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SACK DRESS (OR SAQUE). *See* **Chemise Dress.**

SAFETY PINS The first clothing fasteners with the principle of a pin (metal) retained by a bow (generally organic) appeared in central Europe during the Middle Bronze Age in the second millennium B.C.E. From these a variant developed in the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C.E. that archaeologists have identified as the direct ancestor of the modern safety pin. It was a single piece of bronze wire coiled at one end as a spring, with a point that engaged a guard of sheet bronze. With many variants it spread rapidly around the Mediterranean, especially in Greek lands. For male and female wearers it is thought to have been a badge of both worldly and spiritual privilege. Around 500 B.C.E., new trends in clothing construction (especially the toga) ended its prestige in the Mediterranean, though it flourished north of the Alps until the third century C.E., when provincials were granted Roman citizenship with its right to the toga. In the Middle Ages, in the West, the luxury fibula resumed its role as an upper-class ornament.

The nineteenth-century safety pin may have been a conscious classical revival, influenced by increasing museum display of and publication of articles on ancient fibulae. The first U.S. patent for a coiled-wire pin of this type granted to Walter Hunt in 1849 is significantly entitled “Dress-Pin,” even though other patents had been issued for “safety pins.” The inventor claimed durability, beauty, convenience, and injury protection, in that order. Only beginning in the late 1870s did other inventors add the guard that protected the wearer fully. Crucially, they also developed machinery for automating the production of the pins. By 1914, American factories alone were making over 1.33 billion safety pins annually at a cost of $0.007 each, a stunning example of the industrial order’s democratization of an ancient and medieval luxury product. The maverick economist Thorstein Veblen affixed his watch to his clothing with a safety pin to show his indifference to conspicuous consumption—a gesture of reverse snobbery later followed more drastically by the punk movement’s use of safety pins as piercing jewelry from the 1970s onward.

The spread of disposable diapers with snap fasteners after World War II reduced the role of safety pins in the household, or rather redefined safety as protection from embarrassment by malfunctioning apparel. On the negative side, the fasteners’ reassuring name conceals their real hazards to unsupervised children, who swallow them all too often. Extracting open safety pins requires special instruments first developed over one hundred years ago, and exceptional medical skill.

See also **Brooches and Pins; Fasteners; Pins.**

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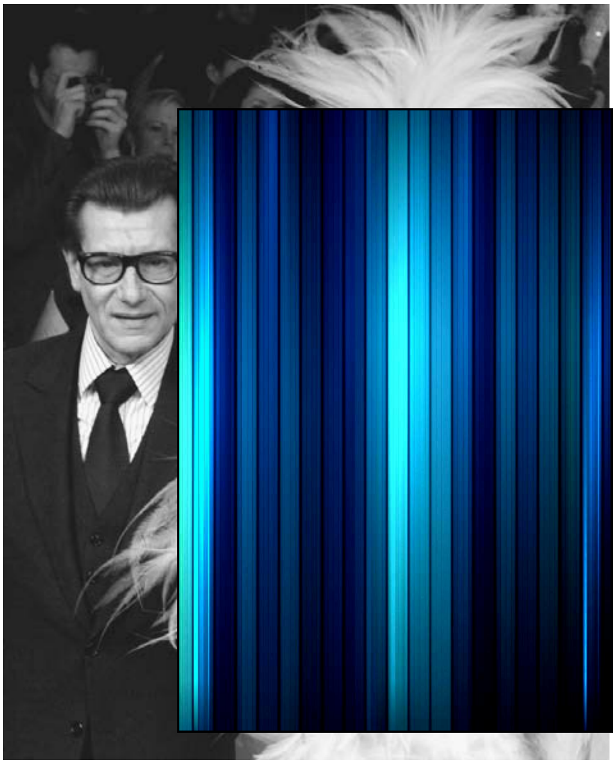
Edward Tenner

SAINT LAURENT, YVES A direct heir of the couture tradition of Gabrielle (Coco) Chanel, Cristóbal Balenciaga, and Christian Dior, Yves Saint Laurent explored, discovered, and polished, in the course of a career lasting more than forty years, the infinite resources of his vocabulary. Taming the signs and codes of his age, he created the grammar of the contemporary wardrobe and imposed his language, which became the inescapable reference of the twentieth century. In search of a uniform for elegance, Saint Laurent combined the greatest rigor of production with extreme sophistication of form to create clothing of impeccable cut with harmonious proportions, where the aesthetic of the detail was transformed into an absolute necessity. “Fashion is like a party. Getting dressed is preparing to play a role. I am not a couturier, I am a craftsman, a maker of happiness” (Teboul 2002).

Yves Mathieu Saint Laurent was born on 1 August 1936 in the Algerian city of Oran, the oldest of the three



Yves Saint Laurent. Yves Saint Laurent stands next to Laeticia Casta as she models a wedding dress from his spring/summer 2000 high fashion collection. From the beginning of his career in the 1960s until his 2002 retirement, Saint Laurent was one of the world's most influential fashion designers.

children of Lucienne-Andrée and Charles Mathieu Saint Laurent. He said later: "As long as I live I will remember my childhood and adolescence in the marvelous country that Algeria was then. I don't think of myself as a *pied noir.* I think of myself as a Frenchman born in Algeria" (Teboul 2002). He entered the Collège du Sacré-Cœur in September 1948. Strongly influenced by the play *L'École à deux têtes* of Jean Cocteau, he designed his first dresses: stage costumes for paper puppets with which he performed for his sisters. "I had a terrible time in class, and when I got home at night I was completely free. I thought only of my puppets, my marionettes, which I dressed up in imitation of the plays I had seen" (Benaïm, p. 451).

Saint Laurent designed a good deal, imitating Jean Gabriel-Domergue, Christian Bérard, René Gruau, Christian Dior, Cristóbal Balenciaga, and Hubert de Givenchy. In February 1949 he created his first dresses, made for his mother and his two sisters. At the age of sixteen he attended a performance of Molière's *L'École des femmes,* performed and directed by Louis Jouvet. Bérard had designed both sets and costumes. Seeing this play inspired in Saint Laurent a passion that he never surrendered for the theater. In December 1953 he went with his mother to Paris to receive the third prize in the competition of the Secrétariat de la Laine. There he was introduced to Michel de Brunhoff, who was then editor of the French edition of the essential fashion magazine *Vogue.*

Back in Oran, he began a correspondence with de Brunhoff, sending him fashion and theater sketches. The following year, armed with his baccalaureat (earning second prize for the philosophy essay and a score of 20 out of 20 in drawing), Saint Laurent settled in Paris and attended the École de la Chambre Syndicale de la Haute Couture for three months. He won first prize for dresses in the Secrétariat de la Laine competition. It was at about this time that, struck by the similarity of Saint Laurent's designs to those of the fall–winter collection of Christian Dior, de Brunhoff decided to introduce him to Dior, who promptly hired him as an assistant. During the next two years—years of apprenticeship and intense collaboration—a lasting complicity was established between the two men. "I remember him above all.… The elegance of his feelings matched the elegance of his style" (Yves Saint Laurent, p. 31).

On 24 October 1957 Christian Dior died from a heart attack at the age of fifty-two. On 15 November Saint Laurent was designated his successor. At age twenty-one he became the youngest couturier in the world. He presented his first collection in January 1958 and had his first triumph with the Trapeze line, which propelled him onto the international scene with its enormous success. He was given the Neiman Marcus Award. That same year he met Pierre Bergé, who soon became his companion and business partner.

While designing six collections a year for the house of Dior, Saint Laurent satisfied his passion for the theater, and he designed his first stage costumes (*Cyrano de Bergerac,* Ballets de Paris de Roland Petit, 1959). Influenced by Chanel, the spring–summer collection had solid success and provoked a craze, but the autumn–winter collection saw the appearance of a more controversial style: turtleneck knits and the first black leather jackets. Singularly prophetic, Saint Laurent had taken his inspiration directly from the street. Drafted into the Algerian armed forces in 1960, he was replaced at Dior by Marc Bohan.

Saint Laurent was soon declared unfit for service and hospitalized for nervous depression, and it was thanks to Bergé that he was able to leave the army. "Victoire" Doutrouleau, one of Dior's star models and a "marvelous muse" for Saint Laurent, recalls: "He left the hospital anxious, dazed, and alone. Yves a soldier? You might as well try changing a swan into a crocodile!" (Benaïm, p. 108). In open conflict with the Dior fashion house, which he sued for breach of contract, Saint Laurent decided to establish his own couture house in 1961, in association with Bergé. The financial support came from an American businessman, J. Mack Robinson: "I was impressed by such great talent in such a young man. I knew nothing about fashion, and I didn't want to get involved. This was the realm of Yves, the creator, and I immediately saw that he was a genius" (Yves Saint Laurent, p. 16).

The house opened officially on 4 December 1961. Former employees of Christian Dior left Dior to work for Saint Laurent, and more than half the seamstresses came from the Dior workshops. The graphic designer Cassandre created the YSL logo. Saint Laurent designed his first dress—labeled 00001—for Mrs. Arturo Lopez Willshaw, followed by the famous white feather costume for the dancer Zizi Jeanmaire. In 1962, on rue Spontini in Paris, the house presented its first show, described by *Life* as "the best suitmaker since Chanel" (p. 49). Dino Buzzati, special correspondent for the *Corriere della sera*, wrote: "Closing the show, a wedding dress in goffered white piqué brought an ovation from the public. The pale face of the young couturier then appeared for a moment from backstage; only for a moment, because a swarm of admirers surrounded him, embraced him, devoured him." This collection was memorable for the Norman jacket, the smock, and the pea jacket, which became "foundations" of the Saint Laurent style.

Saint Laurent designed the sets and costumes for *Les chants de maldoror* and *Rapsodie espagnole*, staged by Roland Petit, and the dresses for Claudia Cardinale in Blake Edwards's film *The Pink Panther* (1964). In April 1963, accompanied by Pierre Bergé, who had become his Pygmalion, he made his first trip to Japan, where he presented shows in Osaka and Tokyo.

The year 1964 saw the launch of a perfume for women, called "Y." But Saint Laurent's new collection was showered with negative criticism. The press spoke only of the André Courrèges' bombshell collection. Saint Laurent explained: "I have never been able to work on a wooden mannequin; I play by unrolling the fabric on the model, walking around her, making her move. … The only collection that I made a mess of, a complete fiasco, the very year when Courrèges's came on the scene and succeeded, I did not have good models, and I was not inspired" (Vacher, p. 68). Still drawn to the theater, he designed the costumes for *Le mariage de Figaro* and *Il faut passer par les nuages* for the Renaud-Barrault company.

In 1965 he triumphed with the Mondrian collection (named for the modern artist Piet Mondrian), which was surprising for its strict cut and the play of colors. Showered with praise by the American fashion press, he had become, according to *Women's Wear Daily*, "the Young King Yves of Paris." It was at this time that he made his first trip to New York, accompanied by Bergé. Richard Salomon (of Charles of the Ritz) acquired all the stock of the Yves Saint Laurent design company. At this time, too, Saint Laurent began a long friendship with the dancer Rudolph Nureyev, for whom he designed stage costumes and street clothes. He also created the wardrobe that Sophia Loren wore in Stanley Donen's film *Arabesque* (1966), as well as the costumes for Roland Petit's *Notre-Dame de Paris*.

For his summer 1966 haute couture show Saint Laurent presented the first see-through garments, the "nude look," and the first dinner jacket: "If I had to choose a design among all those that I have presented, it would unquestionably be the tuxedo jacket.… And since then, it has been in every one of my collections. It is in a sense the 'label' of Yves Saint Laurent" (Vacher, p. 64). For his haute couture collection of winter 1966–1967 he introduced the Pop Art collection. He met Andy Warhol and Loulou de la Falaise, his future muse. On 26 September 1966 Saint Laurent opened his first ready-to-wear shop, Saint Laurent Rive Gauche, at 21, rue de Tournon, with Catherine Deneuve, for whom he had designed the costumes in Luis Buñuel's film *Belle de jour* (1967), as godmother.

With the designs of Saint Laurent, ready-to-wear fashion established its pedigree, for he himself supervised the creation, manufacture, and distribution of the clothing: "The ready-to-wear is not a poor substitute for couture. It is the future. We know that we are dressing younger, more receptive women. With them it is easy to be bolder" (Benaïm, p. 153). That same year he won the *Harper's Bazaar* Oscar award; published an illustrated book, *La vilaine Lulu*; and launched his so-called African dresses. It was at that time that Saint Laurent and Bergé discovered Marrakesh, where they bought a house. For the spring–summer 1968 show, he presented the first jacket for the safari look, more see-through garments, and the jumpsuit, which would be successfully repeated in 1975. The style "Il" or "He" was born, comprising mini evening dresses and men's suits: "I was deeply struck by a photograph of Marlene Dietrich wearing men's clothes. A tuxedo, a blazer, or a navel officer's uniform—any of them. A woman dressed as a man must be at the height of femininity to fight against a costume that isn't hers" (Buck, p. 301). In September, the first Saint Laurent Rive Gauche shop was opened in New York. In a television interview, Chanel identified Saint Laurent as her spiritual heir, while galleries in London and New York exhibited his theater drawings.

The autumn–winter 1969 collection was dominated by the tapestry coat, patchwork furs, and jeweled dresses created by his sculptor friends the Lalannes. He continued to work in the cinema, designing costumes for Catherine Deneuve in François Truffaut's *La sirène du Mississippi* (1969); then, with Bergé, he opened the first Saint Laurent Rive Gauche shop for men at 17, rue de Tournon. In 1971, inspired by the designer Paloma Picasso, who bought her clothes at flea markets, he created the Libération collection, also known as Quarante, which provoked a scandal with its "retro" style. Saint Laurent later said that this collection—featuring puffed sleeves, square shoulders, platform shoes, and his famous green fox short jacket—was a humorous reaction to new fashion tendencies. In its wake, he posed nude for the photographer Jeanloup Sieff to advertise his first eau de toilette for men, YSL pour Homme, provoking another scandal.

Beginning in 1972 great changes took place. Pierre Bergé, whose ultimate aim was to recover all the stock of Yves Saint Laurent, repurchased from Charles of the Ritz (which had become a subsidiary of the American pharmaceutical giant Squibb) its shares in the couture house, thereby taking control of the couture and ready-to-wear businesses. Bergé and Saint Laurent then developed a licensing policy; although it had existed earlier, it was strengthened and enforced. The designs presented in the spring of 1972 (embroidered cardigans, padded jackets, "Proust" dresses with taffeta frills) were greeted triumphantly by a press once again overflowing with praise: "the man is pure and simple, the greatest fashion designer in the world today," said *Harper's Bazaar* (March 1972, p. 93). To close the season with a flourish, Andy Warhol did a series of portraits of Saint Laurent.

The following years found Saint Laurent ever more in demand in the world of film and theater. He designed costumes in succession for Anny Duperey in Alain Resnais's film *Stavisky . . .*, for Ellen Burstyn in the same director's *Providence*, and for Helmut Berger in Joseph Losey's *The Romantic Englishwoman.* He created the costumes for the ballets *La rose malade* (1973) and *Schéhérazade* (1974) for Roland Petit; for *Harold and Maude* (1973), a play by Colin Higgins; and for Jeanne Moreau and Gérard Depardieu in *The Ride across Lake Constance* (1974) by Peter Handke. In 1974 an exhibition of his costume and stage set sketches was staged in the Proscenium gallery in Paris. In July of the same year, the couture house moved from its cramped quarters to a Second Empire mansion at 5, avenue Marceau.

In 1976 the Opéra-Ballets Russes collection (homage to the Russian ballet producer Sergey Diaghilev) enjoyed international success and was featured on the front page of the *New York Times.* Saint Laurent, who was celebrating his fortieth birthday, said: "I don't know if this is my best collection, but it is my most beautiful collection" (August 16, 1976, p. 39). At about this time, Saint Laurent suffered a severe depression, and beginning in 1977 rumors circulated about his impending death. He replied with major colorful collections with exotic themes: the Espagnoles, with dresses straight out of a painting by Diego Velázquez, and the Chinoises, celebrating the annals of imperial China. He also launched a new perfume, Opium, the advertising for which, orchestrated by the Mafia agency, created a scandal with the slogan "For those who are addicted to Yves Saint Laurent."

In 1978, having just designed the sets and costumes for Cocteau's *L'Aigle à deux têtes* and for Ingrid Caven's cabaret show and written the preface for Nancy Hall-Duncan's book *The History of Fashion Photography* (1979), Saint Laurent demonstrated with his spring-summer collections, "Broadway suits" that he was still in touch with the current climate. He said, "This collection is very elegant, provocative, and at the same time wildly modern, which might appear contradictory. I have sought for purity, but I have interjected unexpected accessories: pointed collars, little hats, shoes with pompons. With these kinds of winks, I wanted to bring a little humor to haute couture, … give it the same sense of freedom one feels in the street, the same provocative and arrogant appearance as, for example, punk fashion. All of that, of course, with dignity, luxury, and style" (Yves Saint Laurent, p. 23).

During the ensuing decade Saint Laurent carried on with his favorite themes—the now classic blazer, dinner jacket, smock, pea jacket, raincoat, pants suit, and safari jacket—while presenting his collections in the form of the homage to various artists and writers. Pablo Picasso, the surrealist poet Aragon, the French poet Guillaume Apollinaire, Cocteau, the French artist Henri Matisse, Shakespeare, the American painter David Hockney, the French artist Georges Braque, the French painter Pierre Bonnard, and the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh were invoked in turn, inspiring strongly colored garments in which were inscribed the emblematic forms of the painters and the verses of the poets. His creations were "setting static things in motion on the body of a woman," he said in *Paris-Match* (12 Février 1988, p. 69). The press around the world never stopped singing his praises.

The 1980s were full and rich for Saint Laurent. In 1981 he designed the uniform for the writer Marguerite Yourcenar, the first woman elected to the Académie Française, and launched a men's perfume, Kouros. The year 1982 was the twentieth anniversary of the founding of his couture house; the occasion was celebrated at the Lido, where he received the International Fashion Award of the Council of Fashion Designers of America.

In 1983 he showed the Noire et Rose collection, introduced the perfume Paris, designed costumes for the play *Savannah Bay* by Marguerite Duras, and enjoyed the opening of the exhibition "Yves Saint Laurent, 25 Years of Design" at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, the largest retrospective ever devoted to a living couturier. One million visitors attended the exhibition, organized by Diana Vreeland. As Vreeland put it, "Saint Laurent has been built into the history of fashion now for a long time. Twenty-six years is proof that he can please most of the people most of the time four times a year. That's quite a reputation" (*Time*, December 12, 1983, p. 56). That same year he made his appearance in the *Larousse* dictionary.

President François Mitterrand awarded Saint Laurent the medal of Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur in 1985, the same year the African Look collection debuted. Accompanied by Pierre Bergé, he traveled to China for the exhibition devoted to his work at the Fine Arts Museum of Beijing (which recorded 600,000 visitors) and received, at the Paris Opera, the award for Best Couturier for the body of his work. In 1986 he presented his fiftieth haute couture collection, and a retrospective of his work was given at the Musée des Arts de la Mode in Paris. Bergé and Saint Laurent, with the participation of Cerus, purchased Charles of the Ritz, owner of Yves Saint Laurent perfumes, for $630 million.

The next year retrospectives were mounted in the U.S.S.R. (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg) and in Australia (Art Gallery of New South Wales, Sydney). That season five hundred of his pieces sold, principally to a foreign clientele. In 1988, Saint Laurent became the first couturier to present a show for the French Communist Party, at the Fête de l'Humanité. Shares of the Saint Laurent group were introduced on the secondary market of the Paris Bourse in 1989, and the revenues of the house of Saint Laurent reached 3 million francs.

The decade of the 1990s began with an exhibition at the Sezon Museum of Art in Tokyo; the opening of the first shop for accessories, at 32, rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré; and the presentation of the collection Hommages, considered a "farewell" by some of the press. Scandal arose, however, from an interview Saint Laurent gave to *Le figaro*, in which he spoke of detoxification, his homosexuality, his overuse of alcohol, and his fits of nervous depression. But in 1992, like the phoenix reborn from his ashes, he presented his 121st collection, Une Renaissance, and celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of the Saint Laurent fashion house by inviting 2,800 guests to the Opéra Bastille.

In May 1993 the Yves Saint Laurent group merged with the Elf-Sanofi company. With this acquisition, Elf-Sanofi became the third-largest international prestige perfume and cosmetic company, after L'Oréal and Estée Lauder. Saint Laurent then launched the perfume Champagne, "for happy, lighthearted women, who sparkle." On 21 July, he presented his 124th haute couture collection, with models parading to the melody of *The Merry Widow*. In a major spectacle at the Stade de France, for the opening of the 1998 World Cup of soccer Saint Laurent and Bergé paraded three hundred models before a packed stadium, while two billion spectators watched the event on television. In November of that year, in order to devote himself entirely to haute couture, Saint Laurent turned women's ready-to-wear over to Albert Elbaz and men's ready-to-wear to Hedi Slimane.

In 1999 François Pinault, owner of the department store Printemps, bought Saint Laurent from Elf for 1.12 billion euros and pumped in an additional 78 million euros to take control of all rights to the label, which he turned over to Tom Ford, the Texan designer for Gucci, a house also controlled by Pinault. Bergé announced the opening of the Centre de Documentation Yves Saint Laurent, in Paris, planned for January 2000.

After forty-four years of fashion designing, Saint Laurent announced the closing of his house at a press conference given on 7 January 2002. He took his leave of haute couture with these words: "I have always stood fast against the fantasies of some people who satisfy their egos through fashion. On the contrary, I wanted to put myself at the service of women. … I wanted to accompany them in the great movement of liberation that they went through in the last century. … I am naïve enough to believe that [my designs] can stand up to the attacks of time and hold their place in the world of today. They have already proved it."

Saint Laurent fixed the ephemeral and constantly sought beauty, shifting between classicism and provocation. Favoring methodical work, recurrent themes, and improvisations in the form of homages, he referred to other artists as catalysts. Shakespeare, Velázquez, Picasso, Proust, and Mondrian each, in turn, served as an inspiration to him. By pushing to extremes the exoticism of the street and delving into forgotten folk traditions, he brought forth a new spirit that illuminated his palette, for example, in the African, Ballets Russes, and Chinoises collections. In an even more radical shift, he took on the male wardrobe, diverting and transposing the dinner jacket, pants suit, safari jacket, and pea jacket to bring masculine and feminine together in a single design. But, it is Pierre Bergé who best describes Yves Saint Laurent's contribution for Yves—and herein lies his uniqueness—each collection is a means of bringing dreams to life, expressing fantasies, encountering myths, and creating out of them a contemporary fashion" (Saint Laurent, p. 27).

See also **Art and Fashion; Ballet Costume; Fashion Shows; Film and Fashion; Haute Couture; Paris Fashion; Perfume; Ready-to-Wear; Retro Styles; Theatrical Costume.**

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Pamela Golbin

SALWAR-KAMEEZ The *salwar-kameez*, or the Punjabi suit (referred to here simply as "the suit"), has traditionally been worn by women of North India and Pakistan and their sisters who have immigrated overseas. It consists of three separate parts: *kameez* (shirt), *salwar* (trousers, nearly always with *ponchay*, or cuffs, at the ankles), and a *chuni* or *dupatta* (scarf or stole). These three components have remained constant over time, though women might not wear the *chuni* on certain occasions. The *chuni* is nearly always worn inside temples to cover the head. The styles, lengths, and widths of these separate parts vary to suit the fashions of the times.

There has always been, however, a "classic suit" that maintains all the components and changes little over long periods of time. These classic suits are interpreted according to personal idiosyncrasies and tastes. For example, the "Patiala suit" (from the princely state of Patialia in the Punjab, which has old and highly developed traditions of arts and crafts) is worn by women in that area regardless of caste, class, and religion and has remained the same for many years. It consists of a knee-length kameez, a baggy salwar (much more voluminous than the average salwar), and a long *chuni.* This classic style is distinctive and a widely recognized marker of this region of the Punjab.

The salwar-kameez is also worn by men, especially by Muslim men, in both Pakistan and India, though the men's version is different from its female counterpart. It is possible that the suit's connotations of maleness have played a role in the adoption of the salwar-kameez by Indian women who might once have worn saris, as a result of women's entry into the waged-labor market. In the world of business and commerce, women are asserting their identities through this practical and comfortable outfit, which they consider to be the most suitable garment for the public realms of economic participation. But, of course, the suit has been worn in public domains for centuries by North Indian women, before this dramatic adoption of the suit in the recent past by wage-earning women throughout the subcontinent.

Another facet of the suit's popularity is a result of the professionalizing of its design, both on the subcontinent and in Europe, since the 1980s. Design professionals trained at fashion schools on the subcontinent or in Europe or America have created innovative new styles and silhouettes while relying upon, and helping to revive, old traditions of embroidery, dyeing, and other forms of embellishment. They have thus developed new techniques of making suits using existing craft skills. These new interpretations have led to a dramatic expansion of markets for the salwar-kameez, both on the subcontinent and in such cities as London, Durban (South Africa), Sydney, Los Angeles, New York, Dubai (United Arab Emirates), Nairobi (Kenya), and other centers of diaspora communities. In these markets, suits of all types and levels of quality are sold at a wide range of prices. Designer suits can cost upward of $9,000, and wedding suits as much as $20,000. Suits that bear "designer labels" might cost $300 to $500, while suits selling for as little as $30 can be found in street markets. The suit economy, in other words, has become quite elaborate.

The suit in the 1990s and the early part of the twenty-first century emerged as a mainstream high-fashion garment, popular both on the catwalk (in Paris and London) and on the street. In Great Britain it was front-page news when the salwar-kameez was worn by such fashion leaders as Diana, Princess of Wales, and Cheri Booth, wife of British Prime Minister Tony Blair. The suit thus has been reimagined and recontextualized as a "global chic" garment. In London diaspora communities, fashion entrepreneurs have been key agents in moving the suit beyond Indian and "ethnic" markets and into the mainstream. As Asian women residing and raised in London, they are attuned to local design trends, which they incorporate in the suits they create for their customers in a global city. It is this improvisational sensibility—the modus vivendi of their diaspora—that gives them an edge over subcontinental fashion entrepreneurs. They have created new styles that encode their racial politics through their design sensibilities and retail skills. Along with older suit-wearing women, they have transformed what were formerly negatively coded "immigrant ethnic clothes," derided by the mainstream, into the most fashionable border-crossing clothes of our times. The suit is worn by women across ethnic and racial lines in many parts of the world. Black women in London were among the first to wear the suit, much before British women of the upper classes, fashion icons, and the white political elite.

Of course, these suit trends are part of the wider dynamics of the ethnicization and Asianization of Western culture as well as of images created by Asians living in the West, as seen in film, music, literature, and other media. The British Asian diasporic film director Gurinder Chadha's film *Bend It Like Beckham* (2003) has been a phenomenal international success. She is also an innovative hybridizing suit wearer, a savvy image maker with an influential suit style. In Britain, curry has replaced roast beef as the favorite food of the nation. For a younger set of Asians, *bhangra* dance music—a reworking of Punjabi harvest music as interpreted through jazz, reggae, hip-hop, and many other musical genres—was a strong influence in favor of adopting the salwar-kameez and also in introducing this generation to the Punjabi language and cultural scene.

In this complex and multifaceted suit economy, the real heroines are the older women, who wore their "classic suits" despite the cultural and racial odds and regardless of the sartorial terrain in the displaced contexts of the diaspora. These powerful and culturally confident women are the agents of sartorial transmission, who socialized their second-generation daughters to wear the suits on their own terms and according to their design codes. The diaspora daughters of these astute and assertive women have been the pathbreaking fashion entrepreneurs who have created the commercial markets for the suit in cities across the globe and have ushered the salwar-kameez into fashion's mainstream.

See also **Diana, Princess of Wales; Ethnic Dress; India: Clothing and Adornment; Sari.**

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Parminder Bhachu

SANDALS The sandal is the simplest form of foot covering, consisting of a sole held to the foot using a configuration of straps. Sandals can be utilitarian and bought from a street vendor in Bombay for a few rupees, or a work of art, designed by Manolo Blahnik and selling for several hundred dollars from a high-end boutique. Sandals have been made from every possible material—wood, leather, textile, straw, metal, and even stone, and have graced every echelon of society in almost every culture of the world.

Sandals are the oldest and most commonly found foot covering worldwide. Archaeological examples, uncovered from the Anasazi culture of the American Southwest, date back 8,000 years. These plaited and woven sandals provided a flexible protective sole and utilized a simple V-shaped strap.

Sandals are most commonly found amongst the peoples of hot climates where searing sands and rocky landscapes, inhabited with poisonous insects and thorny plants, necessitated the development of the most basic form of foot covering. Hot, dry climates generally precluded the use of a closed shoe or boot, something that would develop in colder, wetter climates. However, historically, sandals are not found exclusively among the peoples of hot climates.

In Japan, *geta*, wooden-soled sandals, are worn with fabric socks called *tabi* that keep out wetness and winter's chill. Similarly, natives of Eastern Siberia and Alaska wear fur boots that originated in antiquity as sandals tied over fur stockings. At some time in history, the fur stockings were sewn to the soles, creating a boot, but the sandals' straps remained, sewn into the sole seam and tied around the ankle.

While most sandals made for the global market of the early 2000s are usually manufactured of synthetic or recycled materials, such as tires, some indigenous materials are still employed for local markets. In India, water buffalo hide is commonly used for making sandals or *chappli* for the Indian marketplace. Metal and wood have also been used in India to produce *paduka*, the traditional toe-knob sandals of the Hindu: the soles were often stilted, limiting the surface area of the earth trod, protecting the tiniest and humblest of life forms. Similar stilted wooden-soled sandals can be found in Pakistan, Afghanistan, and as far west as Syria and Turkey, although the knobs are replaced with straps ranging from embroidered fabric to simple twisted fiber loops. Syrian wooden sandals, often inlaid with silver wire and mother-of-pearl, were dubbed *kab-kabs* after the sound they make when being walked in. Although the use of these styles is not influenced by Hinduism, their origins were most assuredly from the Hindu toe-knob sandal.

North African and Middle Eastern nomads developed various inventive sole shapes to allow for better movement in desert terrains. The sub-Saharan Hausa used sandals with large soles that extend well beyond the foot, while curved soles were utilized in Uganda, and rolled toes were developed in Arabia. In more humid climates, sandals were preferred for their cool breathability. Ancient Aztecs and Mayans of Central America adopted a thick-soled sandal with a protective legging attached at the heel, while the top of the foot and shin remained exposed.

The Ancient Sandal

Western culture traces the origins of the sandal from ancient Egyptian tombs, the earliest evidence dating from around the period of unification, about 5,100 years ago. A frieze in the Cairo museum depicts the Pharaoh Narmer followed by his sandal bearer, suggesting the sandals were a symbol of the pharaoh's sovereignty. This is underscored by the ancient Egyptian practice of placing the Pharaoh's sandals upon his throne in his absence. Sandals were status-oriented for the elite, beginning with the pharaoh and working down the ranks of society throughout the Egyptian dynastic period, so that by the period of Roman occupation around 30 B.C.E. all but the very lowest of society were permitted to wear footwear.

However, it appears that the wearing of sandals still remained an occasional one, reserved mostly for outdoor wear, especially while traveling. The vast majority of ancient Egyptians never wore footwear. Most Egyptians with status never wore footwear inside the home and in fact it appears that the Pharaoh himself did not regularly wear footwear indoors until the late dynasties, about 3,000 years ago. It is also evident that in the presence of a higher-ranking individual or deity, removing one's sandals exhibited deference.

Sandals were often metaphors for the journey into the afterlife—either real (those worn by the deceased in life) or models made especially for the tomb. The earliest examples dating back more than 4,000 years are most often life-size models made of hard wooden soles, suggesting that in death the objects were symbolic or made available to those who did not wear footwear in life. Newer tombs, aged 2,000–2,500 years, reveal everyday footwear, including styles with coil-woven soles similar to modern *espadrilles.*

When Alexander the Great united the Greeks in the fourth century B.C.E., the resulting society was one of great wealth and leisure that developed the arts, sciences, and sports under a democratic system. The Greeks also developed many different types of sandals and other styles of footwear, giving names to the various styles. Fortunately the Greeks kept thorough records, thereby giving accurate descriptions and references to the various styles of footwear and what those names were. This is indeed fortuitous as archaeological examples of Greek footwear are nonexistent, and historians must work from these descriptions and from those styles portrayed in surviving artwork. There were strict rules as to who could wear what, when, and for what purpose.

Sandals used during the early Roman Empire were very similar to the Greek styles and even followed the same precedents set for restricted use according to the citizen's rank in society. Like the Greeks, the Romans named the various styles, and in fact, "sandal" comes from its Latin name *sandalium.*

As the Roman Empire grew to include all the kingdoms held by Greece and Egypt, the Romans then continued their forays into northern Europe. The *caliga*, a military sandal with a thick-layered leather and hobnail-studded sole was named from the Greek *kalikioi.* The young Caius Caesar was nicknamed Caligula after this style of sandals which he wore as a boy when he would dress up as a soldier to stay in military encampments. The *caliga* protected the feet of Roman centurions on the long marches into northern Europe. However, the northern European climate, with its mud and snow, made it necessary for Roman invaders to adopt a more enclosed shoe style, beginning the decline of the sandal in the classical period.

As the Empire's strength diminished after the second century C.E., so did the quality of manufacture of footwear. Statuary, as this is more plentiful than actual extant examples of Roman footwear shows simple V-straps utilized on sandals. These are far less complex than the strap arrangements in use when the Empire was expanding and at its greatest.

In the seventh century the Christian Roman Empire, based in Constantinople, decreed that bare toes were immodest in mixed company. The sandal all but disappeared for the next 1,300 years, remaining in constant use only in cloistered monastic orders.

Although gone, sandals were not forgotten. Artists portrayed sandal-wearing classical figures in biblically themed frescoes during the Renaissance, and sandals were worn by actors portraying historical figures in theatrical presentations.

The Fashion Sandal

After the 1789 Revolution, the new French republic looked to ancient Greece and Rome for inspiration; along with classically draped garments, the sandal made a brief return to the feet of fashionable women. By the 1810s, a closed-shoe style, resembling a ballerina's slipper with crisscrossed silk ankle ties, became fashionable, and although no toes were exposed and technically the style was not a true sandal, the long ties did suggest a classical association, and the shoes were commonly referred to in period literature as "sandal-slippers."

