hard to identify a fad until it has fizzled. Fashion cycles, more generally, vary in speed; fads are those particular fashion cycles that “take us by surprise, but also fade very quickly” (van Ginneken, p. 161). The term “fashion” implies “strong norms” (Crane, p. 1), and although this criterion may also apply to fads, these norms are of shorter duration and within a more limited population. Fred Davis goes so far as to say that fashion itself “somehow manage[s] on first viewing to startle, captivate, offend,” but ultimately “engage[s] the sensibilities of some culturally preponderant public, in America the so-called middle mass” (p. 15). By implication, a fad represents a temporary and limited divergence from a more general path of fashionability; the “so-called middle mass” may never approve.

A perusal of academic books in fashion studies over the last decade reveals that the term “fad” itself may have fallen out of style. Even Arthur Berger’s text *Ads, Fads, and Consumer Culture* includes little mention of fads. Still, popular media feature lists of “what’s hot” versus “what’s not.” Why aren’t these called fads? Perhaps the time-space nexus associated with contemporary fashion cycles is at issue: Influencing the rapidity and scope of “what’s hot” are factors such as a global economy, rapid technological change and media influence, “fast fashion” (or speed-to-market production), and a fashion system that combines branded commodities with stylistic diversity among consumers.

Nevertheless, a case can be made for interpreting the concept of fad for its historical, heuristic, and analytical significance. Issues of time, identity, stylistic detail, expression, and emotion all come into play in contemporary life, regardless of what we call the phenomenon in question. Historically, the term has been used to characterize collective behavior that may range from an article of clothing or an accessory (or how it is worn) to a hairstyle or other way of grooming. Or, it may describe toys or gadgets, or even activities or practices that do not require consumer purchase. Fads tend to be: (1) of a strikingly new or revolutionary quality that sets them apart from current fashion; (2) short-lived, with a rapid growth in popularity and demise; (3) accepted only in, and intensely popular within, small groups or subcultures; and

(4) often “nonessential,” “mostly for amusement,” or a “passing fancy.”

The concept of a fad seems to relate almost as much to who participates as it does to time. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* the term is related to the earlier concept of fiddfad (short for fiddle-faddle). A fiddfad, dating back to 1754, was a person who gave “fussy attention to trifles.” In the mid-nineteenth century, the terms “fad” and “faddish” were used to refer to shallow or unpredictable patterns of behavior or people.

It is interesting to note that the *Oxford English Dictionary* has not added new entries for the concept since its 1989 edition. However, it has generated related concepts that deserve careful attention: namely, “trendy” and “fashion victim.” Trendiness implies the state of being fashionable and up to date; it also connotes following the latest trend (“sometimes dismissively”). Since the early 1960s, “trendy” and “trendiness” have begun to displace the concept of fad linguistically. By the 1980s, the concept of trendy had become well-entrenched in everyday speech. The connotation of being shallow or narrowly focused persisted; the term still does not describe individuals who are immersed in the larger, “mainstream” issues of the day. Dating back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concept of a trend implied divergence from the mainstream—initially in the context of physical or geological manifestations (for example, streams, currents, or valleys). By the 1960s, the idea of trend analysis had taken hold in the social context as well. The idea of a fad was morphing into a “trend.”

Aside from issues of intensified speed, media saturation, and identities and intentions, there is the question of who benefits from fads or trends, and how. Accordingly, Marx and McAdam made an analytical distinction between “spontaneous” and “sponsored” fads. The former appear and spread without the involvement (at least initially) of an entrepreneur or business. Usually a spontaneous fad can be pursued without an extensive monetary commitment; it tends to be behavioral in nature. Examples might include goldfish swallowing in the 1920s or “streaking” (running naked) in the 1970s; both of these fads spread and deceased rapidly as trends on college campuses. In contrast, a sponsored fad tends to be consciously promoted; this is probably most obvious when applied to

toys or gadgets (for example, the “pet rock” fad of the mid-1970s or the Pog craze of the early 1990s).

Although there may be heuristic reasons for making distinctions between spontaneity and sponsorship in fads (just as there might be similar reasons for distinguishing fads from fashions), the two often become inextricably intertwined, especially in a commodified, branded, and celebrity-oriented consumer culture. First, it is difficult to ascertain in advance what will endure. Second, most fads or trends seem to include a commodity in some way, even (maybe especially) if it is somewhat affordable. Third, what may begin as a spontaneous fad (using the materials one has on hand to modify one’s appearance, for example) can quickly become appropriated commercially. The phenomenon of trend spotters, or later, “cool hunters,” took hold in the latter part of the twentieth century. Apparently, some analysts were able to spot or hunt trends so as to capitalize on them in some way.

Subcultural style, in particular, is open to such appropriation. In the mid-1970s, British working-class youth experimented with safety pins as accessories, with the use of Vaseline to spike their hair, and with ways of ripping their clothes. These looks were soon appropriated by top fashion designers and the apparel and beauty industries. Similarly, the hip-hop styles of inner-city (often African American) youth in the United States in the late 1970s became mainstream even in the suburbs of white, middle-class youth populations. Both of these examples were innovated by limited segments of society and then became more mainstream. But the time factor does not quite fit the classic definition of a fad. For example, the “sagging” trend associated with hip-hop male pants styles is still a way some young men of various ethnic backgrounds continue to wear their pants at the time of this writing. Whereas some adults might describe this look as a fad, younger people might simply characterize it as a longer-lasting fashion that resonates with some individuals and groups their age.

The approximately 250-year-old concept of fad reminds us that a fad is likely to be in the eye of the beholder. For example, when does the tendency to be trendy (or faddish) merge into that of becoming a fashion victim? Not surprisingly, the concept of fashion victim is usually used in a diminutive or depreciative way. The implication is that a fashion victim is susceptible to change, without devoting “serious” thought (as might a connoisseur) to the meaning of that change.

Michelle Lee’s 2003 book *Fashion Victim*, intimates that fashion victim is an inclusive concept—not one confined to certain, limited groups within the population: “The Fashion Victim is all around us. The Hollywood startlet who’s personally dressed by Donatella Versace is no less a Fashion Victim than the small-town salesgirl who hops on every fad at her local JC Penney” (p. xi). She goes on to say that a fashion victim is “anyone who has ever looked back at old pictures and cringed” (p. xii).

Fiddle faddle. The concept of a fad is frustrating and difficult to distinguish from fashion in general. Issues of time, identity, fun, commodification, appropriation, looking back, and moving forward all relate to the concept of fad as it has been used historically and analytically. None of these issues is without its own ambiguities. Still, fads, by any name or duration, are likely to remain a part of how we live and change.

See also **Fashion Advertising; Trendsetters.**

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FANCY DRESS Celebrating festivals by wearing masks and disguises has been customary in Europe for many centuries. The eighteenth-century masquerade, forerunner of the fancy dress balls and parties of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, owes its origin to the Venetian pre-Lent Carnival, developed in the seventeenth century. This was a public, open-air event in which all classes participated in dancing, feasting, and practical jokes. The revelers wore masks and either fanciful decorative costumes or all-concealing dark cloaks called dominoes, to enjoy flirtations and intrigue incognito.

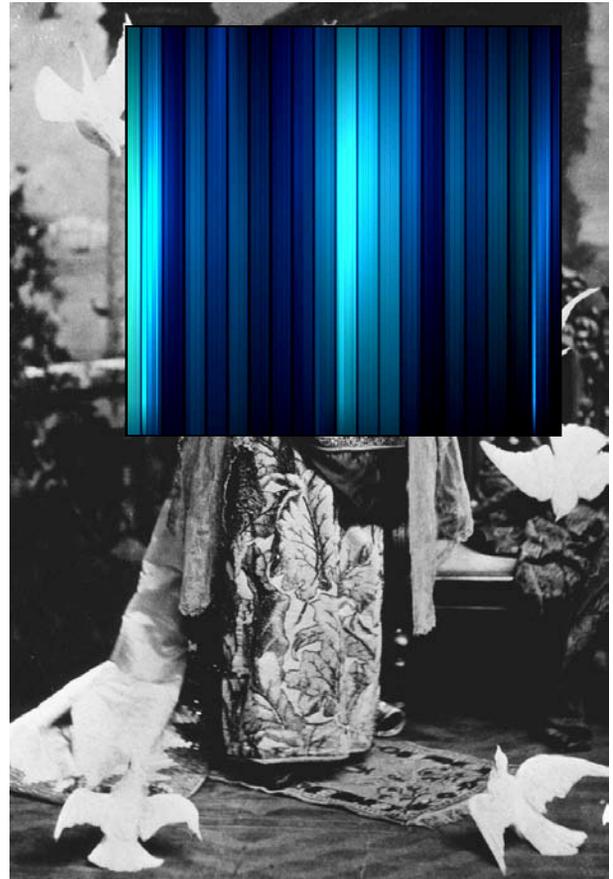
Masquerading, or masking, was introduced as a public entertainment in London in 1710, held first in theaters and from the 1730s at the public pleasure gardens at Ranelagh and Vauxhall. In 1772, the Pantheon was built in Oxford Street to provide a winter indoor venue. Many masqueraders wore a mask and domino over fashionable evening dress, but others chose very diverse costumes. The dress of the commedia dell'arte characters Harlequin, Columbine, Punchinello, and Pantaloon was popular, as were nuns' and monks' habits (worn with subversive intent) and comic Scotsmen, sailors, and savages. Turkish dress for men and women, admired for its exoticism, appeared frequently at masquerades, and elements of *turquerie* were adopted in fashionable dress. Most outfits were probably hired, as advertisements show the existence of several London "habit-warehouses" engaged in this trade.

Romanticism

The morally questionable masquerade became unfashionable by 1820, but European society's love of fancy dress continued. To accord with the new mood of decorum, fancy balls became the fashion, given either in private houses or as large-scale civic fund-raising events. Masks disappeared, and costumes were based on historical characters (many from Shakespeare's plays or Sir Walter Scott's novels), Turkish and Greek dress inspired by Byron's poems, or the peasant dress of Spain, Italy, and Switzerland. The most admired romantic heroine was Mary, Queen of Scots, whose story combined legendary beauty, doomed love, and a tragic death; her popularity ensured that the "Marie Stuart" cap entered mainstream fashion in the 1830s.



In France the masquerade was a fashionable way to celebrate state occasions. Louis XV attended the *bal masqué* at Versailles, celebrating the marriage of the Dauphin in February 1745, as one of a group of to-piary trees.



Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt at a fancy dress ball. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, fancy dress events became more common, and costumes could be found at department stores. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Large civic balls were reported in detail in the press, with lists of costumes worn. Many women wore "a fancy dress," meaning fashionable evening dress with fanciful trimmings, particularly feathers. Local dressmakers or even the ballgoer herself created these outfits. Ladies' periodicals, especially *The World of Fashion* (first published 1828), included plates of historical or foreign dresses for inspiration. For more elaborate costumes and for men's dress, firms specializing in making and hiring fancy costumes advertised widely. London firms (including Nathan's, which still existed in the early 2000s), rented temporary premises in provincial towns where a ball was planned.

Imperial Pageants

From the 1860s onward, fancy dress opportunities multiplied. Society papers listed columns of private balls, often celebrating comings-of-age and housewarmings, as well as public balls hosted by lord mayors, children's parties, and clubs' and works' Christmas parties. Such was the demand for ideas for costumes that women's period-



Print of *La Saison*, showing women in fancy dress. Civic balls became popular in the mid-1800s, and the press often reported on the costumes of attendees. © Gianni Dagli Orti/Corbis. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

icals, especially *The Queen*, published regular articles and correspondence columns, and from 1879, books were also available; Ardern Holt, *The Queen's* columnist, produced *Fancy Dresses Described*, which ran to six editions by 1896. Popular costumes included “Vandyke” and rococo dress, Japanese dress (inspired by *The Mikado*, 1885), European peasant dress, and allegorical costumes such as Night, Winter, or Folly. By the 1880s, there was a demand for novel and inventive ideas (such as “The Front Hall” and “Oysters and Champagne”), and originality was important. As well as private dressmakers, the newly established department stores in London and provincial cities made fancy dresses for customers.

Queen Victoria's 1897 Diamond Jubilee inspired two of the most lavish fancy dress balls of the century: the Devonshire House Ball given in London by the duchess of Devonshire and attended by royalty and the cream of London society, and the Victorian Era Ball, given in Toronto by the governor general of Canada, Lord Aberdeen, and Lady Aberdeen. At Devonshire House, the guests dressed as famous people from history or fable; the hostess represented Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and the countess of Warwick was Queen Marie Antoinette. Many of the costumes were couture creations, several by Jean-Philippe Worth (son of Charles). For the Canadian ball, the theme was the British Em-

pire, and many costumes were allegorical: the Aberdeens' daughter represented “The Forests of Canada,” and other ballgoers dressed as “Electricity,” “Postal Progress,” and “Sports and Pastimes.”

Bright Young Things

Fancy dress fitted the mood of 1920s party-going perfectly. Young people turned the social world topsy-turvy with all-night parties, jazz, cocktails, and exhibitionist behavior. Masks were reintroduced, and the most admired outfits were outrageous or bizarre, with good taste out-of-date. Theme parties became popular: Greek parties, baby parties, Wild West parties, and circus parties were held in London during the 1920s. The commedia dell'arte characters enjoyed a revival, especially Harlequin and Pierrot, given a contemporary twist. Fancy dress balls became annual events at universities and colleges and a popular feature of holiday cruises.

The press called the fancy dress ball given by Carlos de Beistegui, a Mexican millionaire, in the Palazzo Labia, Venice, in September 1951, the “Party of the Twentieth Century.” The cream of international society dressed in sumptuous eighteenth-century costumes, many by French and Italian couturiers. In decline since the 1950s, fancy dress returned to fashion from the 1980s. Favorite characters in the 2000s include perennials such as monks, nuns, clowns, devils, joined by topical characters from films and TV. Themed parties are popular; Prince William of Wales celebrated his twenty-first birthday in June 2003 with an “Out of Africa” ball at Windsor Castle.

Children's Fancy Dress

Nineteenth-century children's costumes, apart from some nursery-rhyme characters, were usually miniature versions of adult dress, reflecting the mother's taste more than the child's. By the 1920s and 1930s, however, with more occasions for fancy dress, including pageants and street carnivals, and wider social participation, children's outfits were enormously varied, based on cartoon characters and cinema heroes, animals, storybook characters, even advertisements. Many were home-made: the paper pattern firm Weldon's produced catalogs of fancy dress



“I arrived at the Sutherlands' ball impenetrably disguised as a repulsive baby boy in rompers with a flaxen wig and a ghoulish baby-face mask, then I dashed home and returned as a Sylphide in white tulle with a wreath of gardenias.”

Loelia, duchess of Westminster, 1927

patterns, and magazines suggested how to contrive costumes from everyday clothes or household furnishings.

In the early twenty-first century, dressing up is part of everyday play for three- to six-year-olds. Outfits are on sale in all toyshops and chain stores, to turn children into princesses, knights, nurses, policemen, Disney characters, or the popular fiction hero Harry Potter.

See also **Ball Dress; Masquerade and Masked Balls.**

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Anthea Jarvis

FANS Though already used for many centuries in other parts of the world, fans started becoming popular in Europe in the late sixteenth century, but experienced virtual demise in the early twentieth century.

Sixteenth-Century Rigid Fans

There were two distinct types of rigid fan in the sixteenth century: those of exotic feathers set in a fancy handle and those of vellum or plaited palm leaf also attached to a decorative handle.

A number of portraits from 1559 to 1603 show Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603) holding feather fans. The identifiable feathers were ostrich. Fan handles ranged from handsome silver-gilt or silver set with fabulous jewels to plain-turned wood.

A well-known 1585–1586 portrait of Queen Elizabeth I attributed to John Bettes (c. 1585–1590) and now housed in the National Portrait Gallery, London, shows her with a large ostrich feather fan set in a superb jeweled handle. The fan is given the same prominence in the

portrait as the jewelry and costume, indicating that it was valued. This is confirmed by the wardrobe inventories, which include numerous feather fans: "Item one Fanne of the feathers of the Birde of Paradise and other colored feathers thone set with sixe small starres and one great starre set with iiij or little Saphires the handle of sylver guilte." These are recorded in fascinating detail in the Stowe Inventory of 1600 and published in *Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd* by Janet Arnold.

Rigid fans of vellum or plaited palm leaf were as a rule rectangular in shape and set into a handle in such a way as to look like small flags, and this is the term used to describe them.

Early Folding Fans

Mention the word "fan" in connection with dress and fashion, and the immediate mental image is likely to be that of the folding fan. A fashion accessory, it is easily held in the hand, whether open or closed.

The folding fan has found a niche in the popular history of fashionable dress as a pretty object that used to be carried by ladies of fashion, coupled with its reputation as a useful device in the art of flirtation. While its presence as an accessory in Western fashion has been taken for granted for over three hundred years, this is not a Western invention. It is generally acknowledged that the folding fan originated in Japan as long ago as the ninth century C.E. Its gradual dominance over the fashionable rigid feather fan of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can probably be attributed to the convenience of being able to fold the fan away when not in use.

Folding fans probably made their first appearance in Europe between 1560 and 1600. It is likely that isolated examples were originally brought back by travelers or merchants as personal gifts for female friends or family and were probably treated as exotic curiosities. Proof of their existence in Japan prior to the 1560s can be seen in early Japanese paintings and manuscripts. One of the best known is the aristocratic hand scroll that illustrates *The Tale of Genji*, a romance of Japanese court life written by Lady Murasaki Shikibu in the tenth century C.E. The earliest surviving illustrated text dates from 1120 to 1130.

Not until the seventeenth century were significant quantities of folding fans imported into Europe from Japan and China. However, at some point before the end of the sixteenth century, European craftsmen appear to have taken up the challenge of making folding fans for their own market.

By the end of the seventeenth century, European fan makers had fully mastered the art of making folding fans. They used vellum or silk for the leaves and wood, ivory, tortoiseshell, mother-of-pearl, or bone for the sticks. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leather fan leaves and leather gloves were perfumed with orange water or other scents.

Brisé Fans

Another type of folding fan known as brisé was contemporary with folding fans. The brisé fan does not have an attached leaf. In early European examples, the entire fan consists of very wide sticks. The brisé fan shown in this entry is made of quite thick pasteboard covered in silk and elaborately decorated with delicate straw appliqué designs. Straw work of this quality may have been of Italian or south German origin. Early brisé fans have one feature in common in the shape of the sticks—each one resembles a single, stylized, curled ostrich feather. Folding feather fans do not appear until the second half of the nineteenth century.

Seventeenth-Century European Fans

During the seventeenth century, European folding fans improved in technique and style. The leaf would be painted in gouache. The subject matter was usually taken from classical literature or allegories. The sticks became

finer and thinner; those that supported the leaf tapered to a point at the top. The two outer sticks, known as the guard sticks, were wider at the top and more bladelike. Fan painters of this period were influenced by the masters of the early and high baroque, copying or adapting their paintings for fan leaves. Literary tastes of the era, too, were reflected in the choice of subject: classical, biblical, and—to a lesser extent—conversation scenes predominated. Both sides of a fan leaf were decorated, the front (obverse) would be fully decorated with a painted scene while the back (reverse) was usually painted with a superb rendering of familiar flowers shown as a bouquet.

Eighteenth-Century Fans

The eighteenth century is considered a golden age for fans. The century began with the final flourish of the heavy baroque style of Louis XIV. His death in 1715 removed his overpowering influence, and breathed new life into fashion in France and Europe. It is no surprise that

the ensuing rococo style, which predominated during the reign of King Louis XV (1715–1774), was a complete contrast. Characterized by its lightness and graceful, sinuous decoration, it was particularly well suited to decoration of fan sticks and fan leaves. Subject matter broadened to include pastoral, commemorative, and conversation themes—although classical subjects continued to be popular.

The major centers of fan production in Europe were France, Holland, England, and Italy. However, ivory fan sticks without leaves were imported in bulk from China as well as painted and plain brisé fans. The East India Company imported large quantities of fans and other goods into Europe from China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These traders would commission goods to their own specification for the European market. Such goods were designed to appeal to European rather than Asian taste, though they had a definite Asian influence, resulting in a style that became known as chinoiserie.

The most prolific fan production came from France during the eighteenth century. French influence on Eu-

ropean fashion was profound at this time. Fan leaf design was influenced by painters such as Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), François Boucher (1703–1770), and Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806).

Many fan leaves were painted on paper or vellum throughout the eighteenth century, but from the 1730s onward, an increasing number were printed. Printing created some problems in the fan-making trade as it threatened to deprive fan painters of their livelihood. It had the advantage of being quick; a printer could produce huge numbers of just one design much faster than the fan painters.

The richness and exuberance of eighteenth-century design on fans and other forms of decorative art became increasingly restrained in the last quarter of the century. The affect of neoclassicism, with its strict adherence to classical form, caused fan designs to conform to minimal decoration in the approved style.

Nineteenth Century

Restrained decoration continued in the nineteenth century. Fashionable dress still retained the slim classical



LANGUAGE OF THE FAN

In 1711, Joseph Addison (1672–1719) wrote a satirical article about fans in *The Spectator*, no. 102, including directions to present the fan as if it were a weapon. Duvelleroy published a leaflet listing various positions of the fan that a discerning young man was presumably expected to interpret.

silhouette. Fans were small to the point of invisibility. Conveniently minute, they were held in the hand or could be popped into an equally small reticule. Decoration was slight; painted flowers and a little gilding usually sufficed. Many fans at this time were brisé made of pierced ivory, bone, wood, or tortoiseshell.

Inevitably women's fashions changed, and the elegant high-waisted styles moved to a more natural waistline in the 1820s. Decoration remained delicate but grew fussier. Fans became larger, and there was a fondness for silk or net leaves with appliquéd decoration in the form of gilt paper motifs and spangles. Other types of fan leaf were of painted or printed paper. Not until the mid-nineteenth century did fan making and fan design regain the panache of the previous century.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a gradual decline in fan making and design. In France the firm of Duvelleroy dominated the European market with quality fans and had done so since it was established in 1827. Yet, the quality of their designs flagged during the second half of the century. Fan making in England fared no better despite attempts at holding competitions. Good-quality fans appeared briefly from the 1880s following a revival of interest in fans as fashionable accessories.

But World War I and the arrival of the "Modern Woman" completed the end of the fan. By the 1920s, fans had become attractive gimmicks to be given away as advertisements by well-known department stores, restaurants, or fashion houses.

See also Asia, East: History of Dress; Europe and America: History of Dress (400–1900 C.E.).

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Avril Hart

FARTHINGALE. *See Skirt Supports.*

FASCIST AND NAZI DRESS Already in the decade preceding the Third Reich, female fashion had become a locus of contentious debate in Germany. In reaction to the "Garçonne" style that had become popular in the post-World War I years, conservative critics railed against "degenerate" cosmetics and clothing, which they described as "jewified," "masculinized," "French-dominated," and "poisonous." They also castigated the trend mongers who pushed such tasteless, unbecoming fashions onto unsuspecting female consumers. Short hair, shorter hemlines, pants, and visible makeup—all of these were purportedly causing the moral degradation of German women.

Vituperative commentaries claimed that French fashions were unhealthy for German women, both morally and physically, and that it was imperative for German designers to establish complete independence from the nefarious French influence on female fashion. Also denounced was the dangerous American vamp or Hollywood image that young German women were foolishly imitating with penciled eyebrows, darkly lined eyes, painted red mouths, and provocative clothing. Additionally, by the mid-1920s, Berlin had become an acclaimed world center of fashion, especially for ready-to-wear women's apparel and outerwear. Highly exaggerating the percentage of Jews in the German fashion industry, diatribes in pro-Nazi publications polemicized against the "crushing" Jewish presence, which was blamed for both ruining economic opportunities for the Aryan middle class and conspiring to destroy feminine dignity by producing immoral, whorish fashions for German women. This downward spiral in female appearance, critics asserted, could be halted only with the creation of a "unique German fashion." That term, however, was never fully defined.

Fashion Ideology and Policy

Such reactionary, anti-Semitic, and rabidly nationalistic messages were repeated on countless occasions throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, so that by the time the Nazi Party came to power in 1933 the argument was

clear. Only German clothing, specifically Aryan-designed and manufactured, was good enough for females in the Third Reich. Racially appropriate clothing depended upon the elimination of French and, especially, Jewish influences from the German fashion industry.

To that end, an Aryanization organization named the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutsch-arischer Fabrikanten der Bekleidungsindustrie* (or Adefa), was established in May 1933 by several longtime German clothing manufacturers and producers. The group's aim was to systematically purge the Jews from all areas of the fashion industry. Through a combination of massive pressure, boycotts, economic sanctions, illegal buy-outs, forced liquidations, and the systematic exclusion and persecution of countless Jews, Adefa succeeded by January 1939 in ousting all Jews from the German fashion world. The *Deutsches Mode-Institut* (German Fashion Institute) was also founded in 1933, with strong backing from the Ministry of Propaganda and several other governmental agencies. Its mission was to attain fashion independence from French influence, to unify the various facets of fashion creation and fashion production in the German clothing industry, and to create a "unique German fashion" that would garner the Third Reich international acclaim and monetary rewards via its designs. Beset with internal conflicts throughout its existence and given little actual power, the German Fashion Institute never succeeded in fulfilling any of its goals.

Additionally, the Nazi state attempted to construct a female appearance that would mirror official ideology, uphold the government's autarkic economic policies, and create feelings of national belonging. This proposed female image would need to correlate to the Nazis' gender ideology, which urged women to return to their authentic role of wife and mother. Women's natural maternal instincts would thereby be satisfied, while also allowing them to fulfill the honorable duties of childbearer for the nation, significant consumer, and loyal citizen that Nazi Germany had bestowed upon them. As "mothers of the German *Volk*," women were assigned to correct the nation's sinking birthrate, guarantee the racial purity of future generations, and strengthen the economy by purchasing only German-made products. These were important tasks that required an image befitting the propaganda. For the ideal German woman, devoted to her family's well being, beauty stemmed not from cosmetics or trendy fashions, but from an inner happiness derived from her devotion to her children, her husband, her home, and her country.

The two images most often proposed and put into visual forms of propaganda were the farmer's wife in folk costume, usually referred to as *Tracht* or dirndl, and the young woman in organizational uniform. The rhetoric surrounding these two proposals advanced the "natural look" for women and condemned cosmetics and other "unhealthy vices," such as smoking and drinking, as unfeminine and un-German. Stress was placed on physical fitness and a healthy lifestyle, both of which

would facilitate a higher birthrate. Moreover, while the folk costume looked to the past and promoted an image that illuminated the Nazis' "blood and soil" ideology, and the female uniform spoke to the present and exemplified the idea of conformity over individuality, both images signified a rejection of international trends, again, as un-German. Both proposals also fit the state's anti-Semitic and anti-French agendas, as well as its "made-in-Germany" autarkic policy.

The Dirndl Fashion

The farmer's wife, labeled "Mother Germany," was offered as one female ideal. She was the link between the bonds of German blood and soil. Her natural looks, unsullied by cosmetics, her physical strength and moral fortitude, her willingness to bear hard work and to bear many children, and her traditional dress that recalled a mythical, untarnished German past, were deified through countless exhibits, paintings, and essays. In propaganda photos, rural women usually were shown with their hair braided or pinned up in a bun, no cosmetics, surrounded by children, and beaming with an inner glow that gave no hint of the difficult work that filled their days. And what was the ideal farmer's wife wearing? According to Nazi propaganda, she should dress herself in *Trachtenkleidung*, a folk costume that reflected Germany's rich cultural heritage. Promoted as an expression of the true German-Aryan character, the age-old *Trachtendirndl*—generally comprising a dress with tight bodice and full, long skirt, a white blouse with puffed and gathered sleeves, a heavily embroidered or crocheted collar, an embellished apron, and a variety of head pieces or hats—was viewed as the most suitable example of racially pure clothing and held up as a significant symbolic metaphor for pride in the German homeland.

To promote the resurrection of the folk costume, state-sponsored *Tracht* gatherings and folk festivals cropped up everywhere, even occasionally in metropolitan areas. Girls and women were told to proudly wear dirndls for Nazi Party-sponsored occasions and historic celebrations. And, farm women were encouraged to rediscover the many attributes of *Tracht*. They were also urged to sew their dirndls from fabric they had woven themselves, while caring for their flock of children and helping with the harvest. The problem was that most of them had ceased wearing anything resembling *Tracht* on a regular basis by this time, due to its impracticality and the difficult economic straits in which so many rural families found themselves. Farm women had long ago turned to dark fabrics that showed little dirt, looser clothes that allowed for greater movement, and sleeves that did not encumber them at their work. Except for the rare special occasion or celebration, rural women had not regularly worn the traditional dirndl for decades. Also problematic, the Nazis' extensive *Tracht* propaganda did not succeed in convincing urban women to embrace the folk costume. While dressing in dirndls for certain events was



German schoolgirls in peasant costume. The Nazi Party urged women to embrace their cultural heritage by adopting traditional German dress, but most found such clothing impractical and continued to wear modern fashions. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

considered fun, the majority of women living in large cities, such as Hamburg and Berlin, continued clothing themselves according to the latest international styles shown in German magazines, despite arduous efforts by some Nazis to convince them to dress otherwise.

The Female in Uniform

As an urban alternative to the farmer's wife in *Tracht*, the Nazis offered another female ideal: that of the young German woman in uniform, a reflection of the Party's attraction to organization and militarization. Much like *Trachtenkleidung*, the uniform offered yet another visible sign of inclusion into the Nazi-constructed German racial community. It also represented order and accommodation, as well as a rejection of international trends and individuality.

As organizations quickly proliferated in the Third Reich, so did female uniforms. Whether for girls, young

women, female youths in the labor service, or female auxiliary units, once World War II began, each group had a distinct uniform or, minimally, different insignia, badges, and armbands that specified rank or branch of service. Hair was to be kept neat and away from the face, preferably in braids for young girls and a bun for adult females. Cosmetics were shunned as unnatural and unnecessary for these young women who glowed from health and love of country. Physical fitness, self-sacrifice, obedience, and loyalty to the Nazi regime and its tenets were the most important components of all organizations, whose overriding purpose was to groom a generation of racially pure, healthy, ideologically sound females to become future "mothers of the *Volk*." No individual touches, no embellishments, nothing was allowed that might detract from the symbolic significance of the requisite clothing. The uniform sartorially expressed the Third Reich's demand for unity, uniformity, conformity, and community.

Clothing females in organizational uniforms, while fairly popular when the nation was at peace, became a political problem for the government once the conflict broadened throughout Europe and additional women were needed as war-essential auxiliaries. Uniforming increasing numbers of females and placing them in positions that had been designated as “male only,” obviously upended the Nazi Party’s “separate spheres” propaganda and its gender-specific work policies of the prewar years. The state’s other concern was that extensive female uniforming would make clearly visible to the home population that the war was not going well. Furthermore, as the conflict continued and drastic textile shortages developed, some auxiliaries, who were only issued armbands indicating service affiliation in order to save material, openly complained and privately resented that they could not wear the full uniform others wore. Female auxiliaries stationed inside as well as outside of the Reich wanted, at the least, to look official as they risked their lives for the nation.

Popular Female Fashions

The image most widely embraced by German women not only competed with these two state-sanctioned offerings, but also often glaringly conflicted with either the Party’s rhetoric or its policies. While “the natural look” was the beauty slogan pushed by Nazi stalwarts, and a “unique German fashion” was relentlessly advocated, neither was enthusiastically adopted by most women in the Third Reich. Instead, they bought the latest cosmetics, tried the newest hairstyles, and wore variations of the same fashions being worn by women in France, England, and America.

Reflecting the interests of their readership, popular magazines published articles that illustrated makeup techniques, advertised face creams, tanning lotions, and hair dyes, and offered tips on replicating the looks of Hollywood stars, such as Greta Garbo, Jean Harlow, and Katharine Hepburn. Photos in fashion journals depicted the newest styles by Parisian and American couturiers next to elegantly fashionable creations by Berlin’s best designers. Well-known German fashion schools, such as the *Deutsches Meisterschule für Mode* in Munich and the *Frankfurter Modeamt* in Frankfurt, eschewed the dirndl image in favor of international influences and female consumer desires, much to the dismay of Nazi hard-liners. And for those women who did not have the means to purchase their clothing from dress salons or department stores, sewing patterns, with which to re-create popular fashions, were widely available and affordable.

Wartime Fashions and Rationing

On 14 November 1939, two months after the onset of World War II, the government issued the first *Reichskleiderkarte* (or Reich Clothing Card). This rationing system was designed to ensure an equitable means by which to supply the civilian population with sufficient shoes,

clothing, and textiles during the war. German Jews, deemed unworthy of receiving even minimal support, received no clothing coupons beginning in 1940. The clothing card was based on a point system, from which a recipient could not use more than 25 points in the time span of two months. Numerous other restrictions also applied. Hats were “points-free,” which meant they could be acquired without ration vouchers or clothing cards and so would become the major fashion item of the war years. Once hat supplies were depleted, and thus unobtainable for purchase, women created their own turbans and hats from fabric remnants, lace scraps, netting, and felt pieces.

The first clothing card, good for one year, allotted 100 points, but severe shortages rapidly developed in several areas, particularly shoes and cloth. Because textile and leather production increasingly was geared toward the needs of the German army, many stores were soon emptied of their reserves. Consequently, material remnants replaced leather shoe uppers, and soles were often made from cork or wood. Additionally, the government quickly discovered that its autarkic economic policy had, in part, resulted in an unsuccessful scramble for a wide variety of viable synthetics that were urgently needed to keep Germans, military and civilian, clothed. Many of the textile and leather substitutes were of poor quality and disintegrated when washed or ironed.

The second clothing card, issued in the late fall of 1940, was worth 150 points, but the additional 50 points had no real value since, by then, extreme clothing and footwear shortages had developed in several major German cities. Widely circulated government brochures urged women to “make new from old,” but a dearth of available sewing goods, such as thread and yarn, contradicted the state’s catchy mottos. Despite admonishments by those who viewed pants as unfeminine and unacceptable female attire, women increasingly wore trousers as the war dragged on and shortages continued to mount. Pants were warmer than skirts, especially once supplies of stockings and socks had been exhausted. They were far more practical for women to wear as work attire in war-related factories. And, often, they were the only clothes item in the household still in plentiful supply, with so many absent husbands and brothers serving in the armed forces.

By 1943, drastic garment and shoe shortages rendered the clothing card virtually useless in some areas of Germany. In response, civilians turned ever more frequently to the burgeoning black market, even though this was a highly punishable offense. The inability of the regime to provide adequate clothing provisions throughout the war years was met with growing resentment and overtly expressed discontent, which belied the Nazis’ depiction of a harmonious, supportive national community.

Summary

During the Third Reich, female fashion became a topic of much discussion and dispute. Instead of a unified view

of what “German fashion” meant and a singular, consistently touted public image of the female, incongruities abounded. Additionally, no cohesive national fashion program was ever implemented successfully, despite tireless attempts by some officials. Women’s fashion, which the Nazis had hoped would be a sartorial sign of inclusion into the national community, the *Volksgemeinschaft*, instead became a signifier of disjunction. Female appearance could and did circumvent Nazi ideological tenets and state regulations, sometimes flagrantly. Concurrently, ambiguous directives laid bare the government’s obvious fear of losing both women’s support on the home front and a lucrative fashion market abroad. In the end, fashion proved to be an unsuccessful tool in defining German womanhood and citizenship, partially through the dictates of clothing and appearance. This failure exposed the limits of state power in a highly visible manner. What was propagandized in the sphere of women’s fashion had only a slight correlation to reality in Nazi Germany.

See also **Politics and Fashion**.

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Irene Guenther

FASHION According to the editorial policy of *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, fashion is defined as “the cultural construction of the embodied identity.” As such, it encompasses all forms of self-fashioning, including street styles, as well as so-called high fashion created by designers and couturiers. Fashion also alludes to the *way* in which things are made; to fashion something is to make it in a particular form. Most commonly, fashion is defined as the prevailing style of dress or behavior at any given time, with the strong implication that fashion is characterized by change. As Shakespeare wrote, “The fashion wears out more apparel than the man.” There are fashions in furniture, automobiles and other objects, as well as in clothing, although greater attention is paid to sartorial fashion, probably because clothing has such an intimate relationship with the physical body and, by extension, the personal identity of the individual.

Fashion is most often thought of as a phenomenon of the Western world from the late Middle Ages onward;

but fashion-oriented behavior existed in at least some other societies and historical periods, such as Tang Dynasty China (618–907) and Heian Period Japan (795–1185). For example, at the eleventh-century Japanese court, it was a term of praise to describe something as *imamekasbi* (“up-to-date” or “fashionable”). A regular pattern of stylistic change with respect to dress and interior decoration existed in Europe by the fourteenth century. The first fashion magazine is thought to have appeared in about 1586 in Frankfurt, Germany. By the seventeenth century, Paris was the capital of European fashion, and the source of most new styles in women’s dress. By the eighteenth century, however, fashions in men’s clothing tended to originate in London.

La mode is the French word for fashion, and many scholars believe there is a link between *la mode* (fashion) and *la modernité* (modernity, or the stylistic qualities of what is modern). Certainly, the number of people following fashion increased greatly in the modern era, especially beginning in the nineteenth century, due to the spread of democracy and the rise of industrialization. The later nineteenth century witnessed both the mass-production of ready-to-wear clothing and also the development in Paris of the *haute couture*. Although most dressmakers then were women, some of the most famous early couturiers were men, such as Charles Frederick Worth. Other famous Paris couturiers of the twentieth century include Gabrielle “Coco” Chanel, Christian Dior and Yves Saint Laurent.

It is popularly believed that there is a great difference between high fashion and ordinary clothes, but this is not the case. Designers such as Chanel and Dior sold expensive fashionable clothes to a relatively small number of people, but their designs were widely copied by manufacturers, who sold the “knock-offs” for a fraction of the price of the originals to a much more extensive clientele. Another popular myth is that men do not wear fashion. While it is true that men’s clothing changes more slowly and subtly than women’s clothing, it, too, follows the fashion. In the 1980s, for example, Giorgio Armani designed fashionable men’s suits and jackets that had a profound influence on menswear generally. Finally, it is widely assumed that changes in fashion “reflect” societal change and/or the financial interests of fashion designers and manufacturers. Recent research indicates, however, that there also exist “internal taste mechanisms,” which drive changes in fashion even in the absence of significant social change. Particularly relevant is Stanley Lieberman’s research on fashions in children’s first names, which are clearly unaffected by commercial interests. No advertisers promote the choice of names such as Rebecca, Zoe, or Christopher, but they have become fashionable anyway.

See also **Belgian Fashion; Fashion, Historical Studies of; Fashion, Theories of; Future of Fashion; Haute Couture; Italian Fashion; Japanese Fashion; Latin Ameri-**

can Fashion; London Fashion; Paris Fashion; Ready-to-Wear.

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Valerie Steele

FASHION, ATTACKS ON While fashions in furniture and architecture have not generally been perceived as a problem, fashionable dress has been frequently criticized by clergy, philosophers, moralists, and academics for centuries. The condemnations have been numerous and varying; fashionable clothes are attacked for encouraging vanity, loose sexual morality, conspicuous consumption, and effeminacy (in men), and thus blamed for all manner of social breakdown and sexual and gender confusion. Further, the very idea of discarding clothes once they are no longer fashionable (rather than “worn out”) has been seen by some as wasteful, frivolous, and irrational. The reasons fashion has been singled out for such condemnation are important and illustrative of the way in which fashionable dress intersects with wider social debates concerning gender, class, and sexuality. Perhaps the problem has to do with the close relationship of dress to the body, which bears the weight of considerable social, moral, sexual pressure, and prohibition (see Barcan 2004 and Ribeiro 2003). Further, given the close cultural associations between a woman’s identity and her body, it is no surprise that fashion is subjected to such an onslaught of criticism: As feminists have argued, the things associated with women are likely to carry a lower social status than the things of men. This is not to say that men are exempt from criticisms concerning fashionable dress (indeed, they sometimes are), but such criticisms are less frequent in history and when they occur, it is the inappropriate nature of male interest in clothes, and fears about masculinity, that prompt such attacks.

Gender, Sexuality, and Morality

Understanding the historical condemnations of fashionable dress therefore necessitates an examination of attitudes toward gender, sexuality, and clothes. At the same time that women have long been associated with the making of clothes, with textiles, and with consumption, there has existed also a metaphorical association of femininity

and the very idea of fashion. According to Jones (1996, p. 35), “women had for centuries been associated with inconstancy and change,” characteristics that also describe fashion. It is also the case that as Breward (1994) and Tseëlon (1997) note, up until the eighteenth century, fashion had been considered a sign of the weakness and moral laxity of “wicked” women. Tseëlon (1997) examines how ancient myths about femininity have informed Western attitudes toward women. She points out (1997, p. 12) that between them, archetypal figures, such as Eve, inform Western moral attitudes toward women. Within Judeo-Christian teachings, from the tales of the Old Testament through the writings of the apostle St. Paul, woman has been associated with temptations of the flesh and decoration. At the heart of this attitude toward women was a fear of the body that, in Christian teachings, is the location of desires and “wicked” temptations to be disavowed for the sake of the soul. Thus the decorated (female) body is inherently problematic to Judeo-Christian morality, as Ribieiro has also argued. So too, however, is the naked or unadorned body. As Tseëlon (1997, p. 14) notes, in Judeo-Christian teachings, nakedness became a shameful thing after the Fall and, since the Fall is blamed on woman, then “the links between sin, the body, woman, and clothes are easily forged” (see also Barcan 2004).

Given its associations with sexuality and sin, it is not surprising that female clothing is the subject of heated debate amongst moralists and clergy, and that feminine dress is the object of quite vitriolic attacks. One can find particularly misogynistic diatribes on femininity and dress in the medieval writings of clergymen, as well as in the writings of later moralists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For example, Edward Cooke in 1678 wrote,

a double crime for a woman to be fashion'd after the mode of this world, and so to bring her innocence into disrepute through her immodest nakedness; because she her self not only sins against shame, but causes others to sin against purity, and at the same time, renders her self suspect. (Tseëlon 1997, p. 635)

To counter fears as to female sexuality and dress, Christianity produced “a discourse of modesty and chastity in dress” which became encoded into female sexuality (Tseëlon 1997, p. 12). Christian teachings held that redemption lay in the renunciation of decoration and modesty in dress, a moral duty born of Eve’s guilt. Thus, while men’s fashions were often highly erotic, it was women’s immodest display that was the focus of religious and moral condemnation. Only a woman could be accused of seduction in dress. While such ideas may seem almost quaint by contemporary standards, where it seems all bodies can “shamelessly” flaunt bottoms, breasts, and bellies, in fact, evidence of the continuing associations between women, seduction, and morality today can be found in contemporary culture. In rape cases, for example, women are still implicitly and explicitly criticized for wearing “sexually revealing” clothes and what a woman

wore at the time of attack can be given as evidence of her desires for sex and used as male defense in the form of “she was asking for it.” The ghost of the temptress Eve still haunts contemporary culture.

Class, Morality, and Social Order

While sumptuary laws remained in place, fears about the breakdown of class distinctions were another source of anxiety for moral and social writers, particularly over the course of the eighteenth century. Here again, women’s fashion exemplifies these concerns about class, along with familiar fears about female sexuality. Sumptuary laws attempted to regulate status but, in the case of women, they also attempted to differentiate between the good, gentle wealthy woman and her “fallen” sister, the prostitute. As Emberley (1998, p. 8) notes, the hierarchy of furs and social positions created by these regulatory acts also influenced notions of sexual propriety among different classes of women. At certain times prostitutes were forbidden to wear fur to differentiate them from “respectable women.” However, it was not just sexual morality that was at stake in discourses on women and fashion. Women’s supposed love of fashion, and all that glitters and shines, has been seen as problematic to the general social and moral order. This was true in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries when particular fears about the spread of luxury sometimes focused on women’s supposed insatiable desires for such consumption and the threats they posed to the family, as this tract from 1740 illustrates: “although her children may be dying of hunger, she will take food from their bellies to feed her own insatiable desire for luxury, she will have her silk fashions at any cost” (Jones 1996, p. 37). Thus moral discourse gave way to other kinds of rhetoric: “sartorial offence moved from being defined as a moral transgression to being defined as a social transgression” (Tseëlon 1997, p. 16). While the former was considered indicative of character flaw, the latter indicates a lack of gentility and education and civility. Thus, while moral transgression through clothing was a matter for both sexes, a woman might transgress moral codes in more ways than a man. By being too highly decorated she might be seen to have fallen prey to the sin of vanity (Jones 1996, p. 36).

Masculinity and Morality

While men of aristocratic birth were at least as equally decorated as women, for much of the early modern period right through to the eighteenth century (and indeed, beyond, if one includes military dress), this simple fact did not dilute the association of fashion with femininity. Indeed, when male peacocks were criticized it was often on the grounds of “effeminacy,” for showing too great an interest in fashion was deemed “inappropriate” to masculinity. Sometimes this criticism was leveled on the grounds that male interest in fashion transgressed the rightful division of the genders. At other times, effeminacy was seen as problematic to the image of a nation.

The equation of effeminacy in male attire with the diminution of national interests can be seen in Elizabethan England: In the sermon “Homily Against Excess,” which Queen Elizabeth I ordered to be read out in churches, such associations are described as follows, “yea, many men are become so effeminate, that they care not what they spend in disguising themselves, ever desiring new toys, and inventing new fashions. . . . Thus with our fantastical devices we make ourselves laughing-stocks to other nations” (Garber 1992, p. 27).

As Garber notes, effeminacy here does not mean homosexuality (as it often does) but “self-indulgent” or “voluptuous” and therefore close to “womanly” things. Criticism is leveled at the money, time, and energy devoted by the effeminate man to the “feminine” and “trivial” frivolities of fashion. Similar criticism was directed at the “Macaroni” style (as in the rhyme “Yankee Doodle Dandy”) that was popular among young aristocratic men of the eighteenth century. Macaronis appeared in the English lexicon of 1764 to describe ultra-fashionable young men of noble birth. It was a rather “foppish” style, Italianate and Frenchified, and was criticized on the grounds that this gentleman had “become so effeminate and weak, he became unable to resist foreign threats and might even admire European tyranny” (Steele 1988, p. 31). Men have, therefore, not been immune to sartorial criticism, because it was thought that they should be “above” fashion. However, while moralists and clergymen might hope to dissuade men from decoration, historical evidence illustrates that they, too, have been under the sway of fashion.

Fashion as Irrational

Over the nineteenth century, as fashionable clothing became more widespread, moving from the aristocracy to the new bourgeois classes as part of a more general opening up of consumption, other problems associated with fashion were singled out for criticism. For some, fashionable clothing was indicative of wastefulness associated with new forms of consumption. One key figure in this line of attack is Thorstein Veblen, whose *Theory of the Leisure Class*, first published in 1899, has remained a classic study of fashionable dress in late Victorian times and whose central theoretical tenants are still very much alive in contemporary critiques of consumption. Veblen argues that the newly emerging bourgeoisie express their wealth through conspicuous consumption, conspicuous waste, and conspicuous leisure. Dress is a supreme example of the expression of pecuniary culture, since “our apparel is always in evidence and affords an indication of our pecuniary standing to all observers at the first glance” (Veblen 1953, p. 119). Fluctuating fashions demonstrate one’s wealth and transcendence from the realm of necessity. However, what motivates fashion change is that wastefulness is innately offensive and this makes the futility and expense of fashion abhorrent and ugly. He suggests that new fashions are adopted in our attempt to

escape this futility and ugliness, with each new style welcomed as relief from the previous aberration until that too is rejected. According to Veblen, women’s dress displays these dynamics more than men’s since the only role of the bourgeois lady of the house is to demonstrate her master’s ability to pay, his pecuniary strength to remove her entirely from the sphere of work. The Victorian woman’s dress was also an important indicator of vicarious leisure since she wore clothes that made her obviously incapable of work—elaborate bonnets, heavy and elaborate skirts, delicate shoes, and constraining corsets—testimony to her distance from productive work. Veblen condemns all these traits of fashionable dress, not just because they characterize women as men’s chattel, but also because this fashionability is inherently irrational and wasteful. He calls for dress that is based on rational, utilitarian principles, and his ideas are closely aligned to the principles of many dress reformers (Newton 1974).

Ugly, Futile, and Irrational: The Dress Reform Critiques of Fashion

Veblen was not alone in his condemnation of the fashions of his day. Numerous dress-reform movements emerged in the nineteenth century attacking fashionable dress. These movements were diverse and motivated by different concerns—social, political, medical, moral, and artistic—with some more progressive than others (Newton 1974; Steele 1985). For feminist dress reformers, the way in which narrow shoulders, tight waists, and expansive and awkward petticoats constrained the locomotion of the female body was a real political problem. However, more conservative medical discourses similarly attacked the corset for the way it constrained the reproductive organs, thus damaging women’s reproductive capacities and preventing her from performing her “natural” duties. Indeed, the corset has excited considerable controversy, stimulating intense debate and outright condemnation: For some it is an instrument of physical oppression and sexual objectification (Roberts 1977; Veblen 1953 [1899]), for others, it is a garment asserting sexual power (Kunzle 1982; see also Steele 1988).

While women’s dress, in particular, was singled out for criticism by these reform movements, men’s dress, with its tight collars, fitted waistcoats and jackets, was also criticized by those, such as Flügel, associated with the men’s dress reform movement. The dress of both men and women was seen by some to be “irrational” in that it contorted the body into “unnatural” shapes and was driven by the “crazy” rhythms of fashion considered to be not just archaic to a scientific age, but wasteful and unnecessary. For example, “aesthetic” dress of the late nineteenth century challenged the artificial constrictions of the fashions of the day with a new kind of dress for men and women that was free flowing and more “natural.” At the same time health and hygiene campaigns often singled out women’s dress as unhealthy or unhygienic: It was said that corsets damaged the spleen and internal organs,

particularly the reproductive organs, and the long petticoats picked up the mud, debris, and horse manure that were a constant feature of city streets in the nineteenth century (Newton 1974).

While fashion may be subject to much less criticism today, and no equivalents to the health and hygiene campaigns of the nineteenth century can be found, remnants of some criticisms linger in contemporary commentaries. For example, fashionable dress is still sometimes considered irrational and ugly, especially among intellectuals. Like Veblen, the contemporary philosopher Jean Baudrillard (1981, p. 79) condemns fashion as irrational and ugly, arguing that

Beauty (“in itself”) has nothing to do with the fashion cycle. In fact, it is inadmissible. Truly beautiful, definitely beautiful clothing would put an end to fashion. . . . Thus, fashion continually fabricates the “beautiful” on the basis of a radical denial of beauty, by reducing beauty to the logical equivalent of ugliness. It can impose the most eccentric, dysfunctional, ridiculous traits as eminently distinctive.

Wilson (1987) takes issue with Veblen and Baudrillard’s account of fashion as wasteful and futile since both assume the world should be organized around utilitarian values; “there is no place for the irrational or the nonutilitarian; it was a wholly rational realm” (Wilson 1987, p. 52). A further problem with Veblen’s and Baudrillard’s accounts, according to Wilson, concerns their causal account of fashion change. The idea that fashion is constantly changing in an attempt to get away from ugliness and find beauty is reductive and over-deterministic. Both fail to acknowledge its ambivalent and contradictory nature, as well as the pleasures it affords, and their critique “grants no role to contradiction, nor for that matter to pleasure” (1987, p. 53).

Conclusion

Dress is still, perhaps, accorded less status than furniture, architecture, and other decorative commodities, which are similarly driven by fashion. There is something so intimate, sexual, and moral about what we hang at the margins of our bodies that makes dress susceptible to a kind of criticism that does not accompany the other objects we use. However, despite the fact that men and women wear fashionable dress, it is not considered a matter of equal male and female concern. Associations of fashion with femininity linger, and women’s supposed “natural” disposition to decorate is still considered “trivial” and “silly,” thus leaving women open to greater moral condemnation. While such ideas seem to be less obvious today, the lower status accorded to fashionable dress is evident in the sorts of criticism leveled at women, such as “mutton dressed up as lamb” (of which there is no equivalent term for men), and “fashion victim,” (usually denoting the woman who is a “slave” to her wardrobe). As these phrases suggest, fashion still comes in for moral judgment and criticism.

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

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Joanne Entwistle

FASHION, HISTORICAL STUDIES OF The earliest books on fashion history published in Europe date back to the Renaissance and the early modern period. Between 1520 and 1610, over two hundred books on dress were published in Germany, Italy, France, and Holland. These little books, designed for wealthy consumers, contained wood-engraved plates and minimal text, often in Latin and were focused on contemporary clothing. Curiosity about the foreign and the strange was as intense as ignorance was rife and publications contained fantasized images of the noble savage (the Peruvian, the Florida Indian, the African) set against plates of the fashionable clothes of European aristocracy and the dress of merchants, peasantry, and tradesmen. Between 1760 and 1820 interest in fashion and dress from wealthy consumers encouraged the publication of large folio-size costume books featuring hand-colored, etched copper plates and the new color printing technique of aquatint and, from the 1830s, lithography. Romanticism suffused all these luxury publications, with their emphasis on illus-

tration with brief text, now no longer in Latin. Thomas Jefferys's ambitious four volumes, *Collection of the Dresses of Different Nations, Ancient and Modern* (1757 and 1772), covered dress of the entire known world, including "Old English Dresse after the Designs of Holbein, Vandyke, Hollar and Others." His view of women's fashions was that they were simply "a Decoration of Beauty, and an encitement to Desire."

"Antiquarian" Research into Fashions

A widening fascination with classical dress of ancient Greece and Rome in France led to Michel-François Dandré Bardon's *Costume des anciens peuples* of 1772 and André Lens's *Costume des peuples de l'antiquité* in 1776. These helped to fuel the eventual development of neoclassical fashions. The Gothic Revival too encouraged a wave of European interest in medieval dress history. These books provided "authentic" details of "Gothic" dress for dress-makers as well as artists, architects, and enthusiasts of fancy dress. Interest lasted into the nineteenth century and indeed beyond. The central dress historian of this period in England was Joseph Strutt, an artist and antiquarian. His major work was *A Complete View of the Manners, Customs, Arms, Habits etc. of the Inhabitants of England* (1774, 1775, and 1776) and *Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, 1796 and 1799, which covered the Middle Ages through to the seventeenth century, using literary sources, and medieval manuscripts and monuments.

Dress of the Orient

The passion for an exotic, fantasy "Orient" encompassed Turkey, Arabia, India, China, and finally Japan, and fueled the imaginations of the makers of fashions and fancy dress throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The vogue for Chinese decoration and chinoiserie infiltrated deeply into court and middling circles in Europe from 1680 to 1780 and much artistic and fashion inspiration was drawn from costume books of the period. Jean Baptiste Joseph Breton de la Martinière's *La Chine en miniature, . . . costumes, arts et métiers de cet empire*, with its seventy-four plates, was published in Paris, in 1811–1812. William Miller's *The Costume of China* of 1800 was reprinted in 1805, but with new plates drawn by William Alexander, official draftsman to the embassy of Earl Macarthy from 1792 to 1794 to China.

The elitist fashion vogue for *Turquerie* styles drew on plates from costume books such as William Miller's *The Costume of Turkey* of 1804 and, in 1814, on Jean Baptiste Joseph Breton de la Martinière's *L'Égypte, et la Syrie au moeurs, usages, costumes et monuments des égyptiens, des arabes, et des syriens*. Indian women became exoticized and sexualized, while modified Indian styling also filtered in to European fashionable dress. François Baltasar Solvyns's *Costumes of Indostan* was published in Calcutta in 1798–1799 and in London in 1804. Books with plates of Japanese dress were disseminated from the early nine-

teenth century. Thus, well before the tidal wave of publications of the 1880s and 1890s, Breton de la Martinière's *Le Japon, ou moeurs, usages, et costumes des habitons de cet empire d'après les relations récentes de Krusenstern, Landsdorf, Titzing* was published in Paris by A. Nepveu in 1818.

Rural Europe

From the early nineteenth century a wave of descriptive books on the dress of European peasantry also exerted an influence on fashionable and fancy dress. Utopian notions and Romanticism turned to visions of a rural Europe peopled by a healthy peasantry in picturesque clothing. These costume books are informative and charming but also reveal period imperialist, gender, and stereotypic race and class prejudice. *The Costumes of the Hereditary States of the House of Austria* of 1804, for example, contains both sweet images of romanticized peasant women from all over central, southern, and eastern Europe set against textural and visual anti-Semitism in coverage of Polish Jewish dress. Twenty-three major French works were published between 1810 and 1830 on Breton peasant dress alone, such was the interest.

Books of Historical Dress for Theater and Fancy Dress

The role of historians undertaking research for theater costume and fancy dress purposes has been central to the development of fashion history since the eighteenth century. Thomas Hope's *Costumes of the Ancients* in 1809 was planned as a designer's dictionary, for "the theatrical performer, the ornamental architect and every other artist to whom the knowledge of classical costume is necessary." James Robinson Planché, the major early nineteenth-century British costume historian, not only republished volumes of Strutt but made the first attempt to design historically accurate costumes for a Shakespearean play in 1823. His 1834 *History of British Costume* became the first really popular costume history book, republished in cheaper versions in 1849 and in 1893.

Nineteenth-Century French Histories

In France, Camille Bonnard's *Costume historique des XIIe, XIIIe, XIVe et XVe siècles*, published in Paris by A. Levy fils in 1829–1830, became an important Pre-Raphaelite costume source book. Paris produced, too, Le Comte Horace de Viel-Castel's *Collection des costumes, armes, et meubles*, in four volumes, 1827–1845. Paul Lacroix's long list of publications includes his ten-volume *Costumes historiques de France* published from 1852. Laver declared that Raphael Jacquemin's *Iconographie du costume du IVe–XIXe siècle*, produced in three folio volumes in Paris between 1863 and 1869, was "superb and scholarly." In 1881, Augustin Challamel produced his *Histoire de la mode en France* translated into English and published in 1882 by Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington. In 1888, Firmin Didot published Auguste Racinet's famous and expensively produced six-volume *Le costume historique*.

