

HAIR ACCESSORIES Hair accessories are functional or ornamental objects wrapped, tied, twisted, inserted, or otherwise attached to the hair. Throughout history, types of ornamentation and the materials from which they were made indicated religious significance, social class, age group, and level of fashion awareness. Infinitely varied in shapes, sizes, and materials, examples of hair accessories include: hair rings or bands, ribbons and bows, hairpins, hair combs, barrettes, beads, thread or string, hair spikes and sticks, and other affixed miscellaneous objects (shells, jewels, coins, flowers, feathers) perceived to have aesthetic or social and cultural value. Hair accessories have been worn by people of all ages and by both genders.

Hair rings and hair bands are cylindrically shaped hair accessories wound around the hair, designed to hold hair away from the face, or otherwise confine strands of hair. Some of the earliest hair rings were found in Great Britain, France, and Belgium at the end of the Bronze Age. These objects were solid gold or gold-plated clay, bronze, or lead. Ancient Egyptians wore similar rings during the New Kingdom Dynasties 18-20. Examples have been found in Egyptian tombs. Worn in wigs rather than hair, these hair rings were made of alabaster, white glazed pottery, or jasper, and were a sign of social ranking or authority (Antiquity 1997). In North America, hair binders were made of pliable materials such as silk or cotton covering lead wire (Cox 1966). In the twentieth century, the use of rubber and other manufactured elastomeric fibers made hair rings (now called hair bands or ponytail holders) more flexible. They were covered with thread or fibers to make them less likely to break strands of hair. "Scrunchies" were some of the most popular hair bands during the 1980s. These fabric-covered elastic decorative bands were used to create ponytails in the hair of young girls and women (Tortora and Eubank 1998).

Ribbons and bows are narrow fabric strips of closely woven yarns or braid wrapped and knotted around the hair, also used to bind the hair. They were especially popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. In the 1600s in France, ribbons were worn by women of all ages, from young girls to elderly dowager duchesses, and were specifically chosen to color coordinate with their dresses (Trasko 1994). Fashionable men also adorned their long tresses with ribbons and

bows. A "love lock" was a lock of a man's hair grown longer than the rest, and then accentuated with a ribbon (Tortora and Eubank 1998). During the 1700s in France and England, both a man's queue (a lock or pigtail on a wig) and women's elaborate coiffures were decorated with ribbons and bows. In Mexico in the early 2000s, women in Venustiano Carranza and San Pablito intertwine their hair with brilliantly colored rayon ribbons, woolen cords with pom-poms and beading, and handwoven tapes (Sayer 1985).

Hairpins are single-pointed pins used to dress or fasten the hair. They serve both a functional and decorative purpose, as in central Africa where copper, wood, ivory, and bone hairpins are used to fasten the hair (Sagay 1983). The elaborate hairstyles worn by ancient Roman women were often set with long hairpins hollow enough to double as containers for perfume or even poison. In Japan, during the seventeenth century, hair ornaments of lacquered wood or tortoiseshell began to be used. The kanzashi (a hairpin with a decorative knob, tassel, or bead on the end) was worn by fashionable courtesans. In fact, a conspicuous mark of a courtesan during this time was her "dazzling array of hair ornaments, radiating like a halo from an often dramatically sculptured coiffure" (Goodwin 1986, Introduction). Other Japanese women wore hairstyles decorated much more simply, perhaps with a floral or pendant hairpin (Goodwin 1986). Hairpins were also necessary for maintaining a fastidious appearance in France during the late 1600s. The large "periwigs" worn by men required them to shave their head or pin their hair tightly to the head. The use of bobbing pins included both large, straight pins and U-shaped hairpins. The "bobbed" hair then allowed the wig to be donned more easily, as well as confined the underlying hair to present a neat, well-groomed appearance (Trasko 1994). Hairpins continued in popularity as a means of fastening long hair into chignons. According to Trasko (1994), it was considered indecent for Victorian women to be seen with an abundance of loose, streaming hair. She states, "Hairstyles continued to be as constrained as women's lives" (p. 102). In the early twentieth century, hairpins were also necessary for creating waves in the hair (marcel waves during the 1920s) and pin curls in the 1940s. During the 1920s the bobby pin, with its tight spring clip, replaced the older style (open hairpins) allowing women to bob their hair more effectively under tight-fitting cloche hats (Tortora and Eubank 1998).

Barrettes are metal pins approximately three inches long with a beaded head and guard cap, used to secure the hair. Some of the first barrettes were used during the mid-nineteenth century. This bar-shaped hair accessory typically has a decorative face with an underlying spring clip to fasten to the hair (Cox 1966). Often made of metal or plastic in a variety of colors, this hair clip could be viewed as a modified version of the bobby pin, combining the pin's functionality with a more decorative outer appearance. And the appeal is not solely Western. In Mexico, Totonac and Tzelta girls who live near Papantla and Ocosingo, wear a colorful array of plastic slides and ornamental hair combs (Sayer 1985).

Headbands are hair accessories that also go back to ancient times, and combine aesthetics and functionality. As early as 3500 B.C.E., Mesopotamian men and women wore fillets or headbands to hold their hair in place. These circlets were placed on the crown of the head. In the Middle Ages, royal European ladies wore fillets of metal in the shape of a crown or cornet with various types of veils. Metal fillets gradually lost favor and were replaced by strips or bands of fabric (Tortura and Eubank 1998). During the neoclassical revival of the early 1800s, women imitated ancient Greek hairstyles by holding back their hair with fabric bands. As hats and bonnets became more fashionable in the mid-to-late 1800s, headbands lost popularity (Trasko 1994). It was not until the 1920s that headbands reappeared, when women began wearing headache bands for evening events. These bands were often ornamented with jewels or had tall feathers attached to them. Contemporary headbands often have a plastic U-shaped core covered in foam or fabric. These headbands fit closely over the top of the head and behind the ears. They emerged onto the fashion scene once again in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when the First Lady Hillary Clinton began wearing them during and after her husband's election in 1992 (Tortora and Eubank 1998).

Men as well as women wore headbands. During the Jin Dynasty (1139–1163 C.E.), Chinese men tied their long hair up with a silk band (Xun and Chunming 1987). In Mexico during the sixteenth century, priests on the Yucatan Peninsula wore bark cloth headbands. The practice continues in present-day ceremonies. Red bark cloth headbands, known as "god-hats," are wrapped around the heads of worshipers (Sayer 1985). For everyday purposes, hair adornments are rare among male Mexicans, who have followed the Western lead for "civilized" haircuts (Sayer 1985, p. 204). However, there are exceptions. Older men from Amatenango occasionally wear factory-made bandanna handkerchiefs (known as paliacates) to tie back their hair from their faces. The Huichol wear a headband of purchased cotton cloth called a coyera to fasten their hairstyle in place. The narrow folded headband is wrapped about the head with the ends trailing and is often wound with ribbons or decorated with safety pins (Sayer 1985).

Hair combs have been used since the Stone Age to confine and decorate the hair. Boxwood combs, dating back to 10,000 B.C.E. have been found as some of the earliest hair ornaments (Antiquity 1997). Ancient Roman women set their hair with tortoiseshell combs. In China during the Tang Dynasty (621 C.E.-907 C.E.), women held their buns in place with decorative golden and emerald hairpins or combs made of rhinoceros horn (Xun and Chunming 1987). During the Song Dynasty (960–1279 C.E.), hairpins and combs were made into elaborate shapes of phoenixes, butterflies, birds, and flowers pinned on top of women's buns. Around the twelfth year of the Republic, Chinese women began wearing an extremely elaborate hair accessory called a "coronet comb." The coronet was made of painted yarn, gold, pearls, silver, or jade, and had two flaps hanging over the shoulders. A long comb, nearly one foot long and made of white horn, was placed on top. The arrangement required the wearer to turn her head sideways if passing through a door or entering a carriage (Xun and Chunming 1987). During the seventeenth century in Japan, tortoiseshell or lacquered wood combs embellished with gold or mother-of-pearl were worn by fashionable courtesans, who often combined them with kanzashi (decorative hairpins). During the nineteenth century, women often used hair combs decorated with gemstones or "paste" (imitation) jewels. The twentieth century saw the continued use of hair combs for long hair, made of a variety of new manufactured materials such as celluloid and plastics. Hair combs also were used to attach small hats and veils to the head during the 1950s. The 1980s created new forms of hair combs, including a circularshaped hair comb that acts like a headband and the large double-sided comb called a "banana clip" that fastened women's hair into a ponytail.

Beads used as a decorative means of accentuating plaited hair have long been worn by cultures in Africa. Cornrowing is a traditional West African method of arranging the hair into numerous small braids. It can take from two to six hours to arrange, depending on the complexity of the style. Beads were also used to accentuate the plaited strands (Sagay 1983). Used for hundreds of years in Africa, during the 1970s this African-inspired hairstyle penetrated the Western mass market when the movie actress Bo Derek wore her hair in cornrow braids in the movie 10 (Eubank and Tortora 1998). Decorating cornrow braids with beads is still an important part of West African hair traditions in the early 2000s.

Thread may also be used to wrap hair and is a more recent method of braiding used by men and women in the tropical areas of West Africa. The thread-wrapped hair causes the strands to raise from the head like spikes, creating a decorative hairstyle as well as keeping the head cool (Sagay 1983). The "trees" hairstyle is one style popular in West and Central Africa. The hair is parted into five sections, secured with rubber bands, and braided into cornrows. Each center section is wrapped with thread,

covering three-quarters of the entire hair's length. Different colored threads are sometimes used for an even more decorative effect (Thoman 1973). String has a similar decorative, fastening history. During the Ming Dynasty (approximately 1393 C.E.), Chinese women laced up their hair with gold and silver strings, decorated with emeralds and pearls (Xun and Chunming 1987).

Thread or yarns that are assembled into an open, gauzelike fabric creates a netting. Netting was used during the ancient Roman Empire and again during medieval times in Western Europe as a means to bind hair. In the middle of the nineteenth century, nets called snoods were a fashionable way for women to confine long hair at the base of the neck. They were revived once again during the 1940s. Older Chinese women also used netting during the Song Dynasty (960 C.E.–1279 C.E.) A black hair net covered their buns, and then jade ornaments were pinned in a random arrangement onto the net. It became known as *xiao yao jin* or "random kerchief" (Xun and Chunming 1987, p. 130).

Hair forks, hair spikes, and hair sticks have been used in diverse cultures, from Native Americans to Far Eastern nations such as China and Japan. Long hair was wrapped and knotted around the head, and then held in place by long hair spikes, sticks, or sometimes forks. The Native American hair forks or sticks were made from a variety of materials, but were often elaborately carved or polished (*Antiquity* 1997). Japanese women during the seventeenth century often fastened their buns with *kogai*, a straight bar used to pierce a topknot and hold it in place. During the twentieth century, mostly geisha and courtesans wore hair sticks, as most Japanese women had begun to adopt European costumes, hairstyles, and attitudes (Goodwin 1986).

Additional miscellaneous ornaments have been inserted into the hair over time and in numerous cultures, including (but not limited to): shells, coins, jewels, flowers, feathers, cow horns, bones, and sheepskin. In portions of North and West Africa, women would create intricate hairstyles that took three to four hours to decorate. If the woman's husband was away from home, hair ornaments were omitted as unnecessary. In South and East Africa, cow horns, bones, and sheepskin was used to adorn hair. Many of these totemic ornaments were worn by men rather than women (Sagay 1983).

During Egypt's New Kingdom, women typically plaited their hair rather than wearing wigs. These braids were then intertwined with colorful ribbons and flowers. The lotus flower was used frequently, as it symbolized abundance (Trasko 1994). In China during the Qin (221–207 B.C.E.) and Han (206 B.C.E.–7 C.E.) Dynasties, female dancers and aristocratic women alike adorned their buns with gold, pearls, and emeralds (Xun and Chunming 1987). In Western Europe during the medieval period, hairpieces and accessories were uncommon, due to strong Christian beliefs about covering women's hair for modesty and to indicate one's piety.

Adornments for the hair were discouraged, as they indicated an "unhealthy regard for personal vanity" (Trasko 1994, p. 27). In contrast, the Renaissance period focused on humanism rather than Christianity, prompting a renewed interest in hair ornaments. Women often adorned their hair to indicate their social status or for aesthetic purposes. Some of the more famous examples are the wigs worn by Queen Elizabeth in 1558. In portraits from this period, the queen visually portrays her power by wearing wigs adorned with large emeralds and rubies set in gold, as well as chains of large pearls. Women of lesser economic means wove flowers in their hair as a means of decorative ornamentation.

Perhaps the most fantastical hair arrangements for women in France, England, Spain, and Russia were found in the 1700s. During the rococo period, pink roses were desirable as hair accessories as they exemplified the graceful, feminine curves found in furniture and other decorative arts. Hair was accented with a pompon, or the placement of a few flowers or a feather amidst a hair arrangement (Trasko 1994). In Spain, women "fixed glow worms by threads to their hair, which had a luminous effect" (Trasko 1994, p. 66). These elaborate coiffures were status symbols in courts throughout Europe's fashionable cities, and were meant to be the "talk of the town" (Trasko 1994, p. 64). In the twenty-first century, most flower-adorned hairstyles for Westerners are worn only by brides on their wedding day. Real or artificial flowers may be used.

Native North American Indians often used feathers, as well as other parts of birds. In Mexico, colorfully feathered breasts of small birds were tied to the back of married Lacandon women's heads (Sayer 1985). The Minnesota Chippewa male Indians in the 1830s wore skins of birds as part of their "war bonnets." The bird was associated with spiritual powers during wartime, and the men attached them to the "top of their heads, letting the beak bounce up and down on their foreheads. All kinds of accessories trim it so as to produce a general effect of hideousness likely to terrify the enemy" (Penny 1992, p. 215). In 1868, the Lakota recognized Sitting Bull as "head-chief" by presenting him with an eagle-feathered bonnet. Consisting of a beaded brow band, ermine pendants, and a double tail of black and white eagle tail feathers trailing down the back, each one of the feathers was a reward of valor, representing a brave deed performed by the Northern Teton Sioux warrior who had contributed it (Penny 1992, p. 215).

Lack of hair ornamentation seems to be the overall trend for the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. With the exception of the 1980s when hair accessories had a strong resurgence (Tortora and Eubank 1998), most modern styles seem to rely on haircuts and hair color to make visual statements rather than dressing coiffures with additional accessories. Perhaps this is best exemplified by the famous hairstylist Vidal Sassoon. In 1963, he told fashion press, "I'm going to cut hair like you cut mater-

ial. No fuss. No ornamentation. Just a neat, clean, swinging line" (Trasko 1994, p. 129).

See also Costume Jewelry; Hairstyles; Jewelry.

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Julianne Trautmann

HAIRDRESSERS Hairdressers seem to appear with civilization itself. Comparatively little is known about history's earliest coiffeurs, those who curled the beards of Sumerian princes and built the fabulous headdresses of Egyptian princesses, except that the Egyptian deities included a barber god. The market squares of ancient Greek cities included barbershops, where people could laze and gossip. Roman towns also contained hairdressing salons, visited mostly by the middle classes, while slaves dressed the heads of upper-class women. These practices survived in the Byzantine east, long after they had been destroyed in the Latin half of the empire.

The Viking hordes and Arthurian nobility of the Dark Ages doubtless continued to cut their hair and trim their beards, but hairdressers as such disappeared along with the cities where they had always practiced their trade. They return to recorded history with the revival of urban life and fashion in the Middle Ages. Medieval towns organized guilds of barber-surgeons who, in addition to shaving clients, lanced boils and pulled teeth. The hairdressing profession continued to develop during the Renaissance, particularly as women's headdresses became more popular and elaborate. More often than not, the ladies' hairdresser was principally a wig maker.

The modern era of splendid hairdos and celebrity coiffeurs, like "Champagne," who opened the first beauty salon in Paris, emerged with the development of court society in the seventeenth century. The courts of Charles II and Louis XIV were among the last places where men's coiffures were as important as women's, but as the elaborate headdresses of the era depended on the skills of wig makers—the French court contained more than forty of them in 1656—barbers became superfluous.

The eighteenth century belonged even more decidedly to the wig makers. While men's wigs generally took on more modest proportions, by the middle of the 1700s women's headdresses reached unprecedented dimensions and raised their architects to a new level of prominence. Léonard became the most famous of his peers, under the patronage of Marie-Antoinette. So much confidence did the queen place in her coiffeur that in 1791, as the royal family tried to flee Revolutionary France, she sent him ahead to Brussels with a collection of crown jewels—although she and the king were arrested before they could reach him there. The French Revolution hurt hairdressers by repressing extravagant coiffures and the taste for wigs and by hastening the destruction of the guilds that had protected barbers' monopoly on shaving and bleeding.

The fashions for clean-shaven faces for men and long, natural hair for women, made the century of industrialization and urbanization an unspectacular one for hairdressers. Barbers sunk to being among the poorest and worst paid of tradesmen. The appearance of King Gillette's remarkable safety razor in 1903 threatened them with the loss of much of their remaining business. As for ladies' hairdressers, the mass of working women in cities and on farms had neither need nor money for their services. Society dames might call on a hairdresserartiste for a very special occasion, but most of the daily work of arranging hair fell to their ladies' maids.

It was only near the end of the century, with the appearance of the "marcel" wave, that the hairdressing profession began to take on its contemporary shape. The beautiful, long-lasting waves that Marcel and his imitators created attracted women to beauty salons in unparalleled numbers and gave hairdressers a huge new source of revenue. The success of "marcelling" also reflected important social changes, in particular women's growing independence and the expansion of the market for fashionable things among the popular classes, especially among young women. Ladies' hairdressers became pioneers on the frontier of mass-consumer society.

World War I further revolutionized the hairdressers' trade. First, by adding to women's economic and personal autonomy, it increased the market for hairdressers' services. Second, by pulling men out of the salons, it set in motion a process that feminized what had always been a predominantly male trade. The vogue for women's short hairstyles that swept through Western societies in the 1920s accelerated these developments. The majority

of ladies' hairdressers initially rejected what they considered a threat to their "art," but they soon came to embrace the radical new fashion for the revenue it brought. For short hair was not only cut, it was shampooed, "permed," and often colored, making salons more profitable even as they became more numerous. As the fashion for short hair spread beyond Europe and America, modern hairdressing salons began to open in Shanghai, Tokyo, and other major non-Western cities.

Although most shops remained very small, the number of large, chic salons multiplied. These usually belonged to the profession's luminaries and often were established in the more fashionable department stores. Antoine, the most luminous of all, expanded his operations to the United States through an agreement with Saks Fifth Avenue, which also sold a line of beauty products bearing his name.

In an era when new fashions and products gave ladies' hairdressers fresh business and artistic opportunities, barbers' fortunes continued to decline. Men's conservative haircuts proved barren ground for the sort of value-added services that fueled ladies' hairdressing, while, at least before the 1960s, the ethic of maleness sharply limited the market for cologne and cosmetics.

The consumer revolution that followed World War II carried more women than ever into the hairdressing salons. At the top of the profession, a host of new stars, led by Alexandre, the Duchess of Windsor's protégé, joined Antoine in the hairdressers' pantheon. Yet even as the trade became increasingly feminized, few women rose to the summit. The Carita sisters and Rose Evansky are rare exceptions.

In the 1950s, the modish styles of Vidal Sassoon and the "poodle cut" of the campy Raymond made London the second capital of hairdressing. Beginning with Jacques Dessange in 1976, the best-known coiffeurs began to attach their names not only to products but to salons, as well. In the 1980s and 1990s the practice spread rapidly, and in the early 2000s franchises bearing the names of Jean-Louis David, Jean-Claude Biguine, and others control a large portion of the hairdressing business all over the world.

Other fashion capitals turned out their own prodigies, who performed in international competitions and opened chic salons far from home in what by the end of the millennium had become an international society of hair fashion.

See also Barbers; Hair Accessories; Hairstyles.

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Steve Zdatny

HAIRSTYLES Standards of beauty have varied enormously according to time and place. Yet as long as people have ordered their social relations, hairdressing has had a role in the struggle for status and reproduction. "Humans," writes Robin Bryer, "are unique in two aspects of their behavior: wearing clothes and having their hair cut voluntarily" (p. 9). Hairdressing is part of the human condition.

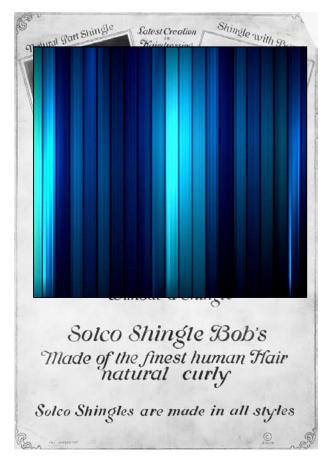
One presumes that the first hairdos were long, scraggly, and filthy. Even given the general squalor atop primitive heads, however, it is likely that some hair was considered more attractive and admirable than others. What is certain is that wherever primitive society congealed into civilization, it produced a culture of hair-dressing.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the early Egyptians wore their natural hair in tight braids. That changed with the discovery of the art of wig making. Hair was then cut short or shaved. Young boys retained their queues, but adults who could afford them wore wigs, especially for special occasions. Specialists made up elaborate head-dresses filled with jewels and expensive accessories and splashed with oils and perfumes. The Mesopotamian civilizations preferred heavy beards and long hair, often frizzed or waved. At Knossos, Cretan women wore elaborate coiffures, with golden hairpins, and lots of makeup. As always, different codes distinguished elites—kings, nobles, priests—from commoners.



In Fashions in Hair: The First Five Thousand Years, the author Richard Corson quotes a seventeenth-century source describing a teenage noblewoman attempting to turn her hair blonde. After exposing it to the hot sun for hours and anointing it with a coloring substance that seemed to produce the effect, she was afflicted with a near-daily nosebleed and

being desirous to stop the Blood by the pressing of her Nostrils, not farr from her right Eye toward her Temple, through a pore, as it were by a hole made with a needles point, the Blood burst out abundantly, and ... shee was diseased by the obstruction of her courses (p. 173).



Advertisement for Solco Human Hair Products, 1924. Since the dawn of civilization, hair styles have reflected every aspect of the human condition and often give important clues about the societies and cultures that spawned them. © CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The ancient Greeks invented the beauty salon, where women had their cheeks blanched with white lead and their naturally blonde hair artistically dressed. Sometimes it was dyed red or blue. Spartan brides cropped their hair; Athenians wore veils over their dressed hair. They cut it as a sign of mourning. Beginning in the fifth century B.C.E., Greek men began to wear their hair short. It was Alexander the Great who insisted that his soldiers shave their beards in order to deprive their foes of a handle during combat.

Typically, the Romans at first copied the Greeks and then developed more elaborate hairstyles to match the imperial ethic. Men often wore their hair short, in what came to be called the "Titus," after the Emperor. Attended to by the barbers who worked at the marketplaces and public baths, or by their slaves (who were shaved bald), both men and women curled their hair and dyed it red. They applied costly oils and pomatums or wore expensive wigs. The most extravagant powdered their hair with gold dust. In the East, Byzantine hairstyles

blended Greco-Roman culture with oriental. Men wore moderately short hair, mustaches, and beards. Feminine coiffures incorporated pearls and precious metals, which were also used for ecclesiastical costumes. Sometimes the fashion was for bare heads, sometimes for ribbons or ornamented turbans. Turbans became standard in Moorish culture—although the Islamic injunction against "graven images," like that of the Jewish religion, means that documentation of Islamic hairstyles remains sparse before the Christian Middle Ages.

The paintings of the Pre-Raphaelites have provided a certain image of Arthurian damsels and knights. A small amount of evidence suggests that the period between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Normans in England favored flowing locks and facial hair for men. But, in fact, very little documentation about hairstyles during the Dark Ages survives.

The revival of European culture in the Middle Ages also brought back something like international fashion, of which coiffures were a part. Hairstyles differed between northern and southern Europe. And if the return of fashion meant anything, it was that coiffures popular at one moment became démodées in the next—although the fashionable "moment" in the Middle Ages could be rather long by later standards. The bobbed styles for men of the twelfth century were still around in the fifteenth, when smart Venetian gentlemen were also sporting yellow silk wigs. Depending on the time and place, women wore long braids or huge, horned headdresses. Or they packed their hair into a variety of bonnets and bags, often adorned with jewels and expensive knickknacks. The expanding middle class ordinarily adopted "quieter" versions of these noble styles. Poorer women wore their hair long and enclosed. Their men folk cut theirs short or shoulder length, while beards and mustaches came and went.

By the Renaissance, whatever the particular arrangement, hairstyles had become one of those idioms of international art that allowed fashion to circulate across the continent. Variety and inventiveness were the rules. Hair was frizzed, or not. Some women plucked or shaved their foreheads—thus becoming "highbrow," in the manner of Elizabeth I, who was also reputed to own a hundred perukes. Blonde was the hair color of choice, and women bleached their hair by sitting in the sun and using saffron or medicated sulphur. Blonde wigs became the vogue in France and Italy, and nobles—Marguerite de Valois, most notably-would engage blonde maids in order to command their hair for wigs. Mary, Queen of Scots possessed many beautiful curled wigs and adorned her head with lace. Other ladies used pads and wire frames to give their coiffures volume.

Contemporary illustrations of the early sixteenth century depict Englishmen with long hair and clean chins. Beards were more popular on the Continent. By the end of the century, English courtiers had cut their hair and adopted stylish beards with precious names such as the "swallowtail" and the "spade."

The portraits of the great Flemish painter Sir Anthony Van Dyke capture the Cavalier style that reached its height in the 1630s and 1640s, with men sporting long hair and neat, pointed beards under wide-brimmed hats. Hair became politicized briefly, during the English Civil War, when the more austere Protestant Roundheads battled the more elegantly coiffed forces of the English king, Charles I. The Pilgrims of the Colony of New Plymouth condemned long hair for men as prideful.

The Puritan position on hair must have softened, for later portraits of Cromwell depict him with longer hair, although not nearly as long as the styles coming out of the French court and brought back to England with the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. This was the great age of periwigs for men. Indeed, the French court imported so much blonde hair that Louis XIV's finance minister Colbert tried to ban wig making in France so as to stem the outflow of French gold.

The most popular women's styles of the period were the "hurluberlu"—unevenly cut and crimped, with two long curls over the shoulders—worn by Louis's favorite, Madame de Maintenon, and the "Fontange"—with its high curls secured by ribbon and bow—invented by the king's new mistress, the Duchess de Fontange. The fashions of Versailles traveled to all the other courts of Europe, and from there to the modish classes of every country.

In the eighteenth century, women's hair became the principal focus of art and conspicuous consumption. The massive headdresses of the middle decades serve as both the symbol of the Old Regime and the classic image of excess in fashion. It was in the 1770s that coiffures reached their most exaggerated form. Wendy Cooper describes "a certain Madame de Lauzun," whose "enormously high headdress," stuffed with the usual assortment of trash, was topped with "modeled ducks swimming in a stormy sea, scenes of hunting and shooting, a mill with a miller's wife flirting with a priest, and a miller leading an ass by its halter" (p. 95). Coiffures grew so immense that doorways had to be enlarged, and in two instances ladies were killed when their headdresses were set on fire by chandeliers. Men of weight and fashion in the Enlightenment wore modest, powdered wigs, although George III made enemies of English wig makers when he took to powdering his own natural hair.

The powdered look disappeared altogether in England when the Younger Pitt imposed a one-guinea tax on hair powder. Events in France had an even more revolutionary effect on hairstyles, as the fall of Louis XVI swept aside the fashion habits of the Old Regime. An era that admired the civic virtues of classical antiquity found men and women wearing their hair à la Titus. Those with a sharper sense of political irony adopted the mode à la victime, with their hair pulled up off the neck in imitation of those about to be guillotined. In the aftermath of the Terror, women wore their hair long and loose over di-



Billie Jones Kana describes her disappointing first trip to a beauty shop to have a "perm" in 1928:

As I recall, I couldn't have cared less about curls, but went along and was tortured beyond my wildest imagination ... first our hair was washed and cut, then we waited and waited. There were women everywhere in different stages of getting beautified. Everyone was waiting. My hair was wound up on spiral rods so tight that I thought I would never blink again [and] after the machine that looked like a milking machine was attached to the rods, I couldn't move. [Then] it began to steam and tears rolled down my cheeks.... Someone got a blower and cooled my head here and there, but my scalp was scalded (Willet, pp. 92–93).

aphanous dresses. No one in Revolutionary France wanted to look like an aristocrat.

In the nineteenth century, men's hairstyles tended to the short and simple. Common in one decade, facial hair vanished in the next, only to return thereafter. In mid-century Naples, the government so objected to mustaches that it instructed police to shave them off offenders. While men's hair became increasingly tame and standardized, women's coiffures retained their complexity, if not their old proportions. The early part of the century saw a vogue for concatenations of natural hair adorned with feathers, rich combs, and other items. Other moments featured puffs of curls or ringlets. Powder reappeared briefly on the hair of fashionable dames under the Second Empire. Chignons vanished in the 1870s; jeweled pins became popular in the 1880s. In general, the pace of fashion quickened, and intricate coiffures made ladies more dependent than ever on their hairdressers, even though the daily work of brushing and arranging a lady's hair fell to her lady's maid.

Wigs no longer played the dominant role in coiffure, as they had in the past. Still, the century admired long, luxurious hair, and since most women did not possess hair of sufficient quality or quantity, they made generous use of false hair. In fact, the taste for *postiches* (bits of false hair) drove the international market in hair to new heights. By the turn of the twentieth century, the United States was importing more than half a million tons of hair per year—a \$3 million business. Most of this stuff came from European peasant women in the poorer rural areas, who used their long tresses as a sort of cash crop.

The wheel of hair fashion took its next dramatic turn in the mid-1880s, when Marcel Grateau, a hitherto unknown hairdresser in Paris, perfected a technique for giving hair soft, beautiful, durable waves and thereby

launched the modern era of hairdressing. Replacing the nests of postiches and fancy bijoux, the "marcel" wave radically simplified ladies' hairstyles. Many of the most celebrated coiffeurs hated the "marcel" for precisely this reason, but women loved it. An insatiable popular demand soon forced its opponents to capitulate, and the "marcel" wave became the basis of a fashionable coiffure for the next twenty-five years—although, to be sure, enterprising hairdressers found ways to dress "marceled" hair with the traditional assortment of feathers, flowers, and pricey doodads. The "négligé" styles of the Belle Epoque, often colored with henna or dusted with white or gray powder, featured ribbons, enameled combs, and big chignons.

When the dean of French coiffeurs, Emile Long, complained about the cheap waves he saw on the *midinettes* (working girls) on the streets of Paris, he was pointing to the fact that the stunning success of "marceling" depended on a fundamental change in the social contours of fashion. It coincided with the early stages of a big expansion in the market for fashionable things in Western society.

In effect, three developments combined to create the modern beauty salon and the culture associated with it. First, rising wages gave women more disposable income, while greater autonomy freed them to spend it as they pleased. Second, a loosening of social constraints made it more acceptable for women to move in public spaces, that is, to take their toilettes out of the boudoir and into the hairdressing salon. Third, a critical series of technological developments expanded the services available in the salon.

New sensibilities about hygiene, combined with water heaters and hair dryers, encouraged women to have their hair shampooed. Non-toxic dyes helped dissolve old taboos about hair coloring. Most critically, the invention of the permanent-wave machine enabled women to alter their hair dramatically, while it brought hairdressers a huge new source of revenue. For a few hours hooked up to this contraption, a woman would pay anywhere from ten to fifty times the cost of an ordinary haircut. These new consumer habits were nourished by the growing number of magazines aimed at middle- and working-class women, and especially by the movie stars who were coming to dominate popular ideas of beauty and fashion.

All of this paved the way for the "bob," which proved to be a seminal moment both for coiffure and for Western society more generally. From the lacquered "garçonne" of Josephine Baker to the more fluid "Eton crop," the bob had many incarnations. Some of them had appeared on some stylish young heads before World War I, especially in the United States. But the vogue took off only in the 1920s, when it became part of the aesthetic turnabout associated with "flappers." As the "androgynous" clothes of Coco Chanel surpassed the curvaceous styles of the great Edwardian couturiers, so the bob became the badge of the so-called Modern Woman.

No other hairstyle in history provoked so much comment and controversy. Cultural conservatives hated it for its challenge to inherited gender verities. Stories abound of outraged men locking up, even murdering, their newly shorn wives and daughters. On the other side, women endorsed it by the millions. Observers generally saw the short hairstyles and women's spontaneous taste for them as evidence of a significant "emancipation" of women. It is true that the bob provided some relief from the arduous regimes of Edwardian coiffures. At the same time—permed, dyed, in need of frequent retouching, and often requiring a postiche for evening wear—it was hardly carefree or cheap.

At the end of the day, however, the bob was more fashion than political statement, and by the close of the Roaring Twenties, women had begun to tire of it. The hairstyles of the 1930s, created by such international stars as Antoine and Guillaume, were longer and more "feminine," although there was no return to the massive, superfluous hairdos of the pre-bob era. The Platinum Blonde, curvy and sexy, defined the new "New Woman" of the depression decade. Men in the period between the wars continued to favor short, neat haircuts, accompanied sometimes by a thin moustache (never by a beard) in the manner of Rudolph Valentino or Clark Gable.

The war years, rich in misery, were poor in new hair fashions. *Haute coiffure* survived mostly in Hollywood, where, for example, Veronica Lake became famous for the silky blonde hair that fell across half her face in the "badgirl" style that alarmed some moralists. More commonly, millions of women involved in the war effort tucked their short, simple hairdos under military caps or hard hats. If the war brought the world one distinctive hairstyle, however, it would have to be the shaved heads belonging to camp survivors and "horizontal" collaborators.

The consumer revolution, born out of the ashes of war, once again transformed hairdressing. Stylistically, the postwar years promoted the so-called petite tête, the compact hairdos that fit so well with Christian Dior's fashion revolution, the New Look. Long styles made a partial comeback in the 1950s, led by the "artichoke" cut that Jacques Dessange created for the nubile Brigitte Bardot. The clear trend, however, was toward more compact coiffures. In the United States, ponytails became the classic expression of 1950s adolescence.

In the end, the 1950s may be less important for stylistic innovation than for the changes in the structures of consumption that occurred. While disposable incomes rose steadily, a growing mass media of movies, television, women's magazines, and broadcast images of beauty and stimulated the demand for fashionable commodities. More and more women indulged themselves in a weekly visit to the beauty parlor. In the United States, this became one of the defining rituals of middle-class femininity and an important communal event. At the same time, new hair care products—"cold" perms, do-it-yourself hair

coloring, and setting—allowed women to exercise much of their expanding beauty regimen at home.

Men continued to provide a much poorer field for art and profit. Their haircuts became, if anything, plainer in the 1950s. Yet change was in the air. Rebellious teenagers began to turn away from crew cuts and flattops by wearing the "duck ass" cut associated with the likes of James Dean, Elvis Presley, and Johnny Halliday. In France, George Hardy achieved a small breakthrough in 1956 when he introduced the razor cut. Beards and mustaches turned up on the chins and lips of "beatniks" and other nonconformist types.