The Empress Eugénie is depicted wearing toe-baring sandals in a photograph taken in the 1850s, but this was not to be a successful attempt at re-introducing the sandal as a staple into the fashionable woman's wardrobe. Propriety kept men's and women's toes hidden even on the beach, where bathing sandals consisting of cork-soled cotton closed-toe shoes with crisscrossed laces, first adopted in the 1860s. Similarly another classical revival in fashions brought about the sandal-boot for women. This was a closed-boot style, but cutouts in the shaft exposed the stocking-clad leg beneath. This style of boot first appeared in the late 1860s and remained fashionable into the early years of the twentieth century.

It was back at the beach in the early twentieth century where bathing sandals and boots gradually bared more of the ankle and instep. During the late 1920s, women donned beach pajamas for the poolside or at the beach. These loose-fitting pantsuits were paired with low-heeled sandals made of wide leather or cotton straps. It was a short jump from poolside to the dance floor in the early 1930s, where under long evening gowns, high-heeled leather and silk sandals permitted feet to remain air-conditioned for long nights of fox-trots and rumbas. By the late 1930s, the sandal was a fully reinstated necessity in a fashionable shoe wardrobe and included styles for all times of day.

World War II inadvertently aided in the re-establishment of the sandal as certain materials, such as leather, were rationed for civilian usage. Sandal straps require less leather in their production than an enclosed pump, and summer sandals made up of twisted and woven fibers and other nonrationed materials were available without coupons on both sides of the Atlantic.

By the 1950s, many European men were wearing sandals for casual wear but most North American men considered them too effete. Women's evening sandals in the 1950s used the barest of straps to give the illusion of no footwear at all, as if the wearer was walking on tiptoe. The vamp strap-sandal style, also known as an open-toe mule, created a similar illusion, although quick steps proved impossible without losing a shoe in the process. American shoe designer Beth Levine solved this issue with the addition of an elastic web running the length of the insole. This innovation was called a *spring-o-later.*

In the late 1960s hippie anti-fashion introduced the most basic sandal style to American streets. Dubbed "Jesus" sandals, these simple leather toe ring or V-strap sandals were imported from Mexico and Asia, or made up locally by fledgling street artisans. Gender neutral, this sandal embraced naturalism, comfort, and ethnic-inspired style. This paved the way for the introduction of "health" sandals into the fashionable wardrobe, such as Birkenstocks in the 1970s. Contoured insoles and minimal curtailing of the foot were touted as perfect aids to foot health and comfort.

While high-fashion sandals have remained a staple in women's wardrobes since the 1930s, men's sandals have never achieved a place beyond the beach and casual wear. However, boundaries have been crossed in recent years. Sport sandals, introduced in the 1990s, transcended the sandal into a foot covering suitable for a variety of sports activities by including a synthetic rubber-treaded sole. And the simplest of colored rubber flip-flop thongs, intended for basic seaside foot covering, has even made it into the pages of *Vogue* and other au courante fashion publications, gracing the feet of well-dressed models in clothes deemed suitable for a day of shopping on Fifth Avenue or the Champs Élysées.

See also **Boots; High Heels; Shoes; Shoes, Children's; Shoes, Men's; Shoes, Women's.**

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Jonathan Walford

SAPEURS The words *sape* (*Société des Ambiançeurs et des Personnes Élégantes*) and *sapeurs* are neologisms that were coined by Congolese diasporic youth living in Western metropolises, especially Paris and Brussels, to authenticate and validate their quest for a new social identity through high fashion. The *sape*'s history, however, dates back to the first years of the colonial encounter in the Congolese capital cities of Kinshasa and Brazzaville.

As early as 1910, the *sape* was in full bloom in Brazzaville, as several observers complainingly noted. In 1913, French Baron Jehan De Witte demurred at what he thought was "overdressing" among the Brazzaville locals: "[…] on Sunday, those that have several pairs of pants, several cardigans, put these clothes on one layer over the other, to flaunt their wealth. Many pride themselves on following Parisian fashion …" (p. 164). In an article arguing that colonial subjects encountered European modernity first through fashion, Phyllis Martin notes that in 1920s Brazzaville "men wore suits and used accessories such as canes, monocles, gloves, and pocketwatches on chains. They formed clubs around their interest in fashion, gathering to drink aperitifs and dance to Cuban and European music played on the phonograph" (p. 407). Most of these young people who prided themselves on being unremitting consumers and fervent connoisseurs of Parisian fashion were domestic servants, civil servants, and musicians. They spent their meager wages to order, through catalogs, the latest fashions from France.

The 1950s witnessed the creation of several associations of urban youth, whose main interests seemed to have revolved around sartorial display. Bars had sprouted in every corner of the Congolese twin capitals, owing to the emergence in the 1940s of Congolese popular rumba. These venues provided a natural platform for the youth.

Sapeurs in the early 2000s represent at least the third generation of Congolese dandyism. But what sets them apart from their colonial counterparts is their migratory trajectory to European cities and their social dereliction in countries that adopt discriminatory policies toward Third World immigrants. For these young people, the *sape* therefore becomes a refuge and a vehicle through which to forge new identities away from their chaotic homeland. Before the 1990s, *sapeurs* living in Paris or elsewhere in Europe were conferred this status only by returning to Kinshasa or Brazzaville during their summer vacation to flaunt their wardrobe. With the two countries in the throes of civil war, and given that many of these youth live in Europe without proper and lawful immigrant documents, they are more reticent to go back home and thus are redefining their relationship to their homeland. The *sape* thus allows them to avoid the dreadful connivance of Scylla (sojourn) and Charibdis (return). Although confined to the bottom rung of society, these young people are loyal customers of the most prestigious fashion designers of Paris and sport Cerruti or Kenzo suits that can cost as much as $1,000 apiece. This said, it would be erroneous to define the *sape* solely as a paradoxical fashion statement. *Sapeurs* justify some of their deviant (such as loud talking in public places), sometimes delinquent (cheating public transportation) attitudes by arguing that they are making the French and the Belgians pay for colonization (the colonial debt). *Sapeurs* from Congo-Kinshasa could be said to have reacted against Mobutusese Seko's longtime ban on Western suits (and ties) by adopting a more exuberant form of *sape.* On the other hand, those from Congo-Brazzaville, predominantly southern Balaris, have used the *sape* to oppose the northerners (in power since 1969), whom they accuse of squandering the country's wealth by building lavish mansions and buying expensive cars. Indeed, these political attitudes remain inseparable from the hedonistic quest for perfection through fashion and speak to the ways African youth are attempting to negotiate and shape the marginal situation they have been confined to within the global village.

See also **Africa, Sub-Saharan: History of Dress; Paris Fashion.**

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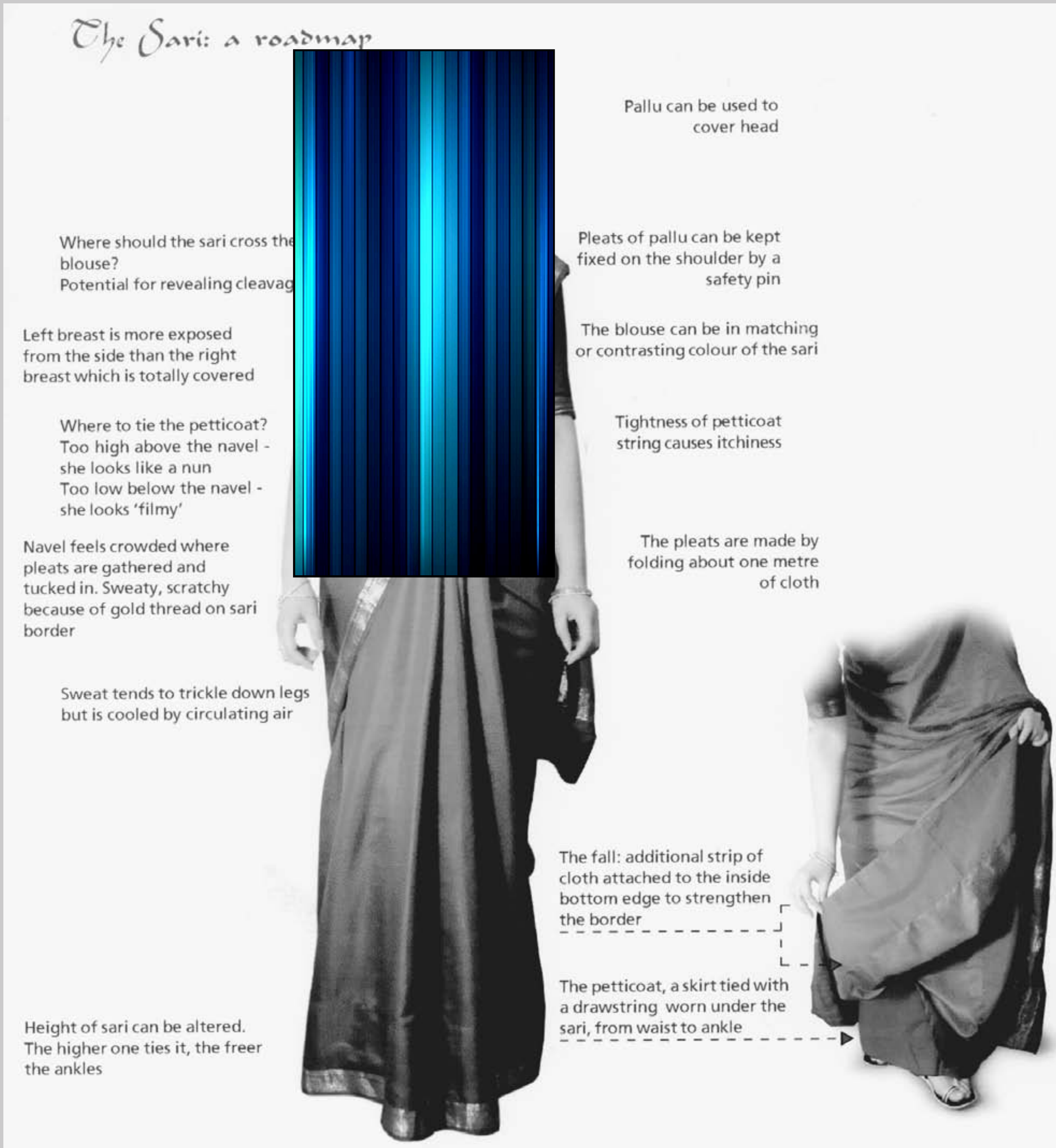
Ch. Didier Gondola

SARI The word "sari" has come into general use to cover a generic category, including any draped untailored textile of about five meters in length, worn by the women of South Asia. In common parlance outside the region, the term "sari" refers to an increasingly standardized form of drape. More urban and cosmopolitan women have adapted the Nivi style, but this drape is a relatively new phenomenon. In India alone, around a hundred other forms of drapes continue to be worn. These vary from the eight-yard Koli drape of fisherwomen in Maharashtra to the thrice-wrapped drape of Bengal.

There is a general belief that the sari as a draped and seamless garment is the contemporary representative of the traditional female attire of Hindu South Asia that became diluted by the introduction from the North of tailored and stitched garments under the influence of Islam. Historical and archaeological sources do not support this reading, however. Representations on statues, wall paintings, and other sources suggests that for as far back as there are records, women in the South Asia area wore a wide variety of regional styles that included both stitched and unstitched garments, tailored and untailored. Indeed in the twenty-first century, a sari is as likely to be associated with Muslim women in the Bengal region as Hindus in the South of India. Furthermore, the seamless piece of cloth of the sari is increasingly worn along with two stitched garments, a full-length underskirt tied at the waist with a drawstring, and a fitted waist-length blouse done up at the front. The sari itself covers little of the body that is not already hidden by these accompanying garments, although conceptually a woman would see herself as unclothed without the final addition. Most women also wear underwear to make a third layer of clothing.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, the emergence of the Nivi style of draping the sari may be attributed to middle-class women entering the public sphere during the struggle for independence. It was considered more suitable to public appearances and greater mobility. This style consists of the sari being wrapped around the lower body with about a meter of cloth pleated and tucked into the waist at the center and the remainder used to cover the bosom and then falls over the left shoulder. The loose end of the sari that hangs from the shoulder is known as the *pallu.* Younger and less confident women or those wearing the sari as a uniform (such as nurses, policewomen, or receptionists) usually pin the *pallu* to their shoulder in carefully arranged pleats. As a result of the development of this pan-Indian cosmopolitan drape of the sari, the influence of local regional traditions of draping has declined in urban spaces and has become either confined to being worn within the home or in rural areas. The Nivi style of wearing the sari was further popularized through its increased association with other pan-Indian phenomena, such as the film industry and national politicians. As a result this has become the style that is symbolic of India as a state and women's sense of themselves as Indian (although it may also be found more widely in South Asia, in Bangladesh and Nepal). As a result of this development, women in areas of India where the sari was not traditional garb adopted the sari for specific formal occasions such as weddings and important public events.

Saris can be made of natural or synthetic fibers, and can be woven on hand looms or power looms. Natural fibers such as silk and cotton, which are also more fragile, are worn mostly by middle- and upper-class women. They are named after the regions in which they are made such as Kanchipuram, Sambhalpur, or Kota. Each style is associated with particular weaves, motifs, and even colors. Some saris can be very ornate and may include real gold wash on silver thread (*zari*) in their embroidery (though most *zari* work in the early 2000s is nonmetal).



The sari. The sari is a versatile garment worn by women throughout South Asia. The *Nivi* style shown here is the most familiar to the rest of the world, but many other styles are in use. COURTESY OF DIXIE. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Other varieties may include highly elaborate embroidery styles such as *chikan* work from Lucknow. These saris may cost hundreds of dollars and are often associated with the glamour attached to the Bollywood (the film industry based in India) and politicians such as Indira Gandhi who is famous for having chosen her wardrobe carefully to reflect aesthetic taste and populist appeal. Hand-loom saris are adopted by women not only for their traditional designs and beauty but also as a statement of support for the threatened cottage industry of weaving.

However, the vast majority of saris worn by working women in the early 2000s are made of synthetic materials.

While the yarn is largely spun in major mills, the large mills make up only around 4 percent of sari production (hand-looms make up around 9 percent); the rest are the product of a vast, largely unregulated, power-loom sector, that varies from a couple of machines in someone's home to factory units consisting of two hundred looms, to whom the mill sector subcontracts the weaving process. By far the main fashion influence in the early 2000s upon these synthetic saris is the rise of television soap operas and films. Typically a market or shop includes saris that have labels attached associating them with particular characters from popular culture.

The sari is not worn by young girls anywhere in India. Girls tend to wear what are locally called frocks. Traditionally, wearing the sari was associated with puberty, but many regions have specific clothing associated with adolescence, such as the half-sari or *salwaar-kameez*, and these have grown in importance as fewer girls are married at puberty. Many mothers of girls start to collect saris from an early age, building up toward a wedding trousseau. The high point of sari wearing is commonly the wedding itself, which is (given sufficient resources) a series of events each demanding a particular sari. The color of the sari worn by the bride for the main ceremony is strictly prescribed and can vary from red in the north and east to white in Kerala. The wedding is also the occasion for much sari gifting among relatives of the bride and groom.

The period immediately after the wedding is usually the time when women are most likely to wear a sari in exclusion to all other types of clothing. As a new bride she is expected to sport the most expensive, dazzling, and bright saris. Through her years as a married woman and mother, the bright colors of her sari are expected to reflect the fecundity of her life. With age, however, the widow or elderly woman is expected to wear mainly simple and less elaborate saris. There is a cosmological significance to this shift in which the fading of the sari stands for the gradual detachment from an interest in and engagement with material things in general and with the specificity of a particular person and their occupation.

The sari as a possession is strongly correlated with wealth. Most village women keep their saris in a small trunk. They may have only one or two working saris that they wear on a daily basis, with another two or three better-quality saris kept for special occasions, such as weddings or visits to town. Some have even less than this number and most village women obtain the bulk of their saris as gifts associated with particular occasions, such as festivals. Poorer women may hardly buy any saris themselves during their lives. By contrast, middle-class salaried women in the towns may possess two or three hundred saris, often kept in steel cupboards, which reflect a wide spectrum of colors and styles. Many of these may also be gifts and are associated with particular relationships and events.

A more intimate examination of the consequences of wearing the sari demonstrates that there may be profound differences in the experience of wearing a sari as compared to wearing western dress. The existence of the *pallu* as a loose-end that comes over the shoulder and is then available to be manipulated in a wide variety of ways means that the relationship of women to their clothing can often take on a much more dynamic form. For example, most women are expected to appear in a particularly modest, if not veiled, manner in relation to various contexts, such as the presence of certain male relatives. Covering one's head with the *pallu* is a common response. Urban women, who are not subject to such restrictions, may be seen using the *pallu* to constantly change their appearance, for example, by tucking it into the waist to express anger or allowing it to reveal the bosom in order to flirt. The *pallu* is also very important in establishing key relationships, such as those between mother and child. The *pallu* may be used as a cradle, as a support to the child in learning to walk, and as a kind of "transitional object" that helps the child to separate from the mother into an independent person. This ability to manipulate one's clothing during the day and not be constrained by choices made when getting dressed in the morning makes the sari more of a companion in playing out a number of different social roles. This flexibility is what makes the sari a perfect garment to inhabit the multiplicity of roles which modernity brings to women's lives.

In areas of India where the sari was ubiquitous, women of the early 2000s are turning to alternative attire, especially the *salwar-kameez*, which is considered a more informal garment and thought better suited to commuting and work. In rural areas, the association of the *salwar-kameez* with the educated girl has given it more progressive connotations and has led to an increased availability and acceptance of this garment even in the heartlands of sari-wearing areas, such as Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.

In summary, the significance of sari wearing as opposed to other available options in South Asia lies in the dynamism and ambiguity that is the defining characteristic of the garment. While this has left open a niche which is being increasingly colonized by the *salwar-kameez* as a "functional" garment associated with educational values and rationality, the combination of the two has in the early 2000s effectively prevented the adoption in South Asia of western dress, which is mainly worn by a small number of elite or by unmarried women.

See also **India: Clothing and Adornment; Textiles, South Asian.**

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Mukulika Banerjee and Daniel Miller

SARONG The *sarong* is a wrapper sewn together into a tube. Both men and women in Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia wear it. In Indonesia the sarong is an item of everyday dress as well as an essential component of formalized ethnic dress. It is made in a variety of fabrics, including woven plaids, batik, warp ikats, songkets, or silk plaid and/or silk weft ikats. Hollywood's appropriation of the sarong has imbued it with exotic and erotic overtones and reinterpreted it as a wrapper rather than a tube. As a result, in the Western hemisphere the sarong has come to be defined in popular usage as a cloth wrapper, not as a tube.

The Southeast Asian sarong is typically made of mill-woven cloth and is about 100 centimeters high and up to 220 centimeters in circumference. The wearer steps into a sarong, secures it at the hip (or under the arms, a variant for women) either by lapping both ends to meet in the center or by pulling the sarong taut at one side of the body and lapping the remaining fabric to the front, and then rolling the top down and tucking it in or tying the ends in a knot. In this way, hip to ankle are covered.

As a multipurpose garment, the sarong is worn in other ways as well. For women it might be secured under the arms to sleep in or to walk to the river for a bath. Male laborers in T-shirts and shorts hike it at their hips or wear it over their shoulder like a sash when working, only to wear it about their legs on the return home. Enveloped about a person, the sarong serves as a blanket against cool nights.

Origin of the Sarong

The sarong was the dress of the seafaring peoples of the Malay Peninsula near Sumatra and Java; according to Gittinger, it was subsequently introduced on the island of Madura and along the north coast of Java. In the late nineteenth century, an observer recorded its absence in the Java interior. Early sea traders in these waters were Moslems from India, and Islam spread from the coastal areas, so it is thought that these early sarongs may have been woven plaids, which were associated with Moslem men.

What makes the cloth produced for sarongs unique is the decorative panel (*kepala*, head) that contrasts with the rest of the fabric (*badan*, body), seen at the front when lapped over and secured. In a plaid, this panel may vary in color and/or weave.

One of the earliest panel configurations in batik sarongs of the north coast of Java and Madura is two rows of triangles (*tumpal*) whose points face each other. Traders brought chintzes from the Coromandel Coast of eastern India whose ends were rows of triangles. When sewn together, this created what is now the *kepala*, and eventually the two bands of triangles were positioned as a set at the end of the pre-sewn batik sarong. The *tumpal* motif is found on gold thread *songkets* of Sumatra and triangle end borders are seen in ikats, perhaps an influence from Indian chintzes.

In the clothing traditions of Java and adjacent western Indonesian islands, the sarong is an alternative to the *kain* (cloth wrapper). North coast batik sarongs are noted for their floral bouquet *kepal*a and exuberant colors. At the turn of the twentieth century, Eurasian batik makers experimented with new chemical dyes and motifs, and the thigh-length jacket blouse (*kebaya*) worn with the sarong was shortened to hip length to better show off the *kepala* panel. The sarong is not as long as the *kain panjang* (long, cloth wrapper) batiks of court traditions of Yogyakarta and Surakarta in central Java. The *kain panjang* batiks are of an overall pattern, without a *kepala* panel; they are usually made with subdued colors such as browns, indigos, creams, and whites. When wrapped about the lower body, the end might be fan-folded in tight pleats, or with a loose drape.

The sarong varies in size and material. In all of Indonesia's twenty-six provinces, there are representative forms of ethnic dress in which sarongs, worn with a sleeved upper garment, figure prominently. In southern Sulawesi the Buginese silk sarong is extra wide. In Maluku sarongs are layered, the first one is long, and the second one is folded and worn at the hips, often revealing a *tumpal* motif. In Rote, the handwoven warp ikat sarong is narrow and tall; it is about twenty-five inches in circumference and would almost conceal the wearer's head. Here, the sarong is secured at the breasts and the excess folded over, and secured again at the waist with a belt. Another ikat (not a sarong) would be draped over the woman's shoulders. Generally speaking, the overall silhouette was tubular.

International Appropriation of Sarong

The sarong as appropriated by Hollywood bears little resemblance to the original. Hedy Lamarr in *White Cargo* (1942) and Dorothy Lamour in *Road to Bali* (1952) both wear wrappers (more like pareos), tied at the side in a way that emphasizes, rather than concealing, the curve of the hips. We know that what the actresses are wearing is a "sarong," because in *Road to Bali* Bob Hope specifically refers to Lamour's wrapper by that term. The draped, lapped frontal portion creates a diagonal line revealing the actress's entire leg. Both protagonists wear form-fitting tops baring midriff and shoulder, bangles, heavy necklaces and earrings. Lamarr and Lamour are seated in languorous poses to show off even more skin. The sarong here is a presentation of exotic femininity that is meant to titillate the western film audience. While *White Cargo* is set in Africa and *Road to Bali* is set in Indonesia on an unnamed island near Bali, the specifics of place and culture are immaterial. Tondelayo (Lamarr) and the Princess (Lamour) are not "natives," but rather a nebulous mixture of the Western and the "other." They conform to western ideals of beauty and allure, while the "ethnic" dress they wear is a fabrication of Hollywood costume designers, unrelated to anything attested in the anthropological record. What is depicted is the "East" as orientalized by the West.

According to Jones and Leshkowich, "Oriental" elements of clothing and decorative arts became part of the Western retail lifestyles markets in the 1990s at a time when Asian economic prowess was on the rise. The fashionable sarong as interpreted by Western fashion designers followed Hollywood's imagined version of the sarong as a knee- or thigh-length wrapper, tied at the side. Indonesian fashion designers, participating in self-orientalizing, also offered these Western-interpreted sarongs to cosmopolitan Indonesian women. Clearly, for these designers the sarong now referred to two kinds of dress, one local and one global, where the global one was an orientalizing of the local.

See also **Asia, Southeastern Islands and the Pacific: History of Dress; Ikat; Kain-kebaya.**

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Heidi Boehlke

SATEEN. *See* **Weave, Satin.**

SAVILE ROW Savile Row is a typical central London street of fairly modest eighteenth- and nineteenth-century brick town houses mixed with late twentieth-century developments. It stretches from Vigo Street in the south to Conduit Street in the north, running parallel with Regent and New Bond Streets. Sitting at the heart of the city's West End luxury shopping district, the Row is particularly famous as the center of the British bespoke tailoring trade.

The Row traces its beginnings back to the late seventeenth century when Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Burlington, acquired a mansion on nearby Piccadilly (now Burlington House, home of the Royal Academy). Burlington protected the privacy of his estate by buying up the surrounding land, which was eventually developed by his descendant, the enlightened third Earl from the 1730s on. Savile Row was one of the resulting streets of genteel residences, which were generally rented by members of the nobility and affluent professionals who formed part of the new fashionable trend for living "in town" during the social season. The aristocratic atmosphere of the Row was an important component of its rise as a center of style. Its residents required expensive and well-made goods that befitted their rank, and thus attracted the attention of manufacturers and traders in luxury commodities. The high proportion of top-rank military and medical men living in the district also ensured that the provision of smart uniforms and civilian suits were prominent in this commercial expansion.

By the early nineteenth century, the Row had become synonymous with the London-based dandy craze, popularized by personalities such as Beau Brummel, and several ambitious tailors were establishing their reputations in nearby streets. Henry Creed and Meyer & Mortimer for example, were based in Conduit Street, with a rapidly expanding customer-base, thanks to the demand for uniforms initiated by the Napoleonic Wars. The first major incursion of tailoring into Savile Row itself was made by Henry Poole in the late 1840s. A few smaller tailors had opened workshops there in the 1820s, but Poole's were of a different order. They enjoyed the custom of high-profile clients, including royalty, statesmen, sporting stars, and literary and theatrical celebrities, and put unprecedented effort into the design of their showrooms and marketing ventures. Arguably it was Poole who established the international fame of the Row as a "Mecca" for men's fashion (though like most tailors he also fitted women with riding outfits and "tailor-mades").

Through the remainder of the Victorian age and into the twentieth-century, Savile Row shifted its character from that of a residential enclave to a thriving street of tailoring concerns. Distancing themselves from the sweated trades that were providing the mass-manufactured suits of the modern office worker, the tailors of the Row prided themselves on their mastery of traditional handcrafts, the quality of their textiles, and their attention to the individualized needs of their customers. Savile Row firms also came to be associated with a particularly English "look": restrained, narrow shouldered with a long waist; though each company pioneered a subtly differentiated version of the Savile Row staple. Huntsman, for example, was known for their heavy tweed sporting jackets while Gieves provided a sleek naval cut. By the mid-twentieth century, tailors such as Davies, Kilgour, and Anderson & Sheppard pioneered a more glamorous version of Savile Row style through their fitting-out of fashion leaders such as the

Duke of Windsor and Hollywood stars including Cary Grant and Fred Astaire. This greater attention to "fashion" was also marked by the presence of couturier Hardy Amies in the street from 1945. The Row had adapted following the decline of the British Empire from its role as Imperial outfitter to a new incarnation as the epitome of urbane sophistication.

The final decades of the twentieth century saw further flowerings of talent on Savile Row. Echoing the explosion of boutique culture on Carnaby Street and the King's Road in the 1960s, Tommy Nutter and Rupert Lycett Green of Blades introduced the Row to styles that were well suited to the culture of Swinging London, a phenomenon brought to the heart of the Row by the arrival of the Beatles's management company, Apple, at number 3 in 1968. And in the 1990s and 2000s, the association of the Row with "cool" was reinforced once more by the innovations of a new generation of tailor/retailers, including Ozwald Boateng, Richard James, and Spencer Hart who attracted a younger, less hide-bound clientele to their bright and airy emporia. Thus, it can be seen that Savile Row has been highly adaptable to the vagaries of styles in clothing and social trends, maintaining its reputation for traditional manufacturing methods while subtly embracing the challenges of novelty. It is still the premier street in the world for male fashion aficionados.

See also **Boutique; Dandyism; London Fashion; Tailoring.**

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Christopher Breward

SCARF Scarves have been an enduring fashion accessory for hundreds of years, ranging from humble bandannas to luxurious silks. Worn by women around the neck or as a head cover, scarves protect modesty or promote attention. Using basic shapes of cloth, typically triangular, square, or rectangular, scarves lend themselves to a wide variety of ornamentation. Scarves are commonly printed, but the techniques of weaving, batik, painting, and embroidery are also used to create scarf designs. While the scarf's popularity has fluctuated throughout its history, in certain decades of the twentieth century scarves were essential fashion items, glamorized by dancers, movie stars, socialites, fashion illustrators, and photographers. Scarves accentuate an outfit, provide covering for the neck or head, and serve as a canvas for decorative patterns and designers' names.

In eighteenth-century Western fashions, bodices were cut revealingly low, requiring a piece of cloth, known as a fichu, to cover a woman's chest. Worn around the neck and crossed or tied at the bosom, fichus were either triangular or square in shape. Fichus were often made of white cotton or linen finely embroidered in whitework; others were of colored silks with rich embroidery. This style of scarf continued into the early nineteenth century, but as fashions shifted, chests were covered by bodices and large shawls predominated as accessories.

The scarf as a modern fashion accessory was defined in the early decades of the twentieth century. Flowing lengths of silk worn draped about the body had been made fashionable, in part, by dancers such as Isadora Duncan. That Duncan's death was caused by a long scarf wound around her neck becoming caught in the wheels of a Bugatti is one of the scarf's morbid associations. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the scarf was incorporated into the sleek, elongated fashions of these decades. As seen in numerous fashion illustrations and photographs of this period, the scarf served as both a sensuous wrap and a geometric design element.

In the course of the twentieth century, the scarf's viability as a blank canvas on which to present elaborate designs, advertising, humorous motifs, and artists' creations was used to advantage. The idea of printing scarves and handkerchiefs to commemorate heroes, political events, inventions, and other occasions began in the late eighteenth century and was popular throughout the nineteenth century. This use continued into the twentieth century, with scarves commemorating world's fairs, political campaigns, cities, tourist attractions, and numerous other themes. Fashion designers employed the signed scarf as a means to accessorize their clothing and promote their names. As licensing became an established part of the fashion industry, designers names on scarves became a lucrative sideline.

Various well-known firms and designers have contributed to producing chic and collectible scarves. Hermès began printing silk scarves with horse motifs in 1937; in the 1940s, the English textile firm of Ascher commissioned artists Henry Moore, Jean Cocteau, and others to create designs for scarves; during the heyday of scarf wearing in the 1950s, Americans Brooke Cadwallader and Vera and Tammis Keefe set the tone for decorative scarves with whimsical and playful motifs; and 1960s fashions were often accentuated with scarves by Emilio Pucci, Rudi Gernreich, and other designers of the period. While the wearing of scarves has diminished with the twenty-first century, the scarf remains a versatile accessory, its connotations ranging from the chic to the matronly depending on the scarf and the wearer's aplomb.

See also **Gernreich, Ruci; Pucci, Emilio.**

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Donna Ghelerter

SCARIFICATION Scarification, also known as cicatrisation, is a permanent body modification that transforms the texture and appearance of the surface of the skin (dermis). Although scarification operates as a controlled injury, it is not the result of an accident or health-related surgery. Branding, cutting, and some tattoo practices are types of scarification. In the practice of scarification the dermis and epidermis of the skin are cut, burned (see Branding), scratched, removed, or chemically altered according to the desired designs, symbols, or patterns. The result is a wound, which when healed creates raised scars or keloids that are formed on the skin's surface from increased amounts of collagen. Persons with darker skin tones have typically chosen scarification designs, because scars and keloids are more visible than tattoos.

Historic Scarification

The earliest evidence of scarification is the archaeological site at Ain Ghazal, in Jordan, where two headless figurines of Paleolithic (8000 B.C.E.) fertility goddess statues were found with thick scarification lines curving around the buttocks and abdomen. The Sahara rock painting (c. 7000 B.C.E.) at Tassili N'Ajjer at Tanzoumaitak, Algeria, also depicts scarification on the breasts, belly, thighs, shoulders, and calves of a Horned Goddess. Similar scarification designs as depicted on the figurines and paintings have been found on females from West and Central Africa.

The significance of the scarification process and resulting scars varies from culture to culture. Historically, scarification has been practiced in Africa, Australia, Papua New Guinea, South America, Central America, and North America. Among the cultural groups in these areas scarification has been used to emphasize the permanency of social and political roles; ritual and cultural values; rites of passage and age-grades; eroticizing the body; promoting sexual attraction and enhancing sexual pleasure; group and cultural identity; spiritual relationships; and aesthetic values. It has also been used as part of medicinal and healing rituals, as well as demonstrating the ability to endure pain. As a result of changing cultures and globalization, most of these scarification practices have been outlawed or banned by local governments.

Contemporary Scarification

In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, Western microcultures, such as the modern primitives and punks, as well as fraternities and sororities, practice scarification. Scarification among these cultural groups varies in significance, such as group identity, personal identity, rite of passage, spiritual belief, and connection to tribal cultures. These microcultures utilize a variety of methods of scarification, such as cutting, packing, ink rubbings, skinning, abrasion, and chemical agents to acquire desired scarification patterns or designs.

Cutting. Cutting is a form of scarification that involves cutting the surface of the skin with a sharp instrument, such as a sharpened bone, small medical scalpel, or razor blade, called a scarifier. Contemporary cutting tools may be either single-piece disposable units or blades that can be mounted on an assortment of handles. Cuts are about one-sixteenth of an inch deep; deeper cuts increase the amount of scarring and the chances of complications, while shallow cuts may heal without scarring, negating the purpose of the modification.

Emphasizing scars. Maintaining an open wound by repeatedly re-cutting the healing skin will result in a more pronounced scar; it will also delay the healing process and may result in serious health-related complications. Packing also creates more pronounced scars by introducing inert substances, such as ashes or clay, into the open incisions or lifting cut areas of skin and allowing the scars to heal around or over it. While cicatrisation can refer to any scar, it is usually used in connection with more pronounced scars resulting from packing.

Ink rubbing is a cutting in which indelible tattoo ink or other pigment is rubbed into a fresh cut. The ink remains in the cut as it heals, resulting in a colored scar. Although the intensity varies from person to person, this method creates more visible scars for lighter skin tones.

Skinning. Skinning is a common method used to create large areas of scarification. An outline of the designated area to be scarred is cut. Then the scarifier or a lifting tool is placed under the surface of the skin to lift and remove it in manageable sections. An alternative skinning method, to increase the scarring, is to pack inert materials under the lifted skin and allow it to heal. The healing process is lengthy and complications may occur. This method creates large and more precise scarification areas.

Abrasion Scarification. Abrasion scarification is achieved by using friction to remove the dermis layers of skin to create scarring. Power tools equipped with sandpaper, steel wool, or grinding stones are a few of the instruments employed to create abrasion scarification. Abrasion scarification can also be achieved with manual pressure, but power tools expedite the process. This method creates subtle scars, unless excessive pressure is applied with the abrasion scarifier.