Fashion, Sociology, and Psychology

While these early generations of descriptive dress history studies, all by male writers, laid the foundation stones of fashion history, it took Thorstein Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) and George Simmel's *Philosophie der Mode* (1905) to launch lasting theoretical debate about the cultural meanings behind fashion development and the causes of variation in consumption patterns. Interestingly, however, their theories made virtually no impact on fashion history until at least sixty years after their publication. A selection drawn from the many new dress history books of the 1900 to 1930 period, including George Clinch's book *English Costume, from Prehistoric Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, for example, of 1909, showed little change from established antiquarian approaches. *Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century* by Oscar Fischel and Max von Boehn is a four-volume German study of fashion from the 1790s onward, first published in 1909, which used a lively choice of cartoons as well as the usual fashion plates. Hilaire Hiler's *From Nudity to Raiment* in 1929 took a painter's interest in the field. With M. Meyer, he produced one of two meticulous costume bibliographies of the 1930s. Theirs was a *Bibliography of Costume*, published by H. W. Wilson in 1939. This followed René Colas's *Bibliographie générale du costume et la mode* of 1933. These carefully researched books were basically descriptive with little detailed study of garments.

Early Object-Centered Dress History

Elisabeth McClellan's unusually progressive study of 1904, however, *Historic Dress in America*, took markedly different approaches. It examined clothing worn in Spanish, French, English, Dutch, Swedish, and German settlements in early North America. This study, little discussed in the early 2000s, is remarkable on several counts. First it was written by a woman; and second, the author worked from a strongly object-based approach, declaring that "some relics of by-gone days have been preserved intact and placed in our hands for the preparation of this book—veritable documents of history on the subject of dress in America" (McClellan 1904, p. 5). Exceptional for studies of this period, hers took care to include everyday working clothes, such as her "Woman in Typical Working Dress 1790–1800" drawn from an original garment from the Stenton house in Philadelphia.

The second, major object-focused study is now a forgotten book by the painter Talbot Hughes, whose dress collection was accepted by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1913. In that same year, interested in dress history for his own genre paintings, he published his *Dress Design—an account of Costume for Artists and Dressmakers—Illustrated by the author from old examples*. The book is illustrated with little line drawings, photographs, and even cutting patterns of surviving clothes from the mid-sixteenth century through the 1870s (Taylor, *Establishing Dress History*, pp. 47–49). Thalassa Cruso, the first cos-

tume curator at the Museum of London, basically a social history museum, also pioneered object-based fashion history. Her ideas were published in the museum's first dress catalog in 1933. She was probably the first woman costume curator to fuse theories related to issues of fashion production and consumption with close garment study.

The Psychology of Dress

The psychology of dress opened up further debates about the functions of dress and fashion. These debates were taken up by Frank Alvah Parsons in New York, whose study of that name was published in 1920, by J. C. Flügel, in his study *The Psychology of Clothes* of 1930, and in the work in England of the dress historians C. W. Cunnington and James Laver from the 1930s.

Thus by 1933, three diverging approaches to the study of fashion were in place—the descriptive, somewhat social history-oriented methods; object-focused research conducted largely but not exclusively by women curators; and the more detached, theoretical approaches developed by male specialists. These divisions remained firmly in place for another fifty years.

The Men Dress Historians

Drawing on Flügel, Dr. C. W. Cunnington, a medical doctor, and James Laver, Keeper of Prints and Drawings at the Victoria and Albert Museum, both took a deep interest in fashion history and in issues of women, style and sexuality, and fashion. Between 1931 and the late 1960s, they published books that successfully opened dress history to a wider popular audience. James Laver produced over fifty books dealing with art, prints, social, theater, and dress history. He understood well the problem of explaining the ephemeral character of fashion to those who still continued to dismiss the field as culturally worthless, defining fashion as "a spear head of taste, or rather it is a kind of psychic weathercock which shows which way the wind blows" (J. Laver 1945, p. 211). Laver's very real understanding of the creative and commercial processes of fashion were coupled with a detailed interest in social history and a profound knowledge of dress history. He died in 1975. By then, through lectures and radio and TV appearances, he had become the popular, articulate public face of British dress history. The Cunningtons' most lasting work was based on object analysis, though C. W. Cunnington also wrote up his own theories on women's motivation for wearing fashionable dress, now considered outdated (Taylor, *Establishing Dress History*, pp. 51–57).

The Women Fashion Historians

It is in this period too that women historians finally make their mark. It is significant within the history of the development of feminine approaches that they chose object-based approaches, much like those of Elisabeth McClellan and Thalassa Cruso. Directional, object-centered publi-

cations in the 1940s by Doris Langley Moore and from the 1950s onward by Anne Buck created methodological approaches that have remained lastingly valid.

Doris Langley Moore, whose personal costume collection formed the basis of the now famous Museum of Costume in Bath, published two much-neglected books: *The Woman in Fashion* of 1949 and *The Child in Fashion* of 1953. Using her own collection, these explored fashionable dress from 1800 on photographed on live models, (her famous actress and theater friends and their children) with carefully correct period hairstyles and in period settings. While this method of illustration is no longer used because of the danger to the garments, both her books contain directional debate that sought to explode popular sartorial myths, such that Regency dress was transparent and that Victorian women had tiny waists. Attacking Flügel and C. W. Cunnington for an overemphasis on women's sexuality as the most significant motivation for wearing fashionable dress, Langley Moore addressed the social and cultural codes hidden within fashionable dress, avoiding the trap of class generalization that Fischel and von Boehn and Cunnington fell into.

C. W. Cunnington's wife, Phillis, also a doctor, who had worked with him on the famous *Handbook* series, began, after his death in 1961, to collaborate with new researchers. Thus, she began producing a now-famous and well-reputed series of dealing with specialist dress histories, including her seminal study *Costume for Births, Marriages and Deaths*.

Anne Buck, as the first Keeper of the Gallery of English Costume at Platt Hall, from 1947 to 1972 quickly established an object-based approach that emphasized both the social function of dress and professional museological methods of conservation and display of clothing artifacts. This exerted a seminal influence in the dress history world after the 1950s. Her meticulously researched publications fused close analysis of clothing examples with archival study and are classic examples of "good practice." Her range of special interests included smocks and English lace making. In 1961 she published her *Victorian Costume and Costume Accessories* and in 1965, *Children's Costume in England from the Fourteenth to the end of the Nineteenth Centuries* (republished in 1996) and *Dress in Eighteenth Century England* of 1979. Once retired and with more time for archival research, she published a series of articles that incorporated new consumption approaches. That Buck centered her work on object-based approaches was rare enough, but rarer still is that her enthusiasms and expertise embraced the clothes of all levels of society.

Another group of women fashion historians developed the work of Talbot Hughes, studying surviving clothing through analysis of the cut and making up garments and specializing in producing cutting patterns of period clothing. Nora Waugh taught theater wardrobe

design at the Central School of Arts and Crafts in London. She published *Corsets and Crinolines* in 1954, *The Cut of Men's Clothes* in 1964, and *The Cut of Women's Clothes* in 1969. Based on patterns drawn up from surviving garments, Waugh added details of style history and making up details but was vague on many sources.

This methodology was further developed by Janet Arnold and explained in her *Handbook of Costume* of 1973. Arnold spent a lifetime exploring dress history through meticulous analysis of the cut of male and female fashionable dress. She was frequently called on by museums on both sides of the Atlantic to advise on dating reconstructing damaged period clothing and often advised on film and theater productions.

New Approaches from the 1980s

From the 1980s, a great range of more open-minded theoretical approaches, derived from other academic fields, transformed the entire field of fashion history study. These included analysis of the semiotics of fashion, new approaches to the coded body (fashionable, subcultural, and male/female, and gay/lesbian). Elizabeth Wilson's work is cited by many as seminal to the acceptance of "fashion" as a legitimate field of study. Wilson's *Adorned in Dreams* of 1985 (revised in 2003), which included a celebration of the enjoyment that women can derive on their own terms from fashionable dress, was a turning point. From the 1980s, interest in fashion history blossomed through new critical approaches flowing out from the developing fields of cultural and gender studies. These have had a dramatic impact on fashion history research as reflected since 1997 in the pages of *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture*, founded and edited by Valerie Steele.

Object-Focused Study

Older, established fashion history methodologies have had to respond to these fresh approaches and have held their ground. Naomi Tarrant, of the Royal Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, in her 1994 book, *The Development of Costume* stressed her conviction that artifact-based approaches remained a vital counterweight to theoretical analysis. Museum fashion history exhibitions in North America and across Europe spawned significantly new types of glossy yet informative and critical shows and catalogs, such as Richard Martin's and Harold Koda's study of orientalism and fashion at the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1994. *Radical Fashion*, curated by Claire Wilcox at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, placed contemporary radical couture and conceptual dress in front of the British public for the first time. Other "designer" exhibitions and catalogs have sparked debate about an overly close relationship between museums and global fashion companies through much-needed financial sponsorship. Some suggest that as the fashion world itself relies more and more on celebrity product endorsement, fashion history too must respond

to the commercial and cultural realities that surround the fashion world in the early 2000s.

Studies on Fashion Designers

The history of the haute couture industry is thus subject to more intensive debate than ever before and studies now move far beyond the usual coffee-table books. Alexandra Palmer's *Couture and Commerce*, for example, is a seminal example of these new approaches. This beautifully illustrated study details the processes of the designing, making, and retailing of Paris couture clothes, as well as their social consumption and cultural meanings to Toronto society in the 1950s.

Conceptual Fashion

The advent of conceptual fashion has triggered new analytical debate in studies by, for example, Caroline Evans, Jennifer Craik, Richard Martin, Joanne Entwistle, and Christopher Breward. The journal *Fashion Theory*, too, has been at the forefront of these developments. Breward writes that “the self constructed role of radical fashion design seems to be to present a very specialized commentary on the vicissitudes of contemporary taste and aesthetics, everything to do with internal fashion culture debate about genre, hierarchy, presentation and style” to be “showcased rather than sold” (Breward 2003, p. 229). Finally, Caroline Evans's seminal 2003 study *Fashion at the Edge* debates conceptual and couture fashion from the 1990s, using fashion development as a tool through which to “pathologize contemporary culture” and to examine its characteristics of “alienation and nihilism.” She discusses conceptual and couture fashion as “a form of catharsis, perhaps a form of mourning and a coping stratagem. . . [It is] the dark side of a free market economy, the loosening of social controls, the rise of risk and uncertainty as key elements of ‘modernity’ and ‘globalization.’ She writes, “The dark history of twentieth century seems finally to have caught up with fashion design” (Evans 2003, p. 308–309).

Thus, fashion studies and fashion history are fields that positively incorporate critical approaches built around anthropology, psychology, history of technology, business, sociology, material culture, and cultural studies. The best examples of good practice are also finally filled with impressive color plates and intelligently fuse object and theory. It is serious debates such as these that confirm the fundamental and central cultural place of fashion within society and that clarify the future directions for the field of fashion history and fashion studies.

See also **Ancient World: History of Dress; Appearance; Fashion, Theories of.**

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Lou Taylor

FASHION, THEORIES OF Fashion involves change, novelty, and the context of time, place, and wearer. Blumer (1969) describes fashion influence as a process of “collective selection” whereby the formation of taste derives from a group of people responding collectively to the zeitgeist or “spirit of the times.” The simultaneous introduction and display of many new styles, the selections made by the innovative consumer, and the notion of the expression of the spirit of the times provide impetus for fashion. Central to any definition of fashion is the relationship between the designed product and how it is distributed and consumed.

Fashion systems model. The study of fashion in the twentieth century has been framed in terms of a fashion systems model with a distinct center from which innovations and modifications radiate outward (Davis 1992). Designers work from the premise of one look, one image for all, with rules about hem lengths and what to wear with what. In this model, the fashion-consuming public develops from an innovative central core, surrounded by receptive bands of fashion consumers radiating outward from the center.

Within this system innovation can originate from a select grouping of designers, such as Christian Dior who introduced the “New Look” in 1947. Influential factors can range from individual tastes, to current events, to marketing and sales promotions. The ultimate qualifier of the fashion systems model is the scope of influence, urging, even demanding, one look for all. The element of conformity is instrumental.

Populist model. An alternative model to the fashion systems model is the “populist” model. This model is characterized as polycentric, where groups based upon

differences of age, socioeconomic status, location, and culture create their own fashion. Such groups might include teenagers in a certain school or senior citizens in a retirement community. Polhemus (1994) describes “styletribes” as a distinct cultural segment that generates a distinctive style of dress and decoration. Such “styletribes” may create their own looks from combining existing garments, creating their own custom colors by tie-dyeing or painting, mixing and matching from previously worn and recycled clothing available in thrift shops and vintage markets. They are not so concerned with one style of dressing as with expressing themselves, though there is an element of conformity that derives from the processes used and the resulting social behavior. Polhemus reflects that such “styletribes” have flourished at “precisely that time in history when individuality and personal freedom have come to be seen as the defining features of our age” (p.14).

The Flow of Fashion

The distribution of fashion has been described as a movement, a flow, or trickle from one element of society to another. The diffusion of influences from center to periphery may be conceived of in hierarchical or in horizontal terms, such as the trickle-down, trickle-across, or trickle-up theories.

Trickle down. The oldest theory of distribution is the trickle-down theory described by Veblen in 1899. To function, this trickle-down movement depends upon a hierarchical society and a striving for upward mobility among the various social strata. In this model, a style is first offered and adopted by people at the top strata of society and gradually becomes accepted by those lower in the strata (Veblen; Simmel; Laver). This distribution model assumes a social hierarchy in which people seek to identify with the affluent and those at the top seek both distinction and, eventually, distance from those socially below them. Fashion is considered a vehicle of conspicuous consumption and upward mobility for those seeking to copy styles of dress. Once the fashion is adopted by those below, the affluent reject that look for another.

Trickle across. Proponents of the trickle-across theory claim that fashion moves horizontally between groups on similar social levels (King; Robinson). In the trickle-across model, there is little lag time between adoption from one group to another. Evidence for this theory occurs when designers show a look simultaneously at prices ranging from the high end to lower end ready-to-wear. Robinson (1958) supports the trickle-across theory when he states that any social group takes its cue from contiguous groups in the social stratum. King (1963) cited reasons for this pattern of distribution, such as rapid mass communications, promotional efforts of manufacturers and retailers, and exposure of a look to all fashion leaders.

Trickle up. The trickle-up or bubble-up pattern is the newest of the fashion movement theories. In this theory

the innovation is initiated from the street, so to speak, and adopted from lower income groups. The innovation eventually flows to upper-income groups; thus the movement is from the bottom up.

Examples of the trickle-up theory of fashion distribution include a very early proponent, Chanel, who believed fashion ideas originated from the streets and then were adopted by couture designers. Many of the ideas she pursued were motivated by her perception of the needs of women for functional and comfortable dress. Following World War II the young discovered Army/Navy surplus stores and began to wear pea jackets and khaki pants. Another category of clothing, the T-shirt, initially worn by laborers as a functional and practical undergarment, has since been adopted universally as a casual outer garment and a message board.

Thus how a fashionable look permeates a given society depends upon its origins, what it looks like, the extent of its influence, and the motivations of those adopting the look. The source of the look may originate in the upper levels of a society, or the street, but regardless of origin, fashion requires an innovative, new look.

Product Innovation

A new look may be the result of innovations in the products of dress, the way they are put together, or the type of behavior elicited by the manner of dressing. A fashionable look involves the form of clothing on the human body and its potential for meaning (DeLong 1998). Meaning can derive from the product, but meaning can also develop from ways of wearing the product, or from the body itself (Entwistle 2000). Fashionable dress embodies the latest aesthetic and what is defined as desirable at a given moment.

Lehmann (2000) describes fashion as a random creation that dies as an innovation is born. He views fashion as contradictory, both defining the ancient and contemporary by randomly quoting from the past as well as representing the present. Robinson (1958) defines fashion as pursuing novelty for its own sake. Lipovetsky (1994) claims that determining factors in fashion are the quest for novelty and the excitement of aesthetic play, while Roche (1994) describes fashion as dynamic change.

Though fashion implies continual change, certain products have persisted over long periods of time, such as blue jeans, which were made a staple of dressing in the United States in the twentieth century. Though blue jeans are a recognizable form, there is the potential for great variety in the product details, including stone washing, dyeing, painting, tearing, and fraying. Blue jeans epitomize the growth of casual fashion and endure because they can change to resonate with the times.

The way products are combined can define a fashionable look. For example, the idea of buying "separates" to mix and match instead of buying complete ensembles has increased the separate purchases of jackets, trousers,

shirts, or blouses. The advent of the concept of separates coincided with the advent of the desired casual look. Mass production of sizes began to reflect a "one size fits all" model of fitting; more consumers could be fitted by choosing among the separate parts than would occur with the purchase of an ensemble with head-to-toe sizing requirements. Acceptance of separates and the growth of leisure was accompanied by a profound change, reflecting the restructuring of consumer societies and an increase in non-work lifestyles (Craik, p. 217).

The Fashion Life Cycle

An innovation is perceived as having a life cycle, that is, it is born, matures, and dies. Rogers's (1983) classic writing spells out rate of change, including characteristics of the product, the market, or audience, the distribution cycle, and those characteristics of individuals and societies where innovation takes place.

Diffusion of innovations. Diffusion is the spread of an innovation within and across social systems. Rogers (1983) defines an innovation as a design or product perceived as new by an individual. New styles are offered each season and whether an innovation is accepted depends upon the presence of five characteristics:

1. Relative advantage is the degree an innovation is seen as better than previous alternatives, in areas such as function, cost, social prestige, or more satisfying aesthetics.
2. Compatibility is the degree to which an innovation is consistent with the existing norms and values of the potential adopters. An innovation is less likely to be adopted that requires a change in values.
3. Complexity concerns how difficult it is to learn about and understand the innovation. An innovation has a greater chance of acceptance if easily learned and experienced.
4. Trialability is the extent to which an innovation may be tested with a limited commitment, that is, easily and inexpensively tried without too much risk.
5. Observability is the ease with which an innovation may be communicated to others.

The individual's role. The fashion adoption process results from individuals making a decision to purchase and wear a new fashion. Rogers (1983) suggests that this process involves five basic stages: awareness, interest, evaluation, trial, and adoption. The individual becomes aware of the fashion, takes an interest in it, and evaluates it as having some relative advantage that could range from a new fabric technology or simply as being consistent with self concept or what one's friends are wearing. If the individual evaluates the fashion positively, the process proceeds to trial and adoption.

The study of the pattern of consumers' adoption of a fashion is often represented by a bell-shaped curve. The life cycle of a specific fashion represented graphically indicates duration, rate of adoption, and level of acceptance.

The graph depicts the rate and time involved in the diffusion process, with the horizontal axis indicating the time and the vertical axis indicating the number of adopters or users (Sproles and Burns 1994). Such graphically portrayed data can be used to calculate the level of acceptance for a fashion. For example, the curve for a fashion that is rapidly adopted but also rapidly declines will show early growth and quick recession. The curve resulting from plotting the data in this way leads to characteristic patterns of fashion adoption, applicable for fads or classics. The graph is also useful to identify type of consumer in terms of when each adopts a fashion within its life cycle. The consumer who adopts the fashion at the beginning of the curve is an innovator or opinion leader; at the peak, a mass-market consumer; after the peak, a laggard or isolate.

Fashion leaders and followers. Theories of fashion distribution all have in common the identification of leaders and followers. The fashion leader often transmits a particular look by first adopting it and then communicating it to others. Fashion followers include large numbers of consumers who accept and wear the merchandise that has been visually communicated to them.

A distinction exists between the role of the innovator and leader. The leader is not necessarily creator of the fashion or the first to wear it. The leader seeks distinction and dares to be different by wearing what the innovator presents as new. By adopting the look, the leader influences the flow or distribution of fashion. But the innovator within a group is also influential in serving as the visual communicator of the style. Historically the leader has been influential in some desirable way and possible leaders include athletes, movie stars, royalty, presidents, or fashion models.

Characteristics and Influencing Factors

Basic tensions addressed by fashion in Western culture are status, gender, occasion, the body, and social regulation. Craik (1994) suggests potential fashion instabilities, such as youth versus age; masculinity versus femininity; androgyny versus singularity; inclusiveness versus exclusiveness; and work versus play (p. 204). Fashion systems generally establish means for self-formation through dress, decoration, and gesture that attempt to regulate such tensions, conflicts, and ambiguities.

Social change and fashion. Social change is defined as a succession of events that replace existing societal patterns with new ones over time. This process is pervasive and can modify roles of men and women, lifestyles, family structures, and functions. Fashion theorists believe that fashion is a reflection of social, economic, political, and cultural changes, but also that fashion expresses modernity and symbolizes the spirit of the times (Lehmann, 2000; Blumer 1969; Laver 1937). Fashion both reflects and expresses the specific time in history.

The tension of youth versus age has influenced dress in the twentieth century. The trend has been toward sep-

arate fashionable images for the younger and older consumer, especially with the burgeoning baby population that followed World War II. Fashions for the young have tended to take on a life of their own, especially with the parade of retro looks of the last decades of the twentieth century that increasingly borrow images of recent time periods. Roach-Higgins (1995) reasons that because fashionable dress requires an awareness of change in the forms of dress within one's lifetime, the older consumer who has experienced that look before may choose not to participate (Roach-Higgins, Eicher, and Johnson, p. 395).

How one dresses for work and play has changed over time. A persistent trend of the twentieth century has been toward coveting leisure time coupled with an increasing need to look leisurely. Wearing casual clothing and leisurewear increased in the 1950s because families moved to the suburbs and engaged in many outdoor activities and sports. Clothing for spectator sports has increased, as has clothing for participation in many sports, such as tennis, golf, jogging, cycling, skiing, and rock climbing. In the 1970s the number of women who adopted pantsuits encouraged the trend to more casual dressing. In the 1990s the workplace was infiltrated by casual dress on Fridays. The formal-informal nature of dress reflects how much importance is placed on dress for work and play, but also the ambiguity and tension involved.

Appearance and identity. Clothes are fundamental to the modern consumer's sense of identity. That criticism of one's clothing and appearance is taken more personally and intensely than criticism of one's car or house suggests a high correlation between appearance and personal identity (Craik, p. 206).

People may buy a new product to identify with a particular group or to express their own personality. Simmel (1904) explained this dual tendency of conformity and individuality, reasoning that the individual found pleasure in dressing for self-expression, but at the same time gained support from dressing similarly to others. Flügel (1930) interpreted paradox using the idea of superior and inferior, that is, an individual strives to be like others when they seem superior but unlike them when they seem inferior. In this way fashion can provide identity, both as an emblem of hierarchy and equalizer of appearance.

Whether or not fashion and the way products are combined upon the body can be considered as a visual language has been a source of discussion in recent years. Barthes (1983) insists that fashion be perceived as a system, a network of relationships. Davis (1992) concludes that it is better to consider fashion as a code and not as a language, but a code that includes expression of such fundamental aspects of an individual as age, sex, status, occupation, and interest in fashion.

Culture, observer, and wearer. Fashion favors the critical gaze of the knowing observer, or the one "in the know," and the wearer who arranges the body for his own

delight and enjoyment. Perceptions of the observer and wearer of fashion are sharpened based upon the many potential variations in lines, shapes, textures, and colors. For example, clothing of French inspiration and origin emphasized contour and cut of dress historically. Fashion changes occurred in the layout of the garment, which in turn focused attention on the silhouette and details, such as bias cutting and shaping (DeLong 1998). In contrast, societies where traditional dress has been worn, Korea, for example, fashion in traditional dress has derived more from the colors, motifs, and patterns adorning the surfaces, with the layout of the garments holding relatively constant. Thus subtle meaning derives not from the proportions of the *chogore* and *chima*, but from the variations found in the treatment of the surfaces (Geum and DeLong 1992).

Dress, agency, and popular culture. Popular culture can be defined loosely as those elements of entertainment that run alongside, within, and often counter to the elite structures of society. In the seventeenth century civilizing agents of aristocratic society included courtly entertainment, tournament, masque ball, and opera. But at the same time, popular culture became subject to increasing entrepreneurial control and commodification, with widening appeal to the urban merchant class (Beward 1995, p.97).

A new conception of popular culture was pertinent to the potential of dress as a communicator of social distinction and belonging. This movement preceded and contributed to the consumer and technological revolutions of the eighteenth century. Today popular culture is enhanced by the influence of mass media, and the medium has become the message, in many ways. According to Wilson (1985), fashion has become the connective tissue of the cultural organism and is essential to the world of mass communication, spectacle, and modernity.

Pursuit of modernity. Fashion is an accessible and flexible means of expressing modernity. The fashionable body has been associated with the city as a locus of social interaction and display (Beward, p. 35; Steele 1998). In the nineteenth century fashion was identified with a sense of contradiction of old and new. Modernity resulted in part from new technologies and a sense of the modern resulting from new ideas of design and consumption. Tensions from a growing commodification of fashionable trends emphasized the worldly and metropolitan. In the twentieth century modernity was identified through various but subtle means, from the way the dress contoured the body, to obvious product branding.

As a means of expressing modernity, Western fashions have been adopted by non-Western societies. In some societies where traditional styles of dress were prevalent, the men were quick to adopt Western business suits. Women have been slower to adopt Western dress in favor of traditional styles that express historical continuity. This creates an ambivalent message related to gender: Are women excluded from the modern world or

are they simply the purveyors of tradition? Traditional dress in South Korea is more often seen on older women on occasions of celebration (Geum and DeLong). Both Chinese men and women have been encouraged recently to adopt Western styles of dress (Wilson 1985).

Gender and dress. A tension exists when women have been assigned the dual role of being fashionable as well as the subordinate gender (Beward 1995). In the last two centuries fashion has been primarily assigned to women, and it follows that fashionable dress and the beautification of the self could be perceived as expressions of subordination. Male dress has been somewhat overlooked. Veblen (1899) in the nineteenth century described separate spheres of the male and female, with feminine sartorial dress as a symbol of enforced leisure and masculine dress a symbol of power. Display and appearance of the body were considered innately feminine pursuits and thus the model was constructed in which overt interest in clothing appearance implied a tendency toward unmanliness and effeminacy. This gave rise to ultra-conservative, non-expressive male dress codes that prioritized the uniformity of the city suit as the model for respectable middle classes for males in most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Beward, p. 170). This model does not entirely explain the way men consumed fashion, for example, the aesthete of the 1880s and dandy of the 1890s.

Such expressions of difference in gender roles and fashionable appearances of men and women also occur in other historical periods. Within medieval culture, the display of masculinity and femininity varied according to class, age, wealth, and nationality. Clothing, fashionably cut, moved toward overt display of the body and its sexual characteristics (Beward, p. 32). Interpretations of a male and female ideal permeated visual and literary interpretations of the human body. The male ideal focused upon proportion, strength, nobility, and grace; the female ideal included diminutive size, delicacy, and heightened color.

In medieval society, concepts of femininity included monopoly on production and maintenance of textiles, clothing, and accessories and the display of patriarchal wealth and status. When the monopoly of women was broken, production of clothing moved from the home to the public sphere. Male-dominated systems of apprenticeships emerged for weavers, cloth cutters, and tailors; the mass production and marketing system was born.

Market Forces and Momentum

The fashion industry has led the way, or followed, depending upon the nature of the fashion and its origins (Wilson 1985). Fashions serve as a reflection of their time and place and can be determined by society, culture, history, economy, lifestyle, and the marketing system. The market for fashion ranges from the world of couture to mass-produced clothing called ready-to-wear.

The couture fashion system and the couturier, who regularly presents a collection of clothing, originated in Paris, France. The couturier caters to the handmade, made-to-measure, exquisite product. In some ways the couturier functions as an artist, but when the product fails that designer ceases to exist. In this way the couturier walks a fine line between artist and industrialist (Baudot, p.11). The dominance of Paris as an international center depends as much on its sophistication as a fashion center as on the superiority of its clothing (Steele 1998).

Other countries beside France have taken on fashion leadership—notably, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and each country has placed its unique stamp on fashion (Agins 1999). For example, Milan, the hub of the Italian fashion industry is close to the country's leading textile mills in the Lake Como region. The Italians not only produce beautiful fabrics, they also design beautiful clothes as exemplified by such notable talents as Giorgio Armani and Krizia.

Though some may consider fashion frivolous, it is also considered a serious, lucrative business in capitalist society. The United States has been a leader in the technologies required for mass production and mass marketing of apparel, making fashion a democratic possibility, available to all.

Mass production and democratization of clothing. To provide clothing at moderate cost for all citizens took two primary developments, mass production and mass distribution (Kidwell and Christman 1974). Mass production required developing the technology for middle-quality clothing that could be made available for the majority. Mass distribution required the retailing of ready-made clothing and innovations in salesmanship and advertising. Department stores sprang up in every city following the Civil War and by the end of the century, mail-order houses were developed sufficiently to reach all citizens in the United States.

The clothing revolution that occurred in the twentieth century in the United States was a double revolution. The first was the making of clothing, from the homemade and custom-made to the ready-made or factory-made; the second was the wearing of clothing, from clothing of class display where clothing was worn as a sign of social class and occupation, to the clothing of democracy where all could dress alike. According to Kidwell and Christman (1974), in the eighteenth century anyone walking in Philadelphia or Boston could easily have distinguished towns people from country folk by the striking differences in their clothing. Clothing was distinctive because of differences in textiles and clothing construction. America was dependent upon England's textile industry so the rich purchased fine-quality silks, woolens, and cottons while others had limited access to fabrics that were coarse and middle to low grade. The tailor and dressmaker made clothing for the rich and the amateur made clothing for the average person.

In the nineteenth century, the industrial revolution brought the machine, the factory, and new sources of power. A series of great inventions mechanized the making of yarn and cloth. By 1850 machines included the invention and distribution of a practical sewing machine that was quickly adopted for men's shirts and collars and women's cloaks, crinolines, and hoopskirts. By the end of the nineteenth century, machine cutting was standard; pressing became more efficient. Men began to look and dress alike, and the sameness of their dress made multiple production by machine entirely possible.

Ready-made clothing for women lagged behind what was available for men. In 1860 ready-mades for women included only cloaks and mantillas, and dressmakers continued to supply women's fashions. Women of limited income made their own clothing, thus saving their clothing dollars for male family members. The department store and mail order were established means of distribution in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

In the early twentieth century, the mass-manufacturing process was organized and capable of producing clothing for both men and women. Thus was born an industry of industries, each with a system of organization to create ready-made clothing for everyone (Kidwell and Christman 1974). Though fashion always was an identifier of person, mass production equalized every person's opportunity to identify.

Marketing and distribution systems. Entwistle (2000) describes fashion as the product of a chain of activities that includes industrial, economic, cultural, and aesthetic. Changes in production and marketing strategies allowed for the expansion in consumer activity during the second half of the eighteenth century that led to increased consumption and the speeding up of the fashion cycle. This led to an increase in fashions that could be selected to reflect specific and individual circumstances.

In the twentieth century consumer choice was affected by means of mass distribution including chain stores, mail order, and Internet shopping. Chain stores have made fashion accessible within a relatively short drive for most consumers. Mail order has enabled a consumer in a remote area to follow fashion trends, select an appropriate garment, and place an order for ready-made clothing. Internet shopping relies on a person's access to a computer. Chain stores, mail order, and Internet shopping have extended the reach of fashion and created new consumer groups.

A Historical Perspective

Fashion is viewed broadly as a chronology of changing forms and a critique of wider cultural influences and their historical interpretation (Carter 2003; Johnson, Tortore, and Eicher 2003). The history of fashion reveals the importance of changes in appearance, but also the way fashion is conceived, who participates, and for what and how many occasions. The middle years of the fourteenth cen-

tury have been identified as the first period of significant fashion change, generally related to the rise of mercantile capitalism in European cities (Lipovetsky 1994; Roche 1994; Breward 1995; Tortore and Eubank 1998). At that time, fashion became a practice of prestigious imitation among social groups and changes in tastes occurred often and were extensive enough for people to gain an appetite for new fashions in dress (Lipovetsky 1994; Roche 1994; Breward 1995). With class distinctions on the wane and an accelerated rate of stylistic change, the specific character of dress was associated with gender and the circumstance of different lifestyles. In the history of fashion, modern cultural meanings and values, especially those that elevate newness and the expression of human individuality to positions of dignity have allowed the fashion system to come into being and establish itself (Lipovetsky, p. 5).

The rise of fashion is associated with “the civilizing process” in Europe. The medieval woman engaged in what became the feminine pursuits of weaving, textile work, and fashion. Fashion in medieval society had a direct impact on the emerging of the individual, on self-knowledge, and understanding one’s place in the world (Breward, p. 34). The body provided a principal means of expression through clothing; for example, to throw down one’s glove was an act of defiance that committed a person to certain actions. The deliberate manipulation of the social meanings attached to clothing helped initiate a heightened sense of the significance of fashion.

Though fashion was first created for the privileged few, in the late nineteenth and twentieth century mass production made fashion accessible to the majority. In the nineteenth century the distinguishing feature of fashion was its imposition of an overall standard that nevertheless left room for the display of personal taste. Fashion change accelerated with major apparel changes occurring in twenty-year intervals.

The twentieth century is characterized as the age of mass production, mass consumption, and mass media. Mass fashion became a form of popular aesthetics and a means of self-enhancement and self-expression. Advances in technology and materials used for clothing production provided more comfortable, cheaper, and more attractive items to a larger proportion of the population. In the early twentieth century, mass consumption of fashionable dress increased within the sphere of fashion promotion and advertising, leading to unlimited diversification. The fashion industry became more complex and fashion intervals shortened to ten years (Tortore and Eubank 1998).

Mass media has allowed for wide dissemination of fashion information and opportunities for the stimulation of a more homogeneous public imagination. The fashion magazine and the Hollywood film brought fashionable models to a hugely expanded audience from the 1920s onward. Examples of fashionable dress were often made available through the expansion of chain stores and mail-

order companies. At the same time, a reorganization of business practices, of marketing and advertising, prioritized certain strands of society as fashion leaders. A cult of the designer, revolving around ideals of couture and high fashion or strong subcultural identities, ensured the survival of hierarchies based on notions of quality, style, and individuality (Breward, p. 183).

Steele (2000) surmised that in 1947 when Christian Dior launched his “New Look,” it was still possible for a fashion designer to transform the way a woman dressed. The postwar transformation was remarkable, from the war years of boxy shoulders, rectangular torso, and short skirts to the postwar look of narrow shoulders, nipped-in waist, padded hips, and long, full, flowing skirts. You could like it or hate it, but the look was the fashion, regardless (Steele 2000, p. 7).

Today major fashion changes occur frequently, but the choices and selections have increased so that mainstream fashion is one choice among many, including recycled clothing, vintage clothing, and wearable art. Also the easily recognizable rules of fashion, such as rigid proportions, hem lengths, and silhouettes now relate more to the particular look of one group than to a fashionable look for all. Agins (1999) has declared the end of fashion, but only as it has been known historically.

See also **Fashion, Historical Studies of; Trickle-Down.**

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Marilyn Revell DeLong

FASHION ADVERTISING Fashion advertisements have their own stylistic modes and spheres of production and consumption, involving the interrelationship of word and image among other things. Yet, technological and social changes in clothing and retailing, and the impact of class, gender, and race politics, also have to be taken into account. Early forms of fashion promotion that orig-

inated in the eighteenth century, for example, overlapped with the rise of urban culture and shopping and embraced diverse forms of promotion, some of which we might not strictly recognize today as advertising. In the first instance, the majority of retailers regarded the creation of an enticing shop façade and interior as sufficient means for attracting and establishing a suitable clientele. This would subsequently be complemented by the circulation of handbills and trade cards, and to a lesser extent by press advertising, all of which were used to reinforce the reputation of the shop in question rather than to publicize the sale of particular wares. In the *London Evening Post* for 24 April 1741, for example, the haberdasher John Stanton placed an advertisement, not to tell the public about the goods he sold but to inform them of a change of trading address. Otherwise, newspaper advertisements were occasionally used by large-scale retailers and manufacturers to promote both new and secondhand goods at fixed prices, and from the 1760s tailors also began to advertise different items of male and female clothing. The emphasis of such publicity was the printed word and the general format was the list, enumerating the items on offer and how much they cost. By contrast, more alluring pictorial representations of the latest fashions were available as engraved or etched plates, displayed for sale in print sellers' windows and also incorporated into such volumes as Heidelhoff's *Gallery of Fashion* (1794–1802) and intermittently in magazines like the *Lady's Magazine*.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the nexus between what Roland Barthes refers to as image-clothing and written clothing in *The Fashion System* became more evident in French and British publications, such as the *Cabinet des Modes*, *La Belle Assemblée*, and Ackermann's *Repository of Arts*, where illustrations were accompanied by captions and editorials concerning changes in the styles of fashion. These titles were the forerunners of such popular illustrated weeklies as the *Illustrated London News* (ILN), *Graphic*, *Lady's Pictorial*, and *Ladies' Home Journal*, which had sprung up by the mid-nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic to cater to middle-class readers and in which the first distinctly recognizable alpha-pictorial advertisements for clothing retailers appeared. Many of these promotions, however, were similar in approach to the "reason why" format of their antecedents since they consisted of straightforward wood-engraved illustrations of women—and men—wearing the garments alongside text that relates the cost of the clothing represented and where it could be purchased. Occasionally more suggestive or atmospheric forms of advertising, in which the product appeared in a situational context, cropped up. Thus press promotions during the 1880s and 1890s in *Lady's Pictorial* and *Graphic* for "My Queen" Vel-Vel, a velvet for dressmaking, resorted to the trope of Queen Victoria as consumer. In them, she is embodied in a domestic setting as a saleswoman unfurls the fabric before her. Yet, Victoria's detached gaze and demeanor transcend the material situation, and it is rather

her majestic aura that symbolically bestows favor on the fabric and invests it with value.

By the turn of the century, the color lithographic poster, pioneered by Jules Chéret in France, had also become a popular form of advertising internationally, although there are few extant examples relating directly or exclusively to fashion promotion. In 1900, for instance, H. G. Gray produced a poster to publicize the latest fashions on sale at the Parisian department store Prix Unique. Publicity for some manufacturers also tended to a form of double symbolism; hence an 1885 poster for the American company New Home Sewing Machine, representing a mother painting and a daughter playing with a cat in their new clothes, not only represented the products that such domestic technologies enabled but the leisure time that they also afforded middle-class women.

The seeds for a modern, atmospheric form of fashion advertising, therefore, were sown by the late nineteenth century. Not until the twentieth century, and especially the interwar period, did an evident quantitative and qualitative shift take place in the promotion of fashion and clothing for women and men. This was due in no small measure to the expansion of the ready-to-wear and bespoke markets, as well as the professionalization of the advertising industry itself, which had begun to get involved more systematically with market segmentation and to probe what made different types of consumers tick in terms of sex, age, and class. At the same time, the impact of modernist aesthetics, the role of the copywriter, and the deployment of avant-garde designers and photographers also greatly transformed fashion advertising.

Prussian-born Hans Schleger (alias Zéró) was probably the most renowned of this new breed of commercial artists, and he worked both in Europe and America. Between 1925 and 1929, he was hired by outfitters Weber and Heilbronner of New York to transform their advertising campaigns. To this end he devised press advertisements that dynamically conveyed a sense of rhythm and proportion, such that the layout of asymmetric or expressive typeforms into wave or wedge formations was complemented by the shape and directional thrust of the illustrations or photographs. In 1929, he struck up an association with the pioneering British advertising agency W. S. Crawford (founded 1914), which held accounts for Wolsey hosiery and Jaeger amongst others. Working in collaboration with the copywriter G. H. Saxon Mills, he created imaginative promotions for Charnaux corsets that appeared in *Vogue* during the 1930s and that used sporting metaphors to emphasize the idea of health and freedom in the design and wearing of undergarments.

America took the lead in pioneering the evolution of photographic advertising during the early 1920s, with Clarence White, who had founded a school of photography in New York in his own name in 1914 and the Art

Center in 1921, becoming one of the first apologists for its application. The modern style he advocated was based on sharp focus, simple geometry, and oblique perspectives, and manifested itself in the photography of the school's most well-known graduates, Edward Steichen and Paul Outerbridge. The former promulgated the idea of straight photography in advertising campaigns for Real-silk hosiery in *Ladies' Home Journal* between 1927 and 1937, and the former in his campaign for the Ide Shirt Collar, which was photographed in stark isolation against a checkerboard and published in *Vanity Fair* in November 1922. In Europe, similar ideas had taken root during the 1920s with the advent of the Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity). Thus, László Moholy-Nagy, in "How Photography Revolutionizes Vision" (1933), espoused a battery of different techniques, including photomontage and the photogram, and a range of different stylistic approaches to the object, such as the introduction of the greatest contrasts, the use of texture and structure, and the use of different or unfamiliar perspectives that offered "new experiences of space." All of these formal concerns are evident in an advertisement in *Punch* in 1933 for Austin Reed shirts featuring a color photograph of bales of material, which invites us to contemplate everyday objects from a fresh vantage point.

The photographic forms of fashion advertising that had begun to supplant the use of hand-drawn illustrations during the 1930s continued unabated after World War II. By the mid-1950s the market for teenage and youth fashions had also influenced the sexual iconography of many advertisements. A common motif in press promotions during the 1960s for designers as diverse as Mary Quant and Dior, and garments from miniskirts to coats and trousers to tights, was the woman-child, represented clowning in playful poses or pouting provocatively. Between 1961 and 1963, photographs by David Olins of "the girl" wearing a man's shirt were also deployed in poster and press ads to promote the Tootal brand. At the same time, the male consumer was drawn into this ornamental realm of desire and in promotions for Newman Clothing during the 1960s was depicted as the object of the adoring female admirers who surrounded him. But it would be erroneous to argue that men had not been objectified in this way before; in poster advertisements for Pope and Bradley in 1911–1912 and in many of those by Tom Purvis for Austin Reed during the 1930s, as well as press advertisements for multiple tailors like the Fifty Shilling Tailors, the fashionable peacock was connoted as someone who could turn women's heads.

Since the 1960s it is probably more casual forms of dress, and jeans in particular, that have made an appeal on television and in the press to both men and women in terms of sexual desire. As competition between brands and designer labels heated up in the late 1970s and early 1980s, advertisers began to fetishize the contour-hugging nature of denim. Thus press ads for Calvin Klein, fea-

turing Brooke Shields, and for Jordache traded on close-ups of pert buttocks clad in jeans. In this vein, the retro British television campaign for Levi 501's (masterminded by Bartle, Bogle and Hegarty and screened in 1985–1986), which featured Nick Kamen stripping down to his boxer shorts in a launderette, initiated a more subtle and ambiguous form of sexual objectification.

Interestingly, although Levi's are sold across the world, publicity for the brand has not been orchestrated on a multinational basis. In comparison with the retro-styled British television and press campaigns of the 1980s, for instance, in America the "501 Blues" television advertisements traded on the idea of nonconformity by associating the product with contemporary street-smart individuals and blues music, while press advertisements tended to foreground the idea of jeans as leisure wear on a more conventional or "reason-why" level with images of men playing pool or dressing down for the weekend. At the same time, in Japan, the retro association of Levi's and the 1950s was symbolized by images of James Dean.

One company that has promoted itself on a multinational basis is Benetton, and in doing so, it has transformed the way that clothing can be publicized. Under the banner "United Colors of Benetton," the company's artistic director Oliviero Toscani mobilized fashion advertising to promote historical and ideological consciousness of issues as wide as race and national identities, religion, and HIV/AIDS. Between 1985 and 1991, he juxtaposed young people of disparate ethnic origins in the hope of encouraging racial tolerance, and since that time he has manipulated existing news photographs, such as a man shot dead by the Mafia, or created politicized images, such as his photograph of blood-stained garments worn by a dead militant in the Serbo-Croat conflict, to connote a similar message of national and international harmony. Such events have little or nothing to do with Benetton per se, whose exploitative production methods have themselves been subject to moral scrutiny, and it is debatable whether they draw more attention to the company rather than raising awareness of the issues with which they purport to be concerned. Nonetheless Benetton advertising remains at the cutting edge artistically and ideologically, and not least in the way that it has encouraged other fashion advertisers to deal with the ambiguities of sexual and racial identities.

The leitmotiv of many promotions for clothing at the turn of the millennium, therefore, has been the queering of femininities and masculinities, such that the normative dynamics of spectatorial pleasure and the gaze are leitmotiv problematized (much as they had been earlier in the twentieth century in the homoerotic advertisements designed by J. C. Leyendecker for the Arrow Shirt Collar). Key examples of this kind of promotion since the 1990s include advertisements for Versace, Calvin Klein, Dolce & Gabbana, Diesel, Ben Sherman, Northwave Shoes, and Miss Sixty, all of which exploit the tension between straight and gay identities for men and women,

and white and nonwhite spectators alike. At the same time, some designers like Vivienne Westwood and Yves Saint Laurent, and companies like Diesel have made post-modern intertextual references between well-known works of art or the cult of media celebrity and their own products not only to deconstruct the meaning of personal identities but also to undermine the distinction between the representation and reality of fashion itself.

See also **Art and Fashion; Economics and Clothing; Fashion Magazines; Fashion and Homosexuality; Retailing.**

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Paul Jobling

FASHION AND HOMOSEXUALITY Throughout the twentieth century, clothing has been used by lesbians and gay men as a means of expressing self-identity and of signaling to one another.

Male Cross-Dressing

Even before the twentieth century, transvestism and cross-dressing among men were associated with the act of sodomy. By the eighteenth century, many cities in Europe had developed small but secret homosexual subcultures. London's homosexual subculture was based around inns and public houses where "mollies" congregated. Many of the mollies wore women's clothing as both a form of self-identification and as a means of attracting sexual partners. They wore "gowns, petticoats, headcloths, fine laced shoes, furbelowed scarves, and masks; [and] some had riding hoods; some were dressed like milk maids, others like shepherdesses with green hats, waistcoats, and petticoats; and others had their faces patched and painted" (Trumbach, p. 138).

Male homosexuals continued to cross-dress in both public and private spaces throughout the nineteenth century. In the 1920s, the Harlem drag balls offered a safe space for gay men (and lesbians) to cross-dress. Similarly the Arts Balls of the 1950s in London offered an opportunity denied in everyday life. Cross-dressing performers, commonly known as drag queens, used women's clothes to parody straight society and create a gay humor. One of the greatest American drag performers was Charles Pierce, who began his career in the 1950s, and was best known for his impersonations of film stars such as Bette Davis and Joan Crawford. The tradi-



Una, Lady Troubridge, 1924. The period between the two world wars saw a rise in the visibility of lesbians. This oil-on-canvas portrait by artist Romaine Brooks typifies the masculinized lesbian dress of the period. Note the wing collar, monocle, and men's jacket. © SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC/ART RESOURCE, NY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tion has been carried on by gay drag performers such as American performers Divine and RuPaul and British television star Lily Savage.

Effeminacy

Overt gay men, who did not want to go so far as to cross-dress, sometimes adopted the most obvious signifiers of female mannerisms and dress: plucked eyebrows, rouge, eye makeup, peroxide blond hair, high-heeled shoes, women's blouses. In America it was illegal for men (and women) to cross dress unless attending a masquerade. At least three items of clothing had to be appropriate to the gender. Adopting such an appearance was dangerous, for it was risky to be overtly homosexual. In his autobiography, *The Naked Civil Servant* (1968), Quentin Crisp recalls being stopped a number of times by police because of his effeminate appearance. However, the risks were worthwhile for many. Dressing as a "flaming queen" was a means of entering into the subculture of gay society. Also, by adopting female characteristics and by adhering to strict gendered rules of sexual behavior, queens could attract allegedly "normal," straight sexual partners. The adoption of effeminate dress codes began to wane with the rise of gay liberation, but has continued to play a role in gay life.

Masculinity and Lesbian Dress

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the adoption of male dress was a means for many women, including many lesbians, to protest the status of women and the roles assigned them by patriarchal societies. Cross-dressing had been and continued to be utilized by women to allow them to "pass" as men and be accepted. Some, like writer George Sand and painter Rosa Bonheur utilized the methods in order to have their professional work be taken seriously. The period between the two World Wars saw a rise in lesbian visibility. The typical masculinized lesbian dress of the period is typified by the wing collar, monocle, and man's jacket worn by Lady Una Troubridge (lover of Radclyffe Hall, author of *The Well of Loneliness*) in her portrait by Romain Brooks. In America, lesbian performers such as Ma Rainey and Gladys Bentley wore men's top hat and tails to express their identity, while bisexual film stars Greta Garbo and Marlene Dietrich wore masculine clothes both on- and offscreen.

Until the 1970s, the public image of lesbians was very much centered on masculinity. As a means of asserting difference and signaling to other lesbians, many women-loving women adopted certain "masculine" markers, such as a collar and tie or trousers. In America, it was illegal for women to dress completely in men's clothes, and they were required to wear "three pieces of women's clothing" (Nestle, p. 100). Public reaction was not sympathetic to "butch" lesbians. American lesbian writer and activist Joan Nestle "walked the streets looking so butch that straight teenagers called [her a] bulldyke" (Nestle, p. 100).

Not all lesbian women felt drawn to the adoption of male clothing, preferring instead more conventional female attire: makeup, high-heeled shoes, and skirts. Many accounts of lesbian bar life note the prevalence of "butch" and "femme" identities and behavior, where butch lesbians were expected to form relationships only with femme lesbians, and lesbians were expected to identify with one role or the other.

Subtle Signifiers

The illegality of homosexuality and the moral disapproval that it attracted forced gay men and lesbians to live virtually invisible lives in the first part of the twentieth century. Up until the gay liberation movement of the late 1960s, the most important criterion of dressing in public, for the mass of gay men and lesbians, was to be able to "pass" as heterosexual. Despite this need, many were aware of the dress codes and items that could be used to signal sexual orientation. These symbols of identity often took the form of a specific type or color of accessory and, like other secret symbols, developed and changed over time. The primary signifier at the time of the Oscar Wilde trials in the 1890s was the green carnation. Indeed, the color green had been associated with the effeminate and sometimes sodomitical macaronis of the 1770s and continued to have gay associations in clothing through the first part of the twentieth century. George Chauncey notes that in 1930s New York City, green suits were the badge of open "pansies." Other signifiers for gay men included a red necktie (worn in New York City before World War II) and suede shoes (one of the most international and enduring gay signifiers). Lesbian signifiers included accessories such as ties and cufflinks, short haircuts (particularly the "Eton crop" of the 1920s), and the color violet.

Menswear Revolution

During the "menswear revolution" of the 1960s, the association of fashion and homosexuality began to diminish. With the rise in subcultural fashions and the dissemination of Carnaby Street fashions around the world, it was suddenly acceptable for young men to be interested in fashion, and to spend time and money on clothes and appearance. Carnaby Street fashions were initially sold to a gay "theatrical and artistic" clientele by a former physique photographer by the name of Vince from a shop near Carnaby Street. John Stephen, who was later to be known as the "King of Carnaby Street," had worked at Vince's shop and produced the clothes faster, cheaper, and for a younger market. In America, too, a close-fitting "European style" worn primarily by gay men, was sold from "boutiques" in Greenwich Village, New York, and West Hollywood in Los Angeles.

Gay Men and Masculinity

By the late 1960s, lesbians and gay men throughout the Western world had begun to question their position as

second-class citizens and their stereotype as effeminate “queens” or “butch dykes.” Along with the demands for equality and recognition, lesbians and gay men began to address their appearance. There had always been gay men who dressed in a conventionally masculine style, but in the early 1970s, gay men in New York and San Francisco looked to the epitomes of American masculinity—the cowboy, the lumberjack, the construction worker—for inspiration for a new dress style. The clones, as they were known, adopted the most masculine dress signifiers they could find—work boots, tight Levi’s, plaid shirts, short haircuts, and moustaches. Their clothes were chosen to reveal and celebrate the contours of the male body.

Some clones also developed their sexual tastes by experimenting with sadomasochism. Consequently, they sometimes adopted a “leatherman” appearance and lifestyle, which involved a strict codification of dress and a new system of signifiers, most notably colored handkerchiefs in a back pocket, specifying particular sexual interests. The hypermasculine image has continued to be important even after the supposed death of the clone in the late 1980s, when the image became associated with an older generation of pre-AIDS gay men. Gay men have interpreted and demonstrated their masculine looks through the celebration of muscular “gym” bodies and clothing that shows off those bodies, as well as the emergence of other masculine subcultural styles such as the shaven-headed, boots and braces wearing, but not necessarily racist skinhead.

Post-Liberation Lesbian Style

The advent of both the women’s and gay-rights movements led to a questioning of the stereotyped dress choices previously available to lesbians. Trousers had become increasingly acceptable for women from the 1950s, and during the 1960s it became more difficult to identify lesbians on the grounds of trouser-wearing. “Androgyny” became a key word in fashion, and this manifested itself in various ways. Initially, the move was toward a feminine look for men, but the radical lesbian and gay community rejected this in favor of a more masculine look for both men and women.

The rise of radical feminism saw a rejection of fashion-forced femininity. Flat shoes, baggy trousers, unshaved legs, and faces bare of makeup made a strong statement about not dressing for men. Radical feminist politics during the 1970s took this to an extreme as a new stereotype was born—that of the dungaree-wearing, crew-cut lesbian feminist.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a new diversification in lesbian dress. The breakdown of the old butch and femme divides, the changes instigated in women’s dress by feminism and punk, and the increasing visibility in public life of lesbians opened up the debate about what lesbians could and should wear. One of the most significant developments was the appearance of the lipstick lesbian

(also known as glamour or designer dyke). Dress styles signaled a move away from the traditional butch or radical-feminist styles and allowed out gay women to develop a fashionable urban look that combined signifiers of lesbianism or masculinity with fashionable women’s dress. However, critics accused lipstick lesbians of hiding behind a mask of heterosexuality.

The Fashion Industry

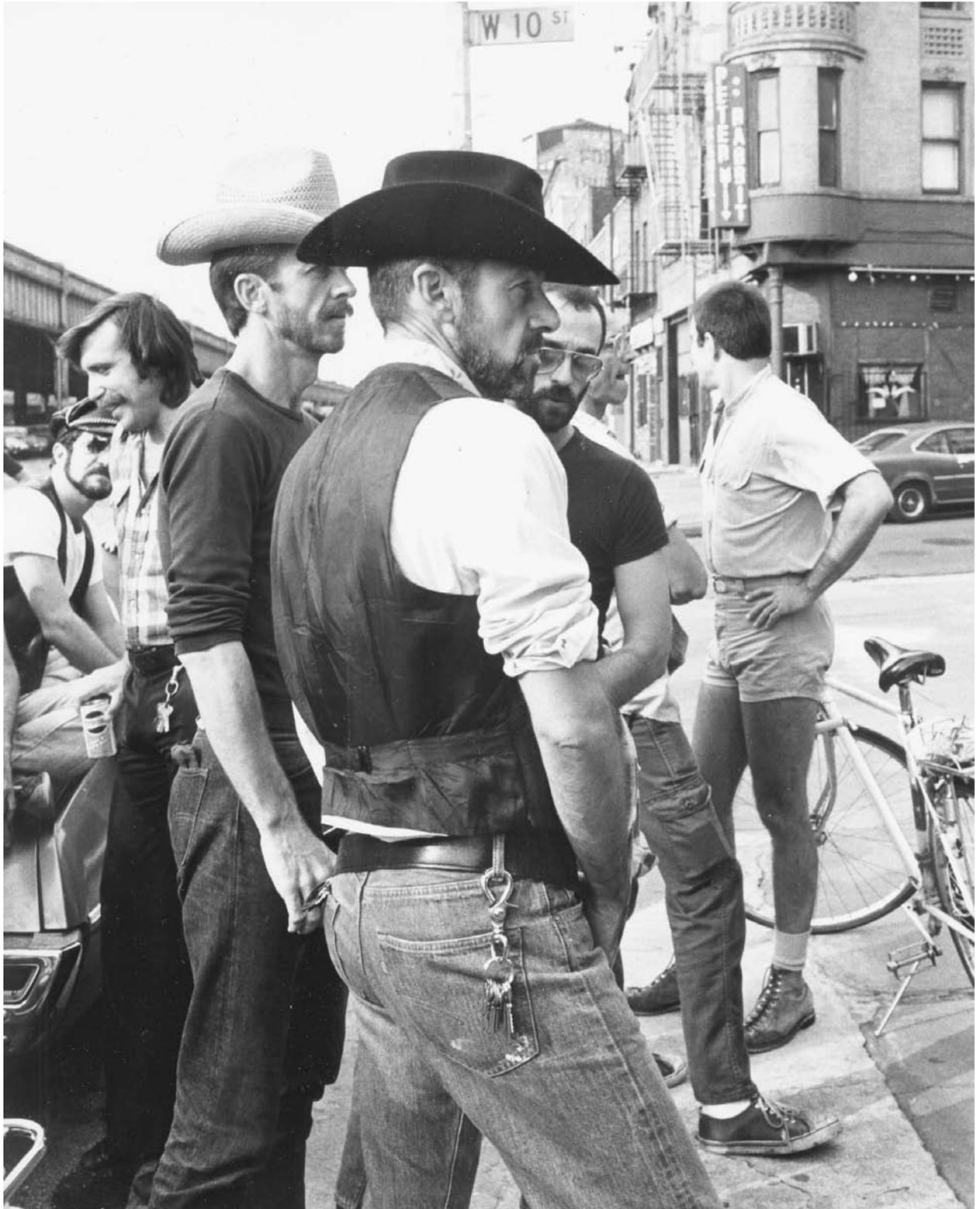
The large proportion of gay men who have worked in creative fields of fashion and the theater and service industries, such as catering, has been well documented by historians such as Ross Higgins, whose study highlighted the involvement of gay men at all levels of the fashion industry in Montreal.