"Anti-fashion" hair spread over the next few decades, following the prominence of rock stars and hippies. Blacks in America and Europe put aside the hair-relaxing agents they associated with self-loathing and began to sport voluminous Afros. In the 1970s, "Mohicans," dreadlocks, and the sinister skinhead became the protest hair-styles of choice. Throughout, sales of personal grooming products for men increased, and the men who visited the new "unisex" hair salons paid more than the proverbial "two bits." But hairdressing remained an overwhelmingly female preoccupation.

The "beehive," made possible by the invention of lacquered hairspray and the copious use of false hair, carried the 1950s ideal of femininity into the sixties. However, that raucous decade really belonged to the geometrical cuts that Vidal Sassoon created to fit the latest styles of Mary Quant, creator of the miniskirt. *Haute coiffure* survived, as the profession's contemporary stars coiffed movie stars, society dames, and runway models. But the rule for the last quarter of the twentieth century was variety and innovation. Hairstyles were long or short, flowing or spiked, natural or tinted, straight or permed.

The diversity of coiffures also reflected a critical change in the trajectory of fashion. In the days of Marie Antoinette or Marcel, a small, privileged elite made the laws that ruled taste. In the twentieth century, the masses gained a larger and larger say in the success of this vogue or that. By the end, masses of women were not merely endorsing (or not) the choices made by a select group of the fashionable. "The street" produced its own styles, which then permeated the formal structures of fashion.

The ceaseless evolution of hairstyles has produced a lot of speculation, both casual and academic, on their etiology and meaning. Numerous speculations have linked coiffures, not coincidentally but organically, to their historical moment. The many observers who attributed the popularity of the bob to women's emancipation provide the most pointed example of this. Others have gone further and tried to find the deeper meaning of forms. The French critic Roland Barthes offered an entire science, semiotics, dedicated to deconstructing those forms.

Hairstyles can unquestionably supply important clues about the societies that produce them. Once again, the bob is the perfect illustration. Permed, tinted, created in commercial establishments with electricity and hot running water, and consumed by millions of women spending considerable sums of money, it has a lot to say about Western civilization in the 1920s. Sometimes the meaning of coiffures is not hidden at all, but openly proclaimed, as it might be in a punk band, a neo-Nazi rally, a hippies' commune, or a lesbian rights parade.

Yet, in many ways, those who assert the free-flowing nature of fashionable "signifiers" have the stronger argument. After all, "liberated" women of the 1960s often sported long, straight hair, while the sainted defender of a medieval French king, Joan of Arc, wore a bob. It seems fair to say that in a historical world where Charles II and Cher look alike from behind, the forms of fashion obey an elusive logic of their own.

See also Afro Hairstyle; Barbers; Hair Accessories; Hairdressers.

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Steve Zdatny

HALLOWEEN COSTUME The wearing of Halloween costumes in America reaches back into the country's cultural history. This shared American folk ritual is a window on the diverse ethnic and religious heritage of the people who settled the United States.



Children trick-or-treat on Halloween. The concept of the Halloween costume traces its roots back to the ancient Celtic festival of Samhain, during which revelers wore disguises to foil restless spirits. © ARIEL SKELLEY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Halloween itself has deep folk roots. It originates with the Celtic Day of the Dead autumn festival of Samhain, celebrated by Celts throughout Europe in ancient times and celebrated still in northern France, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and other regions where the Celtic heritage is preserved. The Celts used a lunar calendar and divided the year into two seasons. Winter, the season of the dying, began on Samhain (which roughly translates as "summer's end"), which fell on the full moon closest to 1 November after the harvest was complete.

Samhain was the first day of the Celtic New Year, and it was believed that the souls of those who had died were extremely restless this night, which marked the porous border between the living and the dead, the old and new year, and summer and winter. At Samhain, people disguised themselves in feathers and furs so as not to be recognized by the spirits wandering the earth that night. When the Celts converted to Christianity, Samhain was amalgamated with All Hallows' Eve, the evening before All Saints' Day, the night that is now

called Halloween. (All Saints' Day is followed by All Souls' Day, 2 November.)

Originally a feast marking the departure of souls from the material world to the spiritual world of the dead, All Hallows' Eve was widely celebrated throughout the European world, and particularly in countries with a Catholic tradition. In America, the seeds of the distinctively American festival of Halloween date back to the 1840s. The arrival in the country of large numbers of Irish immigrants, following the disastrous potato famine in Ireland, helped establish the feast in America. Their celebrations of All Saints' and All Souls' Days still preserved many of the ancient rites of Samhain. For example, the carving of pumpkins comes from the Irish legend of Jack, a man so evil that when he died he was rejected by both heaven and hell and was condemned to roam the countryside with nothing but a glowing turnip for a head.

Halloween in America became a folk holiday sanctioned neither by the church nor the state. Ancient roots in European culture, the arrival of many different groups

of immigrants, and the constantly evolving nature of U.S. culture have continued to shape this distinctly American celebration. Contemporary celebrations of Halloween reflect many different cultural traditions, such as England's Guy Fawkes Day and Mexico's *El dío de los muertes*. During colonial times Americans gathered for harvest festivals that (like the Celtic Samhain) acknowledged the end of the bountiful summer; these festivals also gave rise to the distinctive American festival and rituals of Thanksgiving. At these harvest festivals, ghost stories were often told, a reminder of the bridge between the living and the dead. Divination games, often with unremembered but very ancient roots, were played; for example young women bobbed for apples to determine whom they would marry.

During Victorian times, Halloween began to become a quaint holiday with rituals that emphasized children's participation; the festival's folk and religious roots were downplayed. By the early twentieth century, Halloween had become a celebration for children. Community organizations arranged parades and haunted houses. During the 1940s trick or treat was added to the traditions; this custom of begging in costume had very old roots in European culture, and was explicitly transgressive, forgiving behavior that would otherwise be frowned upon. Children would sing or perform mimes in exchange for a treat; they also implicitly threatened to play tricks on householders if a treat was not forthcoming. Homemade masquerade costumes appeared as early as the nineteenth century. Women's magazines printed instructions for making costumes at home. Later these homemade costumes increasingly gave way to commercially produced costumes, a trend that began at the time of the industrial revolution. During the second half of the nineteenth century, advances in technology made commercially produced costumes cheaper, better made, and more varied. The earliest costume themes, all of which continue to the early 2000s, were ghosts, skeletons, devils, and witches. Otherworldly creatures such as Frankenstein, the Mummy, and Dracula are drawn from popular culture.

The Dennison Manufacturing Company in Massachusetts began making paper costumes in 1910. Collegeville, located in Pennsylvania, began as a company that produced flags and later used the scraps to create costumes around 1910 and continued to make early clown and jester costumes. Its namesake founded the Ben Cooper Company in 1927. Based in Brooklyn, New York, Cooper created theatrical sets and costumes for the Cotton Club and the Ziegfeld Follies, and expanded into Halloween costumes in 1937. The company later joined with A. S. Fisbach, a New York City-based costume company that held the license to Disney characters, such as Donald Duck, Mickey and Minnie Mouse, and the Big Bad Wolf, and packaged them under the name Spotlight. Cooper sold his company in the 1980s to Rubies, also in New York, which has become one of the largest producers of Halloween and Purim costumes in the United States.

Many of the masks for the early costumes were produced by U.S. Mask Company in Woodhaven, New York. Their earliest gauze masks, made of buckram, were sprayed with starch and steamed over a mold. Themes included witches, clowns, and animals. In the 1950s vacuum-formed latex masks appeared. Figures from popular culture, such as the Beatles and John and Jacqueline Kennedy, joined TV and film personalities such as Laurel and Hardy, and dolls and action figures such as Barbie and G.I. Joe, in being molded in latex. Other major costume companies in America included Halco, in Pennsylvania; Bland Charnas Company on Long Island, New York; and E. Simons and Sons, in New Orleans, Louisiana.

The costumes produced in America are testaments to the creative powers of ordinary people. The makers demonstrate a technical and aesthetic skill that reflects the handmade techniques used in home production and in factories before mass-machine production took over. These costumes express the personal, social, and cultural identity of the people, and transcend the barriers of class and ethnicity. Halloween has become a uniquely American ritual, not only for children but for adults as well, and it grows in popularity from year to year. (Halloween has also become an important holiday for the gay community, with large, elaborate costume parades in San Francisco, New York's Greenwich Village, and other gay centers.) Halloween allows individuals to experience and explore the shared ethnic, cultural, and folk celebrations that have engaged diverse peoples since ancient times.

The Jewish festival of Purim, which commemorates the Biblical story of Esther, is celebrated on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the twelfth month of the Jewish calendar, usually in March. In America, Purim celebrations have taken on many of the trappings of Halloween, with costumed children wielding noisemakers and giving gifts of food or donating to charity.

See also Occult Dress.

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Phyllis Galembo

HALSTON The designer Roy Halston Frowick (1932–1990) was born in Des Moines, Iowa, and began his career as a milliner. He subsequently rose to become one of the most important American designers of the 1970s, whose influence was still being felt into the twenty-first century.



HALSTON'S CLIENTELE

Halston's most famous saying was "You're only as good as the people you dress." If that is true, he was better than good. He was good enough, in fact, to win five coveted Coty Fashion Critics Awards, the Oscars of the fashion industry. Halston's clientele list reads like a who's who of celebrities and socialites: Lauren Bacall, Marisa Berenson, Candice Bergen, Princess Grace of Monaco, Katherine Graham, Margaux Hemingway, Bianca Jagger, Liza Minnelli, Jackie Kennedy Onassis, Elsa Peretti, Barbara Cushing "Babe" Paley, Lee Radziwill, Elizabeth Taylor, and Barbara Walters.

Biography

While studying fashion illustration at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1952, Halston began designing hats in his spare time. Eventually, he started to sell his designs at André Basil's hair salon at the Ambassador Hotel. Halston moved to New York City in 1958 to design hats for the legendary milliner Lilly Daché and then began working in the custom millinery salon of the prestigious retailer Bergdorf Goodman in 1959. While there, he designed the famous pillbox hat worn by the First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy for the 1961 presidential inauguration of her husband, John F. Kennedy.

Moving beyond hats, Halston went on to design his first clothing collection for Bergdorf Goodman in June 1966. Two years later he left the retailer to form his own company, Halston Ltd. In December of 1968 Halston showed his first namesake collection in his new Angelo Donghia–designed showroom at 33 East Sixty-Eighth Street in New York City. As his business grew, Halston took over the entire building, creating a retail boutique in 1972 that took up three floors of the building, with each floor selling a different collection (and at a different price point). Later that year a ready-to-wear company, Halston Originals, was formed with two partners and headquartered on New York's Seventh Avenue.

In a first-of-its-kind deal for a fashion designer, Halston and his partners sold both the Halston businesses and the Halston trademark to Norton Simon Industries (NSI), a large multibrand corporation, in 1973. Halston's success soared during the mid-1970s, and so did his fame. An article in *Esquire* magazine asked the question: "Will Halston take over the world?" (p. 69).

As the success continued, NSI started signing a multitude of licensees—thirty existed at one point. In 1978 the company moved its design studio to a spacious venue on the twenty-first floor of the Olympic Tower at Fifty-

first Street and Fifth Avenue. With the bigger space once again came an increased workload. Eventually, Halston was designing four ready-to-wear, four sportswear, and two made-to-order collections per year. All this was in addition to furs, shoes, swimwear, robes, intimate apparel, men's wear, luggage, and uniforms for both Avis Rent A Car System and Braniff Airline employees. Halston also continued to design costumes for his celebrity friends, including the performer Liza Minnelli, and for Martha Graham's dance company.

By the early 1980s, however, Halston's influence was waning, and his social life began to garner more attention than his fashions. The beginning of the end, according to many, came when, in 1982, Halston signed a multimillion dollar deal with the J. C. Penney discount chain to create products under the Halston label. Many prestigious retailers voiced concern about the deal, and Bergdorf Goodman dropped the designer's ready-to-wear line from their store.

Before signing the deal with Penney's, things had started to unravel for the designer. Many cite the pressure of his workload and his inability to delegate responsibility as major faults. Others noted that as he spent more time socializing, allegedly using drugs, and as his increasingly difficult temperament became apparent, his business started to fail. In 1984, with tension mounting between the designer and NSI, Halston took a two-week vacation and never returned to Halston Enterprises. Until 1988 he kept trying to buy back a part of the company that bore his name from the various owners of the trademark, but he was unsuccessful. While negotiating one such buyback with Revlon, the owners of the trademark, in 1988, Halston tested positive for HIV. He died of complications from AIDS on 26 March 1990.

Mr. Clean

Halston was known for his minimalistic approach to fashion, and his signature looks were spare, fluid, and often deceptively simple. He married the ease and comfort of sportswear with ready-to-wear and then raised the bar with luxurious fabrics and his distinct eye for cut and proportion. Halston has been credited with creating a unique new look, an original American way of dressing. His clothes were a representation of his own pared-down lifestyle. Many say that his life and his work were one and the same. In simplifying fashion for modern lifestyles without sacrificing glamour and luxury, he influenced many other designers. "Halston was one of the most influential designers of our time," said Donna Karan, quoted in Gross and Rottman (p. 225). "I say that on a personal level, because when I was young, he was the designer I aspired to be like. He understood luxury, glamour, simplicity, fit and the importance of uniform. To me, he represented all that was modern and pure. What more could a designer hope to be?" Narciso Rodriguez, also a fan, said, "Halston changed the face of fashion and the way women dressed with a clean and pure look. Within its purity there was extreme femininity and sexiness. His slink dress as well as his doublefaced coats both maintained his clean, sensual line with brevity of construction. He is one of my heroes!" (Gross and Rottman, p. 225.)

In her book *The Fashion Makers*, Bernadine Morris wrote, "A nod from Halston and a fashion is flashed around the world" (p. 90). After Halston fell in love with Ultrasuede in 1971, he went on to use the fabric in everything from suits and coats to his famous shirtdress. As a result, Ultrasuede became as famous as Halston himself.

When he tied a sweater around his models' shoulders, the look was adopted by fashionable women everywhere. Other designs also became Halston trademarks: the strapless dress, dresses made of draped rayon matte jersey, cashmere knits, caftans, one-shoulder and halter dresses, and asymmetrical necklines. He was well known for his love of the bias cut and his single-seamed spiral and wrapped dresses. In 1976 the designer created his first perfume, the enormously successful Halston. The Elsa Peretti–designed tear-shaped bottle was so recognizable that Halston insisted that it not be stamped with his name. The only branding was a small paper band with the name "Halston" that was wrapped around the neck. It broke off when the bottle was opened.

See also Dance and Fashion; Flocking; Hats, Women's; Ready-to-Wear; Retailing; Sportswear.

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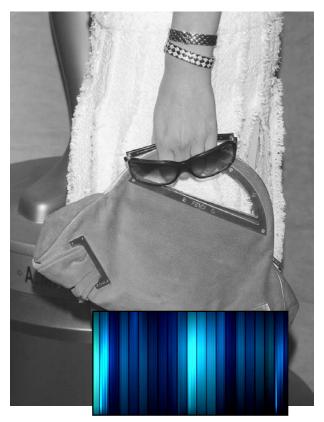
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Fred Rottman

HANDBAGS AND PURSES The handbag is much more than a functional alternative to the pocket. In the course of time it has become a design object in its own right, a signature mascot for the major French couture houses (surpassing the role of perfume as a brand identity) and a powerful symbol of growing female independence. Until the late 1700s, both men and women carried bags. When the directoire fashions of 1800 streamlined the female silhouette, the need for an exterior pocket created a permanent role for the woman's handbag.

In antiquity, bags were used to carry weapons, flint, tools, food, and eventually money. Egyptian burial chambers of the Old Kingdom (2686–2160 B.C.E.) contain



Actress Charlize Theron holds a Fendi handbag, February 9, 2004. Major fashion accessories in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, handbags were originally conceived for very practical concerns, such as storing flint and money. © Frank Trapper/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

double-handled leather bags designed to be suspended from sticks, as well as bags made from linen and papyrus. The ancient Greeks used leather bags called byrsa as coin pouches; this is the source of the English word "purse." The rise of coin currency gave birth to the drawstring purse, an item always worn close to the body and most often suspended from a belt or secreted within folds of clothing. Judas sealed the fate of Jesus with a purse full of silver coins. Roman women used net purses; the Latin term reticulum (meaning net) was revived in the 1790s. One of the earliest ornamented leather purses to be recovered from Anglo-Saxon Britain came from the burial mounds of Sutton Hoo in Suffolk, assumed to be the burial site of King Roewald, who died in 625 C.E. The leather body of the bag had deteriorated but its gilt ornaments remained intact. The purse had a lavish lid decorated with gold, silver, garnets, and millefiore glass. Containing forty gold coins and hung from hinged straps on a waist belt fastened by a large gold buckle, the purse was part of a suite of regal accoutrements.

The heraldic symbol for Saint Matthew, the taxgatherer, was a ruched moneybag and this symbol was emblazoned upon the crests of treasurers and titled families with large landholdings. Ritual contents also made bags precious and many trends for the ornamentation of secular fashion began with bags made for the church. A Byzantine relic pouch of the ninth century stored at St. Michaels in Beromunster, Switzerland, was lined in red silk and worked with intricately embroidered lions on a blue silk ground. By the thirteenth century, the popular term for a bag in Western Europe was an almoner. This term referred to an alms bag, that is, a purse to hold coins to be given as charity. Almoners lent a rather showy side to Christian charity; the richer the purse the more generous the social image of the Lady who carried it. Such pomp gave rise to thievery, the term "cut-purse" came into use in 1362.

The purse was also an important offering in the ritual of courtly love. The most amusing and sophisticated bags of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were made as gifts to lovers, decorated with allegorical scenes and mottoes alluding to the trials of romance. One bag dating from the mid-fourteenth century (housed in the Musée Historique des Tissues, Lyon) depicts a lady posing as a falconer and her lover as the falcon, a witty reversal of the roles of hunter and prey. On another fourteenth-century French bag (from the Troyes Cathedral Treasury) two female rivals are depicted sawing a human heart in half. The tradition of the wedding or betrothal bag originated in the medieval custom of a groom presenting his bride with a sack of coins. In art, the drawstring purse came to connote female sexuality. Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach, and others depicted many a lascivious older man reaching for the drawstring pouch of a younger woman. Female genitalia were referred to in Shakespearean slang as a purse. The eroticism of the bag was heightened by the way almoners, purses, and "harmondeys" were worn, suspended from a girdle that tightly straddled the belly or swayed suggestively about the hips.

In the fifteenth century, large and elaborate bags with cast-metal frames became more common and were carried by men of the ruling class. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the size and shape of bags diversified, and the tiniest bags denoted the greatest status. Small, square embroidered "swete" bags containing perfumed pomanders, rose petals, rare spices, and oils were worn to scent skirts and cuffs and used as containers for personal gifts. Over time, swete bags and coin purses assumed increasingly ornamental shapes. One small purse from the Museum of London is a life-sized crocheted frog that fits snugly into the palm of the hand. Made of cream silk with silver mesh, the mouth of the frog forms the opening of the bag just large enough for a tiny coin. The Elizabethans had a taste for visual conceits and allegory. A bag in the shape of an acorn symbolized thrift, but was likely to be worn in the manner of a precious jewel, wound about the wrist or bouncing against full skirts. Satchels and sacks worn across the body were for peasants and pilgrims; often made from recycled socks or scraps of cloth; these bags are now known mainly from paintings and etchings as few actual examples survived their heavy daily use.

The rise of the evening bag can be dated from the seventeenth century, when men and women used gaming bags to carry their chips and coins. Designed to sit flat upon a table, these bags reflected a new sophistication in form. With a shallow tightly ruched drawstring body attached to a circular base stiffened with cord or leather, the bases of these bags were often decorated with the initials or coat of arms of their owner to avoid any confusion over the night's winnings. The square shape that had dominated bag design for two centuries or more was now sprouting into three dimensions. Bags were made of interlocking panels in the shape of crescents, shields, and pentagons and told little stories (of heroic colonial enterprise or secret love) on each individually embroidered panel. The idea of the bag as a narrative in itself or a formal social badge for its owner expanded in the eighteenth century when leather folding wallets featured one's name and title boldly embossed on the front, usually in gold letters. By the middle of the seventeenth century, bags and purses for women became smaller and tended to be obscured within the folds of large skirts made even more voluminous by hoops and farthingales. Increasingly, the bag had to compete with its much more practical rival: the pocket.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the role of the bag for men and women began to divide. Men might resort to slipping a small, netted purse into their sleeve or slung over the belt buckle, but they no longer dangled leather or cloth bags from a long drawstring at the waist. The notion of an elaborate bag with a drawstring or handle became more and more feminized as the century progressed. As masculine fashion became even more streamlined with tight breeches and cutaway coats, men were forced to compress their needs into custommade wallets that contained everything from a compass to nail scissors and a snuff bottle. Eighteenth-century women carried small purses on the wrist, toted large silk and cotton workbags for knotting and personal effects on the arm and had the additional storage space of large pear-shaped pockets worn laced around the hips beneath their petticoats.

All of this extra room gave birth to a culture of the handbag long before the handbag proper came into existence. Women grew accustomed to carrying their workbags about socially, slipping extra items in for evening such as fans, smelling salts, cosmetics, and opera glasses. In their dimity pockets they carried small leather-bound pocketbooks whose printed pages included calendars, recipes, songs, and Saint days as well as engravings of the latest dress and hat models. A precursor to the modern fashion magazine, the pocketbook added depth to the idea that a woman carried the world in her pocket.

Despite the capacious generosity of pockets and knotting bags, small purses for women remained popu-

lar, and their decorations reached a peak of worldly topicality. A woman could advertise her love of science or a political allegiance with the elegant flick of a wrist. The fine sable beaded bags produced in Paris from the 1770s on, wove up to 1,000 tiny glass beads onto each square inch of the bag's surface, lending a remarkable clarity to color, lettering, figures, and detail. One such beaded bag from 1784 was decorated with hot-air balloons and the face of Jean-Francois Pilâtre de Rozier, the French balloonist who made his maiden voyage the year before. Printed images on silk also offered swift production of commemorative and novelty bags.

By 1799, hand-netted bags were referred to in England as "indispensables" and in France as reticules, after the netted bag (reticulum) carried by Roman ladies. Handbags were in existence even before chemise-style dresses became fashionable, but bags became permanently established as a feminine accessory once the long, sheer and close-fitting dresses of the directoire eliminated the space for pockets altogether. As with all new fashions there was a period of adjustment, and fashionable women of Paris and London were reported to be secreting small coin purses into their décolletage or slipping important letters into the leaves of their fans. The need for an alternative to the pocket gave birth to early bags that looked very similar to the pear-shaped pockets of the late 1700s, simply grafted onto a silken drawstring. There was some social outcry at the notion of wearing such an intimate article in public but demand soon replaced dissent. The Parisian Journal des modes quipped, "One may leave one's husband but never one's bag."

The prevailing shape of the first decade of the nineteenth century was the drawstring reticule but frame bags began to come into use. Bag size is always contingent on the shape, cut, and proportion of clothes; as skirts grow larger bags tend to shrink. In the mid-nineteenth century, alternative containers such as muffs, link metal chain purses, knitted miser bags, and chatelaines (a range of miniature domestic trinkets worn hung from a belt) competed with the hand-held bag for carrying coins and small personal articles. Unlike the deliciously worldly style of the eighteenth century, the Victorian era idealized domesticity and sentimentality. Bags reflected these themes with hand-beaded patterns of home and hearth (bought commercially or made at home), hand-painted scenes of mourning on black satin, and arrangements of flowers encoded with private messages for loved ones. Bags made at home advertised the skill of their maker and were given to eccentric almost esoteric detail, commercially made leather frame bags for shopping and train travel were far plainer, designed for security, respectability, and privacy. These two trends were to echo the split identity in handbags into the next century and beyond. The idea became established that a woman could own several very different bags for different occasions and different personae.

By the 1880s the handbag had become a fashion fixture. Based on the design of much larger luggage and the

traveling carpetbag (first executed in tapestry fabric by Pierre Godillot in France in 1826), necessity had bred a very plain, useful bag that became the blueprint for all to come. Most of the classic bags known today were invented and developed by the great luggage and saddlery houses of Paris in the late nineteenth century. Louis Vuitton made traveling trunks for Napoleon III. In 1896 he had logos based on his initials hand-painted onto his trunks and hand luggage to defy counterfeiters. His steamer trunk of 1901, designed to hang on the back of a cabin door with a long canvas body and short, strong leather straps, is the precursor to the tote bag. Emile Maurice Hermès had the vision to transform feed and saddle bags into elegant travel accessories. The genesis of the Kelly and later the Birkin bags were in tall leather satchels designed to hold saddles: the Haut a Courroies. Hermès was also the first to apply the Canadian army cargo zipper as a modern fastening, bringing it back to Paris in 1923 to create the Bolide, a driving bag for his wife. Travel in the early years of the century was not about expedience but studied luxury, and the grand French houses created classics out of an ingenuity for stylish living. The Noe bag was designed by Vuitton in 1932 as a satchel to carry exactly five bottles of champagne. This design formed the basis of all shoulder strap bucket bags to follow. The Plume bag designed by Hermès in 1933 was based on a square horse blanket bag and updated with thin central straps and a zip that encircled the body of the bag. An heir to the Hermès Bolide of 1923, this simple square bag was the model for the gym bag including the Adidas tennis bag of the 1980s and the Prada bowling bag of the 1990s. The tote, the bucket, and the box are the geometrical foundations of twentieth-century design. Bags have gone to every extreme since but their origins always return to these three templates.

From 1900 to 1914 handbags swung like a pendulum between exotic fantasy and pragmatic reality. In one last nostalgic bid against the fully mechanized age, there was a brief vogue for tiny silver mesh bags, large velvet chatelaine bags with hand-carved silver frames, and elaborately beaded German and Italian bags depicting fairy-tale castles, Renaissance landscapes, and rococo ladies in hoop skirts. The influences of orientalism and art nouveau spread the desire for bags cut from antique textiles, ecclesiastic velvets, tapestry, and handmade lace. Leather shoulder bags were pioneered by the suffragette movement, and when war came in 1914 this style gained serious ground. During the 1920s there was a trend for bags that were androgynous, sleek, and held close to the body. The Exposition of Decorative Arts held in Paris in 1925 influenced every aspect of handbag design from the geometric abstraction of their hardware and decoration to the streamlining of their form and function. Lancel, the French luxury leather goods firm, presented a sleek purse in 1928 that included a mirror, makeup case, and minuscule umbrella. The mesh bags of the 1920s echoed perfectly the sinuous lines of the chiffon and net dresses worn



HOW THE KELLY BAG GOT ITS NAME

A Hermès Kelly bag takes over eighteen hours to create and is hand-stitched by a single craftsman. Based on a bag originally designed to carry a saddle, the original name for the Kelly was the Haut a Courroies (meaning literally "bag with tall handles"), and the first model was refined for use in car and air travel in the early 1930s. Famous women who have carried the bag include Marlene Dietrich and Ingrid Bergman, but these are not the women who made it a household name. In 1956 Grace Kelly was photographed getting out of a limousine holding her Hermès bag in a whitegloved hand. In fact, she was using the bag to shield her pregnant belly from prying photographers. The image ran on the cover of Life magazine in 1956 making the Kelly the most famous bag in the world. Luxury accessories were slower to catch the public's imagination in midcentury America than in Europe, where an expensive handbag was expected to last a lifetime. In France it has long been a bourgeois ritual to present a Kelly bag on a young woman's twenty-first birthday. In America, the Kelly has also come to represent a treasured prize for a rite of passage and has remained the last word in conservative chic for almost half a century.

by the flappers, and were just large enough to contain a pack of cigarettes, a lipstick, and some coins. While the average office girl of 1930 was content with her enameled Whiting and Davis mesh bag decorated with a deco flower for \$2.94, socialites carried bags studded with pavé diamonds, jade, and emeralds by Cartier, or Van Cleef and Arpels minaudières, evening box bags made of solid gold.

By the late 1930s the spirit of surrealism and Hollywood screwball comedies infused handbag design with a last blast of witty sophistication before the war. Suddenly a bag could be shaped like a Daimler automobile, a Scotty dog, or a model of the SS Normandie, complete with miniature metal steam vents (this bag was sold as a souvenir aboard the ship in 1935). The designer who embodied this irreverent spirit best was Elsa Schiaparelli. She was the first designer to link the handbag to the concept of celebrity: She decorated a pochette in 1934 with a print of newspaper clippings about herself! Subsequent bags were shaped like bouquets and inverted balloons. During World War II, handbag design took a sober turn, with practical styles prevailing; the return of frankly masculine shoulder bags dominated the decade. Ingenuity and improvisation dominated this decade. Rationing saw women recycling nineteenth century bags for evening

and using everything from men's suiting to crocheted wool and upholstery cord to craft their own handbags at home. Stealth influenced style and bags were designed with secret pockets, stacked compartments, sliding metal panels and riveted mesh clasps.

As if in reaction to the solidity of 1940s bags, 1950s bags were small, saucy, and (due to the development of plastic technology) quite often completely see-through. Transparent bags were made possible by a new form of hard plastic Perspex known as Lucite. But the lifespan of Lucite as a luxury item was cut short by the invention of injection molding, a process that could make hard plastic bags quickly and cheaply. By 1958 the Lucite bag was available at chain stores and no longer a coveted status symbol. Wealthy ladies had moved on to luxury bags made of crocodile and alligator. The next generation would care for neither.

The handbag in the 1960s seemed eager to shrug off the hang-up of structure and tradition. Bags were made in simple shapes and elaborate inexpensive materials such as wood, straw, cotton, and PVC. Bags could be whimsical, like Enid Collins' sequined baskets, or psychedelic as in the case of Emilio Pucci's patterned handbags, but they were rarely staid. Bonnie Cashin's design mantra "make things as lightweight as possible—as simple as possible as punchy as possible—as inexpensive as possible" summed up the spirit of the era. The American sportswear designer spearheaded a return to soft, unstructured bags. She coined the term "Cashin Carry" for her 1967 shopper with a coin purse self attached; she made a lunchbox shaped bag with pockets that flipped open on either end, and a hobo bag that included an extra pouch—just in case. She took the everyday tote and dolled it up in acid-bright leather piping and Harris tweed. Designing for Coach from 1962 to 1972, her ideas spawned the slouchy egalitarian style of the 1970s and continue to speak to the preppy elegance of contemporary sports bags. The handbag in the seventies was influenced by the divergent forces of feminism, global travel, status fashion and sport. Unisex styling gave the 'man-bag' its brief moment and many rough hewn embroidered denim and handtooled leather shoulder bags were worn by both sexes. Utility style had an impact on materials and both the rip stop nylon 'Le Sportsac' tennis bag and the canvas L. L. Bean tote were worn as badges of egalitarian chic and career equality. Designer status bags by Gucci, Dior, and Fendi established jetset style but over-licensing and widespread counterfeiting diluted the power and exclusivity of the logo as the decade progressed. Luxury evening bags of the late seventies and early eighties were exquisite and small. The disco bags by Carlos Falchi, Halston and Judith Leiber were worn almost like jewelry. Prada, the Milanese leather house, was substantially revived when Miuccia Prada introduced a simple leather and rip-stop nylon backpack to their line in 1985. Monochrome and subtly monogrammed, the bag and its' practical accessories (small wallets and purses) gave the

designer bag a fresh dose of street credibility. The late eighties saw a return to the surrealist spirit in fashion with many French designers approaching the handbag as a witty found object or subverted status symbol. Jamin Puech suspended a marabou powder puff on a satin strap, Christian Lacroix fashioned a gold clutch into the shape of a Byzantine bible, and Karl Lagerfeld shrank the Chanel bag to the size of a bon bon to bounce off the hip. The nineties was perhaps the centuries richest decade for handbag design, almost every year saw the birth of an iconic new bag. In 1993 Lulu Guinness launched her flower pot, a surreal basket bag festooned with silk roses. The following year Kate Spade's top handled square tote became an instant American classic. In 1995 Madame Chirac presented Lady Diana with a small bag of embossed leather with loose gold letters hanging like a charm bracelet from its handles, the 'Lady Dior.' In 1996 Moschino dripped rich brown calfskin over a pristine white handbag, effectively dipping the bag like a strawberry in chocolate. The most famous bag of the decade was launched the following year. The Fendi baguette tucked under the arm (inspiring its title) and was made of rich and unexpected materials: tapestry, handloomed velvet, embroidered denim and exotic skins. The bag changed the fortunes of the company and the face of the handbag in fashion history, as the first bag since the Kelly to become a household name, a cult object and a celebrity in its own right.

Designers have tried to predict what the bag would look like in the twenty-first century. In 1999 Karl Lagerfeld designed the Chanel 2005 bag: a vacuum-formed ovoid handbag with a hard body flocked in neoprene. The all-in-one design of this bag with a handle punched out of its body like a doughnut hole resembled both a laptop case and a futuristic cartoon character. Houses such as Fendi, Prada, Gucci, and Vuitton created dramatic sequels to their best-selling bags.

The logo itself came up for review with aggressive revision and reinvention. Marc Jacobs's first contribution to his post as creative director at Louis Vuitton was to have the 1980s artist Stephen Sprouse tag the name of the house in graffiti lettering across a zip-topped structured bag. Released in 2000, this bag led the charge for staid houses to revise their image radically. John Galliano's designs for Dior from 2000 on, have evoked Cadillac dashboards, car headlights, punk rock kimonos, and miniature riding saddles in arresting materials like red patent leather and acid-washed denim.

The impetus behind the capital and artistic risk of issuing radical bags for the classic labels has been both prestige and money. When a label launches a successful bag the corporation's stock can rise dramatically in value. Handbags have also become the stylistic mascots for designer culture. In the 1940s one wore the perfume of Chanel; in the early 2000s one wears the bag to attain the same cachet. The quest for an "it" bag dominates the field. After the initial long-running success of the

baguette since its launch in 1997, Fendi presented the croissant (shaped like a crescent moon) in 2000, followed in 2002 by the Ostrik, a 1970s-inspired shoulder bag with zipped side panels and a beaten metal panel something like a Roman breastplate, and a succession of bags that mimiced the bouffant folds of a chef's hat or fanned outward in concentric tiers of leather, fabric, and skins. Outlandishly organic designs have vied for attention by creating a sexy alternative to the top handle bag. Tom Ford for YSL's "Nadja" bag (2003) resembled a massive suede rosebud or ruffled labia depending on your view. The studded Domino bag by Sonia Rykiel (2001) squashed under the arm like a comfortable designer dim sum, and Marc Jacob's "Venetia" with its massive buckles, chunky pockets, and top stitching set a powerful trend for utilitarian bags with cartoonish proportions in saturated colors.

The first four years of the twenty-first century saw the most intense diversity in handbag design and equally intense competition between designers. When Madonna, Gwyneth Paltrow, and Kate Moss began to carry the saddlebag designed by Nicholas Ghesquiere for Balenciaga, the rather plain distressed leather hobo with front zips and trailing tassels became a cult. When characters on the TV show *Sex and the City* obsessed about owning a red Hermès Birkin bag, the yearlong waiting list for the bag doubled and then tripled. In terms of fame, the Hermès Birkin bag has now eclipsed the Hermès Kelly or perhaps it has simply become the Kelly bag of its generation, being softer, larger, and slightly louder than its predecessor.