Chemical Scarification. Chemical scarification uses chemical compounds, such as liquid nitrogen, to damage and burn the skin, which results in scarring. Intricate designs are difficult to achieve with liquid chemical agents, otherwise the results are similar to other types of scarification. This method is relatively new and there is little research on it.

Scarification Risks. As with most permanent body modifications, scarification has been associated with aesthetic and health-related risks. The resulting appearances of the scars vary, because there are so many variables in the healing process. Scarification may take a year to completely heal, and longer if skinning or packing is involved. During the initial healing process diligent care is necessary in order to avoid infections.

Additional health-related risks include improper technique, such as cutting too deep, or acquiring blood-borne infections such as hepatitis B and C. Appropriate measures should be taken by scarification practitioners to assure the health and safety of their clients. Equipment and instruments that will be used for more than one client are sterilized in an autoclave, a high temperature steamer that kills blood-borne pathogens and bacterial agents. The area of skin to be scarred is disinfected and prepared by the scarification practitioner. During the scarification process, the skin is continually cleaned of excess blood and is disinfected.

See also **Body Piercing; Branding; Modern Primitives; Tattoos.**

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SCHIAPARELLI, ELSA The Italian-born Elsa Schiaparelli (1890–1973) was in many ways an outsider, yet one who successfully made her way to the heart of French haute couture in the interwar years, operating her business between 1927 and 1954. Born in Rome in 1890, the daughter of an orientalist scholar, she first left Italy in 1913. She traveled via Paris to London, where she married a theosophist named Wilhelm Went de Kerlor in 1914. During World War I, she and her husband moved in artistic and cosmopolitan circles between Europe and the United States. When Schiaparelli separated from her husband in the early 1920s, she returned to Paris with her young daughter. There she came to know Paul Poiret, who often loaned the impoverished young woman dresses to wear.

Early Career

With Poiret's encouragement, Schiaparelli began to design clothes and sell her designs on a freelance basis to small fashion houses. She briefly became the designer of a small house, Maison Lambal, in 1925 before setting up an atelier in her own name in 1927. Schiaparelli's first collection featured hand-knitted trompe l'oeil sweaters, including an extremely successful black-and-white "bow-knot" sweater that was illustrated in *Vogue* and immediately sold in the United States. Her subsequent collections extended beyond sweaters to include dresses and suits, swimsuits and beach pyjamas, ski costumes and sports jackets. In the early 1930s her "Mad Cap," a simple knitted hat with distinctive pointed ends that could be pulled into any shape, was a runaway success in the United States, where, like the "bow-know" sweater, it was widely copied by mass-market manufacturers. In 1928 she launched her first perfume, S.

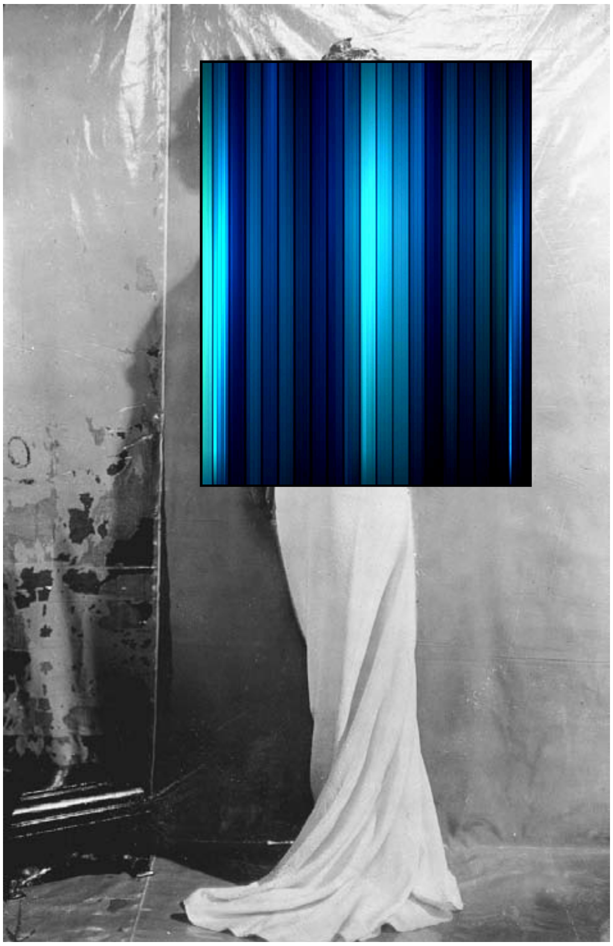
In the late 1920s and early 1930s Schiaparelli was primarily a designer of sportswear whose geometric patterns and sleek lines were in keeping with the mood of the moment. Yet these early collections contained many hallmarks of her styles of the later 1930s: the innovative use of fabrics, often synthetic; striking color contrasts; such unusual fastenings as zippers; and such eccentric or amusing costume jewelry as a white porcelain "Aspirin" necklace designed by the writer Elsa Triolet.

Schiaparelli's designs proved popular with Parisians and New Yorkers alike. Despite the 1929 economic crash, which significantly depleted the fortunes of French haute couture, Schiaparelli was still able to work successfully with American manufacturers in the early 1930s, and to sell her models to exclusive importers like William H. Davidow and such stores as Saks Fifth Avenue in New York. Later she was to remark that the more outrageous her designs became, the better they sold to a conservative clientele. Despite Schiaparelli's reputation as an artistic designer, she was always commercially successful.

Throughout the 1930s the fashionable silhouette changed; from the early 1930s Schiaparelli developed the boxy padded shoulders that were to characterize her mature style. Notable designs from 1934 included a "tree-bark" dress—actually crinkled rayon—and a "glass" evening cape made from a new synthetic material called Rhodophane. Schiaparelli benefited from significant developments in textiles in the 1930s, but she was never purely technologically driven. Rather, her work was galvanized by the themes of masquerade, artifice, and play—themes that related closely to the changing status of women in the interwar years, as well as to the avant-garde discourse of the surrealist artists and their circles, some of whom she worked with in the 1930s.

The Later 1930s

Schiaparelli moved her boutique to the Place Vendôme in 1935, commissioning Jean-Michel Franck to decorate



Elsa Schiaparelli. One of the top designers of the 1920s through the 1940s, Elsa Schiaparelli is known for both her playful and elaborate fashions and her success in the marketplace. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

her new premises. Their ever-changing décor incorporated, at various times, a stuffed bear that the artist Salvador Dalí had dyed shocking pink and fitted with drawers in its stomach, a life-size dummy of Mae West, and a gilded bamboo birdcage for the perfume boutique. In 1935 Schiaparelli inaugurated themed collections, starting with Stop, Look and Listen for summer 1935. "Schiaparelli collection enough to cause crisis in vocabulary," read a contemporary review of Stop, Look and Listen (Schiaparelli, p. 87). Following the Music Collection of 1937, Schiaparelli surpassed herself in 1938 and showed four collections in a single year: the Circus Collection for summer 1938, the Pagan Collection for autumn 1938, the Zodiac or Lucky Stars Collection for winter 1938–1939, and the Commedia dell'Arte Collection or A Modern Comedy for spring 1939. Her presentations were more like shows or plays than the conventional mannequin parade. Incorporating stunts, tricks, jokes, music, and light effects, they were dramatic and lively, and entry to them was as much sought after as tickets to a new play.

In 1937 Schiaparelli launched the color of vivid pink that she named "shocking," alongside her perfume Shocking!, packaged in a bottle designed by the artist Leonor Fini and based on the shape of Mae West's torso. The same year saw the designer's Shoe Hat ensemble, a black suit with pockets embroidered with lips and an inverted high-heeled shoe for a hat. The hat came in two versions, one that was all black, and the other, black with a shocking pink heel. The 1938 Circus collection featured a black evening dress with a padded skeleton stitched on it, boleros heavily embroidered with circus themes, and an inkwell-shaped hat whose feather resembled a quill pen. The 1938 Zodiac collection featured more highly encrusted embroidery such as the mirror suit, in which inverted baroque mirrors were embroidered on the front panels of the jacket and incorporated pieces of real mirrored glass. Schiaparelli encouraged the embroidery firm Maison Lesage to revive techniques from both medieval ecclesiastical vestments and eighteenth-century military uniforms. The result was a series of highly wrought evening jackets and accessories in which the decoration of the garment became a carapace or form of female armor.

While Schiaparelli was clearly established commercially as a fashion designer, she also retained many links, both personal and professional, with surrealist artists. In New York during World War I she knew Francis Picabia and his then wife Gabrielle, who introduced her to the artistic photographer Man Ray and the painter/sculptor Marcel Duchamp. Schiaparelli was photographed by Man Ray in the early 1920s and then again in 1930. Man Ray regularly took photographs for fashion magazines, including *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar*; some of these photographs also appeared in the surrealist magazine *Minotaure*, which was published between 1933 and 1939. An essay of 1933 by the surrealist writer Tristan Tzara was illustrated by Man Ray's photographs of Schiaparelli's hats. She in turn employed many surrealist artists to design accessories for her. The writer Elsa Triolet made jewelry for Schiapiarelli and other couturiers, with her husband Louis Aragon acting as the salesman. Alberto Giacometti made brooches for Schiaparelli, while Meret Oppenheim produced fur-lined metal bracelets. Christian Bérard illustrated Schiaparelli's designs and many of the program covers for her openings or fashion shows. In 1937 the designer used drawings done for her by the artist Jean Cocteau as trompe l'oeil embroidery on two evening garments, a blue silk coat and a grey linen jacket.

Schiaparelli's collaboration with Salvador Dalí, however, which began in 1936, produced a series of the most striking designs: chest of drawer suits (with horizontal pockets that looked like drawers and buttons that resembled drawer handles) from 1936, an evening dress with lobster print and a shoe hat and suit from 1937, and an evening dress with a tear design from 1938.

Apart from these accredited collaborations Schiaparelli produced many surrealist designs of her own from the start of her career, some clearly in homage to her contemporaries, others apparently her own inspiration: black suede gloves appliquéd with red snakeskin fingernails inspired by Man Ray; a telephone-shaped handbag inspired by Dalí and a brain-shaped hat made of corrugated pink velvet; buttons in the shape of peanuts, padlocks, and paper clips; multicolored wigs coordinated with gowns; and the first fabric designed to mimic newsprint, printed with Schiaparelli's own reviews in several languages. Meanwhile, Schiaparelli maintained her contacts with fashion-related industries in both the United States and Britain, collaborating with textile and accessory designers on specific ranges as well as selling model gowns through exclusive importers. She also worked in both theater and the cinema as a costume designer, most notably dressing Mae West for the film *Every Day's a Holiday* (1937).

Throughout the 1930s Schiaparelli continued to travel, many times to the United States, and once in 1935 to a trade fair in the Soviet Union. Although based in Paris, she had opened a branch of her salon in London in 1933. Schiaparelli's international clientele included Lady Mendl, Wallis Simpson, and various titled Englishwomen; she frequently designed costumes for such elaborate costume balls of the decade as the honorable Mrs. Reginald Fellowes's Oriental Ball in 1935 and Lady Mendl's Circus Ball of 1938. The chic and distinctive Daisy Fellowes was Schiaparelli's unofficial mannequin; the designer dressed her for free and she in turn attracted international publicity in newspapers and magazines as one of the few women who wore Schiaparelli's more outré designs. If Daisy Fellowes personified the Schiaparelli look, the American Bettina Bergery, née Jones, personified the designer's spirit. Equally elegant and rakish in her own person, Bergery was the editor of French *Vogue* between 1935 and 1940 as well as Schiaparelli's assistant, responsible in the late 1930s for the witty and iconoclastic window displays in Schiaparelli's salon on the Place Vendôme.

The 1940s and 1950s

Schiaparelli, who had taken French citizenship in 1931, set out on an American lecture tour after the Germans occupied Paris in 1940. She chose to return to the occupied city in January 1941, but within a short period was forced to leave again for New York, where she spent the remainder of the war. Schiaparelli's Paris house remained open throughout the war and produced collections, although they were not designed by Schiaparelli herself. Her early wartime designs, made before she departed for the United States, often used military themes but in a playful way, such as a one-piece "air-raid shelter" trouser suit. She also pioneered many innovative pocket designs in her Cash and Carry collection for spring 1940. She returned to Paris immediately after the end of the occupation in 1945 and resumed designing, picking up where she had left off in 1940, but focusing more on unusual cuttings and draping. Schiaparelli's designs from this period included a hat like a bird's nest with nesting birds; illusion bustle dresses; and inverted necklines that rose to cover the cleavage but dipped to reveal the breasts.

Throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s Schiaparelli continued to make merchandising and licensing deals with several American companies, but in terms of innovative design Cristóbal Balenciaga and Christian Dior took the lead in the 1950s. Dior's New Look of 1947 ushered in a new era in fashion. Schiaparelli's fortunes declined gradually after that; in 1954, the same year that Coco Chanel returned to Paris couture, Schiaparelli's Paris salon filed for bankruptcy. Thereafter the designer spent much of her time in Tunisia, where she had bought a house in 1950. Her autobiography, *Shocking Life*, was published in 1954. Schiaparelli died in Paris in 1973 at the age of 83, survived by her daughter Gogo and her granddaughters, the actresses Marisa Berenson and Berinthia ("Berry") Berenson Perkins.

Shiaparelli's fashion legacy was a vast body of endlessly inventive and original designs. She made elaborate visual jokes in garments that layered images deceptively on the body, to explore the themes of illusion, artifice, and masquerade. One of her couture clients, Nadia Georges Port, recalled: "For us 'Schiap' was much more than a natter of mere dresses: through clothes she expressed a defiance of aesthetic conventions in a period when couture was in danger of losing itself in anemic subtitles" (Musée de la mode, p. 125). Less well known, however, is the fact that, despite her apparently avante garde designs, she always maintained successful business relationships with American middle market manufacturers. In this respect she is a paradigm of the modern designer, marrying a fertile imagination and dramatic showmanship to a pragmatic and commercial base.

See also **Art and Fashion; Cardin, Pierre; Fashion Designer; Givenchy, Hubert de; Paris Fashion; Poiret, Paul; Vogue; Windsor, Duke and Duchess of.**

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Caroline Evans

SCOTCHGUARD. *See* **Performance Finishes.**

SCOTTISH DRESS The most renowned form of Scottish dress is Highland dress, which is internationally recognized as a symbol of Scottish identity. The predominant feature of the Scottish contribution to western fashionable dress is that of distinctive fashion textiles that have international appeal once made up into garments.

Highland Dress

Highland dress has been worn, interpreted, and mythologized in many different ways and its history is therefore fascinating and complex. From the early nineteenth century, Highland dress began to be seen as synonymous with Scotland as a whole. However, its origins relate to the specific culture that existed in the northerly Highland region of Scotland up until the late eighteenth century. Dress in the Highlands was initially closely linked to Irish Gaelic culture, consequently men's dress included long "saffron" shirts, trews (leg-coverings between trousers and stockings), and brown or multicolored mantles (a type of simple-shaped cloak). By 1600 men's dress had evolved to fit the following description:

> the habite of the Highland men … is stockings (which they call short hose) made of a warm stuff of divers colours, which they call tartane…a jerkin of the same stuff that their hose is of … with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours (Cheape: 15).

The plaid or *breacan* was worn by all sections of Highland society and by both genders. It was a versatile garment, comprising an untailored piece of cloth, usually tartan, that was draped around the body in various ways. Men commonly wore it as the *breacan an fheilidh* or belted plaid, where it was gathered in folds around the waist to form a short-skirted shape, and the remainder was draped over the shoulder and fastened with a brooch. The belted plaid formed the basis of the tailored *feileadh beag*, in English phillabeg or little kilt, which is the form the kilt takes in the early 2000s. This adaptation was initiated by the English industrialist Thomas Rawlinson between 1727 and 1734, when he found that workmen at his Invergarry furnace needed a more practical form of dress than the unwieldy belted plaid.

The defeat of the Jacobite army at the battle of Culloden in 1745 was followed by the Disarming Acts of 1746, which involved the proscription of all forms of Highland dress until 1782. The kilt survived this period largely owing to the British establishment's adoption of Highland dress as the uniform of its Highland regiments. The militarization of Highland dress was to play an important role in shaping the visual imagery of the British Empire. It also informed the design of the fanciful version of Highland dress worn by George IV on a state visit to Edinburgh in 1822. This period also involved the creation of popular, romanticized interpretations of Scotland's history by several authors, including Sir Walter Scott. From the 1840s Queen Victoria's passion for the Highlands was to further promote the fashionability of Highland dress. Victorian interpretations of it were often outlandish; however, this period also saw the establishment of the key elements of the style as it is worn in the early twenty-first century, namely, the combination of neatly pleated kilt, decorative sporran, knee-length hose with *sgian dubh* (black knife), tweed or other short tailored jacket, and sturdy brogue shoes.

Queen Victoria promoted the fashionability of Highland dress in her instructions to Edwin Landseer concerning the painting *Royal Sports on Hill and Loch,* 1874. "It is to be thus: I, stepping out of the boat at Loch Muich, Albert in his Highland dress, assisting me out. Bertie is on the deer pony with McDonald … standing behind, with rifles and plaids on his shoulder. In the water … are several of the men in their kilts." (Ormond, pp. 159–160)

Scottish Textiles as Fashion Garments

Tweed was transformed from a locally crafted product into a fashion textile sold to international markets by Scottish woolen manufacturers of the 1820s. Since that time tweed has played an important role in defining various clothing styles, from the Chanel suit, to men's sports jackets of the 1950s. The prominent Scottish tweed manufacturer J. & J. Crombie of Grandholm, founded in 1805, soon became renowned for their quality Elysian overcoatings, which subsequently led to the development of the Crombie coat style.

The distinctive design of the Paisley shawl originated in India in the fifteenth century. However, the garment derives its name from a town on the west coast of Scotland, which from about 1805 to the 1870s built a highly successful trade on the weaving of Paisley shawls.

Knitwear

Scottish knitwear patterns and yarns, derived from remote rural communities such as Fair Isle and Shetland, are well known internationally. In addition, companies such as Pringle, Johnstons of Elgin, and Ballantynes Cashmere, who sell to the international luxury knitwear market, design and make their products in Scotland. In the 1930s a designer who worked for Pringle, Otto Weisz, introduced the twinset style, which became hugely popular with Hollywood starlets and the wider market.

Scotland and the Fashion Industry

Scottish clothing manufacturers, designers, and retailers tend to be of international significance only when they are linked to the knitwear or textile industry. Notable exceptions to this include the retailer John Stephen, who initiated the Carnaby Street boutique phenomenon of the 1960s, and the designers Bill Gibb, Alastair Blair, Pam Hogg, and Jean Muir. In the twenty-first century anonymous Scottish-based knitwear and textile designers continue to make an important contribution to international fashion, supplying international brands such as Prada, Dolce & Gabbana, and Ralph Lauren. Many twentieth-century fashion designers have referenced Scottish dress in some form in their collections. However, it is notable that it tends to be the more iconoclastic designers such as Vivienne Westwood, Jean-Paul Gaultier, John Galliano, and Alexander McQueen who repeatedly return to the use of either distinctively Scottish textiles, or the paraphernalia of Highland dress in their work. This demonstrates that despite the capacity of Highland dress and Scottish fashion textiles to encapsulate "authentic" reassuring connotations of history, they have also been endlessly reinvented to suit the changing character of fashion and popular notions of Scottish identity.

See also **Kilt; Paisley; Plaid; Shawls; Tartan; Tweed; Uniforms, Military.**

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Fiona Anderson

SEAMSTRESSES Seamstresses formed the main labor force, outside tailoring, which fueled the expansion of clothing production and related trades from the seventeenth century onward. This expansion was not dependent initially on technological developments or the introduction of a factory system, but on the pool of women workers. Their expendability and cheapness to their employers was effectively guaranteed by the sheer number of available women able and willing to use a needle, their general lack of alternative employment, and by the fact they then worked outside the control of guilds and latterly have been under-unionized. These seamstresses sewed goods for the increasing market for ready-made basic clothes such as shirts, breeches, waistcoats, shifts, and petticoats for working people, or slops as they were known (after the practice of sailors who stored their

"The Song of the Shirt" by Thomas Hood

With fingers weary and worn,
With eyelids heavy and red,
A Woman sat in unwomanly rags.
Plying her needle and thread—
Stitch! Stitch! Stitch!
In poverty, hunger, and dirt,
And still with a voice of dolorous pitch
Would that its tone could reach the Rich! —
She sang this 'Song of the shirt!'

Thomas Hood, "The Song of the Shirt," *Punch*, Christmas 1843. (Flint, p.105)

working clothes in slop chests). Their history is largely anonymous. However, social and economic historians with an interest in gender are now extending the knowledge of seamstresses' central role in the historical growth of clothing production and consumption.

At the cheaper end of the trade, the work of seamstresses did not involve complex cutting, fitting, or designing, though there were no hard and fast rules. "Seamstress" has always been a flexible term, with the work involved dependent on local conditions and the agency of individuals. Some elaboration and finishing was involved, such as tucking or buttonholes. While work done in this style continued, seamstresses were generally distinguished from dressmakers, milliners, mantua-makers, stay-makers, embroiderers, and tailoresses by their lower levels of craft and skill, but at the top-end of the market fine sewing was valued. Their existence was precarious and exacerbated by layoffs due to seasonal demand and unpredictable changes of fashion. In the Victorian period, widespread demand for mourning clothes, short notice given for elaborate evening dresses, and fickle customers were commonly cited as causes of distress through overwork.

"Riding an omnibus through … [London's commercial districts] at the turn of the century, one could hardly avoid noticing gaunt and harried women and children scurrying through the streets … carrying heavy bundles … passing along from workroom to workroom the shirts, suits, blouses, ties and shoes that soon would dress much of the world." (Schmiechen, p. 1)

There were large numbers of seamstresses in a wide range of situations. They frequently worked as outworkers, on per-piece pay, in small workshops or in their homes. Having learned their trade in waged work, many seamstresses continued to use their skills after marriage by taking in work, often making simple garments or restyling old ones in their own poor communities where they played an important role in the provision of cheap clothing outside the regular retail trade. Some seamstresses were employed in a temporary but regular visiting capacity in wealthier households where they supplemented existing domestic staff and worked by arrangement through an accumulation of sewing and mending tasks, in exchange for a day rate of pay and meals. This practice lingered until World War II in some areas of Britain.

The widespread use of the sewing machine from the 1860s increased the pace of production of clothing because it could stitch up to thirty times faster than a hand sewer, but it did not immediately result in centralized factories becoming the dominant means of production. Clothing production remained characterized by many small-scale businesses, often subcontracting work, and by the subdivision of the various tasks involved in the making of a garment, using many outworkers and home workers. This drove down prices and wages and produced the sweatshop system in which many seamstresses worked very long hours for low wages. Despite well-meant attempts to reform the trade, pay and conditions remained bad throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. It was said that a practiced observer could identify a seamstress in the street because of her stooped carriage. Seamstresses in outworking were vulnerable to employers who could withhold or delay payment if work was deemed substandard. It was common practice for seamstresses in this kind of work to have to pay for their own thread, needles, and candles, in addition to their heating and costs of collecting and returning the work. "My usual time of work is from five in the morning till nine at night—winter and summer.… But when there is a press of business, I work earlier and later.… I clears about 2s 6d a week.… I know it's so little I can't get a rag to my back" (London shirt maker talking to Henry Mayhew in 1849, cited in Yeo, p. 145). Despite enormous disadvantages, it was seamstresses who staged the first all-female strike in America, in New York in 1825. Apprenticeship provided one means, however, unreliable and open to abuse, for women to learn the better end of the trade. Some women found that the clothing trade presented opportunities for them to trade effectively as seamstresses on their own account or to work as middle women, putting out work. Health and safety legislation, greater unionization, and factory production have combined to improve the lot of women working in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in the clothing trades; nevertheless, globally, it remains a fragmented industry with widespread homework and low wages.

Popular Debates and Imagery

Prints and paintings, often sympathetic if moralistic, frequently showed individual women bent over their sewing, in shabby interiors, sewing either to support themselves or their families. Middle-class women, fallen on hard times, were also depicted eking out a living in this way, a particular anxiety in Victorian Britain. Allegations of immorality, including prostitution, were frequently made, based on perceptions of the effects of poverty or, in better-class workrooms, the supposed temptations caused by familiarity of young seamstresses with fashion and luxury beyond their means. In Britain in 1843, Thomas Hood's poem *The Song of the Shirt* dramatized their plight and helped focus attention on potential reforms to wages and conditions, mostly without long-term effect. In 1853 Elizabeth Gaskell's novel *Ruth* expanded on the theme of exploitation of seamstresses and the suffering caused by extravagant demands of selfish or ignorant customers; the subject was treated in the United States in Charles Burdett's 1850 *The Elliott Family or the Trial of New York Seamstresses.*

See also **Sewing Machine; Sweatshops; Textile Workers.**

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Barbara Burman

SECONDHAND CLOTHES, ANTHROPOLOGY OF Well into the nineteenth century, secondhand garments constituted the clothing market for much of the population in Europe and North America except the very rich. In the post–World War II economic growth era, affordable mass-produced garments, broader income distribution, and growing purchasing power reduced the need for large segments of the population to purchase used clothing, although people with small means still frequent secondhand clothing stores. Throughout the West in the early 2000s, secondhand clothing by and large makes up fringe or niche markets for the purchase of retro, vintage, or special garments, while in many developing countries, secondhand clothing imported from the West is an important clothing source.

Secondhand clothing consumption is often described as consisting of two distinct worlds: one is the world of fashion and the other the world of thrift. These divisions are then mapped onto distinctions between industrialized and the developing nations, hiding the attraction of secondhand clothes to rich and poor dress-conscious consumers alike, regardless of their location.

Charitable organizations are the largest single source of the garments that fuel the international trade in secondhand clothing. Because consumers in the West donate much more clothing than the charitable organizations can possibly sell in their thrift stores, the charitable organizations resell their massive overstock at bulk prices to secondhand clothing dealers. These dealers are the textile recyclers/graders who sort, grade, and compress used clothes into bales for export. The United States is the world's largest exporter, and Africa the largest importing region in an international trade that has grown rapidly since the late 1980s. There are several Asian and Middle Eastern countries among the large importers of secondhand clothing. Sizeable imports go not only to developing countries but also to eastern Europe and Japan. Some countries restrict or ban the commercial import of secondhand clothes in efforts to protect domestic textile and garment industries.

The charitable connection attached to secondhand clothes vanishes at the point of resale when used garments enter the wardrobes of their new wearers to begin another stage of their lives. Past and present, the trade and consumption of secondhand clothing not only enabled its participants to support livelihoods but also to experience well-being and construct identities in a changing world. In the contemporary West, this process often involves the incorporation of accessories and specific garments into distinct dress styles. Secondhand clothes got a new cachet when shoppers for vintage couturier styles began turning to upscale used clothing stores that sell garments on consignment from the rich and famous. As vintage has become fashion, buyers for Urban Outfitters stores source clothes directly from secondhand dealers, then chop them up into raw materials that are redyed,

Secondhand suit. A man has a secondhand suit adjusted at a tailor shop in 1998. © SIMONPETRI CHRISTIAN/CORBIS SYGMA. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

resewn, and resold as new garments. Buying secondhand clothes is an important choice for the young and trendy.

In twenty-first-century Germany, the 1960s style scene of movies, music, and material culture is popular with young people who dress in garments from the 1960s or in self-made clothes constructed from old patterns. This retro style attributes history and authenticity to garments that wearers experience as unique and personal.

Dress practices arising around the consumption of imported secondhand clothing in developing countries have frequently been noted in passing only to be dismissed offhandedly as faded and poor imitations of the West's fashions. Many economists would be inclined to view the growth of the secondhand clothing market in developing countries as a response to economic decline. Such accounts miss the opportunities this vast import offers consumers to construe themselves through dress.

In Zambia, a country in the southern part of Africa, consumers from all income levels turned eagerly to the secondhand clothing markets when import restrictions were lifted in the 1980s. Shipped for export by dealers in North America and Europe, containers loaded with bales of secondhand clothes arrive at ports in South Africa, Mozambique, and Tanzania, reaching the warehouses of wholesalers in Zambia by truck. The market soon reached remote villages, enabling residents not only to clothe their bodies but also to present themselves with style. The attraction of secondhand clothes to dress-conscious Zambians goes far beyond the price factor and the good quality for the money that many of these garments offer. Finding the uniqueness they miss in much store-bought clothing, consumers turn to secondhand clothing markets for garments that are not common. The abundance and variety of secondhand clothing allows consumers to make their individual mark on the culturally accepted dress profile. Far from emulating the West's fashions, secondhand clothing practices implicate clothing-conscious consumers in efforts to change their lives for the better.

In Ifugao, the translocal trade circulates through channels rooted in local cultural scripts, guided by notions of personalized associations that women traders use in their business activities. In narratives about secondhand clothing, retailers, vendors, and consumers draw connections between people and clothes that constantly change. Such tales domesticate the logic of the market and the meaning of this global commodity in terms of local norms of status and values and in the process, they transform them. Combining secondhand garments into styles that display knowledge of wider clothing practice or subvert its received meanings, traders and consumers create new meanings around this imported commodity to serve their personal and community identities.

While India prohibits the import of secondhand clothing, it does permit the import of woolen fibers, among which are "mutilated hosiery," a trade term for wool garments shredded by machines in the West prior to export. These imported "mutilated" fabrics are sorted into color ranges, shredded, carded, and spun before they reappear as thread used for blankets, knitting yarn, and wool fabrics for local consumption and export. India also has a large domestic secondhand clothing market that is a product of shifts in wardrobes, dress changes over the course of a person's life cycle, and hand-me-downs to servants and relatives. This process gives rise to considerable domestic recycling of Indian clothing by barter, donations, and resale. Here, the materiality of cloth itself serves as a strategic resource for the unmaking and remaking of persons and identities.

See also **Recycled Textiles; Secondhand Clothes, History of; Vintage Fashion.**

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Karen Tranberg Hansen

SECONDHAND CLOTHES, HISTORY OF

The reappropriation of pre-worn clothes and accessories, historically reviewed, includes a range of practices, from straightforward methods of unhemming garments and reusing the raw material, perhaps turning it to the less worn side, as would have been practiced in medieval times, to the complex scaffold of trades in the nineteenth century. These industries recycled all manner of clothing, with machine-like economy, through specialist and discreet skills. Perhaps the most technologically advanced was the production of "shoddy" cloth in the North of England from rags of wool, cotton, and indeed all fibers (except silk) which became the staple fabric for the ready-to-wear garment production in 1834.

An exploration of the formal and informal ways by which secondhand clothes reached the resale market should highlight that some apparently informal ways may indeed be considered formal, especially in the case of servants receiving their masters' "gifts" of clothing, which were actually considered a part of their remuneration.

In fact, the secondhand clothing trade could be said to have actually diminished in complexity over the last two centuries. It used to consist of many separate businesses employing various skills necessary for the economical recycling and remarketing of different categories of actual garments, as well as the raw material of cloth.

But the origins of the advanced complexity of the secondhand clothing industries of the nineteenth century can be discerned much earlier in records of the extensive exchanges of secondhand garments amongst the Western world's urban populations during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

A Seventeenth Century Londoner's Wardrobe

The Londoner Samuel Pepys' diary (1660–1669) tells of many transactions involving clothing, and perhaps many more where such gifts are offered and accepted. Scholars of the diary often note intimations of Pepys' vanity: he did indeed regularly employ his father's tailoring skills to restyle old garments, often to reflect London's fluctuating fashions. Thus many gifts from the wardrobes of Pepys' more affluent friends were adapted to better suit the needs of their new master. "Samuel Pepys, though vain, was not too proud to sport a second-hand accessory of quality which he could not afford to buy himself" (Stanlisland, p. 5).

At this time London's secondhand tradesmen were dealing in very large amounts of stock, both old clothing and new, in some cases bringing in thousands of pounds. Such traders were very profitably engaged in the provision of ready-made clothing for the seamen living and working aboard sailing fleets for months at a time, for which the clothes' dealers would be paid thousands of pounds in each transaction. The seventeenth-century Venetian experience contrasts with that of London in that the framework by which tradesmen were permitted to go about their business was strictly governed by regulatory bodies. For instance, the Venetian Guild of secondhand clothes dealers, *L'Arte degli Strazzaruoli*, in tandem with various civic bodies, including Venetian health officials, conspired to regulate every aspect of the trade, particularly during plague outbreaks as used cloth exchanges were suspected of transmitting disease. A particularly interesting feature of the Venetian trade is its close association with prostitution; Venetian courtesans procured clothing, by buying or renting, from such secondhand sources.

Secondhand clothes stand. Customers browse the offerings at a secondhand clothing stand in Liverpool, England, 1957. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Centuries

During the eighteenth century, London's secondhand clothes industry was closely allied with its "slop" or ready-made clothing trade. Madeleine Ginsburg, a leading scholar in this field, identifies a considerable disparity between the provincial availability of used clothing in comparison to urban areas at this time. It is an equally important point that secondhand clothing not only furnished the affluent with more or less fashionable clothing, it was also an essential source of basic clothing provision for the poor. Focusing specifically on the Scottish city of Edinburgh, Elizabeth C. Sanderson has evaluated the role of the trade as a central part of the everyday life of most citizens. She makes the important point that during the eighteenth century the use of pre-worn clothing was an experience familiar to nearly all classes in society.

Considered perhaps the definitive account of the mid-nineteenth century increase in the trade, H. Mayhew's *London Labour and London's Poor* tells of the concentration of activity in London's East End. However, the most consequential development at this time was the increasingly competitive pricing of cotton and wool fabrics, and accordingly, ready-to-wear garments, thus exponentially limiting the appeal of secondhand clothing, in home markets at least. In this way, used clothing exports, especially to Africa, became an ever more significant aspect of the trade. This is an angle explored particularly thoroughly by Karen Tranberg Hansen's research into Zambia's trade, whereas Ginsburg interprets charity, and the rise of the rummage sale, as the most important developments taking the industry into the twentieth century. Certainly the retail environment constituted by such sales, where purchasers rummage through large quantities of stock, could be considered conducive to the quick and efficient sale of used goods, particularly in urban areas.

World Wars I and II saw the increase of the profitable potential of secondhand clothing, especially for resale in Africa. At this time the supply and demand aspect could be strongly linked to the West's veritable accumulation of serviceable and wearable, but outmoded, clothing and the real needs for clothing in developing countries.

> "Having my old black suit new-furbished, I was pretty neat in clothes today—and my boy [footboy], his old suit new-trimmed very handsome" (Stanisland, p. 46).

And it is here that one may perceive the beginnings of the nature that characterizes the trade in the early 2000s.