Throughout the twentieth century, many of the top couture fashion designs were gay, even though social pressure called for them to keep their sexuality quiet if not secret. Indeed, many of the greatest names in twentieth-century fashion were gay or bisexual, including such figures as Christian Dior, Cristobal Balenciaga, Yves Saint Laurent, Norman Hartnell, Halston, Rudi Gernreich (who was one of the founding members of the first American homophile organization, the Mattachine society), Calvin Klein, and Gianni Versace.

As designers took over from traditional tailors and gentleman’s outfitters in men’s fashion, a new gay influence became evident. Because gay men were often more willing to experiment with new ideas, styles, and fabrics in clothing, designers such as Jean-Paul Gaultier began to look at what was happening at street level and in gay clubs for ideas for their men’s collections. Moreover, gay men bought clothes that were influenced by and styled toward a gay aesthetic, so their taste influenced fashion in both obvious and subtle ways.

The advent of the “new man” (as a media icon) in the 1980s was a result of men’s reaction to major social changes brought about by a second wave of feminism. As a consequence, it became acceptable for straight men to be interested in their appearance, clothes, and grooming products. New magazines aimed at a wider, heterosexual male consumer were published, but even here a gay influence could be perceived. It was not just that gay designers were creating the looks, but gay stylists, hairdressers, and photographers all exerted a fashion influence. For example, stylist Ray Petri (featured in *The Face*, *i-D*, and *Arena* magazines) drew on looks that he saw in gay clubs to create a whole new style known as Buffalo. Buffalo style dressed black and white, gay and straight models in an unlikely mix of elements such as cycling shorts, flight jackets, skirts, hats, and boots.

The early 1990s saw the advent of “lesbian chic” in the fashion world. This manifested itself most visibly in a series of photographs in *Vanity Fair* in 1993, including a cover that featured lesbian singer k. d. lang cavorting with supermodel Cindy Crawford.



Homosexual men in cowboy clothing. In the 1970s, gay men began to look to traditional icons of masculinity for fashion inspiration, donning rugged clothing that showed off the physique. PHOTO BY LEONARD FINK, LESBIAN, GAY, BISEXUAL & TRANSGENDER COMMUNITY CENTER. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Today it is perfectly acceptable for straight men to be interested in fashion and to be obvious consumers of clothes, grooming products, and fashion or “lifestyle” magazines. Popular figures, such as soccer player David Beckham, are avid consumers of clothes and even acknowledge their debt to gay men’s influence on fashion. In an age where homosexuality is tolerated and to a great extent accepted in major urban centers, it has become increasingly difficult to distinguish gay and straight men, and lesbians and straight women, on the basis of their dress. Acknowledging this, Elizabeth Wilson poses the following question: “Throughout the queer century we have disguised and revealed our deviant desires in dress, masquerade, disguise. Now that everyone’s caught on in a postmodern world, what do we have to do to invent new [gay and] dyke style?” (Wilson, 177)

See also **Fashion and Identity; Gender, Dress, and Fashion.**

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Shaun Cole

FASHION AND IDENTITY Identity is one of the most compelling and contentious concepts in the humanities and social sciences. Fashion becomes inextricably implicated in constructions and reconstructions of

identity: how we represent the contradictions and ourselves in our everyday lives. Through appearance style (personal interpretations of, and resistances to, fashion), individuals announce who they are and who they hope to become. Moreover, they express who they do *not* want to be or become (Freitas et al., 1997). Appearance style is a metaphor for identity; it is a complex metaphor that includes physical features (for example, skin, bodily shape, hair texture) as well as clothing and grooming practices. Because the latter are especially susceptible to change, they are prone to fluctuating and fluid ways of understanding oneself in relation to others within the larger context of fashion change.

Appearance style visually articulates multiple and overlapping identities such as gender, race, ethnicity, social class, sexuality, age, national identity, and personal interests, aesthetic, and politics. Not all of these identities are consciously present at any given moment; power relations influence one’s awareness of one identity or another. Privileged identities (such as whiteness, masculinity, heterosexuality) are often taken for granted as being “normal” or “natural.” But because identities intersect and overlap, their representation is seldom simple. From a cultural studies perspective, identities have not only histories but also futures: They come from somewhere, they are complex and contradictory, and they enable us to express who we might become (Ang 2000).

Expressing who we are and are becoming in words can be a challenge; appearance style seems to offer a way of articulating a statement that is difficult to put into words—that is, emerging and intersecting identities. In fact, it is easier to put into words who we want to *avoid* being or looking like (that is, not feminine, not too slutty, no longer a child) than it is to verbalize who we are (Freitas et al., 1997). Moreover, one identity blurs or blends into another identity (for example, gender into sexuality). And, articulations of identity are often ambivalent. Davis (1992) argued that identity ambivalences provide the “fuel” or ongoing inspiration for fashion change. Fashion-susceptible ambivalences include the interplay between youth versus age, masculinity versus femininity, or high versus low status, among many other possibilities within and across identities.

The study of identity in the social sciences and humanities can be traced to a longer history of the self, personality, and subjectivity, especially in modern Western cultures. Breward (1995) identifies the middle to late sixteenth century as a time when there was a heightened self-consciousness about identity as something that could be individually “fashioned” (p. 69). By the eighteenth century, philosophers (such as Hume and Rousseau) were questioning what constitutes one’s true selfhood, when traditional societies were breaking down (Kellner 1994). (It is important to note that this questioning still assumed the subjectivity of a white, bourgeois male.) Also in the eighteenth century, consumers began to establish

more personalized relationships with individuality, modernity, culture, and clothing (Breward 1995, p.112). For example, the “molly” culture of eighteenth century London provided a means for males to transgress traditional boundaries of masculinity by experimenting with feminine clothing and accessories. By the nineteenth century, consumption linked identity directly to one’s possessions, especially among bourgeois Western women. At the same time, new ways of expressing identifications and disidentifications in city life were emerging (for example, bohemians, dandies; Breward 2003, p. 218).

The modern fashion consumer was moving away “from a concern with elaborate artifice” toward one of individual expression (Breward 2003, p. 200). Crane (2000) describes this as a shift from class fashion to consumer fashion. This was not a smooth process. Modernity itself created fragmentation and dislocation, producing a paradoxical sense of what it meant to be an individual. Wilson (1985) theorizes that a modern sense of individuality functions like a wound that generates fear about sustaining the autonomy of the self; fashion somewhat assuages that fear, while also reminding us that individuality can be suppressed (p. 12).

Although for centuries clothing had been a principal means for identifying oneself (for example, by occupation, regional identity, religion, social class) in public spaces (Crane, 2000), the twentieth century witnessed a wider array of subcultural groupings that visually marked “their difference from the dominant culture and their peers by utilizing the props of material and commercial culture” (Breward 2003, p. 222). In the 1960s, sociologist Gregory Stone (1965) argued that identity has many advantages over the more fixed, psychological concept of personality, and that identity is not a code word for “self.” Rather, identity is an announced *meaning* of the self—one that is *situated* in and negotiated through social interactions. He argued that appearance is fundamental to identification and differentiation in everyday life. The “teenage phenomenon” of the 1950s and 1960s made this very apparent by fostering an awareness of age identity as it intersected with a variety of musical and personal preferences—all coded through appearance styles. The social movements (civil rights, feminist, gay and lesbian rights) of the late 1960s and early 1970s further accentuated stylistic means for constructing and transgressing racialized, ethnic, gender, and sexual identities.

From the post-1960s to the present—a period described as everything from post-industrial to postmodern—an advanced (global) capitalist marketplace has produced an eclectic array of commodities from which individuals can select, mix, and match to produce their identities (Kaiser 1999; Kaiser, Nagasawa, and Hutton, 1991). Wilson (1992) reminds us that despite modern (or postmodern) fragmentation, we ultimately do not choose our bodies, “so postmodern playfulness can never entirely win the day” (p. 8). In the context of ongoing fashion

change, appearance style functions ambiguously both to (a) resist “older” ideas about fixed personality or true self and (b) fix identity (for example, ethnicity, sexuality, religion) more firmly. As the global and local penetrate one another, style and fashion afford strategies for articulating the “contradictory necessity and impossibility of identities . . . in the messiness of everyday life” (Ang 2000, p. 11).

See also **Afrocentric Fashion; Ethnic Dress; Gender, Dress, and Fashion.**

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Susan B. Kaiser

FASHION DESIGNER A fashion designer is responsible for creating the specific look of individual garments—including a garment’s shape, color, fabric, trimmings, and other aspects of the whole. The fashion designer begins with an idea of how a garment should look, turns that idea into a design (such as a sketch), and specifies how that design should be made into an actual

piece of clothing by other workers (from patternmakers to finishers). The category of fashion designer includes people at different levels of the fashion business, from well-known couturiers, to anonymous designers working for commercial ready-to-wear houses, to stylists who might make only small modifications in existing designs. Fashion designers hold a special place in the world. Their talent and vision not only play a major role in how people look, but they have also made important contributions to the cultural and social environment.

The Origin of Fashion Designers

Charles Frederick Worth is considered the father of haute couture. An Englishman, he opened his couture house in Paris in 1846. Along with Worth, the Callot sisters, Jeanne Paquin, Jacques Doucet, and Jeanne Lanvin are considered to be among the first modern fashion designers, as compared with the dressmakers of earlier generations. Paris was the center of international fashion for more than one hundred years, with French couturiers setting the trends for Europe and the Western world. But the position of Paris as the undisputed leader of fashion was disrupted by World War II.

During that war, with Paris occupied by the Nazis, American designers and manufacturers were cut off from the fashion leadership of Paris. As a result, American designers began to receive more serious recognition. Claire McCardell, known as the creator of the “American Look,” drew some of her inspiration from the vernacular clothing of industrial and rural workers as inspiration. Other American designers such as Hattie Carnegie, Vera Maxwell, Bonnie Cashin, Anne Klein, and Tina Leser had flourishing careers; they helped shape the development of sportswear that reflected the casual American lifestyle.

In the postwar economy, as fashion became big business, the role of the designer changed. Increasingly, especially in the United States, fashion designers worked closely with store buyers to identify customers’ preferences and lifestyle needs. Customer demographics influenced designers to create fashions targeted to specific customer profiles. Through sales events known as “trunk shows,” designers traveled to stores with their latest collection in a trunk. This simple and inexpensive marketing technique allowed customers to preview and respond to the designer’s new collection, and to buy clothes. Bill Blass was one of many designers who used trunk shows to gain customers, profits, and a growing reputation.

The Role of the Fashion Designer

From the 1950s through the 1980s, the design room in the United States became the equivalent of the European atelier. With a staff of assistant designers, sketchers, patternmakers, drapers, finishers, and sample makers, American designers worked in their design rooms to create a collection each season. “First samples” were produced in the design room and later shown in a fashion show or in

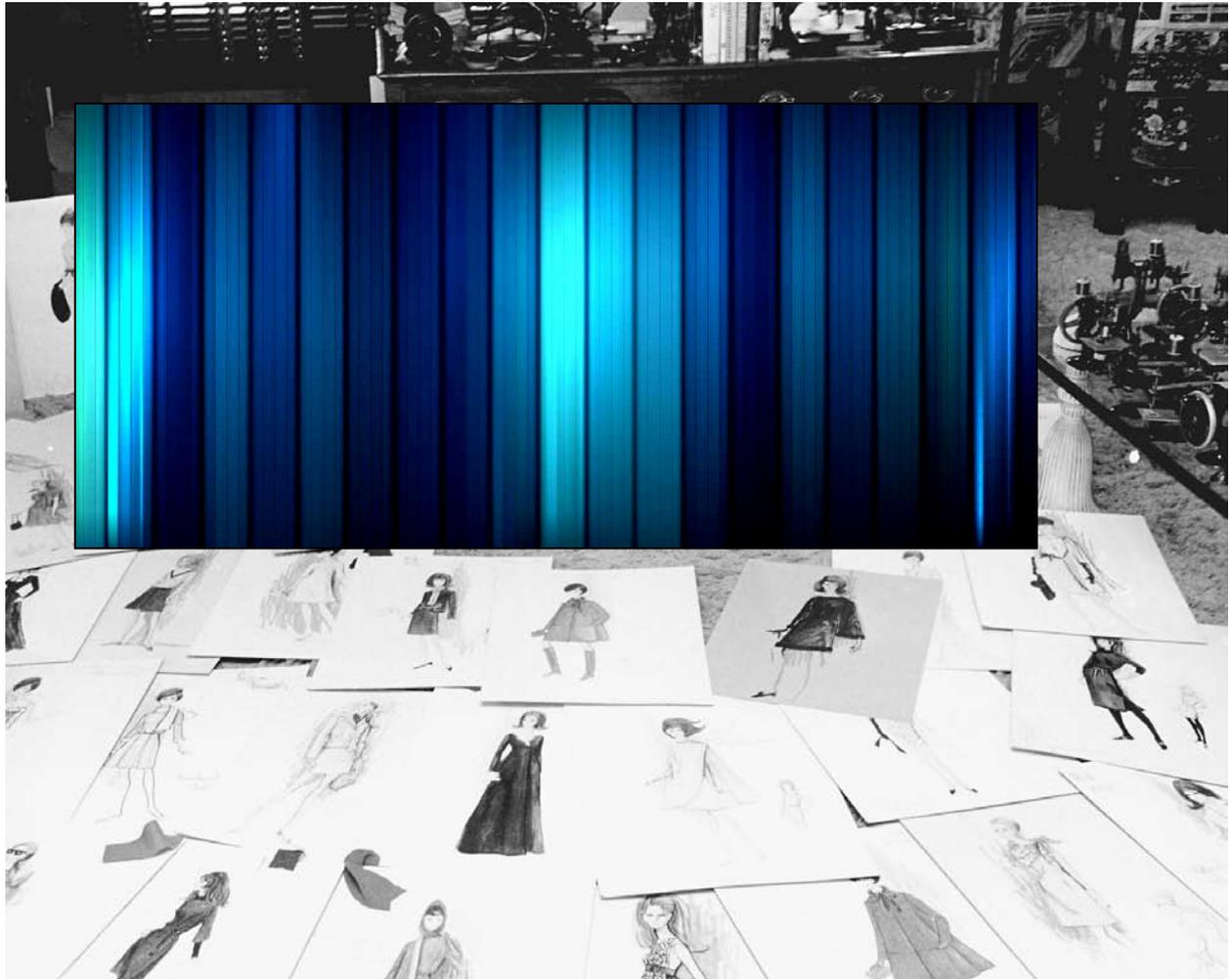
the company showroom. Design rooms are extremely costly to maintain and have been downsized due to the fact that most manufacturing is now done offshore. In the early 2000s, most designers work with an assistant and a technical designer to create tech packs. A tech pack contains a designer’s original idea, which is then re-sketched by the technical designer whose responsibility is to detail all garment specifications and construction information. Tech packs are sent directly to factories in China, Hong Kong, India, or other countries where labor costs are low and where, increasingly, first samples are made and production takes place.

As the apparel industry grew, fashion schools were established to train designers and other industry professionals. Design schools in New York City include Parsons (1896) and Fashion Institute of Technology, or FIT (1914). These schools train students in specializations like children’s wear, sportswear, evening wear, knitwear, intimate apparel, and activewear, for both the men’s and women’s market. Design schools have been established in Paris, London, Antwerp, and throughout Italy. Some American institutions have partnerships with other design schools in China, India, and elsewhere around the world.

Although designers in the twenty-first century are to some extent still responsible for creating trends, the notion of designers dictating fashion has been replaced with lifestyle designing. Each season, designers follow a process of identifying trends and searching for inspiration, researching fabrics and colors. They then focus on creating a collection that will appeal to their specific target customers’ lifestyle. Although fashion trends continue to emanate from Europe, many designers look to the street for inspiration. Fashion designers, working in tandem with the film and music industries, have launched or helped popularize such fashion trends as mod, punk, grunge, hip-hop, and cholo. Fashion designers are both creators and trend trackers. Much of what they now design is a response to street styles.

With the help of marketing and advertising, designers promote themselves to the world. Some designers market their look through runway shows, as well as maintaining their own retail stores. The concept of lending their name to other licensed products is yet another vehicle to expand their brand identity. Many celebrity designers actually do very little designing of the collections that bear their name.

A major trend in the fashion business is the iconic use of sports and music idols to sell product. With the hope of increasing sales, manufacturers hire anonymous designers to create apparel bearing celebrity names. Television, the Internet, personal appearances, film, print ads, and editorial coverage used as marketing tools for fashion, have become as important, if not more so, than the clothing itself. New entrepreneurial designers rely on editorial coverage to launch collections while established



Edith Head surrounded by some of her fashion designs. During her 58-year career in Hollywood, Edith Head designed costumes for many films and influenced popular fashion with some of her designs, such as with Elizabeth Taylor's lilac-strewn gown in *A Place in the Sun* (1951). AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

companies spend millions of dollars each year on advertising, marketing, and promotion.

Mass retailers and manufacturers enlist the services of market-research firms to predict consumers' changing tastes so as to make appropriate product. Fashion designers utilize data for design purposes that is collected from focus groups and consumer behavior studies. The business of fashion has morphed into the science of fashion.

The Future of the Fashion Designer

Designers in the twenty-first century are beginning to adopt new technologies such as body-scanning for custom fit, along with seamless and whole garment knitting technologies, which can manufacture garments with the push of a button. Both are forerunners in a movement toward automation that will once again revolutionize the fashion industry. Just as the sewing machine changed the

face of fashion in the past, technology will change it in the future. Designers of the future, as they have in the past, will continue to serve their customer's needs but will do so utilizing new resources and tools. To create new product lines, designers in the future will utilize high-tech textiles, including those that possess healing, sun protection, and other unique qualities. Designing clothes in the future may have more to do with function than with fancy, in response to new consumer demands and preferences.

See also Callot Sisters; Color in Dress; Fashion Advertising; Haute Couture; Ready-to-Wear; Worth, Charles Frederick.

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Francesca Sterlacci

FASHION DOLLS “Fashion doll” must be considered a very loose term. Sometimes it is used to indicate decorative figures usually produced as a series. Many times they are attired in historical dress. Additionally, notable people dress these dolls for charitable purposes. But there are other candidates for the term as well.

Historically the primary role of a doll has been as a companion and teaching tool for the young. Doll-like figures have additionally played roles in religious, artistic, and fashion-related endeavors. Neither methods nor materials of construction, nor supporting devices, are indicators of possible primary intention. Except for the earliest examples, dolls and figures addressing the subject of fashion range in height from under an inch to, in rare exceptions, nearly three feet.

What in the early twenty-first century might be recognized as a true “fashion doll” were those figures that were sent around to the wealthy and stylish individuals and centers of Europe and, later, American colonies. According to Max von Boehm, the first recorded wardrobe fashion doll—she was life size—went from the French to English court in 1396. By the seventeenth century, when these French figures were known as “Pandora,” the dressing of the head and hair was as important as the garment. And by the eighteenth century the British were not only receiving but also sending their own versions of these figures, which seem from the records to have continued the tradition of being life, or near-life, size. The size perhaps explains why attempts to relate surviving play-dolls from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to fashion dolls has been unsuccessful.

With the introduction of printed images of fashion, the need for the expensive creation and transport of a fashionably dressed three-dimensional figure diminished. Picking up on speed with which printed fashion illustrations could be distributed, French publishers began issuing both boxed sets and serialized accessorized paper dolls. For nearly a generation, circa 1825–1850, this type of doll was an important purveyor of fashion information.

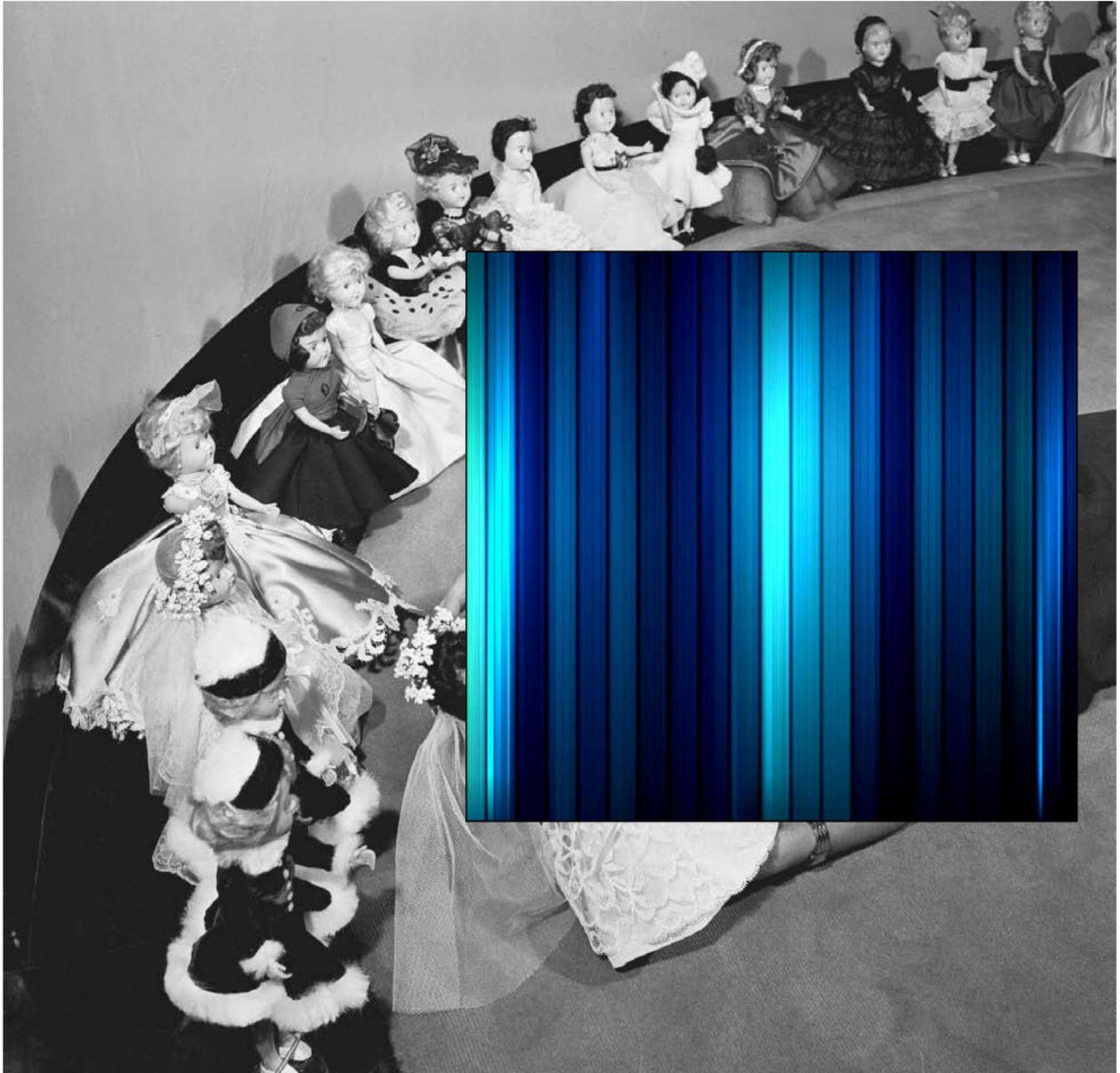
While commercially assembled play-dolls continued to be dressed in current styles, it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that French doll distributors took a renewed interest in offering a variety of outfits and accessories based on the latest modes. Known to doll collectors as French Fashion dolls, these dolls—whatever their body material and articulation—feature a nipped-in waist that makes the dolls suitable for dressing in the

waves of latest fashions for toddlers, children, men, and women between about 1850 and 1900. Produced in a defined section of Paris, most of the apparel for these dolls is so finely constructed that they are truly fashions in miniature, even down to the stamped waistband and hat labels found in Maison Huret apparel.

It was these play dolls that inspired the *Tina Cassini*, a doll whose wardrobe was the creation of the American designer Oleg Cassini, and her contemporary, *Barbie*, the iconic fashion doll of the twentieth century. Not only has *Barbie* been dressed by a studio of personal designers, including Bob Mackie, but other internationally recognized fashion designers from time to time outfitted her and her family for purposes of charity, publicity, and pure promotion. Indeed, since about 1890 French and other fashion designers have dressed dolls in their creations for purposes of international exhibitions and fund-raising. Jeanne Lanvin, in the 1910s, dressed dolls with porcelain heads made by Sèvres, while Margaine-Lacroix dressed those with heads designed by Albert Marque. In the 1930s a consortium of French fashion houses dressed *France* and *Marianne* in up-to-the-minute detail for the British princesses.

On a parallel track beginning in France in the early 1890s was the fashionable dressing of dolls and specifically designed figures solely for the purpose of display and not play. Usually these display figures in series were, in the traditional French manner, attached to a base. The series frequently illustrated the history of fashion especially as drawn from lifetime or imagined portraits of notables, usually women. The trend was begun by Mme Piogey in 1892 with a thousand years of French fashion shown on sixteen dolls, the 1893 Columbian Exhibition display of twenty-five French queens, and the sixteen dolls exhibited by Mme Charles Cousson, whose creations in the early 2000s can be found at Paris’s Musée des Arts Decoratif. Respected museums on both sides of the Atlantic would add such figures to their collection, with New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art, under the museum’s textile curator, Frances Morris, accessioning the now deaccessioned representations of seven centuries of feminine fashion. As part of the 1949 French Gratitude Train, forty-nine mannequin dolls attired to represent two centuries of French fashion were created, to complement Theatre de la Mode figures by members of the Syndicat de la Couture de Paris. These figures are currently found in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum of Art. In the United States, the tradition of dressing figures in historical fashion has been carried on by a number of artists/designers, including Jacques and France Rommel and John Burbridge.

By the second decade of the twentieth century, the wax-headed figures in contemporary dress of Mmes Lafitte and Désirat were featured in international press. At this time other concerns lured or interpreted the creations of contemporary French designers, such as Jacques Doucet and Paul Poiret. In the early twenty-first century



Woman with doll collection. In the 1890s, clothing designers began creating fashions specifically for dolls, often for promotional, exhibition, or fundraising purposes. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the best-recognized effort to document a moment of fashion is found at Maryhill, a school in Oregon. There reside the figures for the Theatre de la Mode created by members of the French haute couture and related trades—Dessès, Molyneux, Grès, Patou, Fath, Balenciaga, Dior, etc. Assembled just after World War II, these figures represent an attempt to remind the world of the artistic uniqueness of all the components of French fashion.

During the American Civil War, as raffle items at Sanitary Fairs, a variety of dolls were dressed and outfitted with complex and elaborate wardrobes. Many of these were called Flora McFlimsey, after the subject of a pe-

riod poem who was convinced she had nothing to wear, thus leading her to undertake frantic shopping trips to Paris. In the early 2000s, such charitable work continued as fashion designers were asked to dress dolls in signature outfits; sometimes they chose the doll, sometimes the doll was chosen for them—which returns this article to the original dilemma of what exactly constitutes a “fashion doll.” Now add to the mix fashion dolls designed specifically for a new category: collectors. Current collectors’ fashion dolls include most prominently those of Mel Odom, *Gene*; and Robert Tonner, *Tyler Wentworth*. These dolls, and their attendant “family” members have

been created specifically as models for high-fashion garments: *Gene*, the World War II and postwar model and *Tyler Wentworth*, the contemporary spirit.

See also **Barbie**.

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Elizabeth Ann Coleman

FASHION EDITORS The title “fashion editor” evokes images of fashionable women, those arbiters of style and taste, who pronounce and decree what’s new and what’s next. They’ve appeared on stage and screen—from the indecisive Liza Elliot of *Lady in the Dark* (“the circus cover or the Easter cover?”) to the very decisive Maggie Prescott of *Funny Face* (“Think pink!”).

With the advent of the fashion magazine, the fashion editor emerged as the tastemaker in the early twentieth century. The first and most enduring of these women was Edna Woolman Chase of Conde Nast’s *Vogue*, who rose from assistant in the circulation department in 1895, three years after *Vogue* was founded, to editor in chief in 1914. She remained in that venerable position until retirement in 1952. Through the 1940s and 1950s, the most visible of her fashion editors was the tasteful and talented Bettina Ballard. An earlier colleague, Carmel White (later Snow) had left *Vogue* to head Hearst’s *Harper’s Bazaar*. Her longtime fashion editor was a flamboyant eccentric (her outrageous column *Why Don’t You ... ?* was notorious) named Diana Vreeland, who in 1963 was tapped by Conde Nast’s new owners to become editor in chief of their flagship, *Vogue*.

These grandes dames of fashion publishing were there at the creation. At first they filled their pages with news of what fashionable and wealthy women were wearing and doing. Actually, they were covering and reflecting their own worlds, as each had come from, or married into, families of wealth and society; and most of their staffers served in their low-paying but prestigious jobs as stop-offs between finishing school and marriage. Coverage of the Paris couture, the wellspring of fashion, and of the emerging American designers established these two magazines as the ultimate authorities—the innovators of fashion and fantasy.

They also discovered and encouraged such talents as Richard Avedon, Irving Penn, Martin Munkacsi, Edward

Steichen, Louise Dahl-Wolfe, art director Alexey Brodovitch, Cecil Beaton, and more. The arts were covered, distinguished writers wrote for every issue, and an environment for fashion was carefully integrated.

By the mid-1950s, a new breed of editor was being sought. The competition coming from the newer, younger fashion magazines devoted to the emerging working woman, the post-war suburbanite, and the “youth market” of the sixties, brought into the editors’ chairs a more pragmatic, reality-based editor. *Vogue* had tapped its merchandizing editor, Jessica Daves, to succeed Mrs. Chase. Diana Vreeland followed as editor in chief, after being passed over at *Bazaar*. Those qualities ultimately did her in at *Vogue*, when she was replaced by her assistant, Grace Mirabella, a down-to-earth market-trained fashion editor. Mrs. Snow’s niece, Nancy White, who’d been editor at Hearst’s service magazine, *Good Housekeeping*, followed her at *Bazaar*.

Of the booming “younger” books, *Mademoiselle*, edited first by Betsy Blackwell, then Edie Raymond Locke, was the first to “merchandise” each fashion shown, informing the reader of its price and where to buy it. *Charm*, *Glamour*, and *Mademoiselle* mounted promotions with editors making appearances in retail stores, as the link between the editorial and advertising departments grew stronger. A fashion editor, covering her assigned market, learned to dutifully cover the advertisers’ “lines.” She even collaborated with designers and manufacturers, developing ideas for new looks for her readers.

Fashion was beginning to reverse itself—starting on the streets and then inspiring designers—so it was important to keep an eye on a magazine’s younger staff and the streets of New York, Paris, Milan, and Saint-Tropez to spot the trends. Paris couture (made-to-order for private customers) no longer dominated; ready-to-wear (prêt-à-porter), started in 1969 in Paris and later in Milan, was manufactured for and sold directly to American and European retailers. These collections became the trendsetters. American fashion editors sat side by side with store executives in the front rows of the overcrowded showings, their photographers jockeying for position along the runways, shooting the photos for the next issue, while space was being held until the last minute before deadline.

The fashion editor’s job was to report the news, making choices from the season’s offerings, whether from Europe or America; to play a major role in the selection of the photographers and models for each “portfolio,” or series of pages; and often to oversee the “sitting” in the studio or the “shoot” on location. High-profile “stars” were Polly Mellen of *Vogue* and Carrie Donovan of the *New York Times*.

New media brought new opportunities, and in the 1980s Elsa Klensch, a former *Vogue* and *Harper’s Bazaar* fashion editor, convinced CNN that women the world over would be eager to view the designers’ collections

within weeks of their showings. Her viewers numbered in the millions, but CNN canceled *Style* in 2000. Successors include *Full Frontal Fashion* and cover not just the collections but the “fashionistas” and front-row celebrities attending.

The technology of the information age has made all things possible on demand. Fashion editors can now view the collections online (not the same as being there in the tents of New York, Milan, London, and Paris); they oversee the selections for their own magazine’s popular Web sites, such as *Vogue’s* Style.com.

Communicating with and serving the reader are duties of today’s fashion editors, who have a whole new world of titles such as “fashion news editor,” “fashion market editor,” “editor-at-large,” “stylist,” and more. Many appear regularly on TV “what’s in” and “how to” segments. They still watch the streets, but mostly they watch the New York and Los Angeles clubs, music videos, and the red carpets to spot the trends. Perhaps the first star of the 2000s is Anna Wintour of *Vogue*, who, in the tradition of earlier grandes dames, pronounces and decrees what’s new and what’s next.

See also **Fashion Journalism; Fashion Magazines; Fashion Online; Fashion Television; Vogue; Vreeland, Diana.**

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Lenore Benson

FASHION EDUCATION Because the design and retailing of fashion is a global phenomenon, it should come as no surprise that learning institutions around the world prepare graduates for careers in the international fashion industry. Training ranges from vocational to creative to theoretical and results in certificates and diplomas (one to three years), which include associate (two years), baccalaureate (four years), master (master of arts, M.A.; master of fine arts, M.F.A.; and master of sciences, M.S.) and doctoral (doctor of philosophy, Ph.D.; doctor of education, Ed.D.; and doctor of art, D.A.) degrees.

Programs that offer certificates and diplomas tend to exist as part of vocational institutions, and curriculum is focused exclusively on preparing students for industry employment. Baccalaureate programs, in contrast, tend to vary in scope. While some colleges and universities balance a major in fashion design or retailing with re-

quired general or liberal education courses that expose students to a broader worldview, other four-year institutions concentrate solely on the theory and practice of art and design and all curriculum offerings stem from that singular mission. Graduate work is meant to be more focused, and degrees are offered in the areas of retailing, design, textile science, and history. Many universities around the world also offer more flexible graduate programs under such names as Fashion Studies or Clothing and Textiles.

Education Options

The fashion industry reaches around the world, with degree-earning opportunities that provide training on every continent in fashion design and retailing.

The United States

The United States is home to over 250 institutions of higher learning that include programs in fashion design and retailing. Many of these offerings are housed in colleges or departments that have evolved from the home economics tradition. Consequently, virtually every state in the United States has a university with undergraduate and graduate curriculum in retailing and fashion design. As programs have expanded and contracted, a variety of names have emerged. Such college or department names as Human Ecology, Environmental Sciences, and Family and Consumer Sciences represent a general definition of the changing disciplines included in the mission. Design, Housing, and Apparel, Apparel Merchandising and Interior Design, and Merchandising and Hospitality Management represent more specific program orientation. When searching for fashion design and retailing programs at the university level, these are among the many terms and phrases to consider. Within this type of university system, the retailing or fashion design major program is enriched with required general or liberal education courses that introduce students to a broader perspective on the global community. Students are able to earn a bachelor’s degree, and many departments also offer master’s and doctoral degrees.

Within the United States, there are also colleges, schools, and universities of art and design, with four years of curriculum that refine and focus students’ individual vision and aesthetics related to fashion design, complementing the development of creative skills with an expanded understanding of design theory. Graduates of these institutions have the opportunity to earn a variety of degrees, including an associate of arts (A.A.), bachelor of arts (B.A.), bachelor of fine arts (B.F.A.), master of arts (M.A.), and master of fine arts (M.F.A.) degrees.

In addition, an abundance of vocational and technical schools and art and design institutes offer focused one- to three-year programs in the areas of retailing and fashion design. Degrees earned include associate of arts (A.A.) and associate of applied sciences (A.A.S.), and students are prepared for specific positions within the fashion industry.

Canada

Six Canadian provinces have more than ten notable educational institutions that offer programs in fashion design or retailing. Students are able to earn bachelor, master of science, and doctoral degrees within departments of Human Ecology in the general areas of Clothing and Textiles. Bachelor of applied arts or bachelor of design degrees are also available at technical universities. Several vocational and technical institutions offer certificates and two-year diplomas that prepare students for the business and creative sides of the fashion industry.

Europe

There are well over one hundred learning institutions in twenty-seven countries across Europe that include fashion design or retailing in their curriculum. Because London, Paris, and Milan continue to function as celebrated international fashion centers, the United Kingdom, France, and Italy warrant individual consideration. There are also significant and interesting educational opportunities in Scandinavia, Central and Eastern Europe, and the other Western European countries.

United Kingdom. With London as one of the premier world fashion centers, it makes sense that more than forty educational institutions offering programs in fashion design or retailing are situated throughout England, with one or two in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Learning opportunities range from vocational and technical training to prestigious art schools and universities. Completion is designated by National Diploma/Certificate (ND/C), generally a one-year technical degree; Higher National Diploma (HND), an additional year beyond earning of a certificate; and Bachelor of Arts Honors (B.A. Hons.) or Bachelor of Science Honors (B.S. Hons.), typically a three- or four-year advanced degree comparable to a four-year degree earned at a U.S. institution. Master and doctoral degrees can be earned at a few institutions, including more traditional university systems as well as those focused specifically on art and design.

France. Paris is home to France's five premier learning institutions with programs in fashion design and retailing. Two institutions offer curriculum in English and are organized for international students who desire short-term (four weeks) or long-term (three years) study-abroad opportunity in the areas of retailing or fashion design. Certificates and bachelor degrees can be earned, and credits may be transferred to colleges and universities at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. The other specialized schools are organized in the manner of art and design schools and offer one-, two-, or three-year programs in textile design and fashion design.

Italy. Italy has more than twenty design and retailing academies and institutes scattered around the country, with several more prominent programs in such vibrant international fashion centers as Florence, Milan, and Rome. Students are presented with a range of opportu-

nities: one-, two-, three-, and four-year programs, summer short courses, workshops, and practical training in all facets of the fashion industry. Several academies offer programs of varying lengths for international students who choose to study fashion in Italy. All programs, regardless of length, are part of academies or institutes that focus solely on the practical and theoretical aspects of design and retailing. Many of the learning institutions are directly linked with professionals in the Italian fashion industry, providing students with opportunities to train and network with potential employers.

Other Western European countries. While not as heavily concentrated, over thirty-five institutions offering fashion design and retailing are distributed throughout the remainder of Western Europe in such countries as Austria, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland. Diplomas, bachelor, and a few graduate programs are available throughout the region.

Central and Eastern European countries. There are several opportunities for earning degrees in retailing and fashion design in such countries as the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the Ukraine. Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Russia have particularly impressive and extensive offerings, with bachelor and graduate programs.

Scandinavia. Scandinavia has long enjoyed a rich craft tradition, which continues to be nurtured through university curriculum offerings. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark have institutions that offer two- and four-year degrees in both fashion and textile design. In Finland, students can earn bachelor, master, or doctoral degrees in textiles, clothing, or craft design within such departments as Textiles and Clothing and Home Economics and Craft Science.

Asia

Fashion education is prominent and tremendously active in China, India, and South Korea and is the focus of this section. However, exciting educational opportunities also exist in Japan, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Vietnam.

China. Including the People's Republic, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, China has much to offer in the educating of professionals in the areas of clothing design and textile technology. Students are able to earn certificates and diplomas, bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, masters, and doctoral degrees at several institutions. Some institutions focus on textiles and apparel programs that include studies in textile science and textile technology. College names such as Home Economics and Human Ecology emerge in institutional literature, suggesting that some Chinese clothing and textiles programs are modeled after U.S. offerings.

India. The country of India is a hotbed of international apparel and footwear manufacturing companies. Educational institutions have responded to the need to train professionals and over fifty-five institutions offer programs in fashion design and retailing. The majority of curriculum focuses on fashion design and technology, although a few programs offer degrees focused on the business side of the apparel industry. Degree opportunities range from technical diplomas and certificates in such areas as apparel production competencies (garment fabrication, sketching, cutting, tailoring, embroidery, and computer-aided design [CAD]) and fashion retail management, to four-year bachelor degrees in fashion design.

South Korea. Within South Korea, more than forty universities and colleges offer two-year, four-year, master's, and doctoral degrees in the areas of fashion design and retailing. These programs emerge from such divisions as Human Ecology, Home Economics, Clothing and Textiles, Fashion Design, and Fashion Marketing. Two- and four-year degrees prepare students for careers in the textile and apparel industry. Graduate curriculum focuses specifically on textile and apparel industry issues, including technological expertise and economic trends.

Oceania

There are more than twenty institutions located in the Oceanic region, with programs that focus on fashion design, retailing, and textile technology. Australia boasts several programs with certificates and diplomas, bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. New Zealand is home to a dozen universities, institutes of technology, polytechnics, and colleges of art and design with a focus on fashion design and retailing. A degree in apparel merchandising and fashion design is also available in Papua New Guinea. Within these Oceanic countries, certificates and diplomas are earned in such areas as clothing production, textiles, footwear production, and fashion design. Bachelor of science degrees are available in Textile and Apparel Management and bachelor of arts degrees are available in Fashion and Textile Design.

Other World Locations

Iraq, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates in the Middle East; Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay in South America; Mexico in North America; and the African countries of Congo, South Africa, and Zimbabwe also have universities and colleges that offer stimulating two- and four-year degrees in fashion design and fashion marketing.

Conclusion

This overview on fashion education reveals three important points: (1) fashion education is offered on every continent around the world, (2) training professionals for the international apparel industry takes many forms, and (3) there exists a reciprocal relationship between the inter-

national fashion industry and educational training in the areas of fashion design and retailing. In geographic regions around the world where design is celebrated, there are fashion design schools (Italy, France, and England). Locations with a multitude of apparel manufacturing sites tend to be breeding grounds for training in technical and creative competencies (China, India, and South Korea). Educational institutions continue to recognize and address the essential needs of the fashion industry.

See also **Fashion Advertising; Fashion Designer; Fashion Editors; Fashion Illustrators; Fashion Industry; Fashion Journalism; Fashion Models; Fashion Photography.**

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Jane Hegland

FASHION, HEALTH, AND DISEASE The relationship between fashion and health is a complex one, with fashion sometimes being shaped by current beliefs about health and disease and, at other times, acting as the cause of illness.

Early Beliefs

For many centuries, those in the Western world believed that human illness was primarily related to the disposition of "humors," vapors coming from deep inside the body and released at the skin surface (Renbourn and Rees 1972, p. 401). The ancient Greeks believed that a damp, cold environment prevented these humors from passing out through the skin, being turned back instead toward the internal organs. There, they caused inflammation and every imaginable disease. The belief that damp cold was almost solely responsible for most human illness persisted until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the science of bacteriology began to link disease to the spread of infectious organisms.

The fear of damp cold led to multiple theories about dressing for health. There was, of course, the fear that the very clothing worn to protect the body from damp cold, could itself block the passage of humors outward. Arguments were made in favor of each of the natural fibers as being the most healthy to be worn, with wool being believed by many to be the most healthy because it was found to be the greatest absorber of water.

The human body does actually release vapors from the skin surface in a continual drying out of the skin called insensible perspiration. Research in the mid-1800s established for the first time that wool had the ability to absorb insensible perspiration and later condense it under cooler conditions, sending the resulting heat from condensation back toward the body (Renbourn and Rees, p. 40). Cotton and linen appeared to have no such capacity to produce heat; they continued to cool until dry, leading to a dangerous chilling of the body.

These findings caused many health practitioners to advocate wool in the years that followed. One, a German physiology professor named Jaeger, touted his all-woolen system of dress as the key to revolutionizing the health of all ages in all climates (Renbourn and Rees, p. 46). Many believed that wool also served as a “filter” to prevent impurities from reaching the body. Wool later was discovered to have another prized quality—it retained an electric charge. In the middle of the eighteenth century, many believed that a strong positive electrical charge led to male virility (Renbourn and Rees 1972, p. 33). During the nineteenth century, electric and magnetic garments were in vogue, and statically charged undergarments were credited with having powers from curing rheumatism to affecting the bowels (Renbourn and Rees, p. 39).

Wool, however, had its detractors, particularly among those who worked and lived in the tropics. A number of physicians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries noted that because wool was not easy to clean, it housed and propagated fleas, lice, and other carriers of disease. Excessive swaddling of infants in wool in the tropics by British nurses working there was thought to be one cause of infant mortality. Many believed cotton to be healthier than wool in warm climates because it provided more continual cooling and was more easily cleanable and less irritating to the skin.

From the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, an almost irrational fear of exposure to drafts existed in many countries. Exposure to air currents was believed to be responsible for a wide range of conditions, including head colds, sore throats, and rheumatism. This concern contributed to excessive coverage of the body, even in warmer weather. During the French Revolution, when women ignored traditional admonitions for body coverage, the supposed link between diseases like consumption and revealing garments made of the sheer muslins of the time even led to new labels, such as “muslin disease” and “pneumonia blouses” (Renbourn and Rees, p. 34).

Color was believed to have had magical properties that affected human health. Various colors have been thought to best intercept dangerous rays of the sun or attract or repel toxins. While there has been considerable debate about the importance of specific hues in protecting the body, many cultures that exist in desert climates have long accepted that most whites and lighter colors

reflect more sunlight than most blacks and darker colors. The white robes of desert dwellers, for example, offer thermal protection by reflecting the radiant heat of the sun away from the body.

Fashion as Detriment to Health

One of the main reasons early fashion was detrimental to health was that dressing in many layers and bathing infrequently combined to make clothing a breeding ground for infectious organisms and vermin. Some fashions also seemed to attract infected refuse. A medical paper of 1900 reported on a bacteriological examination of the trailing voluminous skirts of the time in which the author “found large colonies of germs, including those of tuberculosis, typhoid, tetanus, influenza” (Rudofsky 1947, p. 181).

Fashion has often involved modification of the body. The professed reasons for this range from ceremonial to practical, among them: influencing the morality of a wearer’s behavior, communicating social status, increasing sexual allure, and establishing an aesthetic ideal. Harold Koda states that “Shoes have been the most persistent example of fashion’s imposition of an idealized form on the natural anatomy” (2001, p. 140). He notes that the portion of the shoe that contained the toes has rarely, if ever, reflected the shape of the human foot but that the shape of a shoe, “consistently worn eventually molds the foot” (p. 140).

There has been much controversy about the health effects of modified feet. The most extreme example of foot modification is the Chinese bound, or lotus, foot. Dorothy Ko states that while Chinese footbinding shifted the placement of the bones of the foot, it broke no bones. It simply shortened the length of the foot and changed the locus of its support of body weight (p. 60). Many lotus shoes were designed to allow the axis of support of body weight to pass through the heel alone, alleviating any painful pressure on the folded toes (p. 152). Koda states that the spiked heel that was first made popular in the 1950s has acted to place the foot of its wearer in almost the same vertical position as the lotus foot. (2001, p. 159). In addition to precipitating ankle injury, the “tip-toe” stance of the foot in high heels “has been known to shorten the leg muscles, and in creating a destabilized stance, it can precipitate problems at the small of the back” (p. 163).

In the nineteenth century, physicians argued that the “wasp waist” of the corseted woman was detrimental to health, producing various conditions such as fainting, cracked ribs, miscarriage, difficulties in breathing, and abnormally functioning internal organs (Renbourn and Rees 1972, p. 11). More recent research on the effects of the corset have found few, if any, permanent health effects for adult women once a corset is removed (Steele 2001). However, Steele acknowledges that because corsets interfered with respiration, they did create “a disincentive” for Victorian women to exercise (p. 71). Indeed, one of fashion’s primary negative effects on health

in the past may have been limiting the types of activities in which individuals have felt able to participate.

Current Approaches

The belief that cold, damp weather and exposure to drafts are responsible for the common cold and flu has persisted to modern times, despite the assertions of clothing physiologists that “cold stress” is only one of dozens of stresses of modern life that lead to these illnesses.

During the second half of the twentieth century, dressing to protect the body from thermal conditions in the environment generally involved one of two approaches: using clothing to insulate the body against sudden heat loss or using it to shield the body from excessive heat gain. While much has been made of the healthful effects of specific fibers, it is well accepted that the fiber used in garments is only one factor in the ability of clothing to provide thermal balance. Watkins cites multiple factors: the fiber, yarn type, fabric construction, fabric finish, garment design, and the way of wearing a garment (1995, p. 26). Even when the same garments are worn in a different layering order, or freed or tucked in differently, the thermal balance of the wearer can be greatly affected.

New processing methods for fibers and fabrics have markedly improved insulation materials, and a variety of methods of protecting insulations from wind and water have emerged. The development of a material with micropores, Gore-Tex, in the mid-twentieth century brought the advent of waterproof materials that “breathe.” These fabrics exclude liquid water, but allow vapor such as insensible perspiration to migrate out of an ensemble. Supple aluminized coatings on materials enable the reflection of radiant heat from the sun, fires, or high-heat industrial settings.

Despite technological advances that have created the potential for healthy clothing, some cultural norms may still dictate the use of garments that negatively affect health. Muslim women continue to wear the chador, the heavy, full-length veil that has been said to have caused fainting and serious long-term health problems such as osteoporosis. Western men continue to wear improperly sized business shirts with collars that cut off proper blood flow, leading to a variety of conditions from fainting to decreased visual acuity (Langan and Watkins 1987).

Other cultural norms focus on what is believed to be healthier approaches to dressing. Some Western professionals wearing high fashion walk to the office in running shoes, donning fashionable footwear only for meetings. Elderly women in nursing home wheelchairs are increasingly seen, not in the socially acceptable dresses from their pasts, but in nonbinding jogging suits.

The growing interest in alternative medicine has also revived a number of clothing practices that have met with great skepticism in the past. Experiments with the effect of color on the immune system continue. Proponents be-

lieve that magnetic clothing items may relieve pain and cure a number of different conditions. Citing new evidence relating copper to the body’s enzyme production, proponents have revived interest in copper jewelry as a cure for arthritis.

The Future

Clothing has been designed to shield the body from all sorts of hazards of modern life. During the Gulf War in 1991, it was not unusual to see Israeli civilians of all ages carrying gas masks as constant accessories. Filtration masks to prevent the spread of respiratory diseases or protect asthmatics from pollution have become familiar sights. The U.S. Occupational Safety and Health and Administration (OSHA) has established educational programs to teach laborers who work with toxic chemicals the dangers of exposing the skin and respiratory system to those hazards and help them select appropriate protective suits and respirators. Space suits have been miniaturized to allow immune-deficient patients to venture into the world. Sheer, supple stainless-steel undergarments have been marketed particularly to pregnant women who work at computers, to protect them from electromagnetic radiation. There are few occupational hazards for which health-protective apparel has not been developed. Many of these have been reshaped into fashionable forms; others themselves establish a new fashion aesthetic.

All of these approaches to protection are essentially passive design concepts, working to shield the body somehow from the environment. Advances in technology are making it increasingly possible to use active approaches to protection, where clothing contributes to thermal balance or other forms of protection. For example, electrically heated and water-cooled systems have existed for decades, but the increasing miniaturization of power sources will make these more available and easily incorporated into everyday clothing. Clothing fibers have been impregnated with chemicals that absorb body heat when the wearer is warm and release it when the body begins to cool. These advances allow clothing to serve not just as a barrier, but as an active provider of thermal balance without an external power source.

Some proposed clothing designs incorporate mechanisms that will massage and stimulate blood flow to an ailing body part or trigger an automatically inflated airbag should the wearer start to fall. Others, for example a wristband worn to prevent seasickness, simply help the body heal itself, operating on centuries-old knowledge based on alternative treatments such as acupuncture.

Garments have been impregnated with bacteria-detering agents to actively fight organisms that attempt to make their way toward a wearer. Undergarments have been developed that monitor multiple aspects of body function and send signals that stimulate medical devices or trigger the release of medications into the body. Many of these have been connected to computerized body-monitoring systems allowing clothing to respond

automatically to each individual's needs. These garments allow patients formerly tied to hospital beds to move into the world. Many are wireless, so that doctors can monitor a patient's health at a distance and make adjustments in treatment accordingly. As the body's most intimate environment, clothing has enormous potential to help individuals meet the health challenges of the future.

See also **Color in Dress; Corset; Footbinding; High Heels.**

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Susan M. Watkins

FASHION ICONS The term "fashion icon" has recently replaced the slightly antiquated notion of "fashion leaders." During the second half of the twentieth century, fashion became less hierarchical, more meritocratic, and media-dominated. Indeed, the media itself created its own icons of style, while scrutinizing those proffered up by journalists, stylists, and others involved in the professional process of promoting fashion. The "trickle-down," designer-led fashions of the past were joined by the concept of "bubble-up," where fashions are created on the streets and fed upward through the fashion system. "Style is not fashion until it has reached the street," is a statement popularly attributed to Coco Chanel, herself a leader; she was also part of the democratization of fashion.

The "fashion leaders" of past generations were those in the very highest society—royalty, aristocrats, and their wives and mistresses. The Bourbon courts of pre-Revolutionary France were famous for their fashion excesses, while in the 1790s Napoleon's wife, Josephine, embraced the new "Empire-line dresses," which quickly crossed the Channel. In England, at precisely the same moment in history, the Prince Regent, who gave his name to an architectural style, was consorting with the dandies of the day, including the famous Beau Brummel.

At the start of the twentieth century, magazine journalism had been enlivened by still photographs, and cin-

ema was in its infancy. Much of the newsreel footage from the first decade of the new century showed King Edward VII and his elegant wife, Alexandra; many of his mistresses were also fashion leaders, such as Madame Stan-dish of Paris, who was the first to wear the new "tailor-mades" by Creed to the Paris racecourse; and Lillie Langtry, the music-hall actress, who was a favorite of the popular press. It was her amply curved figure that was the fashionable silhouette, as seen in the popular illustrations of the "Gibson Girls," created by the American, Charles Dana Gibson.

Chanel set up her fashion business before World War I and, in its aftermath, a radically altered society found her designs suited its new needs. During the War, many women had experienced the freedom of wearing trousers for manual work—and freedom of movement was Chanel's aim. She liked wearing men's sweaters and put women in soft jersey and fluid garments. She popularized costume jewelry, the little black dress—and the suntan. She was emulated in every way, and when she came back from the Riviera to display her suntan at the Opera, a new craze began.

The war annihilated a generation of young men; the women who survived wanted to forget, rather than to mourn. Economic independence and changing mores meant new fashion icons were needed for the 1920s—the "Bright Young Things" of London and the stars who personified the Jazz Age: Clara Bow, the "It Girl" of cinema; and the idol of Paris, singer Josephine Baker. In the Roaring Twenties, too, stage actresses—such as Gertrude Lawrence—were still relevant; they, too, had shingled hair, short skirts, and cigarette holders.

There was still a role for royalty—men and women were fascinated by the dress of Edward, Prince of Wales, and his Oxford bags, plus fours, and Argyle sweaters were widely copied. He even had a fabric pattern named after him—Prince-of-Wales check. His long-term mistress, Freda Dudley Ward, embodied the flapper look of the 1920s, but in the following decade he abandoned her to marry the stylish American divorcée, Wallis Simpson. It was she who formulated the fashion dictum, "A woman can never be too rich or too thin." Although the public was distressed by his abdication, they nevertheless bought mass-market copies of her Molyneux wedding dress.

Technological changes now meant that fashions could be copied at moderate prices, and, at last, ordinary women could copy their icons. This was the decade when Hollywood moguls allowed women to imitate the dresses of their favorite stars, as well as their makeup—Adrian's outfits for Joan Crawford were highly influential, and Travis Banton's dressing of Marlene Dietrich made trousers seem sexy rather than merely functional. Joan Crawford's famous puff-sleeved dress, created by Adrian for the film *Letty Lynton* in 1932, was instantly copied, and inspired young girls' party dresses for the next ten years. Dietrich in *Morocco* (1930) was the first woman to

don men's evening wear, and created a sensation when she appeared on screen in her tuxedo and top hat.

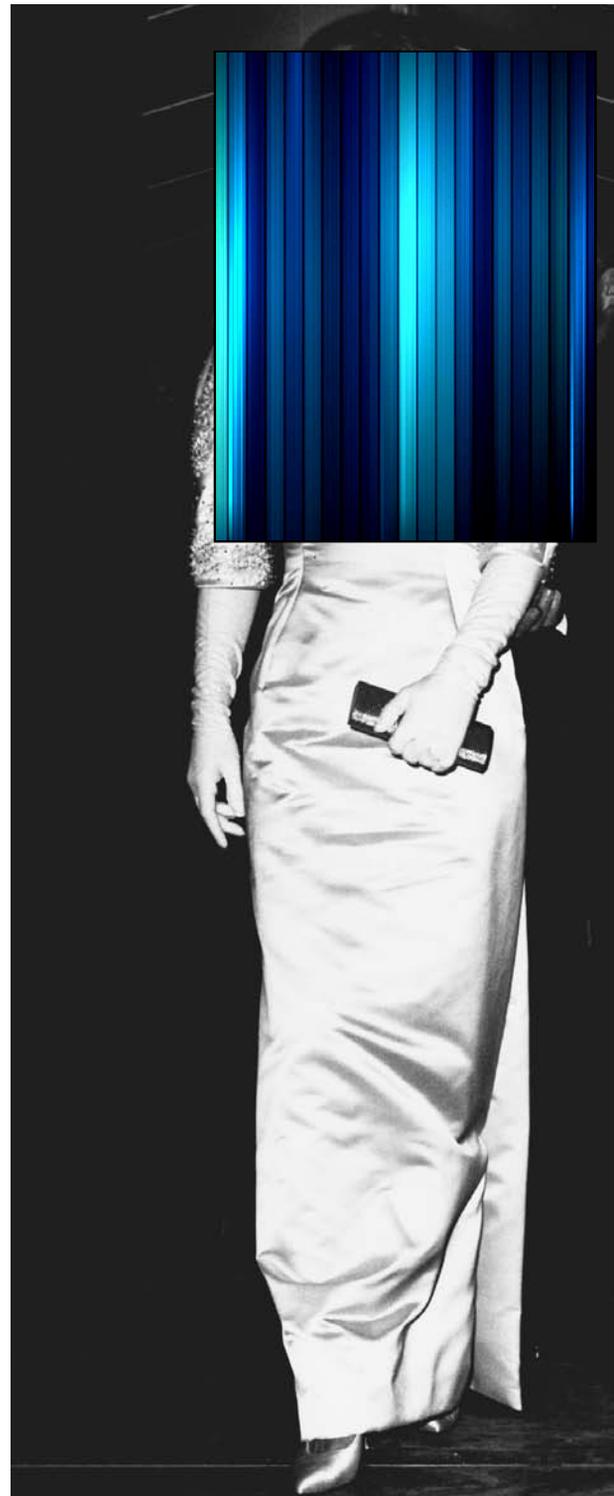
World War II meant fashion was curbed—and economic recovery was slow in the postwar period of shortages and rationing. The most famous couture collection ever was Dior's New Look of 1947, with its long skirts and nostalgic elegance—it filtered down to high-street level and was popular well into the 1950s with Hollywood costume designers. Edith Head dressed leading stars Grace Kelly, Audrey Hepburn, and the young Elizabeth Taylor in outfits inspired by the New Look.