While famous designer label bags lead the trends for mass-market fashion, there is room for a backlash or a return to one-of-a-kind bags made by hand. In the Victorian era bags assumed a split identity. The formality of a leather shopping bag or traveling case and the eccentricity of a little silk evening purse stitched from remnants or decorated with a hand-embroidered poem struck the contrast between social duty and private pleasure, professional production and home crafts. As the handbag grows more and more commodified, streamlined, and hyped, a return to more individual shapes and materials seems increasingly possible. The bag began as a simple vessel for private needs. Despite the advances of technology and the far-reaching tentacles of advertising, this is where the handbag may return. A rejection of luxury culture might produce the most original bags of the twenty-first century, and the most personal.

See also Cashin, Bonnie; Europe and America: History of Dress (400-1900 C.E.); Ford, Tom; Hermès; Pucci, Emilio.

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HAND SPINNING. See Homespun; Spinning.

HANDWOVEN TEXTILES The category handwoven textiles encompasses a broad spectrum of woven fabrics formed by interlacing two sets of elements—warp and weft—with the aid of a loom, which is a device for maintaining tension on the warp elements. Whether the loom is primitive, mechanized, or computer-driven, it is considered a handloom if it is operated directly by the weaver. Even though various types of power looms have been developed since the industrial revolution, handweaving persists in many parts of the world as an expression of ethnic culture, as a cottage industry or small-scale artisan workshop, as an avocation, and as an art form.

Handwoven Textiles in Interior Design

Handwoven cloth contains irregularities not usually present in industrially-produced cloth—a quality often considered desirable by contemporary artists and designers. The rich colors and designs of traditional cultural textiles are appreciated by collectors and continue to provide sources of inspiration to handweavers and artists, as well as to designers in the textile industry. Noted textile designers such as Jack Lenor Larsen formed unique collaborations with traditional handweavers around the world to produce unique and distinctive fabrics for interiors, using traditional design elements and woven by traditional means. Such collaborations not only produce exciting new textiles; they also help the cultures involved to maintain art forms that are struggling to survive in the current global economy.

Handwoven rugs are popular items of interior decor that may be imported from traditional textile workshops in countries such as Turkey and China, or they may be unique works of art designed by contemporary artists. Liturgical fabrics specially handwoven to adorn houses of worship comprise a specialized market for this specialized group of artist-weavers. Other handwoven items created for interiors include afghans or throws, table linens, and wall hangings. A few handweavers specialize in reproducing historic fabrics for historic dwellings and reenactments.

Many artist-weavers are attracted to using handmanipulated weaves, such as tapestry and supplementaryweft techniques, that allow for the creation of free-form and pictorial designs to create tapestries and wall hangings for art galleries and collectors. A growing field for artist-weavers is the application of digital technology to handweaving to produce computer-generated designs on complex looms.

Traditions and Looms

Cultures with living traditions in handwoven textiles made on simple looms are numerous and can still be found in many parts of the world, including Mexico and Guatemala, Peru, Bolivia, Ghana, Nigeria, Morocco, Turkey, China, Burma, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, and the Philippines.

Fabrics woven on simple two-bar looms such as the backstrap loom, tend to be narrow widths (12–14 inches) of warp-dominant or warp-faced plain weave, for ease in operating the loom. The so-called primitive fabrics produced on these looms, usually by women, are often decorated with elaborate supplementary-weft techniques (brocade) inserted between the rows of the plain-weave ground; or with supplementary-warp techniques (pickup weaves) worked in a similar manner. Such patterns involve hand-manipulating selected threads during the weaving, and their complexity is limited only by the weaver's patience and imagination.

Many cultures make use of simple, two-bar looms to create their traditional folk costumes. Such weavings are often pieced together from rectangles of narrow, four-selvage cloth and may be further embellished after assembly. Two-bar looms may also be used to create shawls, cloths for wrapping and carrying, bags, rugs, tent fabrics, and other utilitarian fabrics. From the brocaded huipil, or blouse, worn by indigenous women of Guatemala and Mexico, to the sarongs of Indonesia, traditional handwoven garments are associated with personal identity and cultural pride.

Weft-faced weaves such as tapestry can be woven on an upright version of the two-bar loom. Well-known products of upright looms include Turkish rugs in various weaves such as pile, kilim (tapestry), and soumak; and the Navajo rugs of the Southwest United States made in tapestry weave.

A simple foot-manipulated loom, the tripod loom, is used by men in West African countries such as Nigeria, Senegal, and the Ivory Coast, to weave narrow cotton strips for kente cloth. These strips are pieced together to make large cloths for men's ceremonial dress.

Handwoven fabrics created on mechanized handlooms such as treadle looms can range from simple, textured effects achieved with novelty yarns in plain weave, to fabrics with pattern repeats that become increasingly complex as the available number of loom shafts increases. India, China, Japan, and Thailand are well-known for their production of handwoven silks, cottons, and other natural fibers. Guatemala and Mexico produce handwoven cotton fabrics. Cottage-industry handweaving of woolens persists in Scotland and Ireland.



CONTEMPORARY HANDWOVEN CLOTHING

Artists who create art-to-wear garments often prefer the distinctive texture and character that handwoven cloth adds to their expressive works. Contemporary handwoven clothing has undergone an evolution in sophistication since it became popular as an art form during the 1960s. As a greater variety of threads became available, and as handweaving equipment became more sophisticated, so did handwoven clothing design. Woven fashions in the 1960s and 1970s were inspired by ethnic clothing styles and were usually designed using rectangular shapes that could be put together with minimal cutting or sewing. Weavers at that time also challenged themselves to create garments "shaped on the loom" by weaving pattern pieces to shape according to a predrawn cartoon. By the 1980s, the increasing availability of fine yarns and luxury fibers combined with the increased availability of complex looms, inspired handweavers to create drapeable fabrics for fashionable, tailored garments and to explore the expressive possibilities of weave structures in fashion design and wearable art. Handweavers today create complex textiles through creative combinations of weave structure and use of textured yarns. They may also employ techniques such as warp painting or ikat dyeing of the threads before weaving, or may apply surface design techniques such as painting, printing, and foil transfer to embellish the finished fabric.

Markets for Handwovens

In addition to textiles produced for the interior design trade mentioned above, commercial markets for handwovens in the United States and Europe include folk art galleries, museum shops, craft galleries and art and craft fairs, wearable art galleries, and contemporary art galleries. In the many countries with cultural textiles traditions, sales are realized through tourist markets, specialty shops, and government-supported handcraft outlets. Artisan cooperatives may export textile products through fair trade markets, which guarantee the artisans a fair wage for their work. Export and import of handwoven yardage occurs through the international textile trade or through specialty importers.

See also Ikat; Kente; Loom; Tapestry; Weave, Double; Weave, Pile; Weave Types; Weaving.

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Karen Searle

HARTNELL, NORMAN Norman Hartnell (1901-1979) was Britain's most successful and distinguished mid-twentieth-century couturier. He was the first in a wave of London-based designers to emerge in the 1920s and 1930s who offered wealthy British women an alternative to patronizing a court dressmaker or purchasing a Paris-designed model. His graceful, feminine designs, which combined dreamy nostalgia with fairy-tale glamour, appealed to English sensibilities. He excelled at making dresses for grand entrances and was equally at ease designing court-presentation dresses for debutantes and stage costumes for actresses. The latter were sophisticated and sexy as well as glamorous, but Hartnell is remembered for the romantic, quintessentially English gowns that he designed for the upper classes and the royal family. His role as dressmaker to Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI, and Queen Elizabeth II won him international recognition and honors. He was nominated an officier d'académie by the Institut de l'education nationale de France in 1939 and was given a Neiman Marcus Award for contemporary influence on fashion in 1947. In 1977 he became the first fashion designer to be knighted.



Norman Hartnell. Britain's most successful mid-twentieth-century couturier, Norman Hartnell was best known for designing glamorous dresses for Britain's upper class and royal family. He was the first fashion designer to be honored with knighthood, in 1976. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The theater, ballet, fine art, and the natural world inspired Hartnell. As an undergraduate at Cambridge University, he neglected his architectural studies to design for the university's amateur dramatic societies and then dropped out of school to try his luck as a dress designer. After working briefly as a sketch artist, he set up on his own in 1923 and in 1934 moved to 26 Bruton Street. He made his name designing for debutantes, society weddings, and charity galas, many of which required fancy dress and Hartnell's talents as a stage

designer. In 1942 he was a founding member of the Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers and was named president several times. After World War II, Hartnell was the largest couture house in London, employing a staff of 385.

Hartnell designed clothing for members of the royal family from 1935. His most legendary commission was the all-white wardrobe he designed for Queen Elizabeth for her 1938 state visit to France, when she was still in mourning for her mother. Hartnell and the photogra-



Commenting on how the creative impulse is evoked, Hartnell remarked, "Who can say exactly . . . ? A wax-white magnolia in the moonlight is a debutante dancing at Hurlingham. Swans on the lake may turn into a young woman in white arriving to cut the cake at Queen Charlotte's Ball, and a farmyard is redolent of sporting tweeds." (Hartnell, p. 82)

pher Cecil Beaton created a lasting image for the queen that was fresh and feminine but unmistakably regal. In 1947 he designed Princess Elizabeth's wedding dress and, six years later, her coronation robes. Hartnell relished the symbolism and pageantry of British ceremonial and found embroidery, which had already become his signature, the perfect medium for conveying the gravity and glamour of monarchy.

Drama, color, and light suffused Hartnell's designs. He enjoyed working with soft, floating fabrics, particularly tulle and chiffon, and with plain, lustrous silks, which provided the perfect foil for his spectacular, eye-catching embroideries. He was the master of the special-occasion dress that flatters and dignifies both wearer and occasion with consummate tact. His legacy to the future lay in his Englishness, in his creative and romantic engagement with history and tradition, and in his love of spectacle.

See also Court Dress; Embroidery; Fancy Dress; Royal and Aristocratic Dress; Theatrical Costume; Wedding Costume.

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Edwina Ehrman

HATS, MEN'S Protection, status, and vanity have always been the prime reasons for wearing hats. A hat is much more than a piece of clothing; it is a cerebral fashion accessory that can mark personality, social etiquette, and lifestyle. The twenty-first century is a relatively hatless age, with the exception of the baseball cap and modern hoods. This might be just a passing fad, but it is socially as significant as trends of the previous era, when men wore proper hats all the time.

There have been hatless periods in history before. Eighteenth-century wigs replaced hats and coiffeurs eclipsed the hatter, but the nineteenth century dictated hats for men again with many important styles still remembered with nostalgia. Post-World War I democratic ideologies, modern infrastructure, and, most importantly of all, the car, all caused the gradual demise of hats. World War II changed social values even more, resulting in youth's imperative right of wanting to look radically different from the previous generation. Yet fashion's pendulum never ceases to swing, and there might well be a time in the future when fashion will demand that heads need to be covered again. Why the fashion for wearing or not wearing a hat fluctuates at different times can only be explained with hindsight of historical and social developments.

The ancient Romans lived in a hatless age but showed their status by wearing metal fillets over their brows. The exceptions were military helmets, worn over a leather cap and held in place by a chinstrap. Northern European tribes wore leather caps before the Roman occupation. An eight-section leather cap, said to be over 2,000 years old, is preserved at the National Museum in Copenhagen, Denmark, which must be the oldest existing man's hat in history.

When Christianity arrived in Europe, the church demanded that the body be covered up with a hooded cloak called *bardocucullus*. Faces were overshadowed by all kinds of hoods as well as by beards, the fashion in England until the Norman conquests over the Saxons in 1066. The French invasion imposed a fashion for clean-shaven faces and short hair, which was often covered by a coif, a close-fitted linen cap, tied under the chin. A variation was the phrygian cap, a soft, close-fitting and pointed hat, inspired by the Phoenician fashion, brought into Europe by traders from the Mediterranean.

Early medieval pointed hoods and capes merged into gorgets (a hood and neckpiece) and coif-de-maille (a metal chain-mail hood). Professional people, such as doctors, wore richly decorated round skullcaps. The first hats with brims, made of straw or felt, were utilitarian and worn by field laborers, shading their eyes from the sun and rain. A soft linen coif, tied under the chin was usually worn underneath a hat, thus keeping long hair in place. In the late thirteenth century, the *chapeau a bec*, a brimmed hat, cocked into a beak shape pointing to the front, became the fashion for young men and was also always worn over a coif. Later on, the *chapeau de fer*, a divergence from the closed metal helmet, provided shade and protection with its cap, brim, and chinstrap.

Headwear became more eccentric in the fourteenth century, with meek and humble hoods developing everlonger and longer drooping points. The soft lengthy tubes, worn over a gorget, were called liripipes and often matched the then fashionable four- or five-piece outfits. The tube could be up to two feet in length with a long



Roman legionaire wearing helmet. Hats, though rarely worn by ancient Romans, were used by the military. They were made of leather and held in place by a chinstrap. © Bettmann/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

ribbon added, which could be wound around the head in infinite variety. The coif, the gorget, and the liripipe were collectively called the chaperon. A round, stuffed band, called a rondelet, was sometimes added by fashionable jongleurs, the wandering musicians and medieval trendsetters. Further variations were achieved by rolling the gorget up over the forehead or by winding the liripipe around the head, creating a kind of turban style. Added to this complicated arrangement could be a felt bycock hat, a style worn by men and women, which allowed even more variations by splitting or slashing the brims, or by wearing the hat back to front. Diversification seemed infinite with soft tammy berets worn over coifs or draped over brims. Materials varied from robust leather and felt to furs and precious silk velvets in lush colors, matching or contrasting the extravagant medieval outfits.

Hoods and gorgets for warmth continued into the fifteenth century, with hat shapes adding personal identity. Occasionally, the soft gorget was replaced by a

houppeland, a stiff collar cradling the head and tucked under the liripipe or rondelet at the back of the head. The coif was relegated to be worn as a nightcap called cuffie, cappeline, benducci, or bendoni and replaced by close-fitting lined linen caps without chinstraps. Worn under expensive velour or plush hats, this was a practical solution for keeping the inside of a hat clean from sweat and grease. As hoods and liripipes could not be taken off in greetings, they had to be raised by two fingers while bowing, a gesture called "riverenza di cappuccino." The Vatican influenced social etiquette and with it men's fashion. The becca replaced the liripipe and became a social attribute with its long and flat band, hanging down over the right shoulder, draped over the chest, or tucked into the belt. To greet a lady, a man had to raise his hat with his right hand, while holding the streamers of the becca with his left. The becca's practical advantage was in securing the hat when it was slung over a man's shoulder, a custom still used on ceremonial robes of the Order of the Garter.

Men's fashion changed from a slim, tall medieval silhouette to a short, stocky look in the sixteenth century, established in England by King Henry VIII. Flat, wide berets complimented the style best. Worn straight or at an angle with six- or eight-sided stiff brims underneath, they were known as "bonetes." Brimmed hats developed into quite flamboyant styles, generally called "beavers" after the fur used for felting. These felt hats were often trimmed with real fur, which was also used for rondelets and under brims.

Plumes of swan feathers and ornamental brooches, gold plaques and crests enhanced a look of prosperity. The coif changed to the caul, a wide-netted snood to be worn under the hat or inside the house. Young men liked hoods with very long points down to the floor, which could be wound around the head. Prosperous merchants wore cushion hats, stuffed berets with voluminous rondelets, while older men preferred high, flat birettas, usually in bright scarlet red.

During the Elizabethan era, men's hats changed to capotains, brims with high crowns, lavishly decorated with gold and silver braids, Vandyke lace, as well as exotic plumes from the newly discovered Americas. In England, all men above the age of six had to wear a hat by law. This court edict was proclaimed in order to foster the hat trade.

In the seventeenth century, hats diversified even more extravagantly. Wide cocked-up brims with diamond studded ostrich feathers drooping over the edges were the fashion for the new romantic male idol, "the cavalier," an image immortalized in numerous paintings. The cavalier's beaver hat, posed on long, flowing love locks was the perfection of elegance, a peacock look, that took time and wealth to perfect, which might possibly have been the reason why wigs came into fashion. Wearing a periwig, made of human or of horse hair under one's hat, was a simpler, less time-consuming option, allowing even

more variations in color and style. The perfect new stylish hat was the tricorn, which like wigs was in fashion up to the end of the eighteenth century. An individual note was achieved by wearing the hat either pointing to the front or to the side and by adding different decorations like feather fringes and cockades; very important in all military headwear.

Fashion in the eighteenth century was dominated by hair and wigs leaving hats to be carried in the hand and raised in greetings rather than worn. Coiffeurs created wigs of great varieties, powdered toupees or centerparted curls with queues and pigtails hanging down at the back. The tricorn was still worn, but changed shape by being flattened or "pinched" at the front, which was a foretaste to the two-cornered "bycocked" hat. Beaver fur, (castor in French) was still used as the raw material for felting, but was often mixed for economical reasons with rabbit fur and then called "demi-castors." Both tricorns and elaborate wigs lost their appeal at the end of the century. European fashion was influenced by the French Revolution, when men shedded notions of aristocracy in favor of egalitarianism. Round, small-brimmed and lightcolored felt hats, trimmed with simple bands and buckles, worn over natural-colored hair were "de rigueur."

Curiously, the start of the nineteenth century heralded a new age for men's hats in the Western world, which reached its zenith at the turn of the twentieth century, when no gentleman would ever step out of his house without wearing a hat. Men's clothing was dictated by sobriety and egalitarianism and hats fulfilled an important role in subtly marking differentials, personal and professional ones, as well as social class distinction. Top hats, bowlers, derbies, boaters, fedoras, panamas, and cloth caps were all created during this century and lasted well into the twentieth century.

The black silk topper was the first in line. Developed from the high felt stovepipe hat, it became the hat worn by postrevolution aristocracy and an emblem of conservative capitalism. Its origins were far less formal. Like many other hats in history, the topper, also known as "chapeau haut de forme," was a French design, at first causing outrage and dismay in London in the 1790s. According to the Mayfair Gazette, this new tall black hat "frightened people, made children cry, and dogs bark." John Heatherington, the London haberdasher who dared to wear it, was arrested and charged with "inciting the breach of the peace." Despite this turbulent beginning, the high black hat was gradually adopted by gentlemen of distinction in the West.

The construction and making of the high topper was innovative, too. The hat was not shaped in beaver felt but constructed from stiffened calico, which was covered with silk plush fabric and brushed around repeatedly until smooth and shiny. Mercury was used to enhance the hat's blackness and was later discovered to cause mental disorder, hence the popular term "mad as a hatter." The height and the shape of the crown varied, the tallest be-



Stetson hats on display. Established in the late nineteenth century, the well-known Stetson company produces hats that evoke a masculine feel and a sense of history in the wearer. © Dave G. Houser/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

ing the "kite-high dandy," with a height of $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches (21cm). The diameter of the flat top varied as well and with it the "waisted" shape of the chimney crown. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a collapsible version of the hat was devised, known as "chapeau claque" or "chapeau Gibus," after its French inventor. This ingenious design could be folded flat—concertina-fashion—and sprung back into shape by the flick of the fist, thus making storage much easier.

The bowler hat, called derby in the United States, was designed in 1849 at the height of the industrial revolution in Britain. Like the top hat, it quickly became a classic wardrobe item and a quintessential badge of Englishness. Named after John and William Bowler, hatters from Stockport, an industrial city in the north of England, it was to become the first mass-produced hat in history. A young English aristocrat who wanted a new hunting hat ordered the original design. Lock and Company, hatters of St. James's in London, since 1676, had been given a brief to supply a brown, round-crowned felt hat, practical and hard wearing, but also dashing and modern. Most importantly, the hat was to be hard and protective as it was to be used for riding. The making of felt hats was traditionally done by small factories in South London, who experimented with stiffening of felt in various ways. A substance called shellac was perfected by mixing a dark treacle-like extract from a parasite insect found in Southeast Asia with methylated spirit. The felt hoods were manually rolled and beaten in the hot and steaming mixture, before being blocked and dried on wooden hat blocks. The procedure was arduous and dirty, but the key to mass production, making the hat affordable to the middle-classes.

The industrial revolution in Britain and all over Western Europe brought important social changes and a shift from agriculture to factories. Factories needed not



Actor Maurice Chevalier in Boater hat, ca. 1930s. Men's hats have long served a variety of functions, from head protection to fashion statement. Their form and function have largely been determined by the age and culture in which they developed.
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only workers but also managers, bookkeepers, and accountants, all new middle-class men who traveled on the newly invented railways wearing black bowler or "iron hats." With its sturdy, solid look the hat was the perfect fashion and style accessory for social climbers in Victorian Britain: a smart, discreet hat that turned every man into a gentleman. The earl of Derby introduced the hat to the United States, hence the name given to it there.

The bowler held its place in fashion for over one hundred years, its distinctive silhouette making it the most widely recognized hat image in history. The bowler hat was immortalized in art, comedy, and literature, and it is still exploited in advertising today. Charlie Chaplin made the hat famous in his satiric silent films of the early 1920s, a comedy act, which was followed by Laurel and Hardy a few years later. Samuel Beckett put bowler hats on the tramps in his famous play, Waiting for Godot ("He can't think without his hat," says one of the characters.) Bertolt Brecht's Threepenny Opera features bowler hats and Stanley Kubrick's anarchist in Clockwork Orange also wears a bowler. René Magritte's paintings are famous because of the bowler hats on his surrealistic figures. Sculpture has immortalized the hat's image too, in a famous bronze statue with a bowler hat called The Man in the *Open Air* by Ellie Nadelman at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. It epitomizes the link between the Old and the New World, the transition between convention and modernity.

During the early twentieth century, a black bowler hat became synonymous with financial affairs and was the headwear for German businessmen during the years of the Weimar Republic (1918–1933), but the Nazi regime branded it "Judenstahlhelm," outlawed it, and used it in anti-Semitic propaganda. The bowler remained the recognizable attire of bankers in the City of London until the 1970s and is still worn by a few city lawyers today.

The homburg was a German hat, similar to the bowler, but with a higher and lightly dented crown and is named after its city of origin. It is said that King Edward VII of Britain saw the hat worn by his German cousin Kaiser William and thus started the fashion in England. British politicians like Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden also liked to wear this hat. The American fedora and the slightly smaller British version, the trilby, are felt hats with dented crowns and brims turned up at the back, and down at the front, shading the eyes. Soft felt hats brought a more casual look to men's fashion, which had changed from black frock coats to suits and raincoats. Franklin D. Roosevelt's fedora helped to change the image of his presidency after the assassination of President McKinley, who had always worn a black top hat. The soft felt trilby was originally a bohemian hat, worn by artists and modern thinkers who wanted to make a stand against the old conservative values of the previous century. In the 1930s and 1940s the hat took on a gangster role in the United States, which was exploited by many moviemakers and film stars. It was also the hat worn by newspapermen, crime reporters, and Mafia bosses, whose shady expressions were obscured beneath the stylish brim.

The panama hat was the summer hat for the modern man around the turn of the twentieth century. The hat was woven using the finest jipijapas straw, flexible enough to be rolled into a narrow tube for packaging and transportation. Panamas were handwoven in Ecuador and shipped through the Panama Canal, which gave the hat its name. Growing and preparing the straw was a lengthy procedure and so was the weaving of a hat, which could take a skilled worker up to four weeks. The finest and costliest panama hat is called a Montecristi fino-fino. With not many skilled hat weavers left in Ecuador, this hat has become a collector's item. Cheaper versions and paper panamas are very popular and commercially mass-produced in many other countries today.

The boater was another popular straw hat of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. The straw was plaited, sewn in a spiral, stiffened and blocked hard into its distinct shape of a flat crown and stiff flat brim. The design of the boater is derived from the shape of sailor's hats and suited to the debonair informal look men liked around the turn of the twentieth century.

The Stetson is a truly American hat, stylish, protective, and unmistakably masculine; a hat of the prairie and the most treasured possession of a cowboy, it evokes silver-screen bravery and passion of the Wild West. Its origins are in Philadelphia, where John Batterson Stetson established his first hat factory in the 1880s, which was to grow into one of the great American enterprises of the twentieth century. Having learned the principles of hat making from his father, John Stetson first sought fame and fortune by trekking 750 miles to the west, and felting and making hats by the campfire for his fellow travelers. He did not find gold, but his skills and tenacity helped him build the largest hat empire in the world. The making of a modern Stetson is still based on the old techniques of felting and blocking, requiring thirteen different stages in production, thus making the hat the costliest item of a rancher's clothing. The image of the battered cowboy hat has given way to a range of stylish models for Texan businessmen, topped by the famous "Boss of the Plains," as worn by J.R. of the famous 1980s TV series Dallas.

Cloth caps are flat hats with visors traditionally cut and sewn from woolen cloth. The image of the cap was a modest, practical one in keeping with a workingman's life. The saying, "cap in hand," illustrates the social position of the cap—as does the Russian poet Alexander Blok's verse, "Caps tilted, fag drooping, everyone looks like a jailbird on the run." The cap, like other hats, changed its image and is worn in the early 2000s by wealthy gentlemen when shooting grouse or playing golf rather than by laborers going to work at a factory. Capmakers or cappers, also made livery caps, military caps, and various styles for sports caps, like the baseball cap, which has become the universal hat of youth culture in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Finally, the beret, which was in existence long before the twentieth century, has evolved from a French Pyrenean shepherd's hat to the most widely worn military hat in the world. The colors and badges may vary, but the beret is now a universal soldier's hat as well as the favorite hat of revolutionary guerrilla groups. A French mountain regiment, *les chasseurs alpines* always wore dark red berets and presented one to the British Field Marshal Montgomery after World War I. He wore this beret, called "*tarte alpine*" during his command of the British forces during World War II.

See also Hats, Women's; Headdress; Helmet.

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Susie Hopkins

HATS, WOMEN'S Hats are head coverings with a crown and usually a brim. They are distinguished from caps that are brimless but may have a visor. Hats are important because they adorn the head, which is the seat of human rational powers, and they also frame the face. Women's hats have often been differentiated from men's headwear, although in modern times, many women's hat styles have been copied from men's.

Hats are material communicators that indicate gender, age, social status, and group affiliation. They also serve as ceremonial symbols and enhancers of sexual attractiveness. As a sculptural art form, hats may be described and interpreted in terms of shape, color, textured materials, adornments, proportion, and scale to the wearer.

While hats have been universally worn, their historical development within the Western European fashion world will be the focus here. Women's hat fashions began in the Renaissance and grew dramatically with the nineteenth-century industrial revolution, sometimes called the "Golden Age" of millinery, which lasted until the mid-twentieth century.

Origins

The woman's hat may have its origin with a turbanlike head wrap or pointed cap as documented in Neolithic cave paintings at Tassili, Algeria (c. 8000–4000 B.C.E.) and later Mesopotamian sculptures (c. 2600 B.C.E.) Evidence for a variety of shaped hats comes from Crete (c. 1600 B.C.E.) via polychrome terra-cotta female figures wearing several types: the high sugarloaf style, the flat beret, and the tricorne with rosettes, curled plumes or ribbon decorations, which may have association with fertility rituals.

According to Classic, fifth-century B.C.E. painted vases, Greek women were more likely to wear their hair on top of the head secured by a bandeau or net caul. The Greek wide-brimmed straw petasos, worn by both women and men as a sun protector, was also adopted by Romans. Because of modesty and religious reasons stemming from Saint Paul's admonition to the Corinthians that women must cover their hair while praying, wealthy Christian women in the Middle Ages wore draped veils, hoods, or wimples indoors and practical wide-brimmed hats over the wimple for traveling. Peasants wore wide hats over skullcaps or hoods while working in the fields.

Renaissance Humanism: Fashion Begins

With the emergence of Renaissance humanism in fifteenth-century Italy came capitalism stimulated by overseas trade and increased bourgeoisie wealth accompanied by an appreciation of secular portraiture and clothing as art forms. Thus was born the phenomenon of Western



Young Woman with a Pink, by Hans Memling, 1485–80. Throughout history, women's hats have served numerous functions, including communicating gender, age, social status, and group affiliation. The METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, THE JULES BACHE COLLECTION, 1949. (49.7.23) REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

fashion, whereby individuals aspiring to privileges enjoyed by nobles acquired clothing and hats, not just for functional reasons, but capriciousness. Within a short time, this emphasis on individual materialism spread to many regions of northern Europe.

Some of the most elaborate hats women have ever worn appeared in the late-medieval and Renaissance courts of France, Flanders, and Bavaria, including the tall

cone-shaped, silk-and-velvet steeple hat with draped veil (hennin), depicted in modern publications of medieval fairy tales, and the brocaded silk, stuffed bourrelet created into enormous horns, reproduced with proto-feminist writings by Christine de Pisan as The Book of the City of Ladies (1405). Other contemporary styles included the large, round, beehive-shaped hat popular in Germany and an English silk-gold braid with pearls covered by a wired gauze wimple. Scholars have noted the possible crosscultural source for these excessive headpieces as coming from Turkish styles at a time when the Ottomans were expanding their control into eastern Europe not far from Vienna. In response to these feminine excesses, Catholic churchmen were known to encourage Christians to yell insults aimed at humiliating women wearing such outlandish headwear. In some places, sumptuary laws were issued limiting the size, number, and materials that could be devoted to women's hats in an effort to control excesses and maintain class social structure.

Court Fashions

From the sixteenth century on, hat styles were largely influenced by royal tastes, from the English Tudor gable hood to the Elizabethan wigs and a wide variety of velvet, taffeta, silk, felt, leather, and beaver hats, many based on men's styles.

The seventeenth century saw a white lace wired or starched "Mary Stuart" hood as popular for indoors, and the wide-brimmed, plumed felt or beaver hat for outdoor riding associated with Queen Henrietta Maria. The English Restoration Queen Catherine of Braganza, Portugal, still wore this "cavalier" style for riding in 1666.

In portraits, court ladies during the reign of Charles II were frequently depicted in pastoral costume as "shepherdesses" holding contrived sun-protector hats made of heavy fabric, like velvet. A century later, the pastoral look was still in vogue, but the hats had changed to more realistic, broad-brimmed straw versions called bergère, decorated with ribbons, artificial flowers, and large plumes, reaching their zenith with Marie Antoinette as painted by Vigée Lebrun. Although many of these hats were made locally from country-style materials, the finest smooth straw was imported from Leghorn, Italy, to northern markets and widely used by fashion milliners.

During the late seventeenth century, France became Europe's fashion center under the leadership of Louis XIV. One of the most visually striking headpieces of this era was named for the king's mistress. Supposedly Mlle. Fontanges was out riding when her hair became caught on a tree branch. When she tied it up with ribbon (possibly her lace garter), the *fontange* was born. It metamorphosed into a complex tiered and ruffled architectural-like structure of muslin, lace, and ribbons built up onto a round wire base. Masked balls and carnival festivals provided a venue for women in Venice, Rome, France, and England to wear fantasy headwear, including tricornes, flower basket hats, and exotic Eastern tur-

bans. After living in Turkey for two years as wife of Britain's ambassador, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was influential in popularizing the turban as an aristocratic women's style in England.

Throughout the eighteenth century, milliners competed with wigmakers for setting headwear fashions. This may be why in Georgian England, enormous crowned hats with stiff lining and gigantic plumes became the mode, copied from French styles set by Marie Antoinette. Some were associated with unusual events, such as the balloon hat, named for Vincenzo Lunardi who in 1784 ascended in a hot-air balloon. Nevertheless, interest in fashionable hats continued to be stimulated by the early hand-colored fashion-plate publications such as *The Lady's Magazine* (London, c.1760–1837) and *Galerie des Modes* (Paris, 1778–1787).

Middle-Class Fashions

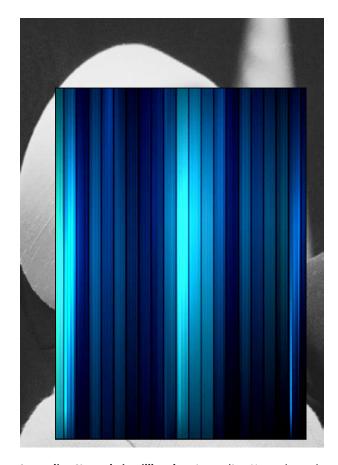
With the social upheavals of the French Revolution, aristocrats lost their political, social, and economic privileges; those who survived were careful to distance themselves from the wigs and extravagance of the ancien régime. New, simpler hats associated with prevailing middle-class values became popular, although exotic turbans continued, with possible influences from African head wraps.

Throughout the nineteenth century, reflecting ideals of Romanticism, the ubiquitous chin-tied bonnet, with its numerous variations prevailed, from the calash and its folding hoops like a covered wagon, to the poke bonnet that extended far outward. With elaborate silk, lace, floral, feather, and artificial fruit trimmings, bonnets by mid-century reflected the married woman's status as queen of her home and symbol of her husband's financial success. The man's top hat communicated the same message, and added social status. This fashion persisted through the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth.

Large emporiums such as Bloomingdale's in New York, Marshall Field's in Chicago, and Gorringes in London began to spring up in cities providing ready-made and custom-designed hats in their millinery departments to a growing middle-class clientele. Rural dwellers in the United States could learn of new fashions from magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830–1898) and obtain ready-made hats and bonnets at reasonable prices through mail-order catalogs, beginning with Montgomery Ward in 1872 and Sears Roebuck after 1886.

Millinery Industry

Beginning in the sixteenth century, "millinery" referred to fine artifacts for women, such as ribbons, gloves, and straw hats sold by men around Milan, Italy. By 1679, milliners were dressmakers who also made or sold women's hats, bonnets, headdresses, and trims. Newspaper advertisements indicate that millinery shops abounded by the eighteenth century in European and American cities, although owners were usually only known locally.



Jacqueline Kennedy in pillbox hat. Jacqueline Kennedy made the pillbox hat famous during her brief tenure as First Lady, and its popularity swept across the country. © Bettmann/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

The first internationally recognized milliner was Rose Bertin (1744–1813), *marchande de modes*, whose luxurious salon, Le Grand Moghul, on rue Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris, became the focal place for attractive designs with ribbons, laces, and trimmings along with the latest social gossip. Her most important client was Queen Marie Antoinette until the royal execution in January 1793. Bertin's business records preserved at the University of Paris reveal clientele to include nobility from Russia and England.

The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century affected the millinery industry in many ways. A new sewing machine, introduced in America and sold abroad, meant large quantities of hats could be produced quickly at low prices. Manufactured hats could be stored and sent to wholesalers for sales in department stores or for overseas export. While trains and ships assisted massmarketing distribution, overall Paris was still considered the center for elite, high-fashion hats. Wealthy women traveled to Paris for purchases, and store milliners from London and New York made annual pilgrimages to



Marie-Antoinette. This portrait of Marie-Antoinette by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun illustrates the pastoral "shepherdess" look of French court ladies during the eighteenth century. The look was typified by broad-brimmed straw hats decorated with ribbons, flowers, and large plumes. VIGEE-LEBRUN, ELISABETH. MARIE-ANTOINETTE, TIMKEN COLLECTION, IMAGE © 2004 BOARD OF TRUSTEES, NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

bring back the "latest" modes and trimmings for their home customers. Millinery ideas and advice were also made available to wide audiences from subscription magazines as *Harper's Bazaar* (1867–) in the United States, *Townsend's Monthly Magazine* (1823–1988) in England, and *Le Follet* (1829–1892) in France.