Interpreting Contemporary Trends

From the 1970s onward, fashion commentators have often noted a marked plurality of styles, compared to the former singularity of fashion houses' diktats; a development engendering fertile environments for alternative, niche fashions, and retrogressive styling. Thus secondhand clothing has come to be seen as offering potential for expressing individual and more autonomous style.

The early 2000s have seen widespread fashion trends reflecting early twentieth-century styles and the decades after World War II. In such a fashion zeitgeist, the cultural and economic capital of secondhand clothing, or vintage as it is latterly termed, has vastly increased. Secondhand clothes' stylistic appreciation has created new markets for its retail: for instance, in designated concessions of urban fashion multiples, within the high-fashion collections of designers including Martin Margiela, and on auction websites, such as Ebay.

The international recirculation of used clothing is not as straightforward as simply the export from richer to poorer nations: specific markets present more demand for particular items, for example Japan imports a considerable percentage of the world's trade in used designer denim jeans and sneakers. In these ways the state of the secondhand clothes trade could be understood as diversifying in economic potential and enjoying a favorable shift in its industrial, public, and cultural profiles.

See also **Recycled Textiles; Secondhand Clothes, Anthropology of; Vintage Fashion.**

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Lynda Fitzwater

SEQUINS. *See* **Spangles.**

SERGE. *See* **Denim.**

SEVENTH AVENUE When a famed street is both conceptual and geographic, as Seventh Avenue in New York City is, commenting on it becomes many-pronged. To David Wolfe, the creative director of the Doneger Group, a major buying office, Seventh Avenue is a state of the mind, the creative epicenter of American fashion. He believes that where it once was a vital apparel and distribution center, it now functions as a showcase for designers and manufacturers. To Wolfe, "It is more than a street or a neighborhood, it is the geographic symbol of the power of American style."

In the 1930s, the Garment Center, as this area was called—between 6th and 9th Avenues from 30th to 42nd Streets—was the city's largest industry, and the fourth largest in the country. Three-quarters of ready-made coats and dresses, and four out of five fur coats worn by American women, were made here.

Surprisingly, over the years, not that many books have been written about Seventh Avenue, the reality, but one author (and manufacturer) who tackled it was Murray Sices, who in 1953, could still write in his tome, not surprisingly, called *Seventh Avenue*, "Seventh Avenue in the city of New York, between 35th and 40th Street, is not merely a geographic location. It's a legend. It's the birthplace of miracles. It's the fast-beating heart of an industry whose bloodstreams course through America. … Here with almost 4,000 firms crowded into a few square blocks, you have a concentration of apparel manufacturers such as the world has never seen elsewhere."

That was then, this is now, and there have been many changes, most of them disastrous for Seventh Avenue and its environs. In 2000 alone, citywide garment-making jobs fell to 60,700 down from 70,100 in 1998. There were 3,260 apparel-making shops in 2000 as opposed to 3,591 in 1999, according to *Crain's New York Business Magazine*. The publication reported in 2001, "Voluntarily or not, garment workers in New York are mobbing the exits." Industry watchers were shocked at what was happening, especially those who thought the employment drop had bottomed out in the late 1990s. Historically, however, there has been a loss of manufacturing jobs going back more than thirty years. Gone are many wholesalers and textile companies as well as companies that supplied everything. Garment manufacturing has dropped along with everything else, from buttons to zippers and other necessities for a complete garment; even jobbers have disappeared and positions in showrooms also have evaporated.

Also there is the major question of rents that have reportedly increased in double or triple digits. Cheap imports, too, have become major culprits in the changing face of Seventh Avenue.

On the slightly brighter side, even though manufacturing of apparel is down from the 300,000 workers at its peak in the 1950s, clothing accounts for about one-fourth of the manufacturing jobs in the city, and it's still a most important entry into the business world for immigrants from everywhere. Seventh Avenue and its surrounding businesses probably will endure, because designers, even in the age of the computer, will still need workers nearby to whip up small runs of high-end clothing.

However, that segment of the business is also no longer so significant. At a time when conglomerates have swallowed up many of the major department stores, and specialty stores and discounters swamp shopping malls, the ability to ship quickly is no longer so vital. Bud Konheim, the head of Nicole Miller Inc., one of Seventh Avenue's stalwarts, still refers to himself as a "quick turnaround guy," and retains his belief in "Made in the U.S.A." through thick and thin.

In the early 2000s, *Crain's* reported that the New York Industrial Retention Network would release a study showing 60 percent of apparel leases in the garment district will expire momentarily, putting the entire local industry in a negative position.

Even though everything is changing, there is still plenty of excitement just walking Seventh Avenue and the adjacent Broadway buildings like 1410 Broadway or 550 Seventh Avenue. Models still run to do a day's work at a manufacturer's showroom during New York Fashion Week. The Tower of Babel voices from different cultures still are part of street life and lore. There are still plenty of small cafés doing takeout, or one can sit and have bagels or more exotic fare served fast and furiously.

Plenty of New Yorkers, including the mayor and other politicians, want to keep Seventh Avenue and its environs as vital as they have ever been. In 1993 the Fashion Center Business Improvement Center was inaugurated, its mission to promote garment manufacturing, but ten years later BID's concept had changed. The idea is to perhaps create for the district (running roughly from Fifth to Ninth Avenues and West 35th to 41st streets) a 24-hour seven-day-a-week place with diverse and residential units, including a fashion museum and more retail stores. BID's design center will add to the neighborhood's continuing unique personality, and allow it to remain, if not strictly a garment manufacturing area, a fashion district.

Gerald Scupp, the deputy director of the Fashion Center (which has its street of famous designers, called the Fashion Walk of Fame, similar to Grauman's Chinese Theatre in Hollywood which has its famous actors' hand- and footprints) notes many initiatives have failed, but he believes, and the report suggests, that abolishing special zoning that restricts non-manufacturing uses and keeps rents low for manufacturers could work. There will be those who will object, however.

Rent alone does not explain the declining job numbers, nor do cheap imports, for some manufacturers have defected to cheaper spaces in Brooklyn and Queens, but even this has not been entirely satisfactory. Another factor is the sub rosa conversion to office space with city officials looking the other way, rather than upholding the special district concept, according to Adam Friedman, the network's executive director. He notes the city stopped inspections in 1993.

Also taking a toll on legitimate design houses in New York City are manufacturers who violate the law by not paying overtime or taxes, so many of their workers do not show up on official job statistics. If all workers were truly accounted for, the number of city garment workers might double, according to Louis Vanegas, district director of the Wage and Hour Division of the U.S. Department of Labor. But even Vanegas agrees the uncounted jobs are declining and don't really account for the precipitous drop in manufacturing.

So, what will happen to Seventh Avenue and its environs if jobs decline at historic rates? According to the BID report in the early 2000s, only about 17,000 of the city's 50,000 apparel manufacturing positions will be around by 2010. However, as of early 2004, fashion-related businesses still make up the majority of the district—64 percent or 4,245—but more of these are showrooms or mixed uses. Other tenants range from printers, ad agencies, theaters, and an unknown number of illegal residential tenants who are tucked away in lofts and other spaces. Actually, the area is becoming more residential legally, and BID supports the idea. Many property owners would love to see zoning laws changed.

That the problems of Seventh Avenue remain is borne out by a *Woman's Wear Daily* article on June 10, 2003 headed "U.S. Makers Fading Away." The piece, by Scott Malone, notes, "The withering of the nation's production base has gotten to the point where even the makers of high-end apparel, who typically were able to digest the higher costs of domestic production because of their higher prices, have begun to break into camps on the question of whether making clothing in the U.S. will remain a viable strategy for the years to come."

The article maintains that the same economic pressures that pushed most mainstream apparel manufacturing out of the country are taking hold in the top-drawer designer market. "Eventually all that will be left in this country will be a small clique of sample makers."

But all is not lost for the Seventh Avenue of the early twenty-first century. The article makes clear there is still a shrinking group of high-end designers whose dresses carry three or even four-figure price tags who contend that domestic manufacturing in New York continues to make sense. These businessmen argue that being close to their factories allows a higher level of quality control and a faster rate of turnaround than is available overseas. Bud Konheim, "the quick turnaround guy" of Nicole Miller says, "The advantage of being domestic has nothing to do with cost." What keeps half of his company's manufacturing here are garment-district contractors. Konheim says, "You can get cheaper prices by going offshore, but then you've got a longer lead time; you have to make your decisions earlier, and you have to cut bigger quantities, so you have a lack of control. And, lack of control, in this marketplace, is very dangerous because some orders you take are not real orders. You have people canceling." He adds that domestic manufacturing is viable only if a brand's fashions are sufficiently distinctive so that retailers can't get a similar product elsewhere.

Another major manufacturer, who is also a highly prized designer, Oscar de la Renta, whose firm has long been on Seventh Avenue, still makes the majority of his line in the United States. For him also, quality concerns are a key reason for staying here. The firm's mixture of local and foreign sourcing has not changed since the early 1990s.

Famed handbag and accessories firm Judith Leiber continues to manufacture on West 33rd Street because so many of its workers have been with the company for a long time and their talents are specialized.

However, one of the problems of the apparel industry decline is that so many of the businesses that supported companies like trim suppliers or firms that stocked replacement parts died because of lack of customers. Konheim said his company has to contract many operations overseas including beading, embroidering, and hand knitting, because it no longer can find domestic companies doing that work. Ironically, at a time when going global has caused so many problems for unique Seventh Avenue and its environs, the cachet of a "Made in the U.S.A." label remains high in Asian markets as well as in the United States and throughout the world, so there is hope.

Nowhere where apparel and its appurtenances are created is there the excitement that was and is Seventh Avenue with its polyglot charisma, its smells and street noises, its buying and selling, its rushing and stopping, its garment racks flying down the street in competent hands. Clothing is manufactured around the world, but no one has a Seventh Avenue except New York, New York.

See also **Fashion Designer; Garments, International Trade in; Leiber, Judith; Ready-to-Wear.**

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Margot Siegel

SEWING MACHINE Just as the needle marked the beginning of humanity's first technological and aesthetic efflorescence, the sewing machine affected not just tailoring and dressmaking but manufacturing technology, intellectual property management, marketing, advertising, consumer finance, world commerce, and technological leadership. Even more fundamentally, and largely unexpectedly, the sewing machine became a new kind of product—it was both commercial and domestic, and, in appearance, both industrial and ornamental. The continuing development of machine sewing is in part the story of the changing balance between household and factory.

Like the personal computer over 125 years later, early commercially successful sewing machines combined a number of separate innovations into a new system for which an immense latent demand existed. In fact, the crucial single innovation, made by Elias Howe Jr. in his patent of 1846, was a system based on a radically new curved, grooved needle with an eye at the point end. Instead of making an easily unraveled chain stitch that emulated manual work, it engaged thread from the needle with another in a moving shuttle to create a stronger lock stitch. It was the first machine with a significant advantage in speed over hand sewing, but was limited to straight stitching and could complete only a limited length of material at a time. Another inventor, John Bachelder, remedied the Howe machine's drawbacks with an improved design patented in 1849, allowing continuous sewing of material with a needle moving up and down on a horizontal table. Isaac Merritt Singer made a series of other improvements in 1850 and 1851, making curved stitching possible and replacing the hand wheel with a treadle.

While no single inventor controlled all the patents needed to make commercially successful equipment, Singer and the others were able to settle the claims of Howe and to include his original patent in a pool. For a substantial fixed fee per machine, partly distributed by the corporation to its patent holders, any manufacturer could produce sewing machines without infringement.

The American setting was essential for the sewing machine's success in the 1850s. A French tailor, Barthélemy Thimonnier, had secured French government support in the 1830s for establishment of a firm using his wooden-framed sewing machines to produce military uniforms. A crowd of journeyman tailors had wrecked them as a threat to their livelihoods. In the United States of the 1850s there was no comparably powerful and politically active craft organization. To the contrary, America was already leading the world in production of ready-made garments; even before the Civil War, companies were using standardized measurements and patterns to remove the most skilled and best-paid parts of tailoring from the manufacturing process. Jacksonian Americans hoped ready-made clothing of mechanically spun and woven fabrics would limit visible class distinctions in public life, closing the gap between the custom tailoring of middle- and upper-class men and the rough workman's clothing called slops. In 1835, one New York firm was advertising for three hundred male and five hundred female tailors, and another for twelve hundred "plain sewers."

Such manufacturers embraced mechanical sewing rapidly, as it increased productivity by up to 500 percent. From 1853 to 1860 the number of machines sold in the United States rose from 1,609 to 31,105, reaching 353,592 by 1875. But domestic applications soon overtook industrial uses. Isaac Singer, a former actor, pioneered a national and international sales campaign to introduce his machine into the home. Singer's associate, the attorney Edward Clark, developed the first national sales organization and the first widely accepted hire-purchase plan, successful even among buyers who could have paid cash. Since women of all social classes were expected to sew and repair women's and children's clothing, it appeared to offer a great savings in time. Its high price actually helped make it a prestigious purchase, usually on prominent display—one of the first manifestations of an industrial aesthetic in the home. (The Singer machine contained over one hundred pounds of cast iron, among other materials.) Yet working-class women who could afford payments also saw it as a means of self-sufficiency; for young women it was an attractive alternative to domestic service.

Clark and Singer established luxurious sales rooms for displaying machines and their use, spent millions in advertising, and established global sales and service organizations, the first of their kind. Economic historians have suggested that the vigorous marketing by Singer and other firms spread information that, in turn, stimulated new improvements of the machine in a virtuous circle. They have also noted that the Singer Company continued to use conservative, European-style craft production systems after its rivals had adopted interchangeable parts, making the change only when sales volume demanded it. Despite this delay, the sewing machine industry became a new foundation of productive techniques that helped U.S. industry challenge Britain's dominance in mechanical engineering.

The sewing machine reached maturity relatively quickly. The 1865 Singer New Family machine was sold into the twentieth century, and some home sewers still swear by the robustness of related surviving models. After the original patents expired in 1877 and the combination of patent holders was dissolved, prices continued to drop. Sears, Roebuck and other new merchandisers aggressively promoted well-built and relatively inexpensive private-brand machines. While this strategy helped maintain real-dollar sales and widespread home sewing machine use, it also hastened the decline of the sewing machine's status. Meanwhile technicians and inventors who worked in sewing machine production were turning design and production skills to new generations of devices, including typewriters (which offered similar challenges in precise alignment) and phonographs (which also used rotary motion and the needle).

Motor-powered machines began to appear in the 1910s, but until the 1930s many potential customers outside major cities still lacked home electricity. The great change in the early twentieth century was in attitudes toward home sewing and the machine. The increased availability, improved styling, and higher quality of ready-made women's clothing turned the sewing machine from a time-saver to a money-saver. Homemade clothing began to be stigmatized. In the 1920s, domestic management shifted from making to selecting things. Electrification of factory sewing machines reinforced this trend by increasing productivity and reducing the prices of ready-made clothing. And the expense of materials wasted by mistakes discouraged neophyte home sewers. Ironically, electrification was welcome in part because it made it easier to hide the machine on a closet shelf between uses.

Expanding career opportunities for women after World War II made the domestic sewing machine a niche appliance, sometimes used as a fallback during price inflation and for mending. With the rise of sold-state control, using programmable integrated circuits instead of or in addition to mechanical controls like cams and with the globalization of the apparel and footwear industries, sewing machine production moved in the later twentieth century first to Japan and then to China. The division of labor in industry encouraged the multiplication of special-purpose machines, of which Japanese firms in the 1990s offered over one thousand models. High-speed production is posing a new range of technical challenges; needles, threads, and fabrics must be designed to work with advanced equipment. (Some economists believe that stronger thread for machine sewing was one of the twentieth century's most productive innovations.)

In home sewing, computerization has encouraged not output but creative control, in that a new variety of stitches and functions are available. High-end home machines can exceed the cost of some industrial machines in price. The attraction is no longer saving time or money, but creating apparel and home furnishings with designs unavailable in the marketplace. In the global economy pioneered by the sewing machine, household and industrial sewing have parted ways again.

See also **Needles; Seamstresses.**

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Edward Tenner

SEYDOU, CHRIS Chris Seydou (1949–1994) was a pioneer in promoting African fashion designers on the international stage. He created clothing that drew on his roots in Mali, West Africa, yet his designs evaded neat categorization as African. Seydou was well known for his adaptation of African textiles, including Mali's bogolan fabric, to haute couture. Seydou's bell-bottom pants, motorcycle jackets, and tight miniskirts made of distinctively African fabrics caused a stir in Mali and drew attention to his work abroad. Seydou's designs have been published in numerous French, German, Ivoirian, and Senegalese as well as Malian fashion magazines. He showed his designs in Europe as well as Africa, and worked with internationally renowned designers, most notably Paco Rabanne.

The Designer's Roots

Chris Seydou was born Seydou Nourou Doumbia on 18 May 1949 in Kati, a small town centered around a military base forty kilometers north of Bamako, the capital of Mali. Because Seydou's mother worked as an embroiderer, he was familiar with the tools of the clothing trade from an early age. His mother had copies of European fashion magazines that greatly impressed Seydou; he was fascinated by the photographs of elegant women in beautiful clothes (Seydou 1993). He left school to pursue his interest in fashion at fifteen. In 1965, his family apprenticed him to a local tailor. In 1968 Seydou relocated to Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso (then called Upper Volta), and the following year he moved to the cosmopolitan city of Abidjan in Côte d'Ivoire. He changed his name when he embarked on his professional career, adopting the name "Chris" as a tribute to Christian Dior, whose work had been a great influence on his early development. He kept the name "Seydou" in order to preserve part of the name his family had given him, thus creating a professional name combining the European and African influences that are apparent in his work ("Interview: Chris Seydou," p. 10).

Abidjan was in the forefront of African fashion design in 1969, and Seydou found great success in the city, designing clothing for many of Abidjan's wealthy and influential women. Seydou then spent seven years in Paris beginning in 1972, where he studied European couture. He met other African artists and designers in Paris, with whom he organized the *Fédération Africaine de Prêt à Porter* (African Federation of Ready-to-Wear Designers), an association that seeks to promote African designers on the international market. Seydou was also one of the three founders of the *Fédération Internationale de la Mode Africaine* (International Federation of African Fashion), which continues to provide an important forum for African designers. Seydou found that his work appealed to African women who sought clothes made in "la mode occidentale" (Western style), and that European women appreciated his "exoticism" (Seydou; and "Chris Seydou: Le roman d'une vie," p. 34). As Seydou explained, these women did not buy his work because he was African, but because he "brought an African sensibility" to his designs (Seydou 1993).

Seydou returned to his country of birth in 1990. He came to Bamako in search of "the authors, the origins" of "the real African traditions" (Seydou 1993). He was particularly interested in bogolan or bogolanfini, a cotton textile traditionally made for ritual functions in rural Mali, and known as mudcloth in North American markets. Seydou had begun to use the cloth while he was working in Paris in 1975–1976. He described his return to Paris in 1973 or 1974 after a visit home and finding in his suitcase several pieces of bogolan he had received as gifts. He was already familiar with the material from his childhood in Kati, but there he had associated it with hunters and local ritual practices rather than with his own interest in fashion. In unfamiliar Paris the familiar cloth was transformed into a souvenir—a reminder of the place and the people of home (Seydou 1993).

Transforming Traditions

Seydou's work with bogolan and other indigenous textiles illustrates the balance between local tradition and global markets that characterizes the work of many non-Western designers. Seydou focused on making Malian fabrics relevant to contemporary fashion rather than preserving local traditions. Yet the cultural significance of the textiles shaped his methods, as illustrated by his work with bogolan. Seydou edited, modified, or discarded some aspects of the fabric while preserving others. "I am a contemporary designer who knows what I can do technically and how to do it. Bogolan can simply be a cultural base for my work" (Seydou 1993).

One of Seydou's primary modifications of bogolan concerned the density of its designs, for the fabric customarily incorporates a variety of distinct motifs. Cutting and assembling a garment from this cloth was extremely difficult for Seydou, for no two portions of a given piece of cloth are identical. Seydou adapted by commissioning

THE CHRIS SEYDOU PHENOMENON

Journalists in Africa and Europe recognized Seydou's role as an ambassador between African and Western fashion worlds.

> He flouted every convention, showing bogolan made into mini-skirts or bustiers, as large berets or full-fitting coats and even as a fitted suit worn by the President's wife Adame Ba Konaré for the opening of a film festival in Marseilles in 1993. (Duponchel, p. 36)
>
> À travers ses créations, le Mali s'est fait mieux connaître dans ses valeurs culturelles à travers le monde, jusqu'en Amérique où les Noirs américains font aujourd'hui du bogolan une source d'identification culturelle. (Through his creations, Mali became better known throughout the world for its cultural treasures, all the way to America where black Americans today make bogolan into a source of cultural identity) (Diakité, p. 4).
>
> Chris Seydou en fut le premier artisan, faisant naître une generation de stylists de premier niveau, tous visionnaires d'une Afrique renaissante… (Chris Seydou was the first…, breeding a generation of first class designers, visionaries of a born again Africa) (Pivin, p. 7–8 Trans Gail de Courcy-Ireland).
>
> It all began with the unforgettable, incomparable Chris Seydou. More than anyone, he helped to give African men and women a new way of thinking, of looking at things, and inspired numerous designers and models to aim even higher. (Traoré, p. 8).

his own versions of bogolan, isolating a single pattern in a process he referred to as "decoding" the cloth. Seydou also expressed reluctance to cut and tailor material that was adorned with symbolic motifs, out of respect for the cloth's ritual significance in the context of rural Mali: "For me it was symbolic. For me, I didn't want to cut bogolan early on; it was difficult to put my scissors to it." (Seydou 1993). Among Seydou's most popular and influential bogolan-related projects was his 1990 collaboration with the Industrie Textile du Mali, a textile manufacturing company in Bamako, for which he designed a fabric inspired by bogolan that was printed and sold in 1990–1991. Seydou's death in 1994, at the age of 45, reverberated powerfully in the worlds of fashion, art, and popular culture throughout west Africa and beyond. He is considered by many to be the father of African fashion design.

See also **Afrocentric Fashion; Bogolan; Dior, Christian; Ethnic Style in Fashion; Rabanne, Paco; Textiles, African.**

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Victoria L. Rovine

SHATOOSH. *See* **Cashmere and Pashmina.**

SHAWLS The shawl as an item of female fashionable dress derives from the Indian *shal*, which is a male garment that consists of an unstructured length of material with woven or embroidered patterning. The first shawls worn by Europeans in India or elsewhere, were worn by men, although this practice mainly involved those connected to colonial trade. Britain had strong trading links with India from the late seventeenth century, and after 1757 the British East India Company "was inextricably involved in effective colonization" (Morgan, p. 460). These historic developments generated a huge fascination with Indian culture in Britain, which was expressed partly by an enthusiasm to consume new "exotic" luxuries such as the *shal* (Morgan, p. 460).

Female Fashionable Dress

The emergence of neoclassical dress as informal wear in the 1760s greatly contributed to the embrace of the shawl within fashionable dress. Female neoclassical dress was made from flimsy, lightweight materials and it referred

For a long time English fashions have formed part of those of France. The shawls, a type of unusually ample handkerchief, hail from India, where they replace mantles. Adopted by the English, they have come to France and go rather well with fashionable undress. (*Journal de la Mode et du Gout,* pp. 1–3)

back to the draped elegance of ancient Greek and Roman dress. Therefore, it was perfectly complemented by the warm and gracefully draped shawl. The shawl was adopted in Britain from the 1760s through the 1770s and by the 1790s it was also highly fashionable in France. Initially the Indian shawls were only worn by the upper classes, as they were very expensive, so much so that they were often treated as family heirlooms. However, the fact that they were highly desirable luxuries meant that by the 1820s cheaper copies were made widely available to middle-class consumers. Good-quality shawls were prized possessions and they were often used as gifts linked to weddings and baptisms. As the nineteenth century progressed, increases in the range of designs and prices available, meant that the associations of wealth, class, and respectability linked to a particular shawl and how it was worn became more complex. Retailers catered to this diversity; for example, the firm J. & J. Holmes, of London, offered a wide range of designs and prices from 1 guinea to 100 guineas. Efforts by manufacturers to create still cheaper shawls meant that they were worn by working-class women, and even the very poor wore second-hand or coarse woolen versions.

Materials, Production, and Patterns

Genuine cashmere shawls were made from the fine, silky underfleece of the Himalayan mountain goat, which was a rare and expensive fiber. British and French manufacturers who aimed to copy the Indian shawls attempted to imitate this fiber in various ways—for example, by using different combinations of wool and silk. Methods of manufacture also created distinctive differences between Indian- and European-made shawls. As Sarah Pauly notes, "European shawls, whether woven on the drawloom or the Jacquard loom, were always machine-woven, while the Indian product was always made by hand-manipulated weaving (when not embroidered)" (p. 20). The result of this was that the design and construction of European shawls was limited by machine capabilities. From 1824, the introduction of the Jacquard loom enabled more sophisticated designs to be produced than previously possible on the drawloom. However, no machine could match the immensely complex and time-consuming double-interlocking twill-tapestry technique used by the Kashmiri weavers, which was only possible by hand.

Another singular feature of the Indian shawls was the pine or cone pattern, which was a stylized interpretation of a flowering plant, known as a *buta*. This design was also linked to Arab culture, as many of the Kashmiri weavers came from Persia. In the nineteenth century the pine became the distinctive motif of the Paisley shawl, a pattern that became even more stylized after the introduction of the Jacquard loom. Three other early shawl designs that remained popular until the 1870s were the spade center, the blue-style, and the zebra. Despite the dominance of Indian-inspired patterns, the ubiquity of the shawl from the 1820s meant that many different fancy designs were also worn.

Important Shawl Manufacturing Centers

The most notable British centers for the weaving of shawls in the period discussed were Paisley, Norwich, and Edinburgh. Norwich and Edinburgh manufacturers experimented in the 1790s with producing good, cheaper imitations of the Indian shawls. Despite their relative success in producing high-quality copies, these efforts were soon overshadowed by Paisley in Scotland, which became a thriving international center for the production of shawls from about 1805 to the early 1870s. Leading Paisley manufacturers, such as John Morgan & Co., Forbes and Hutcheson, and J. J. Robertson, were successful in bringing the shawl to a mass market of consumers, largely because they were cheaper than their rivals. Despite its Indian derivation, the stylized pine design has since become internationally known as the Paisley pattern.

In France, manufacturers in Lyons, Paris, Jouy, and Nimes also began making shawls from the early nineteenth century. French shawls tended to be of high quality of both design and manufacture; they were renowned as being second only to the Kashmir shawls of India.

1870 to the Early 2000s

The shawl ceased to be a ubiquitous fashion item from the 1870s, owing to the introduction of the fitted bustle style. It regained popularity in the twentieth century as an element of formal evening dress; however, in general it has had a minimal presence within the fashionable female wardrobe. The mid to late-1990s witnessed a brief period of fashionability for the pashmina, a cashmere shawl usually made in attractive, plain colors.

See also **Sari; Scarf.**

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Fiona Anderson

SHIBORI. *See* **Tie-Dyeing.**

SHIRT A shirt is a garment worn on the upper part of the body, usually consisting of a buttoned front, a collar, and long or short sleeves. Possibly the most important item in the male wardrobe after the suit, the shirt has always been considered the symbol of a gentleman. The finest shirts are single-stitched, pleated at the cuff, and feature a split shoulder yoke to allow for different heights of each shoulder.

History

Shirts appeared first in European dress in the seventeenth century as a kind of underwear, designed to protect expensive waistcoats and frock coats from sweat and soil. By the early eighteenth century, shirts had assumed importance as garments in their own right. The emphasis placed by Beau Brummel and other dandies on wearing clean, perfectly styled linen brought the shirt into increased prominence as an essential male garment. Before the middle of the nineteenth century, only those considered to be gentlemen could afford to wear white shirts, as only they had the means to buy, change, and wash them regularly. Because shirts soiled so easily, men involved in manual labor found it completely impractical to wear them. The development of improved laundry techniques after the mid-nineteenth century expanded the market for shirts, but they remained emblematic of upper-class, or at least "white-collar" middle-class men.

At first, shirts were put on by being pulled over the head. Shirts that opened all the way down the front were unknown before 1871, when Brown, Davis & Co. of Aldermanbury registered the first "coat style" of shirt. Striped shirts became fashionable in the late nineteenth century, but some viewed them with the suspicion that the color was hiding dirt.

In the early twenty-first century, a similar style of shirt to those originally produced by Brown, Davis & Co. is available in either plain or placket front. The placket is used to give the shirt extra strength and consists of an extra fold of fabric where the shirt is buttoned. Other essential requirements for a shirt of the highest quality include gussets for reinforcement between the breast and the back of the shirt, mother-of-pearl buttons, and removable collar bones (preferably made from brass) to prevent the collar tips from curling upwards. On the other hand, a good shirt will never feature a breast pocket as these only appeared much later with the demise of the waistcoat. Use of a shirt breast pocket to carry pens, cigarettes, and other paraphernalia can spoil the lines of the shirt. By the turn of the twentieth century, the traditional stand-up collar was supplanted by the turndown collar—a development that coincided with the demise of the cravat in favor of the necktie. Although there are as many as twenty different styles of collar (both attached or detachable), the most formal remains the broad turndown. With the rise of the Windsor tie knot (invented in the 1920s, and revived periodically), the cutaway collar has become the collar of choice for younger shirt wearers.

Although the word "shirt" has been expanded to include a number of men's and women's garments, with dress shirt, sports shirt, sweatshirt, T-shirt, and shirtwaist counted among them, a plain white shirt cut from the softest sea-island cotton is a sartorial must for any man. The tailored shirtwaister or shirtwaist blouse with starched and coat-style front is the women's version that evolved from a man's shirt, beginning in the late nineteenth century and enjoying great popularity beginning in the 1930s. Many formerly exclusively male shirt styles have been adopted essentially unchanged for women's wear in the late twentieth century.

See also **Neckties and Neckwear; Shirtwaist; Suit, Business; Tailored Suit; T-Shirt; Waistcoat.**

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Tom Greatrex

SHIRTWAIST The shirtwaist dress, also known as the shirtmaker or simply the shirtdress, is one of the most American of all fashions. It has endured throughout the entire twentieth century into the early twenty-first. It owes its origins to the shirtwaist blouse, that very early product of the American ready-to-wear industry that emerged as part of the uniform of the New Woman in the 1890s. Its styling is based on a man's tailored shirt

Advertisement for McMullen shirt frocks. The shirtwaist has been known by many names since its development in the late twentieth century. The McMullen Company helped popularize the style when it introduced its "shirt frocks" in 1935, in an attempt to overcome declining sales in men's dress shirts. Courtesy of The Chapman Historical Museum. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

with a skirt added, either as a one-piece dress or as separates. If separate, the skirt and shirt are usually made from the same material.

It began as a practical, washable nurse's uniform, usually cotton, sometime around the turn of the twentieth century and continued in this mode into World War I, where it became the uniform for the Red Cross and other organizations needing practical, washable clothing for their women workers.

Trim and becoming, the shirtwaist's practicality lent itself to the postwar enthusiasm for active sports, and by the 1920s, occasional "sports dresses" based on it but not using the name were adopted for golf and tennis. Caroline Millbank notes that by 1926, Best & Co. promoted what they called their "shirtmaker frocks" for sports, made of cotton and ready to be monogrammed. As a fashion, it hit its stride in the 1930s, in large part because of the upscale men's shirt manufacturer, the McMullen Company of Glens Falls, N.Y. who, in its attempt to overcome the falling market in fine men's shirts during the Depression, introduced to the retail industry a line for women, the "shirt frock," in 1935. These were two-piece cotton, linen, or lightweight wool dresses, with choices of either skirts or culottes that looked like skirts.

The term "shirtwaist," derived from "waist," the nineteenth-century term for what we would now call a blouse (in itself so-called because it bloused over the waistband as it was tucked into the skirt), was commonplace by the 1890s. However, the name as applied to sports dresses was not generally used until considerably later. Women's magazines from the 1930s and into the 1940s referred to it rather clumsily as "the button-down-the-front style" or, more vaguely, the "sports dress" even as they acknowledged that it had become a classic of American style. In a very early version, Simplicity Patterns offered a "shirtmaker" in 1937, but *The Ladies' Home Journal* did not consistently use the name in their articles and advertising until sometime around 1941, and even Best & Co. called its dress a "golfer" that same year. However, a major article in *Life* (9 May) on "Summer Sports Style" devoted two full pages showing 18 illustrations of various "classic shirtwaists," in all price points and in both day and evening wear. By so doing, perhaps they helped to codify the name that has stuck. Full-skirted versions following the New Look's dictates became the outfits of choice for the American housewife of the 1950s and early 1960s. Later in the century, in the late 1970s and 1980s, Geoffrey Beene and Bill Blass took it to a new and elegant high, introducing the classic shirtmaker in luxurious and unusual fabric combinations for evening wear. It continues to remain staple of American style in the twenty-first century, by now a conservative classic whose practicality and versatility make it a necessary part of many women's wardrobes.