The 1950s saw a sea change with the advent of youth-oriented fashions, linked to music and to the newly discovered and largest consumer group, the “teenagers.” Economic power meant that young people wanted their own fashions and music, and their own icons. Marlon Brando created a particular look with his T-shirt in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) and his leather jacket in *The Wild One* (1953). James Dean put the two together—as did Elvis Presley. The changing mood was reflected by the antifashion look of Brigitte Bardot in *And God Created Woman* (1956)—with untidy hair, short cotton dresses, and bare feet, she was the antithesis of groomed Hollywood glamour.

Jackie Kennedy presented a very different fashion picture in the early 1960s; copies of her suits, dress-and-coat outfits, and pillbox hats were very popular. But taste had changed—and fashion became, for the first time, completely youth-led, with London at the epicenter of the “youthquake.” Models such as Jean Shrimpton and Twiggy, film stars like Julie Christie and, above all, musicians, were the new icons. Whether dressed in sharp suits, like the Beatles, or wearing their own eclectic mix of clothes, like Jimi Hendrix and Keith Richards of the Rolling Stones—whatever they did was picked up immediately. Designer Ossie Clark famously dressed Mick Jagger in a white tunic and trousers in 1969, and in the 1970s the male stars of “glamrock” wore makeup.

The economic difficulties of the 1970s produced the hedonism of Studio 54—where Bianca Jagger appeared, attired by Halston—and the confrontational androgyny of punk. In 1977, the Sex Pistols wore clothes designed by Vivienne Westwood—torn, provocative, and fetishistic.

In the 1980s, as economic prosperity returned, so did conventional icons, like the young Princess Diana, and more glamorous icons; the “supermodels” were dressed and lionized by Gianni Versace. Rap stars, like Run-DMC, made active sportswear fashionable; designers copied their look. In the 1990s, there was a need for less “glitzy” icons; fashion followed music into “grunge,” photographers like Corinne Day created “waifs” such as Kate Moss, and sports stars became emblems of style. In 2003, there is no shortage of icons—“celebrity culture” has provided, perhaps, too many. This could mean that the notion of a “fashion icon,” like that of a “fashion leader,” needs to be redefined.



Jacqueline Kennedy. Though she was First Lady for only a few years, Jackie Kennedy's modern elegance had a long-lasting influence on the fashion world. © UPI/CORBIS-BETTMANN. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.



JACKIE KENNEDY

Jacqueline Lee Bouvier was born into a wealthy family and raised to a life of privilege. Her 1953 marriage to Senator Jack Kennedy at the wealthy enclave of Newport, Rhode Island, was one of the most glittering social events of the decade. Mrs. Kennedy became a popular figure during the 1960 presidential campaign; after her husband's election, her beauty, love of clothes, and sense of style set her apart from her rather plain predecessors as First Lady, Bess Truman and Mamie Eisenhower. Criticized in some quarters for wearing European fashions, she patronized American designers, particularly Oleg Cassini (whose designs, however, owed much to European originals). Her inauguration outfit of a fawn-colored woolen coat with matching pillbox hat was instantly copied by thousands of women; a red dress (by Chez Ninon after a Marc Bohan for Dior original) that she wore for a televised tour of the White House became another iconic "Jackie Look."

In 1968, five years after her husband's assassination, Mrs. Kennedy married wealthy Greek shipowner Aristotle Onassis; after his death in 1975 she returned to New York City and lived there until her death in 1994. Throughout those years she dressed with elegance and style; but her time as a true fashion icon came during her brief years in "Camelot," the Kennedy White House.

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

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Pamela Church Gibson

FASHION ILLUSTRATORS Fashion illustration, although often considered quaint and recherché, cannot, in fact, be separated from the development of printing technologies and the growth of fashion journalism.

The appearance of the first costume books (records of regional and ethnic dress) in the sixteenth century, is linked, as Alice Mackrell confirms in her book, *An Illustrated History of Fashion*, to: "The invention of movable printing types by Johannes Guttenberg in Munich in 1454" (p. 14). The development of engraving techniques further propagated the distribution of fashion art, even as the computer is doing today.

The advent of fashion photography, however, has had as great an impact on fashion illustration as any printing technologies. Today, illustration exists in a symbiotic, and secondary, relationship to the lens, where once it was king.

Photography—no matter how altered or re-touched—has become irrevocably equated with what is real and true. The photographic image is seen to provide a "customer service"—to show the clothes, just as the fashion plate once did. In contrast, in the twentieth century, fashion illustration has become more and more expressive, conveying an idea or an attitude, the fragrance of a look, as it were.

In some ways the predominance of photography is very logical. During a time of fashion dictatorship (through the 1950s) fashion illustration existed alongside photography as a sort of couture art form that mirrored in many ways the production, presentation, and style of the clothes. The 1960s' emphasis on youth and street influences was well suited to the immediacy of photography and its by-now iconic pioneers, like the rough-and-tumble David Bailey—type parodied in Michelangelo Antonioni's *Blow-Up*. Illustrators, in contrast, are mostly anonymous, working as they do, alone.

The all-star list of fashion artists might be topped by the seventeenth-century artists Jacques Callot (1592–1635) and Abraham Bosse (1602–1676), both of whom exploited improving engraving techniques to produce realistic details of the clothes and costumes of their times. A litany of fashion magazines appeared between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in France and England—among them *Le Mecure Gallant*, *The Lady's Magazine*, *La Gallerie des Modes*, *Le Cabinet des Modes*, and *Le Journal des dames et des modes*—all of which propelled the fashion plate to its nineteenth-century efflorescence.

The fashion plate, which captured trend-driven information as well as provided general dressmaking instruction, came into its own in the eighteenth century, flourishing, finally, in *fin de siècle* Paris. A shining example of this flowering is Horace Venet's *Incroyables et Merveilleuses*, a series of watercolor drawings by Venet of fashions under Napoleon I, engraved by Georges-Jacques Gatine as a series of fashion plates. France's position as the arbiter of fashion insured that there was a constant demand, at home and abroad, for fashion illustration. This demand was met by such talented artists as the Colin sisters and Mme. Florensa de Closménil.

The focus of nineteenth-century illustrators was on accuracy and details. They conformed to static, iconographic conventions in order to provide information and instruction to their viewers. In contrast, contemporary fashion illustration, which dates to the turn of the twentieth century, is highly graphic and focuses more on the artist's individual filter of the world. For example, Charles Dana Gibson's (1867–1944) scratchy renderings of the modern American woman, with upswept hair and shirt-waist, defined a type as well as provided a humorous, sometimes satirical, commentary on contemporary American life.

In Paris, Paul Poiret was commissioning limited edition albums by artists like Paul Iribe (1883–1935), known for his jeweled-tone palette and clean graphic line, as pure artwork. In this way Poiret aligned his new uncorseted and exotic silhouettes with the elite and exclusive world of art.

Iribe was part of a cabal of fashion illustrators who contributed to the celebrated *La gazette du bon ton*, which was published from 1912–1925 and included work by such greats as: Charles Martin (1848–1934); Eduardo Garcia Benito (1892–1953); Georges Barbier (1882–1932); Georges Lepape (1887–1971); and Umberto Brunelleschi (1879–1949). The now highly collectible plates they produced for the gazette show the influence of Japanese wood-block prints as well as the new sleek geometry of Deco styling.

Vogue and *Harper's Bazaar* magazines also kept the art of fashion illustration alive, featuring from about 1892 through the 1950s the work of fashion illustrators like Christian Berard (1902–1949), Eric [Carl Erickson] (1891–1958), Erté [Romain de Tiroff] (1892–1990), Marcel Vértès (1895–1961), René Bouché (1906–1963), and René Gruau (1908–). Berard and Vértès in particular are famous for their friendships and collaborations with designers such as Coco (Gabrielle) Chanel and Elsa Schiaparelli, who also worked with fine artists like Jean Cocteau and Salvador Dalí (who illustrated several *Vogue* covers). Both Berard and Vértès had a soft line, similar to that of Andy Warhol's fashion illustrations. René Gruau, on the other hand, is famous for his work for Christian Dior. His bold calligraphic style is among the most distinguished of the first half of the twentieth century.

One illustrator dominated the century's second half: Puerto Rican-born Antonio Lopez (1943–1987). Inspired as much by the street as by experiments with art historical styles (Deco, Op, etc.) his sensual renderings of personalities from friends like Pat Cleveland and Jerry Hall to urban break-dancers, all drawn from life, had relevance and resonance even in a photographic age. "When Antonio died," says fellow illustrator Tobie Giddio, "it's as if he took illustration with him."

Indeed, in spite of the contributions of artists like Jeffrey Fulvimari, Joe Eula, Lorenzo Mattotti (1954–), Mats Gustafson (1951–), Thierry Perez, and Tony Viramontes (1960–1988), the métier was not to see a re-

vival of any scale until the 1990s. However, *Vanity*, a short-lived illustrated magazine founded in Milan by Anna Piaggi (for which François Berthoud [1961–] illustrated most of the covers), deserves mention.

Credit for a renewed interest in illustration at the turn of the twenty-first century goes to Barneys New York for their 1993–1996 advertising campaign. Conceived of by Ronnie Cooke Newhouse, with copy by Glenn O'Brien and squiggly, indeterminate—yet biting satirical illustrations—by Jean-Philippe Delhomme (1959–), these bizarre advertisements stood in direct, and effective, contrast to the aesthetics of the time, especially the supermodel phenomenon and the penchant for the grungy, often androgynous "heroin chic" look.

The next blip in the history of contemporary fashion illustration came via a lifestyle—not a fashion—book: Tyler Brulé's *Wallpaper**. In *Wallpaper** illustration was considered an extension of design, and the magazine's out-sized pages were given over to such talents as Anja Kroenke, Liselotte Watkins, and the magazine's illustrative mascot of sorts, Jordi Labanda. Fashion magazines, with the notable exception of *Vogue Italia*, which often features the work of Mats Gustafson, the Swedish-born master of minimalism, continue to relegate illustration to spots—often on cooking or horoscope pages. *Vogue Nippon*, founded in 2000, also proves an exception to the rule, favoring the work of such artists as Ruben Toledo and Piet Paris.

Most recently, illustration has come into vogue through collaborations between designers and illustrators/artists. Marc Jacobs at Louis Vuitton has partnered with Julie Verhoeven and Takashi Murakami, and Stella McCartney with David Remfy.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, illustration is being revolutionized by technology—again—this time via the computer. While the late nineties saw the rise of slick computer-based drawing by such pioneers as Ed Tsuwaki, Graham Rounthwaite, Jason Brooks, and Kristian Russell, there has been a backlash in favor of work that is, or looks like it is, hand-drawn. Charles Anaste's realistic, biographical illustrations are much in demand, but so are the hyperrealist work of René Habermacher, the surreal stylings of Richard Gray, and Julie Verhoeven's erotic fashion drawings. Mixed media work is also popular, as virtual collages are made possible by new technology.

Technology's greatest impact, though, is on the actual production of artwork. What fashion illustration is, must be reconsidered. It is a strange, strange irony, too, that the fashion plate, an early form of fashion illustration, was mechanically produced and hand-colored, whereas contemporary illustration usually starts with a hand sketch and is finished—and colored—by hand. "I am curious about what is going to happen," muses Habermacher, whose work fully exploits digital processes. "In recent years," he said, "I have realized that the direction of my work is different from what you can

describe as classical fashion illustration. Continuing on that road will necessarily lead to a new definition.”

However difficult a definition of fashion illustration might be, its existence, and importance, is without question. The world has need of what art director Davis Schneider refers to as “visual luxuries”—illustrated fashion art.

See also **Barbier, Georges; Fashion Plates; Fashion Magazines; Fashion Models; Fashion Photography; Iribe, Paul.**

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Laird Borrelli

FASHION INDUSTRY The fashion industry is unique from other fields of manufacturing in that it is ruled largely by the same intention as its end product: change.

What defines the fashion industry is largely based on the functions of the individuals who comprise it—designers, stores, factory workers, seamstresses, tailors, technically skilled embroiderers, the press, publicists, salespersons (or “garmentos”), fit models, runway models, couture models, textile manufacturers, pattern makers, and sketch artists. In simplest terms, the fashion industry could be described as the business of making clothes, but that would omit the important distinction between fashion and apparel. Apparel is functional clothing, one of humanity’s basic needs, but fashion incorporates its own prejudices of style, individual taste, and cultural evolution.

The notion of fashion as solely fulfilling a need is past, as the modern apparel industry finds its purpose in the conception, production, promotion, and marketing of style on the basis of desire. It reflects the changing wants of consumers to be defined by their attire, or more commonly to be accepted, which has precipitated change throughout fashion history—from iconic silhouettes referred to in the patronizing language of the early twentieth century, the Gibson Girls and Floradora Girls, to the enlightened New Look (a term coined by Carmel

Snow, the editor of *Harper’s Bazaar*, in 1947) and evolving right on through an ever-changing lexicon of haberdashery. Changing styles always necessitate change through industry, notably in the ever-specialized fields of manufacturing and merchandising, as well as through the promotion of designs and designers, expanding their scope into what are known in the early 2000s as “lifestyle brands,” encompassing more than just fashion—incorporating the vernacular of fragrance, accessories, home furnishings, automobiles, jewelry, and writing instruments as well.

Even limited to the business of making clothes, its components have continually adapted to the changes of fashion and prevailing consumer demands, whether for casual clothes or formal suits, American sportswear, or celebrity-endorsed street wear. Over the decades, crinoline makers have become bra manufacturers, suit makers have adapted to the rise of separates, and textile mills have discovered the comfort of stretch. Meanwhile, new advancements in fabric development, manufacturing, and information management have become as important commodities as cotton and wool in the ever more complicated and competitive field. Throughout it all, the industry has developed classifications of pricing and style to facilitate its basic functions of designing and selling clothes along the traditional dividing line of wholesale and retail, one that has become much less distinct in recent years.

Following the traditional view of fashion’s infrastructure, as referenced in the textbook *The Dynamics of Fashion*, there are four levels of the fashion industry: the primary level of textile production, including mills and yarn makers; the secondary level of designers, manufacturers, wholesalers, and vendors; the retail level, which includes all types of stores and distribution points of sale; and also a fourth level—the auxiliary level—which connects each of the other levels via the press, advertising, research agencies, consultants, and fashion forecasters who play a part in the merchandise’s progression to the end consumer. While the relationship between the levels is more or less symbiotic—they need one another to survive—historically, the competitive spirit of capitalism has also created a tension between retailer and manufacturer, where the balance of power is usually tipped to one side in the race to capture profits and margins. The degree to which each side benefits financially from the sale of apparel has changed gradually over the decades, subject to many factors from social advancements to economic swings to cults of designer personalities to wars—both between countries and conglomerates. Over the century, the retailer, in many cases, has taken on the role of the manufacturer, and manufacturers have become retailers of their own designs.

The mass production of clothing began roughly in the mid-nineteenth century, when some manufacturers began to produce garments that did not require fitting, but fashion did not become an established industry in the

institution sense of the word until the twentieth century, when networks of neighborhood tailors casually evolved into manufacturing businesses, factories grew from necessity during the world wars, and the ensuing social and cultural changes signified the dawn of less restrictive and unilateral codes of dress. Changes in the business of fashion, and the establishment of designers as arbiters of taste, began to take shape in the early part of the century, although largely led by European houses. As the French designer Paul Poiret said during a presentation at the Horace Mann School in 1913, “Elegance and fashion have been the pastime of our ancestors, but now they take on the importance of a science” (quoted in *Women’s Wear Daily* in its ninetieth anniversary issue, 16 July 2001).

Just as French couture houses were beginning to gain an international reputation in the late nineteenth century, following the styles introduced by Charles Worth, Jeanne Lanvin, Paquin, and Poiret, the fast rise of garment factories, meanwhile, was largely an American phenomenon. It was most visible as an industry in New York City, where more than 18,000 workers were employed in the manufacture of blouses by 1900 at the time of the founding of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), a precursor to the modern-day apparel union UNITE (Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees), formed in 1995 with the merger of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The rapid shift of custom-made to ready-made clothes during the industrial revolution was stimulated by the growth of the middle class and a large increase in foreign labor, mostly Jewish and Italian immigrants who brought their tailoring skills from Europe and first organized themselves in tenements on the Lower East Side. However, the immigrant connection and overcrowded conditions generally associated with the industry led to zoning restrictions that quickly pushed production from apartment buildings into lofts and away from increasingly sophisticated showrooms. For twenty years, manufacturers continued to migrate north and west, often driven by law, such as when the Save New York Committee campaigned to move apparel factories out of the neighborhood known as Madison Square—where Broadway and East 23rd Street converge—because of fears that the factories would be a detriment to the atmosphere of nearby Fifth Avenue, known as the Ladies’ Mile.

Working conditions declined as manufacturers took advantage of the increasing pools of immigrants, influencing the rise of sweatshop labor as well as the move to unionize workers. The industry grew exponentially—by 1915, apparel was the third largest in America, after steel and oil. The Triangle Shirtwaist fire of 1911, in which 146 workers were killed, had finally led to the regulation and scrutiny of garment industry working conditions.

The industry moved again beginning in 1920, when two sites along Seventh Avenue between 36th and 38th Streets were developed by the Garment Center Realty Co., an association of thirty-eight of the largest women’s

clothing makers, sparking the first influx of apparel businesses in a neighborhood that has become the early twenty-first-century home to New York’s garment district. Yet change is still occurring, as most production has moved offshore to factories in cheaper locales and many designers have moved their offices to more “refined” neighborhoods away from the bustle of rolling racks and button shops.

In the 1930s, though, as the unified center for garment production, and the most highly concentrated apparel manufacturing capital in the world by this point, Seventh Avenue from 30th to 42nd Streets began to reflect the need for categorization within fashion. Although the industry can broadly be divided into two primary functions—wholesale and retail—the growing prevalence of department stores necessitated further distinctions. Certain buildings, in a tradition that continues in the early 2000s, house bridal firms, and others specialize in furriers, dress vendors, or coat companies, and within those categories grew distinctions of price or targeted demographic. The modern industry divides its pricing into four general categories of moderate, better, bridge, or designer apparel, from the least to most expensive, and within those categories are even more specialized distinctions, such as the relatively new silver and gold ranges (for prices that are too high to be considered bridge or too low to be called designer). There are also categories geared toward types of customers, such as juniors (a more generic classification for sportswear in the 1960s that is used to define teen-oriented labels), contemporary (geared toward young women and relating commonly to smaller sizes), and urban (reflecting the growing market for street wear).

For much of the twentieth century, the industry continued its evolution along familial lines, as the descendants of poor immigrants who had once operated those small factories along Orchard and Mulberry Streets on the Lower East Side began to establish serious businesses on Seventh Avenue, along with impressive fortunes behind companies with names that were for the large part inventions. Apart from the few pioneers of the first half of the century—Adrian, Bonnie Cashin, and Claire McCordell among them—the personalities behind the American fashion industry operated largely in anonymity compared with their counterparts in Paris, where Coco Chanel, Alix Grès, and Madeleine Vionnet had already become celebrities of international acclaim. Until World War II, it was common for American manufacturers to travel to the seasonal Paris shows, where they would pay a fee known as a caution to view the collections, usually with a minimum purchase of a few styles. They were legally permitted to copy these styles in the United States, where department stores began a tradition of lavishly presenting their copied collections with their own runway shows.

In the 1950s and 1960s, however, a growing number of entrepreneurial designers—many striking out in

the business following their service in the war—began to make their way out of the backrooms to feature their own names on their labels, a development facilitated in part by the curiosity of the press and also by the ambitions of manufacturers to capitalize on designer personalities. Licensing a designer name into other categories became a common practice, and by the 1980s, propelled by an economic boom, designers had become celebrities—led by such ambitious and charismatic personalities as Oscar de la Renta, Bill Blass, Calvin Klein, and Halston. Meanwhile, the advent of the modern designer business stood in stark contrast to the overall industry, which remained largely characterized by independent companies, with as many as 5,000 businesses then making women's dresses, helmed by a prosperous but aging second generation. Since the 1980s, the apparel industry has come to be defined by consolidation, globalization, and the economics of publicly traded companies, where the biggest news stories have been the rush of many designers to Wall Street and the retail industry's continual merging into only a handful of remaining department store companies—giants encompassing the majority of retail nameplates.

Change continues to come. The fashion industry of the early 2000s is global, with luxury conglomerates taking stakes in American businesses and production constantly moving to countries that offer the most inexpensive labor. Garments are conceived, illustrated, and laser-cut by computers, and replenished automatically by a store's data system alerts. Designers compete directly with their biggest customers by opening flagships around the world, and stores compete with designers by sourcing and producing their own private label collections, often based on the prevailing runway looks. Magazine editors and stylists have gone on to become designers, while Hollywood actors and pop stars have gone from wearing designer clothes to creating them. At the outset of the twenty-first century, what defines the fashion industry has little to do with the artisan's craft of a century ago, but would be better described as the pursuit of profitable styles by multinational conglomerates with competitive technology and the most efficient delivery of timely merchandise.

But change in fashion—or the fashion industry—is nothing new. It seems fitting to refer to the opening line on page 1 of the first issue of *Women's Wear Daily*, which was founded as *Women's Wear* in June 1910, in response to the rise of the women's apparel industry: "There is probably no other line of human endeavor in which there is so much change as in the product that womankind wears."

See also **Economics and Clothing; Fashion Education; Fashion Marketing and Merchandising; Globalization.**

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Eric Wilson

FASHION JOURNALISM Until Virginia Pope of the *New York Times* made fashion the topic of serious newspaper coverage with the attendant responsibilities for accuracy, objectivity, and fairness, the words "fashion journalism" were an oxymoron.

During her tenure at the *Times* (1925–1955), she raised the bar not only for fashion journalism, reporting on the Paris haute couture collections beginning in 1934 in addition to her regular New York coverage, she also introduced the idea of live theatrical fashion presentations, which she produced for the public each fall under the auspices of the *Times*.

Many other U.S. papers of that era ran occasional photos of the latest Paris creations and counted on their society editors to report on who-wore-what to the local charity ball. There was little or no regard for the business of fashion, its sociological implications, or news from designers.

In 1943, the New York fashion publicist Eleanor Lambert, who represented many New York designers of that era, initiated "press weeks," inviting fashion editors from newspapers throughout the country to attend capsule presentations of her clients' collections—showings that took place in New York hotel meeting rooms months after those same collections had opened to buyers in Seventh Avenue showrooms. Similar "press weeks" were held in Los Angeles, sponsored by the California Fashion Creators, a loose coalition of designers there.

The general tenor of the fashion writing in the 1940s and early 1950s was a labored accounting of skirt lengths, jacket cuts, color choices, and fabric descriptions. In 1956, Eleanor Nangle of the *Chicago Tribune*, together with fashion editors from the *Milwaukee Journal* (now the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*), the *Buffalo News*, and the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* decided that fashion should be covered as sports are covered—at the time the games are played, in this case, at the time the seasonal collections opened to buyers, and not from hotel suites months later. (New York papers had "always" covered the showroom openings, but the out-of-town press had not, as few newspapers considered fashion an important enough subject to justify the expense of a week in New York.)

Lambert's press weeks continued, but more and more fashion editors from metropolitan newspapers began to attend the buyer openings and report, on the spot, from New York. And as they came, their competitors followed. A few—the *New York Times*, the *New York Times Magazine*, the *New York Herald-Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Washington Post*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and the *Los Angeles Times*—also reported on the Paris haute couture openings, as did the trade publication *Women's Wear Daily*.

Eugenia Sheppard, then at the *New York Herald-Tribune* and later at the *New York Post* and *Women's Wear Daily*, was one of the first to make fashion writing entertaining. She also proved her resourcefulness as a journalist by once sneaking into a Balenciaga show as a buyer in order to get immediate coverage. (Balenciaga and Hubert de Givenchy showed one month after the other couturiers and put embargos on news coverage for a month after their openings.) Her coverage got her banned from the next season's show, but she managed to cover that one, and others from which she would eventually be barred, by interviewing buyers who were in attendance. Such ingenuity also made her one of the first to be a fashion journalist celebrity.

By 1969, Paris ready-to-wear was becoming more and more important to American retailers, and newspaper fashion editors gradually started reporting on these twice-yearly events, later expanding that coverage to include Florence, Milan, and London. One editor, Nina Hyde of the *Washington Post*, made an exceptional contribution to fashion journalism by her efforts to discover new talent.

Bill Cunningham, first a columnist for *Women's Wear Daily* and later a freelance contributor to the *Chicago Tribune*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Details* magazine, was the first fashion photojournalist to point out design copying. His photos of original designs juxtaposed with his photos of the copies left readers of *Details*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune* with little doubt of the design's provenance, and his witty texts became classroom examples of how to make fashion writing interesting. Cunningham's photo essays of the New York fashion scene for the *New York Times* are a weekly documentary of what real people really wear on the streets and in the social arena.

That so much fashion coverage in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s centered on the seasonal shows in Europe was a reflection of the Eurocentric nature of fashion at that time. The news—the trends that set the scene for the direction of fashion—was, for the most part, coming from Paris, Milan, or London. Americans were generally known as fashion marketers or stylists. Europeans, especially Paris designers, were the *créateurs*. As some have said: Americans make clothes; Europeans make fashion.

Increasingly aware that a lot of the fashion space they usually garnered was being taken by the European coverage, New York designers began to join the trend to

more theatrical shows by leaving their showrooms in favor of larger hotel venues. Many upgraded their presentations from models instructed to bring their own shoes and the announcing of style numbers to buyers seated in rented-for-the-day little gold chairs to choreographed shows with music, never-seen-before, never-worn-before accessories crafted especially for the collection, hair and makeup professionals creating beauty looks, backstage booze, and, eventually, “supermodels.”

In 1980, television fashion coverage, which until then had been limited to an occasional fashion “special,” makeovers, and sixty seconds or so at the end of a morning show during collection openings, got its biggest boost when Elsa Klensch went on the air for CNN, her shows televised around the world. Given her international audience and her interviewing style—always respectful, never critical—Klensch was able to attract all the top designers for interviews and to gain access to their shows. For the first time, a viewer could watch the runway shows of all the major fashion players in New York, Tokyo, Paris, Milan, London, and Klensch's native Australia. *Style with Elsa Klensch* truly brought fashion to the masses. When the show was discontinued in 2000, it had an estimated 120 million viewers in 210 countries. *Edie Raymond Locke's Show* was another groundbreaking TV show from that time (1981–1986). The show was hosted by Edie Raymond Locke, who brought the magazine format she had pioneered as editor-in-chief of *Mademoiselle* magazine to USA Network. Her half-hour weekly shows concentrated on fashion, beauty, decorating, finances for women, makeovers, and model of the month. In the early 1990s, Geoffrey Beene became the first American designer to forsake the runway for the stage—first a *mise-en-scène* at Lincoln Center, then Broadway-type shows at the Equitable Building with elaborate stage sets, music created just for the show, and models interspersed with ballet dancers.

By 1993 the Council of Fashion Designers of America (CFDA) decided to try to compete with the European cities as a fashion capital by creating 7th on Sixth (7th on Sixth was the CFDA's way of saying Seventh Avenue—typically known as Fashion Avenue—had moved over a block to Sixth Avenue where Bryant Park is located) and producing shows under tents in Bryant Park. As the showmanship increased, fashion coverage increased, and designers attracted movie and rock stars to sit front row, some exchanging clothes for appearances. Journalists from Europe and Japan attended, providing a global audience for New York designers, a few of whom had begun to sell to European stores and open their own boutiques there. Madonna became a regular. Barbra Streisand, Whitney Houston, David Bowie, Mariah Carey, Lenny Kravitz—all brought their star power to the tents, juicing the entertainment element and thereby increasing newspaper readership and television viewers. The Bryant Park shows inspired a television show, *Full Frontal Fashion*, which went on the air with New York's Metro Channel in 1998, featuring footage taken during

the shows and designer interviews, many of them with the show's founder, Judy Licht. Producer John Filimon says the object of the show, which was being broadcast on the WE channel in the early 2000s, was, and is, to make the designer the star.

During the 1980s and 1990s, most newspaper fashion editors had a laissez-faire approach to their coverage, writing about trends rather than critiquing individual collections. The exceptions, notably Eugenia Sheppard, Hebe Dorsey of the *International Herald Tribune* and her replacement Suzy Menkes, and Amy Spindler and Cathy Horyn, the first and second fashion critics at the *New York Times*, treated (and treat) the subject of fashion, especially the openings, as critics covering other fields would do—with opinions as well as facts.

The role of fashion journalism has obviously changed with the times. It also changes with the type of medium involved. Most magazine fashion editors do not write. They cover markets, making recommendations to the top editors for specific garments for specific shoots, and they style photography. The oldest fashion magazines, *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, have traditionally defined their fashion coverage not only by their audience demographics—upper-income adults—but also by their conviction that fashion begins in Europe and is homogenized in America. By encouraging American designers to “adapt” the designs of Cristóbal Balenciaga, Jacques Fath, and Christian Dior, for example, editors in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s discouraged design innovation in America, effectively relegating the New York designer to the backrooms of Seventh Avenue. And until the mid-1980s and 1990s, before it joined Paris, Milan, and London as a fashion capital, New York was generally considered a digester of fashion, not a feeder. The media effect of those two magazines, plus the editorial slant of *Women's Wear Daily* during the years John Fairchild was publisher, was to place Europe at the top of the fashion chain and to convince many American designers that their role was to assimilate, not innovate.

In many respects, Fairchild revolutionized the way fashion was covered—with great irreverence. He and his staff mixed fact with opinion, encouraged controversy, baited designers, followed them, scared them, coined phrases (“the lunch bunch” was code for rich socialites), made some of them heroes and destroyed others. *WWD*, as it is known, even created a new syntax, using . . . as a way of separating thoughts instead of as an ellipse to indicate an omission.

Like magazine fashion coverage, television fashion coverage is more subject-friendly than confrontational or critical. The entertainment element is fundamental.

In many ways, the advent of television fashion coverage has influenced fashion in a way few predicted. As Malcolm McLaren was quoted as saying in the May 1995 issue of *W Magazine*: “Fashion is a television spectacle now. But at the same time, it has become voyeuristic. Be-

cause if people watch it enough, and read about it enough, to some extent they don't have to wear it. They've already consumed the idea.” This raises the question: Is the widely circulated immediate coverage of the seasonal openings giving people too much advance knowledge of the season and thereby making the clothes look old by the time they reach the stores?

The Internet's biggest impact on fashion journalism in the early twenty-first century is to enable users to see images of the collections here and abroad and read capsule reviews within hours after the runway show. For manufacturers inclined to copy, this is a great service. For designers eager to see what their competition is doing, it is far more valuable than an occasional photograph in a newspaper or trade publication. For consumers eager to see for themselves what lies ahead, and thereby help them plan their seasonal purchases, it is a boon. For someone hoping to see the season synthesized and trended, it is a boondoggle. For journalists who cover the shows and for stylists who will be responsible for accessorizing the clothes with the point of view of their magazine or their advertising client, it is a quick reference for planning future stories or avoiding the seasonal clichés. For magazine editors accustomed to making their own runway sketches as notes, it is a great backup.

With the beginning of fashion on television, some, like McLaren, were concerned with its potential long-term impact on the subject. The same questions are being asked now about the Internet. Fashion can now be conveyed in a variety of ways, from print to live satellite feeds to video conferencing with designers.

The question now remains: Why does a fashion journalist have to be there—wherever *there* is—to get the story?

See also **Fashion Advertising; Fashion Designer; Fashion Magazines; Fashion Models; Fashion Online; Fashion Shows; Fashion Television.**

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Marylou Luther

FASHION MAGAZINES Fashion magazines are an essential component of the fashion industry. They are the medium that conveys and promotes the design's vision to the eventual purchaser. Balancing the priorities has led to the diversity of the modern periodical market.

Fashion, except in its lifestyle sense or as a byword for vanity, played no part in early periodical literature. In 1678, however, Donneau de Visé first included an illustrated description of French fashions with suppliers' names in his ladies magazine, *Le Mercure galant*, which is considered the direct ancestor of modern fashion reports. Thereafter, fashion news rarely reappeared in periodical literature until the mid-eighteenth century when it was

included in the popular ladies handbooks and diaries. Apparently in response to readers' requests, such coverage to the popular *Lady's Magazine* (1770–1832) was added to the genteel poems, music, and fiction that other journals were already offering to their middle-class readers.

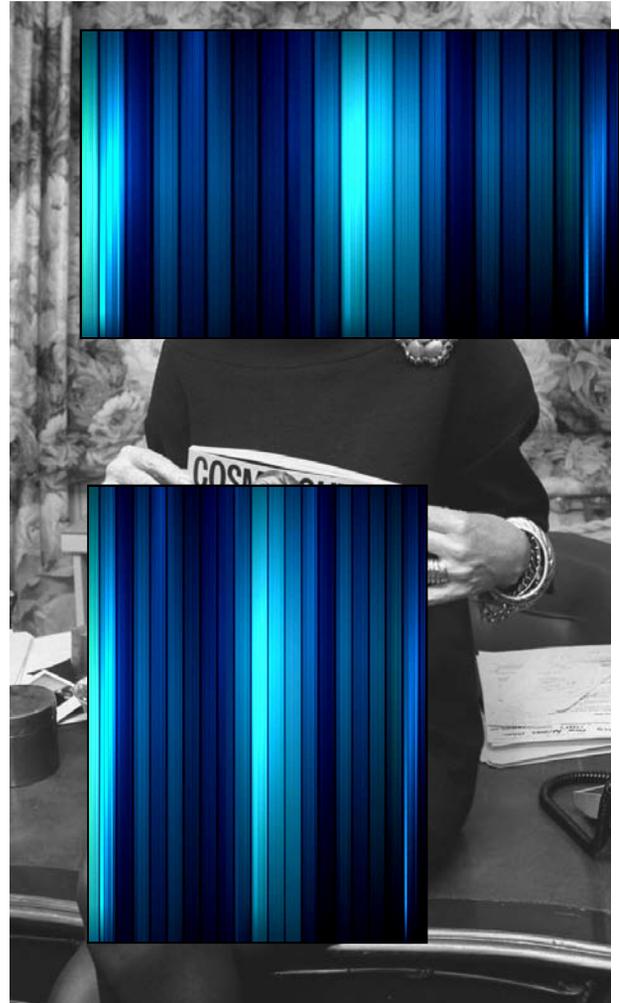
By the end of the eighteenth century, *Lady's Magazine* had been joined by many periodicals catering to an affluent aspirational society. Interest in fashion was widespread and it was included in quality general readership journals such as the Frankfurt *Journal der Luxus und der Moden* (1786–1827) and Ackermann's *Repository of the Arts, Literature, Commerce, Fashion and Politics* (1809–1828) as well as those specifically for ladies. Despite the continental wars, French style was paramount and found their way into most English journals. Very popular with dressmakers was *Townsend's Quarterly (later Monthly) Selection of Parisian Costumes* (1825–1888), beautifully produced unattributed illustrations with minimal comment. The journals were generally elite productions, well illustrated and highly priced, though cheaper if uncolored. John Bell's *La belle assemblée* (1806–1821) was edited by Mary Anne Bell between 1810 and 1820, also proprietor of a fashion establishment. Dressmaker's credits are rare, perhaps because fashion establishments were dependent on personal recommendation and exclusivity.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the magazine, like other popular literature, profited from improvements in printing methods, lower paper costs, and lower taxation. Literacy levels had risen and readership increased. Many new titles were produced and fashion for all types and ages were generally included in those for the women's market. Circulation figures were high; *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830–1897) issued 150,000 copies in 1861 and Samuel Beeton's *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1852–1897) issued 60,000. Advertisement increased but the revenue rarely inhibited editorial independence. The key to circulation was innovation, and Godey and Beeton both added a shopping service and additional paper patterns to those already available within the magazine. Up-to-date fashion news was an essential and fashion plates as well as embroidery designs came direct from Paris sources, though in America they were often modified for home consumption.

The wide-ranging informative articles, typical of the "new journalism" were often written by women beginning to be well established in the newspaper profession. By the end of the century, there had been women editors at *Godey*, the Demorest publications, 1860–1899, *The Queen* (c. 1860s) and *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* (1875–1912).

Entertaining and practical guides for the average family, this type of mid-market magazine had a long life, only recently losing its popularity. Its main competitors were shop catalogs and store magazines.

High-fashion Paris news was most easily accessible in the large format society journals, the weekly illustrated



Former *Cosmopolitan* editor-in-chief Helen Gurley Brown. *Cosmopolitan* was originally conceived for the whole family, but when Brown took the reins in 1965, she reformatted it into a woman's magazine. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

newspapers, and *La mode illustrée* (1860–1914), of which there was an English edition. Semi-amateur fashion cum gossip columnists were a feature of Gilded Age society, but the couture concerned with their expanding international market were increasingly professional about their publicity, and well-kept house guard books were probably as useful for press promotion as they were to designers and clients.

Through its *Chambre Syndicale*, the couture was organizing its own fashion journal, *Les modes* (1901–1937). Its innovative and informative photographic illustrations made it an anthology of high status Paris design by the end of the century. In 1911 Lucien Vogel offered the couture an even more modern shop window in the elitist *Gazette du bon ton* (1911–1923), the precursor of the small *pochoir* (stencil) illustrated fashionable journals



1929 *Vogue* cover. Revamped by Condé Nast in the early twentieth century, *Vogue* is global in its coverage of the world of high fashion. © CONDÉ NAST ARCHIVE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

characteristic of the avant-garde press of the early twentieth century.

It is a tribute to their vision that a men's style publication was included. *Monsieur* (1920–1922) was a complete break with the stereotyped format and trade jargon of the tailoring journals. It was not followed until *Esquire* (1933–), described as the male counterpart to *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*, updated the male fashion image, stressing a harmony between clothes and lifestyle.

High fashion was reinterpreted for the American market when *Vogue* was taken over by Condé Nast Publications in 1909. His publishing experience had shown that a rich and aspirational American society wanted practical fashion guidance and a direct line to Paris. *Vogue* coverage is global in the early 2000s, and foreign editions make their own assessments of the fashionable and the salable. Until his death in 1942, Condé Nast maintained meticulous control of the quality and service he believed were owed to his readers. *Vogue* archives provide insight into the management of quality fashion publication in a twentieth-century world. The contributors, editors, designers, photographers, and artists who have enriched the *Vogue* pages over the years add another essential layer of information.

As fashion pace increased, the fashion publication scene was stimulated by developments at *Women's Wear Daily* (*WWD*), after the Fairchild family purchased it in 1909 as a conventional trade paper for the garment trade. Its offshoot, *W* (1972–) was developed by John Fairchild, the son of the founder, to have “the speed of a newspaper . . . with the smart look of a fashion magazine” and significantly, its survival depended on advertisement. News “scoops” were competed for ruthlessly. *Vogue* secured the designs for Princess Elizabeth's wedding dress in 1947, *WWD* obtained Princess Margaret's in 1960, plus the annual Best-Dressed List. Assessment of style change was more problematic and it was the role of the fashion editor to balance designer's contribution and public acceptance. It was a tribute to both when magazines and public supported Dior's New Look in 1947, despite trade and government opposition.

Increasingly dependent on advertising, the conventional magazine is challenged if fashion deviates from established trends. The “lead in” time for a quality, full-color journal is generally two months—too long for the speed of street fashion and its high-spending, young, and trendy clientele. This readership was not targeted until 1976 when Terry Jones, originally from *Vogue*, developed the U.K. magazine *i-D*, with its apparently spontaneous fanzine look. Its original message, “It isn't what you wear but how you wear it,” had little appeal for the clothing trade but it has found its niche market in the early 2000s and is the prototype “young fashion” magazine.

Despite the number of fashion magazines currently available, it is probable that most people appreciate fashion through the daily press, the popular lifestyle and celebrity magazines, television, and the Web. With advertising pressures and the sheer volume of clothing choices in an affluent society, it is not unexpected that these popular magazines react by judging celebrities not by their designer clothes, but by the way that they wear them.

See also **Vogue; Women's Wear Daily.**

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Madeleine Ginsberg

FASHION MARKETING AND MERCHANDISING The goal of fashion marketing and merchandising, for both manufacturers and retailers, is to sell merchandise at a profit. This requires careful planning and coordination.

In ancient times, people “shopped” in open-air markets and bazaars, finding not only necessities but also products that were unique and gave excitement to their everyday lives. Today, we shop and buy in much the same way, but open-air markets and bazaars have evolved into department and specialty stores, discount outlets, and huge malls that continue to excite and entice the shopper. The difference is that fashion marketing and fashion merchandising are now the watchwords of successful fashion businesses. In the early twenty-first century, the customer has become the most important ingredient in successful fashion retailing. Determining the needs and wants of the targeted customer has become very important, and this challenge has led to the creation of specific goods and stores for specific categories of customers.

For many years, fashion producers were concerned only with what was economical and easy for them to produce. They would spend considerable time and money trying to convince the consumer that what they produced was what the consumer wanted. The fashion producer had little or no interest in the needs and wants of the consumer. However, marketing proved so successful in the growth of consumer goods such as automobiles, packaged foods, and health and beauty aids that it was eventually adopted by the fashion businesses. Under the classic definition of marketing, the key task of the organization is to determine the needs and wants of target markets and adapt the organization to deliver the desired satisfactions more effectively and efficiently to the ultimate customer.

Through the use of sophisticated marketing techniques such as focus groups, surveys, data mining, and market segmentation along with systematic approaches such as electronic data information (EDI), inventory tracking, and constant evaluation of advertising results for determining consumer tastes, the industry’s awareness of the importance of pleasing the target customer has greatly increased. Every step—design, production, distribution, promotion—is geared to consumer demand.

“Fashion marketing” includes all of the activities involved from conceiving a product to directing the flow of goods from producer to the ultimate customer. Activities of marketing include product development, pricing, promotion, and distribution. If a fashion retailer or manufacturer is to make a profit, the firm must have a product that consumers perceive as desirable, and the product must be presented to potential customers in a way that makes them want to buy it.

The first step in a fashion marketing approach is to define the company’s target customers, those persons the company most wants to attract as customers. Fashion

marketers determine their target customer’s needs and wants by examining various market segments, identified by geographics, demographics, psychographics, and behavioral studies. Fashion marketers also track trends in population growth and diversity. Changing patterns of immigration bring with them new influences from different parts of the world. Products that will meet the needs and desires of these customers are then developed or selected. Most fashion manufacturers and retailers recognize that following a consumer-marketing approach leads to a profitable business.

“Fashion merchandising” is defined as the buying and selling of goods for the purpose of making a profit. Merchandising is the planning involved in marketing the *right* merchandise at the *right* price at the *right* time in the *right* place and in the *right* quantities. Commonly known as the 5Rs, merchandising is concerned with all the activities necessary to provide customers with the merchandise they want to buy, when and where they want to buy it, and at prices they can afford and are willing to pay. This includes making buying plans, understanding the customer, selecting the merchandise, and promoting and selling the goods to the consumer.

Fashion merchandising is practiced by both manufacturers and retailers. For manufacturers, merchandising begins with estimating consumer demand in terms of styles, sizes, colors, quantity, and price. Merchandising also involves designing the goods and selecting the fabrics and findings, designing the packaging, pricing, advertising, and other sales promotion activities.

For fashion retailers, merchandising also begins with forecasting the needs and wants of their target customer. The retailer must first project sales in terms of dollars and units of merchandise. Just as the manufacturer must anticipate the needs of the retailer, the retailer must also anticipate the needs of the consumer by reviewing past sales, keeping up on trends, and knowing where on the fashion cycle their customer falls. The retailer must also know what colors, sizes, styles, and prices of merchandise that their target customers want to purchase. After planning what and how much to buy, merchandising for the fashion retailer includes determining resources from which to purchase, selecting from their assortments, and purchasing the goods for sale to the consumer. Another factor of merchandising is presenting the merchandise attractively and effectively to the consumer and promoting the merchandise so that the target customer will want to buy it.

In the early 2000s, technology has been a major factor in helping fashion manufacturers and retailers to successfully satisfy the needs and wants of the targeted customer, with body scanning being just one example. Body scanning software customizes patterns for an individual’s body. This results in the kind of fit previously available only to couture customers. As technology continues to improve and become less costly, scanning of the

entire body will become more common, resulting in the kind of fit previously available only in expensive made-to-measure fashion products.

The development of fashion marketing and merchandising as distinct professions with their own expertise, insights, and techniques, has made them the cornerstone of the modern world of fashion. The use of sophisticated marketing and merchandising methods and techniques has given rise to some of the most exciting and innovative strategies: among them are entertainment-oriented shopping malls, themed environments, designer and manufacturer retail flagship stores, brands, off-site retailing and e-tailing and packaging, now viewed as the science of temptation.

Fashion marketing and merchandising present a unique problem because of the ever-changing nature of fashion and the difficulty of predicting consumer demand. The fashion world is famous for its fast-moving, do-or-die success or failure rate. With a need to respond quickly to consumer purchasing, sophisticated processes are required for quick decision making that will support the fashion marketers and merchandisers in satisfying the customer.

See also **Fashion Industry; Retailing.**

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Elaine Stone

FASHION MODELS In the nineteenth century, the first living mannequins, or “manikins,” took their name from the static dummy or lay figure they were soon to replace as the principal form of display in the dressmaker’s salon. While the word “mannequin”—in French, *le mannequin*—described the woman, the word “model”—*le modèle*—designated the gown she exhibited in the salon. The model gown was a one-off that did not go into production; it was thus both an exclusive dress for sale to an individual client, and a prototype (hence the term model) sold to a fashion buyer for adaptation to the mass market. Both model gowns and model women were at the heart of the commercial development of the French couture industry and its global markets, and there was always some confusion in the terminology. The dual meaning of the word “model” also signals the ambivalent status of the earliest fashion models, hovering uneasily between subject- and object-hood. They invoked both admiration and disapproval, disconcerting their critics precisely be-

cause they wore fashionable dress in public for money rather than for its own sake.

Origins

Charles Frederick Worth is generally thought to be the first couturier to use live models. However, many nineteenth-century dressmakers had a young woman available to put on a dress for a client, although their primary mode of display was a wooden or wicker dummy. Indeed, Worth met his future wife, Marie, while she was employed to model shawls to customers on the shop floor of their mutual employer, the mercer Gagelin et Opigez. The couple set up their first *maison de couture* in 1858, and Marie modeled in the Worth salons until the 1870s, after which she remained responsible for training the house mannequins. Maison Worth’s real innovation was thus to institutionalize the profession within the increasingly bureaucratic structure of a couture house, having several trained house mannequins, rather than using the occasional *petit main*, or seamstress, as a model.

The Early Twentieth Century

Lady Duff Gordon, trading as Lucile, claimed to have started the first mannequin parades in London in the late 1890s. She trained her mannequins in carriage and deportment and gave them stage names such as Hebe, Gamela, and Dolores. Often six feet tall, they struck dramatic poses during the parades but barely smiled and never spoke. When Lucile opened in New York in 1910 and then Paris in 1911, she took with her four of her London mannequins whose glamour was widely reported in the press of both continents. Dolores later joined the Ziegfeld Follies, and there are many parallels between the fashion model and the chorus girl.

In the same period, fashion magazines began to use photography alongside fashion illustrations, but the women in these photographs were often actresses and, later, society women, rather than professional mannequins, and, with some notable exceptions, the two career paths—photographic and catwalk models—remained separate until well into the 1960s.

Catwalk modeling was always a specialist option. Mannequins were full-time employees of the house and sometimes even lived in. In Paris, both Paquin and Poiret were in the vanguard in showing their fashions on live mannequins, but between 1900 and 1910 most couture houses had their *cabine*, or studio, of mannequins. Although poorly paid and barely respectable, they were also considered exceptionally glamorous. From behind the scenes, they would be summoned several times a day to model gowns for private customers and professional buyers alike, under the direction of the *vendeuse*. Until approximately 1907, they wore a high-necked and long-sleeved black satin sheath, or *fourrure*, beneath the luxury gowns; although generally believed to designate their lack of respectability, the *fourrure* must also have facilitated the rapid costume changes required.

The appearance of three paid mannequins with an unnamed couturier at the Auteil racecourse in 1908 caused outrage, but the practice rapidly became common. In 1910, Poiret made a film of a mannequin parade, and in 1911 he toured Europe with a troupe of uniformed mannequins. In 1913, both he and Paquin undertook mannequin tours of the United States; in one town, the host department store responded to Paquin's mannequins with a matching parade of American male mannequins. Department stores in the United States were, if anything, ahead of Parisian couturiers in pioneering the use of models in dramatic fashion shows. In 1924, Jean Patou traveled to New York to recruit six American mannequins to model in Paris for his American customers whose physique, he claimed, was longer and leaner than that of the "rounded French Venus." Paquin, Poiret, and Patou understood the importance of showing on live models in the marketing of modern fashion. All were able to harness innovative publicity techniques to the early twentieth-century desire to see fashion in motion.

The Mid-Twentieth Century

John Powers opened the first American model agency in 1923; the Ford modeling agency was founded in 1946. By contrast, the first French model agency opened only in 1959, perhaps because French fashion houses had always employed their own models. In New York in the 1920s, there was also a mannequins' school dedicated to teaching fashion modeling techniques.

By the 1920s, fashion journalists were beginning to report not only on the seasonal fashions, but equally on individual mannequins from the Paris "openings." Captain Molyneux's principal mannequin, Sumurun (Vera Ashby), was well known; in the 1930s, the in-house mannequins of the London department store Selfridges were popular figures, while Schiaparelli's mannequin Lud was reputed to be married to a lion-tamer.

After World War II, the profession of model acquired some respectability, perhaps due to cinematic representations of models in films such as *Cover Girl* (1944), *Funny Face* (1957), and *Blowup* (1966). The social status of models improved as several married into the aristocracy.

Modeling styles changed. From the early twentieth-century the mannequin had been required to move sedately in the salon, notwithstanding the risqué connotations of Lucile's "goddesses" and Poiret's undulating mannequins. By contrast, when, in 1947, Christian Dior showed his "New Look," he encouraged his models to do theatrical turns, knocking over ashtrays in the audience as their coats swung round. However, in general modeling styles remained staid and the 1950s' model was required to look haughty and disdainful. Paris fashion houses maintained a *cabine* of fourteen to eighteen models, and there tended to be a "house style" of modeling, although each model was a different physical type to represent the range of clients' looks. It was therefore, revolutionary when, in the

late 1950s, the British designer Mary Quant first showed on photographic mannequins who danced frenetically to jazz music and then froze in graphic, static poses on the catwalk.

The 1960s to the Early 2000s

Quant laid the path for the innovations of the 1960s when the development of ready-to-wear required a different kind of presentation. Now models were required to dance, act, and clown on the catwalk. In Courrèges's futurist collection of 1965, grinning models danced in experimental kinetic movement to *musique concrète*. Marie Helvin recalled that haute couture modeling in the 1960s and 1970s was about contact with hand-made, one-off clothes, whereas showstopping modeling techniques, photogenic beauty, and the showgirl instinct were the prerequisites of the ready-to-wear show.

Until then, models had been poorly paid, but their compensation went rocketing up in this period; top models could command \$1,000 for a one-hour show in Milan and even a little more for one in Paris. The strict separation between house mannequins and photographic models began to be eroded and the proliferation of media images of the young, beautiful, and fashionable in the 1960s ensured that photographic models like Jean Shrimpton ("the Shrimp") and Twiggy became iconic figures of their times.

The rise of the supermodel in the early 1990s was followed by a fashion for more waiflike models with slighter frames and quirker looks. Their salaries, however, did not shrink correspondingly. By the end of the twentieth century, models were firmly established as the new celebrities. Feted in gossip columns and highly compensated, they were far removed from their early twentieth-century predecessors with their dubious status and poor pay. Nevertheless, and despite the high visibility of the black model Naomi Campbell, models of color continue to be underrepresented in the industry at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

See also **Mannequins; Patou, Jean; Quant, Mary; Twiggy; Worth, Charles Frederick.**

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Caroline Evans

FASHION MUSEUMS AND COLLECTIONS

Clothing has been collected and exhibited by a variety of individuals and institutions. Already in the eighteenth century, Madame Tussaud of wax-museum fame, was acquiring and displaying the clothing of celebrities. Today, a wide variety of museums collect dress and textiles, including anthropological and ethnological museums, history museums, art museums, design museums, and specialized fashion and textile museums.

In Paris, still the international capital of fashion, there are two important fashion museums: the Musée de la Mode et du Costume at the Palais Galliera, which was formerly known as the Musée du Costume de la Ville de Paris, at 10 Avenue Piere-1^{er}-de-Serbie in the 16th arrondissement; and the Musée de la Mode et du Textile at 107 Rue de Rivoli in the 1st arrondissement, which is affiliated with the Louvre. The former was founded in the 1920s and is funded by the city of Paris; it has been at its present location in the Galliera since 1977. The latter opened its doors in 1986 and is more lavishly funded by the state. For simplicity's sake, we might refer to them, respectively, as the Galliera and the Louvre. The Galliera possesses an extensive collection of historical dress, while the Louvre is stronger in contemporary fashion. The Louvre also houses, but does not own, the collections of the Union Française des Arts du Costume. Among the Galliera's best exhibitions was the late Guillaume Garnier's *Paris Années Trentes* (1987). Pamela Golbin, one of several curators at the Louvre's fashion museum, has organized innovative exhibitions, such as *Lumière*.

The fashion designer Yves Saint Laurent is organizing his own museum in Paris. Elsewhere in France, the Textile Museum in Lyons has an important collection, while nearby Romans is home to a small shoe museum.

In London, the most important collection of fashion belongs to The Victoria & Albert Museum, one of the world's most important museums of the applied arts. As early as 1913, The V&A exhibited eighteenth-century fashions. In the 1970s Cecil Beaton obtained many examples of high fashion for the museum. A permanent exhibition of historic costume, arranged chronologically, has been on display for many years in the costume gallery. In 1994, the V&A mounted an important exhibition, *Streetstyle: From Sidewalk to Catwalk*, curated by Amy de la Haye, which compared subcultural styles such as punk with high fashion. Another curator, Claire Wilcox, has organized *Fashion in Motion*, a monthly event that includes a live fashion show. Wilcox also curated the 2001 exhibition *Radical Fashion*.

In 2002, after years of effort, the fashion and textile designer Zandra Rhodes opened the Museum of Fashion and Textiles in London. Judith Clark's tiny eponymous gallery has also presented innovative fashion exhibitions. Elsewhere in Great Britain, there are a number of other fashion museums, which were founded by individual collectors. For example, Dr. and Mrs. C. Willett Cunningham created the Gallery of English Costume in Manchester, and Mrs. Doris Langley Moore created the Museum of Costume in Bath. Mrs. Hélène Alexander founded the Fan Museum in Greenwich.

Oddly enough, there exists no full-scale fashion museum in Italy, although the Galleria del Costume in the Palazzo Pitti (Florence) has a significant collection and mounts occasional exhibitions. There are also a number of private collections in Italy, such as that of Enrico Quinto in Rome. Many fashion designers have their own archives, as well.

In the United States, many art museums have important costume collections. The most famous is the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Diana Vreeland, formerly editor-in-chief at *Vogue*, became Special Consultant to the Costume Institute in 1972. She organized more than a dozen exhibitions on themes such as the *The 18th-Century Woman* (1981), *Romantic and Glamorous Hollywood Design* (1974), and *Yves Saint Laurent* (1983). Although subject to criticism on the grounds of commercialism and historical inaccuracy, Mrs. Vreeland's shows were undeniably glamorous, and they succeeded in abolishing the aura of antiquarianism that had previously surrounded most “costume” exhibitions.

The Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology is the only museum in New York dedicated primarily to fashion. It owns some 50,000 examples of clothing and accessories, with their greatest strength in modern and contemporary fashion. Richard Martin and Harold

Koda organized a number of important exhibitions at FIT, including *Fashion and Surrealism* (1987), before they moved uptown to the Costume Institute. Martin's premature death in 1999 at the age of 52 robbed the field of a brilliant intelligence. In 1997 Valerie Steele became chief curator of the Museum at FIT. Among her many exhibitions are *The Corset: Fashioning the Body* (2000), *Femme Fatale: Fashion and Visual Culture in Fin-de-Siècle France* (2002), and *London Fashion* (2001), which received the first Richard Martin Award from the Costume Society of America. The Brooklyn Museum of Art also has impressive holdings in fashion and has mounted exhibitions, such as *The Genius of Charles James* (1982). The Museum of the City of New York has another important collection, which focuses on clothing made and/or worn in the metropolis. It is especially strong in fashions of the Gilded Age and in theatrical costumes. Other North American museums with important fashion collections include the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Los Angeles Museum of Art, and the Royal Ontario Museum.

The Kyoto Costume Institute is a private museum in Japan founded by the Wacoal Company, which manufactures foundation garments. The chief curator, Akiko Fukai, has organized a number of important exhibitions, including *Japonism Fashion* (1994), which has traveled to museums worldwide. Fashion museums have recently been opened or are planned in many places around the world, including Belgium (the Moda Museum in Antwerp, curated by Linda Loppe), Chile, and Goa.