Folk Costume Hats

Another clothing-and-hat trend took place in Europe outside aristocratic fashion circles during the nineteenth century. With the relaxation of sumptuary laws regarding clothing, particularly after the French Revolution, European peasant artisans, encouraged by nationalism, began to express their ethnic affiliation through elaborate outfits worn for Sunday religious services, dancing, and festivals. These colorful costumes and hats, still worn by villagers and townspeople, serve as visual representations of community and marital status to be worn on special occasions. The women's hats are usually straw, felt, or other natural materials, and because of their multicolored festive styles, they have served as inspiration over decades for twentieth-century fashion milliners, who may

re-create the styles with new, synthetic materials. Occasionally referred to as "ethnic-chic," examples include the bead-and-sequin velvet Basque beret, the Tyrolean felt sport hat, the "pakable" rayon knotted turban, Central Asian styled velvet-and-pearl pillbox, and the cellophane Breton.

Unisex Sports Headwear

Beginning in the 1860s, as the middle class was growing and enjoying increased leisure activities, men's tailoring techniques were first applied to women's dress. Slightly flared skirts replaced the older crinolines and were complemented by formal suit jackets. Likewise, the fanciful, highly decorated bonnet of earlier decades gave way to more simple, masculine-style headwear. These styles represented for the "New Woman" a sense of physical freedom through sports and political independence via the suffrage movement.

For outdoor sports, women wore the white linen peaked cap while rowing and yachting; and the plain flattop, hard straw boater for cycling and later automobile driving. Boaters could be adapted for formal wear embellished with bird feathers or plumes.

Other hat styles shared by both genders included the stiff felt, round-crown bowler, or derby, and black silk top hat for horseback riding; the woolen tam-o'-shanter for lawn tennis, badminton, or cycling; the fore-and-aft as a hunting cap; and the fedora for archery or golf. In winter, knitted stocking caps served for bobsledding, ice sailing, and skating. Indoors, the Breton was considered appropriate for bowling or roller skating, known as "rinking." This trend of women's involvement with sports by wearing unisex hats or caps continues to the present. As spectators, they wear the contemporary baseball cap to league games, and as golfers, on the links.

Twentieth Century

World War I (1914–1918) brought about dramatic changes in women's clothes, hairstyles, and hats, creating a lucrative environment for entrepreneurial designers. Throughout the 1920s, short skirts, bobbed hair, and the cloche, or bell-shaped hat, were the mode on both sides of the Atlantic.

Paris, however, remained the fashion center with trend-setting designers as Elsa Schiaparelli, Cristóbal Balenciaga, and Agnès introducing synthetic materials and abstract shapes. New York and Hollywood also began attracting millinery talent from Europe. Hattie Carnegie from Austria first worked in New York at Macy's before opening her own shop and eventually creating a millinery empire with a thousand employees. French-born Lilly Daché trained with Suzanne Talbot and Caroline Reboux in Paris before arriving in 1925 at New York, where she, too, worked for Macy's before opening her own salon, which led to a multimillion-dollar, international business and fame for her turbans, floral designs, and the "half hat." John-Frederic's hats resulted from the partnership

of John Piocelle (who studied in Paris at École des Beaux Arts) and the businessman Frederic Hirst (1929–1947). Their designs gained notoriety through Hollywood stars like Marlene Dietrich, Gloria Swanson, and Greta Garbo who wore the slouch hat.

Oleg Cassini, son of a Russian count, first worked in Paris before a long career designing for Hollywood studios. While individual designers maintained their own salons for one-of-a-kind headpieces, they also mass-produced less expensive styles for sales through urban department stores.

Sally Victor also got her millinery start at Macy's and by the 1930s branched out into her own business with her husband, Victor Serges. Her hats combined fashion styling with modest pricing aimed at a wide middle-class clientele, including Mamie Eisenhower. A number of twentieth-century couturiers either began as milliners (Coco Chanel) or designed hats, purses, and handbags as complementary accessories to their clothing line (Christian Dior). Throughout much of the twentieth century, hats and gloves were required for attending social events.

During the World War II Nazi occupation of Paris (1940–1944), when rationing curtailed the fashion industry and sales abroad, French women boosted their morale by defiantly wearing outlandish structures on their heads made out of scraps. With the armistice came rebuilding and the renewed claim that Paris would again become the fashion center of the world. By the 1950s, a cadre of influential wholesale and retail millinery clients from abroad attended Paris fashion shows, purchasing rights to copy the latest hat designs for home markets at inexpensive prices.

In New York, Bergdorf Goodman was known to have the best millinery department; its custom-made Halston hats were top of the line. Roy Halston Frowick created the now-famous deep pillbox hat that Jacqueline Kennedy wore to her husband's 1961 inauguration. The hat, designed to be worn back on the head, accommodated the First Lady's bouffant hairstyle. Within months, the pillbox became the rage across America, boosting the millinery industry, and was thereafter known as Jackie's signature hat.

Some historians see President John F. Kennedy's predilection for hatlessness as leading the trend toward eliminating men's toppers for formal attire. Others see the civil rights movement also effecting this change since hats over centuries had served as visible symbols of the class system. Whatever the cause, in the late 1960s, the custom for both men and women of wearing hats to social events began to disappear. "Informality" became the key to clothing modes. Hats were seen as irrelevant, particularly to the younger generation bent on social change and personal independence. Milliners were replaced by professional hairdressers who created self-expressing new hairstyles such as the Afro and cornrows for African Americans. Simultaneously, middle-class women were in-

troduced to the comfort of pantsuits that had no precedents or hat-wearing fashion requirements.

In contrast to the white community, urban African American women never stopped wearing hats. They continue the African tradition that survived slavery of adorning the head for worship celebrations. Combining glamour and holiness, their Sunday hats are colorful, flamboyant, enormous, and plentiful (some own up to 100), made of straws, felts, furs, starched fabrics, adorned with plumes, sequins, artificial flowers, and rhinestones extending the head upward and outward. Their designers, such as Shellie McDowell of New York, whose clientele includes Oprah Winfrey, understand the tastes of black women and their desire for recognition. This unique tradition of black women in church hats has been documented in the book *Crowns* (2000) and an off-Broadway production of the same title.

In England, after a two-decade hiatus, Princess Diana helped to re-popularize the wearing of attractive hats in the 1980s. Her London-based milliner John Boyd and others (Simone Mirman and Graham Smith) continued designing hats for royal family members, while also producing popular ready-to-wear lines; and the talented Stephen Jones struck out into another surrealistic, trend-setting direction related to the shocking punk styles of colored Mohican-spiked hair and the rock generation.

Festivals have also helped popularize hats. From the 1880s to 1940s, supported by the millinery manufacturers, Easter Sunday parades were held in American cities. These encouraged American women to annually buy or re-trim their Easter bonnets, dress-up their daughters, and walk down main streets. The Hollywood film *Easter Parade* (1948) had Fred Astaire and Judy Garland participate in a re-enactment of this New York Fifth Avenue event.

In England, the historic Ascot, weeklong series of horse races, held annually in June and featured in the musical *My Fair Lady*, still reaches its peak of excitement on Gold Cup Day, known since 1807 as Ladies Day, when the men wear traditional top hats, and the Queen, along with hundreds of women from all classes wear spectacular chapeaux. Large picture hats (also called "cartwheels") are the most common, but what gets attention and appears in press coverage are photos of the most novel hats, featuring intriguing images, such as a dartboard, cellular telephone, flying saucers, Astroturf, or a birdcage.

Paris celebrates Saint Catherine of Alexandria, patroness of maidens and milliners, on 25 November. Unmarried women, especially those working in the millinery trade, who are known as "Catherinettes," wear extravagant hats to parties held in their honor. In earlier times, their goal was to catch a husband with the saint's assistance.

A notable effort at reigniting interest in millinery was the 1983 opening of the Hat Making Museum in Chazelles-sur-Lyon, France, center of the former hair felt hat industry. Its permanent exhibition presents a chronological display of hats from 1850 on, and temporary shows include the results from its biennial International Contest of Hat Designers, which in 2003 drew 176 hats from 16 countries, including Canada, the United States, Australia, and Japan.

See also Beret; Hairstyles; Hats, Men's; Headdress; Turban; Veils.

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Beverly Chico

HAUTE COUTURE Historically, aristocratic and upper-class women's fashionable Western dress was created by an intimate negotiation between the client and her dressmaker. The investment in the design was principally in the cost of the luxurious textile itself, not in its fabrication. The origins of the haute couture system were laid by the late seventeenth century as France became the European center for richly produced and innovative luxury silk textiles. Thus the preeminent position of France's luxury textile industry served as basis and direct link to the development of its haute couture system. The prestigious social and economic value of an identifiable couturier, or designer's name, is a development of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the Parisbased haute couture created a unique fashion system that validated the couturier, a fashion designer, as an artist and established his or her "name" as an international authority for the design of luxurious, original clothing. Couturiers were no longer merely skilled artisans, but creative artists with identifiable names printed or woven into a petersham waist tape that was sewn discreetly into the dress or bodice. This was the beginning of designer labels in fashion. The client was required to visit the couture house where a garment was made to measure to high-quality dressmaking and tailoring standards.

The couture house workrooms are carefully distributed according to sewing techniques. The sewing staff are divided between two areas: dressmaking (*flou*), for dresses and draped garments based upon feminine dressmaking techniques, or tailoring (*tailleur*), for suits and coats utilizing male tailoring techniques of construction. The staff work according to a hierarchy of skills ranging from the *première*, head dressmaker or tailor, to apprentices. The selling areas, salons, are equally controlled and run by the *vendeuse*, saleswoman, who sells the designs to clients and negotiates the fabrication and fittings with the workrooms.

The British-trained tailor and dressmaker Charles Frederick Worth is commonly credited as being the "father" of haute couture. What was radical in the mid-nineteenth century was that a male was creating women's fashion, a situation that required intimacy between a dressmaker and client, and had previously been a femaledominated profession. Worth's designs also commanded high prices that were a substantial investment in the garment itself and his associated and recognizable design style. This significant shift established the profession of fashion designer of women's garments as a suitable and profitable one for men. Worth worked directly with the French silk weaving industry to access and promote the original, luxury textiles that were a signature of his production. His clientele included the nobility of European courts as well as the new haute bourgeoises who followed his advice on appropriate dress for day to evening wear. Worth and his contemporaries, particularly Doucet, introduced innovations that have become standards for haute couture establishments. They created luxurious Paris salons to which wealthy clients came rather than the couturier visiting his patrons at their homes; they created artistic designs from which clients could select and that were made to measure; they also employed live mannequins who modeled the designs for private individuals. Thus the haute couture system of luxury dressmaking production was created.

In 1868, Worth instigated a new group called *La Chambre Syndicale de la confection et de la couture pour dames et fillettes.* This body, an outgrowth of the medieval guild system, was formed as a collective or type of union that could lobby and deal with issues related to labor, taxes, administration, and production for dressmakers. At this time there was little distinction between *couture*, clothing made to measure, and *confection*, ready-made clothing. In 1910, the two activities were clearly divided and the nomenclature *la haute couture* was strictly reserved for couture salons that produced collections for private clients,

not solely for professional buyers. The newly named Chambre Syndicale de la haute couture parisienne outlined specific rules for membership that evaluated the creativity of designs and the quality of fabrication that had to be made to measure for the client, and also instituted regulations concerning the sale of designs and reproductions. The issue of copying and design piracy was of constant concern to the haute couture industry that relied upon exclusivity to retain design supremacy and its resultant high prices. The creation of PAIS (L'Association de protection des industries artistiques saisonnières) in 1921 by Madeleine Vionnet aimed to protect individual haute couture designs. Designs were photographed on a mannequin, front, back and side, and these documentary design records were registered with PAIS, thereby intending to discourage piracy and could be used as evidence if required. Allegations of design piracy were dealt with under the French penal code. This service was later taken over by the Chambre Syndicale in 1943. By 1930, the Chambre Syndicale established a formal calendar of fashion shows that were coordinated, consecutive, not concurrent, and able to accommodate the increasing numbers of foreign buyers and journalists to the collections.

In 1929, the *Chambre Syndicale de la haute couture* parisienne established vocational sewing and design training in its associated schools under the Ministry of National Education. The school offered an apprenticeship of three years that began with practical sewing skills in the first year, garment construction techniques in the second, and women's tailoring and draping in the third year. Two more years were available to a select few thought capable of working as first hands within a couture salon and who could train heads of workrooms and potentially be creative designers. These schools and courses continue to operate in the early 2000s.

In 1939, there were seventy haute couture salons. However, World War II (1939-1945) and particularly the German Occupation of Paris, created a crisis in the industry. The Nazis wanted to move the Paris haute couture industry to Berlin or Vienna, but the president of the Chambre Syndicale, the couturier Lucien Lelong, successfully negotiated to keep it in operating in Paris. After the Liberation of Paris the haute couture industry needed to recapture the North American buyers and manufacturers in order to reinstate France's historical position as the center of fashion design and also in order to rebuild a fragile economy and industry. Even before the war, the principal client was no longer the private client, but the commercial buyer and the attendant fashion press, and this situation was heightened after the war. This was clearly reflected in the schedule of showings of the collections set by the Chambre Syndicale that showed to the North American commercial buyers, then the European buyers, and finally to private clients. Postwar recognition of the importance of the Paris haute couture for fashion design leadership was internationally recognized after 1947 with the acclaim of the new house of Christian Dior



THE USE OF TOILE

A couturier's design was usually first created in inexpensive muslin, called a *toile*, so as to perfect the design, cut, and fit. These *toiles* record the exact cut and sewing techniques, and include samples of the interlinings, linings, and fabric required in the final garment. Paper patterns were also used to replicate designs.

(founded in 1945) by Carmel Snow in the American fashion magazine *Harper's Bazaar*.

In 1945, the Chambre Syndicale introduced more rigorous regulations intended to further control the quality and prestige of the haute couture industry in the difficult immediate postwar years. Haute couture was divided into two classes: Couture, and the more prestigious Couture-Création. An haute couture house had to apply for membership that was reviewed annually. The application made by a couturier for the classification Couture-Création covered several areas: at least twenty-five designs had to be created in-house, spring and fall, and made up on a live mannequin. The collection was then to be presented on live mannequins, and in an "appropriate" setting in the haute couture house located in Paris. The rules also covered the technical execution of the original models, the repetitions to be made in-house to clients' measurements, the number of fittings required and at what stage in the making, and the sales of the designs.

The 1950s were years of huge profits and press and the continuation and emergence of new haute couture salons. The most important, and largest, houses in terms of production were those of Christian Dior, Pierre Balmain, and Jacques Fath. The postwar years continued and consolidated the prewar situation that was shifting the economic basis of the houses from private sales to the commercial buyers. The large market for haute couture was as a design source. Couture was copied and adapted to limited editions, or line for line copies, a process that began in the 1930s, as well as for mass-market fashions. Haute couture houses sold the original models as well as *toiles* (muslins) and paper patterns, all of which was regulated by the *Chambre Syndicale*.

This situation stimulated many new initiatives from the Paris couture to control their designs and for the design houses to directly profit from them. Christian Dior began his own licensing arrangements with Christian Dior, New York, and Jacques Fath entered into the American ready-to-wear market with Joseph Halpert. Increasingly couturiers opened boutiques within their cou-



Haute couture evening dress, circa 1894. Dresses designed by the House of Worth, one of the first couture houses, were known for their luxurious textiles and were worn by wealthy society ladies. This Worth dress was worn by the wife of reknown architect Stanford White. © MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

ture salons in order to sell less expensive versions of their haute couture lines as well as accessories, a development begun by Paul Poiret in the early twentieth century. The society Les Couturiers associés, founded in 1950 by Jacques Fath, Robert Piguet, Jean-Marc Paquin, Marie-Louise Carven, and Jean Dessès, was a precursor to the creation of prêt-à-porter designed by couturiers who sold readymade designs to French department stores. A similar initiative, Le Prêt-à-porter Création (1958-1962) was directly aimed at international buyers and press. It ceased as ready-to-wear collections by couture houses became firmly established. However, the successful governance of the Chambre Syndicale over the couture houses, and its huge success during the 1950s is reflected in prosperity of the haute couture that in 1959 exported garments worth 20 million francs, and 3,000 workers were employed on a full-time basis, totaling 100,000 hours per week for most of the year.

The Paris haute couture system was such a successful formula for attracting sales, prestigious clients, commercial buyers, and international press that all other couture organizations were based upon this French

model. In 1942, the Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers was formed in England; in Spain during World War II the Cooperativa de Alta Costura was formed in Barcelona; the first Italian couture collective was shown in Florence in 1951; and the Association of Canadian Couturiers was founded in 1954. However, no other nation managed to create a haute couture industry that was as prestigious or economically important as Paris. The French system was historically based on its luxury textile industry and its ancillary industries of beading, embroidery, ribbons, and lace as well as its highly skilled artisans

The craft base of haute couture was financially difficult to maintain in an increasingly industrialized society. The numbers of couture house fell from 106 in 1946 to 19 by 1970. The establishment of quotas and high custom duties resulted in radical declines of haute couture exports and served to intensify the commercialization of rights for reproduction and licensing agreements. In 1953-1954, Pierre Cardin presented his first prêt-àporter collection and made it a separate department within the house in 1963. In 1966, Yves Saint Laurent created Saint Laurent Rive Gauche, the first freestanding couture boutique. Sociocultural shifts and an emphasis on youthful fashion instead of designs for mature women caused the breakdown of uniformity in the women's wear market, and resulted in the haute couture's departure as the only or leading source for international fashion design. The more profitable ready-to-wear market necessitated new initiatives for the haute couture houses, which began to create new, less expensive noncouture lines marketed with labels associated with the prestige of the haute couture house.

The 1970s and 1980s were years of crisis and reconstruction for the haute couture, as the United States was no longer the primary market that it had been since the 1930s. In 1973 the Chambre Syndicale de la couture parisienne joined with the Prêt-à-porter federation, and became La Fédération français de la couture, du prêt-à-porter des couturiers et des créateurs de mode, and in 1975 joined with the Fedération de l'union nationale des artisanale de la couture et des activités connexes. In the early 2000s the organization has approximately 500 members and promotes French fashion at home and abroad. The consortium of French luxury products led by the group LVMH (Louis Vuitton Moët Hennessy) created by Bernard Arnault, bought out the leading names of the haute couture. In the early 1980s, Christian Lacroix renewed the 1930s house of Jean Patou, where he was artistic director from 1981 to 1987, and Parisienne haute couture was front-page fashion news as it had been in the 1950s and early 1960s. Karl Lagerfeld designed for Chloé and resuscitated the house of Chanel by cleverly employing all the Chanel hallmarks of design (logo, chains, cardigan suit jacket, loose tweeds, and so forth) and updating them for a younger market. The designer signature and logo became ubiquitous and familiar on an enormous range of products from fashion

to home furnishings. Once again haute couture was worn and promoted by international celebrities and equally famous and highly paid super models. In 1987, Arnault invested millions in the new haute couture house of Christian Lacroix, which had a similar impact on the revitalization and public interest in the haute couture industry that Marcel Boussac's investment in the opening of the house of Christian Dior had immediately after World War II in 1946. During the 1990s, LVMH purchased Dior, Lacroix, Givenchy, Celine, Kenzo in a restructuring aimed at reclaiming French fashion design leadership, which had been overtaken by Italian and Japanese high-end ready-to-wear fashions. Celebrity designers were selected to design the Paris haute collections. Claude Montana worked for the house of Jeanne Lanvin from 1990 to 1992, and young, radical, Brits John Galliano and Alexander McQueen designed for Givenchy. In 1996, Galliano was placed as the chief haute couture designer for the most prestigious house of Christian Dior as a replacement for Gianfranco Ferre. Few couture houses have kept their independence in an increasingly global and conglomerate economy. The houses of Pierre Cardin, André Courrèges, Patou, and Phillipe Venet all ceased haute couture production, leaving only eighteen haute couture establishments by 1996. The 2002 retirement of Yves Saint Laurent closed one more establishment, but the new couture collection of Jean Paul Gaultier resulted from success as a ready-to-wear designer, a twenty-first-century inversion of the couture

In the early 2000s the business of haute couture is viewed as a costly and luxurious design laboratory that attests to and sustains France's international cultural position as a taste leader. Though haute couture posts enormous financial losses and produces less than 10 percent of the French clothing industry, the salons garner fantastic international press and prestige for the house name, which fuels lucrative licensing agreements for ready-to-wear collections, perfumes, accessories, and domestic products.

See also Balmain, Pierre; Cardin, Pierre; Courrèges, André; Dior, Christian; Doucet, Jacques; Lagerfeld, Karl; McQueen, Alexander; Patou, Jean; Worth, Charles Frederick.

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Alexandra Palmer

HAWAIIAN SHIRT Hawaii's aloha shirt has become a visible manifestation of the state's multicultural population, and in Hawaii, wearing these shirts represents both an attitude and Hawaiian identity. The style lines and design motifs of the aloha shirt developed from the interaction of several of Hawaii's immigrant groups. The aloha shirt took its shape from the shirts worn by the first Caucasian men to appear in the islands—British and American sailors. In addition, the looseness of the shirts worn by Filipino men, the barong tagalong, was incorporated as a key element of the aloha shirt as an adaptation to Hawaii's tropical environment. The early aloha shirts (1920s-1930s) were made of Japanese kimono fabric by Chinese tailors, and the early customers were haole (Caucasian) residents and tourists, or hapa haole (part Caucasian) residents of Hawaii. It was not until World War II that the local population embraced the wearing of aloha shirts.

The early aloha shirts were made of silks and kabe crepe, with Asian design motifs. Ellery Chun trademarked the aloha shirt in 1935, and from that time on designs took on a tropical Hawaiian theme for quite some time. Rayon of good quality was not available until the early 1940s. When it was adopted for use, vibrant colors and designs were the result and these shirts were called "silkies" due to the feel of the fabric. Silkies are the most highly collectible of the aloha shirts, and were produced until the mid 1950s when they went out of style. The 1950s featured abstract designs and cotton fabrics, and in the 1960s the reverse-print aloha shirt was created to look like faded shirts worn by surfers. While tourists ignored these shirts, locals immediately adopted them as a badge of Hawaiianness. Synthetic fabrics with ethnic designs became popular in the 1970s aloha shirts. Tropical designs of flora and fauna have consistently been featured, and the 1990s favored retro styles in rayon and silk. Manufacturers have brought back some of the original designs of the famous "silkies" of the 1940s and 1950s.

The aloha shirt has had an impact on American business attire. The production of reverse-print shirts worn for work by most men in Hawaii have kept pace with more vibrant shirts that are worn for more casual occasions.

Hawaii's aloha shirt began America's movement toward business casual attire in 1962 when Hawaii's government required men to wear it throughout the summer, and then later on, Aloha Friday was declared, and workers were (and still are in the early 2000s) expected to dress in aloha attire every Friday. One could say that Aloha Fridays led to Casual Fridays on the U.S. mainland. Throughout the mid-twentieth century, tourists and soldiers brought the aloha shirt to the U.S. mainland but more importantly, the aloha shirt migrated to California on the backs of surfers who brought the relaxed shirt and lifestyle to the mainland. This was the beginning of the business casual movement, as many of the young California surfers grew up to become Silicon Valley executives who shed three-piece suits for more relaxed attire at work and instituted Casual Fridays into the world of

See also Colonialism and Imperialism; Cotton; Rayon.

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Linda B. Arthur

HAWES, ELIZABETH Elizabeth Hawes (1901– 1971) belonged to the first generation of American designers who succeeded in making a name for themselves as individuals outside the sphere of the Parisian couture. In 1925 Hawes graduated from Vassar College, where she was an economics major sympathetic to socialism, but she pursued an interest in fashion by participating in school theatricals and making her own clothes. By graduation she had decided to go to Paris and learn fashion design. Hawes spent the next three years in various positions within the couture business: as a design copyist, journalist, and assistant designer. During this time she wrote a fashion column for The New Yorker, using the pen name "Parisite." She also worked briefly for Nicole Groult, the sister of the designer Paul Poiret. Her life in Paris was divided between socializing with her wealthy Vassar friends and engaging in the bohemian life; she spent much of her time with an artistic crowd, including the sculptors Alexander Calder and Isamo Noguchi.

Hawes's Vassar education gave her the critical faculty to dissect the couture industry and the fashion press, while her social connections and her exposure to couture at the highest levels left her ambivalent about fashion, a feeling that grew all the stronger for her love of its creative potential. In 1928 Hawes returned to New York and started her own custom dressmaking business with a Vassar classmate, Rosemary Harden. Harden left the busi-

ness one year later, and Hawes decided to continue on her own as Hawes, Inc. Advertising, for which Hawes herself wrote the copy, helped business pick up significantly. Calder and Noguchi designed decorative objects for her New York showroom and influenced Hawes's own work. In 1930 Hawes married the artist Ralph Jester, whom she had known in Paris; they divorced in 1934.

Fashion and Politics

In 1932 Hawes and two other young American designers were promoted by the Lord and Taylor department store. This was one of the earliest attempts (if not the first) to prove that there was homegrown talent worthy of the public's notice. Hawes fully understood the power of publicity and exploited it. The ensembles in her collections were named according to themes: Spring/Summer 1933 was political, and the collection included such ensembles as "The Five Year Plan," a cotton nightgown and bed jacket; "the Yellow Peril," a silk afternoon dress; and "Disarmament," an embroidered evening dress. Her work was characterized by a bold use of fabrics—wide strips and large prints were used in simple, comfortable silhouettes. Hawes was an early advocate of trousers for women and wore them often herself.

In 1935 Hawes traveled to the Soviet Union to explore her growing interest in mass-produced clothing; as part of this trip, she showed some of her designs to members of the Soviet State Clothing Production Board, known as the Soviet Dress Trust. During her trip to the Soviet Union, she was accompanied by the theatrical director Joseph Losey, whom she married in 1937. The next year brought the birth of their son, Gavrick, and the publication of her first major work as an author: *Fashion Is Spinach*. This was Hawes's manifesto, and in it she expounds on the difference between "style" and "fashion" and how women are manipulated by the fashion industry:

Style... gives you the fundamental feeling of a certain period in history. Style doesn't change every month or every year.... Fashion is that horrid little man with an evil eye who tells you that last winter's coat may be in perfect physical condition, but you can't wear it. (pp. 5–6)

Hawes's criticism was not limited to women's clothing; she maintained that men needed to be freed from their conservative attitudes toward clothing. She staged an all-male fashion show in 1937, showing brightly colored clothes of her own design. This led to her next book, *Men Can Take It*, published in 1939. She could be considered the Dorothy Parker of fashion criticism, with her snappy tone and tell-it-straight attitude.

Career Change

Hawes, Inc., closed early in January 1940. The onset of World War II had firmly awakened Hawes's social conscience, and she felt that being a fashion designer was not an appropriate career for her at that time. She became committed to her career as a writer, becoming involved

in writing for the new left-wing paper, *PM*. In 1943 she took a job in a munitions factory for three months and then relocated to Detroit to work for the United Auto Worker's Union, where she also wrote for the *Detroit Free Press*. The result of her war work was her fifth book, *Why Women Cry; or, Wenches with Wrenches* (1943).

In 1948 Hawes made a last attempt at the fashion business and reopened Hawes, Inc., for eleven months. To demonstrate the timelessness of her designs, she played a game at the inaugural show, making guests guess which designs were new and which were from 1930s collections. Hawes settled in Southern California in the early 1950s. While she experimented with the production of knitwear, creating simple shapes decorated with abstract patterns, she spent the majority of her time writing. Her most rewarding experience during this period was her association with the young designer Rudi Gernriech, in whom she found a kindred spirit. In 1967 a retrospective of their work was mounted at the Fashion Institute of Technology.

Hawes moved back to New York in 1967 and lived in the Chelsea Hotel until her death on 6 September 1971. In total, she published nine books on fashion and culture as well as numerous articles in journals ranging from the left-leaning *PM* to the *Ladies' Home Journal*. In reality, her clothes did not appear radical for their time; it was her outspoken philosophy that set her apart.

See also Fashion Designer; Fashion Journalism; Paris Fashion; Politics and Fashion.

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Melinda Watt

HEAD, EDITH Edith Head (1897–1981) was born in San Bernardino, California. In 1923, after a brief career as a schoolteacher, Head answered an advertisement for a sketch artist at Famous Players–Lasky (soon to be renamed Paramount Studios). Although she had very little artistic training, her versatility impressed Howard Greer, the chief costume designer, who hired her immediately. When Greer left Paramount in 1927, he was replaced by his assistant designer, Travis Banton. As chief designer, Banton costumed the stars at Paramount, while Head, who had been promoted to assistant designer, costumed the B-movie players and extras. When Banton left the studio in 1938, Paramount named Edith Head chief de-



Edith Head tailors a dress for Sophia Loren. Head was well known for her ability to work with difficult personalities and to camouflage figure problems. © Bettmann/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

signer; she remained at the studio in this capacity until 1967. That same year she received a contract with Universal Studios, where she worked until her death in 1981. From the 1950s on, Head became a media personality through her regular appearances on the television show Art Linkletter's House Party. She also published two books: The Dress Doctor (1959) and How to Dress for Success (1967).

During her fifty-eight-year career, Head received more than one thousand screen credits, garnered thirtyfive Oscar nominations, and won the Academy Award for costume design an unprecedented eight times. She was legendary for her ability to please difficult personalities and to camouflage figure problems. She was considered particularly skilled at defining character through costume, and her "character" costumes were among her most successful, including those for Double Indemnity (1944), The Heiress (1949), and Sunset Boulevard (1950). Head was especially proud of her work on The Heiress, for which she had traveled to the Brooklyn Museum of Art to conduct period research, winning her the first of her many Academy Awards. Her collaborations with the director Alfred Hitchcock were renowned, since Head shrewdly understood the importance of costume to Hitchcock's creative vision in his films Rear Window (1954), To Catch a Thief (1955), and Vertigo (1958).

Head's designs were also occasionally responsible for influencing popular fashions. Her costumes for the Mae West film *She Done Him Wrong* (1933) reputedly set off a flurry of Gay Nineties–inspired fashions, while the sarong worn by Dorothy Lamour in the film *The Jungle Princess* (1936) continued to influence styles well into the next decade. Her costumes for Barbara Stanwyck in *The Lady Eve* (1941), which featured bare midriffs and fringed bolero jackets, are said to have popularized Latin American styles. Her most influential design by far was the lilac-strewn gown worn by Elizabeth Taylor in *A Place in the Sun* (1951). The dress was a sensation in the teen market, and thousands of copies were sold.

Throughout her career, Head was criticized for taking credit for costumes she did not design and for exaggerating her influence on popular fashion. Despite these flaws, Head was undeniably one of the hardest-working talents in costume design and certainly one of the most versatile. Her intelligence and dedication secured her position both in the Hollywood studio system and in the history of fashion.

See also Costume Designer; Film and Fashion.

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Clare Sauro

HEADDRESS Headdress is an elaborate, ornamental, or practical covering for the head, as differentiated from the hat, which has a crown, and includes many varieties such as the hairnet, headband, head wrap, wreath or chaplet, mantilla, turban, crown, and others. Headdresses incorporate complex meanings including religious symbolism, political power and affiliation, social status or rank, and fashion consciousness. Made of numerous materials, designs, shapes, and embellishments, headdresses can also serve practical purposes—protecting the head against natural elements, carrying objects like weapons, baskets, or water pots—and are often associated with ceremonies, particularly rites of passage.

Hairnets

Hairnets may be the oldest headdresses worn by humans. A mammoth-ivory figurine dated circa 36,000 B.C.E. and

found at Brassempouy (Las Landes), France, shows a human face with hair possibly braided and covered with what appears to be a netting. Bronze Age second millennium B.C.E. hairnets of horsehair using the sprang or twistedthread technique were found in Borum Eshøj, Denmark, and are preserved in the National Museum, Copenhagen. Complementing long, unfitted robes, a fashionable silk hairnet, known as a crespine, was worn with head and chin bands by upper-class women during the late thirteenth century C.E. in medieval Europe. By the 1500s, as Renaissance styles spread from Italy to northern Europe, ornate gold cord mesh, pearl-studded nets called cauls became fashionable. A modern version of the Renaissance-style silk-knobbed hairnet, Goyesca, which cascades down to a tassel is still worn at Spanish festivals. It commemorates Francisco Goya (1746-1828) who painted celebrating peasants of both sexes wearing tasseled hairnets. By the 1920s, new cropped and wavy hairstyles on European and American women led to the mass production and marketing of fine human hairnets, particularly for outdoor wear. Within a few years, international designers such as Elsa Schiaparelli (1930s) and Sally Victor (1940s) popularized the "snood" style hairnet, often made of chenille, cord, or ribbon and attached to a hat.

Headband Bandeau

Modern headbands, originally made of knitted wool, cotton, and later of natural and synthetic fiber mixtures, have many functions besides holding the hair in place. Athletes such as marathon runners, skiers, basketball, and tennis players wear them across the forehead to absorb perspiration. Political advocates use them like earlier hatbands to make public statements. In 1893, native Hawaiians in Western clothing appeared on Honolulu streets wearing hatbands with the words Aloha Aina ("Love of Country") indicating their loyalty to Queen Liliuokalani and opposing U.S. annexation. World War II Japanese kamikaze pilots wore white samurai headbands (hachimake), with a red rising-sun emblem and the words "Absolute Victory" in black Japanese calligraphy, while participating in rituals before flying off on suicide missions against U.S. targets; and in 2003, exiled protesters demonstrating against their country's ruling military dictatorship wore red headbands with white stars, symbolizing the Burmese peoples, outside Burma's Embassy in Bangkok, Thailand.

Aesthetically, headbands are part of many ethnic costumes. On the Indonesian islands of Bali and Sulawesi, men wear cotton batikked headbands (formed from a folded square of cloth) for everyday, ornamented brocades for festivals. Reflecting social rank, lace-edged cotton headbands were part of a maid's uniform in Europe and America, representing nineteenth- and twentieth-century middle-class gentrification, a carryover from earlier aristocratic livery customs.

Metal headbands worn across the top of the head hold earmuffs in place. Over centuries, in cold climates, earflaps on fur hats could be tied over the head or let down as desired. By the early twentieth century, with outdoor recreational sports gaining popularity, massproduced metal-headband fur earmuffs came to be marketed for adults and children. The industrial revolution had another impact on ear protection, namely, against noise. By the 1920s, pilots flew open-cockpit planes wearing cloth "helmet" caps designed with inner pockets over the ears to hold noise-absorbent material. More recently, responding to concerns for worker safety, industrial earmuffs were introduced for preventing hearing loss caused by loud machinery noises. In the early 2000s, there are noise-reduction, liquid-foam filled cushioned earmuffs, cap-mounted earmuffs, a Velcro-adjustable type, and three-position version (over-the-head, behind-the-head, and under-the-chin). Most contemporary flight or firefighting helmets are additionally equipped with wired earmuffs allowing communication between the wearer and coworkers. Cyclers, hunters, and other sports enthusiasts can enjoy musical CDs, tapes, and radio broadcasts through ear covers, computer designed for lightweight comfort, portability, and noise attenuation.