See also **Beene, Geoffrey; Blass, Bill; Blouse; New Look; Shirt; Ready-to-Wear; Uniforms, Sports.**

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Patricia Campbell Warner

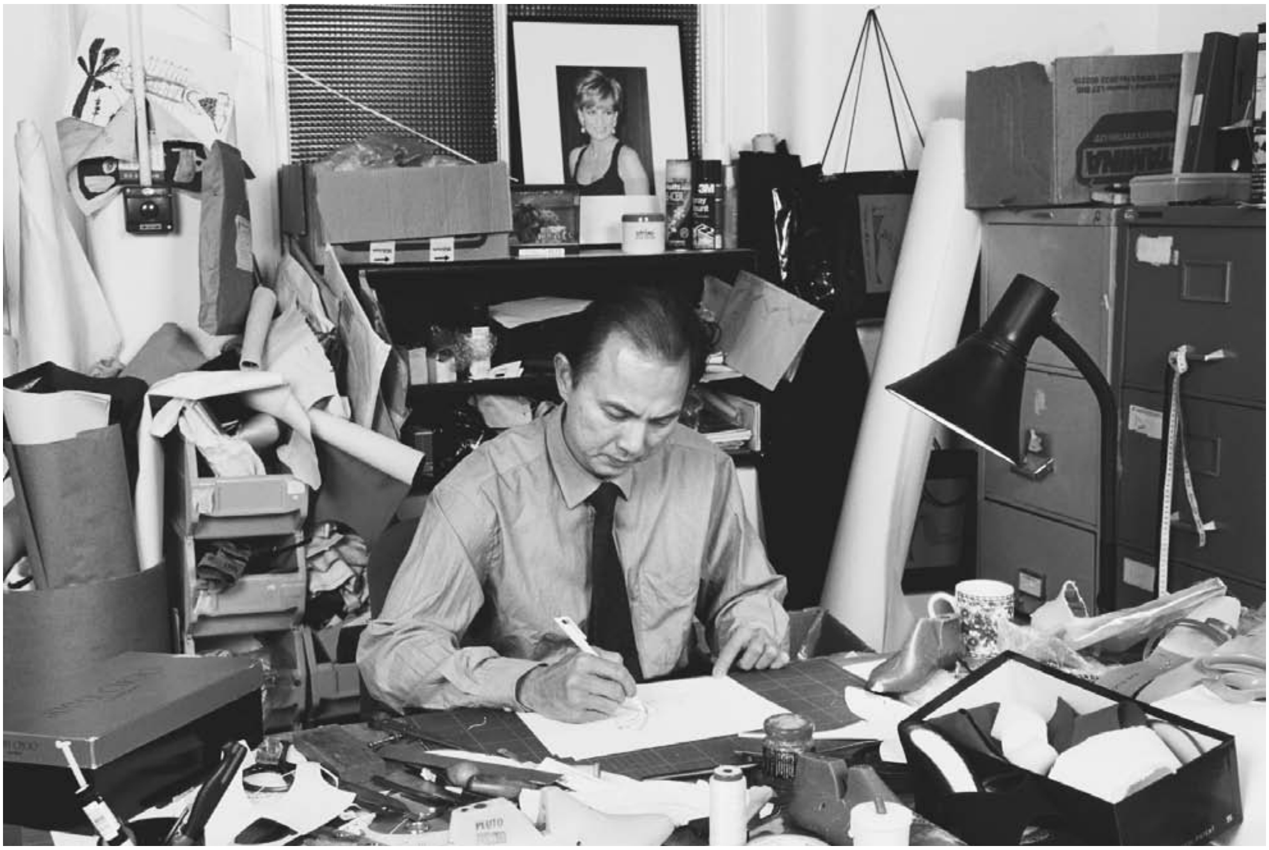
SHOEMAKING Shoemaking continues to be the work of a family member in many cultures of the early 2000s. Inuit and other circumpolar peoples continue the tradition of footwear production by the mother of the family—the craft learned from her mother and passed on to her daughters, as it has always been.

The earliest professional shoemakers can only be supposed from Egyptian friezes where laborers are depicted making sandals, using tools not dissimilar to tools still used by hand shoemakers. However, leatherworkers also used the same tools as the shoemaker, and so it is impossible to define the period in which shoemaking as a singular profession developed.

During the Roman Empire shoemaking progressed from artisans working alone in small settlements to congregating in streets near the town's center or marketplace, where guilds became established. Guilds protected and regulated the shoemakers, their suppliers, and their clients from unfair business practices and pricing, and ensured quality products. Apollo was chosen patron deity of Roman shoemakers, with images and statues of him gracing the entrance to streets reserved for members of that profession.

Similarly, images of the Christian patron saints of shoemakers adorned the churches and guildhalls of medieval Europe. During the third century, noble Roman brothers Crispin and Crispinian were converted to Christianity and went to Gaul to preach the gospel, working as shoemakers at night. They were eventually tortured for their faith and put to death. Although the legend is unreliable and Saints Crispin and Crispinian have lost their status of sainthood, they have remained the patron saints of shoemakers since the fifteenth century, and their feast day, October 25, is still celebrated as a holiday for the shoe industry in France.

There is evidence that by the fourteenth century, shoemakers were already making footwear for speculative sale, essentially "ready to wear." This was aided by the adoption of standardized measurement. In England in 1324, measurements for distance were standardized under King Edward II. Consistent in size, three barleycorns laid end-to-end equaled one inch and the foot-long "ruler" became the foot measurement of King Edward, the ruler of England. The other standard of measurement was the hand, used since biblical times, and used to this day for measuring the height of horses. A hand equals $4\frac{1}{3}$ inches or 13 barleycorns. When a standardized mea-



Jimmy Choo. Fashion clothing and footwear designer Jimmy Choo in his London workshop, 1997. © TIM GRAHAM/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

surement for shoe sizing began in the late seventeenth century, children's sizes were deemed to be less than the measurement of a hand and adult sizes were those over a hand. Adult sizes began with the deduction of $4\frac{1}{3}$ inches, so an adult woman's size 4 shoe means it is made for a foot $8\frac{1}{3}$ inches long. Under Louis XIV the Paris Point system was standardized as $\frac{2}{3}$ centimeter, and became the standard for most of Europe, but Germany continued to follow the English measuring system.

By 1400 most large European cities had shoemakers' guilds. This did not include cobblers, who were shoe repairers and not part of the shoemakers' guild. Shoemakers are capable of doing repairs but this is considered inferior work. In England shoemakers were more properly known as *cordwainers*, and in France as *cordonniers*, after the fine Cordwain leather tanned in Cordoba, Spain, and imported in great quantities. Their very name suggested the quality of their goods.

Shoemaking 1600 to 1850

In the late sixteenth century, welted shoe construction became standard whereby the upper was sewn to a welt with a second row of stitches made through the welt into the outer sole. From this development until the introduction of machinery in the mid-nineteenth century there is very little change in the tools or methods used for shoemaking. And for hand shoemakers, changes in this tradition have been minimal. The tools to achieve this construction consisted of a knife, last, dogs, hammer, awl, and shoulder stick.

The first and most important step in making a shoe is to measure the foot accurately, translating these measurements to a corresponding wooden last. The word *last* comes from the old English word for foot and is the wooden form used as a mold for making the shoe. The last is made to the same shape and size as the client's foot, or a standard last is adjusted adding built-up layers of leather to attain the same measurements. The last is frequently made up of at least two pieces, so that it can be more easily removed from the finished shoe.

After measuring the foot and translating those calculations onto a pattern, cutting out, or *clicking*, the leather is the first step in constructing a pair of shoes. The round, or moon knife is an early tool that can be seen as far back as ancient Egypt. Used by most workers in leather until the nineteenth century, the skill to use it to its full advantage was acquired during apprenticeship. Straight knives were also used but it was only with the

An eighteenth-century shoemaker's shop. This diagram from the *Dictionary of Sciences* (1770) depicts the shoemaking technology and tools of the day. Standardized measurements helped ensure a good fit for length in shoes, and pre-made footwear may have already been in production by the late 1700s.

mass entry of workers into the shoe factories of the nineteenth century that straight knives and scissors were preferred by the less-skilled labor force, resulting in the extinction of the moon knife.

Lasting pincers or *dogs* are used for pulling the top of the shoe, or upper, tight around the last so that it may be secured with tacks to the underside. Most dogs have serrated teeth that help to pull the upper taut and often have a hammer's peen on the other side to set the tacks so that the welted shoe can then be sewn. A hammer is rarely used to set the tacks into the last but rather is used for *peening* the leather. Once soaked, leather is hammered to flatten the fibrous tissues creating a surface that is more resilient to wear and dampness.

Shoes are traditionally not sewn with a needle, but rather holes are created using awls through which a waxed linen thread is inserted with a pig's bristle. The shapes of awl blades vary according to their intended use. A stitching awl has a straight blade and is used for making holes through multiple layers of leather. The closing awl has a curved blade and is used for joining the sole to the upper.

The shoulder stick, made of wood, burnished the welt and edge of the sole after the shoe was sewn, trimmed, and waxed. The shoulder stick was displaced in the nineteenth century with the use of heated irons, which did the same job but more quickly.

Heels began to be added to footwear beginning in the 1590s. Lasts are required to obtain the correct slope of the sole to accommodate the lift of the heel and as it is too expensive to have a huge inventory of lasts representing the various heel heights as well as for each foot, so most footwear would now be made without left or right definition. This practice of making shoes with straight soles would remain for the next two hundred years, gradually falling from favor throughout the nineteenth century and only finally disappearing in the 1880s. Many surviving examples of lightweight leather and textile footwear from this period show evidence of wear on the uppers where the widths of feet have splayed the upper onto the ground where the sole was insufficiently narrow. However, sturdy leather footwear, like riding boots, continued to be made to order with left and right foot definition for fit and comfort.

With standardized shoe measurements well established and the ease of production for shoemakers of straight soles, it became profitable for shoemakers to premake quantities of footwear. No doubt when the shoemaker was not employed by client's orders, he created shoes for speculative sale. Extant shoes dating as early as the 1740s and increasingly toward the end of the eighteenth century display sizes written on linings, suggesting pre-made footwear, as well as shoemaker's names printed on paper labels, usually with their address, suggesting an attempt by shoemakers to encourage repeat business. Footwear had become the first ready-to-wear clothing article sold through shoemaker shops, and also haberdashers and "cheap shoe" warehouses, another name for off-the-rack retailers. Standardized measurements ensured a good fit for length, but it would not be until the 1880s that American shoe manufacturers introduced width sizing.

Shortages of military footwear, and in fact all leather footwear, were a problem in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to period journals, boots and shoes from fallen soldiers were usually taken for reuse at the battle's end. All sides suffered from a lack of product, and methods to bypass the long years of apprenticeship to make a proficient shoemaker were sought. Improvements in the pantograph allowed for mirror images of lasts to be made proficiently, allowing for sturdy leather footwear to be made economically on speculation. The English developed a sole-riveting machine for military footwear in 1810 and also devised a press for cutting out leather around the same time. The French improved quotas by streamlining elements of construction, using a factory method for cottage production. Americans devised soles attached with wooden pegs rather than stitching, a process that had been used since the sixteenth century for attaching heels and repairing soles. And in 1823, the metal eyelet was introduced, eventually displacing the more time-consuming task of hand stitching lace holes.

Shoemaking 1850 to the Present

By 1830, exports of women's footwear from France and men's footwear from England dominated the fashionable marketplace. Shoemaking centers were now firmly established in Paris and Northampton, but the United States, whose shoe industry was centered in and around Lynn, Massachusetts, was about to change everything. Factory-style mass production using semi-skilled workers could undercut imported goods and with the American perfection of the lock-stitch sewing machine by 1860, shoes could be made as quickly as the machine-sewn uppers could be attached to the soles.

The invention of the sewing machine was primarily initiated by the need for sewing leather, not cloth, more proficiently. Chain-stitching machines were introduced in early French shoemaking factories in the 1830s, resulting in Luddite-like revolts by workers who smashed the machines in fear of losing their jobs to technology. However, chain stitching was found to be more suitable for decorative work than seam construction. It was the American Isaac Singer's patented lock-stitch sewing machine for leather in 1856 that was to begin a series of major changes to the shoemaking industry over the next thirty years.

In 1858 the McKay Closing Machine was perfected that sewed the sole to the upper efficiently without the need of a trained shoemaker. The Goodyear welting machine, developed in 1875 by Charles Goodyear Jr., the son of the man who invented the process of vulcanizing rubber, imitated the difficult stitching of a leather shoe through an upper, welt, and sole. Unlike the McKay closing machine, a Goodyear welting machine did not puncture the bottom of the sole, resulting in a suitable walking shoe for outdoor wear. The Lasting machine, invented in 1883 by Jan Matzelinger, copied the multiple motions of pulling leather around a last and tacking it into position—a time-consuming job.

These machines, all invented in the United States, secured the American ability to mass-produce footwear, as shoes could now be made at great speed and little cost. By the end of the nineteenth century, American shoes were flooding every market. Even the American idea of shoe boxes allowed for more efficient stock management and exporting of goods to Europe and the rest of the world. The European tradition of hand shoemaking was all but ruined.

Some European shoemakers survived the onslaught of cheaper American footwear by catering to the elite, creating footwear of exceptional quality and beauty. However, this worked for only a few small shoemakers. In order to survive, many European shoe companies modernized their factories, fitting them out with the latest machinery to compete with American goods, and many were successful, such as Clarks in England, Bally in Switzerland, Pelikan in Germany, and Bata in Czechoslovakia.

Through a changing workforce and insecure economy due to World War I, postwar recession, and the Great Depression, many shoe companies found it difficult to survive. However, a new process for cemented, or glued, soles in the mid-1930s brought production costs down and eliminated the need for many of the American machines. The 1930s put a focus on women's shoes in the wardrobe, now fully visible under shorter hemlines and thus a necessity for the fashion conscious. The importance of style, color, and decoration enabled European manufacturers the chance to regain supremacy. Companies such as I. Miller and Delman in the United States now saw competition from manufacturers such as Charles Jourdan in France, Rayne in England, and Ferragamo in Italy, who catered to a fashion-conscious clientele.

World War II changed the focus from style to durability. Shoe manufacturers did not suffer, because they were kept busy producing military footwear and other goods under military contract, but fashion footwear was limited by availability of materials.

As part of their postwar recovery, the Italian state aided indigenous shoe companies that were less wieldy than the huge American shoe manufacturers. Undercutting production costs, Italian shoe manufacturers quickly found a niche in the high-fashion footwear industry. By the 1960s French designers were going to Italy to have their shoes made, bypassing their own shoe-manufacturing nationals. Similar sized and modeled companies in Spain and South America with access to cheap and plentiful hides also found success in the 1970s and 1980s, at the cost of American, English, German, and French shoe manufacturers.

But the death knell for many American and European shoe manufacturers came in the development of Southeast Asian shoe industries in the late 1950s and 1960s. Cheaper labor costs for traditionally sewn footwear combined with the new slush molded plastic footwear, which could be produced by machine alone, resulted in the most profitable center in the world for the production of sports shoes—the most popular shoe style since the late 1960s.

While hand shoemakers still exist in London, Venice, and other locales, their numbers are limited and their clients few. High-fashion footwear is produced with a modicum of skilled labor in the finishing; workers whose greatest skill is computer programming make most of the shoes of the early 2000s. Cost, durability, and branding are what drive footwear production in the twenty-first century.

See also **Inuit and Arctic Footwear; Ready-to-Wear; Sewing Machine; Shoes; Shoes, Children's Shoes, Men's; Shoes, Women's.**

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SHOES Neil Armstrong uttered, "One small step for man—one giant leap for mankind" upon his first step on the moon on 20 July 1969. In Teflon-coated nylon and rubber boots, Armstrong became the first man to come into contact with an unknown, hostile extraterrestrial environment. Ten thousand years earlier, dwellers of caves in the Pyrenees emerged from the Ice Age also wearing footwear, made from the hides of the animals they hunted, to protect them from the elements and environment.

Footwear's primary purpose is to protect, but in 10,000 years of history, footwear has taken nearly every form possible to service and compliment human bodies, influenced by environment, morality, practicality, economy, and beauty. Footwear is literally the foundation of fashion. It is the only article of clothing required to come into regular contact with the earth, taking the punishment of hundreds of pounds per square inch with every step. At the same time, it is usually expected to resist dampness, comfort the foot, last a long time, and also look attractive.

Footwear has been the subject of literature and folklore. From Cinderella and Dutch clogs laid out for Sinter Claus, to tying shoes to a newlywed's car bumper, and fetish boots—footwear is steeped in tradition and cultural meaning. From biblical times, the sandal or slipper has been used as a symbol. The Assyrians and Hebrews gave a sandal as a token of good faith and to signify the transfer of property. In Jewish ritual, the shoe represents wealth as when a loved one dies, the grieving family goes shoeless during the shivah as a sign of poverty, for without the deceased they are poor.

Five Basic Styles

Hot, dry climates generally saw the development of the sandal. Believed to be the world's first crafted foot covering, the sandal was a basic footwear style of the ancient Egyptians of the Nile valley and the Anasazi of the ancient American Southwest. Sandals have been the dominant footwear of Africa, Asia, and Central and South America. Their firm soles protect the feet from scorching surfaces, while the minimal uppers allow air to circulate. Sandals can be made of almost any material that is readily at hand, from woven grasses and leather to wood and even metal.

The moccasin, an Algonquian Native American word for footwear, is essentially a shoe made up of one piece of hide drawn up around the foot and sewn with no seams on the lower part. Moccasin-like foot coverings, gathered on top of the foot with a drawstring were the style of ancient northern Europeans. A descendant of this style survives in folk dress from the Balkans to the Baltic, most often referred to by its Croatian name—the *opanke.*

The shoe may have been the result of a union between the Roman *sandallium* and the *opanke* of northern Europe, essentially being a closed sandal. However, it is most aptly traced to the Christian Copts who developed the turnshoe in the first century. The turnshoe was made, as the names suggests, inside out and turned, with a seam along the edge of the hard sole attaching to the upper. Improvements to this style developed in Europe during the twelfth century when a welt was sewn in the seam to aid the shoe in keeping out water.

Similar in construction, boots provide protection to not only the foot, but also the lower leg. It is conjectured that boots originated in arctic Asia and over time spread across the circumpolar region. Certainly, boots are the dominant traditional footwear for natives of the coldest regions on earth, but ancient examples from Mesopotamia, among many hot climate cultures, prove that boots can also offer protection from desert heat and scrubby brushlands, as well as insect and snakebites. Boots also developed in nomadic cultures where riders of horses or camels wore them to protect their legs from chafing.

Clogs most likely originated from the wooden-soled footwear discovered by the Romans to be worn in Gaul (ancient France). Their wooden-soled footwear was made for inclement weather, which is the origin of the modern word "galosh." Similar overshoes were made throughout the medieval period in Europe to protect good footwear from the filth of the streets. By the fourteenth century a shoe carved from one piece of wood became common for many northern European peasants who required waterproof, warm, inexpensive, and longwearing footwear.

All footwear is based on these five historic styles. Created for different ranks, rituals, occupations, and uses, footwear can take on many looks when made of different materials and ornamentation. And the main cause for change in footwear is fashion.

From the tenth to twelfth centuries, Europe emerged from the dark ages by uniting itself into nations and developing a mercantile capitalist economy. Crusaders, sent to free the Holy land from Islamic occupation, brought back technical knowledge and fineries from the Arabs, which whetted the appetites of nobles who craved more novelty. By the fourteenth century, quality cloth and fine leathers were being fashioned into shoes that were conspicuous displays of style and elegance, worn with the purpose of expressing personal status.

During the fourteenth century, a fashion for pointed toes spread across Europe. The style originated in Poland, as it became known as the *poulaine* or *cracow*. Edicts were proclaimed limiting its use according to the wealth and social standing of its wearer. When the style fell from fashion at the end of the fifteenth century, it was replaced by wide-toe fashions, known variously as the *hornbill*, *cowmouth*, or *bearpaw*.

A curious woman's fashion, which was at its height of popularity during the 1590s, was the *chopine*—a platform-soled mule that raised the wearer sometimes as high as 39 inches (one meter) off the ground. By the time this fashion had subsided in the early seventeenth century, heels had emerged as a standard addition to both men's and women's footwear.

As Europe positioned itself into nations of power and wealth, the elite distinguished themselves from the masses through conspicuous refinement and extravagant ornamentation. Through the Rococo and Baroque arts, a noble's status was visible in everything he or she did and wore. High-heeled footwear made of expensive silks expressed the idle lifestyles and accumulated wealth of the well heeled. Buckles became a fashionable way of closing shoes during the 1660s, and a century later these large and showy objects had become the feature of the shoe.

By the late eighteenth century, the industrial revolution had brought wealth to the middle classes and the French Revolution ended the divine right of the ruling monarchy. These events empowered the middle classes who would now become the brokers of taste. As everyone was now born on the same level, heels disappeared, fancy buckles were elitist and were replaced by shoelaces, and expensive silk footwear was displaced by more affordable and better-wearing leather footwear. The industrial production of shoes, beginning in the nineteenth century, made attractive, good-quality footwear affordable to almost everyone.

Fashion footwear became a commodity available to all levels of society. Its style was now disseminated through the new communicator—the fashion magazine. Elitism still existed by the quality of the shoe's construction and decoration but what became the real elitist separator was the ability to remain "au courante." Styles, materials, colors, and ornaments changed noticeably enough each season to keep the unfashionable out of the game.

See also **Boots; High Heels; Inuit and Arctic Footwear; Sandals; Shoes, Children's; Shoes, Men's; Shoes, Women's; Sneakers; Sport Shoes.**

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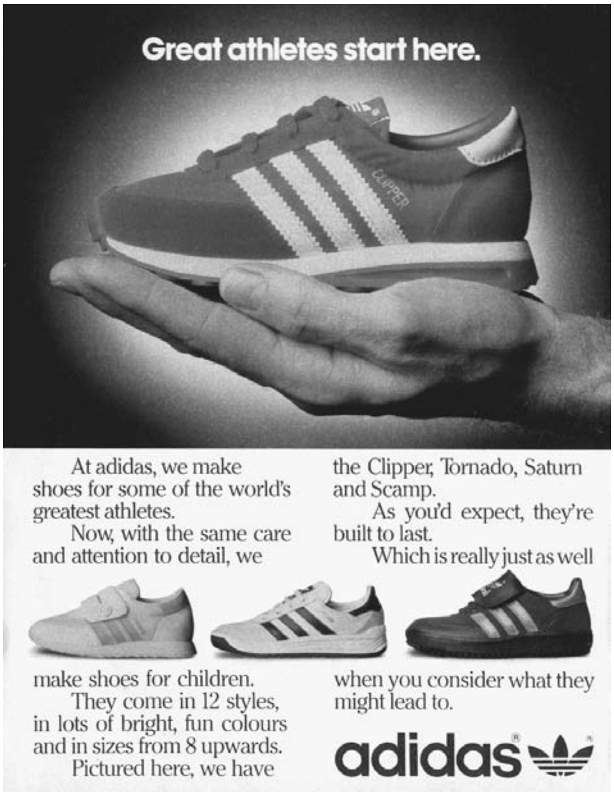
SHOES, CHILDREN'S Until recent times, footwear made for children generally mimicked the idiosyncratic styles of the adults of their time and place (taking into account the special characteristics of the feet of infants and young children). It was not until the twentieth century that footwear highly divergent from the dominant adult prototype evolved specifically for children. However, in premodern times there were some circumstances concerning children's footwear that are of historical interest.

In ancient Greece, sandals and slipper-like shoes predominated for both children and adults. Boys were "sandaled" around the age of seven when they first left their homes for school, a rite of passage similar to a boy's receiving his first pair of breeches in later eras. Young girls making their first departure from home, which took place with the girl's marriage shortly after reaching biological adulthood, also went to the shoemaker's for their first pair of sandals. A survey of Tanagra terra-cotta figures from the first half of the third century B.C.E. suggests that young children, perhaps specifically girls, wore slippers before their official departure from family life. There is much debate surrounding the question when and if children in ancient times were shod.

Swaddling, the practice of tightly wrapping the limbs of newborn infants, was widespread in Europe prior to the middle of the eighteenth century. However, when Jean-Jacques Rousseau published *Émile*, his polemic on "natural" methods of child rearing in 1762, swaddling was already on the wane. There was disagreement about whether children should wear shoes. Thomas Delaney, a



Adidas shoes advertisement. An advertisement for Adidas introduces a line of sneakers for children that are much like its adult models, but in colors and branding that appeal to children. THE ADVERTISING ARCHIVE LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

shoe advocate with a vested interest in shoe-wearing, suggested in his 1597–1600 book *The Gentle Craft* that shoes for the newborn should be part of the midwife's kit. On the other hand, Dr. William Cadogan in *Essay on Nursing* (1748) rails against the practice of swaddling but also contends that "Shoes and stockings are very needless Incumbrances" for the young (Cunnington, pp. 24, 33).

Archaeological artifacts from in and around medieval London (1100–1450) show how children's footwear reflected the dominant adult forms, but with slight differences. It appears that children's shoe styling lagged about fifty years behind the fashions of adults. The closures for children's shoes were designed more for practicality than for fashion, being usually on the center front vamp rather than style-consciously on the side. Fashion extremes, such as the *Poulaine* shoe with a long pointed toe, were more modest for children (Grew and De Neergaard). A case study showing that more than one style of footwear for children existed simultaneously can be found in seventeenth-century Boston, Massachusetts, specifically around the year 1670. Five portraits of young Bostonians circa 1670 are extant: the portrait of the Mason children at the De Young Museum in San Francisco and Alice Mason at the National Park Service Adams Historic Site in Quincy, Massachusetts, and three portraits of the Gibbs children, Henry and Margaret Gibbs in private collections and Robert Gibbs at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All of the portraits may have been painted by the same artist. Of the discernible footwear styles, the rounded toe and the square folded toe with setback sole can be differentiated. Archaeological evidence from the Nanny Privy Site in Boston from roughly the same date also reveals the possibility of multiple styles, a rounded toe, a square toe setback sole, and a possible variation of the square setback toe with equidistant triangular openings on either side of the toe (Butterworth, pp. 66, 67).

In *Emile*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau encouraged baring the child's feet. "Let Émile run about barefoot all the year round, upstairs, downstairs, and in the garden. Far from scolding him, I shall follow his example; only I shall be careful to remove any broken glass." But raising a child "ála Jean-Jacques" sometimes had unwelcome results: "[T]heir hair straggles in a hideous and disgusting way …They are longer checked, but clamber on to you with their muddy feet."

In the nineteenth century as the making of shoes became more systematic, particularly in New England, evidence emerges of the development of particular styles of shoes for children. The Reverend Richard Manning Chipman noted, for example, that "cack" was a specific term developed in Massachusetts around the year 1820 for a baby's soft leather-soled heelless shoe. On the other hand, the *Oxford English Dictionary* discloses that the word "bootee" or "bootie" did not occur in popular English usage as a description of infant's shoes until its appearance in a Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalog in 1929.

Throughout the nineteenth century, periodicals encouraged women to try their hands at creating shoes for their young children. Patterns appeared in *Godey's Ladies' Book* (1830–1898), and *Peterson's Magazine* (begun 1842). In the anonymously written *The Workwoman's Guide* (1838), the author gives patterns and sewing directions for baby's first and second pair of shoes, as well as a pair made of ticking material (A Lady, pp. 173, 174). One hundred and fifty years after Monsieur Rousseau encouraged the possibility of childlike-children, footwear began to be developed specifically for them, albeit in the form of variations on already existing adult shoes. In 1890, George Warren Brown opened the Brown Shoe Company in St. Louis, Missouri, but it was not until the 1904 World's Fair that his variation on the Oxford tie for boys came into its own. In that year a young executive from Brown's company met artist Richard F. Outcault and the "Buster Brown" shoe was born. Of equal importance is Buster's sister "Mary Jane" who gave her name to the ubiquitous girl's low-strapped shoes.

Children's increasing participation in sports was an important twentieth-century development for their shoes. Keds, originally produced by the U. S. Rubber Company and acquired by Stride Rite in 1979. They "were the first shoe mass marketed as a canvas-top *sneaker*" a word coined by Henry Nelson McKinney because "all other shoes, with the exception of moccasins, made noise when you walked." In the early 1920s, the Converse Shoe Company hired Chuck Taylor away from a basketball team to conduct basketball clinics and in 1923 the *All Star Chuck Taylor* Converse rubber shoe was introduced. The Bata Shoe Company marketed a similar shoe internationally.

"Jellies," the translucent plastic (polyvinyl chloride) shoes, were developed due to leather shortages resulting from World War II. They were created by Mr. Jean Dauphant and family at Plastic-Auvergne and are a continuing international success.

The twentieth century increasingly saw shoe manufacturers appealing directly to children through such techniques as tie-ins with television shows such as *Howdy Doody*, *The Lone Ranger*, various cartoons, and *Sesame Street*. The 1980s saw catalog and department store giant Sears, Roebuck and Co. introduce Grranimals, a line of children's clothing with accompanying footwear that had strategically placed emblems that aided children in creating coordinated outfits on their own.

On the basis of an examination of recent children's footwear styles, it could be argued that after thousands of years of the subjugation of children to the vagaries of adult shoe styling, it is now children's shoes that are influencing adult shoes, particularly in the area of slip-ons and Velcro-closures. The history of children's shoes is a relatively underdeveloped field that offers many possibilities for fruitful further study.

See also **Shoes; Shoes, Men's; Shoes, Women's; Sneakers.**

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Jeffrey Butterworth

SHOES, MEN'S In the medieval period new shoes were available only to a tiny elite of aristocrats and wealthy merchants. However, it appears that in Britain almost all of the poor wore some kind of footwear, which was made possible through the widespread practice of re-

A pair of black leather winkle-picker shoes. Developed as a men's shoe style in the 1950s, the pointed toes of the winkle-pickers led to their name being derived from a sharply-pointed tool. COLLECTION: POWERHOUSE MUSEUM, SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA. PHOTO: SUE STAFFORD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

making and repairing old shoes. Medieval shoes were made from leather, silk, and other cloths and up to the end of the sixteenth century, all men's footwear tended to be flat. The most extreme style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the "poulaine," or "pike," which featured extremely pointed toes, sometimes up to four inches (10 centimeters) in length.

Shoes with an arched sole and heel emerged at the end of the sixteenth century, a novelty that was to become a predominant feature of men's shoes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the reign of James I (1603–1625), masculine court fashions became particularly flamboyant and stockings and shoes became a key focus of attention. The shoes of the wealthy began to be decorated with large bows, rosettes, or "roses." These styles were superseded in the reign of Charles I (1625–1649), when political instability and war in Britain and Europe encouraged the popularity of military-inspired, knee-high, leather boots. These were fashionable from the 1620s to the 1690s and despite their practical origins as riding wear, they were often elegant and decorative.

"A sewing machine for leather was in use by the 1850s … and by the end of the century most shoes were made in large factories. The personal relationship between shoemaker and wearer disappeared except at the most expensive end of the market" (Mitchell, p. 34).

Early Modern Period

The rise of France as an international fashion center under Louis XIV (1643–1715) promoted the popularity of French court styles. Shoes were adorned with decorative buckles, a style that remained highly fashionable until the 1780s. Buckles were bought as separate items and by the late eighteenth century they were available for all tastes and pockets, from sparkling precious stones for the wealthy, to plain steel, brass, and pinchbeck for the lower orders.

New shoes became more accessible to the middle classes in the eighteenth century, owing to relative increases in incomes and new manufacturing methods. The development of large workshops, which produced ready-made shoes by hand helped to make shoes more affordable.

Modernity and Men's Footwear

The Enlightenment and the French Revolution (1789–1799) stimulated tastes for the plain, English, country mode of dress, which dominated international fashion from the 1780s. An important element of this style was the jockey or top boot, which featured a top of lighter colored leather. Popular men's wear styles of the early nineteenth century included laced-up walking shoes, flat leather evening pumps, and boots of various styles including top boots, Wellington, Hessian, and Blucher boots. The latter three illustrate the tendency for boot styles of the era to be named after significant military figures or developments.

By the mid-nineteenth century, ankle boots, such as the Balmoral, became the most common type of footwear for men and popular shoe styles included the Oxford and the Derby. These shoe types along with the brogue were widely worn in the twentieth century and are still common in the twenty-first century.

Shoe production was increasingly mechanized in the mid-nineteenth century and by 1900 most people wore shoes made in factories and sold by shoe retailers, rather than patronizing shoemakers. By the 1890s, relative increases in wealth, increased participation in sport and leisure activities such as tennis, golf, and cycling, and improvements in mass-manufacturing techniques led to middle-class consumption of an increasingly diverse range of styles, suitable for various contexts and activities. Despite these transformations in the production and consumption of shoes, leading bespoke shoemakers from this era such as John Lobb Ltd., London, and New & Lingwood, London, have survived into the twenty-first century.

Men's Shoes Post-1945

The predominant features of men's shoes in the post-1945 period have been an expanding diversity of styles and price levels and a more rapid turnover of fashionable designs. The manufacture of ready-made shoes became global after 1945, with low-cost production now concentrated in Asian countries and more exclusive shoes being made in Italy. From the 1950s the rise of youth fashion generated a greater degree of experimentation in men's footwear, with the emergence of designs such as brothel creepers, winklepickers, Chelsea boots, and Doctor Martens boots.

Since the mid-1970s, the trainer or sneaker has come to be ubiquitous footwear for men of all ages and tastes. This has partly been owing to a general move toward informality in male appearances, but is also linked to the influence of black street fashion and the aggressive marketing efforts of global sportswear companies like Nike, Puma, and Adidas.

The 1970s saw the appropriation of men's shoe styles such as Dr. Martens by women, a trend that was linked to the influence of feminist ideas and the punk subculture. Unisex or androgynous footwear has continued as a feature of mainstream dress in the early twenty-first century. However, despite these developments, there remain significant differences between men's and women's shoes. High heels are still seen as exclusively feminine and men's businesswear remains focused around variations on the Derby and Oxford styles.

See also **Boots; Inuit and Arctic Footwear; Sandals; Shoemaking; Shoes; Shoes, Women's; Sneakers; Sport Shoes.**

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Fiona Anderson

SHOES, WOMEN'S In cultures where bare feet are customary or only simple sandals are worn, little interest exists in the female foot as a sensual appendage. However, hidden away in tight, decorative shoes and boots, the female foot has been revered as a powerful sexual stimulus in many cultures. Smaller and narrower than a man's foot, the attributes of a woman's comparatively delicate foot has been appreciated and accentuated throughout much of history. This is most apparent in the extreme practice of Chinese foot binding.

For a thousand years in China it was considered refined and sexually attractive for a woman to have bound feet. Outside of weekly washing and perfuming, the feet were kept bound tightly at all times. Several attempts over the years to outlaw the practice by the ruling Manchurians failed and even the Republic made an attempt at stopping the tradition in 1912 when it came to power. The tradition slowly discontinued over time, being finally eliminated in 1949 under the communists. This is by far the most extreme example of sexual differentiation in footwear history. Most cultures cover the female foot differently than the male foot, but in a far less dramatic manner.

Amongst the traditional Inuit of central Northern Canada inlaid furred sealskin boots are designed with vertical patterns for men and horizontal patterns for women. In some cultures it is a matter of who wears the boots. Native Southwestern American Zuni women wear tall white skin boots, while the men wear shorter boots or shoes. Greenlander women's traditional costume includes thigh-high blood-red sealskin boots with decorative appliqués while men wear shorter, darker colored boots.

Fashion Footwear to 1600

In Western culture, it is women who generally wear more architecturally significant or decorous foot coverings. With few exceptions, until the Renaissance, women's footwear was generally less interesting for the simple reason that it was less visible under the longer garments worn, and it was men who were the peacocks in the footwear department.

In ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome, women wore sandals consisting of fewer straps and less decoration than men's sandals, baring more toe cleavage. During the late Roman or Byzantine Empire, Christianity brought about radical change from the ancient classical ways. Christian morality considered it sinful to expose the body. St. Clement of Alexandria, in the third century, was already preaching humility for women, commanding them not to bare their toes. Byzantine footwear was designed to cover the feet, and shoes replaced sandals. Roman-style sandals remained the privilege of high-ranking church officials, and abundant decoration was seen as too worldly for the people to wear, appropriate only for the Pope and other prelates.