See also **Belgian Fashion; Cunningham, C. Willett and Phillis; Fashion Education; Japonisme; Moore, Doris Langley; Rhodes, Zandra; Saint Laurent, Yves; Vreeland, Diana.**

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Valerie Steele

FASHION ONLINE Fashion was first propelled onto the Internet (c. 1994) by what María Contreras refers to in *Vogue España* as that old refrain "adapt or die." A decade into Web history, it has become clear the Internet is used for gathering information, communication, and entertainment. Rather than becoming a world, the Web has become an essential tool for living.

Theoretically, if not culturally, fashion is well suited to the new media. As the photographer and showStudio.com founder Nick Knight observes, "speed of change" is the essential nature of fashion and new

media. Both promote image in an era where perception (branding) is as important, if not more so, than the fashion object.

The Web does not threaten print media. Even the founders of the online zine, Itfashion.com, assert that "the existence of paper magazines is necessary." Vanity sites have, however, become an essential part of public relations and brand-building strategy. The primary purpose of a vanity site is to communicate the brand. Unlike a television or commercial, a Web site offers "bidirectional communications" (Deborah Kania) and invites dialogue between the brand and the consumer. Almost all sites have a "Contact Us" or e-mail function built into their architecture. Some sites integrate the feedback function into their content/identity. Thus on emilio-pucci.com users are encouraged to "sign in" on the guest book section where they are asked: "Do you have a Pucci story of your own?" and encouraged to share it, which maximizes the emotional bond that is unique to the brand. On johngalliano.com, users can "Whisper sweet words to John Galliano or confide in Miss Galliano" via the "Love Letters" section.

The vanity site provides the brand a means to create a multisensory experience that creates a bond between the brand and user resulting in "stickiness"—the desire to come back—and encourage consumer loyalty and possibly profitability.

Fashion is a hard sell on the Web, but not an impossible one. What we have learned so far is that e-commerce is more easily adaptable to certain sectors than others. Shopping at the Gap or Banana Republic online, for example, is essentially the same as ordering from the catalog, and these chain stores have the back-end operations already in place to support large-scale e-commerce ventures. Vintage clothing also sells well on the Web, because it provides unique accessibility to one-of-a-kind items (think ebay).

Gradually, shopping on the Web is becoming a desirable form of entertainment, not to mention convenience. (Colette.fr reports that one of their first orders came from a client who "lived but five minutes from the store.") Web demographics—above-average income and education—suggest that this is an area that will continue to be developed.

The most exciting, and potentially, revolutionary impact of the Web on fashion is its inherent democratic nature. Whereas high fashion is built upon exclusivity, the Web offers full-access, twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week: both grandma and Gucci have equal access to the virtual world. In the 1960s the legendary *Vogue* editor Diana Vreeland celebrated "youthquake," ostensibly the end of fashion dictatorship. The ingress of the Web beyond the velvet ropes into the theater of fashion—usually the bailiwick of international press and celebrities—is significant. It suggests that the Web might be the tool that incites a twenty-first-century

shake-up. In a virtual world, a camel can, in fact, pass through the eye of a needle.

See also **Fashion Advertising; Fashion Editors; Fashion Journalism; Fashion Magazines; Fashion Models; Vogue.**

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Laird Borrelli

FASHION PHOTOGRAPHY A fashion photograph is, simply, a photograph made specifically to show (or, in some cases, to allude to) clothing or accessories, usually with the intent of documenting or selling the fashion. Photographs of fashionable dress, in existence since the invention of photography in 1839, are not fashion photography. The distinguishing feature—and the common denominator in the enormous diversity of style, approach, and content—is the fashion photograph’s intent to convey fashion or a “fashionable” lifestyle. At the end of the twentieth century, the Calvin Klein advertisement featuring only Calvin’s portrait changed the very definition of a fashion photograph from a picture of the featured clothing to the selling of a glamorous lifestyle identified with a specific logo.

Fashion photography has sometimes been called ephemeral, commercial, and frivolous, and its importance has been called into question. That fashion photography has a commercial intent implies to some that it lacks photographic and artistic integrity. In reality, it has produced some of the most creative, interesting, and socially revealing documents and revealed the attitudes, conventions, aspirations, and taste of the time. It also reflects women’s image of themselves, including their dreams and desires, self-image, values, sexuality, and interests.

The psychology behind a fashion photograph as a selling device is the viewer’s willingness to believe in it. No matter how artificial the setting, a fashion photograph must persuade individuals that if they wear these clothes, use this product, or accessorize in such a way, the reality of the photograph will be theirs. The fashion photograph can offer a vision of a certain lifestyle (from glamorous to grunge), sex, or social acceptance (via the most current, the most expensive, or the most highly unattainable), but it is the viewer’s buy-in that makes the photograph successful.

Early Fashion Photography

The earliest fashion photographs were made, probably in the 1850s and 1860s, to document fashion for Parisian fashion houses. Reproduction in fashion journals oc-

curred much later, between 1881 (with the invention of the halftone printing process by Frederic Eugene Ives) and 1886 (when the refinement of the process made it financially practicable). This breakthrough made it possible to reproduce photographs and sell to a large audience through the medium of the printed page.

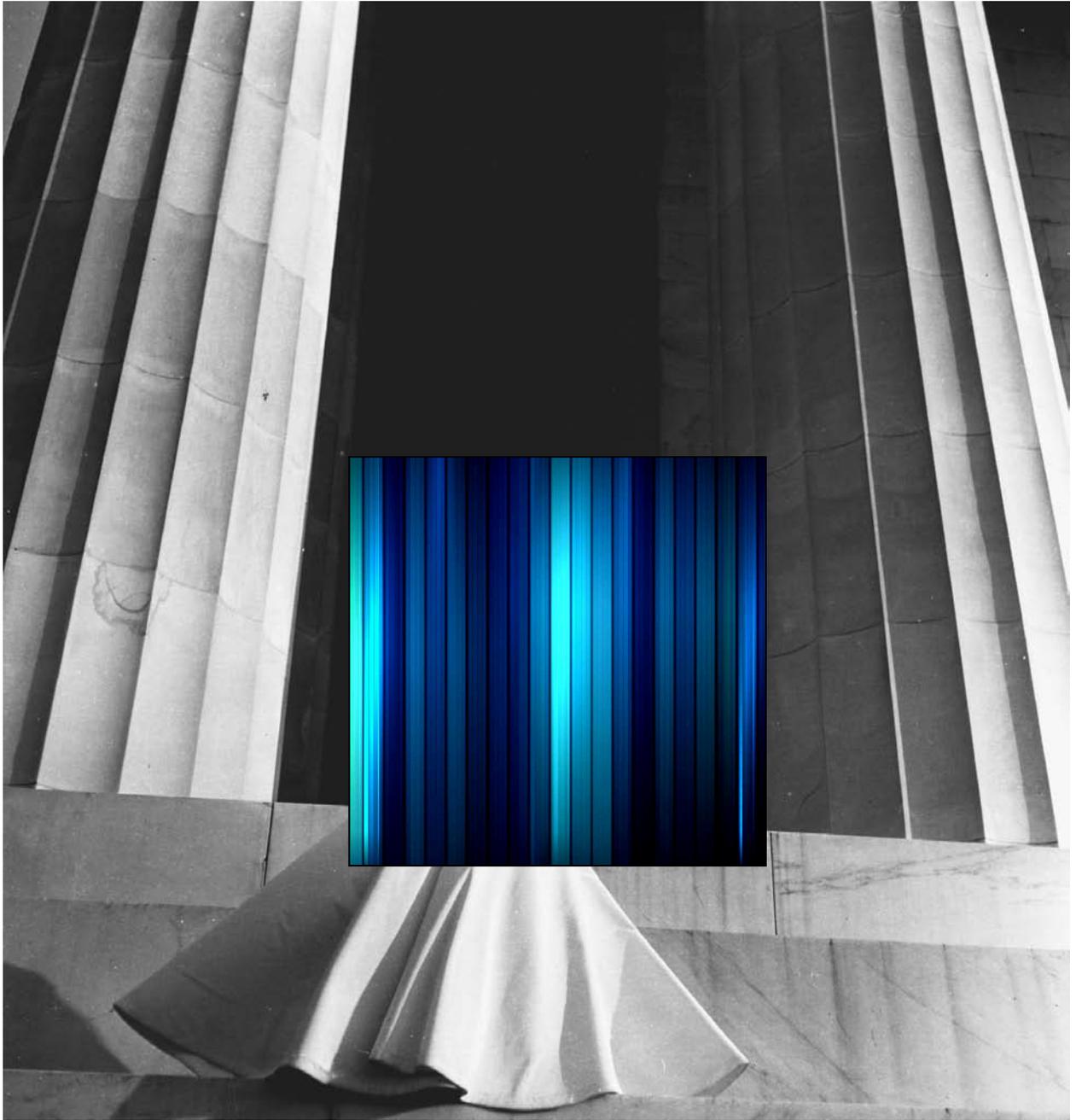
In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, distinctions between fashion photography, portraiture, and theater photography were often blurred. The idea of using professional models was initially considered shocking, and it thus became fashionable in the early years of the century for society celebrities, such as Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney, to model. The result was that fashion photographs were strikingly similar to society portraits. The idea of using an actress such as Sarah Bernhardt is not unlike the vogue in the early 2000s for using Gwyneth Paltrow or Madonna or the tennis stars Venus and Serena Williams to model current fashion.

That nineteenth-century fashion photography did not exist is a misconception. Many believe that Americans were first in this field, perhaps based on Edward Steichen’s claim that he was the first fashion photographer. This has obscured the contributions of such important Parisian fashion photographers as Maison Reutlinger, Talbot, Felix, Henri Manuel, and Boissonnas et Taponnier as early as 1881. They worked in the studio, but charming outdoor fashion photography was also shot on the Parisian boulevards and at the races by the Seeberger Frères in the first decade of the twentieth century.

American Fashion Photography, 1900–1930

The first important American photographer of fashion was European-born Baron Adolf de Meyer, who had entered fashionable London society through his marriage to Donna Olga Alberta Caracciolo (the daughter of the duchess of Castelluccio and reputed to be the illegitimate daughter of King Edward VII) and was knighted by the king of Saxony. De Meyer changed fashion photography by disintegrating form and bathing his pictures in a limpid atmosphere and shimmering light, creating what *Vogue* in 1914 termed “artistic” photography. This approach changed the idea of what a fashion photograph should be, from an exacting depiction of a garment’s detail to an evocation of mood.

In 1924, Edward Steichen replaced the soft-focus effects of de Meyer’s style with the clean geometric lines of photographic modernism. Steichen rejected the rococo backdrops used by de Meyer in favor of unadorned, sleek settings and showed modern woman in the sports clothes that reflected a new, liberated sense of herself and her freedom from the corset. Many of Steichen’s most important photographs featured his signature model Marion Morehouse, who epitomized the look of the “contemporary” woman, the flapper. Other important photographers who benefited from and were influenced by Steichen’s innovations were George Hoyningen-



Photograph of model at Lincoln Memorial. The true fashion photograph is not one that simply records a clothing design, but one that conveys a desirable lifestyle suggested by that design. PHOTOGRAPH BY TONY TINSELL. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Huene, known for his extraordinary use of negative space and passion for the Greek ideal, and his student Horst P. Horst, who used theatrical lighting and trompe l'oeil effects to great advantage.

Realism and Surrealism

Another startling change—and one that would have profound impact on future fashion photography—was the

1933 introduction of out-of-door realism by the Hungarian sports photographer Martin Munkacsi. Munkacsi's *Harper's Bazaar* photograph of the model Lucile Brokaw running down the beach—blurred, in motion, and possessing the naturalness of amateur snapshots—changed the course of fashion photography. The spontaneity was revolutionary, particularly when contrasted to Steichen's posed and static style that preceded it. Realistic fashion

photography offered the modern woman a vision that she could apply to her own life. Munkacsí's snapshotlike realism influenced a long line of photographers, including Toni Frissell, Herman Landshoff, and Richard Avedon.

The artistic ferment of Paris in the 1930s, particularly the fantastic, mysterious, and dreamlike aspects of surrealism, had a profound influence on fashion photography. The painter and photographer Man Ray produced fashion photography as a way of earning money that enabled him to pursue "serious" painting and experimental photography. He was able to chart a new direction for fashion photography because he disregarded the conventions of fashion depiction, instead producing elongations, double exposures, and a "fashion rayograph" that simulated what a fashion would look like when radioed from Paris to New York. Other fashion photographers who incorporated surrealist-influenced ideas in their work were Peter Rose-Pulham, André Durst, George Platt Lynes, and Cecil Beaton.

Constant experimentation and technical virtuosity marks the fashion work of Erwin Blumenfeld, who used solarization, overprinting, combinations of negative and positive images, sandwiching of color transparencies, and even drying the wet negatives in the refrigerator, resulting in crystallization, to achieve his extraordinary effects. Also important in the 1930s was the appearance of Kodachrome, which arrived on the market in 1935. Louise Dahl-Wolfe was one of the first and most important practitioners of color in fashion photography, creating striking photographs of American fashion with the new color technology.

Fashion Photography after World War II

Fashion photography was severely affected at the outbreak of World War II in 1939, not only because of the lack of materials, models, and safe locations, but also because of a demoralization in attitude toward the medium: because fashion was seen as a frivolous and unnecessary form of luxury, fashion magazines stressed women's role in the war, rationalized fashion as morale building, published war reports instead of society columns, and featured the tailored, plain, and often drab clothing more suitable for a world subjected to daily reports of death and destruction. Studio photography with its complicated props and setups was almost eliminated. In general, photographers such as Lee Miller in Paris and Cecil Beaton in London turned to a straightforward documentary approach. Louise Dahl-Wolfe produced some of the most important American fashion photography of the 1940s using a clear, straightforward style.

With the end of the war, New York replaced Paris as the mecca of fashion photography. America's fashion design and ready-to-wear industry achieved its first international success in the postwar period. The time was thus ripe for the emergence of two young American talents who would dominate fashion photography for many years to come: Richard Avedon and Irving Penn.

The charming ease of Richard Avedon's fashion style of the 1950s was perfectly suited to a war-weary society. In this decade, Avedon staged his models as glamorous but "real" girls whose carefree exuberance was both sophisticated and appealing. Each was an actress of sorts, creating both a fashion look and a dialogue of emotions. By the 1960s, Avedon's fashion work had moved from the outdoor locations and softly beautiful natural light of this early work to his signature style of models running and jumping across a plain white background, illuminated with the harsh, raking light of the strobe.

The other major fashion leader whose work started in the 1940s is Irving Penn. Penn's work has no rival in terms of formal complexity, in the rich beauty of constructed shape, elegance of silhouette, and abstract interplay of line and volume. Compared with the white-hot moment of immediacy of Avedon's photographs, Penn's work aimed at the values of monumentality, formal clarity, and quiet truth. Perhaps his most extraordinary shots are those done in collaboration with his wife, the model Lisa Fonssagrives-Penn.

Both Avedon and Penn have each sustained careers over a period of five decades, a record of remarkable range and consistency. Avedon's ability to take inventive risks and his creative inspiration, with its kaleidoscope of techniques and ideas, are unequalled in the field of fashion photography. He always captures the "look" of the moment, in part because of his choice of the model who best epitomizes the time, from Dorian Leigh, Dovima, and Suzy Parker to Verushka, Twiggy, Jean Shrimpton, Brooke Shields, and Nastassja Kinski.

Fashion Photography in the 1960s

Fashion photography in the 1960s yielded to more socially oriented and exotic themes. In part this was due to the fact that fashion design began to show the influence of many diverse sources, from peasant and "street" styles to the women's liberation movement, the space program, and pop art. There was a break with convention, both in social mores and fashion itself: outrageous, seemingly unwearable outfits were designed, models reflected a new diversity of "look" and race, and fashion was redefined toward a defiant market dominated by the youth culture.

The 1960s was also a time when certain fashion photographers, including Bert Stern and David Bailey, enjoyed high-voltage lifestyles, skyrocketing fees, and lavish studio setups. At the opposite extreme, the influence of Penn and Avedon continued to attract serious young photographers from the world over to New York. Yasuhiro Wakabayashi, known professionally as Hiro, developed a monumental, clear, and memorably vivid style while Bob Richardson's work flirted with social concerns such as lesbianism. Other photographers working in the field of fashion in the 1960s included William Klein, Art Kane, and Diane Arbus, whose photography for the *New York Times Magazine* was among the most disturbing and uncharacteristic children's fashion images ever published.

Fashion Photography in the 1970s

In the 1970s, the tide again turned: Diana Vreeland resigned from her influential reign as editor-in-chief of *Vogue*, and in January 1977, American *Vogue* reduced the actual trim size of the publication. Meanwhile, French *Vogue* took the creative lead in fashion photography in this decade and offered their two leading photographers, Helmut Newton and Guy Bourdin, complete creative autonomy. Deborah Turbeville produced work that reflected psychological dislocation in the modern world, in part through her slouching and stylized poses. She was the first to use overweight and “ugly” models, pioneering a more diverse standard of model. Her “bathhouse” photographs published in *Vogue* (May 1975) created a furor by evoking the grisly aura of a concentration camp or the frightening vacuousness of drugged stupor.

Fashion Photography in the 1980s

Some of the most important editorial and advertising fashion photography of the 1980s continued to be done by Richard Avedon. His brilliant advertising campaign “The Diors,” a story spun weekly in the pages of the *New York Times Magazine*, created the enduring vogue for narrative in fashion photography. Avedon’s shot of Nastassja Kinski, her nude form sensuously entwined with a gigantic snake, has become a classic. Women’s strength and independence was emphasized, from sporty and athletic to domineering and brutalizing. Numerous photographers, including Denis Piel, Bruce Weber, and Bert Stern pictured women threatening men with everything from pocketbooks to knives and chains. Fashion itself, particularly in the work of such designers as Jean Paul Gaultier, Azzedine Alaïa, and Issey Miyake (whose work was notably photographed by Penn), helped form the look of the decade’s photography

Fashion Photography in the 1990s

In the last decade of the century, Herb Ritts, Steven Meisel, and Bruce Weber continued to produce some of the most interesting and innovative work, including Weber’s hilarious hip-hop version of a black Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs and his seminal spread dealing with the impact of grunge on fashion in the 1990s (including the first post-punk nose ring in a *Vogue* fashion spread). Two of the greats of fashion photography, Irving Penn and Helmut Newton, continued to dominate the field. Ellen von Unwerth’s romantic individualism and Sheila Metzner’s spare but sumptuous style were also widely evident. Models were increasingly racially diverse, with a number of black models, such as Iman, Naomi Campbell, and Karen Alexander, achieving the status of celebrity superstars. As to the early years of the twenty-first century, one must await the knowledge of hindsight to assess the importance of very recent fashion photography as well as the development of such young talents as Christophe Kutner, Glen Luchford, Javier Vallhonrat, and Craig McDean. What seems certain is that fashion

photography—whether published in *Vogue*, *W*, *Dazed and Confused*, or *Sleaze Nation*—will continue to reflect the society and the times in which it was made.

See also **Actors and Actresses, Impact on Fashion; Art and Fashion; Avedon, Richard; Beaton, Cecil; Hartnell, Norman; Hoyningen-Heune, George; Newton, Helmut.**

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Nancy Hall-Duncan

FASHION PLATES Fashion plates are small printed images, often hand-colored, of people wearing the latest fashions and depicted in conventional minimally narrative social contexts. They flourished from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, and were usually

distributed with fashion magazines either as integral parts of the editorial content or as supplementary plates. The poet Charles Beaudelaire, in his essay *The Painter of Modern Life*, described fashion plates as an image of the “ideal self” and thus a reflection of the artistic, historical, moral, and aesthetic feeling of their time. He wrote in 1863, when fashion plates were reaching a peak in their development. Although the basic purpose of the fashion plate was to illustrate new styles and sell more clothes, their charm gives them an established place among the minor graphic arts. Sadly for the student, fashion plates are often removed from the magazines in which they appeared and sold as collectors’ pieces; divorced from their original context they lose much value as historic sources.

Origins

People attractively or unusually dressed have been popular graphic subjects at least since the sixteenth century, when the *Costume Book* or *Trachtenbuch* brought them into popular publishing. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the graphic artist Vaclav Hollar had given such illustrations new artistic status and Bosse, Callot, and de Hooghe began to group their fashionables in suitable settings.

Not until the last quarter of the seventeenth century did the series of popular prints (usually termed *Les Modes*) of fashions and fashionable people appear. Published by the Paris print sellers, the Bonnarts, with plates by Saint Aubin, Bérain, and Arnoult, they promoted French taste to a wide international market. Nevertheless, such illustrations did not take on a commercial role as advertisements until Jean Donneau de Vizé introduced them into the *Mercur Extraordinaire* and the *Mercur Galant* of 1678 and 1681, noting suppliers as well as garments.

The Eighteenth Century

Thereafter the fashion plate fell into disuse until the 1750s, reappearing in ladies pocketbooks, diaries, almanacs, and magazines. Occasionally credited to dressmakers, they were popular as fashion guides. The small monochrome plates were often by well-known artists and engravers.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the ending of French Guild restrictions in 1777 made fashionable clothing available to many more consumers, and so opened the market to a flood of illustrated fashion material. The best known, an anthology of some 200 to 400 colored fashion plates compiled from several sources by the publishers Esnaut and Rapilly between 1778 and 1787, is the *Galerie des Modes et Costumes Français*, illustrated most notably by Watteau le Jeune and Desrais. The fine *Suite d’Estampes pour servir à l’Histoire des Mœurs et du Costume* (1778), drawn by J. M. Moreau, had as its stated aim the promotion of French taste. Though often regarded as the quintessence of French fashion, it is more a complete guide to the world of fashionable people in their material context.

The Nineteenth Century

The publishing boom of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries stimulated the flow of fashion illustrations. Despite the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, French plates continued to dominate the market, though equally fine examples were produced in England and Germany. Le Brun Tossa in the *Le Cabinet des Modes*, 1785–1789, and La Mésangère in *Le Journal des Dames et des Modes*, 1797–1839, featured high-quality plates by excellent artists, as did John Bell in the English *La Belle Assemblée* 1806–1832, but Bell’s illustrations were often pirated and adapted to local taste.

La Mésangère extended the range of his artist illustrators by publishing them in a series of fashion and genre prints, such as Debucourt’s *Modes et Manières du Jour*, 1810, and the Vernets’ *Incroyables et Merveilleuses* and *Le Bon Genre*, 1818. They are a precedent for the more intimate picture series by Gavarni and Deveria, whose fashion plates were such a feature of the periodicals of the 1830s and 1840s. A successful formula, it was followed by the *pochoir* fashion illustrators of the twentieth century, most notably George Barbier.

The most prestigious early nineteenth-century British contribution to the art of the fashion plate was *Heideloff’s Gallery of Fashion*, 30 aquatint plates, 1797–1801, published by subscription to an aristocratic clientele. Focused on fashions worn by anonymous noble ladies, it also included the creations of named dressmakers. With the aquatint plates of British popular venues crowded with fashionable men, women, and children, published by London tailor Benjamin Read between the 1820s and 1840s, the fashion plate was decisively democratized. Prints and full-scale patterns were sold through Read’s establishments in London and New York, where American versions soon appeared.

By the mid-nineteenth century, with the expansion of popular and pictorial publishing as well as the clothing trade, the fashion plate proliferated. To satisfy demand, engraving establishments, especially in Britain and Germany, provided type images easily grouped and amended for the cheaper fashion and advertising market. The male fashion figure largely disappeared from fashion plates at this time; however arranged and accessorized, he lacked the vivacity of fashionable men as drawn by Paul Gavarni and the Vernets.

Quality fashion plates remained available through large-scale French publishers and agents for publications abroad, such as Goubaud and Mariton. The best documented and most prolific artists during the middle of the nineteenth century were the Colin sisters—Heloise Leloir, Anais Toudouze, and Laure Noel—who, together with their rival Jules David, were skillful in showing the requisite dress detail in conventional evocative settings. American fashion plates, sometimes modified from French originals, as in *Godey’s Ladies’ Book* and the publications of Mme Demorest, could be more practical, even featuring domestic appliances.

The Artist and the Photographer

By the end of the century, the earlier romanticizing tradition was challenged by avant-garde black-and-white work, dramatic rather than representational. An idealized realism also became fashionable, and A. Sandoz, especially for the House of Worth, produced Tissot-like groupings set in the wider world of the modern woman of the twentieth century.

His source material probably included photographs from the house archives, but although promotional photographs had been occasionally used in fashion publications since the 1860s, and press pictures of fashionable scenes, such as those by the Seeberger brothers, were popular, the detailed color reproduction expected by the quality market was expensive. Retouching was easy but the photographs from *Les Modes*, their speciality, illustrate the problems. Idealization, the core of fashion illustration, was problematic, and fashion artists were available, adaptable, quicker, and cheaper.

Confronted by advances in printing and photographic technology and the easy availability of the conventional graphic image, in the early twentieth century the artistic avant-garde retreated to the craft technique of *pochoir* (stencil) printing and hand coloring, producing formal, modernist, *faux naïves* fashion plates in exotic or romantic settings reminiscent of the early nineteenth century. The genre was pioneered by Paul Iribe for Poiret's 1909 collection in *Les Robes de Paul Poiret*, 1909, and by Georges LePape in *Les Choses de Paul Poiret*, 1911. Their work and others of the group, such as Charles Martin and George Barbier, was brought to a wider public by the publisher Lucien Vogel, who launched the elitist *Gazette du Bon Ton* in 1911, the precursor of several similar art and fashion magazines. The general public became aware of the style and technique through prestige advertising, such as *Art Gout Beauté*, 1920–1936, published by the textile firm Albert Godde Bedin.

In general the advertising agencies were very open to modern trends. Not without reference to the cinema, by the early 1930s they had revived the male fashion image illustrating active realistic men in glamorized everyday settings. *Esquire* adopted this style in 1933 and subsequent men's fashion advertisements and magazines would continue it well into the 1960s.

By 1923, the *Gazette du Bon Ton* and its artists had been taken over by *Vogue*. Fashion narrative illustrations were not part of *Vogue's* format, and the work of the *Bon Ton* artists, like that of established *Vogue* artists such as Helen Dryden and Douglas Sutherland, was confined to the elegantly decorative covers. By the late 1920s and 1930s, a new generation of fashion artist, Eric (Carl Erickson), H. Bouet Willaumez, Bouché, and Christian Bérard had begun to convey the essence of style, scene, and above all movement, in vivid and impressionist plates, though occasionally their lack of detail was deplored.

It is the ability to convey the soul of the garment as well as the seams, the ambience and the dynamic of fashion, and the essence of its modernity, which keeps the fashion plate an element of publishing in the early twenty-first century.

See also **Fashion Illustrators; Vogue.**

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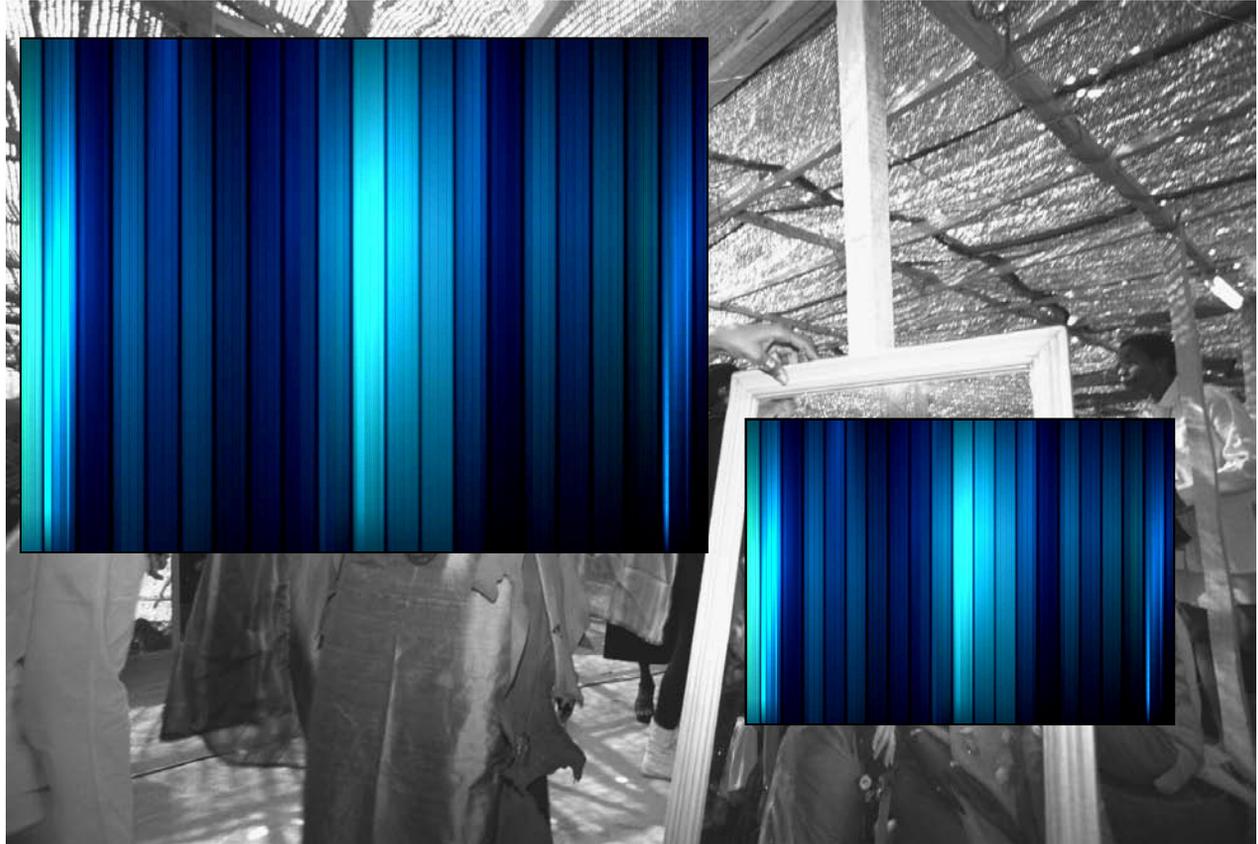
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Madeleine Ginsberg

FASHION SHOWS The fashion show has evolved from an exclusive in-house presentation of haute couture held for a private clientele, to a biannual spectacle of both couture and ready-to-wear clothing that is seen by a vast cross-section of consumers, the mass media, and the fashion industry. A number of cultural and social forces are responsible for this evolution, including the increased consumer awareness of Parisian couture, the rise of the ready-to-wear industry after World War II, the growth of the modeling profession, and the increasing attention paid to the runway by the popular press. While the fashion show today is different from its early-twentieth-century incarnation, it does retain links to its origins in theatrical display and the couture salon shows of that period.

Origins

In nineteenth-century Paris, it was common practice for dressmaker houses to use their assistants or saleswomen (*desmoiselles du magasin*) to wear the designer's creations while working at the shop. To reach a broader clientele, many couturiers extended this display to the public arena as well, with figures such as Charles Frederick Worth dressing his wife in the latest styles to promenade in socially important areas of the city such as the Bois du Boulogne. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in London and Paris, the custom-dressmaking trade also maintained important and effective links to the world of theater and advertised its wares by dressing famous actresses both on and off the stage. The couture



Model backstage at a fashion show. Since their inception in the early 1900s, fashion shows have evolved from relatively simple in-house events to highly publicized worldwide spectacles. © LANGEVIN JACQUES/CORBIS SYGMA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

houses of Doucet and Paquin, for example, were very successful promoters through this medium and their clientele included such popular stars as Sarah Bernhardt, Réjane, and Cecile Sorel. The theater, particularly in France and England, became a place to see the most avant-garde styles and eventually a “fashion play” genre developed that revolved around the presentation of the latest couture creations. Dressing members of the fashionable demimonde and house mannequins (the term for models in this period) for the races, opera, and theater premieres, and resort areas were another means of advertising up-to-the-minute designs.

In the first decade of the century, social display was supplemented by organized shows at a fixed time in the couture house. Although a number of designers and fashion personalities claim responsibility for the first fashion show, it was not one person who started the trend, but rather a gradual evolution toward more formal presentations of seasonal clothing lines. By the mid-1910s many designers, including Paul Poiret, Lucile, and Paquin, were using the fashion show as a promotional vehicle. In 1910 Lucile promoted the opening of her New York branch with a spectacular fashion show in a city theater. The presentation had an Arabian Nights theme inspired

by vaudeville revues. Lucile was one of the first to promote her mannequins as public personalities, giving them exotic names such as Dinarzade and Sumurun, and training them to walk with a distinctive gait.

For Paris haute couture, the shows were first presented in Paris or London and then sometimes traveled to America on well-publicized tours. Paul Poiret followed this pattern, organizing a tour in 1911 in which he and his mannequins showed his exotic creations in venues such as charity bazaars, theaters, and department stores throughout Europe. In 1913 he also conducted a heavily promoted tour of the United States with his mannequins, and other designers followed suit, including Jeanne Paquin in 1914 and Jean Patou in 1924. Another innovative mode of presentation in the 1910s was the organization of a *thé dansant*, a popular pastime that showcased new dances such as the tango and the fox-trot. Designers including Lucile and Paquin showed their new designs in such a context, often using theaters as a show venue.

In America, department stores, such as Wanamakers in Philadelphia, started holding regular fashion shows in 1910 and gradually broadened the audience for such fashion display. The advent of the fashion newsreel in the same period also served to bring the fashion show to a

wider clothes-buying public. Beginning in 1910, a number of French, English, and American film companies began to show fashion reels as part of their weekly newsreel production. In 1913 a New York-based film company started documenting the biannual fashion shows in New York that now took place in February for the spring-summer collections and July for fall-winter collections. At this point, modeling was not an evolved routine and both film and fashion magazines often used actresses, opera singers, and dancers as mannequins.

In the United States during World War I, a number of fashion shows were organized to benefit the war effort and toured across the country. In 1914, a Fashion Fête was organized by Edna Woolman Chase, the editor of *Vogue*, to showcase New York designers. Also in that year a number of couture houses banded together to form Le Syndicat de defense de la grand couture française with Paul Poiret as president. In an effort to fight design piracy, the organization charged a standard copyright fee for business customers who wished to reproduce couture designs. The syndicate also placed more stringent rules on who could attend the couture shows and wholesalers and retailers were barred from couture showings unless they were invited.

By 1918 the couture industry had fixed dates for two major shows per year for the foreign buyers that were coming to Paris. The shows were becoming organized presentations using in-house mannequins and by the 1920s, the House of Patou, for example, was employing 32 mannequins to model 450 dresses at each showing. Other contemporary references document between 7 and 15 mannequins regularly employed in the couture houses at this time. One 1920s commentator wrote that the mannequins were still considered “demimondaine” but they did have paid salaries, bonuses, and some had season contracts. In 1923 John Robert Powers established the first modeling agency in New York, which served to professionalize the industry and positioned modeling as a more socially acceptable career. In the 1920s designers also had a set routine and started by showing sports and day clothes, then evening wear.

In the 1930s Elsa Schiaparelli was the first to create themed collections, including “Circus,” “Commedia dell’Arte,” and “Astrology,” among others. These themes added a theatrical flair to her shows between 1936 and 1939 by incorporating music, special lighting, and dance into the presentation. Her 1938 “Circus” collection, for example, included circus performers who jumped, skipped, and flipped all over the couture house.

The Postwar Era

An increasingly formal presentation style marked the postwar era and at this point the show evolved into the essential organization that is still associated with it in the early 2000s. The show took place in the couture salon, the crowded audience consisted of invited buyers with

important journalists at the front, and there was a specific sequence for the type of dress shown (for example, the wedding dress at the end). Fashion shows often lasted seventy-five minutes and approximately sixty ensembles were presented on between eight and ten models. This period also witnessed the association of particular mannequins with specific couture houses. Mannequins, such as Bettina at Jacques Fath or Praline at Pierre Balmain, with their distinctive saunters, visually represented the designer’s philosophy and often acted as the designer’s muse. While Paris had successfully reestablished itself as the style leader in the postwar era, countries such as the United States, England, and Italy also held regular fashion shows.

It was still common practice to hold fashion shows in department stores and hotels and the *Vogue* editor Edna Woolman Chase recorded in her 1954 memoirs:

Now that fashion shows have become a way of life, now that a lady is hard put to it to lunch, or sip a cocktail, in any smart hotel or store from New York to Dallas to San Francisco without having lissome young things in the most recent models, swaying down a runway six inches above her nose—it is difficult to visualize that dark age when fashion shows did not exist. (Chase and Chase 1954, p. 119)

By the mid-1950s, fashion shows were common in urban centers in semiannual department store displays and, at the local level, they were often incorporated into charity events.

Ready-to-Wear Market

In the late 1950s the rise of the ready-to-wear market had a significant impact on the organization, number, and scale of fashion shows. In 1959 Pierre Cardin showed his ready-to-wear collection in the *Printemps* department store in Paris and by the mid-1960s, ready-to-wear was regularly included in the fashion calendar. The growth of the ready-to-wear market was also related to the decline in interest in haute couture by the younger generation, who did not want to follow the fashion dictates of Paris. New designers responded to this cultural phenomenon by adding a youthful energy to their fashion shows. The English designer Mary Quant, for example, presented her mod ready-to-wear designs to jazz music and her mannequins skipped and danced down the runway. Quant opted to use print models rather than runway models because she liked the way they moved and the fast pace allowed her to show forty garments in fourteen minutes. The distinction between the runway and photography model was on the wane.

This growth of the ready-to-wear market eventually changed the function of the haute couture fashion show, shifting its targeted audience from private clientele to one consisting mainly of press and buyers. The 1960s also mark the beginnings of the use of the fashion show as a marketing tool to promote the licensed products associated with the house.

Fashion Show as Spectacle

In the 1970s and 1980s the public visibility and magnitude of fashion shows increased dramatically. In 1973 the designer Kenzo presented a large-scale ready-to-wear show on a stage rather than a runway, indicating a break with haute couture tradition and the increasing emphasis on spectacle. In the 1980s Thierry Mugler and Claude Montana staged theatrical events that further removed the fashion show from the couture salon. Mugler hired a rock impresario to stage his fashion show, an audience of six thousand people attended, and half of the show's tickets were available for purchase by the public. This was the first time that the public was allowed to attend a couture show and marks a trend toward the fashion show as mass entertainment. In the mid-1980s the regular broadcasting of the ready-to-wear shows on cable television further broadened the viewing public. The increased public awareness of the catwalk shows led to the promotion of "supermodels" in the early 1990s. By this time, modeling had long been a socially acceptable profession and the increasing cult of personality in various cultural arenas served to promote models as celebrities on a par with movie actors.

While the majority of fashion designers hold traditional runway shows during the fashion weeks in Paris, London, New York, and other cities, many now have specific themes, mood music, and special lighting and other effects. In the 1990s there were a number of designers, including John Galliano and Alexander McQueen, who became renowned for producing extravagant shows in unusual spaces with narratives and fictional characters. These theatrical stagings have pushed the fashion show beyond the garment and into the realm of the conceptual fantasy. These types of shows function primarily to promote brand recognition and to sell the ready-to-wear lines and the licensed products.

See also **Department Store; Fashion Designer; Fashion Models.**

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Michelle Tolini Finamore

FASHION TELEVISION Fashion television has revolutionized the dissemination of fashion information to a mass audience; it has become a major marketing vehicle, helping to launch fashion trends and enhance the cult of personality surrounding fashion designers and models. With immediacy that only television can offer,

following fashion has become a source of entertainment for millions. The evolution of fashion television into a distinct genre of broadcasting parallels, but is not limited to, the development of cable and satellite television.

Cable television was developed as a localized service in Pennsylvania in the late 1940s in response to a growing need for improved television reception and better access to existing channels in more remote geographical regions. Since then, it has expanded into a competitive, multibillion-dollar industry; pay television and the launch of satellite broadcasting, first used by the Home Box Office (HBO) network in the early 1970s, contributed to its rapid growth and popularity. Satellite broadcasting, which receives signals from space, transformed cable programming into a global, cost-efficient transmission system, and led to the creation of specialized cable networks that provide viewers with 24-hour news, weather, music, movie, sports, shopping, and entertainment channels.

The 1970s and 1980s saw a boom for cable and satellite broadcasting. It was during this time that fashion television emerged as a genre of broadcasting, with certain networks and television personalities becoming key players in its development. In 1976, Videofashion News, a video version of a fashion magazine, was created and has been produced continuously since, carried by a number of distributors internationally. The series provides viewers with a front-row seat and backstage pass to runway shows around the world, profiling designers, models, and celebrities and reporting on the latest trends.

Elsa Klensch, the preeminent television fashion journalist, got her start in 1980 on the newly created Cable News Network (CNN). Her daily segments and half-hour weekend program, *Style with Elsa Klensch*, which have been broadcast worldwide to millions of viewers, were the first regularly scheduled fashion reports on network television in the United States. *Style*, which continually ranked as one of CNN's highest-watched weekend shows, has covered designer collections from around the world, profiling both designers and models, and the latest trends in interior design.

Klensch's straightforward, comprehensive reporting on international fashion and design has earned the respect of those within the fashion industry as well as the viewing public. She has won numerous awards, including an honor in 1987 from the Council of Fashion Designers of America for bringing fashion to a mass audience; authored the 1992 fashion how-to book, *Style with Elsa Klensch: Developing the Real You*; and made a cameo in Robert Altman's 1994 fashion film *Prêt-à-Porter*. In 2001 and 2002, Klensch collaborated with Videofashion News to produce the hour-long segments, *Trio World Fashion Tour*, for the popular arts channel Trio, which featured top designer collections from the runways of the world's fashion capitals.

Another key personality in fashion television has been the Canadian journalist Jeanne Beker, who launched

Fashion Television (FT) on Video Hits One (VH1) in 1985, now a leading style program. Beker began her career as a music industry journalist in the late 1970s, which informed her approach to reporting on the fashion world. She considers herself an entertainment, not a fashion, reporter. FT started as an intermittent series of one-hour specials and grew into a full series of thirty-nine, half-hour shows a year, broadcast in over one hundred nations with numerous satellite providers, and has since become its own 24-hour network. FT has covered the latest runway collections from around the world, profiled designers and models, offered viewers a peek into post-fashion show parties, and presented FT through the eyes of a psychologist and a rabbi.

According to Beker, fashion executives in the 1980s wanted to add video to fashion coverage with the hope that it could do for fashion what Music Television (MTV) did for music. MTV, which premiered in 1981 as a 24-hour music video channel targeting young adults, has been a launching pad for celebrities and fashion trends. “Madonna wannabes” emerged after her appearance on MTV in 1984; retailers sold Madonna-licensed fashions and accessories. Designer Tommy Hilfiger dispensed his logo-laden sportswear to musicians, who became walking advertisements in music videos; he also collaborated on a fashion show and CD for MTV.

As part of its shift away from 24-hour broadcasting of music videos, MTV attempted to sell clothes in the manner of The Home Shopping Network; and in 1989, launched its fashion program, *House of Style*, with model-host Cindy Crawford, who accepted the position without pay in order to gain more exposure. The show has also helped the careers of subsequent model-hosts including Daisy Fuentes, Rebecca Romijn-Stamos, and Molly Sims. The show, resembling music videos with pumping sound tracks and quick splicing of images, has featured the latest fashions and youth trends. Regular features like “Todd Time” with fashion designer Todd Oldham helped boost designers’ profiles. *House of Style* has also hosted *Fashionably Loud*, a fashion show featuring top models walking the runway in the latest fashions to the beat of the newest music acts. The fusion of music, fashion, and celebrity spawned an awards show on MTV Network’s other music channel VH1; the VH1 Fashion Awards, in collaboration with *Vogue* magazine, first premiered in the mid 1990s.

In the 1990s E! Networks, arguably the largest distributor of entertainment news and lifestyle programming, became a leader in fashion television. By 1998, E! offered almost thirty half-hour fashion segments a week including “Fashion Week,” “Fashion File,” “Video Fashion Weekly,” and “Model TV.” The network also owns The Style Network—a 24-hour channel devoted to fashion, beauty, decorating, and entertaining. Their fashion programming includes makeover shows like “Fashion Emergency” and “Style Court” and covers celebrity fashion with special segments like the popular “Academy

Awards Pre-Show” and “Golden Hanger Awards” both hosted by Joan and Melissa Rivers.

Much of E!’s programming reflects the growing popularity in recent years of lifestyle and makeover shows and programs that focus on celebrity style. Programs such as “Full Frontal Fashion” on Women’s Entertainment (WE), much like the magazine *In Style*, show viewers who’s wearing what by which designers and how to get the look for yourself. Makeover shows like *What Not to Wear* on The Learning Channel (TLC) and *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* on Bravo have been popular in 2002 and 2003. *The Isaac Mizrahi Show* on the Oxygen network helped put the network on the map while resuscitating designer Mizrahi’s fashion career.

Fashion television has had far-reaching effects on the fashion industry. Fashion reporting like that of Klensch and Beker has brought high fashion into the homes of millions and helped define it for the mainstream. Not only has fashion television launched trends, it has also made designers more attuned to the “telegenic” qualities of their runway shows. It has boosted the profiles of designers and models—even launching the acting careers of many models—putting greater pressure on both to perform well in front of a camera. The proliferation of fashion television programming that exists today attests to the immense appetite of the viewing public to follow fashion, particularly celebrity fashion, as entertainment.

See also **Film and Fashion; Hollywood Style; Music and Fashion.**

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Tiffany Webber-Hanchett

FASTENERS A fastener is the essential part of a fastening system used to hold together at least two pieces of material. It is typically a single item (button) that often works in concert with another device (buttonhole).

Apparel fasteners may be permanent or temporary. Permanent fastenings, such as stitching and fusing, create form and shape in tailored garments. Temporary fasteners take many forms, including basting used to hold fabrics in place before permanent machine stitching is applied. Temporary fasteners, such as hook and eye closures for bras, can adjust garment size. Zippered fly front openings in men's trousers provide access for bodily functions. However, one most often thinks of apparel fastening as providing a method of "donning and doffing" garments for everyday dressing (Watkins 1995).

In physics terms, friction is the basis for holding solid materials together using one of two methods, applied force or restraining force (Kammermeyer 1967, p. 19). Applied forces are either bidirectional, like the two opposing threads of a lockstitch holding fabric layers together, or radial, like the circular pressure exerted by the female side of a snap fastener (or, in the United Kingdom, press stud). Restraining forces for apparel follow mechanical principals relying on either random surface texture as used in hook-and-loop tape, more commonly known as Velcro, or on functionally configured parts like the teeth of a zipper.

The earliest apparel fastenings can be traced to the Mesolithic era, when needles were used to stitch materials together, and to the age of metals, when evidence of bone buttons and a safety pin-like device are found. The Bronze Age introduced forerunners of the buckle with the brooch and pin concept and the penannular, a sliding pin on a U-shaped element. The first written record of buttons is from the twelfth century (Epstein and Safro 1991). Modern developments have improved on old concepts and added ease and efficiency in fastening garments. The sewing machine increased the speed of stitching fabric pieces together and facilitated production. The zipper, introduced in the late 1800s, has evolved from a bulky mechanism made of metal hooks and eyes, to interlocking metal teeth, to plastic coils, to extruded all-in-one devices. Velcro was invented after World War II and has applications in industry and fashion. New technologies in adhesives and fusibles have influenced the speed of apparel production and the appearance of apparel.

There are many fasteners used in clothing in the early 2000s. Garments are "stitched" together with thread, glue, or fusible substances. Lacing through grommets or eyelets is used in shoes and corsets. Tied or tucked-in fabric ends secure sarongs, saris, and wrap skirts. Clamping devices are used to fasten jewelry to the body. Hook and eye fasteners may be used to add an industrial look to outerwear. Fashion apparel borrows fasteners like C-clamps and D rings from industrial products. Zippers have metal, plastic, or cut-crystal teeth. Buttons, the long-standing epitome of the fashion fastener, provide function with unlimited options in form, color, and texture. Fasteners provide function in garments and often provide the finishing fashion touch.

See also **Closures, Hook-and-Loop.**

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Karen L. LaBat

FATH, JACQUES A key figure in the revival of the Paris fashion industry after World War II, Jacques Fath (1912–1954) created colorful and inventive designs catering to a young and sophisticated international clientele who identified with the vitality of his label. Though Fath was regarded as one of the "big three" Paris designers in the early 1950s—along with Christian Dior and Pierre Balmain—his untimely death at the age of forty-two meant that the impact and importance of his work was often overlooked in comparison to that of his contemporaries. While Fath's designs were right on the mark of the glamorous postwar look, it was his attitude toward business and his understanding of the power of publicity and marketing that helped to place this charismatic and flamboyant designer apart from his peers.

Fath was born just outside Paris into an artistic family in 1912. His grandfather was a successful artist named René-Jacques Fath. Although Fath's great-grandmother had also been an artist who occasionally worked in fashion illustration, the designer did little to suppress the rumor that she had been a couturière to the Empress Eugénie. Encouraged by his family to enter the business world, Fath worked for a stockbroker for two years upon finishing his education. After completing a required year of military service, however, he realized that a more creative career lay in store. He spent some time in drama school and also took evening courses in drawing and pattern cutting. During this period Fath met Geneviève Boucher de la Bruyère, a photographer's model and fellow drama student, who became his wife in 1939. She modeled many of Fath's early creations and came to epitomize the elegantly finished style of the Jacques Fath woman.

At the end of 1936, Fath established a couture house in the rue de la Boétie and showed his first collection of just twenty garments in the spring of 1937. The collection was well received and enabled Fath to build up a steady clientele, although he still had something of a hand-to-mouth existence in the 1930s. Guillaume notes that in later years Fath recalled how he often used the money from a deposit on a garment to purchase the fabric to make it.

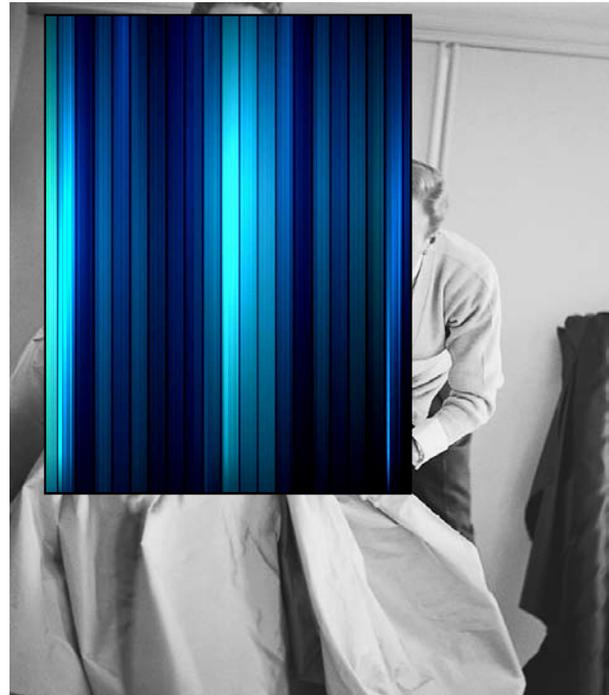
Fath served in the French Army during World War II. After he was demobilized following the fall of France to the Germans in 1940, however, he continued to run his house on a small scale. Having already moved once, Fath secured a permanent home for his label in an imposing eighteenth-century building on the avenue Pierre Premier de Serbie. In 1945 he created four designs for the Théâtre de la Mode, a traveling exhibition of fashion dolls that showcased the work of the top Parisian couturiers.

An astute businessman, Fath decided to add a line of perfumes to his fashions. He launched his first perfume, Chasuble, in 1945 and his second, Iris Gris, a year later. Recognizing the incredible potential to expand his business in the United States, he signed a contract with the New York manufacturer Joseph Halpert in 1948. Fath contracted to provide two collections a year, each comprising about twenty models to be marketed in large department stores throughout the United States. His popularity in America was further increased when Rita Hayward chose him to design her wedding dress and trousseau for her marriage to Prince Aly Khan in 1949. Fath had a loyal following in Hollywood, and designed the costumes for several movies both in the United States and Europe. His costumes for Moira Shearer in the celebrated film *The Red Shoes* (1948) were considered classics.

An attractive and gregarious person, Fath recognized the importance of associating his label with fantasy and marketing images of a lavish lifestyle that his clients could share. He was often photographed with his beautiful wife at evening events in Paris or basking in the sun on the Riviera. He threw large, sumptuous, themed costume parties at his château, inviting an international mix of socialites, actors, and fellow couturiers—which ensured maximum publicity in the press.

The year 1950 was eventful for the designer, with both the launch of his perfume Canasta and the opening of his boutique. Fath's boutique offered more affordable items, such as accessories, scarves, ties, and stockings. He was also chosen by the Chambre Syndicale de la Haute Couture to become one of five designers, alongside Carven, Desses, Paquin and Piguet, to make up a group of associated couturiers. Later that same year he set up a separate company, Parfums Jacques Fath, to market his growing line of scents. In 1953, preempting similar moves from other designers to target a larger market, Fath made the decision to launch a ready-to-wear collection. The Jacques Fath Université range was inspired by the fast and efficient mass-production methods that the designer had seen in the United States.

Fath's love of the dramatic was evident in his clothes. He drew much of his inspiration from historic costume, the theater, and the ballet. These influences are apparent in his use of the bustle and corsetry as recurring motifs, and in his playful and undulating lines. He perfected a clean and tailored hourglass shape, enhancing it with plunging necklines, sharp pocket details, or dramatic



Jacques Fath altering dress. Fath's designs, which frequently drew on historic costumes, were known for their youthful energy and touch of the dramatic. © GENEVIEVE NAYLOR/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

pleats. Fath experimented with asymmetry, pleating, and volume, designing huge voluminous skirts for both day and evening attire. These skirts cascaded from beneath his signature constricted waistline, or appeared as explosions of fabric under large enveloping coats and jackets. Fath's clever use of color ran from discreet juxtapositions of soft colors to loud prints in strong shades. His designs often featured a tartan patterned fabric and a plain fabric combined in one garment and he was unafraid to use bold modern prints to add an extra dimension to the controlled lines of his tailored garments.

Fath's collections of 1948 were notable for rejecting the full New Look silhouette in favor of severe tubular skirts and dresses cut along diagonal lines. His spring collection of 1950 caused a sensation when it was displayed, with dresses featuring a plunging décolletage accompanied by starched wing collars fastened with a bow tie—a suggestive look that later became identified with Playboy bunnies. Fath was extremely fond of fine wool tweed and jersey fabrics for daywear, often draping these materials directly onto a mannequin to create a new design. Rich satins, taffetas, and fine chiffons were his fabrics of choice for evening gowns, and he often used fur, both in trimmings and as full garments, to dramatic effect.

In 1954 Jacques Fath died tragically early at the age of forty-two. He left behind him a fashion empire at the height of its success, with over six hundred employees.

Geneviève Fath valiantly took over the business for a few years, but closed the clothing line in 1957. The Fath name continued as a perfume label until 1992, when it was acquired by a succession of different companies. The most recent owner of the Fath label was the France Luxury Group, who resurrected the clothing line in 2002 in an attempt to restore the success of this once great house.

See also **Fashion Marketing and Merchandising; Film and Fashion; Haute Couture; New Look; Paris Fashion; Perfume; Tartan; Theatrical Costume.**

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Oriole Cullen

FEATHERS Feathers are the horny outgrowth of skin found on birds. They serve a protective function for birds similar to the scales for fish and hair for mammals. Protecting birds from temperature extremes, feathers also help them fly and differentiate between the sexes.

Feathers are made up of a spiny central structure called the axis and flat side branches called barbs. The axis consists of a quill and a shaft. The quill is the hollow, colorless portion rooted in the skin, from which the feather derives nourishment while it is growing. From the quill to the tip of the feather is the shaft. It is solid and serves as an anchor to millions of barbs or interlocking hooks. This is where most of the color is found.

Feathers come in two main types: contour and down. Contour feathers, the most conspicuous of these types, are found on the wings and tail. The down feathers, considerably softer and fluffier than the contour feathers, are located at the base of the contour feathers.

Uses of Feathers

Feathers have had a wide range of uses for thousands of years. Pillows have been filled with feathers and down since around 400 C.E. Until the advent of steel pens in

the mid-nineteenth century, the best writing instruments were made from the quill of goose feathers. Feathers have been used for toys for cats, magic, and medicine bags. But of most relevance to this volume is the use of feathers in personal adornment across time and culture.

Feathers and symbolism. In a number of cultures, feathers have assumed great symbolism, often being associated with spirituality. Feather bonnets have been worn in religious ceremonies and ritual dances since the sixteenth century in Brazil.

Feathered spirit masks, made by the Tapirapé of the Amazon, play an important role in dry-season ceremonies performed by the Bird Societies as they circle their village and sing the songs of their respective bird species. For Yanomamö men of the Amazon, their feathered armbands worn high on their upper arms gave them the appearance of having wings, thereby bringing them closer to bird spirits.

The Native American war bonnet was made out of feathers from a golden eagle's tail. This headdress was a symbol of honor, accomplishment, and bravery.

In ancient Egypt, the ostrich feather was a symbol of truth. It was often seen in depictions of Ma'at, the goddess of truth and justice, who passed judgment over the souls of the dead.

Feathers and fashion. The Chinese of 500 C.E. used feathered fans. Robin Hood of merry old England wore a feather in his hat. By the late nineteenth century, feathers had become a must-have fashion item around the world, primarily for muffs and hats. The demand for feathers seemed to know no bounds. In 1886, Frank Chapman, an American Museum of Natural History ornithologist, counted feathers or even whole birds adorning 542 out of 700 hats he observed being worn by ladies from New York City. An estimated 5 million birds were killed each year to supply feathers for fashion items according to the American Ornithologists' Union. Bird species were plundered in the United States, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, China, Australia, New Zealand, and throughout Europe. As a result, some bird species were greatly threatened and several became extinct. The nineteenth-century popularity of the feather muff led to the extinction of the bittern. The huia of New Zealand was extinct by the early twentieth century as well. Populations of snowy egrets and other wading birds were greatly reduced.