Kerchief and Head Wrap

The kerchief, a cloth covering the head, from the French couvrir (to cover) and chief (head), is usually worn by women. Traditionally, European peasants wore a small cloth tied under the chin while working outside; thus, the kerchief became associated with rural women and later with lower-class city residents. As late as the 1950s, a domestic servant girl in Madrid, Spain, was considered breaking social barriers by wearing a hat rather than the kerchief assigned her class. Also called a bandanna, the kerchief did become a practical middle-class head cover used for riding in open automobiles.

The head wrap, a kerchief worn by tying over the forehead, is believed to have traveled with women from Senegal and Gambia (West Africa) along the slave trade routes to Caribbean Islands and ports in North and South America. The falla, a strip of cotton cloth tied around the head in eighteenth-century Gambia, may be the precursor to the head wrap later identified with adult female slaves. Imported into New Orleans possibly by way of the French colonies Martinique and St. Dominique, the head wrap when worn by free women of color, became a nineteenth-century fashion called Tignon, created from brightly-colored madras, occasionally adorned with jewels and feathers.

Spanish Mantilla

Usually black or white, the mantilla may derive from *manton* (mantle or cape) worn both indoors and outdoors during the Muslim rule of Spain. Mantillas (small capes) were originally head coverings of handmade silk lace, often imported from Chantilly, France, and worn by aristocratic women, as documented in portraits by Velasquez (c. 1625) and Goya (1792). By the nineteenth century, a

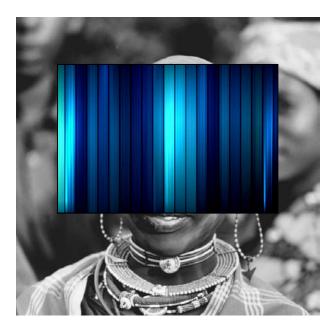


Yemenite bride in wedding finery. Headdresses are part of the costume for special occasions in many cultures, such as this elaborately crafted bridal hood. © RICHARD T. NOWITZ/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

popular hairstyle, the chignon, provided suitable positioning for high, decorative combs (tortoiseshell, silver, ivory) to support larger mantillas—some measuring 7 x 3 feet—which drape over the shoulders. This style is commonly worn for special events such as Holy Week processions and community fiestas. Red-silk knobbed mantillas are occasionally worn by unmarried young women to bullfights. Romantic myths transported to Spanish colonies in Latin America (Mexico) and the Philippines depict señoritas in white mantillas on balconies listening to guitar-playing suitors. Because of their cost, mantillas are often passed down from mother to daughter as family heirlooms. The lace mantilla, without a comb, was a French fashion during the 1920s and 1930s.

Royal Headdresses

Since antiquity, rulers have worn impressive and costly headdresses, visible symbols of their power and claims to divinity. Prehistoric peoples stressed survival; their practical head coverings were made of animal skins in northern



Masai woman with traditional headdress and jewelry. Headdresses have many styles, including the headband, hairnet, headwrap, mantilla, and turban. They can serve various practical purposes, but also connote religious symbolism, political power, and social status. © Yann Arthus-Bertrand/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

regions, twisted straws in warm climes. With the evolution of complex population centers, textile production and class stratification emerged in Mesopotamia, which resulted in Sumerian turbans and head wraps (3000 B.C.E.), and later splendid regal twisted hair and headbands during the Akkadian era (2250 B.C.E.). Egyptian royal ceremonial headdresses of the New Kingdom (c. 1580–1085 B.C.E.) were extremely precious, some made of gold decorated with inlaid carnelian, colored glass, and ostrich feathers.

The Ancient Greek korone (crown), a golden circlet or gold wreath, symbolized political and military power during the fourth century B.C.E. Macedonian era, while Olympic champions were crowned with nature cult headpieces: laurel, olive, pine, or celery wreaths. Adopting Greek depictions of gods, especially Apollo, many Roman emperors were portrayed on coins wearing the laurel wreath. Christian monarchs since Charlemagne have worn bejeweled crowns with a cross symbolizing their power as God-given.

Gigantic turbans, three to four times the head size, usually wrapped around a tall hat, adorned the heads of Ottoman sultans including Süleyman I in early sixteenth-century Istanbul. For public occasions, Manchu royalty in China wore ornate cone-shaped, silk-covered head-pieces, with imperial insignia above a tall gold finial intricately decorated with dragons, Buddhas, and pearls. But the nonofficial headdress worn by the Empress

Dowager Cixi and her courtiers (1903) was more striking. Bat-wing shapes of false hair and black satin were arranged over a wide frame with large artificial flowers and long silk tassels dangling from the sides.

For centuries, Japanese emperors have worn the black lacquered ceremonial headpiece (kanmuri) with a birdlike tail made of fine horsehair, associated with Shinto priests and courtiers. Because of his role as intermediary between humans and gods, only the emperor wore the tail vertically.

Glass beads, cowrie shells, and feathers are the precious materials used for elaborate headdresses of many African chieftains. A Yoruba king in Nigeria, who represents the collective destiny of his people, wears a tall conical beaded headdress asserting his authority in social, political, and religious matters. Numerous strands of beads hang from the royal headdress hiding his face, which is considered powerful and dangerous. The headdress, which represents the king, must be given reverence in his absence.

A 46-inch-high Aztec headdress (kopilli ketzalli), popularly called "Montezuma's Crown" and adorned with over 400 Quetzal bird feathers, is exhibited at Vienna's Hofburg Museum of Ethnology in the early 2000s. For Aztecs, the number 400 represented eternity; only the highest-ranking ruler could wear 400 feathers of this sacred bird, associated with wisdom, peace, and freedom. The headdress supposedly was taken by Spanish invaders under Cortez and sent in 1524 as a present to Hapsburg ruler Charles V, then Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain. Since the early 1990s, Yankuikanahuak, an association fostering revival of native Indian cultures supported by the Mexican government, has been lobbying the United Nations and the Austrian government to return this sacred relic to its rightful homeland. Similar efforts have taken place in the United States. Under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, an eightfoot-long war bonnet, made of thirty-five sacred bald and golden eagle feathers each measuring one foot, and claimed to have belonged to the renowned nineteenthcentury Apache Chief Geronimo, came under government protection for return to tribal ownership.

Wedding Headdresses

In many cultures and religious traditions, elaborate wedding headdresses become ritual objects. The Mien mountain tribal peoples of Laos and Thailand in the Golden Triangle emphasize a complex structure on the bride's head. Her hair, coated with beeswax, is pulled through a tube projecting from a large board on her head above which a vault (like a roof truss) is created from bamboo sticks. A red-embroidered patterned fabric covers the whole ensemble. After two days of ceremonies, the headdress is removed indicating the bride's acceptance as a full member of the groom's household.

For festivals, including weddings, Hmong (Miao) women in China's Yunnan Province wear an elaborate

black scarf measuring to 35 feet long that is wrapped around the head creating a plate shape. The headdress features an embroidered belt with dangling tassels or coins around its edge. Decorations include amuletic symbols: a spiral motif representing family; triangular patterns as "sacred mountains" protecting against evil spirits.

Traditional Japanese brides wear an elaborate hairstyle called Bunkin-Shimada. Hair decorations include a comb (kushi) and gold or silver multithreaded string folded in back in an elaborate shape. Hand-painted, lacquered floral-motif hairpins (kanzashi) may depict good-luck symbols such as pine trees for durability. Matching comb-and-hairpin sets are sold or rented in bridal stores. A white brocade band or hood (tsuno-kakushi), matching a white kimono, covers the elaborate bridal-adorned coiffure. White symbolizes the bride's willingness to "color herself as the husband wishes." The term "tsuno-kakushi" combines the words for "horn" and "concealer." It is said the white hood hides horns of jealousy or hatred the wife might have toward her husband, in-laws, or neighbors. At ceremony's end, the bride removes the white head-dress signifying she has left her family and adopted his.

In imitation of Ming empress crowns, Chinese brides wear an ornate phoenix headdress made of tiny gilded silver butterflies, flowers, and fruits dangling from wires, with inlaid kingfisher feathers (fertility and good-luck symbols) and embellished with strings of pearls hiding the bride's face. A large red veil completely covers the bride's head. Symbolism of the phoenix headdress and dragon motif on her robe associates the couple with the royal family, suggesting they are "emperor and empress" for the day.

Jewish wedding headgear incorporates local ethnic variations. One ornate example is the Yemenite bridal gargush, or hood, with its elaborate metallic ornamentation. Everyday gargushes are black cotton or velvet with a band of jewelry pendants (agrat), tiny silver rings, discs, and balls dangling over the forehead. Costly bridal gargushes are crafted from gold brocade decorated with golden agrats, golden chains (khneishe, salsa), valuable coins, and fine filigree pins (koubleh) of geometric shapes.

Crowns, wreaths, and veils are wedding head wear popularly used for Christian rituals. In Russian Orthodox ceremonies, ornate royal-style crowns with Christ and the Virgin icons are held over the bride and groom's heads. The couple is recognized as ruling a new kingdom, the home, where they are urged to live together as moral Christians.

Throughout Europe, peasants held spring flower festivals (Christian substitutes for earlier pagan fertility rites) and some groups adopted them for wedding celebrations. The white lace veil with orange blossom wreath became a classic after Queen Victoria's attire worn at her 1840 wedding to Prince Albert.

In the twenty-first century, Greek Orthodox couples wear wreaths of real, fabric, or artificial flowers joined to-

gether by a long ribbon representing their marital union. A similar practice of combining wedding headpieces is used by Buddhist couples in Thailand, where round white "Circles of Eternity" are joined by long strings.

See also Crowns and Tiaras; Hats, Men's; Hats, Women's; Helmet; Turban; Veils.

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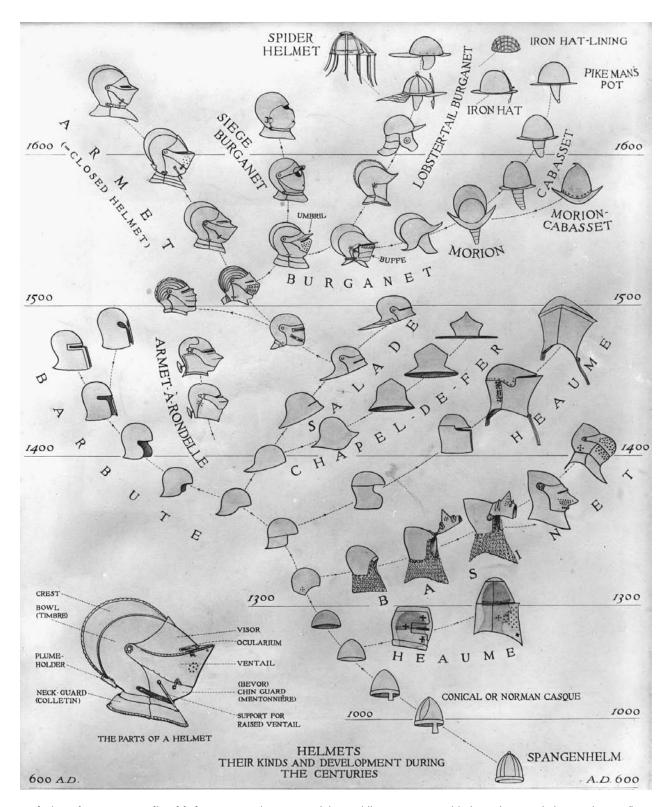
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Beverly Chico

HELMET A helmet—a defensive covering for the head—is made of hard materials for resisting blows so as to protect ears, neck, eyes, and face. Helmets have been worn over centuries for military combat and ceremonies, later for hazardous occupations, and recently for sports. Helmet design fluctuated with changes in warfare and technology.

Ancient Helmets

Prehistoric peoples probably wore woven basketry or hide head protectors; ancient Ethiopians used horse skulls, manes, and tails. Archaeological evidence reveals that rawhide caps and copper helmets, protecting ears and neck nape—with chin straps and padded wool or leather lining—were worn by Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian warriors during the third to first millennia B.C.E. Early Greek helmets were usually bronze hemispherical crowns. The Corinthian version incorporated a movable face mask; the Attic style had cheek guards (mentioned by Homer). Romans used Greek designs, including elaborate horsetail plumes; crested gladiator helmets were made of hammered bronze.



Evolution of European medieval helmets. Over the course of the Middle Ages, armored helmets became lighter and more flexible to adapt to different styles of warfare. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduced by Permission.

Middle Ages

European medieval helmets evolved from the seventh to seventeenth centuries as part of body armor, beginning with a boiled leather conical casque (*spangenhelm*) worn by tribal warriors over a hood of mail. During the feudal era, a large, heavy iron pot (*heaume*) protected the head from lances in chivalry tournaments, and the towering steel snouted visor (*basinet*) was worn in battle. Archers and pikemen used lighter, more flexible helmets with neck guards during the Hundred Years' War (c. 1337–1453).

By 1550, the Italian-invented *armet*, with its thin laminated iron or steel plates and joints providing ease of movement, was adopted by many armies in Europe. The crescent-shaped morion, copied from Moorish designs, protected sixteenth-century Spanish conquistadores in the New World against Indian bows and arrows.

Armor and helmet production reached its artistic zenith for knights and nobles during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; ornamental parade pieces often had embossed relief decorations reflecting Renaissance-style, Biblical, and mythological motifs, along with ostrich or peacock panaches. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the ultimate weapon was a cannon, metal helmets were displaced by lighter, felt tricorne hats, lamb's fur busbys, and beaver-with-leather shakos.

Another head protector came into widespread use after the 1850s mutinies in Bengal, India, where British troops encountered light, strong helmets made from the dried pith of the solah or sponge wood plant. Subsequently, the "pith sun helmet" was adopted by England and other countries for overseas military campaigns and sports.

Modern Military

World War I technologically revolutionized warfare and weaponry. Shallow-crowned, felt-padded steel helmets protected combatants in trenches against automatic machine guns, replacing earlier spiked and plumed headgear. M-1 steel helmets of World War II infantry were more comfortable with an internal sweatband liner that rested lightly on the soldier's head. Serving multiple functions for the troops, helmets were used as washbasins, eating bowls, and cooking pans. Throughout the twentieth century, at military funerals, a soldier's helmet often sits atop a rifle symbolizing personal heroism and patriotism.

From 1970 to 1997, the U.S. Army Natick Research, Development, and Engineering Center in Massachusetts developed the standard Personnel Armor System Ground Troops (PASGT) helmet; its shell is a one-piece composite molded structure made of multiple levels of Kevlar aramid fiber. Inside is a cradle-type suspension providing space between the helmet and head for ventilation and deformation during impact. Cotton and nylon twill camouflage reversible covers reflect different environments: woodlands, snow, and daylight desert.

Continuing innovation, the twenty-first-century U.S. Army incorporates the most advanced high-tech fea-

tures in its standard bulletproof Integrated Helmet Assembly Subsystem (IHAS). Its attachments, including night-vision goggles, allow for viewing the battlefield via digitized maps, messages, and sensor imagery generated from a personal computer and weapon sights, while receiving audio communications through a computer/radio subsystem composed of components embedded into the ballistic helmet shell. Defensively, the headgear also includes a chemical/biological protection mask and ballistic/laser eye protection.

Occupation Helmets

With nineteenth-century urban growth, larger police and fire units wearing military-style uniforms and helmets including chin straps, badges, and spikes encouraged esprit de corps. In 1863, London's Metropolitan Police began wearing the high-crowned dark serge-covered cork helmet (called "bobby hat" after the Tory prime minister Robert Peel, founder of the Metropolitan Police), similar to the lightweight pith helmet. Around 1900, a more practical, modern peaked hat was adopted in many countries, complemented decades later by titanium or plastic helmets with transparent anti-riot shields. Despite the changes, the English bobby hat survived.

Parisian fire brigades in the 1830s were outfitted with metal, gendarmerie cavalry visor casques. Wide-brimmed leather fire helmets, which (unlike metal) resisted retaining heat, were first used in New York (1740s) and spread to many areas over the next century. By 1959, U.S. government safety regulations began requiring the use of polycarbonate-plastic helmets that are impact, penetration, and water resistant, insulated against electrical charges, and self-extinguishing. Fire helmets of 2004 have transparent plastic face masks.

Coal and ore mining, which grew exponentially during the nineteenth century, gave little attention to head protection for workers. Leather or cloth caps had dangerous oil wick lamps attached for lighting. They were replaced by tin and fiber-compound helmets with carbide lamp attachments, which sometimes still caused explosions. The safest contemporary helmets have battery-powered electric lamps. The U.S. Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) establishes regulations for industrial workers' hard hats, which come in varying types for use in construction, welding, electrical work, and mining, with appropriate accessories.

Sports Helmets

Protective helmets for sports were largely introduced in the twentieth-century Western world. Earlier, horseracing jockeys, polo players, and fencers wore head protectors. Advertisements for English bicycle manufacturers in the 1880s show cyclers wearing dark pith helmets. By 1915, bicycle racers wore heavy, round leather helmets, similar to those of aviators and American football players, although recreational cyclists went bareheaded. Af-

ter World War II, the "hairnet" made of leather strips attached to a round base became popular for racers; its style was later incorporated into Styrofoam and plastic headgear providing increased comfort and protection.

As bicycle technology and design produced faster, more efficient vehicles and the number of cyclers grew to the millions, issues related to safety came to public attention. Beginning in 1957, the nonprofit Snell Memorial Foundation promoted helmet safety after the head-injury death of internationally renowned car racer Pete Snell the previous year. This foundation developed car racing helmet standards and later bicycle helmet criteria, which are used complementing rules set by the American National Standards Institute (A.N.S.I.). Legislation followed that mandated government-approved, laboratory-tested, head-protecting helmets, effective since the 1990s in many countries including Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States

Also in the 1990s, participants in other individual sports, such as motorcycling, skateboarding, and snow-boarding, began adopting helmets. Ski helmet use proliferated in 1998 after the accidental deaths of the celebrities Sonny Bono and Michael Kennedy.

Design and durability for recreation sport helmets is usually classified by motorized and nonmotorized sports, including specifications for adults, children, and toddlers. Car racing helmets have neck braces, like those designed for pilots. Rollerblading helmets have ear covers but an open aerodynamic design for air circulation. Helmets for the more dangerous sport of skateboarding incorporate additional padding and snug fit, and bicycle helmets vary according to use—road racing, mountain biking, or touring.

Many ski helmets incorporate a plastic shell over an inner Styrofoam liner with venting system for thermal protection. A few are made from lighter carbon or platinum materials. In the early 2000s ski racer, hockey, and football helmets have large extending chin protectors. Accessories include headphones or built-in speakers for radio communication, CDs, tapes, MP3 or mini disc listening, and cameras. Appealing to youth, helmet manufacturers produce a wide range of helmet colors and novelty decals.

Space Helmets

The most complex helmets ever created are for National Air and Space Administration (NASA) astronauts. They protect the wearer in alien environments against extreme temperatures (250° F to 250° below zero); micrometeoroids traveling up to 64,000 miles per hour; solar ultraviolet, infrared, and light radiation from the sun; and zero gravity conditions. The pressure helmet consists of a transparent polycarbonate (plastic) shell with aluminum neck ring that fits into and locks with the space suit neck ring. The helmet left side contains a feed port where water and food enter, and a purge valve. A vent port of synthetic elastomer foam is bonded in back with a ventilation

opening. The helmet functions as an integral part of the astronaut's life-support system. Oxygen, warmed to avoid fogging the visor, enters the helmet rear and travels over the head downward to the front. Carbon dioxide exits, via a fan and tubing, along with respiration- and perspiration-caused humidity. These are also integrated with the Feedwater and Liquid Transport Systems, which cool the astronaut, and radio transmitter/receivers. Recent "micro display" technology provides a visual image inside the helmet allowing technical diagrams to be beamed the astronaut.

See also Hats, Men's; Hats, Women's; Headdress; Military Style; Protective Clothing.

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Beverly Chico

HEMLINES The term "hemline" entered fashionspeak in the 1930s. Prior to that time, the fashion press referred to skirt lengths and, since the 1920s, when hems first became a focus of fashion, slavishly reported on how many inches above the floor the latest season's models were hemmed. While the press and fashionable women of the twentieth century obsessed about hemlines, throughout most of Western fashion history, skirt length was not an issue. Skirts reached the floor, except in clothing worn by members of the working class whose shortened garments facilitated their work, and, for brief periods of time during the 1780s and 1830s, when ankles were revealed. The history of the hemline is then one of twentieth-century dress, when the raising and lowering of women's skirts made headlines, occasioned protest marches, and served as a symbol of revolution.

1915—Hemlines Rise

Designers and couturiers first raised hemlines several inches above the floor in 1915 when they created the wartime "crinoline" with a full, shortened skirt. Many women greeted this new look with pleasure and saw it as more practical and better suited to a time when women

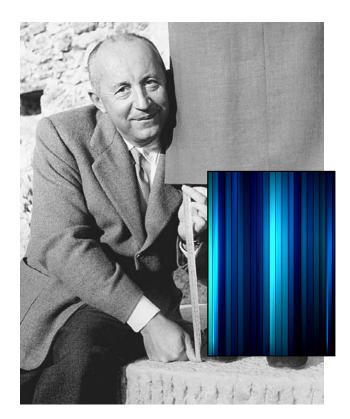
were entering the workforce at unprecedented levels. After the war, as skirt lengths continued to rise-ten to twelve inches above the floor in 1925 to fifteen inches in 1927—so did the outrage against them by more conservative parties such as religious leaders, politicians, and university presidents, who tried to preserve the moral order of the previous century when women did not smoke or bob their hair and stayed at home to raise a family. The New York Times reported on 27 December 1925 that Mrs. John B. Henderson, a prominent Washington hostess announced the inauguration of a campaign to reform modern tendencies in dress and that, following the efforts of high dignitaries of church and education, her movement would frown on cigarette smoking by women and call on them to abandon immodest attire. However, changes in society accelerated by World War I fostered increasing economic independence for women and a focus on youth culture with which the shorter skirts became identified; thus the fashion for short skirts prevailed. In fact, attempts by designers to introduce longer skirts between 1922 and 1924 were met with protests by many women who felt the shorter skirts were more youthful and modern.

Skirts continued to rise until 1927, when they reached just below the knee. Not surprisingly, in the following year, designers began to lower hemlines, sensing that women were more amenable to change than they had been in the early 1920s. This news was a relief to textile manufacturers, to whom one inch of added skirt length meant they could sell millions of yards of additional cloth. While manufacturers heralded this change, consumers protested. The *New York Times* reported on 27 October 1929 that some women claimed that the effort to put them back in long skirts was "an insidious attempt to lure women back into slavery." Other, more practical women refused to discard their current wardrobes in which their hemlines could not be lowered to the new fashionable standard, and buy new garments.

During the 1930s, hemlines did fall, but only for evening dress did they reach the floor. Women continued to wear shorter skirts during the day, now hemmed just above the ankle. This long, lean silhouette prevailed until the war years when regulations like L-85, issued by the U.S. government in April 1942, set skirt lengths at 17 inches above the floor and regulated other aspects of the cut of garments in an effort to conserve textiles. Evening dress remained more feminine, with floorlength full skirts made of tulle and marquisette that were not regulated under L-85. The "duration" silhouette survived throughout the war and suited women who, in even greater numbers than during World War I, entered the workforce and supported their families.

1947—The New Look

Following the war, the French designer Christian Dior brought the focus of fashion back to Paris when he introduced his 1947 collection dubbed "The New Look"



Christian Dior measuring a hemline. Dior's New Look line, introduced in 1947, substantially increased the length of women's skirts. © Bettmann/Corbis. Reproduced by Permission.

by Carmel Snow, editor of *Harper's Bazaar*. The collection featured long, very full skirts that were a complete reversal of the wartime silhouette. While many greeted Dior's new look with pleasure and a chance to regain their femininity, others protested the profligate use of material after the deprivations of the war. Despite the protests, the New Look gained popularity on both sides of the Atlantic and helped revive the fashion industry in Paris. Dior became known as the tyrant of the hemlines, and he and his fellow couturier's collections were avidly followed and their efforts to raise and lower hems of singular importance to fashionable women.

By the beginning of the 1960s, couture's fashion dominance began to diminish. American and Italian designers had more prominence and the postwar, baby boom generation was beginning to reach their teen years and enjoy an independence and economic freedom not known in the past. Their rejection of their parents' look, exemplified by the Paris couture, led to an increasing interest in street fashion. Young designers, especially those in London, began to introduce clothes more suited to their generation. Mary Quant opened her own boutique on Carnaby Street in London in 1955, and when she couldn't find what she wanted wholesale, she began to design her own pieces, featuring short skirts worn with tights. Skirts continued to rise throughout the 1960s, and

by 1966, the miniskirt was at the height of its popularity with the young. By 1968, most established designers in New York and Paris showed short skirts as well.

Of course, as in the 1920s, this evolution in fashion caused an uproar among the more conservative members of society. Also, as in the 1920s, designers tried to reintroduce skirts with longer hemlines, the midi and the maxi, and met, this time, with fierce resistance.

1970—The Midi

In 1970, designers, along with manufacturers and retailers, introduced the midi-skirt, originally defined as anything hemmed below the knee or above the ankle. An intense marketing campaign was waged, in which retailers such as Bergdorf Goodman forced their salesgirls to wear the new-length skirt. Despite the effort, most women rejected the midi, refusing the dictates of fashion designers and retailers. Women organized into groups such as POOFF (Preservation of Our Femininity and Finances), FADD (Fight Against Dictating Designers), and GAMS (Girls Against More Skirt) to protest the new look and encourage others to not buy the midi.

Although longer skirts prevailed in the 1970s and shorter skirts in the 1980s, since the battle of the midi, the length of a women's skirt is no longer dictated by fashion designers but rather is a personal choice.

See also Quant, Mary; Skirt.

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Most fashion histories do not address the story of hemlines in any depth. The best source of information is to be found in newspapers and magazines that covered its month-to-month and even day-to-day rise and fall. The source most easily searchable is the *New York Times*. Articles that proved particularly useful in writing this history are included below.

"The Day the Hemlines Went Down at Bonwit's." 4 August

"Dior, 52, Creator of 'New Look' Dies," 24 October 1957.

"Let the Hemlines Fall Where They May." 7 June 1967.

Morris, Bernadine. "The Rise of the Hemline Is Recounted." 5 April 1965.

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Pamela A. Parmal

HEMP Hemp is a soft bast fiber from the stem of a plant, as are flax, jute, and ramie. Hemp plant fibers are three to twelve feet long and are made up of bundled cellular fibers. The plant itself, *Cannabis sativa*, is hardy and can be grown in most locations and climates around the world and requires moderate water. Its recorded use for

food, shelter, and fiber dates from at least to 8000 B.C.E. Although ethnobotanists and others cannot be absolutely sure, it is thought that hemp was first grown in Asia.

Hemp can be fabricated for clothing, canvas, rope, and other uses. While hemp is not as soft as cotton, it is stronger than other cellulosics, such as flax, and more absorbent than cotton. Due to hemp's coarse and tough attributes it must be retted (rotted), a process by which the fibers are broken down microbially or chemically, decomposing the pectins that attach the bast fibers to the woody inner part of the stem known as the hurd or shive. Natural retting can be accomplished by simply allowing the cut stems to lie in damp fields for several weeks or by placing the stems in running water. The process of separating the bast fibers from the hurd is extremely difficult even when mechanized. The hurd is cleaned from the fiber by scutching (beating) and the fiber is further refined by hackling (combing). Thus, the retting, separating, and cleaning processes are lengthy and, therefore, expensive compared with other natural fibers. Overall, the production and processing of hemp is prohibitively expensive for routine consumer products.

Because hemp is naturally resistant to ultraviolet light, mold, and mildew, and to salt water, it has been used extensively for centuries by ships for sail canvas and rope. Farmers in the United States were encouraged to grow industrial hemp when, during World War II, the United States was denied access to abaca (called Manila hemp) from the Philippines. The U.S. Department of Agriculture produced a film titled "Hemp for Victory" and subsidized hemp cultivation by farmers. After World War II, industrial hemp cultivation was outlawed due to its association with marijuana hemp, a different variety of Cannabis sativa. In 1999, Hawaii became the first state since 1957 in the United States to plant hemp seeds legally. Hawaii's hemp project ended on 30 September 2003, when the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) ended Hawaii's attempt to grow industrial hemp. Industrial hemp is harvested in Canada, China, and most of Europe.

Hemp was reputedly used by Levi Strauss for the first Levi trousers sent to miners during the U.S. gold rush in the mid-1800s. Hemp fibers and yarns can be successfully combined with other natural fibers and yarns, including silk, and with synthetic fibers and yarns. Processed hemp is imported into the United States for use in industrial carpeting and upholstery as well as light supple dress weights.

In 2003, there were several businesses in the United States selling hemp fabrics or hemp blend fabrics for various uses. There were a large number of retailers who sold hemp and hemp blend products ranging from knitted T-shirts to woven and printed aloha shirts. Hemp fabrics become softer with repeated use and washing. Home products and accessories such as upholstery and table linens made from hemp are found to have strong market appeal to those seeking natural textile products.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, consumer use of hemp fabrics could be seen as a novelty touched by hemp's arcane association with forbidden marijuana.

See also Hawaiian Shirt; Levi Strauss.

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Carol Anne Dickson

HERMÉS The world's most acclaimed maker and purveyor of status goods, Hermès has evolved from its days supplying harnesses to coach builders. The firm has been in family hands since it was begun in 1837, when Thierry Hermès (1801–1878), who had moved to France from Prussia in 1821, established his wholesale business near the old city wall on the rue Basse du Rempart in Paris.

In 1879 his son Émile-Charles Hermès (1835–1919) acquired the current flagship building at 24, rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré and expanded the business into retailing by manufacturing and selling saddles along with related equestrian accoutrements. At the time the phrase "carriage trade" connoted the uppermost level of the haute monde: those who could afford to commission, equip, and maintain exquisite horse-drawn carriages, not to mention stables of purebred horses. Thus the Hermès clientele came to be composed of the upper crust of international society.

Somewhat unusually for a company associated with the stately past, Hermès adapted astutely to a rapidly changing world as the early twentieth century witnessed enormous changes in modes of transportation. Émile-Maurice Hermès (1870–1951), understood that people's preferred methods of travel had increasingly become an expression of their personae and position in society. Thus the company developed luggage, folding portable furniture, and other articles made specifically for travel by ocean liner, airplane, safari, or automobile. Nor was the world of the horse ignored, as riding became even more glamorous as a sport than it had been as a means of transportation.

Émile-Maurice's son-in-law Robert Dumas (1905–1978) was the next director of the company. Robert was succeeded by one of his sons, Jean-Louis Dumas (1938–), who held the reins after 1978. Numerous Hermès family members continued to be closely involved with the company, and the fact that it remained a family-run firm made all the difference in its continuing reputation for

superb quality. At Hermès tradition and innovation were almost paradoxically intertwined; what might have seemed like mechanical precision was achieved by carefully nurtured and trained artisans working entirely by hand. Besides a level of quality against which all other quality goods were measured, Hermès came to be best known for several of its products that progressed from practical items to best-sellers to classics to cultural icons.

Hermès Handbags

Few articles of women's attire carried the significance of a Hermès handbag in the early 2000s. The Hermès Kelly and Birkin bags entered modern consciousness as icons laden with status. As a plot element in Diane Johnson's novel *Le Divorce*, the Kelly bag was instantly recognizable to those conversant in the language of status and society as a sign that the American-in-Paris Isabel Walker had acquired a well-heeled older lover. And Martha Stewart's carrying two Birkin bags—not just a black bag but a brown one as well—received international attention at her 2004 trial and might have contributed to the distance the jurors perceived between her lifestyle and theirs.

The haphazard path of the Kelly bag's journey to icon status was part of its appeal. Originally a large bag for holding a saddle when it was introduced around 1892, the prototype of the Kelly bag was known as the Haut à Courroles, indicating that it had a high handle. During the 1930s the Haut à Courroies joined the Mallette and Bollide as roomy Hermès travel bags. An early depiction in the July 1937 issue of the French high-fashion magazine Femina showed two women waiting as a curved aerodynamic train pulled into the station. Both women were dressed in typically chic travel clothes of the period sober and tailored. One carried a light-colored Mallette bag; the other, a dark and soft rather than stiff Kelly bag in dark leather. Both handbags represented a departure from the dominant purse of the 1930s, which was a simple flat small envelope.

The boxy Kelly bag got its nickname, famously, when Princess Grace of Monaco was shown on the cover of *Life* magazine in 1956 shielding her stomach with her handbag so as to ward off rumors (which would have been front-page news the world over) of her first pregnancy. In the 1950s Princess Grace was more than a fascinatingly beautiful style-setting woman; she was romance incarnate. She represented two types of American aristocracy—East Coast upper-class families and Hollywood celebrities—married to European royalty. Sales of the Kelly bag took off; it began to be used as a town bag, appropriate to wear with a tailored dress or suit.

Thirty or so years later, Jean-Louis Dumas chanced to sit next to the actress Jane Birkin on an airplane. Dismayed by the unkempt appearance of her straw carry-all, Dumas asked Birkin if she would help develop a new tote for the company. The much-coveted result was introduced in 1984. Like the Kelly, the Birkin bag had its origins in the world of luggage. An early version of the bag



THE ORANGE BOX

Appropriately for a firm that can be said to have invented the nonprecious status object, the Hermès box itself became a coveted item, decorating glamorous foyers and boudoirs, and being auctioned off on Internet websites. The box's distinctive color and texture were originally designed to resemble pigskin, one of the most popular sporty materials used for Hermès products of the 1920s and 1930s.

had appeared in a 1963 advertisement on top of a stack of small Hermès suitcases. That women of the early twenty-first century required the equivalent of antique luggage to help contain a day's necessities spoke volumes about their lives having become more rather than less complicated.

Many of the hundreds of Hermès handbags became classics, including Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis's favorites—the casual Trim, the more formal Constance with its large H-shaped clasp, and the Mangeoire, made like a horse's feed bucket with holes through which a scarf could be threaded. The Bollide, however, deserves special mention for its use of zippers. While in Canada during World War I, Émile-Maurice Hermès was intrigued by the sliding fastener used to close the top of his Cadillac convertible. Although Elsa Schiaparelli usually gets the credit for having discovered zippers, Hermès used them throughout the 1920s for all sorts of sports clothes, luggage, and purses, including the zippered and padlocked precursors of the Bollide and Plume handbags.

Hermès Scarves

The famous Hermès scarf, known as a silk carré or square, was launched in an advertisement in December 1936 as a coming attraction of 1937. Called "Jeu des omnibus et dames blanches," its pattern was based on a woodcut of an eighteenth-century game. Hermès scarves of the 1930s tended toward modernist geometric patterns. By designing a large square of silk printed with boldly scaled figural scenes, Hermès invented a whole new genre of fashion accessory, one that maintained its popularity for more than seventy years. Although all sorts of patterns came later—the stable of designs hovered around a thousand in the early 2000s—the typically bold scale of the patterns never wavered, and also influenced the design of high-fashion prints during the late 1980s. Besides the patterns, many based on Hermès's private museum holdings of art and antique objects, what made the scarves instantly recognizable as Hermès products was the quality of the

crisp silk twill, woven in Lyons from raw silk from China, and the precision printing. Each scarf design made use of as many as forty-five screens and 75,000 tones, resulting in unparalleled brilliance of color.