The largest threat to the Byzantine Empire came with the expansion of Islam that, by 750, had grown to include most of the old Roman territory including Egypt and its Christian Copt population. By the eighth century, Coptic steles (gravestones) depict the deceased wearing shoes and mules, sometimes decorated with gilded figures and etched linear designs, often in sacred imagery. The shoe had evolved to include a pointed toe and peaked throat and was often made of red kid. Called *mulleus* in Latin, referring to the red color, it is from this connection that the modern term "mule"— for a backless shoe— originates. This style can still be found in parts of the Middle and Far East.

Christianity reinforced the alliance of what was once Rome's domain. During the Carolingian age of Charlemagne (768–814) a close relationship between the various kings and the pope secured the Church in much of Europe unifying the European kingdoms.

Europe began to emerge from the Dark Ages in about 1000 C.E. Christian Europe was uniting into nations, headed by monarchies. These European states began crusades into the Holy Land, bringing themselves into contact with Islamic thought and products. The crusaders brought back silk, embroidery, and the button, whetting the appetites of nobles who craved finery and novelty. The textile arts flourished with the production of quality weavings, embroideries, leather goods, and felts. At the same time, merchants became wealthy importing and exporting these goods, making enough money to dress like nobles. Fashion was now a commodity that expressed the status of its wearer. Elitism could be expressed through a sumptuous display of fashion excess.

The first footwear fashion excess was the elongated pointed toe, said to have originated in the late 1100s. The style was popular in the late 1100s but subsided from fashion, and when reintroduced from Poland in the early 1300s it had become known as a *poulaine* or *crakow*, reflecting its supposed Polish origin.

Expensive materials and excessive styles were royalty's way of staying ahead of the moneyed bourgeoisie. If the sheer cost of dressing well did not create enough of a gap between the well-to-do and the have-nots, then edicts were placed upon materials, styles, and decorations restricting their use to persons of appropriate status. The church also set restrictions against obscene or excessive fashions. Together, these governing bodies attempted to keep the classes in their place, making each identifiable by their dress.

In England, in 1363, Edward III proclaimed a sumptuary law that limited the length of the toe to the wearer's income and social standing; commoners earning less than 40 *livres* per year were forbidden the use of long toes; those who made more than 40 *livres* annually could wear a toe no longer than six inches; a gentleman no more than twelve inches; a nobleman no more than 24 inches; and a prince was unlimited in the length he chose.

Northern Europe continued to don the style until the end of the fifteenth century, even though Italy, southern France, and Spain essentially stopped wearing the protrusive toe, choosing instead to have less pointed footwear made of the finest kid leather or silk.

When length finally became old fashioned, width became the next fashion excess. Popular in the English Tudor court and other northern European states of the sixteenth century, shoes with widths that extended well beyond the foot were known variously as the *hornbill*, *cowmouth*, or *bearpaw*. This new dimension suffered the same excesses as the long toe. Under England's Queen Mary, another sumptuary law was passed, and although its wording is lost, it can be assumed that the width of the toe was similarly limited according to social status and wealth of its wearer.

The last dimension was now to be explored—height. The ancient Greeks first put platform sandals on the feet of their actors to give them distinction, suggesting the performer was playing an important person. Ancient Greek women adopted cork-soled versions, called *Cothurnus.* Fifteenth-century aristocratic Venetian women donned stilted mules or shoes, called *chopines*, to reflect their high social status. Fashioned in velvet with tack-work or white alum tanned kid with punch-work brogueing, *chopines* not only added height, but also décor to the silhouette. Although called "depraved" and "dissolute" by the church, the style traveled across Europe where by 1600 even Shakespeare wrote in Hamlet "Your Ladyship is nearer to heaven than when I saw you last by the altitude of a *chopine.*" Maidservants were required to steady the wearers of some of the tallest *chopines* that could reach a height of up to 39 inches (one meter). *Chopines* fell from fashion when prostitutes donned them, ruining their status for women of breeding. Heels, introduced in the 1590s, eventually displaced the platform mules, although some extant examples of *chopines* date as late as 1620.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

When heels were first added to shoes in the 1590s they were only about an inch in height. Women's heels took on greater elevations during the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) in France. Heels towered two to three inches, although "well-heeled" women's skirts made their shoes virtually invisible. The heel expressed the status of the wearer as they were quite literally at a higher level than the hordes of common folk. Under Louis XIV, red heels were worn strictly at court. Although this law existed only in France, by restriction the color came to represent the power and status of the aristocratic elite across Europe.

Three different heel types developed in Europe during the eighteenth century. The Italian heel was tall and spiked, like a stiletto. The French heel was of mid-height and curvaceous and later became known as the Louis heel; and the English heel was thicker and generally low to mid-height. Fashionable continental European women were more inclined to be at court or at home in an urban setting, so their heels could generally be more delicate, while English women of breeding tended to live at their country estates for most of the year, so a thicker heel was necessary for the more natural terrain they traversed.

When the skirts of French gowns inched toward the ankles in the mid-eighteenth century, suddenly there seemed to be an erotic interest in the high-heeled shoe, as it made the foot appear smaller and narrower, and gave the ankle a delicate shape. In the meantime, due to practicality, men were now solidly planted on the ground with heels of less than an inch. It was appropriate for a gentleman to walk upon a muddy, cobbled street that required a low-heeled shoe or boot. A lady of quality, however, did not walk the streets and likely traveled by coach or other means, so a high heel was appropriate for most occasions she would encounter.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an increasing fondness for luxurious fabrics and decorative trimmings ensued. European-made damask and brocaded silks had been produced in Italy and France until the emigration of Protestant French Huguenots in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. They brought with them the knowledge of silk production when they resettled throughout Protestant Europe, from Spitalfields, England, to Krefeld, Germany. The costly development of this new industry, however, kept domestically produced silks at a higher price than imported Chinese silks.

Chinese silks were usually brocaded patterns of abstract geometric designs, made specifically for the western market. To support the development of a domestic silk industry, England banned the wearing of Chinese silk in 1699; other countries proclaimed similar edicts. Silks produced in Europe followed the Oriental taste of abstract patterns and became known as "bizarres," remaining in fashion until the 1730s when tastes changed and grand floral designs came into vogue.

The decoration of shoes used many techniques: silk embroidery, applied cord *passementerie*, and silver and gold thread embroidery that was made by professional male embroiderers who belonged to embroidery guilds.

Originally, buckles came into fashion because of their utility. Samuel Pepys refers to putting on buckles for the first time in 1660. By the end of the seventeenth century, buckles overtook the standard of ribbon laces. Both men and women increasingly suffered from buckle mania throughout the eighteenth century. Buckles grew in size and became more elaborate, set with showy paste and semiprecious stones. Men's buckles were larger but both sexes displayed their shoe jewelry during a bow and curtsy with extended foot—the appropriate method of introduction of the day.

By the end of the eighteenth century mercantile and industrial wealth had created a strong, affluent, educated,

Illustration of woman wearing chopines. In the fifteenth century, aristocratic Venetian women began wearing platform shoes as a symbol of status, and the style quickly spread across Europe. THE GRANGER COLLECTION LTD. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

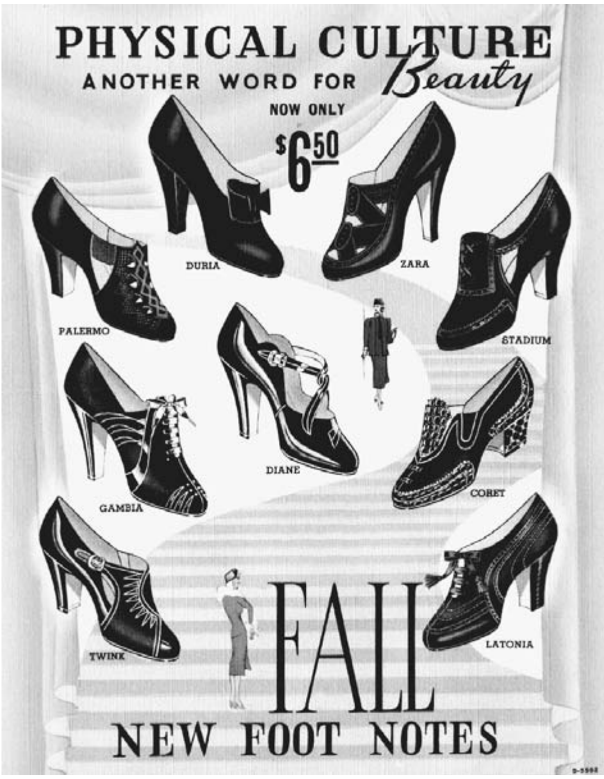
yet politically under-represented middle class who were set between an ever-deepening rift of the noble elite and the working poor. The American and French revolutions exploded out of this imbalance, and, in the end, demographics won. The middle classes rose to power and would become the brokers of taste.

In the early months of the French Revolution, the French National Assembly demanded that all deputies give up their valuable shoe buckles for the benefit of the treasury. The legislative session of 22 November 1789 opened with le Marechal de Maille making the patriotic gift of his gold buckles.

The Nineteenth Century

Following the French Revolution, plain leather footwear became the mode. Durable and affordable, it was considered more democratic than the fussily embroidered and expensive silk shoes previously preferred by the elite. Heels also fell from use after the French Revolution, in keeping with the new democratic philosophy that all people are born equal. The new French and American republics looked to classical models of democracy for inspiration and excavations at Pompeii and from Napoleon's military campaigns in Egypt brought renewed interest in the ancient world and provided inspiration for neoclassical designs.

Women's fashion took on the silhouette of a Greek column. Neutrals of white and tan were complimented by dark tones of the classical world: Pompeiin red, crocodile green, and rich gold. The sandal was revived during the neoclassical period, although not with great success, especially in the colder northern European climates where instead, shoes were fashioned with cutouts lined with colored underlays or painted with stripes to emulate sandals. During the Napoleonic wars an inconsistent fashion image existed. In shoes, the use of heels



Physical Culture women's shoes advertisement, 1938. By the 1930s, the color, shape, and decoration of shoes had expanded to offer numerous options for fashionable women.

and the shapes of toes varied, with no one style predominating. The square toe, introduced as early as the 1790s, did not become the main style until the late 1820s but would remain so for the next half century.

As factories disfigured the horizon, many longed for the picturesque qualities of an unspoiled landscape. A naturalism movement brought long country promenades into fashion; ladies began to wear "spatterdashes," leggings adapted from men's military dress that protected stockings from spatters and dashes of mud. Walking became a fad called "pedestrianism" and a prescribed activity for women. Boots were worn for this activity as a sensible alternative to fashion shoes. Ankle boots, referred to as demi-boots or half boots, found international appeal in this period.

By the time Queen Victoria ascended the throne in 1837 a sentimental, romanticized movement had swept popular thought. Women became expressions of virtue and femininity, their conservative costume and demure decorum reflected conscious gentility. Fine slippers of kid and silk were made in great quantities in Paris and exported around the world. Soles, which had been made without left or right definition for more than 200 years, were exceptionally narrow now and the delicate uppers tended not to last long as they were pulled under the sole at the ball of the foot, deteriorating with one wearing. Colored footwear found favor during the 1830s with ankle-length skirts, but fell from use for the next two decades. The long, full skirts of the mid-nineteenth century hid the feet from view, with perhaps the occasional peep at a vamp when the woman walked or waltzed across a floor. By the mid-1850s, black or white footwear was deemed by fashion delineators to be the most elegant and tasteful choice, a standard that would last for many years.

However, after the mid-1850s, with the introduction of wire frame "crinoline" skirt supports, skirts tended to tip and swing, exposing the foot and ankle. This brought about interest in the decoration of shoe vamps. Machine chain-stitched designs with colorful silk underlays, dubbed "chameleons," became fashionable for home and evening wear. For daytime, however, boots became modest essentials underneath the wire-frame supported skirts. Side-laced boots called "Adelaides" in England, after William IV's consort, were made for most outdoor occasions until improvements in the elasticity of rubber resulted in the development of elastic thread which, woven into webbing, was used for ankle-boot gussets. Elastic-sided boots were referred to as "Garibaldi" boots in Europe after the Italian statesman who united Italy during the 1860s, and as "Congress" boots in the United States after the American Congress. Front-laced boots came back into fashion by 1860. Called "Balmorals," after Queen Victoria's Scottish home, the style was deemed suitable for informal daywear and sporting occasions at first, but by the 1870s had become the more common closure of all boots. Button boots were introduced in the 1850s, but were generally not favored until the 1880s when their tight fit and elegant closure flattered the slim ankle and foot more than laced styles.

Heels were re-introduced on ladies' footwear during the late 1850s, but did not find universal appeal until the late 1870s. Historicism was an important movement of the mid-nineteenth century; Rococo and Baroque styling was evident on shoes in the 1860s with a return to buckles and bows. Large, multiple loop bows were called "Fenelon," after the seventeenth-century French writer. Mules, too, came back into fashion as part of the historical revival of the *ancien regime*.

Exoticism was another important movement of the nineteenth century. Via the Crimean war, Turkish embroideries were exported for the production of shoe uppers in the late 1850s and when Japan opened its doors to foreign trade in 1867, a taste for all-things Oriental made a strong comeback. Chinese embroidered silks or European embroidered silks in the taste of Chinese and Japanese textiles were in fashion and a Japanese-influenced palette of colors resulted in brown leather footwear coming into vogue, which would become a fashion staple.

By the late 1880s the square toe had finally fallen from fashion, replaced by rounded and even almondshaped toes and all shoes were now being made with right and left sole definitions. Business began to decline for hand shoemakers as mass manufacturers standardized sizes and provided widths for customer fit. Improvements in American manufacturing methods and machinery, as well as cheaper production costs positioned the Americans as the leading footwear manufacturers for the next fifty years.

The Twentieth Century

Black, brown, and white footwear predominated until the 1920s. Colored footwear was made almost entirely for evening dress, as it was seen as inappropriately gaudy for street or daywear. After the start of World War I in 1914, hemlines began a steady climb up the leg, so that by armistice the sensuous curves of the instep and ankle were exposed. The climbing hemline made the gap between the top of the boot and bottom of the hemline an unsightly distraction. The boot was generally abandoned from fashion, although a "Cossack" boot, or pull-on style was introduced and found some success in the late 1920s.

The impact of the shoe on the complete silhouette now had to be calculated to find a complimentary style. During the 1920s, short and curvy heels grew taller and straighter, which tightened the calf muscle, slimming the appearance of the ankle and foreshortening the foot making it appear smaller. Even the vamp was cut lower to expose more of the instep.

By the 1930s, shoemakers had become shoe designers. Color, shape, and decoration literally exploded at the feet of fashion. A wide variety of spectators, oxfords, pumps, sandals, brogues, and other styles filled the shoe stores. Salvatore Ferragamo revived the *chopine* in 1937, using cork to create platform soles. Internationally, the style found limited success, but with the beginning of World War II (1939–1945) the style grew in popularity. The war resulted in a shortage of leather for civilian footwear; thick wood or cork soles and substitute leather uppers made of raffia, hemp, or textile substituted. In the United States, where rationing was less severe than in Europe, platform shoes were more often made of leather, but women were rationed to two pairs of shoes per year.

The tall tapered heel remained in fashion from the late 1920s to the mid-1950s with only subtle changes in form until the Italian heel, renamed the "stiletto," became the fashion in the late 1950s. Tall and very slender with a metal core, the heel was named after the weapon for a reason. The narrow heel created pressure of hundreds of pounds per square inch with every step, pockmarking linoleum and wooden floors. Visitors to the Louvre were required to don plastic heel caps to protect the ancient floors. The stiletto heel, paired with a sharp pointed toe, was the most aesthetically complimentary shoe style ever designed. The pointed toe visually narrowed the foot and the high heel tightened the calf muscle, slimming the ankle. Medically, it was the worst combination ever created. Many women turned their ankles on the metal spikes, catching the tips in manholes, subway grates, or even cracks in the sidewalk; the high heel forced the foot forward into the pointed toe, which curtailed the toes, causing bunions and hammertoes.

In reaction, a low-heeled, square boot came back into fashion in the mid-1960s. Paired with miniskirts, the boot highlighted the leg and gave a youthful élan to the fashions of the day. Boots came on the fashion scene at the same time as the popular "go-go" dances of the day and quickly became known as go-go boots—usually white ankle boots.

The early 1970s saw the return of the platform that accomplished two feats at once. Women's liberation was reflected in the elevated soles that put women on an equal footing to men. At the same time, platforms were complimentary to the length of the leg, made apparent in hot pants, miniskirts, and long-legged pants.

Since the early 1970s fashion footwear has been eclipsed by the sports-shoe phenomenon. More runners, joggers, cross-trainers, and basketball shoes have been sold than high-fashion shoes on an annual basis. Scientific advances in fit and comfort has been paired with conscious design and celebrity marketing, creating a mad frenzy for every new design released. Fashion experts may scoff at sports shoes as fashion, but many designers have paid homage to the style in upscale versions over the past thirty years.

High-fashion footwear of the last quarter of the twentieth century consisted almost entirely of revivals. The stiletto-heeled, pointed-toe shoe of the late 1950s and early 1960s was the mainstream high-fashion style of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Every time the platform shoe has come back into fashion it has been heavily inspired by its previous incarnation. The platform shoes of the 1990s were many times perfect re-creations of their 1970s predecessors, to the point where it was nearly impossible to tell the difference between the retro and the true vintage versions.

Subtle tweaking of heel shapes, toe shapes, decorations, colors, and materials, and the combinations in which they are used are the only elements that define the past thirty years of fashion footwear from previous styles. Multiplicity is key to the fashion footwear of the early 2000s: stilettos, platforms, chunky heels, low heels, pointed toes, square toes, boots, shoes, and ballerina flats. Virtually all styles are available at the same time, and all of them are at the height of fashion.

See also **Boots; Footbinding; High Heels; Inuit and Arctic Dress; Sandals; Shoes; Shoes, Men's; Sneakers; Sports Shoes.**

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Jonathan Walford

SHOPPING Early histories of shopping comprised celebratory histories of individual shops, and chronological accounts of retail progress (Adburgham). Recent studies have come from social, economic, and increasingly cultural history. They balance empirical and focused studies of shops and shopping with the more thematic agenda offered by consumption studies. A significant proportion of studies is devoted to shopping for clothes and related fashionable goods. This kind of shopping was associated with a particular set of shopping and retail practices.

The popularity of shopping as a subject for research is linked to the meteoric rise of the topic of consumption within a multitude of different disciplines, including history, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, psychology, and geography. This phenomenon has been connected to an increasing dissatisfaction with Marxist production-led explanations for historical trends. The way people shop has since been identified as a defining characteristic of historical and contemporary societies (Miller et al.). Early work in the field connected the birth of modern consumer culture with the new availability of mass-produced goods in the late eighteenth century (McKendrick et al.). Subsequent studies have given more significance to changes in shopping practices. The arrival of the department store in the late nineteenth century has been seen as a marker of modern consumer cultures (Bowlby, Rappaport), and postwar supermarkets and malls have been closely tied to understandings of contemporary consumer society (Bowlby, Campbell in Miller).

The Shopper

The identification and definition of consumer identities has been an increasingly central component of shopping studies. Drawing on the semiotic theories of postmodernists such as Jean Baudrillard, consumer identities, and shopping types have often been appropriated for source material by a range of disciplines. These figures have been seen as the embodiment of contemporary attitudes to, and anxieties about, consumption, gender, class, ethnicity, modernity, and the urbanites. This approach has been criticized for obscuring the meaning of shopping itself within these identities, as Miller et al. express, "the shopper … nearly always figures as a sign for something else." Within this work, shopping has been shown to be an important part of identity construction and performance, leading to the suggestion that within modern and postmodern consumer society, the self *was* the sum of consumption practices and goods bought. This idea of self-construction through shopping has been consistently promoted through store advertising, women's magazines, and other institutions of consumer culture. However, more specific studies have allowed shopping cultures and consumer identity to be mutually constitutive, ascribing more agency to the individual shopper, and the ability to negotiate different identities.

There has been a particular emphasis on identity within studies of Victorian consumption. For example, the Victorian London's shopping district has been revealed as home to newly confident female shoppers who used shopping to stake a claim to the city (Rappaport). This focus signals the advent of modern consumer culture, in which shopping was recognized as a meaningful practice and the consumer the key protagonist. From this point on, shops can be seen to sell "image" in addition to actual commodities, an image that was bound up with modern consumer identities. During the twentieth century, the centrality of the shopper within retail theory and its histories grew, reflecting a heightened understanding of how consumer psychology could be applied to marketing. By the late twentieth century, the consumer was acknowledged as a primary economic and cultural force in society.

The study of the female shopper has dominated the field. This relates to the conceptualization of shopping as a strongly gendered practice by contemporaries as well as by many subsequent theorists. It has been presented as an essential component of the female domestic role, interpreted as a masculine seduction of the feminine through strategies of temptation and spectacle, and more recently as a more empowering, but essentially feminine, means of engaging with urban life. Bowlby summarizes this position: "The history of shopping is largely a history of women, who have overwhelmingly been the principal shoppers both in reality and in the multifarious representations of shopping" (Bowlby, p. 7). This gender imbalance has begun to be seriously addressed in the early twenty-first century. For example, Breward has identified significant groups of male shoppers in Victorian and Edwardian London, for whom shopping for clothes was an essential component of their fashionable urban identities.

Past studies of the shopper have often overlooked the centrality of the fashionable commodities themselves, which newer work has sought to address. It is the focus of consumers' attention on the goods in the window, and on the activity of shopping, that distinguishes them from other actors in the urban scene; the *flaneur*, the tourist, the prostitute. This approach allows an understanding of the role of shopping within the identity of clothes. It acknowledges the significance of garments' nature as "searched for" and "bought."

A Typography of Shops

Specificity of time and place are important to an understanding of shopping. Particular retail formats, each with their characteristic architecture, planning, and shopping practices, have been considered emblematic of social trends within studies of consumption. Miller et al. relate how during the late 1980s and early 1990s the story of modern consumption coincided with a particular genealogy of the shop; "an accepted natural history of consumption took shape which, identifying consumption as a key characteristic of modernity, described an arc from the arcades and department stores of Paris through to the shopping malls of the United States."

Of course, shopping for clothes did not begin with the birth of modern consumer cultures. There is an older tradition of shopping, which includes drapers, tailors, and markets. The beginnings of a new approach to shop design and shopping, which emphasized luxury, spectacle, and leisure, have been identified in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century shopping gallery, for example London's Westminster Hall, and the nineteenth-century arcade, such as the Burlington Arcade adjoining Piccadilly (Walsh in Benson and Ugolini).

The huge department stores of the late nineteenth century exploited these characteristics to the full. Drawing on the model of the Parisian Bon Marché, they styled themselves as "universal providers" and offered a range of additional services from hairdressing to libraries, but drapery and ready-made garments formed a central part of their trade. The department store has been associated with the advent of modern consumer cultures, the democratization of "luxury" consumer goods, and the prominence of display. It has also been linked to the broader themes of the growth of the middle classes, urbanization, and shifts in gender definitions (Bowlby, Rappaport).

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the development of "multiples" or chain stores, which catered especially to the growing group of lower-middle-class consumers. In Britain, Marks & Spencer, C&A, and the Co-op were especially important for women's and children's wear, while multiple tailors, such as Montague Burton, targeted men (Winship in Jackson et al.). There were also more exclusive multiples such as Austin Reed menswear and Russell and Bromley shoes. The shops constituted clearly identifiable brands, through their architecture, interior design, advertising, as well as merchandise. While frequently establishing a flagship on the principal urban thoroughfares, multiples have largely been associated with the suburban and provincial high street.

The story of postwar shopping has been dominated by the development of the "shopping center" and mall, burgeoning in the interwar United States, and spreading to Europe during the 1960s (Longstreth). They have been studied intensively, and have often been interpreted as an articulation of postmodern society (Campbell in Miller). The new format was purpose-built and often privately regulated, usually enveloping both shops and a shopping street for pedestrians within a single building. Some have been located within city and town centers, replicating some of the characteristics of the department store. But they have been mainly associated with the urban fringe, dependent for business on increased levels of car ownership. A typical example in the United Kingdom is Meadow Hall, near Sheffield. Although very successful, these new shopping environments did not destroy the cultural and economic importance of the traditional high street.

Burlington Arcade, London, England. A doorman stands in London's Burlington Arcade, which was founded in the nineteenth century and emphasized luxury, spectacle, and leisure. © Bo Zaundres/Corbis. Reproduced by permission.

An associated late twentieth-century development is the retail park: a series of shopping warehouses located out of town. This period additionally saw the expansion of the big supermarkets into clothing. Their marketing has emphasized value, with the controversial provision of cut-price designer jeans, and attempts have been made to secure the services of established designers, for example George at Asda in the United Kingdom. This era has also been characterized by the internationalization of retailing. On one hand, powerful controlling interests such as Wal-Mart have developed as a result of construction of new stores. On the other, multiples such as the Gap have opened outlets in shopping thoroughfares throughout the world.

Other Ways of Shopping

Alongside these sites of consumption, secondhand clothing continued to be an important part of shopping practices. Its retail venues shifted format and location within shopping networks over time, and were historically associated with a succession of different immigrant communities, working from street markets. From the latter part of the twentieth century, buying secondhand has flourished within the charity shop, retro-clothing specialists, market stalls, and flea markets.

However, shopping has not exclusively been tied to physically located retail sites. Mail order allowed shopping to take place from the home. Sears, Roebuck and Co. spearheaded mail order in the United States, with companies such as Freemans and Kays important in the United Kingdom.

It proved consistently popular throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, often linked to credit schemes and to companies with associated retail outlets, such as the United Kingdom's "Next Directory." From the end of the twentieth century, the potential of mail-order shopping expanded exponentially with the arrival of Internet shopping, potentially posing a more serious challenge to the future viability of the traditional shop, although retail clothing stores has been less seriously affected than other sectors.

There has been an unwillingness to study shopping cultures, which were not essentially novel, however, a more integrated understanding of shopping can be gained by studying the established and declining models alongside new ones. This approach better reflects the landscape of different shops, configured in particular ways within a single main street, a shopping route, or an individual's shopping trip. It also relates more closely to the clothing bought by shoppers; within a single wardrobe a chain-store shirt hangs next to a secondhand jacket quite unproblematically, although their owner remains aware of the provenance of each.

See also **Boutique; Department Store; Mannequins; Window Displays.**

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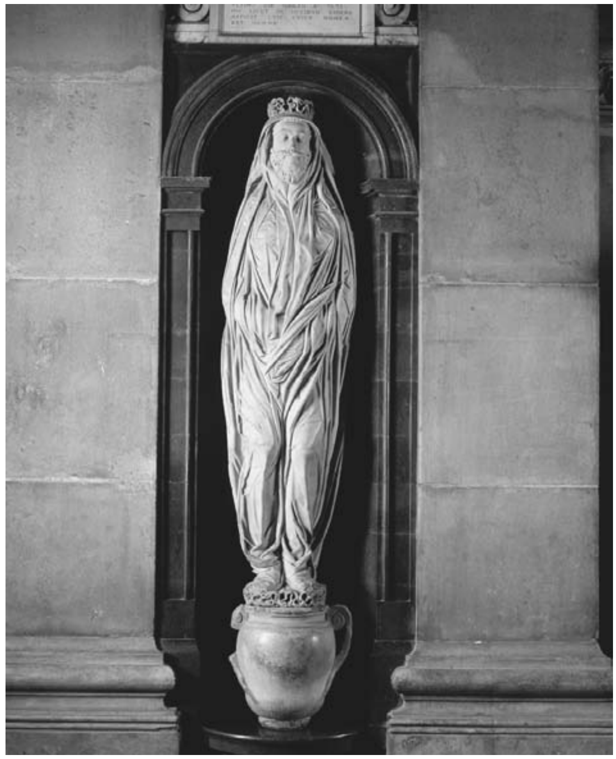
Bronwen Edwards

SHROUD The word "shroud" originated in fourteenth century England to describe the clothing used to dress or wrap a corpse prior to burial, derived from older words *scrud* meaning garment and *screade*—a piece or strip of fabric. It has since become widely used to refer to garments or coverings specifically made to dress the dead body prior to its final disposal, whether by burial or cremation. Its form generally ranges from a length of cloth to basic loose-fitting purpose-made garments. Although the word shroud can be traced back to a specific place in history, it should not be regarded as the point when burial clothing for the corpse first became used. Contemporary descriptions, archaeological accounts, and artistic depictions occasionally provide evidence of shrouds from earlier periods of history and other cultures, although examples of actual garments rarely survive intact, usually decaying along with the body they were used to dress. An early reference to shrouding can be found in biblical accounts—the New Testament describes Jesus' body wrapped in a linen sheet for burial.

Early English Shrouds

The early shroud fulfilled the function of containing the decaying corpse, while modestly covering the body. During the eleventh century, ordinary people would have clothed their dead in a loose shirt before wrapping them in a sheet, often colored rather than white, and sometimes swaddled or wound tightly with extra bands of cloth. The sixteenth-century shroud, also referred to as a winding sheet, was usually a length of linen, which was wound around the body and secured by knotting the fabric at the head and feet. Containment and ease of transporting the shrouded body was important as most people were buried without a coffin at this time. Cunnington and Lucas (1972) and Litten (1991) both provide detailed descriptions of variations of English shrouds before the twentieth century, including alternative grave clothes used for the aristocracy and royalty.

Shrouds increasingly became indicators of social status, reflected in changing designs. A Parliamentary Act was passed in 1678 to enforce burial in woolen shrouds, to promote the ailing English wool trade. A legal document had to be signed at each burial certifying that the corpse had been buried only in wool. The wealthy disregarded this, preferring to pay a fine rather than bury their dead in wool, choosing instead more expensive fabrics and trimmings made from linen, silk, lace, gold, and silver which seemed more appropriate to their social status.



Funeral effigy of John Donne. This effigy of John Donne shows the famous poet and priest wrapped in a funeral shroud. The word "shroud" refers to material used to dress a dead body prior to its final disposal.

Funeral Industry

Early shrouds were made specifically for each corpse, often by a family member. The growth of the new undertaking profession from the early eighteenth century onward, coupled with changes in textile and garment manufacture, led to an expanding range of ready-to-wear shrouds in a variety of styles, fabrics, and prices. A typical woolen shroud set at this time might have consisted of a long flannel shirt with a front opening edged in woolen lace or black thread, long sleeves with gathered wrists, a pair of gloves, a cravat, a cap or headdress, and a small square piece of cloth to cover the face.

Victorian shrouds resembled long one-piece nightgowns, white with back opening and long sleeves. The range of fabrics had expanded to include calico, cashmere, linen, muslin, poplin, satin, and silk, trimmed with ruffles, lace, or pin-tucks depending on personal choice and the gender of the corpse.

Designs available increased throughout the twentieth century, also becoming more gender-specific. Within the Western funeral industry, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States, male shrouds became described as robes, resembling dressing gowns in darker shades of paisley, satin, or suiting. Some give the appearance of a formal suit but are constructed as a one-piece garment. Ladies shrouds have become gowns, frequently styled like nightgowns in pastel shades of satin, taffeta, or printed cotton and trimmed with lace or ruffles. All are full-length, long-sleeved, and open-backed to assist the funeral director in dressing the corpse.

Religious Ritual

Religious belief frequently provides traditional guidelines for clothing the dead, using specific garments with their own significance. Shrouding the body (*kafan*) plays a central part in Islamic burial ritual, using plain white lengths of cotton for everyone, regardless of social status or wealth, although variations may occur. After washing the body, it is systematically wrapped in several unstitched pieces of cloth, three for men and five for women. One piece has a hole cut out for the head, resembling a long basic shirt, which covers the whole body.

Shrouds form a similarly crucial part in Jewish burial ritual. Simple white burial garments (*tachrichim*) are used to clothe the body regardless of gender, avoiding ostentation and emphasizing equality after death. Garments include a head covering, shirt, pants, belt, and finally a linen sheet. Fabrics generally used for the garments are white linen, cotton, or muslin and traditionally handsewn, although machine-made sets are now available.

Contemporary Alternatives

Contemporary Western society exhibits a diversity of styles in clothing for the corpse, dependent on age, gender, religious beliefs, and broader cultural background. Anecdotal evidence from within the funeral industry suggests that the use of everyday clothes is increasingly replacing shrouds, especially in the absence of cultural traditions specifying particular garments. The choice of a final outfit for the deceased becomes a meaningful act for the bereaved family or friends and presents an appropriate last memory, particularly if viewing the body. To be dressed in their own clothes signifies a heightened sense of the individual before death, illustrating aspects of personal taste and character and forming an increasingly important part of personalized funeral ceremonies from the late twentieth century onward.

A growing awareness of the environmental impact of contemporary Western burial and cremation practice is also producing alternative shrouds to those manufactured by the mainstream funeral industry. Simple biodegradable shrouds can be found within the green burial movement made from lengths of silk, wool, unbleached cotton, or linen, large enough to envelop the body.

Despite variations in shrouds both historically and cross-culturally, clothing the corpse remains a significant part of the final rite of passage in all human societies for whom clothing is important during life.

See also **Ceremonial and Festival Costumes; Mourning Dress.**

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Claire Barratt

SILK Among the oldest known textiles, silk was produced in China as early as the mid-third millennium B.C.E. The discovery that silk filament produced by silkworms could be spun into yarns and woven into textiles was later attributed to a legendary Chinese empress who was worshipped as the Patron Diety of Weaving. This account of silk's origins is purely mythical, but it perhaps demonstrates an awareness of both the antiquity of silk production and its importance to Chinese culture. Sericulture, the term used to refer to all aspects of silk production from the raising of silkworms to the spinning of yarn and weaving of cloth, was subject to state control for many centuries, and it was forbidden to export silkworms or reveal the secrets of sericulture outside China. Bolts of silk textiles, produced to standard width and length, were used in ancient China as official trade goods, and were accepted in payment of taxes. Gradually a trade also developed in silk produced for private use and commerce.

The Silk Road, along which silk fabrics were conveyed from China to elsewhere in the ancient world, holds a special place in history. Silk fabrics were sold in such places as Greece and Rome for fabulous prices. The secret of sericulture continued to be carefully protected by the Chinese authorities, but ultimately silk production spread to other places. Rulers of countries beyond China's borders often aspired to marry Chinese princesses, in part to gain access to their knowledge of sericulture. Silk production was found in Korea as early as 200 B.C.E. and in India and Japan by C.E. 300. (Wild silk was also produced as an indigenous product in India beginning in ancient times.)