The Future of Feathers

As a result of the decimation of bird populations all over the world, some environmental concern began to emerge and bird protection laws began to be enacted in the early twentieth century. Queen Alexandra of England made a statement by getting rid of all of her own hats with feathers on them in 1906. In 1918, the Federal Migratory Bird Treaty Act was signed between the United States and

Canada. This treaty limits sportsman to shooting migratory birds no more than three and a half months a year. In 1937 a similar treaty was established between the United States and Mexico. The Endangered Species Act of 1973 contains important provisions for the protection of migratory birds. In addition, international treaties between the United States and Japan and the former Soviet Union protect migratory birds that spend part of their year in the different countries. In the early 2000s most wild birds are protected. It is illegal to use feathers from songbirds (such as chickadees), marsh birds (such as egrets), and birds of prey (such as eagles) in the United States for clothing and accessories.

While the laws undoubtedly helped reduce the number of birds being killed for use in clothing and accessories, perhaps the biggest reason that birds on the endangered species list made a comeback was a change in fashion. In the 1920s, young women cut their hair so short that it could not properly support the large hats that had been decorated with many feathers just a few years earlier. Feathers did reappear on hats in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. By the late 1960s, very few women wore hats on a regular basis. In the early 2000s, less colorful feathers from chickens and ducks are dyed vivid colors. Also, technology has allowed fake feathers and fur to look very realistic.

Feather Purchase and Care

For those with a passion for feathers, there are many Web sites where customers can buy feathers that look like a golden eagle, which is illegal to kill, but are really dyed and trimmed from legal feathers. Other businesses assure their customers that the feathers were obtained by natural molting and not by killing of birds. The following types of feathers are generally available: duck, goose, guinea hen, macaw, pheasant, turkey, peacock, ostrich, and rooster.

Since cleaning feathers can be quite damaging to them, it is best to take preventive measures to ensure their longevity. Feathers should be stored away from dust, light, and insects in pH neutral boxes, which can be obtained from businesses that sell archival storage materials. Ideal temperature for storage is 60 degrees Fahrenheit to 75 degrees Fahrenheit, with a humidity of 45 to 55 percent. Handling of feathers should be kept to a minimum.

See also **America, North: History of Indigenous Peoples Dress; Fur; Inuit and Arctic Dress; Trimmings.**

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Elizabeth D. Lowe

FELT Felt is a fabric with a long history. It is a wonderfully versatile material. Felt with precise technical specifications is created in factories for industrial use, and yet the same material can be made by hand into beautiful clothing and exquisite works of art.

Felt can only be made from wool (the hair of sheep, camel and goat) or from fibers from the coats of certain other animals including beaver and rabbit. When these fibers are moistened, compressed, and agitated by rolling, beating, or rubbing, they move and become tangled together and form felt fabric. Scales on the outside of the fibers allow them to move in only one direction and prevent untangling. Hot water, soap, and various other chemicals speed the felting process—in fact, the reason why wool sweaters often shrink during washing is because the fibers become felted.

The origin of felt is unknown but is believed to date back to prehistoric times in Central Asia. Felt may have been discovered when wool, shed from wild sheep, was used to soften sleeping areas, and it formed a cohesive fabric, or when the wool on skins used for clothing became matted.

Felt is a good insulator. It is windproof and rain will run off it. It can be cut and will not fray because it has no yarns to unravel. Dense felt is remarkably strong and cannot be pierced by arrows. This property was appreciated by many warriors in the past, who used felt for lightweight shields and armor. Thin felt may tear when stretched, but dense felt can be stretched and molded into various shapes for uses such as hats, boots, and bags.

The Land of Felt

As in the past, felt plays an integral part in the lives of Eurasian nomads, who live in lightweight felt tents, known in the West by their Turkish name, yurts, but called *gers* in Mongolia. Yurts are domed structures usually sixteen to twenty feet in diameter, made from a wooden framework covered with felt. A yurt can be erected or dismantled in less than an hour and can easily be carried by two camels or yaks. Nomads also use felt for clothing, boots, hats, bags, carpets, blankets, horse paraphernalia, idols, and toys. This practice continued as the nomads settled in villages, and in Mongolia, many nomads now settled in towns and cities still choose to live in yurts.

Traditionally, nomads make felt by spreading wool fibers on a yak skin and wetting them. The wool and skin are wrapped around a pole and rolled by hand or pulled across the ground by a yak or other animal. After the



THE LAND OF FELT

From about 400 B.C.E., felt was used so extensively in Central Asia that the area was known to the Chinese as “the land of felt.” The goal of Genghis Khan was to unite “the people who live in felt tents,” and by 1206 he ruled the second-largest empire in human history.

wool has formed a cohesive sheet, it is removed from the mat and rolled further until a strong piece of fabric is created. Decorative designs may be added by appliquéing colored felt pieces or by the use of dyed wool in the felting process.

Before the time of the Roman Empire, felt was made in areas north of a line from Scandinavia, down to Italy, across Greece and Turkey, down the Persian Gulf, across Northern India, and up to the northeast tip of China. There is mention of felt in the works of Homer and pictures of felt production in the ruins of Pompeii. Felt was not known in Africa, Australia, or the Americas.

Until the 1960s, handcrafted felt continued to be used in many Middle Eastern areas for hats, boots, clothing, rugs, and wall hangings. The Turkish military wore felt boots until the 1950s. In Iran and Turkey, felt is now associated with an unsophisticated rural lifestyle.

Felt in the West

Little is known about felting in Europe prior to the Middle Ages. Felt was generally a low status fabric used for men’s hats, saddle covers, and the linings of helmets. When Charles VII of France wore a beaver felt hat in 1449 after defeating the English at the Battle of Rouen, such hats became so popular (and an indication of a wearer’s social status) that by the late 1500s beavers were extinct in Western Europe. This led to the development of the North American fur trade by British and French explorers and settlers.

To improve the felting properties of beaver fur, pelts were soaked with a mercury compound before the hair was cut from the skin. The mercury evaporated during hat making and was inhaled by the hatters, causing damage to their nervous systems that eventually resulted in madness. This is the origin of the term “mad as a hatter.”

Hats were so much a part of life that, by the 1820s, there were over 200 hat manufacturing companies in London alone. Beaver felt hats declined in popularity at about that time, but until the 1950s, fashion dictated that men should wear wool felt hats and caps outside, and even in many indoor situations.

Modern Felt

The development of felting machines in the mid-1800s increased the uses of felt as both a consumer and an industrial material. Machine-made wool felt has been used for hats, slippers, toys, the linings of silverware cases, carpet underlay, washers, gaskets, filters, polishing wheels, drum sticks, piano parts, and felt pens. It is not generally used for clothing in the West, because thick felt is stiff and does not drape well while thin felt will stretch out of shape. One notable exception is the circular skirts with appliquéd poodle designs that were popular in the 1950s. For crafts, ladies’ hats and many other uses, nonwoven fabrics made from synthetic fibers replaced felt in the late twentieth century.

As traditional felt-making is declining and commercial production of wool felt is decreasing, there has been a revival in interest in the study of traditional felt and the production of felt by hand as a craft or an artistic endeavor. Because of its unique properties and the way it can be made by hand, there will always be uses for felt.

See also **Appliqué; Nonwoven Textiles.**

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Julia Sharp

FELTING. See **Felt.**

FENDI Fendi is a synonym of fur and revolution, two apparently contradictory concepts. Having accepted the idea of mass consumption, Fendi attempted to provide furs for women of every social position, or nearly so, demystifying the luxury connotations that have always characterized this type of garment.

The story begins at the corner of the Piazza Venezia in Rome in 1925, where there was a small Fendi boutique and, next door to it, a fur and leather workshop, owned by Edoardo and Adele Fendi. By the 1930s they had expanded the business considerably. But the true protagonists of Fendi’s success are their daughters—Paola (b. 1931), Anna (b. 1933), Franca (b. 1935), Carla (b. 1937), and Alda (b. 1940)—who made the Fendi label famous

throughout the world. All five daughters began working in the family business at an early age—between fifteen and eighteen—assuming different responsibilities as required. In 1964 they opened the office on the via Borgognona in Rome, with a large picture of their mother, Adele, in the entrance. In 1965 they began their collaboration with Karl Lagerfeld, the designer who, together with the Fendi sisters, helped develop a renewed interest in furs. During this time, the famous black and brown double “F,” one of the first company logos, was created.

During the second half of the 1950s, ownership of a fur garment was the dream of many women, but following the social changes that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, fur came to be seen as old-fashioned and bourgeois. An illustration by the well-known painter Giuseppe Novello, outstanding illustrator of Italy’s postwar bourgeoisie, shows a woman at two different stages of her life. In the first image she is young and thin and wears a fitted coat. In the second she is weighted down by the years and stuffed into a large fur. The caption reads “When I first started wanting a fur coat . . . and when I finally had one” (Novello, p. 32).

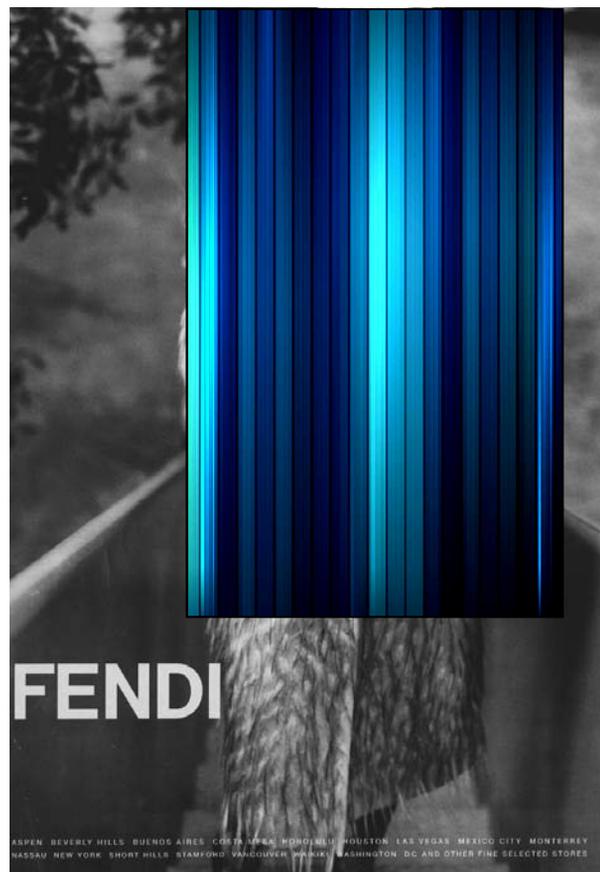
Lagerfeld, under the sisters’ direction, experimented with materials, patterns, finishes, weight, tanning methods, and colors, so that furs would be seen as something completely new, supported by advanced technological craftsmanship, suited to the needs of a public that wanted more accessible and wearable fashion. In 1966 he scandalized the fashion world by introducing color as a design element: “A colorful fur coat that was not precious but original” (Aragone, p. 92).

One of the characteristics of the Fendi label is the company’s unusual way of working with traditional skins. Fendi designers were continually experimenting on furs and in 1969, with the introduction of their Pret à Porter line, besides the exclusively artisan manufacturing, Fendi succeeded in producing a product accessible to the ordinary consumer: beautiful furs at a limited price.

Fendi used furs that were considered to be of “poor” quality, which the company then reworked and reinterpreted, and expensive skins, such as fox, ermine, mink, and astrakhan, which it transformed using different finishes and colors, so that they no longer were seen as stiff and conservative but as fashionable outerwear.

The same approach was used in the treatment of leather, especially handbags, which although they were luxury items, were made more versatile through the addition of printed patterns, unusual colors, and new designs. In 1968 Classic Canvas was launched, an alternative to leather; then striped colored rubber—beige and black—that became Fendi’s classic colors.

In 1977 Fendi introduced a line of ready-to-wear, known as “365—a dress for every day of the year, for a woman who wants her fur and purse to match her dress.” (Villa). In 1978 they brought out a line of shoes, pro-



Fendi advertisement. Italian fashion-house Fendi is best known for bringing furs back into vogue and creating coveted handbags featuring the distinctive double “F” trademark. THE ADVERTISING ARCHIVE LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

duced by Diego Della Valle. In the 1970s Fendi also launched new artisan-made lines: Giano, Astrologia, Pasta, and Selleria, all in limited edition and numbered.

When Adele died in 1978, each of the five Fendi children took over a different part of the business: Paola was primarily interested in furs; Anna, in leather goods. Franca handled customer relations, Carla coordinated the business, and Alda was responsible for sales. In the 1980s, as was the case with many Italian fashion houses, Fendi underwent a period of considerable expansion, involving product diversification and especially licensing. A wide range of products now bore the Fendi label—sweaters, suits, jeans, umbrellas, clocks, ceramics, and household decorations. Stores and boutiques were opened around the world. In 1985 Fendi even produced the uniforms for the Rome police department. That same year they launched their first perfume. In 1987 they introduced the Fendissime line, conceived by the third generation of the Fendi family: Silvia, Maria Teresa, Federica, and Maria Ilaria Fendi. The new line included sportswear, furs, and accessories for younger buyers. In 1989 they opened their

first store in the United States, located on Fifth Avenue in New York City. The following year they introduced a men's perfume and ready-to-wear line.

In 1997 they began making a series of handbags that quickly became cult objects. The most famous is the Fendi "Baguette," inspired by the shape of French bread, and conceived by Silvia Venturini Fendi. A small, minimalist jewel produced in a wide range of materials from horsehide to pearls, in six hundred different versions, it was an extraordinary success, chosen by Madonna, Julia Roberts, Naomi Campbell, and Gwyneth Paltrow. A special baguette called Lision was produced in limited edition, embroidered with an eighteenth-century loom at the speed of only five centimeters per day. The Rollbag, which was wrapped in a transparent case, followed in 1999. The Ostrich bag appeared in 2002 and the Biga Bag, favored by Sharon Stone, in 2003.

Silvia Venturini Fendi, together with Karl Lagerfeld, pursued the Fendi tradition of research in furs. For their Winter 2003–2004 collection they launched, among other furs, the "Vacuum Persian Fur," that is, a fur put into a PVC packaging, a fox fur cut into small stripes and then reassembled with small rubber bands, and depilated mink coats.

Meanwhile a number of licenses that had weakened the company's image were sold and Fendi focused on its core business, leather and fur. The Dark Store is the Fendi concept store based on the company's realignment. Dark Stores could be found in Paris, on rue François 1er and in the Galeries Lafayette on boulevard Haussmann, and on Sloane Street in London in the early 2000s.

Also in the early 2000s Silvia Venturini Fendi, Anna's daughter, was in charge of the style department as creative director of accessories and Man's Line.

In 2001, after considerable legal maneuvering associated with the mergers and acquisitions that typified the fashion world early in the twenty-first century, Fendi became part of the LVMH group, a giant in the world of luxury goods.

Over the years Fendi has designed costumes for both cinema and theater and has worked with a number of directors, including Luchino Visconti (*Gruppo di Famiglia in un Interno* 1975, *L'Innocente* 1976), Mauro Bolognini (*La Dame aux camélias* 1980), Franco Zeffirelli (*La Traviata* 1983), Sergio Leone (*C'era una Volta in America* 1983), Lina Wertmüller (*Scherzo*), Marco Ferreri (*Futuro di Donna* 1984), Dino Risi (*Le bon roi Dagobert* 1984), Liliana Cavani (*Interno Berlinese* 1985), Francis Ford Coppola (*The Godfather III* 1999), Martin Scorsese (*The Age of Innocence* 1993, a film that won the Oscar for costumes, in which Michelle Pfeiffer was wearing Fendi furs designed by the costumer Gabriella Pascucci), and Alan Parker (*Evita* 1996, starring Madonna). Wes Anderson's *Royal Tenenbaums* (2001) featured a fur coat worn by Gwyneth Paltrow, that became popular.

See also **Fur; Lagerfeld, Karl; Leather and Suede; Tanning of Leather.**

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Simona Segre Reinach

FERRAGAMO, SALVATORE Salvatore Ferragamo (1898–1960) was an artisan and an innovator during his fifty-year career in footwear design. His family name evokes beauty, traditional craftsmanship, and an assurance of quality and comfort. Born in Bonito, Italy, a remote hill town not far from Naples, Ferragamo was the eleventh in an agricultural family of fourteen children. Since poverty limited the resources needed to sustain a family, many Italians made their own shoes. Young Salvatore was determined to be a shoemaker and served an apprenticeship in a shop where each step was accomplished by hand. Intent on refining his knowledge and craftsmanship, he moved to Naples—at that time a hub for dressmakers, milliners, and shoemakers—in 1909, with the goal of learning accurate methods of measuring, fitting, and aesthetics. While still an adolescent, the imaginative and entrepreneurial Ferragamo returned to Bonito and set up a workshop with six assistants; under his leadership they produced custom-fitted, distinctively designed shoes.

Success in the United States

An older brother encouraged Salvatore to join him in Boston, where the Queen Quality Shoe Company hired him in 1914. Although modern technology mass-produced basic footwear, it was, in Ferragamo's opinion, heavy and clumsy. Subsequently he relocated to Santa Barbara, California, where he established a shoe-repair shop with the intent to create custom shoes by hand. Commissions included custom-designed boots and sandals for celebrities and silent film stars from 1914 to 1927.

In 1923 Ferragamo opened the legendary Hollywood Boot Shop in Los Angeles. Celebrities often commissioned outrageous footwear, such as pumps with appliqué patterns or sandals decorated with pearls or feathers. During the 1920s Ferragamo labels could be found in stores like Gimbel's and Saks Fifth Avenue. Ferragamo's standards for measuring and sizing, combined with his originality, influenced the entire industry. Although handmade shoes became an exclusive product for

discerning clientele, he collaborated with American manufacturers to design mass-produced shoes as well.

Return to Italy

Following fifteen successful and creative years in southern California, Ferragamo returned to Florence, Italy, in 1927 to organize assembly-line production of handcrafted shoes. He took advantage of the inherent qualities of Italian craftsmen and the availability of superior materials to create legendary footwear. In 1940 he returned to his hometown to marry Wanda Miletti, the daughter of the village doctor. Their life together produced a family of six children, all of whom became involved in the family business.

The American stock market crash of 1929 devastated the Italian economy, resulting in Ferragamo's bankruptcy. An undaunted entrepreneur, he managed to reestablish himself in Florence, and by 1937 he was able to purchase the elegant thirteenth-century Palazzo Spini-Feroni, one of the most historic buildings of the city, which became his workplace and showroom. By 1939 four hundred employees produced two hundred pairs of handmade shoes per day. Florence was once again a popular tourist destination by 1950, and international clientele frequented the elegant Ferragamo shop on via Tornabuoni.

A Family Business

Although Ferragamo's eldest daughter, Fiamma, had studied classics at the university, she observed all stages of her father's business from an early age. Following his death in 1960, she assumed responsibility for 700 workers who produced 350 pairs of shoes a day. The labor-intensive practice of making shoes by hand vanished by the end of the 1960s. Her sister Giovanna had studied fashion design in Florence, preparing for the eventuality of apparel as a new direction for the family business. Motifs from classic Italian art inspired her patterns and colors for an early signature collection of ready-to-wear for women in 1959. In the 1970s the company expanded into producing small leather goods, luggage, scarves, and perfume for the international market, in addition to footwear.

In the early twenty-first century the heirs continued to conduct business from the Palazzo Spini-Feroni. Wanda presided as chairman, and her son Ferruccio was the chief executive officer. Fiamma died prematurely in 1998 after almost forty years as the vice president responsible for product design. Her visionary initiatives built the company from a custom-made shoe business for the privileged few to a global, privately owned corporation. Today the company produces high-quality ready-to-wear and fashion accessories in addition to men's and women's footwear, all of which is available in exclusive and flagship stores around the world through joint ventures and licensing agreements. In addition the company subsidizes cultural restorations and sponsors international competitions for young shoe designers.

Personal Image and Acknowledgments

Wanda Ferragamo recalled that her husband was motivated by faith in his abilities. He was strong-willed and optimistic, determined to prosper. His workers remember that he transmitted confidence, and although he demanded discipline, he also recognized merit. He did not sketch his ideas, but as a great improviser and engineer, he intuitively cut samples and draped materials on wooden shoe forms to convey original ideas to his production staff.

In 1948 an exhibit at the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence, displaying two hundred models of Ferragamo's footwear produced between 1927 and 1960, was installed. Each pair was presented as a work of art. The exhibition traveled internationally and became the foundation of the archives in the Museo Ferragamo at the corporate headquarters. In 1999 the company won the Guggenheim Enterprise and Culture Prize for its investments in the sphere of culture.

Clothing Designs and Artistic Hallmarks

Ferragamo's autobiography, *Shoemaker of Dreams*, first published in England in 1957, details his career. As a true artist, Ferragamo found ways to create even under the most limited conditions. During World War II, restricted to using only the poorest of materials, he became known for his inventive use of what was at hand. Hemp cord and the strong, multicolored cellophane wraps of candy and cork were readily available in this region of wine making. He ingeniously placed the supportive metal shank precisely in the instep of the shoe, freeing the joints and heels from supporting body weight. Weightless qualities of both design and construction became Ferragamo's hallmark. He sculpted cork into wedge platforms and heels and dyed raffia to be woven for upper constructions. In 1947 he appropriated the clear filament wire used by fishermen to create straps around the foot and ankle to create the illusion of a seductive, feminine "Invisible Shoe."

In 1938 Ferragamo tapped into the allure of the prevailing theme of Orientalism. He created an upturned toe that he called the Oriental mule. He patented shoes with heels fabricated in steel. He coined the term *shell soling* for upturned soles. Narrow toes and slim high heels counterbalanced the voluminous gowns of designer Christian Dior, creator of the New Look of 1947. Ferragamo introduced a sculptural high heel carved into an F, his signature letter. In 1961 Fiamma collaborated with the up-and-coming Florentine noble, Emilio Pucci, on a display that accessorized colorful and vivacious garments with footwear. Fiamma Ferragamo is the creator of the most popular shoe style ever produced by the company: the *Vara*, a practical, midheel pump adorned with a signature metal buckle and stamped with the family signature and grosgrain bow, remains a wardrobe staple today.

Ferragamo stressed that his success was based in technical expertise and a discerning sense for materials,

combined with a knowledge of anatomy and his admiration for the allure of the female leg and foot. In the early 2000s the company continued to produce high-quality products made of superior materials with the same sophisticated standards originally established, sustaining the legacy of a truly unique man.

See also **Orientalism; Shoemaking; Shoes.**

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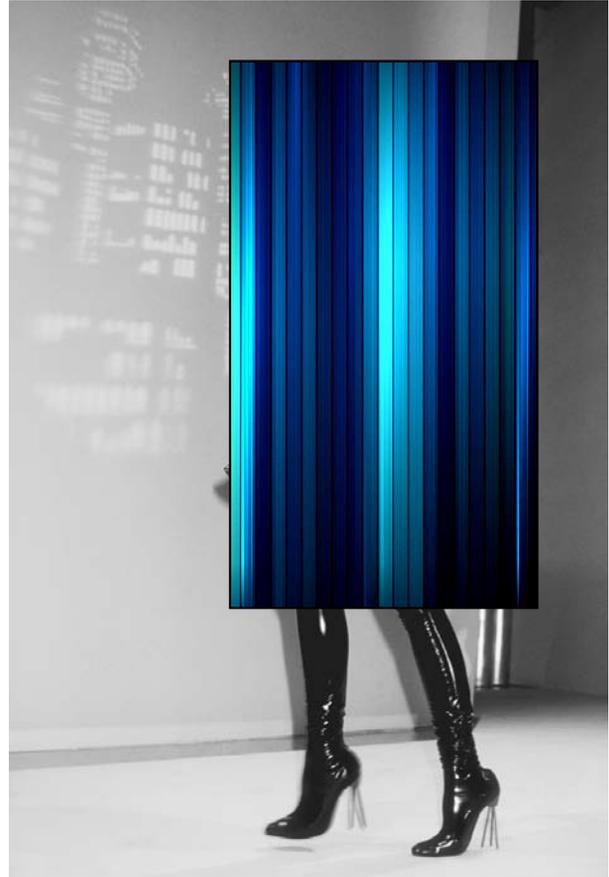
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Gillion Carrara

FETISH FASHION Fetishism is a term with a long and complicated history, encompassing religious, anthropological, economic, and sexual meanings. Missionary tracts with titles such as *Fetishism and Fetish Worshipers* denounced the “barbarous” religions of “primitive” people who worshiped “idols of wood or clay.” The term fetish was then extended to refer not only to objects allegedly possessing magic powers, but also to anything that was irrationally worshiped. Karl Marx famously coined the term “commodity fetishism” to describe the way objects produced through human labor acquired an exaggerated exchange value. Sexologists and psychiatrists traditionally described fetishism as a sexual “perversion.” Today, fetishism is usually characterized as a type of variant sexuality, in which arousal is associated with a (nongenital) part of the body, such as hair, or an inanimate object, such as a shoe.

Experts tend to agree that the majority of sexual fetishists are men. Indeed, the psychiatrist Robert Stoller argued, “fetishizing is the norm for males, not for females.” However, the subject of female fetishism is of interest to cultural theorists. There are also thought to be degrees of fetishism. Many men may be sexually aroused by high-heeled shoes, for example, but only a minority require the presence of such shoes for sexual arousal—and even fewer women have such a directly sexual relationship with shoes. Fetishism has also been associated with sadomasochism and transvestism. Leather fetishists, for example, may be involved in sadomasochistic sexuality. Sigmund Freud argued that fetishism was caused by castration anxiety, but this theory is not widely accepted today.

High-heeled shoes, so-called “kinky” boots, corsets, lingerie, and garments made of leather or rubber are among the most common clothing fetishes. Sometimes



Woman modeling Thierry Mugler rubber dress. Rubber clothing is a standard of fetish fashion, as are kinky, extremely high-heeled shoes or boots. © PIERRE VAUTHEY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

individual clothing fetishes are combined; thus, a black leather corset might be worn with high-heeled boots and long rubber gloves. Fetishes are associated with particular sexual fantasies. Or as Stoller put it: “A fetish is a story masquerading as an object.” In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, fetish clothing was utilized in secret sexual scenarios; for example, in brothels or the staging of pornographic imagery. Since the 1970s, however, clothing fetishes have played an increasingly important role in fashion and popular culture. As early as the 1960s, the television program *The Avengers* featured a character, Mrs. Peel, who wore a black leather catsuit that was modeled on an authentic fetish costume. Mrs. Peel’s costume was a precursor of Michelle Pfeiffer’s latex catsuit and mask in the film *Batman Returns*.

Fetishism moved from the sexual underground into mainstream popular culture via subcultural groups such as punks and leathermen. A youth subculture associated with bands like the Sex Pistols, the punks appropriated fetish clothing as part of their own “style in revolt.” The fashion designer Vivienne Westwood, herself a punk,

opened a shop in London called Sex, where she sold bondage trousers, rubber stockings, corsets, and extreme shoes to a clientele divided between real fetishists and young people attracted by the idea of breaking taboos. Westwood herself wore “total S&M as fashion” in the early 1970s, not just in private or at clubs, but on the street, as a way of subverting accepted social values.

The 1970s saw the spread of sexual liberation, women’s liberation, and gay liberation—all movements that provided a context for the emergence of fetish fashion. Although many feminists regard fetish fashion as exploitative and misogynistic, the iconography of sexual fetishism unquestionably focused on images of powerful women. The image of the dominatrix or phallic woman was especially pronounced in the work of Helmut Newton, a very influential fashion photographer of the 1970s. As a result of his controversial pictures in magazines such as the French edition of *Vogue*, Newton is often credited with having made fetishism “chic.” One of his fashion photographs of 1977, for example, was titled “Woman or Superwoman?” It showed a woman wearing a leather trench coat by French designer Claude Montana, accessorized with riding boots to convey the image of an Amazon, a subcategory of the dominatrix.

Jean Paul Gaultier is another designer who pioneered fetish fashion in the 1980s. Gaultier has told interviewers that, as a child, his grandmother’s flesh-colored corsets fascinated him, and he describes the process of lacing a corset as ritualistic. Many of his designs for both men and women have featured corset-style lacing. He is probably most famous for the corset that he designed for Madonna’s Blonde Ambition tour, which helped launch the trend for underwear-as-outerwear. Lingerie, of course, has become a ubiquitous influence on fashion

Perhaps even more than Gaultier, Thierry Mugler has focused on corsetry and on fetishized materials such as rubber and leather to create costumes that evoke the image of “the phallic woman.” One of his couture ensembles was entirely handcrafted of leather, including a leather neck-corset. It resembled the carapace of an insect. Other hard-bodied styles include metal corsets and entire ensembles made of metal and plastic, which transform the wearer into a kind of armored cyborg. Indeed, there is virtually no fetish ensemble—from the clothing of the equestrienne to the military uniform—that has not appeared on Mugler’s runways.

Leather is the material most often utilized in fetish fashion. Claude Montana was among the first to become known for fetish leather, to be followed in the 1990s by the Italian designer Gianni Versace, who caused a sensation with his leather fashions. Is it “chic or cruel?” asked *The New York Times*. Similar styles had been pioneered by sadomasochists, especially gay leathermen. Designers such as Thierry Mugler and John Galliano for Dior have also incorporated other second-skin materials, such as latex, into high fashion. All of the designers mentioned are

also known for their “kinky” shoes and boots, which are the most important accessories in the wardrobe of fetish fashion. Fetish shoes typically feature extremely high heels and sometimes also high platforms and ankle straps or lacing that allude to bondage. Fetish boots tend to be either very high (to mid-thigh) or overtly aggressive-looking.

See also **Fashion and Homosexuality; Film and Fashion; Galliano, John; Gaultier, Jean-Paul; Madonna; Mugler, Thierry; Versace, Gianni and Donatella; Westwood, Vivienne.**

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Valerie Steele

FIBERS According to the American Society for Testing and Materials (ASTM), a fiber is a unit of matter that has a length of at least 100 times its diameter. If fibers are to be used in textile products, they must have characteristics of fineness, strength, cohesiveness, and flexibility appropriate to the projected end use. Chemically, fibers are composed of long chains of molecules called polymers.

Fibers may be found in nature or manufactured. Fibers may be short and noncontinuous or of indefinite length, long and continuous. Short fibers are called staple fibers, while long, continuous fibers are called filament fibers. All natural fibers except silk are staple fibers. Manufactured fibers and silk can be filament fibers or can be cut into staple lengths.

Humans have used natural fibers since prehistoric times. Fibers are often classified according to their chemical structure. Natural fibers obtained from plants are generally made of cellulose. Others, generally obtained from animal hair, are protein. One mineral fiber, asbestos, is obtained from rock deposits. Asbestos products are no longer manufactured in the United States because the fibers can be carcinogenic if inhaled.

Natural cellulosic fibers are classified as seed hair fibers (cotton and kapok) because they grow on seeds. Bast fibers are obtained from the stems of plants (linen from the flax plant, ramie, jute, hemp, and kenaf). Fibers from plant leaves and other vegetable sources include agave, coir, henequen, sisal, yucca, piña, and sacaton. Many of these fibers, and others that are even more rare,

have only limited use for industrial products or for local crafts. Cotton, linen, ramie, and hemp are the cellulosic fibers most often used in apparel. Piña comes from the leaves of the pineapple plant and is used for traditional costumes in some Asian and Pacific areas.

Protein fibers are generally obtained from the hair of animals. Silk, another protein fiber, is extruded by the silkworm and obtained from its cocoon. Widely used animal hair fibers include sheep's wool, cashmere, camel hair, mohair, and alpaca. Other animal hair fibers have more limited use. Eskimo women knit qiviut, the soft, fine underhair of the musk ox, into very expensive accessories and garments, using patterns characteristic of their village. Llama and guanaco, Andean animals that are similar to alpaca, and *buarzio* and *misti*, cross-bred llamas and alpacas, produce hair harvested for textiles. Attempts to domesticate the vicuña, a wild Andean ruminant, have had limited success. Most of this very soft and costly fiber comes from animals that have been hunted, and strict limits are placed on the number that can be taken each year. In New Zealand, cross-breeding female cashmere goats and male angora goats has produced "cashgora," but marketing efforts for this fiber have had limited success.

Manufactured fibers (sometimes called man-made fibers) can be either regenerated fibers, those formed from natural materials that are not useable as fibers in their natural form, or synthetic fibers from chemical substances. Most manufactured fibers are formed either by melting or dissolving the polymer in a chemical solution, then forcing this solution through holes in a metal plate, called a spinneret, in order to form long, continuous fibers.

The manufacture of a regenerated fiber begins with such diverse substances as cotton fibers too small to be formed into a yarn, wood chips, corn or milk protein, or seaweed. These materials are subjected to chemical processing that allows them to be dissolved and then reformed into filament fibers. The most widely used regenerated fibers include rayon, lyocell, and acetate.

Synthetic fibers are created (synthesized) from chemical substances. The Federal Trade Commission classifies synthetic and manufactured fibers according to their chemical composition. Manufacturers may also give their fibers trade names. The most widely used synthetic fibers are acrylic and modacrylic, elastomers, nylon, polyolefins, and polyester.

Metallic fibers have been used in fashionable apparel for thousands of years, often to make lavish garments to display status. Thin sheets of metal can be cut into narrow strips or a thin filament of metal can be wound around a central core of another material. Except for gold, metal fibers are likely to tarnish unless provided with a protective coating.

Some high-tech fibers with limited use in apparel are aramid, PBI (Polybenzimidazol), melamine, and sulfur.

These are used for protective clothing or gloves. Bicomponent fibers are made from two different polymers, combined in various configurations in order to take advantage of the special characteristics of each fiber.

Fibers are made into textiles by techniques in which the fibers are held together or formed into a yarn and the yarns formed into a fabric by any of a number of techniques.

See also **Acrylic and Modacrylic Fibers; Alpaca; Camel Hair; Cotton; Elastomers; Hemp; Nylon; Polyester; Silk; Techno-Textiles.**

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Phyllis Tortora

FILM AND FASHION The couturier and designer of surreal hats, Elsa Schiaparelli once declared, "The film fashions of today are your fashions of tomorrow" (Prichard 1981, p. 370). Besides planning haute couture collections, Schiaparelli also designed costumes for such stars as Mae West (*Every Day's a Holiday* [1937]) and the British stars Margaret Lockwood and Anna Neagle (*The Beloved Vagabond* [1936], *Limelight* [1936]). Since then, the interrelationship between film and fashion has become more complex. Schiaparelli's belief in the direct influence of the "dream factory" on what ordinary people wore is borne out by a number of examples from the classical Hollywood period: one of Adrian's robes for Joan Crawford in *Letty Lynton* (1932) was widely copied, as was Edith Head's white party dress for Elizabeth Taylor in *A Place in the Sun* (1951). However, since then various factors have enriched and diversified fashion's interaction with film. First, there was—in the wake of Audrey Hepburn's successful collaboration with the then young and relatively unknown Paris couturier Hubert de Givenchy from *Sabrina* (1954) onward—the growing use of fashion as opposed to costume design on a number of key movies. Second, alongside this industrial shift and commensurate with the expansion within the couture industry into prêt-à-porter, there was an escalation of fashion's influence over film as well as the other way round. Third (and a

far more contemporary factor) is the rise in celebrity culture and a burgeoning interest in movie stars, what they wear both on and off the screen.

From the 1920s through the 1940s, relatively few fashion designers demeaned themselves by working for moving pictures. The most notable Parisian export was Coco Chanel who, in 1931, was lured to Hollywood by Sam Goldwyn for \$1 million, only to find that Hollywood costume design—because she was too meticulous, too precise—was not for her. When she returned to France, Chanel did return to costume designing, working on the films *Les Amants* (1958) and *L'année dernière à Marienbad* (1961). Despite the phenomenal impact on cinema as well as fashion of his New Look in 1947, Christian Dior lent his designs to a relatively small and eclectic series of films: René Clair's *Le silence est d'or* (1946), for example, some of the costumes for Jean-Pierre Melville's *Les enfants terribles* (1950), and Marlene Dietrich's costumes for Alfred Hitchcock's *Stage Fright* (1950). It was Givenchy's collaboration with Hepburn that changed everything.

Called in reputedly at Hepburn's behest, Givenchy's first film costumes were the ball gowns in *Sabrina*. The details of this story are muddled because Givenchy's account of his input in the film at times directly contradicts the version proffered by the film's overall costume designer, Edith Head. Head, who had designed the costumes for Hepburn's Oscar-winning role as the princess in *Roman Holiday* just the previous year, was clearly hurt by the star's—and director's—decision to acquire an actual Paris wardrobe for *Sabrina*. In *The Dress Doctor*, Head comments: "I had to console myself with the dress, whose boat neckline was tied on each shoulder—widely known and copied as 'the *Sabrina* neckline'" (Head and Ardmore 1959, p. 119). Elsewhere, Givenchy queried Head's claim to the *bateau* neckline design. Certainly it is a more eye-catchingly cut than one might expect from Head who, having found her so-called breadline, rationing-conscious costumes of World War II made to look *démodé* by the immediate impact of Dior's opulent New Look, declared herself to be a "fence-sitter" who would follow rather than lead fashion. This claim by Head that she intentionally occupied the middle of the road crystallizes the difference between the couturier and the straightforward costume designer. While the couturier might be more expressive and daring when designing for the screen, costume designers opted for safer styles that remained secondary to character and narrative and never, as the Hollywood director George Cukor commented, "knocked your eye out" (Gaines and Herzog 1990, p. 195). The inherently spectacular quality of Givenchy's designs for Hepburn is frequently accentuated by the nature of the narratives the costumes serve. In both *Sabrina* and later *Funny Face*, the story revolves around the Hepburn characters' Cinderella-esque rags-to-riches tales, transformed from a chauffeur's daughter to a millionaire's wife in one, bookshop assistant to an icon of glamour and

sophistication in the other. The joke in *Funny Face*—in which Hepburn's character models clothes on a Paris catwalk—is ultimately that, for all the appeal of high fashion, Hepburn is happiest (and most iconic) when dressing down in black leggings, turtleneck, and flats.

There have been other significant collaborations between stars and designers—Adrian's partnerships with Greta Garbo and Joan Crawford, or Jean Louis's designs for Doris Day's comedies of the late 1950s and early 1960s—and following these, couturiers contributed more regularly to film costume design. Hardy Amies (Queen Elizabeth's favorite fashion designer) designed the wardrobe for films such as *The Grass Is Greener* (Stanley Donen, 1960) and *2001: A Space Odyssey* (Stanley Kubrick, 1968). Giorgio Armani later became the most prolific couturier costume designer, working on a number of films, ranging from *American Gigolo* (1980) to the remake of *The Italian Job* (2003). However, the way in which Armani has approached costume design—and this holds for several classic designers such as Nino Cerruti, Yves Saint Laurent, Donna Karan, Calvin Klein—is in a likewise classic way. His costumes occupy a traditional, servile role in relation to the narratives and characters they serve; they remain stylishly unobtrusive and do not "knock your eye out," as arguably Givenchy's extravagant ball gowns for Hepburn do. Cinema's most popular couturier costume designers, it seems, are those who follow the underpinning conventions of costume design.

From the 1970s onward, a schism has become increasingly apparent between the classic and the spectacular look in film. Peter Wollen has argued that only the latter kind of extrovert costume design (such as those in William Klein's 1966 film *Qui êtes-vous, Polly Maggoo?*) can be considered art, thus echoing Saint Laurent's belief that "Art is probably too big a word for fashion. Fashion is a craft, a poetic craft" (Saint Laurent 1988, p. 20). The "art" of fashion in film would be exemplified by the film work of Jean Paul Gaultier, who has designed costumes for various art-house movies including *The Cook, the Thief, His Wife and Her Lover* (1989) and *Kika* (1993). In both, exaggerated versions of Gaultier's signature styles—his cone bras, his use of corsetry as outer clothing, his asymmetrical cutting, his persistent predilection for classic tailoring alongside much more radical designs—are evident with a pervasive, more nebulous interest in creating outlandish costumes in their own right. Gaultier's designs are intrinsically fashionable and extend the boundaries of costume and style (as Chanel once explained, there is an essential distinction to be drawn between "fashion," which is ephemeral, and "style," which endures). Although Gaultier trained with Pierre Cardin and Jean Patou (thereby explaining his residual interest in traditional tailoring), in *The Cook, the Thief* alone one can find a string of witty, audacious juxtapositions—there are echoes of Courrèges's space-age costumes (far more outlandish than Amies's designs for *2001*), the influence of the effete cavaliers and more than a whiff of seventeenth-century cardinals. In

Kika, the smooth surface of classicism—exemplified by Victoria Abril’s black bias-cut dress—is ruptured by radical flourishes, such as the prosthetic breasts bursting out of it.

The creation of self-consciously spectacular costumes (less “over the top” than drawing attention to themselves in whatever way) has persisted through a variety of eclectic movies. Gaultier’s own wardrobe for Luc Besson’s *The Fifth Element* (1997) is incontrovertibly spectacular; the clothes are ostentatious, wildly colorful, eclectic and, again, overtly sexual, as in Leeloo’s artful stretch-bondage gear. Once more, these costumes flagrantly come in the way of character identification as one cannot help but notice them, and in their very styles (asymmetric, clashing) and man-made fabrics, they proclaim their ephemerality. This is only one, obvious, use of the spectacular; other more subtle examples from within contemporary film of costumes that draw attention to themselves and so intrude upon the seamlessness of the classical narrative form would be *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (1999), *Far from Heaven* (2002), and *Dolls* (2002). Like Luis Buñuel’s *Belle de jour* (1967) before them, *Ripley* and *Far from Heaven* in particular make use of costumes that are only slightly out of the ordinary. The cardigan trimmed with thick, swirling braid that Cate Blanchett is wearing when she bumps into the only slightly less ostentatiously dressed Paltrow is a further example of a costume’s overt fashionableness being used to prevent the spectator’s unthinking identification with the characters and the scene. Fashion (and it is important that the character Blanchett plays here is a textiles heiress) creates an alternative dialogue between text and spectator.

However, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that the dominant tendency in cinema has been to follow the Armani route, using fashion to denote stylishness and class but not to be too spectacular and so interrupt the flow or balance of a scene. For *The Italian Job* (2003), Armani’s costumes are used, very traditionally, as a means of interpreting character. Essential differences between the principal characters are signaled through costume, in much the same way as Edith Head created a shorthand for understanding her characters through dress (a high-buttoned neckline for a repressed woman, a shimmering décolleté dress for a more sexually available one). So, Donald Sutherland’s sensuous, unstructured wool coat and warm turtleneck sweater serve as coded references to his innate charm and old-school heist-master values (he has had enough of the criminal life and the “job” at the start of the film is meant to be his last before going straight), while Mark Wahlberg’s tighter-fitting, slightly spivvy black leather jacket quickly makes him out to be eager and on the make. Armani had used a similar system of typeage for the four protagonists in *The Untouchables* (1987)—the friendly father-figure in chunky knits, the nerd in a coat slightly too big, the cop from the wrong side of the tracks in his rather-too-jazzy brown leather jacket, and the dependable leader (again) in his flowing Armani coat and tailored three-piece.

The dressing of Gwyneth Paltrow in many of her films conforms to a similar pattern. Apart from her period films (*Emma*, *Elizabeth*) and latterly *The Royal Tenenbaums* (2001), in which she appears to be signaling her desire to break free of her previous typecasting, Paltrow has exemplified a certain well-groomed, affluent but slightly frigid and repressed look, given to her in films such as *Sliding Doors* (1998) or Alfonso Cuarón’s modern-day *Great Expectations* (1998) by the elegant but unexceptional designs of Calvin Klein and Donna Karan respectively. These designers, like Ralph Lauren before them, exemplify a specific kind of safe but sophisticated New York fashion. Like costumes in Hollywood’s heyday, the clothes in these films accomplish the easy, unobtrusive creation of Paltrow’s characters’ social identity. The straight lines, modern fabrics, and neutral colors do more than suggest the characters’ fashionableness, they mark them out as coming from a specific milieu, in much the same way as Head’s costumes for Grace Kelly in her Hitchcock films of the 1950s (*Rear Window*, *Dial M for Murder*, *To Catch a Thief*) had done.

The refined, slightly aloof elegance of Grace Kelly could perhaps have been expected to make a bigger impact on fashion itself than it did. The relationship between fashion and film is a two-way process: fashion designers get involved in films in part to showcase their designs and perhaps influence fashion outside cinema along the way. Armani, for example, has denied that his film designs are product placement, although the association with movies is a tidy way of giving his designs exposure. Films, even the less clearly fashionable ones, have frequently influenced fashion. There are multiple examples throughout cinema history of items of clothing in films making a significant intervention into fashion on the street. Some films (such as Michelangelo Antonioni’s quintessentially 1960s’ *Blowup*) are notable as “time capsules” of the fashions of their times, while others might add a look, a garment, or accessory to the contemporary fashion scene. The latter are more intriguing, as they are actively rather than passively engaged with fashion. Sometimes, though, the precise reason for a film having a significant impact on fashion might remain elusive; it simply captures the zeitgeist.

An early example of a single garment changing the course of fashion occurs in *It Happened One Night* (1934) in which Clark Gable takes off his shirt to reveal that he is not wearing an undershirt underneath (reputedly because he felt that taking off another shirt would prove ungainly). Undershirt sales in the United States plummeted by 30 percent. Male underwear sales went up again in the 1950s when the white T-shirt became a fashionable item of male clothing, with Marlon Brando sporting one in *The Wild One* (1953) and James Dean another in *Rebel without a Cause* (1955). Later examples of films directly impacting on fashion are *Annie Hall* (1977) and *Out of Africa* (1985). Just months after the respective releases of both films, the pages of American and British

Vogue were awash with derivative images. The distinctive, ditsy look Ralph Lauren created for Diane Keaton as Annie Hall was swiftly mimicked in fashion magazines and in department stores as women were urged to mix up masculine and feminine styles as Annie had done—a big tweed jacket over a feminine shirt, or a waistcoat and tie over peg-top trousers to accentuate rather than obscure the feminine form. In the wake of *Out of Africa*, both in the pages of glossy magazines and on the street, the safari look dominated women's and men's fashions alike. Fashion shoots had safari settings and ensembles featuring billowing linen, cotton shirts, wide skirts, breeches, and leather riding boots. A clear reason for the fashion success of both these films was that their looks were easily attainable; the British store Top Shop tempted shoppers to its *Out of Africa*-inspired collection with the tag line "Out of Oxford Circus, into Top Shop." Likewise, women and girls could achieve the androgynous Annie Hall look by simply raiding the wardrobes of their older, more traditional male relatives or by visiting thrift shops.

Two issues emerge from the impact a film such as *Out of Africa* had on fashion: that it still, despite being a period film, exerted considerable influence on contemporary fashion and that its wardrobe manifestly illustrated the importance of accessibility and democratization when it comes to film's influence on fashion. Few costume films have influenced fashion—although Edward Maeder makes a case for the 1933 version of *Little Women* leading to the popularization of such items as the gingham pinafore, and John Fairchild, publisher of *Women's Wear Daily*, waged a personal crusade in the late 1960s to have hemlines drop after enjoying *The Damned* (1962), *Doctor Zhivago* (1965), and *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967) (Prichard, 216). It is tempting to presume that any period piece that influences fashion must contain elements of inauthenticity: Julie Christie's "swinging sixties" makeup and hair in *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1967) or the anachronistically colorful gowns Michelle Pfeiffer wears in *The Age of Innocence* (Hollander 1993). If such period films have affected contemporary fashion, there has tended to be a manifest overlap between the fashions of the historical period and the fashion trends at the time the film is made. This mutuality was evident in the safari clothes of *Out of Africa* and was logically the reason for *Moulin Rouge*, with its basques and retro-new romantic styles, having been readily emulated in shop windows. While costume films have indirectly influenced designers (Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon* [1975] has been cited more than once as an inspiration by modern couturiers), the films rarely impact upon clothes styles as a whole.

The accessibility of film fashion has become a hugely significant factor in their appeal. In the 1970s and 1980s, fashion had become about what people wear, not what they might fantasize about wearing, a transition that altered the relationship with film. Quentin Tarantino's *Reservoir Dogs* (1992), which inspired London department

store windows and led to an increase in the wearing of dark suits and shades amongst younger men, is just such an example of film's democratization of fashion; the costume designer Betsy Heimann had bought the suits cheaply. As *Reservoir Dogs* became successful as a movie, however, so did the clean-silhouetted French gangster look (Tarantino readily admitted to having emulated the look created by the French director Jean-Pierre Melville for his gangsters). By the time Tarantino came to make his second film, *Pulp Fiction* (1994), the idea that his films were trendy was cemented, and this time he bought suits for Samuel L. Jackson and John Travolta and Uma Thurman's black trousers and white shirt duo at *Agnès b.* Audiences now somewhat randomly scavenge films for fashion ideas, so Thurman's Chanel Rouge Noir nail polish in *Pulp Fiction* was much in demand, as earlier Tom Cruise's sunglasses from *Top Gun* (1986) had been. The overall attractiveness of the film is only partly responsible for its potential impact on fashion; sometimes just a single garment or accessory becomes popular, such as Keanu Reeves's mobile phone and long black coat in *The Matrix* (1999) or Nicole Kidman's half-fitted, half-loose teddy in *Eyes Wide Shut* (1999), which sold out everywhere. As Schiaparelli noted back in the 1930s, cinema is inevitably going to influence fashion. Since then, a more fluid, flexible interaction has emerged—sometimes fashion borrows from film, but often the exchange is reversed. Film actors are inevitably dressing up, and this use of clothes as fantasy comes out in audiences' acquisitions of particular on-screen looks, whether this be women using patterns to make up their favorite costume designs in the 1940s or their granddaughters going to Agnès b. in the 1990s to find Uma Thurman's trousers. Likewise, as Jean Paul Gaultier has remarked, film lets the designer's imagination run riot in a way fashion, because of its commercial constraints, does not. In the early twenty-first century, there is the added dimension of what stars wear off-screen becoming as important in influencing cinema audiences. Film and fashion will continue to serve each other.

See also **Actors and Actresses, Impact on Fashion; Celebrities; Hollywood Style.**

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Stella Bruzzi

FIRST LADIES' GOWNS For over one hundred years, one of the Smithsonian Institution's most visited exhibitions has been a display of gowns worn by the First Ladies of the United States. An unofficial title, "first lady" has been in popular use since the 1860s to refer to the president's official hostess who is usually, but not always, the president's wife.

Many people think of the first family as the United States' version of royalty who are expected to fulfill ambiguous and evolving ideals of how to act and look. New first ladies have often discovered that they will have to learn how to dress to belong in this national spotlight. If a first lady fails to achieve this elusive goal, she is vulnerable to the political consequences of media criticism; but when a first lady does succeed, she may popularize a fashion.

Political Implications

While Americans want their first lady to look as if she represents an affluent and powerful country, citizens do not want her to look too regal—spending excessive amounts on high-fashion clothing. For example, in the early 1860s the southerner Mary Todd Lincoln was severely criticized for her extravagant fashions and entertainment as the nation dealt with the horrors of the Civil War. A hundred years later, Jacqueline Kennedy's love of expensive clothes, particularly French couture, became a political liability during the 1960 presidential campaign between her husband and Richard Nixon. To avoid these hazards, attractive Pat Nixon restrained herself from buying anything too special. The fur coats she purchased in the past did not support the public persona of a "good Republican woman in a cloth coat."

Some presidents' wives have only slightly refined their wardrobe for their public role. For example, in 1998, self-assured Barbara Bush had no intention of becoming more concerned with her appearance while first lady; but she came to appreciate her American designers, Arnold Scaasi and Bill Blass. They transformed her into a glamorous grandmother who felt pretty even as she endured treatments for Graves disease.

As the first president's wife to have been born after World War II, Hillary Rodham Clinton was part of a generation who paid more attention to their achievements than to their appearance. She eschewed the fash-

ionable trappings of traditional "well-bred" ladies and focused on her education and professional career. Mrs. Clinton was first criticized for this lack of attention to her appearance and then judged for all the "fine tuning" she attempted, particularly changes in hairstyles. When a first lady's appearance is continually criticized, it seems more likely that she is being attacked because she acts different rather than just because she looks different. Never was this truer than for Mrs. Clinton—a lawyer, a public servant, and a new kind of first lady.

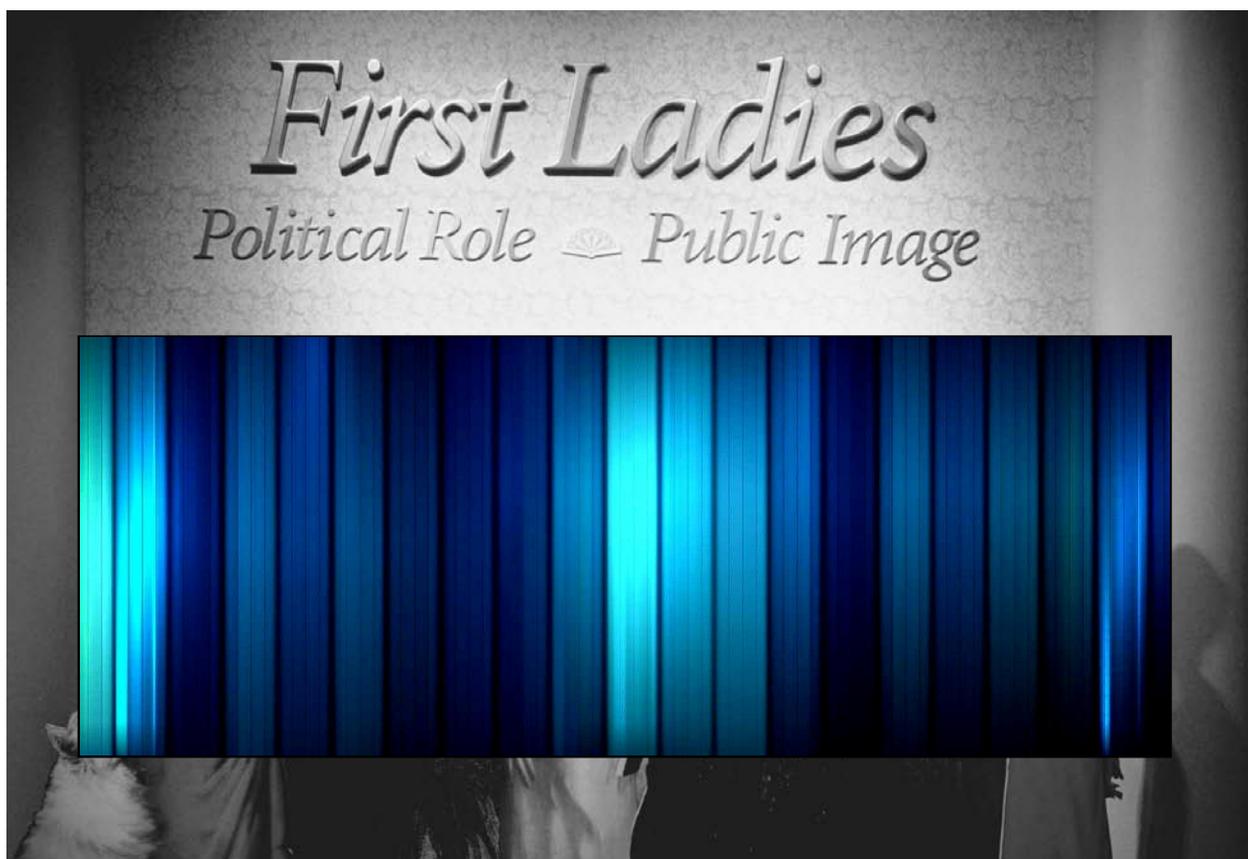
Fashion Popularizer

Although a successfully dressed first lady is not a fashion innovator, a favorite color—Mamie (Eisenhower) pink—or accessory—Barbara Bush's three-strand imitation pearl necklace—or even a single dress style could become more popular because of her well-publicized role in the White House. In 1993, Mrs. Clinton wore to her first official White House event a Donna Karan turtleneck, long-sleeved, long black dress with cutouts that bared her shoulders. This glamorous dress was not a new style; it had already been seen on celebrities such as Liza Minnelli and Candice Bergen. Nevertheless, within a week of Mrs. Clinton's stunning appearance, manufacturers copied it by the thousands for the mass market.

Dolley Madison and Jacqueline Kennedy were two first ladies who popularized more than a dress style. They each embodied a unique way of dressing that influenced women in their own time. In the early nineteenth century, Dolley Madison's love of French fashions and elegant furnishings encouraged conservative American women to more fully embrace the latest foreign fashions. The popularity of the lively Mrs. Madison blunted the effect of the critics who accused her of aristocratic behavior unsuitable for the first lady of a republic. In contrast, two months before the election in 1960, Jacqueline Kennedy was directed by her husband's advisers to stop buying French couture. Taking into account the best of French fashions, she crafted a simple, youthful, made-in-America glamour. She exemplified a new, and soon-to-become classic, American look.

Collection and Exhibition

In the early twentieth century, the Smithsonian Institution, along with other museums presenting American history, celebrated the accomplishments of notable people, most of whom were important white men. Intended as a way to educate the public in the values of hard work and good citizenship, the focus was on traditional masculine achievements. As Edith Mayo, curator emeritus First Ladies Collection, reported in her 1996 publication, *The Smithsonian Book of the First Ladies*, a volunteer supporter of the Smithsonian, Mrs. Cassie Myers James "introduced the idea of women as historical role models by building a collection of clothing that showed 'the fashions of the women of the United States from colonial times . . . and their sphere in home life'" (p. 279).



Smithsonian exhibit of First Ladies. First Ladies often walk a fine line when choosing their dress, as the public wants them to look sophisticated and elegant, but not extravagantly so. © RICHARD T. NOWITZ. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The inspiration to acquire and exhibit dresses of the first ladies came about when a descendant of President James Monroe, Mrs. Rose Gouverneur Hoes, was invited to contribute to the collection. In 1912 the success of this effort was assured when Mrs. William Howard Taft, the current first lady, and descendants of five other presidents, promised gowns for the collection. By 1915 the display of dresses in rows of cases was called “Historical Costumes, Including those of the Mistresses of the White House.”