Hermès Ties

The first Hermès ties for men were dark, with discreet geometric designs, and made their debut in 1953. After the 1960s Hermès ties were designed by Henri d'Origny. They typically featured small repeated equestrian or sailing-inspired patterns in dazzling colors not usually associated with menswear. Hermès ties were steadily popular for more than forty years, no small feat in the fickle world of fashion.

Hermès Fashions

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the global brand conglomerates that dominated the market for luxury goods vacillated between emphasizing star designers and brand names. Hermès had offered clothes for sport, both custom-made and ready-to-wear, since the 1920s, but the firm's typical style was better known than the contribution of any particular designer. Since the 1980s, the names of designers associated with Hermès included Eric Bergère and Martin Margiela—whose most lasting contribution may have been an accessory rather than a line of clothing, namely a double-wrapped watch strap. Jean Paul Gaultier, who presented his first collection for Hermès in the fall of 2004, tapped a mien conspicuously lacking from contemporary fashion—the insouciance of the aristocrat born with a good seat. Designs in this mood included fringed cashmere coats fitted like horse blankets that had been thrown around the shoulders and belted, and a leather corset reminiscent of a saddle fastened with the famous Hermès padlock in the style of a chastity belt.

See also Celebrities; Gaultier, Jean-Paul; Handbags and Purses; Leather and Suede; Margiela, Martin; Scarf; Schiaparelli, Elsa; Silk.

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Caroline Rennolds Milbank

HEROIN CHIC At the U.S. Conference of Mayors on 21 May 1997, President Bill Clinton triggered a media furor on both sides of the Atlantic with his comments about the dangers of so–called heroin chic in contemporary fashion imagery. "You do not need to glamorize addiction to sell clothes," he asserted. "The glorification of heroin is not creative, it's destructive. It's not beautiful, it's ugly" (White House Briefing Room p.1). The pho-

tographs in question showed emaciated models, eyes halfclosed, skin pale and clammy, heads twisted in apparent abandon against a backdrop of seedy, anonymous hotel rooms and dirty apartments. Clinton's fears had been heightened by fashion photographer Davide Sorrenti's death at twenty-one, from a drug overdose on 4 February 1997. The gap between image-makers' and models' real lives and constructed fashion photographs blurred. Since the 1970s fashion designers' struggles with drug addiction, for example, Yves Saint Laurent and Roy Halston, had been related alongside discussions of their work and influences. In the 1990s media coverage merged actual drug abuse and fashion scenarios created to suggest decadent and nihilistic rejections of conventional notions of beauty. Clinton decried what he saw as fashion's glamorization of heroin use, and his words were reinforced by fashion journalists such as Amy Spindler of the New York Times, who felt that fashion insiders were irresponsible, that they ignored drug use by models and photographers, and that they made images that spoke of dark addictions in order to promote clothing and fashion ideals.

The ensuing media debate was further fueled by revelations of heroin abuse within the fashion industry. It is notable, though, that heroin chic existed only at the level of representation, in photographs and in styling for catwalk shows, rather than in actual clothing. It was a conjuring of signifiers that were frequently intended to evoke a more realistic idea of beauty and which its creators felt linked to their everyday lives in a way that more traditional fashion photographs, which relied upon sanitized visions of artificially enhanced perfection, never could.

This realist aesthetic had evolved since the early 1990s, with the London-based photographers Corinne Day and David Sims, and German-born Juergen Teller highly influential in its formation. They worked with like-minded stylists, most importantly Melanie Ward (with Day) and Venetia Scott (with Teller), who sought out secondhand clothes to mix with designer and high street garments to create a mood or atmosphere that related to their own experiences. Their work responded to post-rave youth culture, disenchantment with politics, and the impact of the global recession. It drew upon the intensity and fluidity of the rave scene and the darker obsessions and sense of alienation of rock bands such as Nirvana.

They were influenced by 1960s and 1970s fashion photographers who had experimented with notions of morality and acceptability, such as Bob Richardson and Guy Bourdin, and combined their images' often jarring, filmic quality with the raw emotion and intimate expositions of Larry Clark and Nan Goldin. In the 1990s, fashion photographers locked into a tradition of documentary photography that drew significance from traces of the everyday and sought to express the intensity of the moment. Goldin and Clark had both photographed real scenes of sex and drug use. They used the camera as a visual record, an external memory of their lives, and that

is what 1990s photographers—Sorrenti, Teller, and Day—integrated into their own work.

They mainly worked for style magazines such as *The Face, Dazed and Confused*, and *i-D* in London, and therefore drew a young audience that responded to the stripped-down settings and light touch of Ward's and Scott's styling, which created outfits that seemed to have been thrown together from old favorites rather than crisp, new clothes. The models they chose, Emma Balfour, Rosemary Ferguson, and Kate Moss among them, were skinny and androgynous, and embodied a challenge to the more Amazonian physiques of previous models. However, their thinness at times seemed acute, and their glazed, Vaseline-lidded eyes and pale faces were jarring among glossier beauty ideals shown in advertisements in the same magazines.

Although other areas of culture were equally preoccupied by images of youthful rebellion, through drugs and partying, the models' fragile bodies appeared bruised and vulnerable. Their delicate features seemed blurred by smudged makeup and incongruous in the context of dirty rooms or overgrown countryside. They recalled the emaciated style shown in the 1981 cult film, *Christiane F.*, which depicted the life of a teenage heroin addict. Models were often shown lying prone, perhaps asleep, perhaps passed out.

Irvine Welsh wrote about heroin addiction in *Trainspotting*. Films, such as the one inspired by his book made in 1996; *Drugstore Cowboy*, 1989; *Pulp Fiction*, 1994; and *The Basketball Diaries*, 1995, were all far more graphic in their scenes of drug abuse; they were also able to show their protagonists' suffering and turmoil. Fashion images, however, presented snapshots that covered perhaps eight magazine pages, a mini-narrative that was ambiguous, with drugs never actually explicit but implied to some onlookers by gestures, settings, and facial expressions.

By the time Clinton spoke out about so-called heroin chic, a term that had been circulating, along with "junkie chic," in the press for the past year, many felt the style was over, and fashion had moved on. It had been a strand within fashion that had grown up over the previous years, coming to fruition in 1993, as evidenced by, for example, fashion shoots for The Face of that year, and it gradually shifted, into more straightforward documentary work for Day and Teller, into a darker, more erotic fantasy for photographers such as Sean Ellis, or into more explicit imagery for Terry Richardson. Camilla Nickerson and Neville Wakefield's book, Fashion, Photography of the Nineties (1996), brought together many of the key images of the period and showed the breadth of the realist style, of which heroin chic was only a part. The outcry came as mainstream labels appropriated the aesthetic, Calvin Klein included, adding an edge to their brand. As it shifted context, and therefore reached a wider audience, heroin chic's suggestions of internalized violence and illicit pleasures became increasingly controversial. Heroin chic was a symptom of cultural anxiety, and fashion's contradictory position within Western culture meant that its exploration of uncomfortable themes of alienation, deathliness, and beauty were problematic, especially at a time when representations of reality and fiction were ever more blurred.

See also Extreme Fashions; Fashion Photography.

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Rebecca Arnold

HIGH HEELS High-heeled shoes, perhaps more than any other item of clothing, are seen as the ultimate fashion symbol of being a woman. Little girls, who raid their mother's closets for dressing-up props, gravitate toward them. A first pair of high heels was often a rite of passage into womanhood.

To be so fashionably shod is often detrimental to one's feet, but a high-heeled shoe is widely perceived as the sexiest, most feminine shoe a woman can wear. High heels have the ability to change radically the wearer's posture and appearance. Heels make the leg look longer, slimming calves and ankles. A woman's silhouette changes. Her breasts are thrust forward and her bottom pushed out to create a seductive S-shape that helps to create that sexy walk. These physical changes influence how a woman feels and often how she is perceived, so creating the paradox of wearing heels. On the one hand, high heels are all powerful. A woman becomes taller, striking a defiant pose that signifies sexuality and power. In heels she can take on the world. Yet, high heels can also create a helpless woman, teetering and unsteady, unable to run for the bus, passive and weak.

High heels have had a long association with sexual fetishism—from the dominatrix in black leather high-heeled boots to the submissive in bondage shoes.

Origins

Heels were first introduced in the 1590s. In the 1660s Louis XIV of France made high heels fashionable for men. As a relatively short man he coupled high heels with tall wigs to create an illusion of height. Royal customization gave rise to red heels, a symbol of status and power, initially only worn by those in the royal court. High red heels continued to be fashionable into the 1770s.

The Eighteenth Century

The French fashion of the 1770s and 1780s saw high heels placed under the heel arch of the foot, causing the wearer's toes to be crushed in the upturned pointed toe, yet tilting the wearer forward in a provocative manner.

The resulting pain was worth it for the very fashionable look. A satirical poem of the time says it all: "Mount on French heels/ When you go to a ball /'Tis the fashion to totter/ and show you can fall!" Toward the end of the eighteenth century, heels became lower or wedged, disappearing altogether by around 1810.

The Nineteenth Century

From the 1850s women's heels began to make a comeback, and by the 1860s fashionable heels could measure 2.5 inches. In June 1868 the *Ladies Treasury* told its readers: "High-heel boots are universal, notwithstanding that medical men have been writing very severely against them. They say the fashion causes corns, cramps, lameness at an early age, lessens the size of the calf and thus makes it lose its symmetry" (Swann, p. 48). From 1867 there was also the introduction of a straight, slender high heel known as the Pined PINET, after the French shoemaker Francois Pinet.

In the 1890s some courtesans wore a style known as the Cromwell shoe, based on the Victorians' rather fanciful ideas of the shoes worn by Oliver Cromwell and his followers; this style had a heel of up to 6.5 inches.

Early heels were carved from wood and covered with leather or fabric used for the upper shoe. To strengthen the area between the sole and the heel the leather sole often ran down the heel breast.

The Twentieth Century

The Cuban heel with straight sides appeared in 1904. It was usually constructed using pieces of leather stacked to create its height. The bar shoe was the classic style of the 1920s, sporting a high Louis or Cuban heel. Jewelled heels decorated with paste, diamante, and enamels were featured on evening shoes.

A significant development in the history of high heels came on the wave of Christian Dior's New Look in 1947. This style required a correspondingly slim and elegant high heel. Previously high slim heels were prone to breaking. The problem was solved when a steel rod was inserted through a molded plastic heel. Stilettos were first mentioned in the *Daily Telegraph* on 23 September 1953. Initially high fashion, made popular by the French shoe designer Roger Vivier, all women were soon wearing them until the early 1960s. Stilettos caused many practical problems, including the pitting of wooden floors and getting caught in street gratings.

It was also in the 1960s that for the first time since the 1720s, the high heel was reclaimed by men in the form of the Cuban heel on what were known as Beatle boots, a style made popular by the Beatles. In the 1980s high stiletto heels made a comeback, as power dressing for women at work became de rigueur. Coupled with a shoulder-padded masculine tailored suit and red lipstick, the high heel symbolized sexual power and dominance, a "don't mess with me" visual attitude.

Since then the high heel has never really disappeared. Its resurgence in the early 2000s was reflected in the popularity of Manolo Blahnik's shoes in the TV show *Sex and the City*. Some women only wear high heels for special occasions as formal wear, while others wear them all the time. Whatever the preference is, the high heel will never go away.

See also Blahnik, Manolo; Boots; Shoes; Shoes, Women's.

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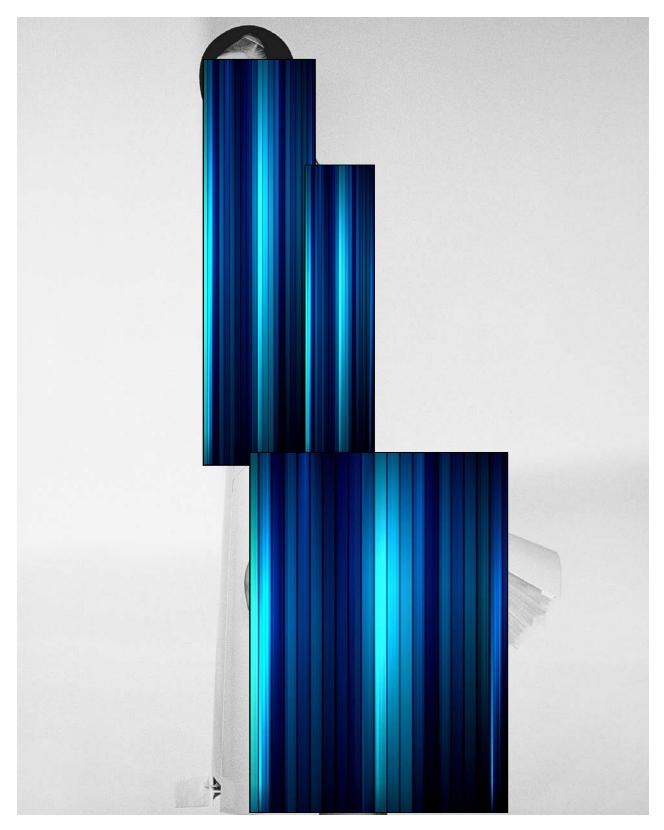
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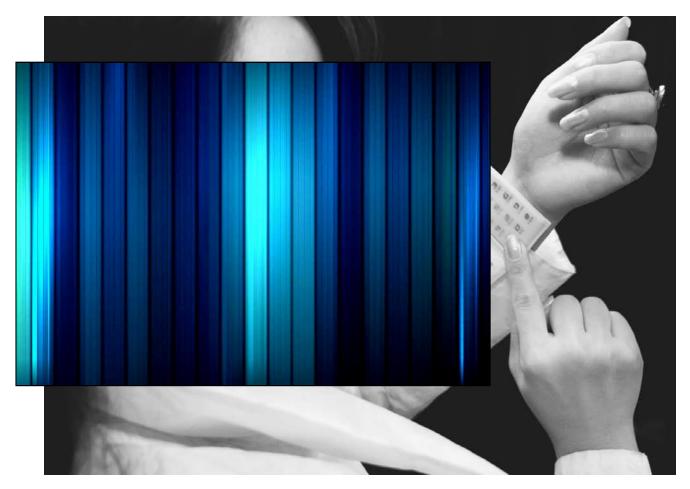
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Rebecca Shawcross

HIGH-TECH FASHION High-tech fashion uses advances in science and technology to design and produce fashion products. Methods used in high-tech fashion borrow from technologies developed in the fields of chemistry, computer science, aerospace engineering, automotive engineering, architecture, industrial textiles, and competitive athletic wear. Fashion projects an image of rapid change and forward thinking—a good environment for use of the latest technologies in production methods and materials. As technology becomes more integrated with one's everyday life, its influence on the fashion one wears continues to increase.



Airplane Dress. Designed by Hussein Chalayan, the Airplane Dress is representative of how advances in science and technology are used to create fashion products. Courtesy of Chris Moore. Reproduced by Permission.



High-tech fashion. A Pioneer Corp. employee demonstrates the latest in Japanese streetwear—the wearable PC. In the early 2000s, Pioneer was attempting to showcase more functions to the heat-proof, fabric-like display on the sleeve. © Reuters/Corbis. Reproduced BY PERMISSION.

Historic technological innovations such as the development of the sewing machine, the zipper, and synthetic fibers have influenced how garments are made, how they look, and how they perform. Elsa Schiaparelli was a noted designer of the 1930s and 1940s who had an eagerness to experiment with synthetic fibers. She introduced the first zipper to Paris couture. World events delayed advancements in techno fashions until the race for space began to influence designers in the 1960s. André Courrèges's use of bonded jersey, Paco Rabanne's experimentation with metal-linked garments, and Pierre Cardin's pioneering vacuum-formed fabrics began to push the boundaries of fashion through experimentation with technology and innovative materials. Plastics, foamlaminated fabrics, metallic-coated fabrics, and a sleek fashion silhouette launched fashion into a new realm.

Technological advances continue to influence fashion with new developments in materials, garment structuring and sizing, methods of production, and the quest for fashion that reflects the look and lifestyle of the future.

Techno Materials

Techno materials include fibers, textiles, and textile finishes engineered for a specific function or appearance. The U.K. designer Sophia Lewis believes that "the greatest potential for the future lies in experimental fashion using advanced synthetics to promote new aesthetics and methods of garment construction" (Braddock and O'Mahony, 1999, p. 80). While most synthetics of the twentieth century were developed to mimic natural fibers, the new synthetics are engineered to be strong and durable even when lightweight, transparent, or elastic. Blending natural fibers with synthetics in new ways to produce "techno-naturals" is adding to the aesthetic and performance advantages of textiles.

Recent fiber developments include microfibers, fibers regenerated from corn and milk proteins, metallics, and fiber optics. Microfibers can be produced at a thickness less than that of a silk filament to create fabrics that are soft and fluid with great strength and capabilities of performing under extreme environmental conditions.

New processes and experimentation have lead to ecofriendly fibers made from renewable resources such as corn and soybeans. Another eco-friendly advancement is the genetic development of naturally colored cotton, eliminating the need to use caustic dyes. Shape memory alloys (SMAs) made of nickel and titanium can be produced in wire or sheet form to be incorporated into fabrics that retain memory of their original shape.

Holographic fibers can be used to reflect colors and images from the wearer's surroundings. Fiber optics incorporated into fabrics can be used to transmit messages.

While traditional fabrication methods of weaving and knitting remain, new fabric technologies are emerging. Knits are being fashioned to form seamless garments that are shaped to fit any figure. Nonwovens are inexpensive to produce and are adaptable to multiple end uses. Experimentation with a variety of finishing techniques for nonwovens has introduced a new aesthetic option for designers such as Hussein Chalayan, who fashioned dresses of Tyvek nonwoven fabrics. Foams give options of developing sculptural shapes for the body as well as providing insulation. Synthetic rubber allows garments to fit close to the body with freedom of movement in many applications, from wet suits to evening gowns.

Fabric finishes are providing new options for designers. Fabrics can be coated with microencapsulated substances such as vitamins, fragrances, insect repellents, or bacteriostats. As the tiny capsules burst, the substance is released onto the skin. Phase-change technology, originally developed by NASA, produces fabrics that adapt to changes in temperature with the potential of providing garments that heat and cool the body. Phase change materials (PCMs) can be incorporated into fibers or sandwiched between layers of fabrics. The PCM can absorb and distribute excess heat throughout the fabric before storing it. As the environment cools, the PCM solidifies and releases the stored heat to the wearer.

Textile designers have a heightened interest in combining both chemical and mechanical processes to develop beautiful and practical fabrics. Experimentation with high-tech interpretations of simple finishing techniques, such as calendering or mercerization, can give fabrics a variety of textures, from smooth and lustrous to crinkled or sculpted. The finish can dramatically transform a fabric's visual and tactile qualities as well as performance characteristics like stain resistance, wind resistance, or permanent-press features. Thermoplastic fibers can be molded with heat to create permanent three-dimensional surfaces.

Printing is another method of transforming the surface of a textile that has been advanced through experimentation with new technology. Computer Aided Design (CAD) is a tool that enables textile designers to create modern print patterns, including the feeling of three-dimensional space. The computer has replaced many of the labor-intensive production demands needed to cre-

ate surface pattern. It provides flexibility and speed, and can be used with a range of printing options to create a new visual aesthetic. Ink-jet printing can move a design from the computer screen to the fabric with speed and flexibility. Heat-transfer allows for great experimentation by developing a design on special paper and then transferring it to a synthetic fabric with heat and pressure. Relief printing with synthetic rubbers and metallic powders creates textural surfaces that are modern and functional.

In addition to looking at technology for direction, many designers have a renewed interest in traditional finishing techniques such as pleating, shibori, and resist-dyeing. The strength of the pioneering Japanese textile industry is based on the combination of new technologies with traditional craft. Rei Kawakubo, Issey Miyake, Yohji Yamamoto, Junya Watanabe, and Michiko Koshino have been leaders in combining traditional craft techniques with cutting edge technology. These designers pioneered a trend toward cooperative partnerships between textile designers and fashion designers, enhancing the development of textiles and garments in a synergistic fashion. This is a model copied worldwide.

In contrast to the strong trend to use technological advances, a sentiment echoed by many designers worldwide is for a more balanced perspective. It is the belief that a design is enhanced by evidence of the hand that created it; thus imperfection, individuality, and an honest approach to materials is highly valued. In many respects, this effort to reject the uniformity of mass-produced garments has been attributable to rapidly evolving technology and move toward fashion that expresses individuality. The explosion of the Internet at the millennium added to this shift by presenting new possibilities in fashion.

Garment Production

The last quarter of the twentieth century saw rapid development of computer technology. Computer-aided design and computer-aided manufacturing (CAD/CAM) dramatically changed the process of designing and manufacturing garments by reducing many labor-intensive processes, increasing speed and accuracy, and lowering costs. Garments can be developed with CAD from sketch to pattern and cutting, either locally or globally, in a fraction of the time it took.

Designers research trend and development information, communicate with clients and suppliers, and sell and market designs in a wireless Internet environment where yesterday is too late. Fashion news is available hours after an event occurs, and the Internet has even replaced some live fashion events. Walter Van Beirendonck, Helmut Lang, and Victoria's Secret have used Internet methods of showing designs. This rapid flow of information, an interest in individuality, and the technology to support rapid production have led to the development of mass customization.

Mass customization is a design, manufacturing, and marketing concept that allows a customer to order a gar-

ment to specifications for approximately the same cost as off-the-rack. Part of the specifications may include custom sizing that is achieved with the use of a body scanner, which records measurements that are translated to individualized patterns. This scanned measurement information, along with personal preferences and shopping history, can all be stored on a credit card to facilitate the shopping experience. There are many benefits to this method of operation, including a satisfied customer, less wasteful production, and sales made at full price.

Customization concepts may also support the development of new apparel production technology in molding materials, industrial fusing methods, and seamless knitting technology—providing a glimpse at forming garments without needle and thread. Hussein Chalayan's remote control dress uses composite technology borrowed from the aerospace industry to form molded panels that are clipped together and can move to reveal different parts of the body. The forerunner of this molding technology was the molded bra cup developed in the 1960s. Designers have worked with lasers for cutting patterns and creating intricate, cut designs, or ultrasound to fuse the seams of thermoplastic fabrics. New developments in circular knitting machines move from simple tube knits to entire garments shaped to the body on the machine. Industrial materials that include metals, glass, plastics, and industrial mesh are providing inspiration from architecture for many clothing designers. Traditional apparel production methods are revised or even abandoned according to the needs of the new materials and the way they interact with the body.

Fashions for New Lifestyles

Sports and active lifestyles have influenced fashions of the early 2000s. Apparel technologies developed for competitive sports are incorporated into fashions for everyone. Research and innovative thinking have advanced sportswear with attention to both performance and aesthetics. Garments that maintain body temperature, cool the body, and improve performance are researched and engineered with a new aesthetic that has moved the garments out of the gym and into everyday life.

Current fashion is making accommodations for the consumer's changing electronic lifestyle, including garments with pockets for cell phones, jackets with connections for electronic music players, and stylish bags to tote laptops. Researchers are developing "intelligent" fashions incorporating wearable computers, communication systems, global positioning systems, and body sensors. Systems may have the capability to allow the wearer to surf the Internet, make phone calls, monitor vital signs, and administer medication. While much research remains to be done, initial exploration has begun at MIT's Media Lab, Starlab, Charmed Technology, and International Fashion Machines. The goal of these groups is to develop prototypes of wearable electronics and to explore the synergy required between computer science, fashion, health

care, and defense to produce marketable, user-friendly products. Advances and innovative thinking in the production of apparel and communication platforms and networks will be required to move these concepts forward.

The changing world political climate and the continuing challenges of world health present new opportunities for science to address wearable solutions. Development of protective apparel against bioterrorist attack and spread of infectious disease commands research dollars from governments worldwide. These investments will most likely lead to exciting new materials that ultimately result in new fashion.

Fashion is a reflection of the times, and thus incorporates current scientific and technological developments. Change is a constant in fashion, and one can look forward to ever-developing advanced materials and methods and perhaps even new purposes for fashion.

See also Extreme Fashions; Futurist Fashion, Italian.

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Elizabeth K. Bye and Karen L. LaBat

HIJAB Equating the terms *bijab* and "veil" is a common error. "Veil" is an easy, familiar word used when referring to Arab women's head, face, and body covers. *Hijab* is not the Arabic equivalent of veil—it is a complex and multilayered phenomenon.

"Veil" has no single word equivalent in Arabic. Instead many different terms refer to diverse articles of women's and men's clothing that vary by region, era, lifestyle, social stratum, stage in the life cycle, and gender. Adding to this complexity is the fact that some covers and wraps worn by both sexes have multiple usages and are manipulated flexibly to cover the face when socially required. For example, women use head covers or large sleeves to hide the face in ways that can communicate kinship, distance, or social stratum of a person they encounter. Men, as well, can use their head covers in the same way.

"Dress" is a more inclusive word and has an Arabic equivalent, *libas*, that in Arab-Islamic culture connotes meanings beyond material form and function. *Libas* extends conceptualization to notions of family and gender implying haven-shelter-sanctuary—a protective shield, as it were. Dress is integral to Islam's sacred beginnings and

explicit Qur'an references reveal a role for *libas* (dress) in Islam's conceptualizations.

Dress in Arab and Islamic culture can be viewed in two ways: the traditional-secular dress (clothing adopted through customary practices over time without religious connotation) and religious dress (clothing forms justified or believed to be justified or prescribed by religious sources or authorities). The Christian example of the latter would be the nun's habit. The Afghan burqa, the object of scrutiny and attack by some feminists preceding the Afghan invasion by the United States, exemplifies the traditional or secular form of dress. Hijab is the religious kind of cover in an Islamic context. The English word "veil" can apply to either secular or religious kind of cover. Hijab is more culturally specific than veil, but embodies multiple cultural levels of meaning and is better understood when embedded in wider sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts. Muslims use Qur'anic references to support their adoption of practices or in taking positions regarding related issues, and there are indeed some references to hijab in the Qur'an.

Qur'anic References

In the Qur'an (considered the primary and divinely revealed source), but mostly according to the *Hadith* (Prophetic Narrative, a secondary worldly source), evidence suggests that the Prophet Muhammad had paid much attention to dress style and manner for Muslims in the emerging community, gradually developing a dress code. There was a specific focus on Muslim men's clothing and bodily modesty particularly during prayer, but reference to women's body cover is negligible.

Within the Qur'an's references to hijab, only one concerns women's clothing. Muslim men and women who argue in the early 2000s for the Islamic dress and behavioral code usually cite two chapters in support of modesty for women and for an Islamic basis for wearing the hijab.

As Islam gradually established itself in the Madina community, after it had been chased out of its place of origin in Makka, the interpretation of "seclusion" for Muhammad's wives originated from sura (chapter) 33, ayah (verse) 53 in which hijab is mentioned:

O believers, enter not the dwellings of the Prophet, unless invited. . . . And when you ask of his wives anything, ask from behind a hijab. That is purer for your hearts and for their hearts. (33:53)

Evidence suggests that this sura is ultimately about privacy of the Prophet's home and family and the special status of his wives in two ways—as Prophet's wives and as leaders with access to Islamic information and wisdom who are increasingly sought by community members. There was a need to protect their privacy by regulating the flow of visitors and the comportment of the men who entered upon the women's quarters. Here "hijab" refers not to women's clothing, but to its use as partition or curtain to provide privacy for women.

Sura al-Ahzab (33), ayah 59 enjoins the Prophet's wives, daughters, and all Muslim women to don their *jil-bab* for easy recognition and protection from molestation or harassment:

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

filbab refers to a long, loose shirtdress, and does not connote head or face cover. This verse distinguishes the status of the Prophet's wives from the rest of the believers, and the other (33:53) protects their privacy from growing intrusions by male visitors.

Sura 24 refers to *khimar* (head cover) in the general context of public behavior and comportment by both sexes. In it ayah 31 (24:31) has been widely cited in scholarly works, often in isolation from the rest of the verse, distorting the meaning, implying that women are singled out for "reserve" and "restraint." Preceding it, ayah 30 addresses men first:

Tell the believing men to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals; for that is purer for them, God knoweth what they do.

Ayah 31 follows, continuing the same theme:

And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and conceal their genitals, and not reveal their beauty, except what does show, and to draw their *khimar* over their bosoms, and not to reveal their beauty except to ... etc. (emphasis added).

Evidence from the usage of hijab in the Qur'an, from early Islamic discourse, and subjected to anthropological analysis, supports the notion of hijab as referring to a sacred divide or separation between two worlds or two spaces: deity and mortals, good and evil, light and dark, believers and nonbelievers, or aristocracy and commoners. The phrase "min wara' al-hijab" (from behind the hijab) emphasizes the element of separation and partition.

When referring to women's clothing, the terms often used are *jilbab* (long, loose-fitting shirtdress) and *khimar* (head cover). Neither hijab nor *niqab* are mentioned. *Niqab* and *lithma* are terms that unambiguously refer to face cover. Hijab, which only refers to head (shoulder) cover and to the general Islamic attire, is not mentioned in these two suras either. In other references to comportment and modest way of dressing appropriate to the new status of the Prophet's wives, hijab is not mentioned either. When it is used in other suras, the word conveys more the sense of separation than veiling or covering.

The Qur'an and the contemporary Islamic movement make clear that Muslim men and women are to carry themselves in public with a sense of reserve and restraint. Exhibitionist public comportment, through behavior, dress, voice, or body movement, is frowned upon, and becomes associated with *Jahiliyya* (pre-Islamic era) that is not confined to a historical moment, but rather becomes a state and a condition of society that can oc-



Hijab. The *hijab* is used as women's headcover in the Islamic world. Although it is commonly, and mistakenly, referred to simply as a veil, it serves the higher purpose of representing Islamic identity and morality. © JULIE PLASENCIA/SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

cur at any time when social and moral controls are abandoned. But overall the contemporary movement is not simply about clothing but about a renewal of a cultural identity and traditional ideals and values.

Etymology and Meaning

The cultural and linguistic roots of "hijab" are integral to Islamic (and Arab) culture. "Hijab" translates as cover, wrap, curtain, veil, screen, partition. The same word is used to refer to amulets carried on one's person (particularly for children or persons in a vulnerable state) to protect against harm.

By the nineteenth century, upper-class urban Muslim and Christian women in Egypt wore the *habarah*, which consisted of a long skirt, a head cover, and a *burqa*, a long rectangular cloth of white transparent muslin placed below the eyes, covering the lower nose and the mouth and falling to the chest. When veiling entered feminist nationalist discourse during British colonial occupation, "hijab" was the term used by feminists and nationalists and secularists. The phrase used for the removal of urban women's face and head cover was *raf* (lifting) *al-hijab* (not *al-habarah*: the term used for cloak or veil

among upper-class Egyptian women up to the early 1900s).

Three Arab Feminisms

Muslim and Christian women of the upper and middle classes described the Egyptian feminist movement at the turn of the century as a secular movement. Some observers linked European colonialism and feminism, distinguishing two feminist trajectories: a Westward-looking feminism and a more local one. In neither form have women made veiling or unveiling the central issue. Rather, some prominent men advocated feminist programs and called for reform centering on women's veiling. Removing the veil was not part of the official feminist agenda of the Egyptian Feminist Union. Importantly, when the most prominent Arab feminist, Huda Sha'rawi, "lifted the hijab" as the famous public gesture came to be described, she had only removed the face cover (burga or yashmik), which was worn by upper-class women at the turn of the century, but kept the head covering. Technically, therefore, Huda Sha'rawi never "lifted the hijab," since "hijab" refers broadly to the whole attire, but more commonly to the head covering. Some attribute her success in feminist nationalist leadership, compared with other contemporaries, to the fact that she had respect for the traditional attire. In her memoirs she mentions being congratulated for "my success in . . . lifting the hijab . . . but wearing the hijab shar'i (lawful or Islamic hijab)" (Sha'rawi 1981, p. 291). This distinction is important and assumes special significance because the other prominent feminist, Malak Hifni Nasif, opposed mandatory unveiling for women. Her agenda in early 1900 stressed two elements absent in Sha'rawi's feminist agenda: the opening of all fields of higher education to women and demanding space accommodation for public prayer by women in mosques. These local elements contrast to French-influenced agendas by other feminists. A third movement developed through the seeds sown since 1908 calling for the importance of Islam and the wearing of the hijab, formed under the initiative of Zaynab al-Ghazali in the 1970s espousing Islamic ideals and supporting family values. None of the three feminisms espoused calling for abandoning the hijab.

Contemporary Movement

Beginning in the 1970s in Egypt an Islamic movement emerged. The Islamic movement reasserted a cultural historical identity and stood for resisting hegemonic colonial occupation. It centered initially on youth and college-level young adults and broadened across generations and social strata and spread throughout the region. The public appearance of an innovative form of dress for men and women without exact historical precedent characterized the movement. This new style was not a return to any traditional dress form, and had no tangible model to emulate, and no industry behind it-not one store in Egypt carried the new garb in the 1970s. In the early 2000s there are many stores that sell this outfit throughout the region, on the Internet, in Europe, and in the United States. The dress was referred to as "the Islamic dress," in Arabic called al-ziyy al-Islami or al-ziyy al-Shar'i, or more commonly al-hijab.

This new fashion seemed incomprehensible and be-wildering to observers. The strong, visible appearance of young Egyptian women going to college dressed in a manner unfamiliar to their own parents, completely "veiled" from head to toe, sometimes covering the face and hands as well, disturbed many. Some young women had switched almost overnight from wearing sleeveless dresses and miniskirts to becoming a "veiled" doctor, engineer, or pharmacist. Confused observers speculated about the cause. Was it an identity crisis, a version of America's hippie movement, a fad, a youth protest, an ideological vacuum, an individual psychic disturbance, a life-crisis, a social dislocation, or protest against authority?

Dress Code

The contemporary dress code translates materially this way: men and women wear full-length *gallabiyyas*, loose-fitting to conceal body form, in solid or otherwise aus-

tere colors made out of opaque fabric. The wearers lower their gaze in cross-sex public encounters and refrain from body or dress adornment that draws attention to their bodies. The dress code for men consists of sandals, baggy trousers with loose-top shirts in off-white or, alternatively (and preferably) a long, loose white gallabiyya and a white or red-checkered kufiyya. They grew a lihya (full beard trimmed short). Women wear the hijab, which consists of *al-jilbab* (ankle-length, long-sleeved, loose-fitted dress) and al-khimar, a head covering that covers the hair and extends low to the forehead, comes under the chin to conceal the neck and falls down over the chest and back. During the first decade of the movement, women wore solid colors such as beige, brown, navy, burgundy, or black. The muhajjabat (women wearing hijab) engaged fully in daily affairs and public life. That is, austerity in dress and reserve in public behavior are not accompanied by withdrawal or seclusion and neither communicates deference nor sexual shame. Modern hijab is about sanctity, reserve, and privacy.