According to legend, in C.E. 553, some Nestorian Christian monks returned from China to Byzantium with silkworm eggs and a knowledge of silk production; whether this story is precisely true or not, the silk industry that was transplanted to Western Asia around that time became a major contributor to the wealth of the Byzantine Empire and a source of its leadership in the production of royal and ecclesiastical garments and furnishings. By the eighth century, sericulture had spread to northern Africa, Spain, and Sicily. Spain and Sicily became famous for weaving exquisite silks in what would later become known as jacquard designs. In the early Renaissance, silk production became well established across Italy with Lucca and Florence as major centers. Lyons, France, also became the center of a major silk-producing region. Attempts to create an industry in England struggled, however.

An attempt to establish sericulture in the American colonies in the early to mid-nineteenth century failed, in part because of technical difficulties (such as diseases afflicting silkworms), and partly due to competition from cotton. Cotton was by then a major crop and cotton spinning and weaving were important industries, better suited than silk to the climate and industrial base of the United States. Over time, silk fiber production also failed or became uneconomical everywhere in Europe, leaving China, Japan, India and Thailand as the major sources of silk fiber in the world. Italy and France continue to produce high-quality silk textiles from imported fibers. Silk textiles are also produced in commercial quantities in China, Thailand, India, and some other Asian countries. While silk accounts for only .2 percent of the global textile fiber market, raw silk is valued at about 20 times the unit price of raw cotton. Demand remains strong, and the value of this historically luxury fiber remains high, though the price varies with supply and demand, as with all commodities. Environmental stresses may be a limiting factor in silk production in the future, which would reduce supply and increase price.

Sericulture

Like wool, silk is a natural protein fiber. The larvae of the *Bombyx mori* moth, commonly known as silkworms, extrude silk fibers to form their cocoons and simultaneously secrete a gummy coating known as sericin. There are basically two kinds of silk: wild silk and cultivated silk. In both cases, silk is produced when silk moths lay eggs that hatch into caterpillars that eat either mulberry or oak leaves and then spin their cocoons, resulting in silk fibers. Spinning the cocoon takes about a month of the larva's life and yields about a mile of silk fiber, which can be spun into as much as 1,000 yards of silk yarn. Wild silkworms feed on oak leaves. Wild silk is harvested by picking cocoons left behind when the moths break free. This can result in a short and uneven staple fiber often labeled Tussah silk. Raw and Tussah silks are used in fabrics that have a more textured appearance than typical cultivated silk.

The majority of silk comes from a more controlled production process, known as sericulture, that extends over all stages of production, from the moths selected to lay eggs, to identification of the healthiest silkworms, to harvesting and processing of the best quality cocoons. Domestic silkworms are fed mulberry leaves. A selection of moths deemed the best breeding stock are allowed to break through the cocoons and become part of the next cycle of silk production. A majority of larvae are killed with dry heat to prevent the moth from breaking open the cocoons and thus retain the long natural filament characteristic of silk.

After soaking whole, unbroken cocoons in warm water to soften the gummy sericin secretion on the silk, a hand operation known as *reeling* combines the filaments from approximately four cocoons into one uniform filament yarn that is wound onto a reel. Reeled filaments are twisted together in a process known as *throwing.* Outer layers often yield broken yarns that are diverted to production of spun silk, also known as silk noil. If silk is left as raw silk (silk-in-the-gum), the sericin is not removed. However, most cultivated silk is *degummed* through use of a soap solution that dissolves the sericin and produces very smooth, uniform yarns. *Scouring* and *bleaching* may be necessary to get silk white enough for white or pale colors. This causes loss of weight. *Weighting* with metallic salts such as tin may be used to replace the weight. This practice has been found to diminish the strength and durability of silk fabrics and is required to be disclosed on the label. *Dyeing* is done at the yarn or at the fabric level. Some noteworthy aesthetic finishes demonstrate ways silk can be modified. *Sandwashing* silks produces a more faded, casual fabric that is washable. *Sueded silk* is a further processing of washable silks with alkali to pit the surface and raise a slight nap. *Moiré calendaring* creates a watermarked effect on silk taffeta and faille fabrics. The process combines an etched roller, heat and pressure to flatten ribs into the watermarked pattern called moiré.

Silkworm cocoons. A Japanese girl examines silkworm cocoons with the help of an illuminated table. © HORACE BRISTOL/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

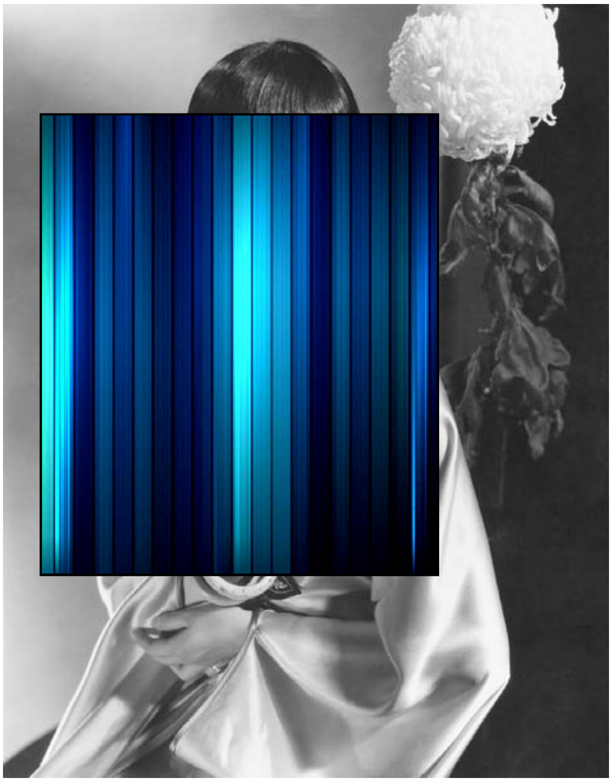
Characteristics of Silk Textiles

Most silk cloth is made from cultivated and degummed smooth filament and therefore displays the smooth, lustrous qualities associated with the concept "silky." Silk textiles vary from very soft and fluid satins and crepes to extremely stiff and bouffant taffetas and organzas and sumptuous silk velvet. Interior furnishing textiles often produced in silk include ottoman, bengaline, repp, and tapestry.

Duppioni silk is made from the fibers of twinned cocoons growing together; the resulting thick and thin yarns are used to best advantage in a textured, linen-like fabric called shantung. Wild silk and silk noil are spun yarns that often have sericin left in the fiber, resulting in fabrics with the appearance of a rough linen and a soft, somewhat gummy feel.

Examined microscopically, cultivated silk fibers have a triangular cross-sectional shape that contributes to a soft, deep, luster and smooth feel typical of silk. Silk has long been considered the ultimate in luxurious feel on the skin. Many synthetic fibers are engineered to emulate the look and feel of silk. Raw silk fibers are more ribbon-like, with a nearly rectangular cross-sectional shape so textiles are not as lustrous or as smooth. With removal of sericin, cultivated silk is almost white while raw and wild silk range from tan to light brown.

As a protein fiber, silk is somewhat warm and very absorbent. Silk can absorb 30 percent of its weight, and dries quickly. Since it is fairly lightweight and typically smooth, silk is often more comfortable than wool for next-to-the-skin apparel or furnishings. Like wool, silk bonds with dyes and supports a wide range of long-lasting colors. In filament form, silk is the strongest natural fiber with greater durability than cotton and fine wools. Silk has a natural elasticity that allows 20 percent elongation. Since silk is subject to water spotting and perspiration stains, silk is often dry-cleaned to avoid potential detergent and bleach damage. Silk resists dirt but can be damaged by perspiration if not cleaned often enough. Silk can also be damaged by prolonged exposure to sunlight. Filament silks wrinkle less than spun silks; both must be ironed with moderate, moist heat to avoid damage. Though resistant to fire, mildew, and moths, silk is eaten by carpet beetles.



Silk lounging robe. Actress Anna May Wong in an embroidered Chinese lounging robe made of silk satin. Silk was first cultivated in China and continues to be associated with that country. © CONDÉ NAST ARCHIVE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Silk in Fashion

Silk has historically been a prestige fiber associated with high status. In ancient China it was proverbial that members of the upper classes wore silk, while commoners wore garments of hempen cloth. With the advent of silk exportation, there was such demand in Damascus and Rome that only the very wealthy could afford it. Silk was reserved for special events such as festivals, weddings, and other celebrations, and silk wall hangings and carpet were symbols of great wealth and privilege. In the eighteenth century, the clothing of the rich was often made of silk, and as fashion designers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries continued to produce garments for a wealthy clientele, fashion tended to perpetrate silk's aura of luxury and prestige. More recently, businesspeople "dressing for success" have considered silk shirts, blouses, dresses, and raw silk suiting to be classic indicators of prestige.

By the 1930s, synthetic fibers were developed to give the look of silk at an affordable price. With the wartime decline of the silk industries in China and Japan, nylon took over most of the market for silk stockings, and "nylons" became commonly available. Acetate was routinely substituted for silk in prom dresses and wedding attire. Polyester, particularly microfiber, has been the most successful artificial fiber in emulating the look and sometimes almost the feel of silk at an affordable price.

By the 1990s fashion embraced silk as a fiber that should be available to most people. Silk was reinterpreted as a textile appropriate not only for special events but also for casual, everyday wear. Very important to this expansion in silk was the creation of washable silks with a somewhat faded look and sueded silks that were closer to the aesthetic of cotton. Washable silk was also discovered in home textiles for fabulous sheets, bed coverings, table coverings, and upholstery. Silk even became adopted in sportswear as people discovered that silk underwear was warm and non-itching. Raw silk also became popular for linen-like summer attire. Silk was rediscovered not only for its beautiful fabrics, but for its great comfort and affordable price (as increased production of fiber and improved processing techniques have lowered the cost of silk). Meanwhile, the growth of the craft movement and interest in wearable art has put another kind of focus on silk as a fiber that easily lends itself to creating art that is also apparel.

Common Silk Textile Uses

Silk is used primarily in apparel and interiors. The range of apparel extends from special occasion costumes to casual T-shirts and silk underwear. Considerable demand for silk for use in wearable art and craft designs has fostered development of catalog and web sourcing for silk, a textile that has become hard to find at the retail level as specialty, high-quality fabric stores have become less common throughout the country. Interior textiles are primarily upholstery, wall hangings, carpets, hand-made rugs, and sometimes wild silk wall coverings treasured for their texture. Silk flowers and plants hold a special place among interior accessories. Recently, there has been a growing demand for silk liners for sleeping bags, silk blankets and sheets. Silk is found in medical products such as dental floss, braces, and surgical sutures, prosthetic arteries, and bandages. Often wigs are made of silk. Silk is also used to make tennis racket strings, fishing lines, parachutes, and hot-air balloons. Remarkably, silk has a number of industrial uses as well, including as crosshairs in optical instruments, as a component of electrical insulation, and even as an ingredients in facial power and cream. Silk was even used in the nose cone of the Concorde jet. Nevertheless, the primary contemporary use for silk is as a fashion textile, continuing a tradition that has lasted for thousands of years.

See also **Fibers; Textiles, Chinese; Wool.**

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Carol J. Salusso

SIMMEL, GEORG The German sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel was born in Berlin on 1 March 1858 to assimilated Jewish parents. Between 1876 and 1881 Simmel studied history and philosophy in Berlin. His doctoral thesis (1881) and post-doctoral dissertation (1885) both dealt with Immanual Kant. His rhetorical gift proved to be successful with academic and nonacademic audiences alike, and his lectures became social events. In 1890 he married the writer Gertrud Kinel. A year later they had their only son, Hans. In 1894 he published the essay "The Problem of Sociology," which inaugurated a separate social science. Simmel and his wife were at the center of cultural circles in Berlin; their friends included the poets Rainer Maria Rilke and Stefan George as well as the sculptor Auguste Rodin. In 1903 his essay "The Metropolis and Mental Life" constituted an early study of urban modernity. Latent anti-Semitism, reservations about the academic validity of sociological studies, and envy of Simmel's social popularity hindered his professional progress in Berlin, and in 1914 he accepted a call to the university in Strasbourg, where he died on 26 September 1918.

Simmel's discussion of fashion, significant for its early date within academic discourse, its conceptual rigor, as well as its metaphysical breadth are defined by his simultaneous adherence to philosophical tradition and the formation of a sociological methodology. Accordingly, he viewed fashion both as an abstract concept that generates and influences cultural perception and as a defining factor in social and interpersonal relations. Simmel's beginnings as a neo-Kantian philosopher prepared his view of cognition as a biological process of adaptation by human beings to their environment, a view which is not only situated in a scientific (neo-Darwinian) discourse but also extended to culture—intellectual as well as sensory—within a contemporary (modern and urban) environment. Simmel defined the truth within expressions of reality pragmatically through its appropriateness for living practice. This led him to the emerging discipline of sociology, which developed the ground for direct application of such concepts to sociopolitical existence. His precursors herein were Auguste Comte, Herbert Spencer, and Gabriel Tarde, and among his contemporaries were Ferdinand Tönnies, Werner Sombart, Émile Durkheim, and Marcel Mauss.

Early Investigations

The methodological mix of metaphysics, economics, and social theory generated for Simmel an interest in fashion, which he viewed as a theoretical and material field of investigation that offered space for emphatic, almost literary, evocations of clothing but also for a formal description of (dress) codes as visual and structural primers for social groups and settings. He began to investigate the topic in an 1895 essay titled "Zur Psychologie der Mode" (On the psychology of fashion). In this essay, Kantian heritage accounts for a philosophical focus on the subject-object relation. Simmel asks where cognition is founded, in the objects of cognition or in the cognitive subject itself. He applies the question to fashion: Is cognition founded in the clothes we choose to wear, or is it the human mind that chooses the clothes? In this, his first essay about fashion, cognition and self-awareness are regarded as creative achievements of the subject, aided by guidelines extracted from the conglomerate of experience.

In his book *The Philosophy of Money*, Simmel returned to the progressive division of subject and object in modernity, this time applying socioeconomic criteria. In this work Simmel devotes a telling passage to fashion, describing how "the radical opposition between subject and object has been reconciled in theory by making the object part of the subject's perception," partly through a practice that produces the object by a single subject for a single subject. In modernity, mass production—with its division of labor—renders such reconciliation impossible. The analogy that Simmel draws here is "the difference … between the modern clothing store, geared towards utmost specialisation, and the work of the tailor whom one used to invite into one's home" (Simmel, p. 457). The example is indicative of Simmel's approach. Not only does the object of fashion—more than any other object of consumption that must remain at a distance from the body—allow for an introduction of sensuality and haptic experience within theory, but it also applies abstract concepts directly to corporeality. In discussing the production and consumption of fashion, Simmel leads the reader directly back to his or her own experience as a wearer of clothes and as a modern consumer, thus generating an important link to personal experience that coined contemporary philosophy (Simmel's subsequent term *Lebensphilosophie* [metaphysics of existence] would follow French philosopher Henri-Louis Bergson's *élan vital*, or nature's creative impulse).

In 1904–1905 two extended essays by Simmel were published—one in English under the simple heading "Fashion" and one in German titled "Philosophie der Mode" (Philosophy of fashion). They share a similar structure, but the former set an empiricist or rationalist tone that would determine Simmel's reception in Anglo-Saxon social sciences as a formal sociologist and precursor to the Chicago school of empiricist, urban sociology.

Akin to set theory, Simmel describes in his sociology the developmental process of social differentiation as a confluence of the homogeneous segments of heterogeneous circles. In modern (especially urban) culture both psychological and social differentiation are geared to minimizing physical friction and channeling the energy of personal collisions into dynamic movement as an economic principle (e.g., competition). Fashion exemplifies this process acutely. The complex mix within modern dressing between invention and imitation, between socially sanctioned conformity for societal survival and necessary independence for personal gratification and the formation of the self (even cognition), is found in all clothing rituals and codification. The abstract and generalized tone with which fashion is debated makes Simmel's analyses still pertinent in the twenty-first century, because he eschewed historicity, romanticism, or concreteness vis-à-vis sartorial styles.

Key Observations about Fashion

Two sets of his observations, in particular, render fashion a generic model both for the recognition of societal procedures and a phenomenology of modernity itself. The first is the import of fashion by strangers from outside a given set or circle. Here the term "role-playing," which would become so significant for modern sociology, is prefigured. In his essays Simmel analyzes how a style or appearance of dress undergoes a developmental process of rejection to acceptance. "Because of their external origin," he wrote in 1904, "these imported fashions create a special and significant form of socialization, which arises through mutual relation to a point without the circle. It sometimes appears as though social elements, just like the axes of vision, converge best at a point that is not too near.… Paris modes are frequently created with the sole intention of setting a fashion elsewhere" (Simmel; 1904, p. 136). The methodological move from anthropology to economics here is characteristic for the formation of early social theory. Also, the strong interest in temporal structures (partly influenced through Bergson's *durée*, the natural milieu of a person's "deep self, or the true foundation of one's spiritual identity") and accelerated rhythm of modernity leads Simmel to a contemplation of sartorial transitoriness.

In the last of his four essays on fashion, "Die Mode" (Fashion, 1911), he explains how wider acceptance and distribution of a fashion herald its demise, since a widely accepted dress code no longer poses to the individual a challenge that is associated with the constitutive process of fractious assimilation. Accordingly, a novel form or style of clothing needs to be introduced to generate anew the dualities of innovation and imitation, social separation and inclusion. As soon as fashion manages to determine the totality of a group's appearance—which has to be its ultimate creative and economic aim—fashion will, owing to the logical contradiction inherent in its characteristics, die and become replaced. And the more subjective and individualized a style of clothing is, the quicker it perishes. For Simmel, this transitory character of fashion remains its essence and elevates its material objects to transhistorical significance. "The question of fashion is not 'to be or not to be'," he concluded in 1911, ". . . but it always stands on the watershed between past and future" (Simmel: 1911, p. 41).

See also **Benjamin, Walter; Fashion, Theories of.**

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Ulrich Lehmann

SKATING DRESS Although skating is an activity that takes many forms—each with its unique clothing requirements—ice-skating, and specifically figure skating, provides the most prominent image of the skating dress. Figure skating is an athletic and expressive sport. Whether skating recreationally on a frozen-over outdoor pond or as a competitor with a rigorous daily training schedule on an indoor rink, clothing plays a major role in enhancing the experience.

The movements involved in figure skating engage the entire body. The motion and flow across the ice requires smooth actions of the arms and legs along with powerful gliding strokes, quick turns and rotations, explosive jumps, and fast footwork. The clothing that the skater wears can enhance these movements while at the same time allowing the skater to maintain a comfortable temperature while moving efficiently and without distraction. This blend of aesthetic and functional possibilities of dress mix in action to become almost one with the skater, the result being a total athletic and artistic expression.

Beginning with the functional requirements, the regulation of body temperature is primary. Skaters start a workout by wearing layers, shedding sweaters or jackets as they warm up, and donning them again as they cool down. The ability to move freely is key to performance. Therefore, outfits are close to the body, allowing for movement without the garments getting in the way of action. Women typically wear tights or snug pants that protect the legs from abrasions during falls. Many wear short skirts or dresses, and long-sleeved tops with plenty of stretch. Men wear close-fitting pants and shirts. The skates (boots and blades) are usually white for women and black for men. Laces keep the boot securely fitted to the foot and the ankle supported, yet allowing for bend and movement. Accessories are minimally worn so as to not interfere with fast moves or get caught or tangled in hair or garments. Gloves provide extra warmth and protection, and hats or headbands warm the head and secure the hair.

The aesthetic component of skating dress at best enhances the sensation of movement, while connecting the overall visual effect to the music and theme of the skater's performance. Competition clothing is much dressier and showier than everyday practice dress. The possibilities are almost endless, given the intended expressive results. Sequins, rhinestones, jewels, and shiny textures reflect light and add excitement and elegance. Flowing, lightweight fabrics lift and float as they move across the ice with the skater. The placement of embellishments actively draws the eye to various locations on the body, whether centered in predictable neckline and skirt edging or along sleeves or pants to enhance arm and leg extensions. Sometimes the visual activity in a costume can overtake the overall impression, almost negating the skater, and at other times, subtle highlights in dress put the skater's body as the primary point of attraction. The most exquisite outcome occurs when the skater's body and the dress work together to form action and visual effect, one enhancing the other within the context of the performance.

Behind aesthetic and performance possibilities are major advances in fabric technology. The functional requirements of movement and comfort have been greatly enhanced by the development of fabrics with stretch. Prior to the development of elastine fibers, particularly Lycra, skaters' ensembles were limited to nonstretch fabrics, or bulky knits with limited range and recovery. This meant that movement potential was designed into garments by placing gussets (small patches of fabric joining garment sections, such as at the armpit) so that the arm could move above the shoulder without the sleeve lifting the rest of the garment.

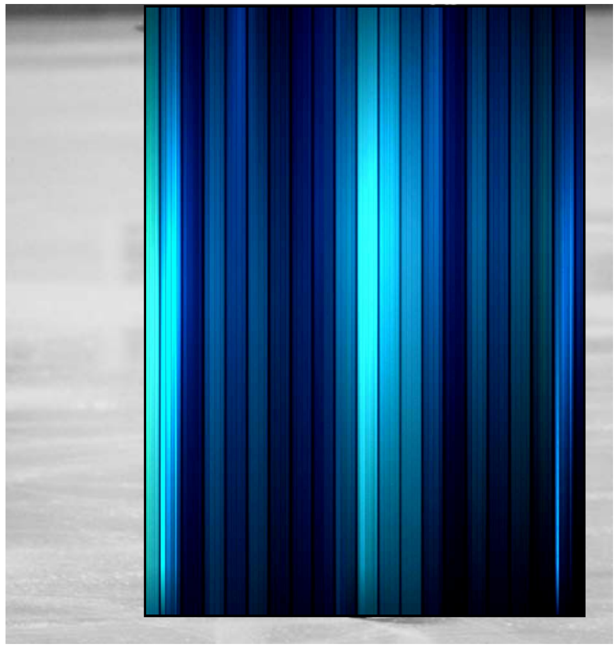

Figure skater Oksana Baiul. Gold-medal winner Oksana Baiul, of Ukraine, during the figure skating competition at the 1994 Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, France. The outfits of competitive skaters like Baiul are designed for freedom of movement and artistic effect. GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

As more fiber combinations became possible, skaters were no longer limited to pleats, gores, drape, and gathers to provide shape and fullness. Layers of lightweight novelty fabrics rich with embellishments can create theatrical aesthetic effects without the heavy structural constraint of days past. Adding to the design possibilities is a sheer mesh fabric that can "bare" the skin and support sparkles and trims. Now skating costumes can be created to cover the body strategically, and still stay on and function with extreme movement demands. The possibilities are unlimited.

Skating dress has evolved to reflect the spirit of the times as well as dress regulations of everyday fashion. In the early twentieth century, skirts were worn to the top of the skate, reflecting the modesty practice of women not showing their legs despite the movement restrictions. As women's status advanced and their place in sport widened, skirts became shorter and necklines lower. Although this is a simplified observation, along with other forms of athletic apparel (for gymnasts and dancers), skating dress evolved to allow the body to be more primary in viewing and in action potential. Dress now supports and enhances women as athletes. Men had traditionally been in the background, relative to skating dress. Instead of a "flashy" presence in competitions, men mostly wore outfits that resembled suits that had limited decoration. As with women's dress, men's dress has since evolved along with attitudes toward gender roles. Now male skaters often wear costumes that are every bit as showy and elaborate as women's dress.

Because skating is a popular spectator sport, skaters in the spotlight have been behind many fashion trends. Dorothy Hamill and her bobbed hair is an example of this. The elegance and excitement of skating dress in major competitions is awaited by some people with the same anticipation commonly seen on Oscar night in Hollywood. Although the form of the dress is unique to skating, the colors, textures, and surface embellishments, often inspire and follow fashions in other environments

Skating dress is at best a synergy of artistry, comfort, and movement. It is a part of a total experience, reflecting athleticism and cultural expression.

See also **Activewear; Sportswear.**

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Janet Hethorn

SKI CLOTHING During the nineteenth century, enthusiasts and explorers helped transform skiing from a practical activity into a sophisticated sport. Along with its growing popularity came progress in equipment and clothing to protect the body from mountain extremes. Experienced skiers realized the importance of layering, which enabled them to take off or put on clothing as required, tailoring what they were wearing to the activity level. The layers comprised lightweight long underwear and stockings, sweater, socks, gloves, and a weatherproof coat and breeches. Long skirts were inappropriate for the rigors of skiing, so by 1910, the only difference between male and female skiwear was a knee-length skirt worn over knickerbockers. Burberry gabardine was recognized as the most suitable fabric for jackets and breeches as its proofed cotton threads, dense weave, and smooth surface provided a barrier to the wind and snow. Unlike earlier rubberized and waxed jackets it was also breathable.

Uniforms worn during World War I had an impact on skiwear. By 1920 outfits based on tunics and breeches worn by the British Land Girls (a volunteer corps of agricultural workers known as the "Women's Land Army" that substituted for men who had enlisted during the war) began to appear. More relaxed attitudes toward fashion made it easier for women to wear this type of clothing without fear of criticism. Sportswear manufacturing companies also incorporated practical elements from male military uniform into their designs, such as buttoned top pockets. During the 1920s trousers rapidly became an accepted form of clothing, and the women's skiing outfit signalled a dress equality less evident back home, where trousers were still taboo for most activities.

Development

The growth of ski tourism and the first winter Olympics in 1924 encouraged manufacturers to specialize in skiwear and create weatherproof yet fashionable outfits. Companies such as Drecoll, Burberry, Lillywhites, and Aquascutum and fashion designers including Patou, Lanvin, and Regny produced trouser suits in a wide range of colors, combining practicality with elegance. The main technical advances were in design features such as zip fastenings, which were more effective at sealing openings on trousers, jackets and pockets than buttons or laces. By the early 1930s, short jackets inspired by pilots' uniforms, and full "Norwegian" trousers were fashionable for men and women. These loose-fitting garments allowed greater freedom of movement and a more casual style to prevail.

During the 1930s the mechanization of the ski industry in the form of rope tows and ski lifts started to impact the design of ski outfits. The shift from mountain touring to downhill skiing demanded a different design of clothing. Fashion gradually shifted away from baggy styles to shaped trousers that followed the streamlined look of ski racers and were better suited to the new skiing techniques.

Equipping the forces during World War II led to the manufacture of high quality outdoor clothing, including skiwear. Developments in synthetic fibers and polymers for the mountaineering troops brought about improvements in materials for ski clothing. Nylon was used in the outer shell of stylish parkas and synthetic quilted linings were added for extra warmth. Stretch nylon pants suited the streamlined look of 1950s' skiwear perfectly, emphasizing the fashionable curve of the hips and a narrow waist. They could be teamed up with colorful mohair sweaters for after skiing or worn as slacks at home. Specialist manufacturers and a new generation of fashion designers such as Balmain and Pucci capitalized on these styles, creating fashionable yet functional clothing.

In 1959 the arrival of spandex heralded another revolution in ski clothing. This elastomeric fiber was com-

"The ski outfit that one puts on in the morning is the same as that which one wears until dinner. One of the most surprising aspects of St. Moritz is this contrast between the . . . luxury of hotels and the casual appearance which the winter sports costume gives to the guests."

Vogue, 1 December 1926 (Paris: Editions Condé Nast): 9.

bined with other synthetic fibers or wool to allow greater stretch than nylon plus instant recovery. Skiwear could now stretch with the wearer and retain its shape. Spandex was ideal for ski racing outfits, allowing greater freedom of movement and aerodynamic qualities. Inspired by events such as the Olympic games, Pucci, Hermès, and Dior featured tight stretch ski pants and curvaceous all-in-one suits in their 1960s' collections. Experts, however, advised looser versions for recreational skiing that, when combined with turtlenecks, functioned for social occasions and other outdoor activities.

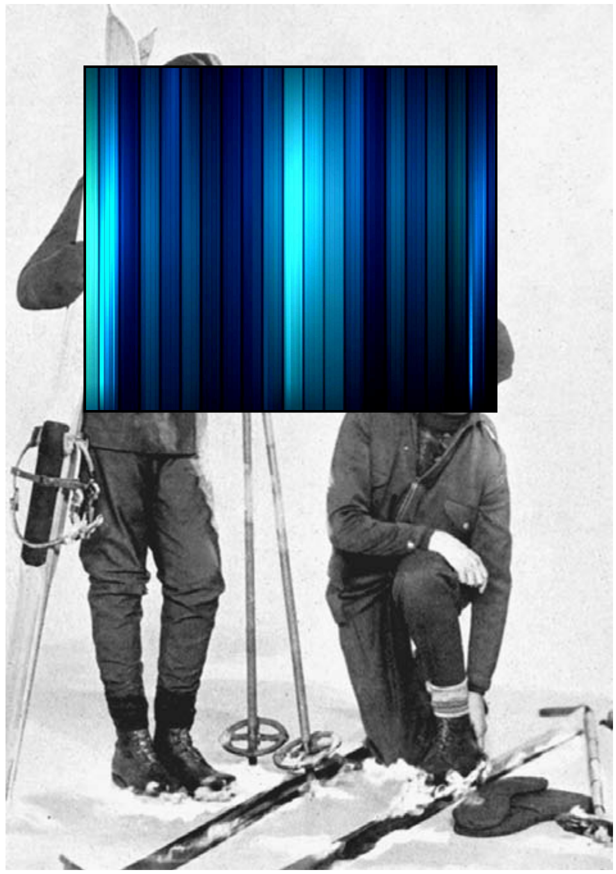
Technology

In the 1970s growing numbers of companies such as Killy, Lange, and Berghaus started to provide specialist clothing, and a kaleidoscope of designs evolved to suit all tastes and levels of skier. Wider-legged, over-the-boot pants created a more relaxed look in tune with mainstream fashion and quilted down-filled jackets were versatile additions to the skiing wardrobe. V. de V. and de Castelbajac created flamboyant designs in authentic ski clothing while warm-up suits worn by ski racers were translated into fashionable styles. Novelty fabrics such as fake fur, vinyls, and metallics were used for parkas, and ski outfits in psychedelic color combinations had a safety as well as aesthetic appeal. Ponchos and capes were popular for après-ski and "space-age" moon boots walked their way into the fashion scene.

There were also significant developments in technology. In 1969, plastic molded boots replaced the traditional leather footwear, giving the skier greater control over the skis. Plastic coatings were introduced onto ski garments to keep out moisture, but although waterproof, they led to a buildup of condensation inside. Introduced in 1976, Gore-Tex fabric revolutionized outdoor wear by allowing perspiration to escape while keeping water out. It was developed for ski clothing in collaboration with Berghaus, and soon other companies were promoting their own versions. The development of circular knit brushed fleece in the late 1970s also transformed skiwear. Made of lightweight, warm, and quick-drying polyester filaments, it made layering garments as a means to keep warm easy and became a staple in casual outerwear.

Innovation

As the latest technologies were incorporated into skiwear, leading brands faced fierce competition to market a new wonder fiber or design feature. During the 1980s branding with logos became increasingly common, and the choice of clothing was almost bewildering. Fashion was also of prime importance and manufacturers such as Killy, Luhta, Head, Elho, and Ocean Pacific styled their outfits to complement the latest trends. Fluorescent colors, soft pastel shades, and striking abstract and animal designs were all featured. A casual "winter surf" look emerged among young winter sports enthusiasts. One-piece suits were often zipped at the waist for more versatility, and bib pants (known as salopettes in the United Kingdom) became an increasingly important component of the jacket-and-pants combination. The popularity of sportswear for leisurewear also meant that ski pants and quilted jackets made their way into the high street.



Two women model ski clothing, 1929. During the 1920s, trousers became a rapidly accepted form of women's ski clothing, an equality in clothing that was not reflected in attire outside of the sport. PUBLIC DOMAIN.

In the new millennium, the booming snowboarding industry and rise of extreme winter sports have encouraged skiwear manufacturers to emphasize innovation. Fabrics with ever increasing property and performance tolerances such as "soft shell" constructions with welded waterproof zips, jackets with inflatable insulating air pockets, and seam-free underwear promise to transform the skiing experience. The increasing use of helmets and the incorporation of body armor into skiwear, including back protectors and built-in lumbar supports, have improved safety on the slopes. Competition has also encouraged manufacturers to diversify, focusing on specific "looks" for different styles of skiing and ensuring that more components of the outfit than ever before can be worn on or off the slopes.

See also **Sportswear.**

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Lucy Johnston

SKIRT The skirt, the lower part of a gown or robe that covers the wearer from waist downward, has been called "the simplest and most obvious of garments" by John Flügel (p. 35). He theorized that "tropical" skirts, which developed as a class of clothing distinct from "arctic" bifurcated forms, had certain advantages: "Instead of being supported on just two legs with nothing but thin air between them, a skirted human being assumes much more ample and voluminous proportions . . . often with great increase of dignity" (p. 35).

In Western culture, both genders long exploited the skirt's inherent characteristics, but since the sixteenth century a true skirt has not been a feature of standard masculine dress (if, with Anne Hollander [1994], one excepts the male kilt as a survival of drapery). The skirt separated from the dress bodice in the early sixteenth century; shortly thereafter "skirt" became synonymous with a woman, at first as standard English and then as slang in the nineteenth century. The skirt had become the defining female garment.

For several centuries feminine skirts were often very full, worn over petticoats, and sometimes supported by understructures and lengthened with trains. According to Hollander, shrouded legs visually confused rather than explained the structure of the female body. An inherent dichotomy was imagined between women's mysterious skirted forms—that included no type of bifurcated garment, not even as underwear—and tightly garbed trousered males, as illustrated by the furor over the Bloomer fashion of the 1850s.

While expansive and expensive skirts of previous eras may have demonstrated women's abstinence from productive employment, the slimmer line of the early twentieth century was restrictive in other ways, culminating in the "hobble skirt" of about 1910. Mobility, however, triumphed in the 1920s as skirts shortened to reveal women's legs. A new statement in the continuous dialogue between modesty and sexual attractiveness, the shortened skirt was, Hollander believes, "the most original modern contribution to feminine fashion accomplished without recourse to the standard male vocabulary" (p. 146).

For much of the rest of the twentieth century, hemlines served as the primary indicator of fashionability, alternating higher and lower, from extravagantly long New Look skirts to scanty miniskirts and "micro-minis." To explain seemingly quixotic hemlines, inventive (if unsubstantiated) theories linked short skirts with high stock prices. By the 1970s pants increasingly comprised an accepted part of women's wardrobes. In *The Woman's Dress for Success Book*, however, John T. Molloy, advised businesswomen to avoid what he called the "imitation man look," by wearing skirted suits with the hem length fixed at slightly below the knee, thus "taking a major step toward liberation from the fashion industry" (p. 51). Since that time, however, the array of feminine skirts has only gotten more eclectic—slit, tight, see-through, or full in any length from floor to crotch. Short skirts remain a way to attract attention, whether admiring or outraged. Flaunting legs under an abbreviated skirt has been interpreted as a form of feminine empowerment.