These collections and the exhibition were radical innovations. For the first time, women were made visible in the nation’s museum, creating a precedent for future collections about women. Over time, the Smithsonian’s presentation of the first ladies has changed. In the 1950s the dressed mannequins were reinstalled in elaborate room settings resembling public spaces in the White House during different periods. In March 1992 a new exhibition, “First Ladies: Political Role and Public Image” opened. In a break with tradition, the first ladies are reinterpreted as historical agents in their own right within the context of the American presidency and the history of women in America. The continued popularity of the Smithsonian’s First Ladies Hall demonstrates both the

American fascination with first ladies and the power of dress to evoke the personality and life experiences of the wearers.

See also **Blass, Bill; Celebrities; Fashion Icons.**

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Claudia Kidwell

FLANNEL Flannel is a light to heavyweight fabric woven as a plain or twill weave that originated in Wales. Some sources claim the name is derived from the Welsh word “gwalen,” which means literally a piece of clothing or material made of wool. Another possible etymological origin of the word is from the Old French “flaine,” which refers to a blanket or coverlet. Flannel is finished with napping to increase its insulating properties. After the fabric is woven, it is brushed so that the staple fiber ends are loosened from the weave to form a fuzzy surface.

Napping also contributes to the soft hand of the fabric. Flannel may be made from wool, cotton, synthetic fibers, or blends that incorporate a synthetic fiber with a natural fiber to add to the overall strength of the fabric and increase resistance to abrasion. Flannel-back satin refers to a type of silk satin that has spun yarns in the weft (crosswise yarn) and is brushed or napped on the back.

Cotton flannel is made with loosely spun filling yarns to ensure a dense nap. It may be napped on one or both sides. After the untreated fabric or greige goods are napped, the fabric is dyed or printed and finished again by brushing or being run through the napping machine a second time to restore the nap. Variations of cotton flannel include outing flannel, Canton flannel, dommet flannel, flannelette, and suede cloth, which is shorn after napping. Outing flannel, which is heavier than flannelette, is used for lightweight jackets, shirts, dresses, and upholstery. Flannelette is used for bedding and sleepwear.

Wool flannel may be made of either worsted or woolen yarns, the latter producing a denser nap. It is typically napped on one side only. Flannels made of woolen yarns are usually plain woven, and those made of worsted yarns are usually twill. Worsted flannel is lighter and firmer than woolen and will wear better. Pure wool flannel is a favorable fabric for tailoring because it shapes easily with the use of steam and heat. Wool flannels are used to make trousers, skirts, suits, and coats. French flannel is a variation of wool flannel that has a more fluid drape.

See also **Napping; Worsted.**

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Marie Botkin

FLAPPERS The flapper was an important figure in the popular culture of the 1920s and helped to define the new, modern woman of the twentieth century. She was the embodiment of the youthful exuberance of the jazz age. Although she defied many of society's taboos, she was also seen by many as the ideal young woman and was described by author F. Scott Fitzgerald as "lovely, expensive and about nineteen."

It is commonly assumed that the term "flapper" originated in the 1920s and refers to the fashion trend for un-

fastened rubber galoshes that "flapped" when walking, an attribution reinforced by the image of the free-wheeling flapper in popular culture. Despite this potent imagery, the word has its origins in sixteenth-century British slang. Deriving from the colloquial "flap," the word indicated a young female prostitute and likely referred to the awkward flapping of a young bird's wings when learning to fly. By the nineteenth century the term had lost most of its lewd connotations and instead was used to describe a flighty or hoydenish adolescent girl. In the years following World War I, the word was increasingly used to describe a fashionably dressed, impulsive young woman and by the 1920s, it was used to describe "modern" young women who broke traditional rules of both appearance and behavior.

The "fast living" ethos of the 1920s was widely perceived to be a direct consequence of World War I. During wartime, many young women experienced freedoms previously unheard of, such as taking jobs, shortening skirts, driving cars, and cutting their hair. Competition for male attention was paramount since the pool of eligible men had been depleted during the war, and this probably contributed to the flashier fashions and aggressive behavior of many young women. Outrageous behavior and dress was seen as an investment against spinsterhood or, at the very least, boredom.

The Flapper Image

The common perception of the flapper had as much to do with behavior as it did with appearance. Flappers displayed a carefree disregard for authority and morality. They drank heavily in defiance of Prohibition, smoked, embraced new shocking dances like the Charleston, the Shimmy, and the Black Bottom, used slang, drove fast, and freely took lovers and jobs. Posture and motion were important elements of the flapper persona. The fast, jerky motions characterized by these popular dances emphasized bare arms, backs, and legs. The posture of the flapper was an affected "debutante slouch," often with hand on hip. This limp, listless pose was not possible on a traditionally corseted body and was meant to imply the aftereffects of the previous night's debauchery.

Accordingly, flapper styles blatantly disregarded established fashions in exchange for the new and daring. Popular styles of the 1920s focused on the display of the slim, youthful body through the use of short skirts and dropped waists. Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel and Jean Patou were particularly known for this youthful, sporty style. The flapper took this fashionable ideal to the extreme and wore the shortest skirts possible, low cloches, and negligible underwear. Evening dresses were sleeveless, flashy, and frequently featured slit skirts meant to enable active dancing. She bobbed her hair, wore obvious makeup, and sunbathed in skimpy, one-piece bathing suits.

A common element of the flapper style was the tendency to misuse clothing and accessories—a way of thumbing noses at high fashion and polite society. Ex-

amples of this phenomenon were the rolling of stockings below the knees, the wearing of unhooked rubber galoshes that “flapped” when walking, evening shoes worn with daywear, and occasionally even the natural waist worn in defiance of the dictates of high fashion. Flappers were also rumored to rouge their knees, and this is a part of the greater emphasis on legs crucial to the flapper persona. Besides the previously mentioned galoshes and rolled stockings, flappers were associated with elaborate garters and anklets. A daring minority rejected stockings altogether when the weather was warm, but many opted for stockings in fashionable “suntan” shades. Accessories that flaunted outrageous behavior, like the jeweled cigarette holder and ornate compact, were also popular.

The Rise and Fall of the Flapper

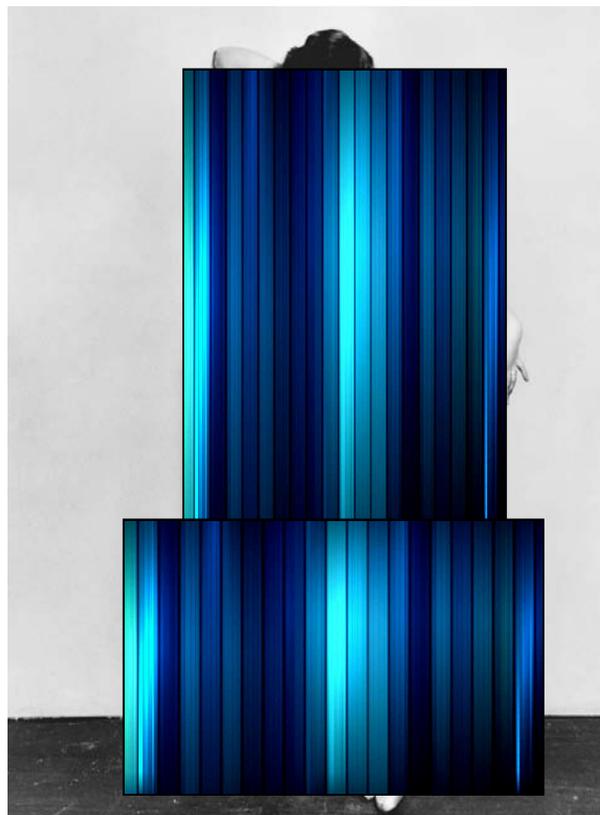
The creation of the flapper image is largely credited to the writings of F. Scott Fitzgerald and the drawings of John Held Jr., which frequently featured skinny, stylized flappers in comical situations. Fitzgerald’s writings focused on the fast pace of modern life, but when he was given the credit for popularizing the movement, he responded, “I was the spark that lit up Flaming Youth and Colleen Moore was the torch. What little things we are to have caused that trouble.”

Fitzgerald shrewdly understood the power of the motion picture to spread the flapper image to a mass audience. Colleen Moore, Joan Crawford, Anita Page, and Clara Bow were some of the many actresses who specialized in flapper roles during this period. The flapper had been a popular screen type since the 1910s, and by the mid-1920s, films featured titles like *Flapper Fever*, *The Painted Flapper*, *Flapper Wives*, *The Perfect Flapper*, and *The Flapper and the Cowboy*.

Although viewers were unlikely to adopt the fast living and flamboyant dress seen on screen, it is quite likely that they incorporated elements into their lives. The 1928 film *Our Dancing Daughters*, which starred Joan Crawford and Anita Page, was particularly influential. The film was mentioned repeatedly in the Payne Fund Studies commissioned to determine the effects of film on the youth of the United States. One respondent claimed that after seeing *Our Dancing Daughters*, “I wanted a dress exactly like one she had worn in a certain scene. It was a very ‘flapper’ type of dress, and I don’t usually go in for that sort of thing” (Massey, p. 30).

As early as 1922, it was suggested that the term “flapper” be divided into three levels: the semi-flapper, the flapper, the superflapper. By the end of the decade, most young women could easily be classed as a semi-flapper since flapper styles and behaviors were gradually being adopted into mainstream life. Bobbed hair, lipstick, and short skirts no longer were the sign of a flapper, just that of a modern fashionable woman.

With the stock market crash of 1929, the frivolity and excess characterized by the flapper and the jazz age



Joan Crawford models a flapper dress. The emphasis of flapper fashion was on the feminine figure, and garments such as this showcased a woman’s bare arms, slim waist, and legs. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

were replaced with frugality and a return to a more traditional view of feminine behavior and dress. Although the stock market crash signaled the flapper’s demise, she remains a potent symbol of flaming youth.

See also **Chanel, Gabrielle (Coco); Patou, Jean; Subcultures.**

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Clare Sauro

FLIPFLOPS. See **Sandals.**

FLOCKING Flocking is a method to apply very short (1/10" to 1/4") fibers called flock to a substrate, such as fabric, foam, or film, coated with an adhesive. Flocking is an inexpensive method of producing an imitation extra-yarn fabric, flocked in a design, or a pile-like fabric where the flock has an overall pattern. Examples of end use of flocked fabrics for home furnishings include carpeting, upholstery fabrics, blankets, bedspreads, wall coverings, and window coverings. For clothing, flocked fabrics are used for shoes, hats, and apparel fabrics. Industrial uses include automotive fabrics, conveyor belts, air filters, books, and toys.

The flock is applied to the fabric using a mechanical or electrostatic process. Depending on the process and fibers used, the effect may be a velvety or suede-like appearance.

Natural or synthetic fibers such as cotton, rayon, nylon, and polyester can be used depending on the particular end use. There is an advantage to using first-quality filament synthetic materials, because the flock can be cut square and in uniform lengths. Cotton is the least expensive and the softest but does not have good abrasion resistance. Rayon has the advantage of being low cost and uniform, but also has low abrasion resistance. Nylon has the best abrasion resistance. Present-day adhesives, such as aqueous acrylic, polyester, and nylon, have excellent bond and usually have the same flexibility and wear resistance as the substrate. The high-quality adhesives have excellent fastness to laundering, dry cleaning, or both, but it is important that testing is conducted to ensure that the cleaning method listed on the label is accurate.

The Processes

After the flock is cut, it is then cleaned. The fibers and the substrate are dyed if they are to be colored. The adhesive is applied to the substrate in the desired design. The flock is then prepared depending on what method will be used to apply the flock to the adhesive. In the mechanical process, a simpler and less-expensive means of flocking, the fibers are placed in a hopper and sifted onto the substrate where beater bars vibrate the flock. The vibration helps the fibers become erect on the adhesive. The fibers randomly adhere to the substrate at different depths forming an irregular surface. Shedding occurs because not all the fibers adhere to the adhesive.

In the electrostatic process the fibers are chemically treated to allow the fibers to receive an electrical charge. The moisture content is specified. Again the flock fibers are placed in a hopper where they are given an electric charge. A grounded electrode plate under the substrate orients the fibers in an upright position when they imbed into the adhesive. Electrostatic flocking is more expensive and slower, but the flock is more uniform and denser.

It is also possible to flock both sides of the fabric. Although there is a difference in the two processes, most consumers are unable to tell what method was used on the flocked fabric.

See also **Fibers; Yarns.**

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Robyne Williams

FLÜGEL, J. C. John Carl Flügel (1874–1955) was an English academic psychologist, a prominent member of the British Psychoanalytical Society, and a leading figure in the movement for liberal social reform between the two world wars (1918–1939). A member of the Men's Dress Reform Party, in 1930 he published *The Psychology of Clothes*, the first Freudian-inspired analysis of dress and fashion. In this work he advances the idea that clothing is a "compromise-formation" that mediates between the desire of children to exhibit their naked bodies and the later social prohibition that the body be covered for the sake of modesty. For Flügel the story of clothing is the story of the relative strength of these two forces.

Freud, Flügel, and Politics

Flügel makes little use of Freud's ideas of clothing as either fetish objects or as sexual symbols in dreams. Central to his analysis of clothing is the sociopolitical interpretation he gives to Freud's model of the human psyche. Freud argues for a three-part division of the mind into id, superego, and ego. The id is the dimension of primitive instinct and the ultimate propelling force of the organism. The superego is an equally primitive inhibitory mechanism that operates as a crude controller of the desires of the id. The ego has the difficult task of establishing a compromise between the demands of the id, the superego, and the outside world so that the individual can exist as a functioning entity. Flügel assigns a general political value to each of these dimensions of the mind. He relates his program of reform to lessening of the power of an overbearing superego, which he regards as the driving force of authoritarian conservatism. As he comments, "The troubles that we experience in adjusting ourselves to civilized social life seem to be due, not merely, as earlier moralists had supposed, to the strength of our a-social instincts [the id], but also, in no inconsiderable degree to the power of the primitive moral factors embodied in the superego" (Flügel 1934, p. 296).

Clothing, for Flügel, comes into being so as to reconcile the demands that these opposing forces place upon the human body and psyche. Dress, therefore, is a prime

area of dispute between political liberals and conservatives over what sort, and how much, clothing is appropriate in civilized society.

The Psychology of Clothes

Flügel's theory of clothing attempts to answer two questions. First, why do human beings wear clothes at all? Second, why do the ways in which human beings dress vary so greatly?

The conventional answer given by European thinkers to the first question proposed the existence of three "fundamental motives" out of which clothing was thought to have arisen—bodily protection, modesty, and decoration. Flügel concentrates on the motives of modesty and decoration. Using a version of Freud's model of how the child becomes a socialized adult, he argues that we are born in a condition of narcissistic self-love. The consequence is a "tendency to admire one's own body and display it to others, so that others can share in the admiration. It finds natural expression in the showing off of the naked body and in the demonstration of its powers, and can be observed in many children" (Flügel 1930, p. 86).

This state of idyllic infantile nudity ceases with the arrival of the somatic prohibitions associated with the forces of modesty. The infant relinquishes its pleasurable self-absorption. The body is covered, and shame is triggered when too much of it is inappropriately revealed. However, neither of these tendencies is ever able fully to cancel out the other. As Flügel observes:

The exhibitionistic instinct originally relates to the naked body, but in the course of individual development it inevitably (in civilised races) becomes displaced, to a greater or lesser extent onto clothes. Clothes are, however, exquisitely ambivalent, in as much as they both cover the body and thus subserve the inhibiting tendencies that we call "modesty," and at the same time afford a new and highly efficient means of gratifying exhibitionism on a new level.

(Flügel 1932, p. 120)

Clothes simultaneously both hide and draw attention to the body.

Variations of Dress

Flügel realizes that while all humans are dressed, the manner in which this is achieved varies greatly with time and place. His explanation of this is the following:

to understand the motives that lead to different kinds of clothing, to changes in our clothing and to the changes in our whole attitude towards clothes, we shall have to be constantly on the look out for changes in the manifestations of these two fundamental conflicting tendencies, the one proudly to exhibit the body, the other modestly to hide it. (Flügel 1928)

The most striking of these dress variations, certainly to Flügel and his contemporaries, are those between men and women. Indeed, contemporary European clothing presented Flügel with an added complication, in that it

seemed to run against the "normal" situation encountered in nature as well as the evidence of "primitive peoples." There the man "is more ornamental than the female" and almost always the most "adventurous and decorative" in his appearance. In explaining this anomaly, Flügel argues that a profound reorganization of masculinity took place during the political and economic revolutions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The tendency to modesty increased at the expense of "male sartorial decorativeness," and the result was a set of simplified garments, less colorful and with a greater degree of uniformity than had existed in previous historical epochs. Flügel named this dramatic shift "The Great Masculine Renunciation" (Flügel 1930, p. 110ff). Against this, he greatly approved of the development taken by European female dress. Beginning with the extremely modest clothing styles of the Middle Ages, female dress had gradually reformed itself. Flügel claimed that female clothing now exhibited a more rational integration of the antagonistic forces operating on dress than was the case in male dress. Indeed, it was his respect for what he saw as the positive mental benefits provided by contemporary forms of female dress that lead him to advocate the reform of men's clothing.

The Nude Future

Near the end of his book *The Psychology of Clothes*, Flügel speculates about a future in which clothing could become obsolete. He argues that, the three main reasons for wearing clothes—bodily protection, modesty, and adornment—will all be surpassed as humans evolve a more "developed" and "rational" way of life. The need for protection will diminish as the control of the environment—for example, by the heating engineer—increases (Flügel 1930, p. 235). The urge to cover our bodies out of a sense of modesty will evaporate once we understand how irrational our fears of nakedness are. Finally, decorative modification and alteration of our bodies would cease as we become reconciled more and more to the natural human form (Flügel 1930, p. 235). As a species we will achieve a "complete reconciliation with the body [which] would mean that the aesthetic variations, emendations, and aggrandizements of the body . . . produced by clothes would no longer felt [to be] necessary" (Flügel 1930, p. 235). Clothing would just fade away.

See also **Fashion, Theories of; Nudity.**

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Michael Carter

FOGARTY, ANNE Anne Fogarty is best remembered for designing quintessential 1950s fashions for young women that emphasized femininity and for espousing the concept of "wife-dressing," the title of her 1959 book. Born Anne Whitney in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on 2 February 1919, Fogarty moved to New York City in her early twenties to pursue acting. While working as a fitting model for the dress manufacturer Harvey Berin, she decided to become a fashion designer. In the late 1940s and 1950s, she designed clothing for the teenage and junior markets, creating her signature "paper doll" dress while working at Youth Guild in 1948, for which she won



Model in Anne Fogarty design. Fogarty's fashions focused on femininity and the role of the woman in domestic life. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

the Coty award in 1951 and the Neiman-Marcus Award in 1952. In 1954, while working for Margot Dresses, she introduced her "tea cozy" dress, a variation on the paper doll silhouette.

With its tight bodice, wasp waist, and full, ballet-length skirt supported by layers of stiffened petticoats, the paper doll dress was a simplified and inexpensive adaptation of Christian Dior's 1947 "New Look." Its silhouette was nostalgically romantic and playful and reflected Fogarty's first principle of wife-dressing: "Complete Femininity—the selection of clothes as an *adornment*, not as a mere covering" (p. 10). In her book, *Wife-Dressing: The Fine Art of Being a Well-Dressed Wife*, Fogarty instructed wives to wear their corsets and never to let their husbands see them in pin curls or dungarees. Wife dressing was about dressing to please husbands and aiding their social advancement; for Fogarty, a wife was an appendage and her marital roles were of foremost importance (Fogarty herself was married three times). The book also contains advice for husbands—"If you adore her, adorn her. There lies the essence of a happy marriage" (p. 9) and tips on pruning one's wardrobe, multipurpose dressing for day and evening, and how to be disciplined and discerning in creating one's own look—not unlike tips found in the pages of 1950s fashion magazines.

The ideas expressed in Fogarty's book reflect and reinforce the centrality of women's domestic lives just after World War II. Women were to be in character and properly outfitted, maintaining the feminine mystique as wife and mother. An emphasis on femininity, exemplified in fashions and accessories that exaggerated the female figure, emerged in the late 1940s and 1950s as many women returned to the home front after having worked during the war. Even successful career women like Fogarty maintained the centrality of home life.

As social norms and fashions changed in the following decades, Fogarty expanded as a designer. By the end of the 1950s, she was the exclusive designer for Saks Fifth Avenue, designing more casual, versatile styles. In 1962 she opened her own business, Anne Fogarty, Inc., which ran successfully for eight years. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s she experimented with different silhouettes (her favorite being the Empire) and targeted a more mature audience. After closing her business in 1970, she did freelance designing until her death on 15 January 1980.

Anne Fogarty was, at least in part, a woman and designer of her time. The fashions for which she is best remembered reflect the prevailing ethos of postwar femininity. Yet she was also part of a generation of American designers who tapped into the burgeoning youth culture of the 1950s and 1960s and whose fashions speak to a versatility and youthfulness that are part of a distinctly American vernacular of fashion.

See also **Dior, Christian; New Look; Paper Dresses.**

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Tiffany Webber-Hanchett

FOLK DRESS, EASTERN EUROPE Folk dress in eastern Europe distinguished shepherds and peasants from fashion-following townspeople and landowners. In regions where peoples of different ethnic origins coexisted, folk dress could also function as ethnic dress. The general characteristics of eastern European folk dress resembled those of western Europe. However, historical and cultural influences created some remarkable folk costumes and customs.

Historical Overview

Eastern Europe has experienced centuries of change as a result of shifting political boundaries. Tribal groups inhabited many northern and central regions until Germanic crusaders arrived during the Middle Ages. Thereafter, a landowning class developed that oversaw agricultural production by peasant-serfs. Ottoman Turkey ruled much of southeastern Europe, stretching as far north as Hungary. Russia, poised on the edge of Europe, melded ideas from both east and west. During the tumultuous twentieth century, eastern European countries became part of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. The breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991 brought a period of ethnic conflict, still not fully resolved in the early 2000s.

For the study of folk dress, divisions are cultural rather than political. Distinctive styles for peasants appeared as early as the sixteenth century. Influences came from both Europe's fashion capitals and the Ottoman Turks. Several older tendencies already in clothing practices solidified. While some elements came and went, others continued in use and became long-standing components of regional folk dress. In the eastern- and southernmost regions, the wearing of folk dress lasted until the middle of the twentieth century.

As in western Europe, Romanticism and nationalism encouraged the early collection of folk material. Ethnographers carefully recorded facts about the costumes that they collected, including the many local names for the various components. State-run museums harbor rich collections of folk costumes and related textiles. Much of the literature published during Soviet domination is in Russian, although some texts are translated into two or three languages. With the breakup of the Soviet Union,



Russian peasant girls. Peasant clothing, which represented close ties to the land, remained popular in several eastern European countries until the end of the nineteenth century. © SCHEUFLER COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

folk dress gained new status as a symbol of independent nationhood. The many active folk-dance troupes of eastern Europe and abroad maintain a lively interest in creating accurate replicas of costumes.

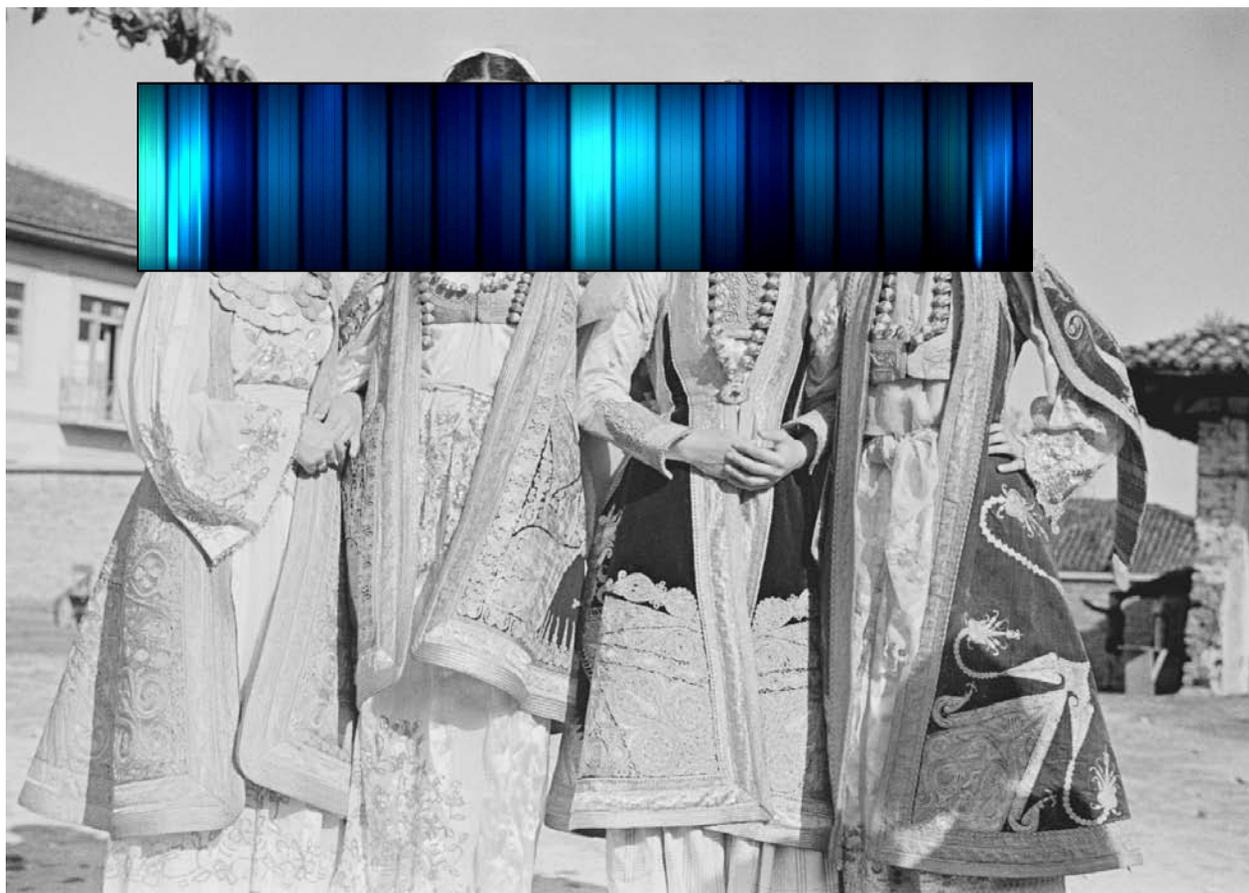
Baltic Countries

The three independent states that border the Baltic Sea—Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania—display great affection for their folk dress. Ethnic celebrations, at which singing of folk songs is an important activity, provide opportunities to wear folk costumes.

Women's folk costumes consisted of skirts, white blouses, and vests; shawls with decorative borders; and headgear to distinguish young unmarried women from matrons. The latter wore crowns, coronets, or floral wreaths to signal their availability, while married women covered their hair with caps or cloths. Brooches and pins made with Baltic amber fastened blouses and shawls. Men's costumes included a shirt, breeches, coat, and hat. Men often secured their stockings with narrow sashes.

Baltic women excelled in weaving complex patterns for belts, sashes, and trims. The following Lithuanian folk song tells of dowry preparation:

Weave, dear mother, the finest linen cloth
While I, still young, weave sashes.
A young man from a distant land
Is eager for my hand.



Albanian women in native dress. Heavy wool fabric is commonly used in the Balkans, as are linen, hemp, and cotton. Jewelry and headdresses made from metal coins are also prevalent. © LUCIEN AIGNER/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Women also knitted many pairs of patterned mittens and gloves. The motifs in the weaving and knitting are considered mythological signs by some authorities. Archaeological evidence from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries reveals that some of these costume features predate the arrival of Teutonic crusaders, and thus Christianity.

Some controversy exists about which are the “real” national costumes. In each of the Baltic countries, folk dress based on regional divisions went through several iterations. While some groups look to the ethnographic material collected in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, others propose going further back in time to the dress worn prior to foreign occupation. Folk dress in the Baltics continues to evolve.

Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine

Western ideas about dress came to Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine rather late in history. In 1700, Peter the Great of Russia forced adoption of European fashions through imperial decree in an attempt to bring refinement to his court. Yet peasants continued to wear folk dress until the end of the nineteenth century. The late arrival of Chris-

tianity to this area, combined with the peasants’ connection to the land, preserved ancient agricultural beliefs evident in both style and embellishment of folk dress.

In both Russia and Ukraine, a woman wore a woolen back-apron over her chemise. Called a *plákhta* or *panjóva*, it signaled marital status. Another archaic dress form is a shirt with ultra-long sleeves. Worn by young girls during ritual dances, the fluttering sleeves helped them simulate bird maidens known as *vily* or *rusálki*. Embroidery motifs also link to pre-Christian beliefs. Predominantly geometric, the motifs include known fertility and protection symbols. One example is the hooked lozenge, said to represent a fertile field. The use of the primordial colors of red and black (blood and earth) further connect folk dress with pre-Christian religious practices.

Some dress traditions, such as the economical use of cloth, date from the Middle Ages. Lengths of wool and linen were joined with minimal piecing, not cut up for Renaissance-influenced tailored clothing. Both men and women wore linen shirts as the first layer of clothing. Men wore two shirts—the top one of better fabric—over trousers tucked into boots. The shirts were girdled at the

waist. In some areas of Russia, women wore a *sarafan*, a long overdress resembling a jumper. As elsewhere, young girls wore crowns, or diadems, while married women covered their hair. Caftans, capes, and furs provided warmth for both sexes during the cold winter months.

Central Europe

The central European countries have a long, rich history of folk dress. The middle and upper ranks sometimes wore elaborate versions of what could be termed a national style in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such styles were influenced by European fashions as well as by Ottoman dress. Other components of folk dress in these regions have antecedents that stretch back hundreds, if not thousands, of years.

One such garment is the Hungarian *szűr*, a man's hooded or collared mantle with hanging sleeves. Scholars believed that it developed from the first sleeved coat—the Persian *kandys*—in the sixth century B.C.E. The Magyars, forerunners of the Hungarians, brought it with them to the central European plains in the ninth century where it developed and flourished as a man's outer garment. Made from coarse fulled wool in either black or white, the decorated *szűr* remained popular with peasants and herdsman into the early twentieth century. A related garment is the *suba*, a shaggy woolen cape favored by shepherds.

In Hungary, men's folk dress is just as ornamental as women's. Men wore jackets (*dolman*), overcoats (*mente*), fitted pants, and knee-high boots decorated with oriental patterns in embroidery or braid. Even the boot tops could be decorated. Women's dress, which depended heavily on Western fashion, featured Ottoman-influenced tulips and carnations. Frog closures are a design feature of Hungarian coats and jackets for both sexes. Hungarian dress was influential beyond its borders, reaching north to Poland and west to Austria and Switzerland.

Folk dress in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, called *kroje*, had many local variations. The most distinctive women's costumes are characterized by blouses with large extended sleeves, short full skirts, and prominent head-dresses. Lace, cutwork, and embroidery embellished both men's and women's folk dress. During the eighteenth century, the monarchy was charmed by peasant costumes and orchestrated court appearances of peasants in their local dress. The real flowering of folk dress occurred in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and lasted until 1848 when serfdom was abolished. Some of the older ritualistic uses of folk dress prevailed, specifically the capping of the bride in marriage ceremonies and the isolation of new mothers behind large linen shawls.

In Romania and Moldavia, embroidered linen blouses are among the most treasured components of folk dress. Two types exist based on cut. The first, which dates to the adoption of horizontal looms, has a T-shape and



FUNCTIONS OF FOLK DRESS

In 1971, Petr Bogatyrev published his influential study *The Functions of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia*. A proponent of structuralism, Bogatyrev argued that peasant clothing may be interpreted as a language that communicates a number of functions. These functions express attitudes within the community regarding social, aesthetic, moral, and nationalistic ideals. His observations regarding the wearing of folk dress, some of which are summarized below, apply to all of eastern Europe.

Folk dress signifies a special day, such as Sunday, holiday, or ceremonial day. Clothing for brides and grooms are among the most elaborate.

Folk dress indicates the occupation of the wearer (for example, shepherd).

Folk dress distinguishes wealth and social status, typically through the number and quality of clothing items.

Components of folk dress have a "magical" function. For example, the ritual marriage cap placed on a new bride brought fertility and good fortune.

Folk dress signifies regional and national affiliation.

Folk dress may indicate religious affiliation.

Age and marital status is communicated by folk dress. Contradictory situations in peasant society, such as single motherhood, are visible in a woman's appearance.

Folk dress has approved aesthetic qualities that attract available members of the opposite sex.

no shoulder seams. The second type is gathered at the neck with a drawstring and has full sleeves. Its origins are in Renaissance shirts. The embroidery of these blouses is remarkable—sleeves are covered in geometric motifs of Slavic origin. Romanians wore a variety of outer woolen garments similar to those found in the Balkans: pieced trousers, vests, and coats.

Poland's folk dress is more like that of western Europe: women's outfits consist of white blouses, fitted vests, and full skirts, while men's ensembles include breeches, coats, and hats. Folk-dress traditions were formed in the early seventeenth century, appropriating the braiding and cording so popular among the Hungarians. Older folk beliefs about the allure of women's hair kept matron's heads covered with a variety of cloths and caps.



Albanian boys. White, full-sleeved shirts and felt hats such as those seen here are major components of the Albanian traditional dress for males, which is influenced heavily by Turkish fashions. © SETBOUN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Balkan Countries

The Balkan countries include Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. The former Yugoslavia is in the Balkan region. Mainland Greece belongs geographically to the Balkans, but the country was never part of Europe's Soviet bloc.

Competing ethnic and religious groups, whose clothing differs from one another in form or decoration, inhabit specific regions in the Balkans. Turkish influence is strong, as these countries were once part of the Ottoman Empire. Women of the Muslim faith wore Turkish-style trousers while Christian women wore ankle-length chemises. Fez caps identified Muslim males. Embroidery in curvilinear Islamic designs is seen on costumes in all the countries once ruled by the Turks. This work was done by professionals with couched threads of gold or black silk on fine wool or velvet.

Heavy woolen fabric known as *saya* or *tsocha* was common to both male and female costumes. Women spun the wool, which they collected from their flocks, then wove on simple two-harness looms. Sometimes they

dyed the fabric black or dark blue; other times it was left white. Then they sent the fabric to water mills near mountain streams for fulling. This process made the wool dense and thick, suitable for village tailors to cut and sew coats, trousers, vests, and jackets.

The women also wove linen, hemp, or cotton for men's shirts, women's chemises, and head cloths. They sewed them with a minimum of cutting and seaming so that no cloth was wasted, then embroidered them with silk or wool threads in dense geometric motifs, some of which are known fertility symbols. In some districts long red or black fringes protected brides and newly married women from the "evil eye," a malevolent force feared throughout the region. In western Macedonia, these fringes can be found on aprons, sleeves, jackets, belts, and headscarves. In her book *Women's Work*, Elizabeth Barber proposes that fringes on folk dress signaled a woman's availability for marriage just as they did in Neolithic times. Customs such as those in parts of Albania—where a woman who is divorced must cut the fringes from her garments to signify her changed social status—confirm this assumption.

A garment that interests dress historians is the Albanian *xhubleta*, a bell-shaped skirt constructed from narrow bands of homespun cloth that resembles Minoan women's dress. Another is the white *foustanella* costume of the Albanian resistance fighters, one of the few skirts worn by men in Europe. More often, men wore baggy pants cut in the Turkish fashion.

Another component common across the Balkan countries is the use of metal coins made into necklaces and headpieces. Large ornamental belt buckles are used for women's festival dress. Commercially printed yellow or white kerchiefs replaced the older white head cloths in recent years.

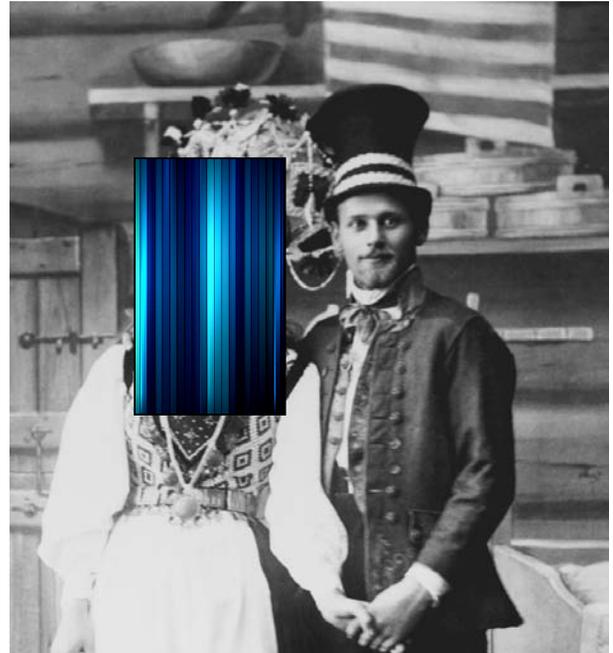
See also **Ethnic Dress; Folk Dress, Western Europe; Folklore Look.**

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Linda M. Welters

FOLK DRESS, WESTERN EUROPE Folk dress in Western Europe refers to the clothing of rural populations engaged in farming, fishing, or herding. Various terms—peasant, rural, or regional dress, it may also be considered ethnic dress in regions with more than one ethnic group. In all cases, folk dress identified people with a place.



Swedish couple in wedding finery. Swedes, like all Scandinavians, still honor their country's traditional folk dress, donning it frequently for festivals and special occasions. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Historical Overview

From the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the dress of rural dwellers reflected the fashionable styles worn by those from the middle and upper ranks of society, albeit in simplified form. In many parts of Europe, sumptuary laws limited decoration and restricted use of materials so that peasants would easily be distinguished from those of higher social standing. The elimination of sumptuary laws, combined with land reforms, brought about a true flowering of folk dress in some, but not all, Western European countries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Around the same time, political changes in Europe spawned nationalist movements in many countries. Early ethnologists began systematically collecting songs, legends, myths, and examples of regional dress to bolster the argument for the existence of a national character in the "folk." The romanticism of the era contributed to the invention of traditions not based in historical fact.

British Isles

The concept of invented traditions fits easily with the so-called folk dress of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. Scotland is known for the man's kilt made from clan tartans. Historically, the Celts in Ireland and Scotland wore shirts and plaid mantles, which they arranged on their bodies in various ways. Sometime after 1727, Thomas Rawlinson, an Englishman living in Scotland, separated the plaid



GREEK CUSTOMS

Katerina Stamou, born in 1892 in the Greek village of Peania, spoke about the wearing of folk dress in her youth, underscoring the importance of signifying marital status through appearance: "The newly married ones wore their jewelry for about a week after the wedding to show it off. They went to pick olives with all that jewelry on. They held the *kordoni* [necklace of many chains with coins attached] with one hand and picked olives with the other. Now we laugh about these things, but then that's how things were." (Interview with Katerina Stamou, Peania, Attica, Greece. 29 June 1983)

into the pleated kilt, or *philabeg*, and shoulder wrap. It became so popular that the English banned it after the rebellion of 1745, which served to strengthen its association with Scottish culture. After 1780, the mythology surrounding the kilt expanded to include the assignment of certain "setts," or plaid patterns, to specific clans.

Wales and Ireland offer more recent examples of invented traditions. As Welsh language and culture faded in the early nineteenth century, intellectuals promoted the preservation of customs and traditions. This extended to dress. In 1843, Lady Llanover invented a Welsh "national" dress loosely based on rural clothing of the 1780s: short gown, petticoat, and cloak of checked or striped wool worn with a tall beaver hat. In actuality, no one had ever worn that type of hat. A similar situation occurred in Ireland in the late nineteenth century when cultural leaders proposed a tunic and mantle combination inspired by the "ancient" dress of *brat* and *léine*. It became more Irish by adding Celtic embroideries.

England did not suffer the same crisis of identity as did Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; thus it did not have a folk dress. Certain occupational dress styles, such as the farmer's smock, were worn over breeches or trousers in rural areas.

Scandinavia

The Scandinavian countries of Norway, Sweden, and Finland have strongly developed folk-dress traditions encouraged by the Romantic revival. Denmark's folk dress is not so well known, because the Danes did not systematically collect folk material in the nineteenth century as did the Swedes and Norwegians. Today, all of the Scandinavian countries actively preserve their folk dress. In America, descendants of Swedish and Norwegian émigrés don folk dress for festive attire.

In Sweden, each local parish has its own costume, which is still worn as festival dress. The authors of *Folk Costumes of Sweden: A Living Tradition* identified over 400 local costumes in use in the 1970s. While the parish costumes of some provinces such as Skåne, Dalarna, and Hälsingland have a long history, others are "reconstructed" based on old costume material in museums. Local costumes are seen as an expression of identification with one's home community. Some of the jackets have features dating to c. 1600, such as shoulder wings and pickadils.

Norway was under Swedish rule until 1905. The country's mountains and fjords promoted the development of independent communities organized around church parishes, each of which had distinctive sartorial customs. Sunday and festival dress was decorative while everyday clothing was quite plain. During the nationalist movement of the late nineteenth century, the folk dress of the Hardanger region came to symbolize Norway. It consisted of a long skirt, embroidered vest, and cut-work linen blouse in the heraldic colors of black, red, and white. Hardanger brides wore elaborate crowns, which they exchanged for marital caps during the wedding ceremony. Around 1900, the bunad movement promoted the wearing of other regional costumes for folk festivals, thereby expanding the Norwegian folk-dress repertoire.

Lapland, an area north of the Arctic Circle, is an ethnic area rather than a political entity. Its people, known as the Saami, are reindeer herders who roam across northern Norway, Sweden, and Finland into Russia. Not surprisingly, their clothing is made from reindeer skins and the fur of the Arctic hare. The colorful dress of the Saami, still worn for festive occasions, consists of a wool tunic worn over trousers and ear-protecting caps. Curled boots made from reindeer hide and stuffed with straw keep feet warm during the cold winters. The dominant colors are rich blue accented with red. Braids, tassels, and pom-poms in red, green, and yellow further enliven this unique costume.

Common to all Scandinavian countries is the wearing of silver brooches and pins, believed to ward off evil. The shiny metal protected people of all ages from legendary supernatural forces such as trolls and gnomes.

Northern and Central Europe

The Netherlands, France, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland have well-developed folk dress traditions. In the Netherlands, rural clothing from various districts is preserved in museums. Simplified versions are worn at events commemorating Holland's association with the sea, as well as in tourist areas such as Volendam and Marken. A typical man's outfit consists of blue woolen trousers and jacket worn with a flat cap and wooden shoes. Winged white caps are characteristic of women's dress.



Tyrolean men in native costume. While Austria has eight separate costume districts, Tyrolean clothing is often considered representative of its traditional dress, known as *tracht*. © TIZIANA AND GIANNI BALDIZZONE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

In France, the proximity of peasants to fashionable Paris stunted development of a folk dress with the exception of a few distinctive customs in distant regions based on long-defunct historical styles. In Brittany, women continued to wear stiffened high lace caps with lappets hanging down the back into the nineteenth century. In the Savoie region bordering Italy and Switzerland, women wore white fluted headdresses and ruffled collars. The women of Provence sported quilted petticoats made from beautiful hand-printed cottons manufactured in the region.

In Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, the folk dress of certain districts is better known than others, thanks to the Romantic movement. German societies formed in the 1880s revived the costumes of the Black Forest and Upper Bavaria. Bavarian costume is still worn today at Munich's Oktoberfest. Austrian folk dress, known as *tracht*, is often synonymous with Tyrolean costume, even though

Austria is divided into eight costume districts. The Tyrolean costume has influenced fashionable dress at various times. In Switzerland, the National Federation of Swiss Costumes was founded in 1926 to preserve regional dress. Swiss folk dress is categorized by canton (geographical division). In the fifth edition of *Ardern Holt's Fancy Dresses Described; or, What to Wear to Fancy Balls* (1887) the most characteristic Swiss dress was that of Berne. Holt recognized that Swiss costumes varied by canton, but dismissed some of them as "not picturesque" (p. 215).

In all three of these countries, women's costumes featured dirndl skirts, fitted vests, white blouses, and distinctive caps, while men's displayed colorful vests and coats worn with knee breeches or leather hose. The latter are known as *lederhosen*—short leather trousers with suspenders—and are worn in both Germany and Austria. A fulled woolen fabric known as *loden* was used for men's clothing in Austria. Woolen embroideries of hearts and



GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF FOLK DRESS

Folk dress on the European mainland typically reflected fashionable dress from various historical periods. Specific features may be traced to medieval, Renaissance, baroque, rococo, neoclassic, or Victorian sources. A basic woman's outfit consisted of a white shift, tight-fitting vest or sleeved jacket, full skirt, apron, shawl, and headgear. Headgear was often the most distinctive part of the costume because it signified marital status; unmarried women wore wreaths or crowns, while married women covered their hair with caps or draped cloths. A typical male folk costume included a simple shirt, a pair of breeches or trousers, a vest or jacket, leather boots or shoes, and a hat. Folk dress varied locally, particularly that of women, depending on availability of raw materials and knowledge of specialized techniques of manufacture peculiar to a region. Most people in a particular district dressed alike because conformity was prized over individuality. Clothing signified membership in a community.

Home production of cloth was integral to folk dress. Both sexes were involved in flax and wool production. Women knew how to spin, weave, knit, and embellish the cloth peculiar to their region. They learned embroidery from pattern books featuring curvilinear patterns such as hearts and flowers. Occasionally special materials (silk ribbons and fabrics) were purchased to trim garments. Some regions specialized in particular textile

techniques, for example lace making or tablet weaving. Local tailors sewed garments of more complicated cut, that included vests, jackets, and coats, and hard-to-handle materials like leather and fur. Women sewed the garments cut from rectilinear pieces of cloth, such as shirts, shifts, skirts, and aprons.

Bast fibers such as flax and hemp grew easily in the moist cool climates of northern Europe; thus, they became the fibers of choice for shirts and cloths for the head and neck. Woolens in medium to dark colors were made into skirts, trousers, breeches, vests, jackets, and coats. In a few regions, leather was used for breeches or trousers. Shoes were of leather, too, although sometimes other available materials like bark or wood substituted for leather. Silk fabrics were a luxury, appearing only in accessories and trimmings.

The industrial revolution made commercially produced fabrics and clothing widely available for moderate prices, gradually replacing hand-woven fabrics and ultimately the homemade clothing itself. In most areas of Western Europe, people stopped wearing distinctive rural styles by 1850. In the early twenty-first century, some Europeans and European Americans wear folk dress to festivals and celebrations as "costume" to signify their affiliation with a particular country or region. The making of accurate reproductions is of great interest to these people.

flowers are common to both men's and women's folk dress in these areas.

Mediterranean Countries

One of the most distinctive ensembles of the Mediterranean area is the Andalusian dress of Spain. Situated in the southernmost region, Andalusia absorbed Moorish influence. In the eighteenth century, women began wearing *maja* (female dandy) and *gitano* (gypsy) costumes inspired by the region's machismo culture that glorified bullfighting. The *maja* look incorporated jackets and skirts trimmed with black lace or fringe, mantillas, and hair combs. The *gitana* outfit included ruffled skirts and Manila shawls with colorful embroidery. Men wore tight-fitting jackets and trousers, frilly shirts, and wide-brimmed hats. These popular outfits spread to Madrid and then to the rest of Spain. Eventually Andalusian dress came to represent Spain itself.

Neither Portugal nor Italy has a well-known folk-dress tradition, although regional styles existed in rural

communities in both countries. Portuguese folk dress is characterized by fine embroidery on linen garments.

Greek folk dress has more in common with the Balkan countries than with western Europe. Over the course of its long history, Greece has absorbed influence from Byzantine, Italian, and Turkish culture, resulting in great diversity in the form and decoration of its folk dress. After the Revolution of 1821, islanders and city dwellers abandoned traditional dress in favor of fashionable dress. Like their European compatriots, in the 1840s the bourgeoisie developed a national folk costume consisting of the skirted *foustanella* for men and a fitted jacket, skirt, and fez cap for women. These outfits remain popular to this day as a symbol of Greece and are worn by Greek schoolchildren in Greece and abroad for national celebrations. In the more geographically isolated farming and herding communities, the wearing of regional folk dress continued until the onset of World War II.

See also **Folk Dress, Eastern Europe; Folklore Look; Roma and Gypsy; Scottish Dress; Spanish Dress.**



Women wearing Andalusian dresses. In the eighteenth century, Andalusian fashion began to draw inspiration from gypsies and the bullfighting culture, creating a distinctive look that quickly spread across the country. © RICHARD KLUNE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

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Linda M. Welters

FOLKLORE LOOK A folklore look is a style inspired by peasant dress. The term "folklore look" came into use around 1970. However, fashions drawn from peasant costumes have appeared numerous times in the last one hundred years.

Antecedents in Exoticism

Fashion has a long history of borrowing from other "exotic" or "primitive" cultures to create new looks that perfectly express the moment. Western fashion's fascination with exoticism dates to the eighteenth century when wealthy Europeans and Americans donned Turkish-inspired ensembles for masquerade and to sit for portraits. The love of things oriental continued into the nineteenth century with the popularity of cashmere shawls, fez caps, and kimonos.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, exoticism found a new proponent—the Paris couturier Paul Poiret. Inspired by the Ballets Russes, he created widely copied ensembles based on middle Eastern and Asian prototypes, often shown with turbans. Soon several constituencies—intellectuals, designers, and politicians—borrowed clothing styles from rural communities to represent specific cultural ideals, thus ushering in the first peasant looks in fashion.



HOMEMADE CLOTHING

Living on the Earth (Random House, 1971) was written as a guide for those who had rebelled against industrial society by turning to self-sufficient communal living. Author Alicia Bay Laurel showed readers how to raise vegetables, build dwellings, and give birth at home. She also explained how to make clothes. Her hand-lettered book gave simple directions for making your own patterns, remaking secondhand clothes, tie-dyeing, and embroidering. Many of her patterns were based on the simple shapes of folk clothing including a burnoose, a smock shirt, a djellaba, and a Mexican blouse.

Early Peasant Looks

Artists, writers, and political activists who settled in New York City's Greenwich Village after 1910 adopted peasant blouses and farmer's smocks to signify their leftist sympathies. Embroidered blouses, sold in Hungarian and Russian shops, became almost a uniform for bohemian women. The city's fashion industry picked up on these new Greenwich Village styles, featuring them in *Women's Wear* (predecessor of *Women's Wear Daily*) and leading department stores like Bonwit Teller.

Similar peasant looks appeared in Paris following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, when aristocratic Russian émigrés arrived in the city. In need of money, they began to embroider traditional peasant designs for Kitmir, a company founded by Grand Duchess Marie Pavlovna, daughter of Grand Duke Paul Alexandrovitch. Kitmir's two major clients were Jean Patou and Gabrielle (Coco) Chanel, who produced simple tunics and waistcoats with Russian embroideries for their first postwar collections.

The trend for geometric embroideries on gauzy fabrics coincided with a period in fashion history of clothes with simple shapes and elaborate decoration. Many blouses, delicately embroidered with Slavic motifs, survive from this period in museum collections.

Folk-inspired motifs and shapes appeared in other apparel as well. Sweaters frequently took their inspiration from folk designs, such as the Fair Isle patterns popularized by the Prince of Wales in the 1920s. In the 1930s, skiwear designers looked to Scandinavian, Swiss, and Austrian models for trousers, jackets, sweaters, and caps to wear for this newly fashionable sport. The designer Elsa Schiaparelli included Austrian Tyrol looks in her collections. Peasant styles occasionally sprang from resorts frequented by the rich and famous, such as men's embroidered shirts from Mexico, or ponchos suitable for wearing as beach cover-ups or on board ship.

Rise of the Hippies

After World War II ended, the popularity of clothing inspired by folk dress faded. The sophisticated lines and elegant fabrics preferred by the two leading postwar couturiers, Christian Dior and Christóbal Balenciaga, were the antithesis of folk looks. Peasant styles found a new home, however, among dissenters who rejected the blandness of the 1950s. Folk music aficionados wore rural-inspired ponchos and peasant shirts. Beatniks added eclectic elements from cultures around the world—Mexican shirts and huaraches, Peruvian vests, Indian sashes, and ethnic jewelry—to signal their marginal social position.

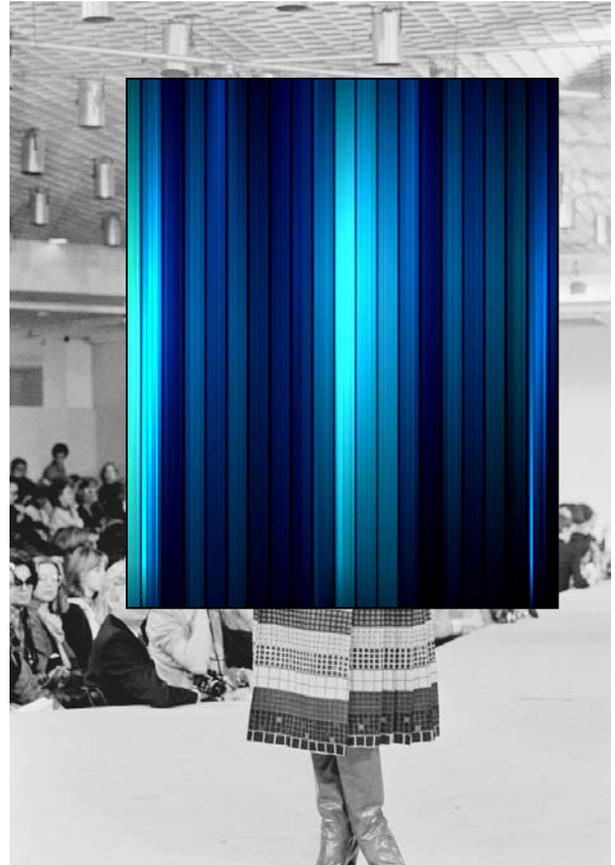
The folk and beat looks of the 1950s signified the beginnings of a rebellion against mainstream society that blossomed into the full-blown “flower power” of the later 1960s. This social transformation, fueled by the coming-of-age of the baby boomers, incorporated the antiwar movement and the new youth culture of sex, drugs and rock and roll. Hippies, as they were known, wore anti-establishment looks borrowed from India, Morocco, Mexico, and Native American communities. The hippie movement foreshadowed the ecology movement; once again the clothes of peasants seemed right for the time. In the 1970s peasant looks merged with ethnic looks, forming the immensely popular “folklore look.”

Authentic folk and ethnic patterns became available to home sewers in the mid-1970s, when three California women founded *Folkwear*. Their first two patterns were for a Syrian dress and a Turkish coat. In the early 2000s, the company offers patterns for smocks, various peasant blouses, shirts, vests, and dirndls.

Designers and the Folklore Look

Designers inspired by street styles brought the folklore look to high fashion in the 1970s. The English designer Zandra Rhodes observed that in the late 1960s, with the Beatles in India and the Rolling Stones in Morocco, “folklore was appealing.” She found the peasant embroidery and the simple shapes of ethnic clothes “infinitely pleasing” and began creating dresses with ethnic shapes for her hand-painted textiles. Before long, the Paris couture got in on the act, particularly Yves Saint Laurent. His Russian collection of 1976–1977 featured rich peasant looks with full skirts, corselet-type bodices, and short decorated jackets in luxurious fabrics trimmed with fur. This collection introduced colorful scarves, shawls, ruffled skirts, and boots to mainstream fashion.

Since the 1980s any number of designers regularly revived the folklore look. Jennifer Craik describes this process as “bricolage”—the creation of new patterns and styles from a variety of sources, including non-Western dress. Mixing high fashion and everyday clothing is consistent with the postmodern, multicultural world that emerged in the 1980s. At the couture level, Christian Lacroix is known for incorporating peasant elements from Provence into his exotic outfits. John Galliano mixes



Model in Yves Saint Laurent design. The folklore look met high fashion in the 1970s, when several well known designers incorporated peasant dress into their clothing lines. © PIERRE VAUTHEY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

historical and cultural influences to create innovative designs for Dior. The appropriation of themes from peasant cultures is characteristic of ready-to-wear collections from designers such as Anna Sui, Vivian Tam, Miu Miu, Arden B., and Dolce & Gabbana. Such looks are easily recognizable and move rapidly across the fashion landscape. Indeed, in the spring of 2002, the embroidered peasant blouse was featured by the fashion press as the “look of the moment,” and was soon copied at all levels. Donatella Versace was photographed for the March 2002 issue of *Vogue* wearing jeans and an embroidered peasant blouse purchased from The Ukrainian Shop in New York City. Barely a season later the look was declared passé.

See also **Chanel, Gabrielle (Coco); Ethnic Dress; Folk Dress, Eastern Europe; Folk Dress, Western Europe; Hippie Style; Lacroix, Christian; Patou, Jean; Rhodes, Zandra; Saint Laurent, Yves.**

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Linda M. Welters

FONTANA SISTERS Zoe (1911–1979), Micol (b. 1913), and Giovanna (b. 1915) Fontana were born in Traversetolo, near Parma, Italy. They learned sewing and tailoring from their mother, Amabile Fontana, who opened her own tailor shop in 1907. The three sisters became apprentices as soon as they were old enough to handle needles and scissors. Legend has it that the work was hard and unpaid and that the sisters worked Saturdays and Sundays. Despite the long hours, the sisters' memories of childhood are happy ones, and they look back with fondness on the years spent in the large, quiet house surrounded by greenery. Micol writes often of her childhood experiences in her memoir, *Specchio a tre luci*. "We were never alone, but always accompanied by our mother's love" (p. 20).