Colonialism and Resistance

The role of the veil in liberating Algeria from French colonial occupation is popularly known. When the French landed in Algeria in 1830 most inhabitants were Arabic-speaking Sunni Muslims, with a large Berber population that was by then bilingual Berber Arabic speaking. Administratively, Algeria was a France populated by "the Muslims"—a majority of second-class citizens. France began a gallicization process on many fronts: French law was imposed on Islamic law, French social plan was imposed on local custom, French education substituted for Arab education, and the French language replaced Arabic. Many Algerians were excluded from education altogether. The French conquest of Algeria represented a deformation of the social, moral, legal, and cultural order. Economically the French monopolized the best land and the top jobs, exploited labor, harnessed local energies, and cultivated crops for French consumption (grapes for wine) while violating Islamic morality. Another strategy was to assimilate upper-class Algerians by gallicizing the woman and uprooting her from her culture. The target of the colonial strategy became to persuade the Muslim woman to unveil. Thus, Arabs and Muslims often link the deveiling of Muslim women with a colonial strategy to undermine and destroy their culture. The effect was the opposite: it strengthened the attachment to the veil as a national and cultural symbol, and gave it a new vitality.

Since 1948 Palestinian women who were uprooted from their homeland, particularly the older ones, wore a dress and head covering that communicated their rural origins and their contemporary status in refugee camps. After the 1967 Six-Day War, women wore white or black shawls (*shasha*) and had no access to their traditional fabrics and tools to embroider their clothing. In the late 1970s, as militant Islamic consciousness began to arise,

Palestinians attempted to restore the hijab. Women affiliated with the movement began wearing long, tailored overcoats and head covers now known as *shari'a* or Islamic dress. As in Egypt, the Islamic dress had no precedent in indigenous Palestinian sartorial history, but is an innovative tradition in form and meaning.

Conclusion

The hijab worn by Muslim women in Arab, Muslim, European, or United States society is largely about identity, about privacy of space and body. In specific social settings, veiling communicates exclusivity of rank and nuances in kinship, status, and behavior and also symbolizes an element of power and autonomy and functions as a vehicle for resistance.

Hijab in the early twenty-first century is politically charged in France and Belgium, countries that are taking measures to ban the wearing of headscarves (hijab) to schools purportedly for maintaining the integrity of secularism, but the issue is considered to be fraught with anti-Islamic implications. To many young women the hijab represents an identity of choice and a freedom of expression they do not want to lose.

See also Burqa; Djellaba; Islamic Dress, Contemporary; Jilbab; Kaffiyeh; Middle East: History of Islamic Dress.

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Fadwa El Guindi

HILFIGER, TOMMY The ubiquity of Tommy Hilfiger's fashions, particularly among urban youth, is a testament to the marketing and image branding that has characterized contemporary American fashion. Hilfiger was born in 1952, one of nine children raised by a jeweler and nurse in upstate New York; he described his childhood in his 1997 stylebook, *All American*, as living in "Leave it to Beaver-land" (p. 2). In his senior year of high school Hilfiger and two friends opened People's Place, a clothing shop in their hometown of Elmira that sold candles and bell-bottom jeans; Hilfiger enjoyed decorating the windows and designing in-store merchandise displays. People's Place thrived for nearly eight years, with additional stores opening in other towns, until it went bankrupt in the late 1970s.

In 1980 Hilfiger moved to New York City to pursue a career in fashion. He had a brief stint designing for Jordache jeans before joining forces with a woman's clothing manufacturer and starting 20th Century Survival, a junior-sportswear company that offered a variety of clothes in western and nautical styles, as well as Vic-

toriana dresses, khakis, and camouflage gear. In the mid-1980s Hilfiger contemplated job offers from Perry Ellis and Calvin Klein but instead accepted an offer from Mohan Murjani of Murjani International (the clothing manufacturer behind the fame of Gloria Vanderbilt jeans) to fund his own men's wear company. Murjani was looking to create a "name" designer like Calvin Klein and Ralph Lauren, and in 1985 Tommy Hilfiger was launched.

The building of Tommy Hilfiger was as much about marketing as it was about the clothes. Hilfiger embodied this approach, referring to himself in a 1986 New York Times article as a "natural, all-American-looking, promotable type of person with the right charisma. . . . I'm a marketing vehicle" (Belkin p. D1). Shortly after the debut of his first collection of preppy classics like chinos, oxford shirts, and polo knit tops and the opening of his Manhattan flagship store on Columbus Avenue, Murjani boldly put Hilfiger's name in lights. A billboard in Times Square read, "The 4 Great American Designers for Men Are: R—L—, P—E—, C—K—, and T—H—," referring to Ralph Lauren, Perry Ellis, Calvin Klein, and Hilfiger. Hilfiger's name did not appear in the ad, just his red, white, and blue flag logo and the address of his newly opened store. A 1987 advertising campaign for Tommy Hilfiger polo knit shirts pictured the Lacoste alligator, the Lauren polo player, and the Hilfiger flag logo type.

From the outset Hilfiger has been compared to Ralph Lauren. He has been criticized for copying Lauren's preppy style but gearing his signature red, white, and blue styles toward a younger market at more popular prices. Hilfiger, like Lauren, has appeared in advertisements for his clothing line; both men have used the American flag as an important marketing tool. Hilfiger has also replicated Lauren's business model, even employing former Lauren executives to help build Tommy Hilfiger, which Hilfiger, with backing from Silas Chou and Laurence Stoll of Novel Enterprises, bought from Murjani in 1989; Chou and Stoll then incorporated Tommy Hilfiger in Hong Kong. Following Lauren's lead in "lifestyle merchandising," Hilfiger expanded his franchise by opening a number of stores whose interiors reflect the all-Americanness of his clothing; by signing licensing agreements around the world; and by offering a range of lines, such as underclothing, accessories, fragrances, home décor, designer jeans, women's wear, children's wear, and a higher-end men's wear collection. Hilfiger spent \$15 million in advertising to launch his men's fragrance "tommy" in 1995, which, at the time, was the most money spent on a campaign for men's fragrance.

Unlike Lauren and other big-name American designers, Hilfiger tapped into hip-hop street styles, making him one of the hippest and wealthiest designers of the 1990s. Hilfiger had always been interested in music, and he saw the potential for musicians to dictate fashion trends. He sponsored a Pete Townsend tour; designed stage costumes for Mick Jagger and Sheryl Crow, among

others; and wrote the 1999 book *Rock Style: How Fashion Moves to Music* to accompany an exhibition cosponsored by the Costume Institute of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum. However, Hilfiger's biggest coup in the music world occurred in 1994 when the rapper Snoop Doggy Dogg appeared on *Saturday Night Live* wearing a rugby shirt with the word "Hilfiger" running down the sleeve, which Hilfiger's brother Andrew had given the musician; the shirt sold out the next day at many New York department stores. Andrew, who worked in the music industry, acted as a goodwill ambassador for Tommy, handing out logoemblazoned shirts and bags to musicians when he arrived on sets for concerts and music videos.

Hilfiger's logo-laden street styles of the 1990s came about after he saw that counterfeiters were knocking off logos, enlarging them, and sporting them on oversized shirts, sweatshirts, and outerwear; they looked like walking advertisements. He also realized the huge possibilities in the status-symbol-conscious hip-hop movement that revolutionized the music scene in the 1990s. Hilfiger made regular in-store appearances, learning what young consumers wanted. Multiculturalism played a big part in his advertising campaigns; he employed stylists from hip-hop record labels, such as Rashida Jones, to appear in his ads and style his runway shows, which often featured such rappers as Treach, who mentioned Hilfiger in their songs.

In 1995 his once skeptical peers recognized Hilfiger with the Menswear Designer of the Year Award from the Council of Fashion Designers of America. Hilfiger made a name for himself by prominently putting his name and logo on his clothes and marketing them to urban youth in a way that other American designers had not done. He harnessed a diverse following of consumers with his oversized, street-style sportswear and his relaxed, all-American style of jeans, khakis, and polos that fit into the more casual approach to dressing that began to be taken at the end of the twentieth century. Hilfiger invested a great deal in advertising to keep his name and logo prominent; his packaging of the product has surpassed any originality in the clothes themselves. He has raised the bar for the fashion merchandising and image branding that have come to define American fashion.

See also Fashion Advertising; Fashion Marketing and Merchandising; Hip-hop Fashion; Logos; Music and Fashion.

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Tiffany Webber-Hanchett

HIP-HOP FASHION Hip-hop is both the voice of alienated, frustrated youth and a multibillion-dollar cultural industry packaged and marketed on a global scale. Hip-hop is also a multifaceted subculture that transcends many of the popular characterizations used to describe other music-led youth cultures. One of the important considerations about hip-hop is that since its conception in the early 1970s, hip-hop has arguably become more potent and efficient in galvanizing black social identity than the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

The evolution of hip-hop has developed from a self-conscious rumination of words and music to an obstinate expression of contemporary urban life through corporal gestures and apparel. From the beginning, hip-hop fashion has been on a trajectory of relentless flowering. Developments have been primarily in the men's wear sector; early clothes were functional and included conventional items—multicolored appliqué leather jackets, sheepskin coats, car coats, straight leg corduroy or denim jeans, hooded sweatshirts, athletic warm-up pants, mock turtlenecks, and sneakers and caps. Less functional items included designer jeans and moniker belts, gold jewelry, Kangol caps, Pumas with fat laces, basketball shoes, and oversized spectacles by Cazal.

Baggy apparel shapes that disguise the contours of the body were introduced in the 1980s. During the early 2000s, the archetypal hip-hop look consisted of baseball caps emblazoned with insignia from the Negro leagues and football teams and well-known fashion designers. Woolen beanie hats and bandannas were worn singularly or together. Goose down jackets or other foul-weather outerwear teamed with hooded sweatshirts. During the late 1990s the ubiquitous oversized white T-shirt, basketball vests, and hockey shirts became staples of the expression. Baggy denim jeans or camouflage cargo pants worn in a low-slung manner, backpacks, combat- or hiking-styled boots or sports shoes were complemented with tattoos and shaved, plaited, or dreadlocked hairstyles. Initially hip-hop women's wear consisted of inconsequential looks that reflected contemporary women's wear and were accompanied with items such as Gloria Vanderbilt jeans, bamboo earrings, Fendi and Louis Vuitton handbags, name chains, midriff tops, bra tops, short skirts, tight jeans, high boots, straight hair weaves and braids, tattoos, and false fingernails and oversized gold jewelry. In addition, some women wore apparel that consisted of items similar to those worn by men during the 1990s. Female rappers such as Lil' Kim and Foxy Brown displayed provocative apparel and outlandish sexual gesturing that would eventually become a raison d'être for hip-hop women's wear.

From within the postindustrial environment, hiphop has emerged as an articulation of an affirmative "otherness," which is at times unpopular and misunderstood by politically conservative and socially moralistic groups, and especially by those who regard the modernist, antipluralist perspective to be sacrosanct.

Consequently, hip-hop tends to be unpopular with establishment agencies who wish to censor the expression and supervise the conduct and morals of the young; however, hip-hop is understood by mass media agencies and is exploited as a symptom of the volatility between the pull of materialism and the stagnancy of the urban underclass. The precarious state of this condition forces hip-hop to become a project concerned with the mastery of urban survival, and therefore has a global appeal that is demonstrated in hip-hop from New Zealand, Japan, Africa, France, and Great Britain.

A centrifugal force, hip-hop has contributed to the conceptualization of an alternative perspective in the wider society; this includes materialism, manners, morals, gender politics, language, gesture, music, dance, art, and fashion. Hip-hop music and fashion have attained an essential position in culture, though they oscillate on the periphery of conformity and general acceptability, but because of the notion of outsider status, and building upon the popularity of rock music, hip-hop has been admired and emulated by teenagers of most ethnicities and social classes.

Where Hip-hop Began

Hip-hop has at times become synonymous with a constellation of products in the luxury goods market, though such a situation would have been absurd at hip-hop's genesis. Hip-hop was formed in the culture of the basement parties that took place in the Bronx in New York City. These parties became formalized when the DJs Kool Herc, Grandmaster Flash, and DJ Starski began to play at impromptu parties in parks, streets, and community centers. Jamaican DJ Kool Herc, the credited founder of hip-hop break-beats based his Herculords discotheque system on the Jamaican reggae sound systems that played in Jamaica and New York. The art form of rapping emerged as the way of communicating narrative to the audience. Rapping is similar to "toasting," a long-established feature of reggae music.

Toasting and rapping are delivered in the style of the African oral tradition. The DJ, or toaster in Dancehall, and the MC, or rapper, in hip-hop are the progeny of the African griot (storyteller), each offering a narration of everyday events.



A New York Home Boy in the Mid-1990s

The wearer is dressed in iconic mainstream American classics, a white T-shirt, and Levi's 501 jeans. Either he is ignorant of that or his other clothes and the way he wears them are chosen to offset their status: Kangol golf hat, Nike sneakers, and the ubiquitous boxer shorts.

However, the key device of the display is achieved in wearing boxer shorts with jeans in a manner that the elastic edge of the boxer shorts peeps over the jeans waist causing the designer branded elastic to be visible. As a consequence the jeans are restructured, to the extent that the form of the pants begins to affect the wearer's stride. Bundles of fabric collect around the lower legs, causing bulk and restrictive movement. This precarious way of wearing jeans creates the foundation for the expression.

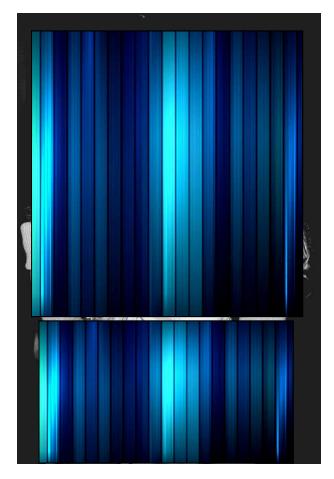
It is from rap and music video that followers are able to determine and validate their assumptions about their lifestyle decisions, including apparel expressions. Followers of hip-hop have created apparel expressions that are comparable to the utterances of hip-hop music. Hip-hop fashions reflect the energy and resonance of the urban experience while omitting illusory signs that demonstrate the metamorphosis of the subaltern individual into street luminary.

Influence on Other Styles

"B-boy" and "Flyboy" were designations used to differentiate those focused on music and dance, and those who were focused on fashion. B-boys and B-girls were the former, and Flyboys and Flygirls the latter. B-boys have derived their designation from break-dancing. Break dancers dressed in sportswear like Puma sneakers, Adidas track pants, T-shirts, and padded nylon or leather jackets. They specialized in making poetic, gravity-defying acrobatic and explosive body-popping movements to the accompaniment of the interrupted, repeated, and overlaid phrasing of break-beat recordings.

The subtrends that followed break-dancing became the forerunners to rap-influenced fashion. For example, there are direct correlations to the fashion associated with hardcore rap, gangsta rap, and Afrocentric/cultural rap.

The B-boy expression has successfully crossed the subcultural divide. Skate boarders, who are predominantly white, also embraced much of the B-boy expression and have adapted it for their lifestyles. The Daisy Agers were exemplified by rappers De La Soul, who drew



Rap star Lil' Kim wearing Chanel clothing and hat. With hiphop fashion a booming industry, many manufacturers are attempting to cash in, often using hip-hop personalities as spokespeople. © PACE GREGORY/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

on the Afrocentric characteristics demonstrated by various black consciousness movements since the 1960s. Neo-Panthers, Afrocentrics, Sportifs, and Gangstas represent developments that enjoyed widespread followings. Indeed these characterizations contain apparel objects that demonstrate complicity in virtually every diaspora expression since hip-hop defined itself during the early 1980s. Many of the fashion objects utilized by the 1980s B-boy were affirmations of the pre-1980s. Much of the gangsta expression borrowed from the 1970s pimp style, while the mid-1980s look of the archetypal B-boy fused a Black Panther aesthetic with a sportswear look flavored by Jamaican Rude Bwoys. B-boys and Flyboys have succeeded as a result of the intercultural exchange between "the cultural imperatives of African-American and Caribbean history and identity" (Rose p. 21).

During the mid-1980s and early 1990s, hip-hop fashion gathered importance as hip-hop music became successful around the world. As a consequence, B-boys are no longer black and working class.

The genesis of fashion hip-hop had been skillfully articulated by the B-boys of the 1970s who created a path for subsequent hip-hop groupings (Daisy Agers, New Jacks, Sportifs, Nationalist [neo-Panthers]), who all added their own unique expressions to the fashion. As unofficial designers, such groups breached and corrupted many of the extant propositions about fashion and provided the template that a new generation of hip-hop fashion wearers should have committed. Like hip-hop music, hip-hop fashion edits, samples, repeats, unites, and creates new fashions-sometimes from nonsense and sometimes from deep-felt sentiment that defines the bona fide experiences of hip-hop wearers. In many instances B-boys are found to have enthusiasm for mainstream fashion labels. A feature of hip-hop fashion expressions is a predilection for American, Italian, and English designer labels such as Tommy Hilfiger, Ralph Lauren, Gucci, and Burberry. For the B-boy, consumption of clothes is part of a rite of consumption and exhibition which reaffirms the formula, "I am = what I have and what I consume" (Fromm p. 36).

The overstated stylization of the B-boy is articulated in humorous, exaggerated, and outlandish clothes that are sometimes similar to an animated cartoon character. This visual aesthetic replaces and dispels any idea that alienation renders individuals invisible. The "standardized" version of hip-hop fashions has become locked into parody. During the 1980s, fashion labels became ensconced in hip-hop culture. The adoption of counterfeit Gucci and Fendi apparel and bona fide Nikes and Timberlands represented attempts to create fashion that has resonance beyond the context of hip-hop community.

During the 1980s, the Harlem store Dapper Dan became renowned for the idea of exalting "exotic" conspicuous fashion labels such as Fendi and Gucci. Much of the appeal to consumers was in the distillation of the logotypes of these high fashion brands on to *their* clothing and on to the streets of Harlem. Typically, fabric printed with the logotypes of these brands would be made into apparel that would not be found in the bona fide collections of Fendi or Gucci. Ultimately Dapper Dan was a postmodern project that included the development of hip-hop fashion.

Designers and Producers

In part, hip-hop fashion came about by default. Designers of active sportswear and sports shoes did not target the streets, nightclubs, or music videos as the primary location for their products. In particular, branded sportswear such as Adidas, Reebok, Nike, and British Knights had been appropriated by hip-hop and became precursors to the dedicated fashion sportswear hip-hop brands of Troop, Cross Colors, Mecca, Walker Wear, and Karl Kani. However, apparel companies have never surpassed the preeminence of the sportswear shoe brand. Nike and Adidas sneakers are indicators of hip-hop's distance from the mainstream; for many wearers the sneaker and the

Nike Swoosh were potent objects in the urban rite of passage. Nike Air Force 1s and Air Jordans became iconic and fetishistic. The Nike logotype has been worn as jewelry, cut into hair, and tattooed onto skin.

Hip-hop has created its own trends and consumption patterns, with cultural networks that mutate at an intimidating rate. Its collusion with mainstream fashion is well established. Many of the raps by major hip-hop stars exalt the importance of wearing Gucci, Prada, Versace, Tommy, Earl, Burberry, Timberland, Coogi, and Coach. Such raps are usually arrogant brags condoning one-upmanship such as Lil' Kim's request on her song "Drugs" on the album *Hardcore*, "Call us the Gabbana girls, we dangerous, bitches pay a fee just to hang with us" or "Yes indeed, flows first class and yours is coach like the bag, the Prada mama."

Motifs, fabrics, color, and the drama of wearing apparel dramatically altered during 1998 when hip-hop leaders began to recognize the mainstream fashion quartet of Versace, Prada, Dolce & Gabbana, and Gucci as the ultimate in fashion expression. The materialist focus set by the hip-hop gangstas, players, and hip-hop celebrities populated the idea of "ghetto fabulousness" (the juxtaposition of "fabulously" expensive objects placed in the context of the impoverished ghetto) as a replacement for hip-hop fashions that did not rely upon endorsements of glamorous and expensive mainstream fashion brands.

Such new inflections prompted another revision of hip-hop fashion. Although branded performance sportswear was initially popular in hip-hop culture, its displacement was prompted when Lil' Kim-among other hip-hop stars—used important designer labels to create an image of privilege and status. Ordinary hip-hop fans and fashion companies alike understood this idea. The raps of Lil' Kim and other rappers have injected retail, advertising, and promotion strategies of fashion companies with a new thematic source and a previously unexploited marketplace. Hip-hop fashion represents a subversive discourse; fashion companies recognize this standpoint as being favorable if they wish to affect values and attitudes that are urban and therefore cool. However, some companies fail in this ambition and have all suffered from "myths" about consumers that are "incompatible" with the companies branding.

In their attempts to achieve postmodern relevance, fashion companies such as Asprey, Puma, Versace, and Iceberg have used the formal recommendation offered in strategies of cross-marketing. This can range from a celebrity appearing in an advertising campaign or just sitting in the front row of a designer's runway show.

To counter this, a number of hip-hop music moguls—Russell Simmons, P. Diddy, and Master P—have all have owned apparel companies. Their companies produce creative fashion collections that are synchronized with the musical output of their recording enterprises. These companies separate into those that follow an ac-

curate rendition of hip-hop fashion and those companies that seek to cross over and produce designs that have broad mass fashion appeal rather than a specialist hip-hop appeal.

In attempting to model the direction and content of hip-hop fashion, hip-hop's moguls have disregarded the life experiences, economic means, and self-creative tendencies of hip-hop followers in favor of a personal ideology.

How Hip-hop Crosses Boundaries

In the early 1990s, a group of Brooklyn hip-hop followers began to reuse Ralph Lauren garment labels, and to sew them on apparel not made by Ralph Lauren. The action of the Lo-lifer subculture was to challenge the commercially aggressive opposition of Ralph Lauren and to counteract the "antagonism" of the fashion label. The deconstruction of the fashion company's well-maintained branded image creates a reversal in hierarchy. When Ralph Lauren's Polo label is hand-painted onto a wall, or even a towel, as the Lo-lifers did, a question is asked about commercial branding and the mythological representation of the fashion logotype.

A characteristic of hip-hop fashion is the multiple themes that are filtered through the aspirations of wearers and designers alike. The American mainstream designer Tommy Hilfiger has successfully captured an understanding of hip-hop culture and has produced very specific fashion items, which fit the market place without being apologetic.

During the mid-1990s, new cuts of Hilfiger's jeans were given titles such as "Uptown," which refer to the geographical placements of Harlem and the Bronx, two New York districts with large African American populations. The Uptown cut of the jeans are ostensibly the same as extra-baggy, low-slung jeans manufactured by any other hip-hop designer or popular mainstream manufacturer addressing the hip-hop marketplace; however, the degree of hip-hop enthusiasm for Hilfiger made the brand very popular.

Hip-hop fashion is regarded as a delineator of "cool." Indeed aspects of hip-hop have become the characterization of dissonance; that is why British royal princes William and Harry were happy to adopt homeboy gestures while wearing baseball caps. Probably having never met a real live B-boy, cool gesturing postures are no doubt gleaned from music videos.

In one of the most informative studies of the cool expression, Majors and Billson suggest that cool adds value to the disenfranchisement of the individual. Its practice is constructed through attitude and implies status for the wearer through an attributed importance of fashion objects. The phenomenon of cool emerges as the compelling ingredient to hip-hop life; it is effected by the attachments of self. Cool, or to use other evocations, "fly" or—in Britain—"styling it out" is a creative procedure of

stealth serving as a badge of belonging, though it allows wearers the scope to make minor adjustments to their apparel configuration.

See also Hilfiger, Tommy; Lauren, Ralph; Music and Fashion.

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HIPPIE STYLE In the mid-1960s, the hippies—the rebels and dropouts of the Haight-Ashbury community of San Francisco—generated one of the most influential of history's dress reform movements. Their style was so outrageous and anomalous that it alone could have made the hippie movement impossible to ignore. As did their lifestyles, their fashion built upon San Francisco and California's tradition of iconoclasm; important, too, was the precedent provided by the young ready-to-wear designers of London, whose international impact began in the late 1950s.

The hippies' protest against capitalist society informed their impunity to all received strictures or etiquettes about clothes. They coordinated garments so that harmonies and homogeneity were fractured. Mad, anarchic mélanges resulted. They simulated acid phantasmagoria in their color schemes and paraded recycled old clothes, proclaiming them not as cast-off rags but proudly worn pedigree. They disguised and revealed themselves in costumes that were avatars of theatrical or historical or mythological identities, rather than the easily legible roles recognized by contemporary society. Their clothes were a paean to sexuality and sensuality: texture and tactility were foregrounded in their favorite fabrics, which ranged from slinky satin and stretch to all variety of embroidered and figured surfaces. Sometimes their fashion became not a second skin, but the exposure of their own nude bodies, painted and patterned in tribal fashion; this was a celebration of instinctual expression that they believed had been obliterated by industrialization.

Ecological Fashion

The hippies built on the generic silhouettes that prevailed during the 1960s—the miniskirt, the pantsuit—but they transmogrified Mod fashion at the decade's midpoint by the way they put their clothes together, by their choices of fabric, and by the way they accessorized. Folkloric motifs, style, and fabrics were ubiquitous in hippie fashion. Their adoption of long peasant skirts helped move fashion back to longer hemlines. The generally loose and unconstructed silhouette of the 1960s became even more flowing with the adoption of mideastern tent shapes. The hippies' infatuation with the ensembles of Native Americans demonstrated solidarity with their plight as well as well an aesthetic appreciation.

Another prong of hippie fashion likewise proclaimed common cause with the workers of the world: this was the utilitarian fare that came to be known as "anti-fashion." It was fashion at its least overly decorative, most rugged, and basic: blue jeans worn with T-shirts, work shirts, and other commonplace attire. Decorative appeal was provided instead by the contours outlined by these bodyclinging garments. Thus the youthful counterculture promulgated an allure that could not be achieved by expenditure alone.

The hippies generated an ecological consciousness of fashion by their recycling of vintage clothes as well as their cannibalizing of old fabrics and hangings, out of which they cut new garments. They drew attention to the way that all clothes costume the wearer into roles, some—businessman, housewife—so integrated into the warp of society that they were no longer recognized as constructed characterization. Their pacific appropriation of military uniform likewise showed a determination to mock and denature the pieties vented by the opposite side of the ideological divide.

Los Angeles, New York, and London also became important citadels for hippie fashion. On Los Angeles's Sunset Boulevard and in New York's Greenwich Village were clustered constellations of independent boutiques. London's contribution to hippie fashion was indebted to the art and crafts movement of a century earlier. More than San Francisco, the city's secondhand clothes stores and bazaars were more likely to be filled with heirloom couture. London raided its storage vaults, disgorging into the city's auction house fabulous caches of vintage clothing as well as theatrical and ballet costumes.

The Rich Hippies

"We got pretty scathing about store-bought hip that didn't come from the soul," said Linda Gravenites (interview with the author, November 1986), who made clothes for many residents in the Haight-Ashbury community and the rock bands based there. Nevertheless the purists or the ideologues were powerless to stop the inevitable co-opting, the proliferation of hippie fashion within the mainstream fashion industry. From 1967 to 1971, the hippie's fashion was grist for the couture and upscale ready-to-wear mills. The "rich hippie" look upgraded hippie style into fabrics that were largely well beyond the economic reaches of the financially marginal denizens of Haight-Ashbury.

The fashion of the hippies was as much threat as influence to the fashion establishment. The hippie's openended pluralism threw down the gauntlet to the seasonable revisions proffered to women by the mainstream fashion industry. Savoring vintage garments established a continuum between past and present, a rejoinder to the forced amnesia of customers told that each year marked a tabula rasa of consumption.

Perhaps what above all made hippie fashion so subversive to the mainstream industry was its tacit message that the time had come to abolish the fashion designer. It resonated as well with the burgeoning women's liberation movement: women would no longer be told what to wear by a designer, who was usually male. After Rudi Gernreich decided to close his ready-to-wear business in 1968, he told reporters that he was now disenchanted by clothes that bore the imprint of the individual designer. The very act of designing, in fact, seemed to him to be an a priori dictate that no longer fit the needs and aspirations of the clothes-wearing public.

With every question of identity in Western civilization of the late 1960s being debated, fashion exploded with costume and fantasy, thanks in large part to the inspiration provided by the hippies. "Today nothing is out, because everything is in," Marshall McLuhan wrote in 1968. "Every costume from every era is now available to everyone." (*Harper's Bazaar*, April 1968, p. 164)

Hippie fashion continued to steep throughout fashion during the 1970s. Even as fashion retreated from the utopian threshold advanced during the late 1960s, the hippies' ideas were disseminated to many more people than they had been during the 1960s. By the end of the decade, it seemed to have become exhausted. But since the mid-1980s, hippie style has enthralled designers and the public again and again, becoming a recurrent influence in every echelon of fashion.

See also Music and Fashion; Politics and Fashion; Social Class and Clothing.

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Joel Lobenthal

HISTORICISM AND HISTORICAL REVIVAL

Prior to the rise of the bourgeoisie, historical revivals in dress were the preserve of the aristocratic classes, principally employed as costume either for masquerade and pageantry, portraiture or professional function (courtly and legal uniform), and always as a distinguishing mark of timelessness and status—of both power and beauty.

From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, fashions in the choice of historical focus were mainly informed by divisions between town (the urban powerful) and country (the Arcadian idyllic), and received ideas of morality and immorality. The meaning and embodiment of the latter coupling shifted most frequently—morality at some stages implied by Anglo-Saxon mythologies of status and structure. The body coverings most frequently represented by fashions were crinolines, hoops, bustles, and corsetry for women, and armor and padded upper bodies for men. In turn, however, the looser costume of Greco-Roman mythology and the reverence for the ideal physique, and the beauty of nature that they represented, were also held up as archetypes of morality in different periods—although they were usually quite swiftly decried for their immorality in openly revealing the female body. As with all the revivals to follow, these trends were rarely based on historical accuracy, relying primarily on a nostalgic imagination and secondhand source material.

Gothic

The original fifteenth-century Gothic dress for women combined thirteenth-century ideals of fitness for purpose and an ecclesiastical sensibility (headdresses in particular bore direct reference to the wimple) with beauty of line and sumptuous fabrics (velvets and brocades). Gothic revivalism was already taking place in the mid-seventeenth century (the Puritans drew on the religious overtones of the Gothic in the face of Royalist decadence), and was popularized again in the mid-eighteenth century as a decorative and architectural movement (Gothick), its leading proponents including Batty Langley (1696-1751) and Horace Walpole, whose Strawberry Hill project (1750-1770) came to epitomize the period. The eighteenth-century revival was a movement driven by romance, and one that stood against the perceived rigidity and rules of the classical style; the medieval appeared more natural, fantastical, and foreign compared to the worlds of Greece or Rome. In dress, its expression was principally neomedieval, somber in tone and concentrated on flat, embroidered pattern on sleeve and bodice panels. It was notoriously inaccurate and widely ridiculed until the 1830s when A.W. N. Pugin (1812-1852) proposed an accurate and faithful return to Gothic style as a nationalist, moral, and spiritual bulwark in the face of advancing industrialization. Pugin's work heavily influenced the Victorian aesthetic and later, the flat printed pattern of William Morris (1834-1896) and the Arts and Crafts movement. In the late twentieth century, the Gothic style returned again as an addendum to punk,

drawing on but darkening the punk movement's oppositional stance and twisting the spiritual meaning of Gothic style to embody older, more mystical religions (such as Wicca, paganism, and Buddhism). But, as with previous Gothic revivals, 1980s' goths embraced the romanticism of the movement, combining the PVC and rubber of punk with the velvets and brocades of their eighteenthand nineteenth-century predecessors.

Neoclassicism

The taste for what became known as neoclassical style has its roots in the 1750s, emerging in opposition to the exoticism and opulence of the rococo (promoted by the launch of the Dilettanti Society in 1734 and the Society of Arts in 1754). Much of the literature (Rousseau) and painting (Gainsborough, Reynolds, and Hogarth) in the decades leading up to the neoclassical movement was directed toward proposing a romanticized classicism as a moral tendency linking the purity of nature with purity of spirit. It was possible for both the neoclassical and the Gothic to exist in much the same space, due both to the opening up of society to fashion and to the shared beliefs of each movement.

The movement achieved prominence in the 1780s and is most closely associated with Thomas Hope (1769–1831), whose *Costumes of the Ancients* (1809) and *Designs of Modern Costumes* (1812) were pivotal to popularizing the looser, unstructured Greco-Roman dress styles. Dresses were made principally from muslin with waistlines rising to the bust, which was still firmly secured by stays and highlighted by a sash and knotted scarf. The effect was naïve and childlike, best expressed in the popular 1880s' illustrations of Kate Greenaway. In keeping with antique statuary and notions of the ideal physique for men, tightly fitting breeches and cutaway jackets revealed more of the body.

Hope was also an exoticist and hosted Turkish-inspired parties at his home, similar to those favored by the Parisian designer Paul Poiret (1879–1944) in the early twentieth century. Poiret and two other designers of the period, Madeleine Vionnet (1876–1975) and Mariano Fortuny (1871–1949), were the principle players in the revival of the neoclassical in the 1920s and 1930s (also known as vogue regency).

The Aesthetic Movement

As with neoclassicism, the aesthetic movement studied and celebrated beauty. The movement took hold in the United Kingdom in the 1870s. Its proponents in the decorative arts (William Morris), literature (Walter Pater, Charles Baudelaire, Oscar Wilde), and fine arts (James McNeill Whistler, Aubrey Beardsley, and the Pre-Raphaelite painters) proposed elegance in everything. Nature (flora, fauna, and the athletic human body) was eulogized in all its glory as the epitome of beauty, a manifestation of God on Earth. What separated Gothic and aesthetic was the latter's belief of "art for art's sake" as

shifts in understanding over the nature of morality gave rise to an intense dispute between the Philistines (art as a medium for social and moral purpose) and aesthetics (art as beauty and truth) that raged throughout the 1860s and 1870s.

The proponents of grace, athleticism, and activity for women had to wait for the Rational Dress Society, launched in 1881, to put forward their case. The Healthy and Artistic Dress Union swiftly followed it in 1889 pronouncing Victorian restraint unhygienic and spiritually detrimental. Women's clothing became looser, more opulent in texture and heavily influenced by medieval styling, folklore, fairytale, and Arthurian legend. The figure of woman as represented in painting was most commonly sleeping—a state of innocence and purity that also implied the awakening, or liberation (sartorial and sexual), into womanhood that was to follow in the fin de siècle era of decadence. The legacy of the aesthetic movement is most clearly seen in the artistic circles of the Bloomsbury Set in the early twentieth century and the hippie movement of the 1960s.

Neo-Edwardianism

The Teddy boy (derived from the nickname of Edward VII) grew out of a sensibility fostered in post-World War II Britain that the shared hardships of war and rationing would result in a more egalitarian society (Polhemus, p. 34). The expectations of the young working class were manifested in the reworking of a neo-Edwardian style that had been pioneered by London's Savile Row tailors for their upper-class clients—single-breasted, long, and fitted jackets with velvet collars were worn with drainpipe trousers and brocaded waistcoats. Young men from the East End paired similar clothing with a cowboy's tie and the extravagant sentiments of American East Coast, black Zoot style. The adoption of these specific signifiers served to ally Britain's working classes simultaneously with the American Dream, and the outsiders who challenged it. In doing so, the Teds presented a challenge to establishment British society, particularly by subverting aristocratic dress codes, and this subcultural style served as blueprint for all the street style that followed in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Retro

The fashion for retro styling had often left the industry open to accusations of moribund nostalgia. Both at street level—the Teds by the Edwardians, the mods by the Italians, glam-rock by the aesthetics, the casuals by the mods, the goths by the punks—and at the level of high design, the speed and influence of revivalism has increased incrementally over the last forty years, to the point that even futurism is retro. But critics ignore the importance of sociopolitical and cultural context in the process of selection. This is particularly apparent in high design. Walter Benjamin, in *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, speaks of the creative "tiger's leap" into the past, the aggressive

and specific selection of historical reference to serve contemporary comment. Historical revivalism is most often used as a tool to create a pervasive, and recognizable, environment for fashion that responds very pertinently to the times in which it is created. Arguably, there is nothing new to create, only creative ways of reinterpreting the past. As the designer John Galliano points out, "What's modern? . . . Gucci? Or Prada? That's just their interpretation of modern but it's still an historical take. . . . I think reinterpreting things with today's influences, today's fabric technology is what it's all about" (Frankel, p. 176).