Apprenticeships

In the 1930s Zoe, the eldest of the three, left Traversetolo to become an apprentice in Milan. Micol joined her there, while Giovanna remained in the countryside. Shortly after her marriage in 1934, Zoe moved with her husband to Paris, where she continued her apprenticeship in an atelier. After returning to Italy in 1936, Zoe, excited by her experiences in Paris, moved to Rome. In her memoirs she treats this major turning point in her life casually: "I took the first train that arrived. . . . It could have gone north or south. It happened to be going south, to Rome" (2001, p. 14). After her sisters joined her in Rome, Zoe went to work for Zecca and Micol for Battilocchi; Giovanna sewed garments at home. Based on their experiences in Milan and Paris, the sisters felt they were ready to go into business for themselves. Although French fashions were still dominant in the world of haute couture, the sisters opened their own workshop in Rome in 1943, changing the name from "Fontana" to "Sorelle Fontana" and leading members of the Italian aristocracy soon began patronizing it.

International Fame

However, their Roman clientele would not have been sufficient to cement the Fontana sisters' reputation if Hollywood had not discovered Italy and *la dolce vita romana*

in the 1950s. One of the events that helped secure their international reputation was the marriage of the Hollywood actors Tyrone Power and Linda Christian, whose wedding gown the Fontana sisters designed. The ceremony was held in the basilica of Santa Francesca Romana in Rome in 1949. The gown was constructed of white satin, with a five-yard train, and was covered with embroidery; it resembled a dress that might have been worn by a fairy tale princess. The international press covered the event, and photographs of the ceremony and a radiant Linda Christian appeared in papers around the world. A magazine published for foreign tourists in the 1950s proclaimed, "Rome? Twenty minutes in St. Peter's, twenty in the Coliseum, and at least two days in the Fontana sisters' studio" (Soli, p. 75).

In 1951 the Fontana sisters participated in the first fashion show held in Florence, which was organized by Giovanni Battista Giorgini, the promoter of Italian fashion and organizer of catwalk shows at Sala Bianca, Palazzo Pitti. That same year Micol Fontana left for Hollywood, arriving in the United States as the guest and personal friend of Tyrone Power and Linda Christian. Power organized a show for her because he wanted to introduce other members of the Hollywood community to the Fontana sisters' designs. From that moment on, the Fontana sisters began designing for many of Hollywood's best-known stars, from Ava Gardner to Elizabeth Taylor, and started developing a varied international following as well. Margaret Trujillo (the Santo Domingo dictator's wife who ordered Sorelle Fontana's atelier 150 dress), Grace Kelly, Margaret Truman (President Harry S. Truman's daughter), Jackie Kennedy, Soraya Esfandiary, Marella Agnelli (of the family that runs the Fiat), and Maria Pia di Savoia (one of the daughters of last king of Italy, Umberto of Savoia) were some of their regular customers. From Linda Christian Marriage, they also specialized in celebrities' wedding dress: Margaret Truman (1956), Janet Auchincloss, Jacqueline Kennedy's sister (1966), Maria Pia di Savoia (1955), whose dress is now shown at the Museum of Art and Costume in Venice, and Angelita Trujillo, the daughter of the Santo Domingo dictator (1955), are some examples.

In 1957 the Fontana sisters were received by Pope Pius XII to mark fifty years of tailoring begun by their mother, Amabile. In 1958 they were invited to the White House as Italy's representatives to the Fashion around the World conference. In 1960, at the request of American customers, they introduced a line of ready-to-wear. This product launch was followed by a line of furs, umbrellas, scarves, costume jewelry, and table linen. Because of the careful division of labor among them, the three sisters were invincible: Micol traveled around the world—Japan, Europe, and ninety-four trips to the United States, Zoe handled public relations, and Giovanna monitored work in the studio.

In 1972, while continuing their work in couture and ready-to-wear, the sisters withdrew from most of the of-

ficial fashion shows. In 1992 the Fontana label and the company itself were sold to an Italian financial group. In 1994 Micol created the Micol Fontana Foundation, the mission of which is to promote fashion and the training of talented newcomers.

Inspiration for Designs

The Fontanas' designs, although they referred to French models, were inspired by eighteenth-century modes of dress, which were based on designs of the early Renaissance. The sisters were able to navigate between Parisian haute couture, an essential reference point, and the originality of the Italian fashions with which American women had become enamored. The sisters' designs were known for craftsmanship and intuition. Embroidery, lace, and impeccable tailoring were characteristic of their garments. They specialized in formal wear and evening gowns and used the most precious materials, including silk and velvet. Their ideas came from a wide variety of sources, but their designs, for the most part, were Italian in inspiration. Quintavalle remarked that the Fontana sisters "redeemed the Italian culture that Fascism had disfigured, restricting it within the confines of a local culture" (Bianchino, p. 43).

Innovations

The sisters' love for America continued to deepen. In her diary Micol writes that she felt more at home in America than in Italy and that public relations was not the only reason she traveled. Micol was a close observer of the way Americans dressed, and she tried to determine exactly what they wanted to wear. The sisters' relations with the international jet set, and especially with Hollywood and the film industry, were one of their strengths; in fact, Nicola White remarks that it is unlikely they would have been able to achieve such fame without their connection to Ava Gardner, as well as to other stars like Myrna Loy, Grace Kelly, Audrey Hepburn, and Kim Novak. However, their skill as couturiers, which allowed them to compete with Dior's Paris, cannot be overlooked. The clothing they created was designed for the individual client. Zoe, known as the "golden scissors," could cut and drape as well as the best designers in Paris.

Renato Balestra and Alain Reynaud, the creators of Biki, are among the designers who had worked with Sorelle Fontana. By presenting some of their designs in newspapers—an innovation resulting from their ability to intuit future developments in fashion—they took another step in consolidating their fame, completely altering their relationship with the public. Unlike other designers, their relations with their clients did not develop through frequent customer visits to their studio, which had typified the role of the designer until then. Most of their clients learned of them through the media and wanted to meet the sisters so they would design something for them. In this sense they helped lay the foundations for the star designers of the future.



Woman modeling Sorella Fontana design. The Fontana Sisters exported Italian fashion to the rest of the world, especially to the United States, where they designed clothing for some of Hollywood's most famous stars. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Italian cinema put the atelier of the Sorelle Fontana under the spotlights when it became the set for the film *Le ragazze di piazza di Spagna* by Luciano Emmer (1953). The Fontana sisters also designed the costumes for Ava Gardner in *The Barefoot Contessa*, a film released in 1954. One of their designs, the "cassock dress," which was made for Gardner in 1956, was used by the costume designer Danilo Donati for Anita Ekberg in Federico Fellini's film *La dolce vita*. The Fontana sisters' work has been presented in several exhibitions and designs are exposed in

the museums internationally: the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in San Francisco, the Museo d'Arte e Costume in Venice, and the private library of Harry Truman.

See also **Evening Dress; Haute Couture; Wedding Costume.**

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Simona Segre Reinach

FOOTBINDING Footbinding was specific to and unique to traditional Chinese culture. Its various names conveyed its multifaceted image in Chinese eyes: *chanzu* (binding feet) called attention to the mundane action of swaddling the body with a piece of cloth; *gongwan* (curved arch) described a desired shape of the foot similar to that of a ballerina in pointe shoe; *jinlian* (golden lotus, also gilded lilies) evoked a utopian image of the body that was the subject of fantastical transformation. A related poetic expression of *lianbu* (lotus steps) suggested that footbinding was intended to enhance the grace of the body in motion, not to cripple the woman.

Body Modification

The much-maligned practice has often been compared to corsetry as evidence that women were oppressed in cultures East and West, modern and traditional. The comparison is apt albeit for different reasons. The goal of both practices was to modify the female figure with strips of carefully designed and precisely positioned fabric, and in so doing alter the way the wearer projected herself into the world. During its millennium-long history, footbinding acquired various cultural meanings: as a sign of status, civility, Han Chinese ethnicity, and femininity. But at its core it was a means of body modification, hence its history should be sought from the foundational garments of binding cloth, socks, and soft-heeled slippers.

The materials needed for binding feet were specialized articles made by women (binding cloth, socks, and shoes) together with sewing implements readily available

in the boudoir (scissors, needle, and thread). Alum and medicinal powder were sprinkled between the toes as an astringent. Women often wove the cotton binding cloth; its average width was three inches, and its length ranged from seven to ten inches. Skillful wrapping of the cloth allowed the woman to reshape the foot into desirable shapes in accordance to footwear fashion. The method and style of binding feet varied greatly with geography, age, and occasion. A moderate way involved compressing the four digits into a pointy and narrow tip; an extreme regiment required both the folding of the digits and the bending of the foot at midpoint into an arch. The tendons and extensors of the toes were stretched to the point of breakage, but the breakage did not, at least in theory, require fracturing the bones. The binding of feet altered the shape of the foot and the woman's gait. Slender slippers and dainty steps signified class and desirability.

Similar to tattooing, footbinding bespeaks an attitude that viewed the body as a canvas or a template—a surface or “social skin” on which cultural meanings could be inscribed. Yet the effect of binding was more than skin deep. It signaled an extreme form of self-improvement and mastery; the contemporary body-piercer's motto of “no pain, no gain” is equally apt for Chinese women.

Unlike tattooing and body-piercing, however, footbinding was only practiced by females, and its connections with the female handicraft traditions of textile, embroidery, and shoemaking rendered it a quintessential sign of feminine identity. It is paradoxical that footbinding, supposedly a signal of the woman's family status as “conspicuous leisure,” was in itself a result and expression of a strenuous form of female labor.

Early Beginnings

The earliest material evidence for the binding of feet is several pairs of shoes from twelfth- to thirteenth-century tombs in south-central China. Scholar Zhang Bangji (fl. 1147) provided the first known textual reference to footbinding as an actual practice: “Women's footbinding began in the recent times; it was not mentioned in any books from the previous eras.” By the twelfth century, footbinding was a common but by no means mandatory practice among the wives and daughters of high-status men, as well as courtesans and actresses who entertained this same group of privileged scholar-officials.

Song-dynasty China (960–1279) enjoyed a prosperous commercialized economy. The Northern Song capital of Kaifeng and the Southern Song capital of Hangzhou, with populations of over a million each, were the largest cities in the world at the time. Indeed, historians have suggested that the beginnings of Chinese modernity can be traced back to the Song. A taste for novelty, together with status-anxiety—the same factors that gave rise to fashion in early modern Europe—also facilitated the birth of footbinding. Adoration for small

feet ran deep in Chinese culture: the story of Ye Xian, China's Cinderella, appeared in a ninth-century story collection *Yuyang zazhi* (Ko, pp. 26–27), and poets eulogized dainty steps and fancy footwear from the sixth to tenth centuries. But these fantasies gave rise to the actual practice of binding feet only in the urban culture that emerged after the fall of the Tang aristocratic empire.

The style of women's shoes from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries conforms to two subtypes: one is long and narrow with pointy toes, like a kayak; the other, with turned-up toes, is like a canoe with a high stem. These shoes are made of monochrome silk and decorated with embroidered abstract floral or cloud patterns. The length of archaeological specimens ranges from 5.9 inches to 9.4 inches (15 to 24 cm). Both styles feature flat fabric soles, suggesting that in this early stage women swaddled their four digits together with a binding cloth to achieve a sleek, pointy look.

Paintings show these pointy toes or the more dramatic upturned toes peeking out from long, flowing silk trousers, creating an aesthetic of subdued feminine elegance. The most credible origin myth attributes footbinding to Yaoniang, a dancer in the court of the last ruler Li Yu (r. 969–975) of the Southern Tang kingdom, who beguiled Li with her graceful dance and shoes that “curl up like the new moon.” In the beginning, footbinding was not meant to cripple.

The Cult of the Golden Lotus

A more extreme regime of beauty arose around the sixteenth century with the invention of high heels. One type of shoes was elevated on a cylindrical heel; another featured a curved sole supported by a piece of silk-covered wood from the heel area to the instep. Not only did heels afford an optical illusion of smallness, they also enabled an extreme way of binding that pushed the base of the metatarsal bones and the adjoining cuneiforms upward, forming a bulge on the top of the foot. A crevice was formed on the sole due to the compression of the fifth metatarsal bone toward the calcaneus or heel bone. The high heel redirected the wearer's body weight into a tripod-like area consisting of the tip of the big toe, the bent toes, and the back of the heel. However unsteadily, heeled footwear provided better support for the triangular foot than flats.

This strenuous regimen bespeaks heightened female competition in a fashion-conscious society. In the sixteenth century, the Ming Empire (1368–1644) enjoyed the largest trade surplus in the world. Buoyed by a net inflow of New World silver, the money economy spread to the countryside. In a world of material abundance and social fluidity, there was intense pressure on women to display the status of their fathers and husbands. The incessant drive for small feet and their attendant eroticization in this atmosphere gave rise to a cult of the golden lotus.



Silk Ginlein shoe. Footbinding is a form of body modification mainly practiced by Han Chinese women. One of the two popular styles of shoes available to women with bound feet in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries was made of silk with embroidered patterns and pointed toes. Shoes in this style averaged in length between 15 and 24 centimeters. COURTESY OF THE BATA SHOE MUSEUM, TORONTO. PHOTO BY HAL ROTH. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.



Cantonese boots. High-heeled shoes were introduced to women's fashion in China during the Ming Dynasty. The heels created the illusion of smallness and, due to the shoes' design and the weight and balance modifications resulting from footbinding, they actually provided more support to women with bound feet than did flat shoes. COURTESY OF THE BATA SHOE MUSEUM, TORONTO. PHOTO BY HAL ROTH. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Female footwear—often store-bought—became fanciful. Some women hired famous carpenters to carve their heels, often of fragrant wood. Floral cutouts were made on the surface of hollowed heels; perfumed powder inside the heels would leave traces of blossoms on the floor as the wearer shifted her steps. The shoe uppers were fashioned from red, white, or green silk with increasingly elaborate embroidered motifs of auspicious symbols. The earlier flat socks evolved into contoured and footed soft “sleeping slippers” which women wore to bed on top of the binding cloth. The erotic appeal of the golden lotus



THE FETISHISM OF BOUND FEET AND TINY SHOES

William Rossi has suggested the bound foot was “the organ of ultimate sexual pleasure”; the soft fleshy cleavage on the underside of the foot was “the equivalent of the labia” for men (pp. 29–30). Although this view is corroborated by Chinese erotic paintings from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, no premodern Chinese sources depict footbinding in this light.

Novels, poetry, and prose by premodern Chinese male scholars suggest that embroidered slippers and partially undressed, but still concealed, feet served as the locus of their erotic imagination. The first credible connoisseur of bound feet was the Yuan dynasty scholar-poet Yang Weizhen (also known as Yang Tieya, 1296–1370), who in his later years retired from the court and dallied in the garden city of Suzhou. To add to the merry-making, Yang drank from wine cups fashioned from courtesans’ tiny shoes. Brothel drinking games involving the tiny shoe persisted and became more fanciful, as evinced by the connoisseur Fang Xuan’s (probably a pseudonym) treatises first published in the last decade of the Qing dynasty (Levy, pp. 107–120).

The connoisseur Li Yu (c. 1610–1680)—no relation to the Southern Tang ruler—described the sexual appeal of the bound foot in both visual and tactile terms. In a bedroom scene in Li’s erotic novel *The Carnal Prayer Mat*, the protagonist Vesperus removed all the clothes of Jade Scent but left her leggings on, because “in the last resort tiny feet need a pair of dainty little leggings above them if they are going to appeal” (p. 50). Li recounted his own experience of removing courtesans’ stockings to fondle feet so soft that they feel “boneless” in an essay collection, *Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling*. Presum-

ably the binding cloth was not removed. Li added: “Lying in bed with them, it is hard to stop fondling their golden lotus. No other pleasures of dallying with courtesans can surpass this experience” (Hanan, p. 68).

The most vivid Chinese account of the fetishism of shoes and feet during the height of the cult of the golden lotus is the erotic novel *The Plum in the Golden Vase*, first published in 1618. Presiding over a polygynist household, the protagonist Simen Qing is the paragon of male privileges and excesses. Females vie to get his attention, hence their heart’s desires, by a parade of tiny shoes they designed and assembled. Simen was partial to red sleeping slippers; his love for them—and their wearer—was transference for his own desire to wear red shoes (chapter 28). Simen, a merchant, personifies the commodity culture that enabled new economies of pleasure and desire in seventeenth-century China.

Chinese fetishism assumes different meanings than that which crystallized in Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, in part because the association of pleasure and guilt is absent in Confucian morality. But in China as in Europe, the fetishism of the foot found its most graphic expression in the spectacular details lavished onto high heel shoes. As a vessel for wine, plaything, or token of exchange, embroidered slippers were receptacles of boundless fantasy.

The very subject of footbinding has been fetishized in the West. As a stand-in for the exotic and erotic Orient, footbinding has continued to fascinate modern observers and collectors after its demise in China as a social practice.

was wrought of layered footwear as instruments of concealment.

Even at the heyday of the cult, many women did not have bound feet. Footbinding was more a privilege than a requirement. Women of Manchu descent, an ethnic minority group, eschewed footbinding, as did Hakka women, who shouldered back-breaking manual labor. After the Manchus became the rulers of China in 1644, they issued prohibition edicts that only served to make footbinding more popular among the subjugated Han Chinese majority.

The Anti-Footbinding Movement

The decline of footbinding can be attributed to internal and external factors. Domestically, it became a victim of its own success. As footbinding spread geographically

outward and socially downward during the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), it lost its *raison d’être* and ceased to be a sign of exclusivity. Externally, Christian missionaries and merchants brought an imported concept of the natural God-given body as well as a new sartorial regime in the second half of the nineteenth century. Footbinding became so dated that it was synonymous with “feudal and backward China” in the Republican period (1912–1949). Although coastal women gave up the practice in the early decades of the twentieth century, girls in the remote southwestern province of Yunnan were forced to stop by the Communist regime only in the 1950s.

Ironically, on the eve of footbinding’s decline, the paraphernalia of footbinding reached the height of its glory, surpassing previous centuries in rapidity of stylistic changes and ornamental techniques. Each region de-

veloped its own distinct footwear styles. New genres of patterns, snow clogs, and rain boots served the growing number of working-class women with bound feet. Footwear innovation continued into the 1920s and 30s, when women with bound feet updated their wardrobes with such Western styles as the Mary Jane, fastened with buttons and flesh-colored silk stockings.

In sum, there is not one footbinding but many. During each stage of its development the way of binding, shoe styles, social background of the women and their incentives are different; the regional diversities are also pronounced. But in the final analysis, the binding of feet was always motivated by a utopian impulse to overcome the body and to elevate one's status in the world.

See also **China: History of Dress; Fetish Fashion.**

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Dorothy Ko

FOOTWEAR. See **Shoes.**

FORD, TOM In his role as creative director for the Gucci Group, designing collections for both Gucci and Yves Saint Laurent, Tom Ford was central to early twenty-first-century fashion. Under Ford's direction,



Tom Ford. Ford began designing for Gucci in 1990, rescuing the company from serious financial trouble partly by placing greater emphasis on its line of accessories. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

creativity and innovation shared equal value with marketing and promotion in the positioning of the brands.

Born in 1962 and raised in San Marcos, Texas, and Santa Fe, New Mexico, Ford first began his career as a model for television advertisements before studying interior design at Parsons School of Design in New York City. In his final year of school, he changed his focus to fashion design. As a freelance designer on Seventh Avenue, he first worked for Cathy Hardwick and then in 1988 in the jeans department of Perry Ellis, under the short-lived direction of Marc Jacobs.

In 1990, the company's worst year financially, Ford was appointed womenswear designer at Gucci. Because of loss of strategic and creative direction and in-house family feuding, the company was losing 340 billion lire annually. In 1992 Ford was appointed design director, and in 1994, creative director; by the first six months of 1995, the company's revenues had increased by 87 percent. This financial turnaround was largely achieved by a consolidation of the company's product range, editing out weak licenses for vulgarly branded goods and re-designing core items, typified by the reappearance of the classic Gucci loafer in rainbow hues (1991) and the success of the Gucci platform snaffle clog (1992).

The international recognition of Gucci as a producer of prêt-à-porter collections was crystallized by the autumn/winter season of 1995–1996. From the prevailing aesthetic of pared-down minimalism and understated luxury, Ford presented a sleek, retro-inspired collection evoking a somewhat louche sexuality. The look was defined by velvet hipster trousers with a kick at the heel and a narrowly cut silk shirt, accessorized with a large, unstructured shoulder bag and matching platform court shoes in patent leather with a metallic shine normally associated with car chassis.

The collection was pivotal, as it established a trend for the consumption of seasonal fashion defined not so much by a total look as by how the look could be attained through buying the “must-have” accessory. As Ford later suggested, “You have to get the product right, it’s the most important aspect.” Much of this success was achieved through the advertising campaigns the company produced with fashion photographer Mario Testino, where the glamorous proposition of the dressed models was matched on the opposite side of the spread by an isolated close-up of the accessory. The close relation between the image of Gucci and its advertising campaigns eventually produced a lapse in confidence, when for the spring/summer collections in 2003 the company ran an image of a model who had her pubic hair shaved into the Gucci “G.” The image was widely criticized for being too blatantly sexual and in dubious taste. Meanwhile, the Gucci Group had acquired the Yves Saint Laurent (YSL) brand after the legendary designer retired from the couture. From an uncelebrated opening collection (largely due to the French press berating an American ready-to-wear designer for having the audacity to step into the most hallowed of shoes), the brand developed consistently and confidently, particularly from Ford’s gaining access to the YSL archive.

Through his close relation to Domenico de Sole, CEO of the Gucci Group, Tom Ford was central to the increasing dominance of the company in the designer fashion and luxury goods market, as Gucci acquired stakes in Balenciaga, Alexander McQueen, Stella McCartney, Bottega Veneta, and Sergio Rossi. The unexpected 2003 announcement of Ford’s departure from the Gucci group, effective in April 2004, shook the fashion world, and speculation immediately began about his successor as well as about his own future plans.

See also Gucci; Saint Laurent, Yves; Shoes.

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Alistair O'Neill

FORMAL WEAR, MEN'S The quintessence of uniform elegance in men’s wear must surely be those nearly unchanging garments described as “formal.” The exact opposite of “casual” clothes, men’s formal garments are as curiously elevating and ennobling as they are utilitarian and leveling. This might seem a contradiction in terms at first, but one has only to think of a “black-tie” event to realize that at least en masse, the uniform nature of the clothes—coded and easily recognizable globally—places all men in the same category, much like a uniform does for the army, navy, or air force. But like the armed forces, which have panoplies of different ranks, a tangible difference in provenance can be evinced in evening or formal clothes. Is this suit custom-made? Is that rented? Is that a hand-me-down? Is this a lucky find in a vintage market?

A black-tie event is a sea of ebony and ivory—all men, although from different ranks in society, at least visually and superficially are united by convention. Formal wear not only functions as a social leveling device for the men at a gathering, but it also provides a uniform backdrop (or perhaps, “black-drop”) for the female guests who are of course, not restricted to the color black for their gowns. Formal clothes have an air of assured authority and confidence about them and are generally resistant to fashion, although of course some designers attempt to play with their strictures from collection to collection. But customers always seem to revert to the history, tradition, and timeless style of the unshakable classics.

The most recognizable formal wear costume is the black-tie—in the United States, usually referred to as the tuxedo and frequently shortened to “tux.” In 1896, a mischievous, iconoclastic dandy, Griswold Lorillard, wore a shorter, black formal jacket (without tails) to a country club in Tuxedo Park, New York—and the name was established. The jacket part of the black-tie ensemble is sometimes referred to as a “dinner jacket,” though that appellation is too limiting to encompass all its myriad social functions. Essentially, the terms all refer to the same costume, though some contend that the classic tuxedo jacket must have a shawl collar rather than peaked lapels, and many would permit no color other than black (some will allow cream). But these distinctions have more to do with the wearer’s upbringing and taste as opposed to the outfit itself.

There are generally five styles to choose from: single-breasted, double-breasted, peaked lapels (usually double-breasted) and single- or double-breasted shawl collared. Basically, it is a black suit but ennobled by a silk or gros-grain facing on the lapels, the better to provide a sug-

gestion of luxury and attention to detail. And black-tie is, and should only ever be, black—or perhaps midnight blue, which the late royal couturier Sir Hardy Amies always maintained looked blacker than black itself, under artificial light. A corresponding black silk or grosgrain stripe runs down the sides of the trouser—again echoing uniform pants.

The shirt is always white. It can be made in anything from the finest zephyr cotton to polyester—but it must always be white. Pearl buttons or studs are the norm and a wing collar a matter of choice and taste, although if one is sported it should be buttoned on or studded through—not ready-made. And the bow tie is not considered one if it is not hand-tied. Aficionados frown upon the ready-made examples with elastic and hooks. Cummerbunds are reserved for the most formal of occasions, but they do have a small function which rescues them from being pure items of conspicuous consumption; in their pleats is concealed a tiny pocket for small essentials.

While the basic elements of formal wear are conveniently precise, the wearer is able to exert his individuality through the sporting of discreet (or not so discreet) items of jewelry—these for the most part being concealed by the jacket cuff in the form of links or by the jacket itself if a spirited watch chain or fob is attached to a waistcoat.

The *luxe de luxe* of formal wear is white-tie, an ensemble that includes tails, wing-collared shirt, hand-tied white bow tie usually in a cotton pique or fine grosgrain, and corresponding white waistcoat—traditionally three buttoned and cut low to expose maximum shirt front. For the feet, nothing but *glacé*, glossy pumps will suffice, topped off with a pair of silk, decorative bows. And at the other end of the body, a top hat—in glossy black silk—is the point finale. This look was established as a sartorial must by the early 1920s. Whether formal or extremely formal, the basic sonorous quality of the ensemble is the color black. As the costume historian James Laver has pointed out, since the eighteenth century, all attempts to introduce color to male formal attire have failed or have been derided. A shiny, colorful, patterned male evening ensemble is unthinkable; such is the continuing power and influence of tradition.

Formal daywear is now found primarily in the world of sports, and especially of horse racing and boat racing. Royal Ascot, Goodwood, and Henley are social institutions where formal clothes are demanded and specific dress code requirements are imposed on all who attend. Formal wear for Royal Ascot would be full morning dress (dove gray or black); the groom or the bride's father at a formal daytime wedding would wear the same ensemble. The coat is sometimes referred to as a cutaway coat (being a frock coat with the corners removed), not to be confused with a tailcoat, which is cut to the waist in the front, and sports a pair of tails behind. A gray, buff, or for the more fashion conscious, brightly colored and pat-



Man in formal attire. Elegant and sleek, a man's Black Tie costume, or tuxedo, is comprised of jacket, pants with matching stripe, white shirt, and hand-tied bow tie. © JOSE LUIS PELAEZ, INC./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

terned silk waistcoat, is worn beneath and teamed with a tie, cravat, or some other individualistic neck wear—but never a bow.

The origin of formal wear is open to discussion and challenge, but one name forever associated with formality, uniformity, and simplicity was Beau Brummell—king of the dandies and a one-time favorite of King George IV. He is often referred to as the “father of modern male formal costume” as he eschewed the brightly hued silken finery and powdered wigs generally worn at court for a sober suit of midnight blue-black with minimal jewelry (a signet ring was permissible), no wig, no perfume but plenty of shaving and washing—a well-scrubbed appearance being the natural partner to formal dress.

It is the Beau whom many think invented or at least popularized the under-the-foot strapped pantaloons (from the French—*Pend en talon*—to the heel) and set the standard for what would become the ubiquitous tailcoat. Brummell was belligerently exact when it came to matters of formal and what came to be “court dress.” To



Men's formal wear. Formal attire for men has seen little change since the nineteenth century. These men are modeling the fashions of 1932, ranging from the highly formal tuxedo on the right to less formal business attire at left. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

a would-be dandy seeking sartorial approval he snapped, “Do you call that *thing* a coat?” Brummell made formality look simple—challenging the brightly colored costumes in feminine fabrics like silk and velvet for the sharp masculinity of well-cut wool and flannel. Thus formal wear showed and still does show its class by line, not content.

In the twenty-first century, the reduction of occasions on which to wear formal clothes has curiously thrown a sharper light on these style stalwarts. Not even a hundred years ago, BBC radio announcers were required to wear black-tie—the premise being that the stiff formality of the shirt, bow tie, and exact-fit jacket aided the gravitas of the voice and the assurance of the delivery. At weddings and funerals, formal clothes were obligatory and many other social situations demanded this “civilian uniform” as a means of maintaining a required ambiance, from balls and tea dances to memorials and visits to the opera. Just a hundred years ago, dressing for dinner in one’s own home could have meant having to wear full formal dress—even if it was just with family members. A visit to almost any vintage clothing fair or market will reveal several yesteryear formal garments for men—a clue as to how vital they were and perhaps how few the occasions for which they are needed in the early 2000s.

In the mid-1950s, everyone who could afford to have at least one formal outfit owned one, which would most often be mothballed until needed. Those who did not own formal wear relied on borrowing from relatives or renting. The formal rental market is still hugely successful with providing formal wear for weddings to royal garden parties and theatrical opening nights. The respect that formal wear lends to the occasion is thus implied—even if not required or requested—and many will opt for formality to suggest this. Those who have chosen casual attire will be thrown into sharp contrast. Perhaps formal wear represents the last bastion of constancy in clothing with a conspiratorial nod to time, not trend.

See also **Brummell, George (Beu); Tuxedo.**

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Robin Dutt

FORTUNY, MARIANO Although Mariano Fortuny considered himself a painter, he pursued various critical and aesthetic interests. He is primarily remembered for remarkable layers of dyed and patterned fabrics, which he created between 1906 and 1949. Born in Granada, Spain, to an upper-class family of distinguished painters, Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo (1871–1949) is more often associated with the city of Venice, Italy, where he lived and worked most of his life.

As a child, Fortuny was surrounded by eclectic assemblages of ephemera: antique textile remnants, carpets, costumes, vestments, furniture, armor, and implements of war collected as art objects. Following the untimely death of his father, the painter Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, in 1874, young Mariano, his mother, and his sister moved to Paris in 1875. Although he considered himself self-taught, he was guided toward the arts by his uncle Raymundo, a painter, and informally by the sculptor Auguste Rodin. He later expanded his education in Germany, where he studied physics and chemistry. In 1889 the Fortuny family traveled to Venice; finding it a romantic and artistic center, they moved there permanently in 1890.

Business Innovations

Fortuny's garments and textiles fuse history, anthropology, and art. By blending various dyes he achieved luminous, unique colors. Resurrecting the ancient craft of pleating fabric, artistically symbolizing a reflection of the sun's rays, Fortuny developed his own interpretation of this craft and registered his heated pleating device in 1909. Between 1901 and 1933 he registered twenty-two patents, all of which related to garments and printing methods. Prolific in artistic pursuits, he printed etchings, invented a type of photography paper, designed lamps and furniture, bound books, and maintained an extensive, private reference library. He displayed his own artistic creations in the ground floor showroom of his residential palazzo.

An interest in Richard Wagner's operatic productions drew Fortuny to Bayreuth, Germany, in 1892. Fascinated by the dramatic spectacle unfolding before him, he developed a revolutionary, indirect lighting system that transformed cumbersome stage scenery and obsolete gas lamps, significantly changing the atmosphere onstage. Commissioned by an art patron, he constructed two enormous, vaulted quarter spheres of cloth, expanded over a collapsible metal frame, which amplified color and sound. The spheres were 225 square meters (269 square yards) in area and 7 meters (7.6 yards) high. His first theatrical costume was a figure-enveloping, border-printed scarf titled the Knossos, presented in a private theater in 1907. Isadora Duncan was the first to wear the Knossos scarf. At the home of his patron Cotesse de Bearn in 1906 in Paris, his stage lighting system first appeared as well as his first textile creation printed with geometric motifs. This theatrical endeavor transformed his awareness and appreciation of materials into a tactile form, quite separated from his representational works.

Fortuny preferred working alone to avoid conflict, illustrating his theory that an artist must control all aspects of the creative act, but he did allow collections of his fabrics, gowns, and accessories to be sold in a Paris boutique operated by Paul Poiret. His gowns were also available at Liberty of London and his shops in Paris, London, and New York.

Personal Image and Acknowledgments

Throughout his life Fortuny maintained a striking figure, dressing in artistic combinations, even regional and ethnic dress. He married Henriette Negrin, an accomplished French seamstress who designed patterns for his garments. Together, they developed methods and practices in the atelier of their Palazzo Orfei residence. Driven by spirited curiosity rather than training as a couturier, Fortuny depended on ancient and regional styles that became the foundation of his modern and comfortable styles for women, costumes for the theater, and yardage for interiors.

In an atmosphere of antiquated splendor, Fortuny dressed Venice's artistic community at the turn of the century, where Americans and Europeans—including the actress Sarah Bernhardt, the dancer Isadora Duncan, and the poet Gabriele D'Annunzio—were among those who sought cultural legitimacy with the notion that the classical and the beautiful were one. Artists of the theater and American travelers were the first to wear his gowns in public.

Artistic Hallmarks

Among the garments viewed in museum collections, the loosely twisted, pleated gowns labeled Delphos and Peplos, of Greek origin, are exhibited more frequently than any others. His diagrams of the Delphos and the wooden structure fitted with ceramic tubes that heat-set his signature pleats are also popular museum exhibits. Similar avant-garde dresses, referred to as tea gowns, enhanced Fortuny's popularity with the wave of orientalism that dominated the arts in the years before World War I.

Echoing his knowledge of textile history, Fortuny produced his imaginative manipulations through printed and applied methods, freeing him to experiment. His vertical pleating and undulating silk and cotton yardage yielded natural elasticity, flowing effortlessly over the contours of female forms. Delicate Murano glass beads were laced onto silk cording and hand-stitched along hems, seams, and necklines, giving weight to an even edge, similar to the ancient Greek method of weighting fabric with metal. His method was to piece-dye cut lengths, frequently layering natural and, later, aniline dyes and occasionally incorporating agents to resist previously applied colors, which resulted in random, transparent irregularity. Clients were required to return the garment to the island factory of La Giudecca in order to clean and pleat the material.

For his imported silk, cotton, and velvet surfaces, Fortuny studied Japanese and Southeast Asian methods of hand-printing, including the *pochoir* method, for precise color transfer to cloth. Block printing and silk screening, positioned on seams in central areas of a garment and along edges, provided striking effects. Fortuny combined metal powder with pigments to simulate shimmering metallic thread, inspired by sixteenth-century velvets. On occasion, more than a dozen processes—including paintbrushes, sponges, and decolorization—were implemented on each unique length. The paintbrushes and sponges were used to create a marbled effect, already a method known in Lyon, to create the same effect of patchiness. Artisans were directed to incorporate various methods to correct or retouch the yardage. Textile patterns and motifs reflected his studies in the art museums of Venice, where he made note of the dress depicted in canvases. When he adapted the traditional practice of goffering, realizing a relief in velvet pile, he may have used block-printing methods and silk screening. His pattern adaptations of regional dress, hand-stitched with one of three labels (Mariano Fortuny Venise, Fabriqu  en Italie, or Fortuny de Pose), can be identified as variations inspired by ancient Greek dress for men or women, dress of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, the Moroccan djellaba, North African *bournous*, Arabic *abaia* (a kind of caftan), Japanese kimono, Coptic tunic, and Indian sari.

Fortuny in the Twenty-first Century

In 1922 Fortuny, Inc., was established in collaboration with the American interior designer Elsie Lee McNeill, later Countess Gozzi. Henriette remained in the palazzo to oversee the production of silk and velvet garments, while Fortuny moved production to a factory on the island of La Giudecca. After his death in 1949, garments were no longer produced. Gozzi continued to promote the mysteries of his textiles for almost forty years, until she sold her rights to printing yardage to her friend and attorney, Maged Riad, in 1998. In the early twenty-first century, Riad's children became responsible for the firm in New York, and his brother took over as the artistic director of production on La Giudecca. Appointments for research in the Palazzo Fortuny are limited, though the building is frequently the venue for art exhibitions, managed by the city of Venice.

The company's contemporary collection of yardage contains approximately 260 original patterns and color combinations printed on silk, velvet, and Egyptian cotton, including irregular application by artisans, who give each length an aged and artistic patina. Antique textile dealers and international specialists represent original yardage.

Since Fortuny creations were originally an attraction for travelers, interpretations of his artistry have been faithfully recovered by Venetia Studium, directed by Lino Lando and available to the visitor to Venice. Connois-

seurs, collectors, historians, and antique dealers agree that Mariano Fortuny achieved an elegant, impressive balance, fusing art and science. His legacy proves his relevance.

See also **Art and Fashion; Clothing, Costume, and Dress; Orientalism; Proust, Marcel.**

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Gillion Carrara

FULLING Fulling, or milling, is a finish that produces a wool fabric softer, denser, heavier, and thicker than greige goods (fabric from the loom). Wool greige goods are reedy (loosely woven). Because fulled fabric is more compact, it has better cover and appearance. The fabric is shrunk under controlled conditions to make it compact. Shrinkage may be by as much as 50 percent, and it must be controlled or the fabric will become hard and harsh. Almost all wool woven fabric will be fulled to some degree; many knit fabrics will also be fulled. The amount of fulling will depend on the characteristics of the finished fabric.

Woolen fabrics, made from yarns with fibers that have been only carded are often heavily fulled. Carding and combing are yarn processes. Carding aligns the fibers somewhat where combing further aligns the fibers before spinning. Combed yarns have longer staple fibers and fewer fiber ends than carded yarns. Melton cloth is an example of fabric of such considerable fulling as to have a feltlike texture. Melton cloth is so heavily fulled that the warp and filling yarns are not seen. The fabric is smooth with a very short nap. Napping is a finishing process where the fiber ends are brushed to the surface of the fabric, producing a softer fabric. Melton and loden cloth are used for cold weather coating. Other fabrics that are heavily fulled are duffel—which is used in overcoats and blankets—kersey, and boiled wool. Boiled wool is not actually boiled but heavily fulled.

Worsted fabrics, made from yarns in which the fibers have been carded and combed, are lightly fulled. Since worsteds are firmly woven, they tend not to shrink as easily as loosely woven fabrics. The fibers in worsteds are less mobile and thus are unable to interlock as easily as soft, fluffy fabrics. Knitted sweaters are also lightly fulled.

The Process

The fulling process takes advantage of the microstructure of wool fabric. The outer layer of the wool fiber consists of overlocking scales that can be seen under a microscope. The scales on the surface of the fiber point toward the tip and will move only in one direction. In the presence of moisture, heat, and friction, these scales will open up, move, and become interlocked. Once these scales interlock, the change is permanent and the fabric shrinks and thus becomes more compact.

The wool fabric is scoured to remove any processing oils that may be on the fabric. Then the fabric is placed in a rotary fulling or jig machine. The fabric is passed between stainless steel rollers pounded by clappers. Water with a mild alkaline soap and sodium carbonate or a weak acid dampens the fabric. Wool fibers need moisture, mechanical action, and heat for the scales on the fibers to interlock, and the friction from the pounding produces the necessary heat.

The fabric is carefully dried after the fulling process. To give it additional softness, the fabric may be brushed or napped.

See also **Wool**.

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Robyne Williams

FUR Fur garments occupy a long and significant place in European history. From the fourteenth to seventeenth century, the kings and queens of England, for example, issued royal proclamations in order to regulate furs and fur apparel and, especially, to reserve the more exclusive furs of marten, fox, gray squirrel, and ermine for the aristocratic and clerical elite. These royal proclamations became part of what is known as “sumptuary legislation” in which everyday practices involving clothing, drinking, and eating were subject to public governance and scrutiny. Thus, from very early on furs and fur garments were regulated, not only in order to establish a hierarchy of desirable fur, but also to create recognizable codes of social status in the wearer of fur. While by law the most exclusive furs were reserved for the higher nobility, the middle class wore less costly furs such as beaver, otter, hare, and fox, and the peasantry wore the hardier, rougher furs of wolf, goat, and sheepskin.

Very little appears to have changed in six hundred years. In the global economy of the twenty-first century, the luxurious full-length fur coat is subject to various processes of identification, as a commodity and sign of elite standing and material wealth from England to Japan.

What is markedly different at the turn of the twenty-first century, is that fur garments, especially those worn by women, now come under intense scrutiny for the dangers and risks they pose to the planet’s ecological stability. Politics and fur fashions have become so intertwined in the contemporary setting that it is impossible to discuss fur fashions without reference to ecological struggles, not to mention the challenges faced by indigenous peoples in Canada, Greenland, and Alaska whose very livelihood, in some cases, still depends on the fur trade initially created by Europe’s early modern industrial economy and mercantile trade.

Class, Gender, and Sex Distinctions

In the Middle Ages the exclusivity of some furs meant that they were used sparingly. The practice of “purfling” was invented in which the more expensive furs were reserved for decorative trim, while cheaper furs were used to finish the lining. There are some examples of excessive expenditures on the part of nobles such as Charles VI of France who apparently used 20,000 squirrel pelts to line a garment. It was not until the fur trade was established in the sixteenth century between France, and then England, and the New World (what is now Canada), that furs were available to European consumers in newer and larger supplies. Beaver fur was especially important to this new trade initiative and, in fact, became the primary economic unit from the mid-sixteenth century to the 1870s. In England, the technologically innovative process of felting beaver fur was used to produce the broad-brimmed beaver hats worn by the opposing religious and political groups of the seventeenth century, the Puritans and Cavaliers. One of the most significant promoters of the cavalier style of beaver hat was Charles II. With his restoration to the throne in 1660, the beaver hat emerged as a dominant fashion article supported no less than by Charles II’s incorporation of the Hudson’s Bay Company by royal charter. Thus, the English fur trade was firmly established and once again fur circulated in abundance among the nobility as well as among a rising mercantile class of consumers as a distinctive sign of class and imperial wealth.

In Russia, similar motivations to expand colonial governance and mercantile wealth were carried out through fur trading. From the mid-eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth century, Russian frontier merchants traded in sea otter pelts from northern Pacific waters to fulfill the clothing demands of the Chinese elite. Competition from China and eventually the United States and Britain led to various economic and territorial accommodations that resulted in a treaty with the United States and the formation of the Russian-American company in 1824, and between the latter and the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1839.

The history of the fur trade and fur garments is in many ways a history of imperial class distinctions but one that is also marked by gender and cultural differences.

Influenced by the Russian fur market, in the earlier period in England the fur coat was worn both by men and women. The fur was mostly on the inside, visible as trim on the collar and cuffs. But during the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, fur became increasingly identified with elite women's fashions and the fur coat was "reversed" in the sense that fur was now worn almost exclusively on the outside.

The 1920s saw the image of the fur-clad woman emerge as a sign of unevenly distributed economic wealth. From debates in the British House of Commons in February of 1926 over the benefits of socialism in providing women with practical and affordable cloth coats against the excesses of capitalism represented by a luxury fur coat, to G. W. Pabst's brilliant silent film *Joyless Streets* (*Die Freudlose Gasse*, 1925) in which Greta Garbo plays the heroine who is offered a fur coat in exchange for her sexual services, the image of the fur-clad bourgeois woman not only signified material wealth; it also came to represent, in contradictory fashion, feminine passivity and female sexual power.

Political Protests and Fur Fashion Design

The symbolic power associated with the fur garment in the Middle Ages ensured its value for contemporary fashion as a mark of distinction in the making of luxury commodities. Since the late nineteenth century and the publication of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's novel, *Venus in Furs*, the fur coat's value increased with its strong identification with sexual fetishism. However, by the 1970s the fur coat was transformed from desirable female commodity to a symbol for animal rights' activism. Efforts to ensure that the international trade in specimens of wild animals, including fur by-products, did not threaten their survival resulted in the national and international legislation of the Endangered Species Act (1973) in the United States and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (1975). The antisealing campaigns off the coast of Labrador in Canada in the 1970s anticipated the antifur protests of the 1980s and 1990s, headed by organizations such as People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) in the United States and LYNX in England, which were successful, momentarily, in diminishing fur sales. More recently, the European Union tried to introduce a ban on the import of wild fur from countries using the leg-hold trap. The ban was temporarily postponed pending an international agreement on humane trapping standards among Canada, the United States, Russia, and the European Union. In response to the global politicization of fur garments, fur manufacturers developed new dyeing and tailoring techniques in order to change the conventional image of the elite fur-clad woman as well as to "disguise" fur, although the Federal Fur Products Labeling Act requires that all fur products bear a label indicating, among other things, whether the fur product was artificially colored. The fashion for fur knitting, popularized in the 1960s, was rejuvenated as a



INUIT DRESS AND SOCIAL CLASS

Inuit now use combinations of traditional and southern-style garments to convey group affiliation, gender, age, role, status, social organization, interaction with neighboring groups, and changing technology. . . . Contemporary Inuit clothing provides an intriguing unwritten essay reflecting the social, economic, and technological changes to which Inuit have adapted over the last generation.

Judy Hall, Jill Oakes, and Sally Qimmiu'naaq Webster, eds., *Sanatujut, Pride in Women's Work: Copper and Caribou Inuit Clothing Traditions*.

result of these new design strategies. The synthetic textile manufacturers benefited from the antifur media campaigns and developed "fake fur" alternatives. In an interesting twist on the environmental implications of natural fur products, the Montréal-based fashion designer Mariouche Gagné recycled fur into fashion accessories, arguing that fur was a biodegradable product and, therefore, more ecologically friendly than the synthetic alternatives offered by the "green" marketplace.

In the early 1990s more established fashion designers such as Jean Paul Gaultier and Isaac Mizrahi tried to give their turn on fur fashion an edge of political correctness by creating designs that incorporated Inuit and First Nations motifs and images. First Nations and Inuit communities responded to this politics of appropriation, as well as to the economic devastation of their participation in the contemporary fur trade, by forming their own political organizations, for example, Indigenous Survival International. They also made use of public institutions—the British Museum in London, and the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa—to exhibit traditional as well as contemporary fur fashions in an effort to educate the general public about the symbolic and practical dimensions of fur in northern societies and economies.

See also **Muffs**.

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Julia Emberley

FUTURE OF FASHION Predicting the future of fashion can be as analytical as market research and statistical analysis allow, or as speculative as the predictions William Norwich of the *New York Times* received when in April 2003 he playfully asked the fashion world's favorite psychic the question, "Where is the future of fashion?" Attempts to influence the future of fashion—made at times by dress reformers, moralists, and social thinkers—have invariably had little effect. Actual influences on fashion have typically stemmed from changing technologies, political events, and the creativity of certain individuals.

The manufacturing of clothes has always been affected by technological advances. The sewing machine revolutionized the clothing industry in the nineteenth century, and zippers altered clothing construction when they were perfected for use in the 1930s. In the early 2000s, technological innovations in fabrics influence how designers think about clothing, with textiles being developed that have properties unheard of in natural fibers. The abilities of these high-tech fabrics to stretch to overwhelming sizes or change their structure according to temperatures inspire clothing designers and blur the lines between fashion and industrial design. The Italian firm *Corpo Nove* designed a shirt woven with titanium that reacts to shifts in temperature. Wrinkles in the fabric are released when the shirt is exposed to hot air. Another item from the firm is a nylon jacket with a cooling system. The changing face of communications is also influencing styles of the future. A nylon jacket, manufactured by *Industrial Clothing Design*, a venture of *Philips Electronics* and *Levi Strauss and Company*, features a "fully integrated communications and entertainment system" (Lupton, p. 153).

Designers are also looking at ways of incorporating clothing with other functions of daily life. The *C.P. Company* has produced jackets that transform into chairs, tents or sleeping mattresses. *Ixilab*, a Japanese firm, designed plastic shorts with a cushion in the rear that inflates for the wearer to have a place to sit. New ideas for multifunctional clothing are also coming from industrial designers. A class called *Weaving Material and Habitation* at Harvard's Graduate School of Design "has been experimenting with Lycra-spandex type materials that can stretch out to four times their original size. A poncho or sweater might expand into a 7-foot-by-4-foot tarp" (Stevenson, p. 28).

Throughout fashion history, shifts in styles have been attributed to political and historical events. America's war with Iraq has elicited reactions from fashion designers ranging from antiwar sentiments to militaristic overtones. Proponents of various political and social issues attempt to influence what people wear and how clothes are produced. Antifur organizations frequently disrupt fashion shows featuring animal fur. The exploitation of labor is another controversial issue. Some politically minded consumers boycott clothes produced in factories and countries considered to have unfair labor practices. For some designers, these issues resonate; Katharine Hamnett has said that her goal is "the hope of making clothing that is environmentally friendly" (Jones and Mair, p. 209).

Primarily the fashion designers, in their roles as creators, determine the course of fashion. As a result, clothing designers are often asked to look into the future. Over time, their ideas and themes relating to these predictions remain almost constant. In 1968, André Courrèges described the future of fashion: "Women have become liberated little by little through thought, work, and clothes. I cannot imagine that they will ever turn back. Perhaps they will continue to suffer occasionally to be beautiful, but more than ever they seek to be both beautiful and free" (*Fashion, Art, and Beauty*, p. 140). He might have said the same in the early 2000s.

In her 1982 book *Fashion 2001*, Lucille Khornak asked fashion designers to each select a garment that would reflect fashions in 2001, and she interviewed them about how fashions would change by 2001. Many of the predictions made were unlikely to be achieved in that short period: "Paco Rabonne predicts that the clothes of the future will be premolded, bound or welded—no longer will they be sewn" (Khornak, p. 7). Issey Miyake is one designer rethinking how to make clothes for the future. Miyake's *A-POC* (A Piece of Cloth) features knitted tubes of fabric with markings for an outfit. When purchased, the fabric is cut by the wearer to make different articles of clothing. But ideas such as these are beyond the realm of mainstream fashion in the early twenty-first century.

One of the ongoing influences on fashion is the shift in women's roles in society. Fashion designers look at these changes from various angles and possibilities: the approach of unisex or androgynous clothing; the working woman's wardrobe as compared with men's wear; or the validity of femininity now that women are supposedly equal. The result is a spectrum of styles that caters to a diverse group of women, yet retains many stereotypes. Fashion continues to represent female sexuality as both demure, with pleats and bows and flowing chiffon, and as aggressive, with leather, corsetry, and body-revealing shapes. This dichotomy was featured in a 20 July 2003 *New York Times Magazine* fashion editorial of "good girl/bad girl" clothing.

The human body plays as integral a role as the clothes for many fashion designers working in the early 2000s. The idea of clothing as a “second skin” is often discussed when designers speak of the future of clothing. This concept has yet to be achieved with the wearing of only body stockings, or as Jean Paul Gaultier predicted in 1982 that we “spray on a latex body suit” (Khornak, p. 62). Yet this idea of a second skin continues to interest Gaultier and other designers. For his Fall 2003 collection, Gaultier created patterned bodysuits, worn under clothes, including one outlining the body’s arteries. More often fashion designers attempt to mold the body into other shapes. While the concept differs little from bustles of the nineteenth century, the results found in the early twenty-first century differ greatly. As Walter van Beirendonck, the Belgian designer for Wild and Lethal Trash, said, “the body of the future will be different” (Lupton, p. 187).

How fashion designers will manifest their ideas depends partly on the changing structure of the fashion industry and the evolving needs, and demands, of consumers. There remains the ongoing question regarding the demise of French couture and the stimulus to fashion from street styles. In *The End of Fashion*, Teri Agins argues that street style, consumer demands, and profit making have changed and will continue to alter the fashion industry. “In today’s high-strung, competitive marketplace, those who will survive the end of fashion will reinvent themselves enough times and with enough flexibility and resources to anticipate, not manipulate, the twenty-first century customer” (Agins, p. 16). While Agins’s theories apply to the marketplace, fashion in the twenty-first century still belongs to the elusive world of luxury, status, sex, and glamour. While fashion is known to be fleeting, many predictions about its future are slow to arrive.

See also **Fashion, Historical Studies of; Fashion Designer; Fashion Industry; Gaultier, Jean-Paul; Miyake, Issey.**

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Donna Gbelerter

FUTURIST FASHION, ITALIAN Futurism in fashion is not limited to the artistic movement alone. The pervasive conceptual and visual influence of futurist art at the beginning of the twentieth century accounts for the fact that the term “futurism” continues to be applied—in the case of fashion to designs that are made from unorthodox materials, demonstrate new technologies and shapes, and display colorful dynamism. Futurism as a modernist movement was born on 20 February 1909 when Filippo Tommaso Marinetti published his manifesto “Manifeste du Futurisme” in the Paris daily *Le Figaro*. His aim was to extol the shock of the new (as cubism had done previously). However, whereas the provocation had previously been limited to museums or books, Marinetti wanted to extend it to social and political life. While futurist paintings mixed stylistic idioms from cubism and divisionism, its poetry, music, photography, film, and drama expanded along more abstract principles like speed, novelty, violence, technology, nationalism, and urbanity, which were often expressed according to prior formulated declarations. For fashion the programs were written by Giacomo Balla in the form of the “Futurist Manifesto of Men’s Clothing” of 1914, followed by his “The Anti-Neutral Clothing: Futurist Manifesto” of the same year; in 1920 the “Manifesto of Futurist Women’s Fashion” by Volt (pseudonym of Vincenzo Fanni); 1932 saw the “Manifesto to Change Men’s Fashion” by the brothers Ernesto and Ruggero Michahelles; then Marinetti collaborated with Enrico Prampolini and a couple of second-generation futurists on “Futurist Manifesto: The Italian Hat,” and in 1933 the “Futurist Manifesto: The Italian Tie” was formulated by Renato di Bosso and Ignazio Scuroto.

The trajectory of these various programs can be constructed parallel to changes in futurist art from the avant-garde protest of its first generation, through the drama of World War I and sobriety of the time after the conflict, and the decorative subjectivism of the interwar years, to the rise in nationalist culture that would lead to the close association in the early 1930s between futurism and fascist Italy. The manifestos about fashion accordingly move from the direct intervention into culture by transforming the appearance of man—and to a lesser extent woman—in the street, where it was hoped that manners and mores would follow radical alterations in the bourgeois dress code, via a utilitarian attitude to dress as expression of communal principles, and the design of decorative and colorful costumes, to the fervent declaration of a nationalist dress. These various attitudes are not dissimilar to those that other art movements displayed vis-à-vis fashion, for example, aesthetic dress in Vienna or Proletkult clothing in 1920s U.S.S.R. Only futurism, however, ran through the entire range of oppositional

clothing, from radical individualism to collective uniform, from decadent subjectivity of sartorial expression to formal invention in the construction of clothes.

Despite the founding role of poetry (with its onomatopoeic “parole in libertà”) futurist aesthetics were disseminated markedly through painting. This implies a leaning toward decorative rather than structural solutions. And it favors the alteration of visual appearances and style (artistic, mode of living) rather than changing the sociopolitical foundation of artistic production proper. Similarly, fashion in futurism was often conceived as decorated surfaces of fabrics and textiles, where the introduction of color functioned as a novel element. An actual change in the cut and construction of clothes was comparatively rare.

From its very beginning futurism had a strong performative quality. Through the primacy of speed and dynamics, the representation of objects in movement became paramount. This was demonstrated not only through actual performances—although the poetry readings, musical soirées, and theater pieces, as well as demonstrative excursion in the motorcar, initiated an early concept of “performance art.” Significantly, futurist photographs and canvases aimed at showing successive stages of an object moving through space. This in turn accounts for the early significance of fashion, as an aesthetic expression that is directly—and almost exclusively—applicable to the active and activated body. Futurists like Balla and Fortunato Depero, who both designed costumes for the Ballets Russes in Paris, realized the opportunity of playing with volumes, density of material, and animated objects. Balla’s early designs between 1912 and 1914 show the attempt to break the surface of the body into fractions and lend movement to even heavy and static cloth. He hoped that the painted “speedlines” and colorful beams on the fabric would render even the most conservative and immovable individual a model of dynamism. Balla himself sported his designs well into the 1930s and conceived a rapid manner of walking and moving appropriate for the aesthetic principles of his dress. In contrast Marinetti, Depero, and others favored more staid sartorial expressions, wherein brightly colored waistcoats or ties offered the habitual outlet for individualism (1920s). Whereas men’s bourgeois suits, as the somber constructed mainstay of modernity, offered the most obvious target for a futurist reform of the dress-code, women’s fashion with its seasonal changes and decorated surfaces did not appear to require the same reformist zeal. Thus the futurist contribution to female dress is to be found outside Italy, in the “simultaneous” dresses by Sonia Delaunay created in Paris in the 1920s and the cubo-futurist costumes by Alexandra Exter and Liubov Popova made in Moscow from 1915 onward.

Balla had attempted to provide new patterns for the cut of shirts and suits that were based on geometric principles of nonobjective paintings, but it took Ernesto Michahelles, who worked under the pseudonym Thayaht,

to innovate a utilitarian and unisex dress that was based on the progressive notion that form and volume were to follow only inherent constructive principles. His “Tuta” of 1918 was designed as a cheap and uniform overall that due to its simple pattern could be tailored at home from a variety of fabrics. The aim was to provide “sportswear” that maximized freedom of movement for the body and directed an active lifestyle and corporeal ideal that would feed later into the fascist glorification of athleticism. In the early 2000s “tuta” is used in Italy to denote a track-suit and Thayaht, who went on to illustrate haute couture for Madeleine Vionnet, thus designed a template for the emancipation of the body in the time between the wars. More decorative solutions for the embellishment of dress came from Depero, whose contribution lies in the commercial viability of his designs for fashion boutiques, posters, and the theater, from Tullio Crali who continued Balla’s efforts to redesign the jacket and suit, and from Pippo Rizzo’s textiles.

Balla’s first Manifesto of 1914 had proclaimed: “We must invent futurist clothes, hap-hap-hap-hap-happy clothes, daring clothes with brilliant colors and dynamic lines. They must be simple, and above all they must be made to last for a short time only in order to encourage industrial activity and to provide constant and novel enjoyment for our bodies.” It was a sartorial call to arms that mixed progressive aesthetics in dress with a shrewd understanding of its commercial and industrial basis, thus perfectly fitting as a credo for the artist engaging in modernity.

See also **Art and Fashion; Theatrical Costume.**

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