See also Aesthetic Dress; Goths; Retro Style.

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Alice Cicolini

HOLLYWOOD STYLE In 1974, Diana Vreeland organized an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, devoted to studio designs. The exhibition's title, *Romantic and Glamorous: Hollywood Style*, sums up perfectly the way in which traditional "Hollywood style" is perceived. It is seen as synonymous with glamour and opulence. Vreeland emphasized this in the exhibition's catalog: "Everything was larger than life. The diamonds were bigger, the furs were thicker and more luxurious . . . silks, satins, velvets and chiffons, miles and miles of ostrich feathers . . . everything was an exaggeration" (p. 5).

Certainly this is true of archetypal "Hollywood style." But, arguably, there is another important factor—the way in which cinema can be used to sell most products and, in particular, to disseminate new fashions. As Charles Eckert argues, Hollywood gave consumerism its "distinctive bent"—it influenced the way men and women wanted to look, as well as the cars they chose to drive, and the cigarettes they decided to smoke. Gradually, this influence became globalized.

This potential power was not immediately perceived. However, as early as 1907 there was widespread public interest in the rumored disappearance of Florence

Lawrence, the "Biograph Girl." A desire to know about the private lives and off-screen activities of the first identifiable stars was apparent at an early stage.

With the identification and growing popularity of stars such as Mary Pickford, Gloria Swanson, and Irene Castle before, during, and after World War I, women began to see the star "image" as something to emulate. During the radical sartorial changes that took place in the 1920s, Hollywood was a vital part of the process through which it became both desirable and socially acceptable for women to wear makeup, after a century of taboo. The carbon lighting of early films meant makeup was a necessity-pink cheeks became gray and skin bleached. Max Factor, a makeup artist for the Moscow State Theatre, arrived in Los Angeles in 1908, and by 1914 he had perfected a product called Supreme Greasepaint for all the studios, along with newly developed eye shadows and pencil liners. This product was packaged in a compact tube and manufactured in several colors, and in a very short time he was selling directly to the public, for it was the faces of the stars that had the most impact on the public at this early stage.

Clara Bow was the first star that women set out to imitate, copying her "Cupid's bow" mouth and penciled brows. Furthermore, her bobbed hair made the new cuts desirable. Bow portrayed the sort of girl who, although unusually pretty, was not too far removed from the world of her female fans.

This kind of popularity with a female fan base meant that a star could popularize not one, but several fashions. Just as in the next decade Garbo would make berets, trench coats, and men's pajamas simultaneously desirable, so Clara Bow persuaded women to shorten their skirts, bare their legs, and adopt the cloche hat, which had been in fashion for some time. And in 1928 Jean Harlow, the "Platinum Blonde," prompted many women to experiment with peroxide; hence, safe home hair dyes were swiftly produced. Harlow also made a Paris fashion popular—the backless, bias-cut dress she wore in *Dinner at Eight* (1933) was instantly copied.

Retailing Tie-ins

Hollywood studios were beginning to appreciate their power. The studio system, which lasted until the 1950s, meant that stars and costume designers were under contract to a particular studio, which could profit from their work. The studios owned distribution rights in cinemas across America, and it was easy to export Hollywood films, first to Europe and later worldwide, despite the existence of national cinemas elsewhere. In the early 2000s, despite the vast size of the Hindi film industry, American cinema was still dominant.

The fashion industry had been swift to recognize the commercial possibilities of the cinema—in 1923 Salvatore Ferragamo, founder of the firm, provided every single pair of sandals for *The Ten Commandments*. Couture designers

became involved—Paul Poiret designed the clothes worn by Sarah Bernhardt in *Elizabeth I* (1912) and Sam Goldwyn lured Chanel to Hollywood. Meanwhile, the studios, becoming aware of the appeal of the costumes designed by Adrian and his peers, worked speedily to prevent unauthorized copying and to maximize profit.

In 1930 the Movie Merchandising Bureau was established, and Macy's had a Cinema Shop. During the 1930s different studios would issue their own licenses, so that by the end of the decade there were various different retail outlets within department stores across America. This was the age of the "tie-in," when promotional campaigns linked to particular films were highly successful—window displays featured not only clothes and accessories from a particular film but also other themed goods. *Queen Christina* (1933), for example, was used to promote "hostess gowns" and Swedish flatware.

The fan magazines were at the height of their popularity—and discussions raged in their pages. Dorothy Lamour conducted a dialogue with her fans as to whether or not she should make another "sarong" film. In fact, she would always be associated with this garment, designed for her by Edith Head—and now a wardrobe staple. At the same time, glossy magazines were debating the question of whether Hollywood could lead fashion, or merely follow Paris.

Gone with the Wind (1939) influenced bridal wear for decades—and it was suggested that Dior had the popularity of the film's costumes in mind when he created the New Look. The decade had also made lingerie an enormously profitable business through the slips, negligees, and marabou slippers seen on screen.

The Postwar Period

The influence of Hollywood did not end in 1939—and included body shape. The busty stars of the 1950s meant enormous profits for the underwear industry, and Marilyn Monroe was arguably the most influential star of all time, as women sought the different components of her "look."

With the emulation of Marlon Brando and James Dean in the 1950s, and the gym culture, which resulted from the sight of well-muscled male bodies in the action pictures popular from the 1980s onward, it seems that men in the postwar period have been more influenced by Hollywood than ever before. Men's wear designers responded quickly, and continue to remain heavily involved. Ralph Lauren's designs for Robert Redford in The Great Gatsby (1974) were not as heavily covered in the press as his women's wear for Diane Keaton in Annie Hall (1977). However, it had been clearly demonstrated that a mainstream Hollywood film could be used to showcase clothes not unlike those in the designer's current readyto-wear range, and Armani was the first to manipulate this opportunity by dressing Richard Gere for American Gigolo (1980); Cerruti followed his lead by dressing Michael Douglas for a number of influential films in the 1980s, including Wall Street (1988). Much of what we wear is a legacy of Hollywood-trousers for women, tennis shoes for everyday, leather jackets, jeans, and T-shirts. Yet some designers were never convinced—Elsa Schiaparelli complained that Joan Crawford's shoulder pads were copied from her collections and that Adrian had simply stolen the concept. Vivienne Westwood's one foray into cinema—she designed the collection supposedly produced by Richard E. Grant in the box-office debacle Prêt-à-Porter (1995)—has obviously made some other designers wary of involvement. But attempts to use film as a way of presenting new ideas continue; Uma Thurman's yellow trainers for Kill Bill (2003) did not impress audiences, but Samuel L. Jackson's Kangol beret in the same hue, worn in Jackie Brown (1997) meant that their already buoyant sales figures virtually doubled.

See also Actors and Actresses, Impact on Fashion; Film and Fashion.

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Pamela Church Gibson

HOMESPUN The word "homespun" connotes both a rough fabric worn by country people and the human qualities, good or bad, associated with it. In English literature, "homespun" can mean boorish behavior or wholesome simplicity. In Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream, for example, Puck dismisses the comic bumpkins Bottom and Snout as "hempen homespun." Writing a century later, John Dryden contrasted "harlot-hunting" foreigners with an "honest homespun countrey Clown" of English make. In the eighteenth century, political writers on both sides of the Atlantic adopted the personae of a wise but plainspoken countryman or -woman, signing themselves "Dorothy Distaff" or "Horatio Homespun." In the nineteenth-century United States, poets, novelists, and preachers celebrated an idealized "age of homespun" that symbolized the virtues of self-sufficiency and egalitarian simplicity.

Because "homespun" had such a powerful literary existence, it is sometimes difficult to define its actual use in times past. Commercial production of cloth was well developed on the European continent and in Great Britain by the seventeenth century. Before industrialization, the opposite of homespun was not factory spun but market

spun. Most spinners did, in fact, spin in their own or their masters' homes, but merchant clothiers managed the steps in production. Spinning, weaving, and finishing sometimes took place in different regions or even in different countries, sometimes mixing wool from different colored sheep to produce the rough hodden, russet, or country gray that poets praised, but that fewer and fewer people actually wore.

In the earliest years of settlement, North American colonists had little incentive to spin. It made more sense to devote energy to developing crops for export. But as farms and plantations developed and as the population grew, more families began to raise sheep and sow flax for their own use. By the middle of the eighteenth century, in New England and in the Chesapeake, women took up weaving, an occupation that had belonged to men in commercial textile-producing areas of Europe. In Pennsylvania, high immigration from England, Scotland, and Germany kept looms in male hands. Rural families used locally made fabrics for towels, sheets, grain bags, everyday petticoats, work shirts, and aprons, but they were never self-sufficient. English woolens and Indian calico were prized for outer clothing, and in the plantation South, most slave clothing was still made from cheap imported linens like osnaburgs or from coarse Welsh woolens.

Homespun took on political connotations in the years leading up to the American Revolution. A writer in the 16 October 1769 Boston Gazette claimed that if "Hellen wrought the Fate of ancient Troy," then New England's daughters, through household industry, could "make us Blest and Free." As political leaders urged boycotts of British goods, New England women gathered in "spinning meetings" and southern planters like George Washington improved sheep herds and diverted some slave labor to spinning. Although true self-sufficiency was never a realistic possibility, the boycotts did for a time put pressure on Parliament.

Before a second war with England in 1812, a Rhode Island poet, nostalgic for revolutionary days, lamented in the 1 December 1810 (Providence) *Columbian Phoenix*:

There was a time—Columbia's gothic days—
When maidens spun their wedding gowns and linen:
But no, so tasty, so refin'd our ways—A homespun
gown no wench will stick a pin in.
The veriest dowdy now is too genteel,
To waste a moment at the whirling wheel.

The poet was wrong in thinking American women had ever spun their "wedding gowns," though many women continued to spin a great deal of household linen, and newspapers once again reported patriotic spinning bees during this war.

The federal census of 1810 counted spinning wheels and yards of cloth as well as people. On average, Americans were making ten yards of cloth per capita, though the state averages ranged from twenty-eight yards in New Hampshire to five in Maryland and Delaware. The early

stages of industrialization actually stimulated household production. When water-powered carding mills assisted in the tedious task of preparing wool for spinning, housewives increased their output of spun yarn. They also learned to mix factory-spun cotton thread with homespun flax or wool. In much of the United States, though, household production declined rapidly after 1830. It persisted, however, in isolated pockets of the Northeast and South, in newly settled areas of the West, and in eastern Canada, where it was still an important part of the agricultural economy in 1870.

In the southern United States, homespun also had a brief revival during the Civil War. Again poets and politicians linked patriotism with female industry, as in the popular song "The Homespun Girl."

The homespun dress is plain, I know, My hat's palmetto, too; But then it shows what Southern girls For Southern rights will do.

Again, the mystique of homespun was probably more powerful than the reality. Women who already knew how to spin took their wheels out of the attic, but families with no prior experience found it difficult to take up cloth making. Furthermore, many white women refused to wear homemade fabric because it seemed too much like the rough "negro cloth" worn by slaves.

The United States was not the only place where homespun acquired political meaning. When Mohandas Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1914, he wore an approximation of peasant clothing. Soon he was preaching the gospel of swadeshi, or self-sufficiency, urging Indians to burn imported fabrics and adopt simple clothing made from khadi, or homespun. Ironically, there were so few peasants who still spun by hand that he had to search out those who could revive the dying craft, and because khadi was so much more expensive than industrially produced fabrics, it was difficult to persuade people to use it. Gandhi's promotion of khadi had two objectives—to assert India's economic independence and to unify the nation by establishing a national dress common to all classes. Gandhi wore a simple loincloth to demonstrate his solidarity with poor peasants who could not afford more elaborate clothing. Although few of his followers went to that extreme, the khadi cap he designed did become an emblem of national unity.

See also Europe and America: History of Dress (400–1900 C.E.); Fashion and Identity; Handwoven Textiles; Politics and Fashion; Spinning.

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Laurel Thatcher Ulrich

HOOP SKIRT. See Crinoline.

HORST, HORST P. Horst Paul Albert Bohrmann (1906–1999) was one of the most creative and prolific fashion photographers of the twentieth century. (He took the name of Horst P. Horst during World War II and was known professionally simply as Horst.) From the be-

ginning of his career in 1931 until 1992, when failing eyesight forced him to abandon his work, his photographs graced the pages of American, French, British, German, Spanish, and Italian editions of *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair*, *House and Garden*, and a host of photography magazines, books, and catalogs. Horst came to prominence in the 1930s, by which time the power unique to the medium of photography was dramatically apparent to promoters of fashion. He is appreciated in the twenty-first century not only for the spare elegance and refined glamour of his fashion work, which produced icons of the genre, but also for his myriad portraits, male and female nudes, flower studies, and pictures of homes and gardens.

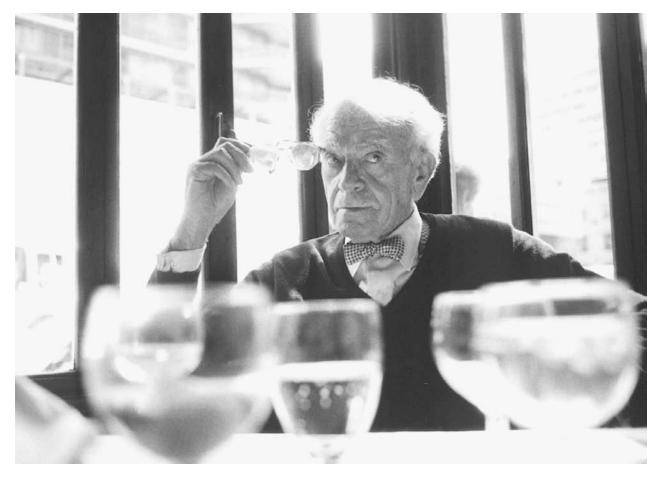
Early Life and Training

Horst Bohrmann was born in Weissenfels-an-der-Saale, Thuringia, in 1906, the second son of prosperous, middleclass, Protestant parents. The family suffered financial hardships as a result of World War I but eventually recovered in the 1920s, enabling Horst to attend the Hamburg School of Applied Art, where he studied furniture making and carpentry. Exposure to Bauhaus principles and personalities led him to seek an apprenticeship in Paris with Le Corbusier. However, Horst was disappointed both with the projects and the great architect himself and soon quit. Wandering about Paris in search of something more vital, he encountered the fashion photographer George Hoyningen-Huene, by then well-established at Condé Nast. Soon Horst was a familiar figure at the studio, helping his older friend arrange sets and lighting, as well as serving as a male model for some of Huene's most striking swimwear images, and even starring in a short film with Natasha Paley (now sadly lost).

First Photographic Assignments

In the spring of 1931 Horst was given a sudden chance to try his own hand at the métier. Dr. Mehemed Agha, American Vogue's celebrated art director, was then visiting Paris and thought Horst might have the required talents. Horst passed his initial tests, which required still lifes of accessories and jewelry, with flying colors, these first photographs being published in the November and December issues of Vogue. An invitation to work from American Vogue soon followed, but the engagement was short-lived: he was sent back to Europe for insubordination. When Hoyningen-Huene later left Paris for an assignment for Vanity Fair in Hollywood, Horst shouldered his work, and when his friend and mentor left Vogue for good in 1935, it was Horst who inherited the mantle as photographer-in-chief. Almost immediately, Condé Nast recalled him to New York, though he was allowed to continue to photograph the Paris collections each season. By 1937 he was firmly established in New York.

In 1942 Horst volunteered to serve in the United States Army, and despite being initially classed as an enemy alien, he was called up in July 1943 as a photographer. His assignments, however, remained on American



Horst P. Horst. One of the most prolific and inventive fashion photographers of the twentieth century, Horst P. Horst first came to prominence in the 1930s. During a sixty-year career in photography, his photographs appeared in numerous magazines, including *Vanity Fair* and *Vogue*. Courtesy of FAHEY/KLEIN GALLERY, Los Angeles, @ www.faheykleingallery.com. Reproduced by Permission.

soil. At war's end he was invited to the White House for a portrait commission of President Truman.

Postwar Life and Work

The postwar decades were filled with fashion and portrait assignments on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as trips to Mexico, Syria, Iran, and the new state of Israel. Moreover, he moved in the same circles as luminaries such as the film director Luchino Visconti, the artist Leonor Fini, Coco Chanel, Salvador Dali, Marlene Dietrich, Gertrude Stein, President and Mrs. Eisenhower, Gore Vidal, Yves St. Laurent, and Jacqueline Bouvier. He became close friends with a number of these people.

In 1952 Horst began to fall out of favor at *Vogue*, whose new editor, Jessica Davies, imposed rigid rules on the photographers. His fortunes were restored in 1962, however, when the much more supportive Diana Vreeland arrived to head the magazine. In 1971, on the latter's departure from *Vogue*, Horst gravitated to *House and Garden*, where he had occasionally worked beginning in

1947. He returned to Europe for an extensive cruise-wear assignment with French *Vogue*, which led to renewed work for the magazine.

Notable Exhibitions and Publications

From the early 1930s Horst exhibited both his professional and personal work, at first in European galleries, then more gradually in museums, most of which were hesitant to accept fashion photography as a legitimate domain of art. Significant group exhibitions include Fashion 1900–1939 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1975; Fashion Photography and Fleeting Gestures, at the International Center of Photography, New York, in 1977 and 1984, respectively; Lichtbildnisse: Das Porträt in der Fotografie, at the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn in 1982; and Das Akfoto, at the Fotomuseum in Munich in 1985. Major gallery exhibitions were held at the Galerie la Plume d'Or, Paris, in 1932; at the Germain Seligman Gallery, New York, in 1938; at the Sonnabend Gallery, New York, in 1974 and 1980; at Hamilton's

Gallery, London, in 1986 and 1999; at the Staley-Wise Gallery, New York, in 1984; and at the Galerie Thierry, Paris, in 1999.

Horst's major retrospective of his fashion work was organized by the International Center of Photography, New York, in 1984; it then traveled to the Fortuny Palace, Venice, in 1985. A retrospective look at his fashion photography was held at the Musée des Arts de la Mode, the Louvre, Paris, in 1991. A major retrospective of his portraits was shown at the National Gallery, London, in 2001.

Horst's own books include *Photographs of a Decade*, 1944; *Patterns from Nature*, 1946; *Salute to the Thirties*, 1971; *Return Engagement: Faces to Remember—Then and Now* (with writer James Watters), 1984; and *Horst: Images of Elegance*, 1993.

Horst's Legacy

Most critics consider Horst's prewar fashion photographs, together with a select number of portraits from the same era, to be his finest work. His style, consistent across the various genres he explored, was characterized by a high degree of eclecticism. There are manifold references to art history, and he made liberal use of classical, baroque, and surrealist props and decor along with witty trompe l'oeil effects. Appreciative of historical precedents, he was as able to fabricate pictorial images in the style of Baron de Meyer as easily as he could cool modernist pictures in the style of Edward Steichen and Hoyningen-Huene. Horst's women subjects, in fashion studies or in portraits, project the power of their sex rather than the power of sex; they are bold, poised, and serene. Horst saw the body in architectonic terms, so that appendages of the body could be severed and reassembled to striking effect. Above all, he is known for his exquisite compositional sense, prompting an early admirer, Janet Flanner, to characterize his work as "a linear romance." His work influenced many younger photographers of fashion, portraiture, flowers, and the nude, including Robert Mapplethorpe, Bruce Weber, and Herb Ritts.

See also Fashion Photography; Hoyningen-Huene, George; Vogue; Vreeland, Diana.

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William Ewing

HOSIERY, MEN'S The term "hosiery" in contemporary usage is generally defined as stockings or socks, more specifically as tight-fitting knit goods that cover men's feet and varying portions of the lower leg, or as knitted feet and leg coverings for women (such as pantyhose or tights). The related term "hose," while used synonymously, is even more specifically historically defined as a man's garment that fully covers the legs, like tights, and is tied to the doublet (a short, close-fitting jacket). The origin of the word "hose" is the Old English "hosa" or leg covering, or Middle English "hose" for stocking. A related German term, "hosen," is also often seen in historical use. In the history of Western dress, the term "hose" has been used to refer to a wide range of men's leg coverings, with or without a footed portion, from early centuries C.E. through the early nineteenth century. These include the Roman lower leg wrappings called feminalia, the early northern European footed or anklelength woven trousers, and medieval criss-crossed leg wrappings sometimes referred to as chausses.

Early Development

Men's hosiery is a garment in which technology and fashion are interlinked in terms of both meeting demand for and inspiring changes in styles. From the Middle Ages through the early Renaissance, there are numerous images in art that portray the bagginess, sagging, and wrinkling of ill-fitting hose worn under tunics or houppelandes. As clothing construction technology such as tailoring improved to allow a closer fit over the body, men's legs and leg coverings became more prominent, and hose were the predominant lower body garment for men throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For instance, fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian tailoring techniques created full-length parti-colored hose for men from woven fabrics cut in panels on the bias. They were sewn with curved seams to tightly fit the leg and lower torso. These techniques also allowed hose to get longer, and by the last quarter of the fourteenth century the two separate legs of hose reached the waist and were joined into one garment, similar to what we today call tights. They were seamed up the back and closed over the crotch with an overlapping panel or a codpiece. Various trends in color and patterning were seen in men's hose throughout each period of their predominance. Many fashionable hose in the seventeenth century were embroidered with gold and silver thread for a type of embellishment around the ankles called clocks or clocking. Early hose were sometimes constructed with leather soles on the foot that could be worn instead of shoes, and the fourteenth-century fashion for soled hose with long pointed toes is the best example of this.

Knitted Hosiery

Knitted socks were recovered from Egyptian burial excavations dating to the fourth or fifth century C.E., the same period that knitting was introduced to Europe. Hand knitting of socks was an important industry in medieval Europe and by the sixteenth century had advanced to a fine craft. Silk hose for those who could afford them were hand knitted in the round on needles as fine as wire with very fine silk threads. Well-fitted hose were an important fashion item for men of the gentry and nobility during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Hose worn by lower status men were coarser, knitted by hand in the round from wool or linen fibers, or still made from bias-cut woven fabrics. The production of hose to meet the demands of men's fashion sparked important innovations in knitting. The first knitting machine (called a flatbed frame) was invented in late-sixteenth-century England to make hose. It produced coarse, flat pieces of knitted cloth with eight stitches per inch. Although it could be knit ten times faster than by hand, the cloth was considered suitable only for peasant hose. By century's end this technology was refined to make silk stockings using approximately twenty stitches per inch, creating a very active industry and market for higher quality, highpriced hose that lasted until the end of the eighteenth century. Innovations to the knitting machine in the eighteenth century included refinements in shaping hosiery on the frame during the knitting process. Cotton, from India, was introduced for knitted hosiery in England in 1730. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, fashion changes in men's dress resulted in legs covered by long pantaloons or trousers instead of hose, and knitted hosiery industries declined.

Later Development

Until the late sixteenth century, both woven and knitted hose were held up by being tied to the waist of a man's doublet with laces called points. By 1540, the full-length style of men's hose was broken up into two or three different sections up the leg called stocks. Each section was sewn or tied to the one above it in order to hold it up on the leg. The lower hose, from toe to knee, were predominantly held up by garters, and, after the 1540s, were almost exclusively knitted. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, knee-length hose or stockings were worn with breeches. Garters were the most popular method for holding up one's hose until new develop-

ments created highly elastic manufactured fibers in the mid-twentieth century. From the 1770s until into the 1820s, many men padded their hose with "artificial calves" strapped to their legs, if needed, to create the shapely leg demanded by fashion ideals.

By the early twentieth century, men's hosiery was a fully diversified industry, producing a wide range of knitted garments completely shaped and finished on the frame. In the apparel industry, the term "half-hose" refers to socks or stockings that end at mid-calf or lower, and the term "hose" refers to those that end above the knee.

See also Breeches; Doublet.

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Susan J. Torntore

HOSIERY, WOMEN'S. See Stockings, Women's.

HOSPITAL GOWNS. See Nonwoven Textiles.

HOYNINGEN-HUENE, GEORGE George Hoyningen-Huene (1900–1968) is remembered as one of the finest fashion photographers of the 1920s and 1930s. He was born in St. Petersburg, Russia, to a Baltic nobleman, the chief equerry to Tsar Alexander III, and an American mother whose own father had been the United States Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Russian court. Huene's early upbringing was one of privilege, though the revolution brought those advantages to an abrupt end: the family's properties were confiscated, and they were forced to flee for their lives.

Huene settled in Paris. Dreaming at first of reclaiming his rightful heritage, he participated briefly in the British Expeditionary Force's disastrous campaign against the Reds in 1918. However, the fiasco taught him that there was no turning back the historical clock and that he would have to forge a new life for himself in the West.

While the family chose exile in London, Huene settled in Paris, where he supported himself with a series of odd jobs, the most interesting being the role of an extra in cinema. Delighted to be in a city that so valued art, for which he had long harbored a passion, Huene decided to pursue drawing and painting, signing up for classes with the famed cubist instructor André Lohte. Huene was instinctively attracted to the world of couture, which he saw as another manifestation of art, and he was quick to grasp that a topflight fashion illustrator like Georges Lepape or Edouard Benito could command a high salary. Huene first put his drawing talents to work for Yteb, his sister Betty's dressmaking business, and by 1925 he had expanded his clientele considerably, selling illustrations to *Harper's Bazaar*, *Women's Wear*, and *Le Jardin des modes*.

Never one to be chained to a desk, Huene teamed up with his new friend, the photographer Man Ray, to produce a portfolio of "the most beautiful women in Paris." Huene's role had only been to recruit the women, but *Vogue*'s Main Bocher (later the couturier Mainbocher) was impressed with the ambitious project, and while he didn't accept it for *Vogue*, he took it upon himself to introduce the young man to Edna Chase, the editor-in-chief of the magazine. This led to his "first real job," as he put it, as an illustrator, though Huene always suspected that Chase's decision had more to do with Huene's access to the world of glamorous women than it did with his drawing skills.

Huene fell into photography literally by chance, though in retrospect he seems to have been slowly gravitating toward the métier. He took every opportunity at the *Vogue* studio to help photographers with their sets and lighting, and when one of the photographers did not appear one morning in 1926, Huene stepped in. Thus begun a ten-year photographic collaboration with *Vogue*.

Huene brought a neoclassical style, lightly inflected by cubism, to the magazine, a mix perfectly attuned to the zeitgeist. H. K. Frenzel's introduction to a slim volume of Huene's portraits, published in 1932, notes how

Ionic columns rose alongside factory smoke-stacks, Greek temples alongside railroad tunnels and depots... and the ladies and gentlemen of Paris, London, New York and Biarritz enjoyed the sunshine among pedestals from which the gods of ancient Greece looked down in naked silence, between snorting stallions and muscular heroes.

Greek columns, temples, and statuary were common motifs in Huene's imagery; thus enobling the clothes. Not surprisingly, he admired the couture of Madame Grès ("fluid, harmonious and sculptural"), Madame Vionnet ("Her clothes were built like great architecture"), and Coco Chanel, whom he appreciated for her "absolute assurance of her own talent, competence and authority."

At *Vogue* Huene had the chance to study the contributions of his predecessors, and in the case of Edward Steichen—then chief photographer at *Vogue*—even to watch him work. From Baron de Meyer's early twentieth-century fashion photography he learned the power of suggestion, "the mysterious air of making every woman look

like a vision in a dream," and from Steichen he learned the importance of psychology:

In addition to directing the activities of his assistants the photographer plays the clown, the enthusiast, the flatterer. He acts and talks about other things while his mind is watching the building up of the picture—its lights, shadows and lines; its essential fashion photograph requirements—distinction, elegance, and chic.

Huene also absorbed a great deal from painters, and two friends made particularly strong impressions: the painter and fellow Russian Pavel Tchelitchev, who accepted commissions for magazine covers in addition to his own personal art work and could be as enthusiastic about workman's clothes and army surplus gear as he was about haute couture; and Christian Bérard, an artist famed for his Dionysian temperament that was poles apart from Huene's own more own Apollonian sensibilities.

Huene also followed developments in cinema and photography. He rubbed shoulders with personalities as diverse as the French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson, the American dancer Josephine Baker, and the Armenian mystic G. I. Gurdjieff. He played bit roles in movies and even tried his hand at making three films, all of which were subsequently lost. Although his fashion work has long been given its due, his exquisite portraiture has not received the attention it deserves. His photographs of his great friend and fellow photographer Horst P. Horst, the authors Jean Cocteau and Janet Flanner, the composer Igor Stravinsky, the photographers Baron de Meyer and Cecil Beaton, the actor Johnny Weismuller, the painter and sculptor Alexander Calder, Coco Chanel, and dozens of other celebrities of the day, never resort to formulaic poses or superficial flattery but always find a way of signifying their subjects' originality.

The second significant period of Huene's fashion photography (though it could never match his Paris output) was spent at *Harper's Bazaar* in New York, where he arrived in 1935. Although Huene continued to innovate, the magazine's art director, Alexey Brodovitch's, penchant for bleeding photographs off the page and overlaying graphic elements on the image undermined the integrity of Huene's exquisitely balanced compositions. Gradually he began to lose interest in his photographic work. American fashions could never match their French counterparts; the problem solving that had once given him so much pleasure no longer did so, and the business-is-everything climate of New York was increasingly discouraging.

Huene escaped, temporarily, to the ancient world of the Middle East, looking for spiritual renewal. He found solace on grand voyages across Africa and Arabia. One beautifully written book, African Mirage, the Record of a Journey (1938), came of his travels, and other journeys resulted in equally fine photographic albums (Hellas in 1943; Egypt in 1943; Mexican Heritage in 1943; and Baalbek/Palmyra in 1946).

In the mid-1940s Huene abandoned fashion photography, leaving it to a new generation less committed to his prewar ideal of elegance. He famously greeted the young Richard Avedon, just beginning his own career in photography, with the words, "Too bad, Too late!" His mind was increasingly set on travel—especially spiritual explorations—and he was willing to try new ways of earning a living. He taught photography at the Art Center School in Pasadena, California, experimented briefly with drugs under the guidance of Aldous Huxley, and served as a color coordinator for several filmmakers such as Jean Negulesco, Michael Kidd, Michael Curtiz, and most notably, George Cukor, who became a great friend.

Hoyningen-Huene first exhibited in a Parisian group show in 1928, in the Premier Salon indépendant de la photographie, and was invited to show several works at the seminal Film und Foto exhibition in Stuttgart in 1929. He did not show his work again until 1963, when he was selected for Cologne's influential Photokina exhibition. However, it was only after his death that he was acknowledged by two important collective exhibitions: Fashion Photography: Six Decades, shown at the Emily Lowe Gallery at Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York in 1975, and History of Fashion Photography, held at the International Museum of Photography in Rochester, New York, in 1979, and with a full retrospective, Eye for Elegance, at the International Center of Photography in New York. In the interim, fashion photography had been treated as a minor commercial vein, and books and exhibitions rare, though one exception should be noted: Glamor Portraits, held at the Museum of Modern Art in 1965.

George Hoyningen-Huene died of a heart attack at his home in Los Angeles in 1968. His outstanding contribution to fashion photography is unquestioned, and he broadened this field with his erudition and his flair. In the final analysis the full range of his photography must be considered in any appreciation. His legacy is as a coherent system of images, chiefly of fashion and portrait studies, which were characterized by precision, economy of means, harmony, elegance, and psychological acuity.

See also Fashion Photography; Film and Fashion.

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William Ewing

HUGO BOSS At the start of the twenty-first century Hugo Boss AG was among the biggest companies producing menswear in Germany and, in the last decade of the twentieth century, dominated the German menswear designer market through the distribution of various lines and licenses. In 1923 Hugo Boss founded the clothing company in Metzingen, near Stuttgart in the south of Germany. At first the company specialized in the production of work clothes, overalls, raincoats, and uniforms. From 1933 onward it made uniforms for German storm troopers, Wehrmacht, and Hitler Youth. Boss brought forced laborers from Poland and France to his factory to boost output in the following years. When Boss died in 1948, the factory returned to making uniforms for postal and police workers. In 1953 it produced its first men's suits.

By the early 1970s, after several changes in the management and ownership since the founding of the company, Jochen and Uwe Holy, the grandchildren of Boss, took over work-wear manufacturing, and the duo started to manufacture fashion-conscious men's suits and sportswear. In the following years the new owners turned Hugo Boss from a work-wear manufacturer into a stylish clothes company for formal men's wear. Hugo Boss was the first German company to construct a brand identity within the men's wear sector.

After the relaunch of the Boss brand in the early 1970s, the company developed steadily into an international fashion designer house. In the 1980s, Hugo Boss constructed a high degree of brand awareness through the distribution of licenses and brand extension in fragrances, dress shirts, sportswear, knits, and leatherwear. Boss went public in Germany in 1985. Their formal menswear, in particular, became strongly associated with the Yuppie.

Family control ended in 1992, and since 1993 Mazzotto S.p.A. in Valdagno, Italy, has held majority control of Hugo Boss AG. The company operates in more than ninety countries with a product range including bodywear, cosmetics, evening wear, eyewear, fine clothing, formal wear, fragrances, hosiery, leisurewear, shoes, and watches. Since control by Mazzotto began, Hugo Boss

AG has applied a three-brand strategy for the men's wear market under the labels Boss Hugo Boss, Hugo, and Baldessarini. Boss Man, the company's core brand is divided into three subsidiary labels—Black Label (business and leisure wear), Orange Label (urban sportswear), and Green Label (outdoor activewear).

The Hugo brand encompasses an avant-garde collection, which is designed for business and leisure, and which combines unconventional details with new materials. The Baldessarini brand is the most sophisticated label, featuring the finest Italian fabrics and hand stitching. As a traditional men's wear manufacturer, Hugo Boss made an unsuccessful attempt to start a women's wear line in 1987. Eleven years later Hugo Boss successfully launched the female counterpart to the male Hugo label. In 2000 the designer brand introduced Boss Woman, designed for the sophisticated female businesswoman. The Hugo Boss brand is clearly defined by a dynamic design with an emphasis on functionality, clean lines, and attention to details.

The Hugo Boss collections are distributed on the international market through selected specialty stores and Hugo Boss monobrand shops. The collections are designed and managed according to a standardized concept that reflects the clean, stylish brand image applied at monobrand shops worldwide. Nevertheless, the company opened a 20,000-square-foot store in New York City in 2001 that presented all brands and collections under one roof for the first time.

See also Formal Wear, Men's; Suit, Business; Uniforms, Military; Uniforms, Occupational.

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