Wearing a skirt has become a choice for women, and since the 1990s even a rare and provocative masculine sub-fashion. Yet the tenacity of this garment as a female signifier is evidenced by standardized international gender symbols: with no innate anatomical basis for the skirt of one figure, cultural conditioning makes her femininity instantly indisputable.

See also **Bloomer Costume; Crinoline; Miniskirt.**

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H. Kristina Haugland

SKIRT SUPPORTS The skirt, for centuries the defining feminine garment in Western fashion, can be expanded to increase the wearer's apparent size and thereby her importance and dignity. Skirts are often given volume by cloth petticoats, but stiffer structures are more effective and may be lighter and more comfortable; when exaggerated, however, these supports can become amazingly encumbering. Skirts have been supported at the back by bustles, while extended skirt circumferences have been produced by farthingales in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, *paniers* in the eighteenth century, and crinolines or hoop skirts in the mid-nineteenth century.

Around 1470, fashionable Spanish women began to hold their skirts out with bands of heavy cord or rope in casings on the outside of their skirts. From this, a separate hooped underskirt developed that abstracted a woman's legs into a seemingly motionless cone shape. By the 1540s this fashion had spread to other countries, including England, where it was known as the verdingale or farthingale, derived from the Spanish *verdugo*, a type of flexible twig also used as hoops for skirts. This conical skirt, called the Spanish farthingale, stiffened with whalebone, wire, or other material, became very wide in the early 1580s. About his time, women's hips began to be augmented by padded rolls, altering the skirt silhouette into a shape termed the French farthingale. By the 1590s, French farthingales could take the form of a wheel or drum that held the skirt out from the waist at right angles. Exclusive to the upper classes, these supports magnificently displayed rich, heavy skirt fabric, which, as authority Janet Arnold shows, was fit in place by a servant who pinned in a horizontal fold to form a ruff-like flounce at the top of the skirt. Farthingales began to go out of fashion in England in the late 1610s, but the style lasted somewhat longer in France, and as Spanish court dress it continued into the 1660s.

The wish to distend the skirt returned in the early eighteenth century. By about 1710, fashionable skirts were supported by devices called hoop-petticoats or hoops in England and *paniers* (baskets) in France. These structures were at first dome-shaped, but by mid-century were usually flattened front to back into an oval or took the form of separate side or "pocket" hoops; they were typically of stiff fabric reinforced by hoops of whalebone, wood, or cane, but could be open frameworks of metal or other material. Hoops were usually modestly sized for informal wear, but often reached over six feet from side to side for formal occasions, necessitating some skillful maneuvering such as going sideways through doors. While large hoops were labeled monstrous by some, others believed they gave women elegance and grace, and ensured each was physically distinct. Extreme hoop-petticoats also distinguished the elite who wore them, functioning, according to Henry Fielding, as an "Article of Distinction" between classes.

Although they were going out of style by the 1770s, large *paniers* continued to be *de rigueur* at the French court until the revolution of 1789. Just as the earlier farthingale had fossilized as Spanish court dress, side hoops were retained until 1820 at the English court, worn anachronistically with high-waisted neo-classical dresses. Skirt supports may have been intended to bestow dignity and grace, but the result was sometimes antithetical: in *The Art of Dress* (p. 123), Aileen Ribeiro cites an early nineteenth century observation that a behooped lady stuffed into a sedan chair "does not ill resemble a foetus of a hippopotamus in its brandy bottle."

See also **Bustle; Crinoline; Skirt.**

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H. Kristina Haugland

SLIP Petticoats or underskirts have been used for centuries to support the various shapes of the skirt, add warmth, and protect outer garments. Since the seventeenth century the word slip was occasionally used for certain garments worn under sheer dresses, but the forerunner of the modern slip originated in the late nineteenth century, when the petticoat was combined with a chemise or corset cover to form a one-piece, fitted, sleeveless undergarment. Because this garment used a princess cut, which shaped the bodice and skirt by vertical seaming, it was called a "princess petticoat" or "princess slip." In the early twentieth century, it came to be called a costume slip, and then merely a slip.

As an underdress or underskirt, a slip provides a middle layer that mediates between underwear and outerwear. Among its functions, a slip can make transparent garments more modest and eliminate rubbing and unsightly clinging. Originally slips were of daintily trimmed cotton or occasionally of silk, although by the 1920s rayon was widely used. The straight-cut tubes of that period gave way to more fitted slips that accentuated the figure. In the mid-twentieth century, newly invented nylon was preferred since it was washable, drip dry, required no ironing, and was also inexpensive and colorfast. Advertisements stressed that slips were durable, shadow-proof, and cut to never embarrassingly ride up. Good taste demanded that a slip be long enough—ideally exactly one inch shorter than the outer garment—but *never* show at the hem. For all their opaque respectability, slips were molded to the contour of the body, often daintily decorated, and ordinarily hidden from view, giving them a certain eroticism. Films and publicity photographs of stars and starlets of the time exploited the allure of the slip, most famously on Elizabeth Taylor in the 1958 film version of Tennessee Williams's *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof.*

With the general reduction of underwear in the 1960s some full slips incorporated bras while half-slips, bright colors, and patterns became increasingly popular.

As skirt hems rose, slip lengths shortened, but they remained provocative garments. In 1962 Helen Gurley Brown's *Sex and the Single Girl* advised would-be flirts that showing a bit of lovely lingerie is sexy, citing a girl whose "beautiful half-slips (she has them in ten colors) always peek-a-boo a bit beneath her short sheath skirts when she sits down" (p. 78). Nevertheless, in the following decades slips came to be associated with prudish and frumpy older women. A candid photograph from 1980 caught Lady Diana Spencer, the shy young fiancée of the Prince of Wales, in a lightweight skirt against the sun, revealing the outline of her legs and her relinquishment of this once mandatory undergarment.

The slip, however, was reborn as a result of the "underwear as outerwear" phenomenon of the early 1990s. The "slip dress" became a nostalgic yet daring fashion favorite, edgily imbued with the frisson of lingerie. Its revealing cut, lightweight fabric, and spaghetti straps precluded supportive undergarments, requiring a toned body and a confident attitude. As slip dresses became more popular, they were made more practical by women and even designers who layered them over white T-shirts, completing the slip's transmutation from undergarment to outergarment.

See also **Lingerie; Nylon; Petticoat.**

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H. Kristina Haugland

SMITH, PAUL Paul Smith is renowned for classic garments that also demonstrate a discreet eccentricity that is essentially as British as his name. Committed to the idea of creative independence, he is Britain's most commercially successful designer, with a turnover of £230 million and retail outlets in forty-two countries.

Born in the city of Nottingham in 1946, he left school at age fifteen and began his career running errands in a fashion warehouse. When he was only seventeen, he was instrumental in the success of a local boutique, running the men's wear department and sourcing labels that were previously unavailable outside of London. In 1970 he opened his first shop, a three-meter-square room at the back of a tailor's space, together with a basement that he turned into a gallery, where he sold limited edition lithographs by Warhol and Hockney. He recalled,

> I had … [m]odern classics you couldn't get anywhere else. I knew that … if I started selling clothes that I didn't like, but that lots of people did want, then the job would have changed me. I called the boutique Paul Smith as a reaction to the silly names … [of] the time (Fogg, p. 130).

Smith began manufacturing and retailing shirts, trousers, and jackets under his own label, and in 1976 he showed for the first time in Paris. The opening of the first Paul Smith store in London's Covent Garden in 1979 coincided with a resurgence in the money markets of the city and subsequent changes in social attitudes. His suits for men became standard wear for the 1980s young urban professional, the "yuppie." "Young people were willing to wear suits and were not embarrassed about saying that they had money. That was what the 1980s were all about and my clothes reflected the times" (Smith p. 148). Smith's amalgamation of traditional tailoring skills with a witty and subversive eye for detail, together with his quirky use of color and texture, allowed his customers the reassurance that it was permissible to be fashion conscious without being outrageous. It was this particular brand of Britishness that appealed to the Japanese market, where Smith has a £212 million retail business of more than 240 shops. As the Paul Smith style infiltrated mainstream retail chains on the High Street, his company developed a stronger fashion emphasis, and in 1993 he introduced a women's wear collection.

An important element of Smith's shops has always been his ability to source quirky and idiosyncratic objects to sell alongside the clothes. With the opening of the Westbourne Grove shop in London's Notting Hill Gate in 1998, he introduced another retail concept, that of the shop as home, and he has diversified into home furnishings. Smith has always been concerned that each shop is individual and reflects the unique quality of the city in which it is placed, rather than presenting a homogeneous ideal that is brand- and marketing-led. In the year 2000 Queen Elizabeth II knighted him for his services to the British fashion industry.

See also **Suit, Business; Tailored Suit; Tailoring.**

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Marnie Fogg

SMITH, WILLI Born Willi Donnell Smith in Philadelphia on 29 February 1948, Smith studied fashion illustration at the Philadelphia Museum College of Art from 1962 to 1965 and continued his studies in fashion design at the Parsons School of Design in New York

City from 1965 to 1967. He died at age thirty-nine on 17 April 1987. According to Liz Rittersporn of the *New York Daily News*, he was the most successful black designer in fashion history.

On leaving college, Smith worked as a fashion illustrator with Arnold Scaasi for several years. From 1967 to 1976 he also worked as a freelance designer for companies such as Bobbi Brooks and Digits Inc. He specialized in sportswear, injecting an element of playfulness into functional garments such as the jump suit that he cut out of silver-coated cloth. In 1976 he and Laurie Mallet, who subsequently became president of the company, established the successful label WilliWear Limited, which captured the spirit of pragmatic leisurewear. Together they launched a collection of clothes consisting of thirteen silhouettes in soft cotton, manufactured in India and sold in New York. Such was the demand for the relaxed styling and affordable clothes of the label that the company's revenue grew from $30,000 in its first year to $25 million in 1986.

In 1978 Smith added a men's wear collection, and in 1986 he designed the navy, linen, double-breasted suit worn by Edwin Schlossberg for his marriage to Caroline Kennedy, together with the violet linen blazers and white trousers worn by the groom's party. He was, however, primarily a designer of women's wear. From its origins in a single New York store, the company went on to open offices in London (a boutique in St. Christopher's Place), Paris, and Los Angeles, as well as more than a thousand outlets in stores throughout the United States. The Paris store—his first eponymous store—opened posthumously in 1987. Just before his untimely death that year, he expressed his desire to Deny Filmer of *Fashion Weekly* to see all WilliWear products housed under one roof. "I want my stores to be a little funkier, like, wilder and fun to go into. You know that wonderful feeling when you go into an army surplus store, they have an unpretentious atmosphere. I don't want to push a lifestyle" (p. 7).

Smith's attitude toward fashion was democratic and the antithesis of the ostentatious 1980s. His main concern was that his clothes should be comfortable and affordable. He was dismissive of the edict "dress for success," identifying with the youth cults he saw on the streets of New York and drawing much of his inspiration from them. To this end he provided comfortable, functional clothes in soft fabrics that did not restrict the body in any way. He very often chose Indian textiles for their suppleness, diffused colors, and attractively distressed quality. His clothes were moderately priced, loose-fitting, occasionally oversized separates. Skirts were full and long and jackets oversized, in natural fabrics that wore well and were easy to maintain.

He disliked the pretentiousness of haute couture. "I would love to have a salon and design couture collections, but it's so expensive … and I hate the theory of 'We the rich can dress up and have fun, and the rest can dress in blazers and slacks.' Fashion is a people thing, and designers should remember that" (Filmer, p. 9).

Smith's obituary in the *Village Voice* (28 April 1987) by Hilton Als read,

> As both designer and person, Willi embodied all that was the brightest, best and most youthful in spirit in his field. … That a WilliWear garment was simple to care for italicised the designer's democratic urge: to clothe people as simply, beautifully, and inexpensively as possible.

For a brief period after his death, the company continued to function, and it opened its own store on lower Fifth Avenue in New York. In 1996 WilliWear was relaunched, designed by Michael Shulman, and available in T.J. Maxx stores.

Although never an innovator, Willi Smith represented a paradigm of casual American style, creating affordable classic separates. Their functionality and informality was not reliant on overt sexuality or on the status implied by high fashion, and they appealed to a broad spectrum of people. Smith received the Coty American Fashion Critics Award in 1983, and New York City designated 23 February as "Willi Smith Day." He was also honored by the Fashion Walk of Fame.

See also **Fashion and Identity.**

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Marnie Fogg

SNEAKERS The first athletic shoes were created thousands of years ago to protect the foot from rough terrain when hunting and participating in combat games (Cheskin 1987, pp. 2–3). In Mesopotamia (c. 1600–1200 B.C.E.) soft shoes were worn by the mountain people who lived on the border of Iran. These shoes were constructed with crude tools such as bone needles and stone knives; and made of indigenous materials like leaves, bark, hide, and twine. With the available manufacturing processes and materials, primitive shoes were only constructed as sandals or wraparound moccasins. In a sandal construction the foot is attached to a platform with straps, bands, or loops. A moccasin construction entails a piece of material wrapped under and over the top of the foot then anchored with a drawstring. As sports became more competitive throughout history, athletic shoes needed to perform better and be sport-specific. Functional attributes like weight, flexibility, cushioning, and traction became key features to making successful athletic shoes.

Folklore

According to some historians, King Henry VIII of England expressed ideas related to an athletic sneaker-type construction in the 1500s. According to folklore, the king was getting a bit overweight, and he decided playing tennis would be a good way to get in shape. But he was not happy with the shoes he had. He ordered his servant to get "syxe paire of shooys with feltys, to pleye in at tennis" (six pairs of shoes with felt bottoms to play tennis in), from the local cobbler (Paquin 1990). Although the king was not exactly ordering sneakers, as we technically know them, he had the right idea—to make lightweight shoes with a separate functional outsole to play tennis better.

What Is a Sneaker?

The word "sneaker" was a marketing term coined in the United States many years after the actual shoe construction was created. "Sneaker" is one of many names given to a shoe that consists of a canvas upper attached to a vulcanized rubber outsole. A shoe made any differently (e.g., a shoe with a foam midsole and a stability shank) is not technically a sneaker.

The first shoes constructed with canvas uppers and vulcanized rubber outsoles were called "Sand Shoes." These shoes were an evolution of a former sand shoe design that had a cotton canvas upper and outsole made from flat leather or jute rope. In the 1830s an English company called Liverpool Rubber evolved the original sand shoe, by bonding canvas to rubber, making the outsole more durable. The name "sand shoe" came from the fact that they were worn on the beach, by the Victorian middle class (Kippen 2004). Sand shoes were revolutionary as they replaced heavy and more expensive leather-work boots. Around the 1860s, a croquet shoe was created that had a rubber outsole with a canvas upper fastened with cotton laces. Sand shoes were different than the croquet shoe as they had a T-strap upper construction fastened with a metal buckle. Sand shoes were also the basis for traditional English school sandals, sometimes called "Sandies" (Wagner 1999).

In the 1870s, a more robust sand shoe was created; it was called a "Plimsoll" (also spelled Plimsol or Plimsole). The name came from Samuel Plimsoll (1824–1898), a British merchant and shipping reformer who designated the "Plimsoll Mark"—a mark on the hull of cargo ships that designated the waterline when it was at full capacity (*Britannica Student Encyclopedia* 2004). The term Plimsoll was adopted by the shoe industry because the point where the canvas upper and vulcanized rubber outsole bonded together looked similar to a ship's Plimsoll line. This line aesthetically made the shoe look more expensive than previous models and became adopted by all social classes for a variety of athletic activities.

Around the same time the Plimsoll was popular in England, the term "sneaker" was coined in the United States. There are several cited origins and dates of the term. Some say the word is merely an Americanism, made from the word "sneak" (1870), because the shoe was noiseless (Coye 1986, pp. 366–369). There is also a reference that the noise-less rubber shoes were preferred by "sneak thieves" (1891) hence the name sneakers (Vanderbuilt 1998, p. 9). There is even a source that mentions the shoe got its name from "sneaky" (1895) baseball players who liked stealing bases in them (Hendrickson 2000). Many sources reference Henry Nelson McKinney (1917), an advertising agent for N. W. Ayer & Son. He came up with the name "sneaker," because the rubber outsole allowed the shoe to be quiet or "sneaky" (Bellis 2004)

No matter how the name was born, shoes with a canvas upper and a vulcanized rubber outsole evolved into many forms. These evolutions allowed people to enhance their athletic skills and provided an aesthetic opportunity for casual shoe design. In the 1880s, vulcanized rubber was added to the toe box to stop the big toenail from breaking through the canvas. It also provided abrasion resistance in sports where the forefoot was dragged to provide balance (e.g., tennis). Functional outsole patterns (e.g., herringbone) were also created to add traction, facilitate player movements, and cushion the load when jumping. Similar types of shoes became useful for sailing and yachting, since they provided traction on the wet deck. The military also used them, and had them colored according to rank. Schools recommended them to students for gym class. Athletes wore them at the first modern Olympics in Paris (1900), and Robert Falcon Scott wore them on his Antarctic expedition (1901–1904) (Kippen 2004).

Names

Since the creation of the sand shoe, there have been numerous names used globally to describe a shoe with a canvas upper and vulcanized rubber outsole. In the beginning, plimsoll and sneaker were popular names. Over time, a variety of other names have been created. Some are based on function, while others are based on materials, people, and even street slang. A few of the names include: Bobos, Bumper Boots, Chuck's, Creepers, Daps, Felonies, Fish Heads, Go Fasters, Grips, Gym Shoes, Gymmers, Joggers, Jumps, Kicks, Outing Shoes, Pumps, Runners, Sabogs, Skiffs, Sneaks, Tackies, Tennies, Trainers, and Treads (Perrin 2004).

Materials and Construction

Although athletes have been wearing performance-related footwear for thousands of years, the "sneaker" is only a recent creation based upon serendipity and adaptations of several industrial revolution inventions.

The most recognized feature of a sneaker is its vulcanized rubber outsole. Natural or India rubber, a by-product of trees, has been cultivated since 1600 B.C.E. (by the Mayans). However, natural rubber "as is," is not really appropriate for shoes. In hot and sticky weather it melts; in cold weather it becomes brittle and hard. In 1839, Charles Goodyear from the United States serendipitously created the modern form of rubber used for sneakers when he was trying to come up with a waterproof mailbag material for the U.S. government. Goodyear's recipe, later named "vulcanization" was discovered when he accidentally dropped a mixture of rubber, lead, and sulfur onto a hot stove. His accident resulted in a substance that was not affected by the weather, and would snap back to its original shape when stretched (Goodyear 2003). The same type of rubber was reinvented and patented in England (1843), by a rubber pioneer named Thomas Hancock, who analyzed and copied samples from Goodyear. A friend of Hancock's coined the term "vulcanization" after Vulcan, the Roman god of fire (Goodyear 2003).

SHOELACES

Before shoelaces, shoes were typically fastened with metal buckles. The shoelace (lace and shoe holes) was invented in England (1790). An aglet is the small plastic or metal tube that binds the end of a shoelace to prevent it from fraying. It also allows the lace to pass easily through the shoe's eyelets or other openings (e.g., webbing/leather loops). The term "aglet" comes from the Latin word for "needle" (Bellis).

Sewing Machine

Cotton canvas was around for a long time before the creation of the first sneaker-type construction; however, sewing small pieces of canvas into a three-dimensional shape that conforms to the foot is quite tedious by hand. The lockstitch sewing machine was invented and patented in 1845 by Elias Howe, which allowed fabrics of all weights and constructions to be quickly and neatly stitched together. In 1851, Isaac Merrit Singer improved upon Howe's invention (and also infringed on Howe's patent), and started his own sewing machine business that still prospers among home sewers and clothing factories (Bellis 2004). Singer's sewing machine was further evolved for the shoe industry by one of his own employees: Lyman Reed Blake. In 1856, Blake became a partner in a shoemaking company and was dedicated to inventing machines that helped automate the shoe-manufacturing process. In 1858, he received a patent for a machine that could stitch shoe uppers to outsoles. He sold his patent to Gordon McKay in 1859, and worked for McKay from 1861 until his retirement in 1874. The shoes made on this machine were known as "McKays" (United Shoe Machinery Corporation 2004).

Lasting Machine

The sewing machine was helpful in automating the shoe-making process, but it was not the ultimate solution of joining an upper to an outsole. A typical sewing machine cannot manipulate around small, curvy parts that exist in a shoe design, and it takes great skill to bend, shape, and hold the upper while it is stitched to the outsole. American immigrant Jan Matzeliger (from Dutch Guiana) helped revolutionize the shoe industry by developing a shoe lasting machine that could attach an outsole to an upper in one minute. His shoe lasting machine was able to adjust an upper snugly over a last (a foot form used for shoemaking), arrange the upper under the outsole and pin it in place with nails while the outsole is stitched to the upper. On March 20, 1883, the United States Patent Office awarded Matzeliger patent number 274,207 for his do-it-all shoe lasting machine (Tenner 2000, p. 37). The lasting machine revolutionized the shoe-making process as it could make hundreds of pairs of shoes a day and enabled the mass production of affordable shoes.

Early Sneaker Marketing

There are hundreds of companies that produce sneakers for the global marketplace. The first sneakers were manufactured and marketed by rubber companies, as they were the major producers of vulcanized rubber.

Dunlop Green Flash. The Dunlop rubber company in England can trace their first marketed sneaker (plimsoll) back to the 1870s. In 1933, their Green Flash collection was launched and proved to be very popular. It had a higher quality canvas upper and a better outsole (with a herringbone pattern) to provide good traction on grass tennis courts. Dunlop's Green Flash was worn by Fred Perry to win three Wimbledon titles (Heard 2003, pp. 290–291).

U.S. Rubber Keds. Keds was the first mass-marketed sneaker brand in the United States (1917), by U.S. Rubber. Much debate took place around naming U.S. Rubber's sneaker, as the initial favorite was Peds meaning, "foot" in Latin. Unfortunately another company trademarked the name, so U.S. Rubber narrowed the name down to two other possibilities—"Veds or Keds." Keds was chosen because the company felt that "K" was the strongest letter in the alphabet (Paquin). Another story says that the letter "K" represents the word "Kids," and that Keds is rhyming slang for Peds—the name that U.S. Rubber originally wanted to use for their sneaker (Vanderbuilt 1998, p. 22).

Converse Chuck Taylor. In 1908, Marquis M. Converse from Massachusetts was producing rubber galoshes and decided that he would like a more exciting career. In 1917, he introduced the Converse All-Star, a high-top sneaker designed especially for basketball. At the same time, Charles H. Taylor, a basketball player for the Akron Firestones, believed so much in Converse's shoe that he joined the sales force in 1921 and traveled across the United States promoting the All-Star Sneaker. He was so successful in promoting, selling, and making important changes to the original design that in 1923 his signature "Chuck Taylor" appeared on the ankle patch and the shoes were known as "Chucks" (Heard 2003, pp. 278–279). Converse's Chuck Taylor design is still popular around the world.

Modern Sneaker Marketing

Once the basic processes were established to make and market sneakers, companies other than rubber manufacturers were founded. These companies evolved technologies and created competition in the marketplace. Some of the most influential companies are reviewed chronologically.

Reebok. In the 1890s, Joseph William Foster from Bolton, England made some of the world's first known track spikes. Although track spikes are technically different than sneakers, Foster was interested in making athletes run faster by evolving shoe technologies. By 1895, he was in business making spikes for an international circle of distinguished runners. In 1924, J. W. Foster and Sons made the spikes worn in Summer Olympic Games by the athletes celebrated in the film *Chariots of Fire* (Vanderbuilt 1998, p. 11). In 1958, two of Fosters' grandsons started a companion company named Reebok (which went on to make sneakers), after the African gazelle. Reebok has grown to be one of the world's largest athletic shoe manufacturers, producing products for many sports like tennis, basketball, and cross-training.

New Balance. Location was another commonality between the first sneaker manufacturers, as talent and machinery were important in keeping manufacturers in business. Most came from England or the New England region of the United States, particularly Massachusetts. New Balance was one of those companies, and was established in 1906, by William J. Riley from Watertown, Massachusetts. Riley was a 33-year-old English immigrant who committed to help people with troubled feet by making personal arch supports and prescription footwear to improve shoe fit. Arch supports and prescription footwear remained the core of New Balance's business until 1961, when they manufactured the "Trackster," a performance running shoe (weighing 96 grams) that was made with a rippled rubber outsole and came in multiple widths (Heard 2003, pp. 48–49). The Trackster was the preferred shoe of college running coaches and YMCA fitness directors. Since the 1960s, New Balance's reputation for manufacturing performance footwear in multiple widths has grown through word of mouth and "grassroots" marketing programs for which they are still known.

Adidas. The first major non-English or American sneaker manufacturers were the Dassler brothers, Adolf (nicknamed Adi) and Rudolf (nicknamed Rudi) who set-up business in Herzogenaurach, Germany (1926). Their first sneakers cost two German Reich marks, and followed three guiding principles: to be the best shoes for the requirements of the sport, to protect athletes from injury, and to be durable. The Dasslers developed many firsts in the athletic shoe industry. Some of them included shoes with spikes and studs for soccer, track, and field. They also looked at constructing shoes with materials other than leather and canvas to reduce weight. By 1936, the Dasslers' shoes were internationally known, and were worn by many great athletes like Jesse Owens. In the Berlin 1936 Olympics, Owens won in almost every track and field event he competed in, earning four gold medals while wearing the Dasslers' shoes (Cheskin 1987, p. 11). Due to irreconcilable differences, Adi Dassler parted from his brother Rudi (1948), and they formed two separate shoe companies (Vanderbuilt 1998, p. 29). Rudi's company was called Puma, named after the powerful wild cat. Adi's company was called Adidas, where he took the first two syllables of his first and last name to create the famous name for his product line. To give support to the runner's midfoot, Adi created the three side stripes trademark in 1949 which is still used in almost every Adidas athletic shoe design (Heard 2003, pp. 90–93).

Onitsuka Tiger (ASICS). Although most sneakers in the early 2000s are manufactured in Asia, Onitsuka Tiger (later named ASICS) was the first Asian brand to make a statement in the sneaker market. Established in Kobe, Japan (1949), by Kihachiro Onitsuka, the company's philosophy was based on "bringing-up sound youth through sports." Onitsuka believed that playing sports was a solution to keeping kids out of prison, especially after World War II. The company's first shoes were made in Onitsuka's living room and resembled the Converse All-Star. Another philosophy of Onitsuka's was "harmony between human and science." In an interview with Onitsuka, he said: "We try to analyze all phenomena which affect a human body during sports and to make shoes which will meet the needs of the users is our principle toward the shoe making" (ASICS 2004). The company's name evolved to ASICS in 1977 based on the Latin phrase "Anima Sana In Corpore Sano," which translates to "A Sound Mind in a Sound Body." Although ASICS is a smaller company compared to the others mentioned, it is important to note, as it inspired the creation of Nike. Nike's founders, Bill Bowerman and Phil Knight, started their careers in the sneaker business working for ASICS, where they designed, developed, and sold their products.

Nike. Of all the major sneaker companies, Nike is the youngest, yet the largest globally. Nike was a business venture between the track coach Bill Bowerman from the University of Oregon and Phil Knight (who ran for Bowerman). Bowerman always had a desire for better-quality running shoes and was always tinkering with new ideas. He even made customized shoes for his own athletes. Bowerman was very inspirational to Knight, and while studying for his MBA at Stanford University in the early 1960s, he devised a small business plan for making quality running shoes, producing them in Japan, and shipping to the United States for distribution. After graduation, Knight traveled in 1963 to Japan to seek a way to live his dream. Representing Blue Ribbon Sports (BRS), he met with the president of Tiger ASICS (Onitsuka Company) and they agreed to go into business. Knight traveled throughout the West Coast of the United States and sold ASICS out of his car. Even Bowerman got involved and evolved some of the designs. Eventually the partners decided to split from the Onitsuka Company and create their own company. In 1971, Jeff Johnson (the first Nike employee) coined the name "Nike," and the Swoosh was created. The name originates from the Greek goddess of victory, and the famous Swoosh design was the creation of student Caroline Davidson, who was paid only $35 (Nike 2004). The first Nike shoe to feature the Swoosh was the Cortez in 1972. Product innovation and marketing has been key to Nike's success. By the end of the twentieth century, technologies like the waffle outsole, AIR, SHOX and legacies like Michael Jordan and Tiger Woods were just a few things that contributed to making Nike the largest sneaker company in the world.

Trainers. Technically, a sneaker is a shoe made of a canvas upper and a soft rubber outsole. What some refer to as a sneaker is much different and a more correct term to use is "trainer or "athletic shoe." Since the creation of the first sneaker-type construction, technology, fashion, and the desire for athletes to perform more efficiently and accurately have led to design evolution. The most typical types of sneakers are: running, cross-training, walking, basketball, and tennis. Technologies in materials have allowed sneakers to be made of synthetic leathers and 3D knits that are lightweight, breathable, and waterproof. A modern-day trainer could be as complicated as a shoe with an upper, midsole, insole, outsole, and shank. Within those parts, there are often subparts that better define each particular technology and give it its own specific performance advantage to others in the marketplace.

See also **Shoemaking; Shoes.**

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Susan L. Sokolowski

SOCIAL CLASS AND CLOTHING Display of wealth through dress became customary in Europe in the late thirteenth century. Therefore, a person's class affiliation could be assessed with relative ease. Because dress was recognized as an expressive and a potent means of social distinction, it was often exploited in class warfare to gain leverage. Dress was capable of signifying one's culture, propriety, moral standards, economic status, and social power, and so it became a powerful tool to negotiate and structure social relations as well as to enforce class differences.

For example, the sumptuary laws in Europe in the Middle Ages emerged as a way to monitor and maintain social hierarchy and order through clothes. People's visual representation was prescriptive, standardized, and regulated to the minutest detail. The types of dress, the length and width of the garment, the use of particular materials, the colors and decorative elements, and the number of layers in the garment, for instance, were confined to specific class categories. However, after society's lower-class groups relentlessly challenged the class structure and evaded the sumptuary laws' strictures, the laws were finally removed from statute books in the second half of the eighteenth century.

The sartorial expression of difference in social rank is also historically cross-cultural. For example, in China, a robe in yellow, which stood for the center and the earth, was to be used only by the emperor. In Africa among the Hausa community, members of the ruling aristocracy wore large turbans and layers of several gowns made of expensive imported cloth to increase their body size and thus set them apart from the rest of the society. In Japan, the colors of the kimono, its weave, the way it was worn, the size and stiffness of the obi (sash), and accoutrements gave away the wearer's social rank and gentility.

The History and Substance of Social Class System

Social class is a system of multilayered hierarchy among people. Historically, social stratification emerged as the consequence of surplus production. This surplus created the basis for economic inequality, and in turn prompted a ceaseless striving for upward mobility among people in the lower strata of society.

Those who possess or have access to scarce resources tend to form the higher social class. In every society this elite has more power, authority, prestige, and privileges than those in the lower echelons. Therefore, society's values and rules are usually dictated by the upper classes.

Social Class Theories

Philosopher and economist Karl Marx argued that class membership is defined by one's relationship to the means of production. According to Marx, society can be divided into two main groups: people who own the means of production and those who do not. These groups are in a perpetual, antagonistic relationship with one another, attempting either to keep up or reverse the status quo. Sociologist Max Weber extended Marx's ideas by contending that social class refers to a group of people who occupy similar positions of power, prestige, and privileges and share a life style that is a result of their economic rank in society.

Social class theories are problematic for a number of reasons. They often conceptualize all classes as homogenous entities and do not adequately account for the disparities among different strata within a particular social class. These theories also tend to gloss over geographic variants of class manifestations, such as urban and rural areas. A host of other factors, such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, and even age or sexuality, further complicate the theories.

Social Class in the Twenty-First Century

In the twenty-first century, assessing one's social class is no longer a straightforward task because categories have become blurred and the boundaries are no longer well defined or fixed. Now one's social class would be decided by one's life-style choices, consumption practices, time spent on leisure, patterns of social interaction, occupation, political leanings, personal values, educational level, and/or health and nutritional standards.

Since, in global capitalism, inter- and intra-class mobility is not only socially acceptable but encouraged, people do not develop a singular class-consciousness or distinct class culture. Instead, they make an effort to achieve self-representation and vie for the acceptance of their chosen peer group. The progress of technology has also helped provide access to comparable and often identical status symbols to people of different class backgrounds across the globe. At the same time, however, as sociologist Pierre Bourdieu argues in his treatise *Distinction* (1984), the dominant social classes tend to possess not only wealth but "cultural capital" as well. In matters of dress, this capital manifests itself in the possession of refined taste and sensibilities that are passed down from generation to generation or are acquired in educational establishments.

Conspicuous Leisure, Consumption, and Waste

According to economist and social commentator Thorstein Veblen, the drive for social mobility moves fashion. In his seminal work, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899), Veblen claims that the wealthy class exercised fashion leadership through sartorial display of conspicuous leisure, consumption, and waste. The dress of people in this group indicated that they did not carry out strenuous manual work, that they had enough disposable income to spend on an extensive wardrobe, and that they were able to wear a garment only a few times before deeming it obsolete.

Imitation and differentiation: Trickle-down, bubble-up, and trickle-across theories. Although sociologist Georg Simmel is not the sole author of the "trickle-down" theory, the general public still attributes it to him. In his article, *Fashion* (1904), Simmel argued that upper-class members of society introduce fashion changes. The middle and lower classes express their changing relationship to the upper classes and their social claims by imitating the styles set by the upper classes. However, as soon as they complete this emulation, the elite changes its style to reinforce social hierarchy. But as Michael Carter's research in *Fashion Classics* (2003) demonstrates, imitation and differentiation does not occur necessarily one after the other in a neat fashion. Instead, there is an ongoing, dynamic interaction between the two. Besides, within each class as well as among the different classes, there is an internal drive to express and assert one's unique individuality.

By the 1960s, the fashion industry had begun to produce and distribute more than enough products for everyone to be able to dress fashionably. This democratization of fashion means that by the twenty-first century anyone across the world could imitate a new style instantaneously. The direction of fashion change is no longer unilinear—it traverses geographical places, and flows from both the traditional centers of style as well as "the periphery." Through global media and popular culture, members of the lower classes, and subcultural and marginal groups, have been able to influence fashion as much as those in the upper classes. Therefore, it has become more appropriate to talk about a "bubble-up" or "trickle-across" theory.

Although social class is no longer a significant category of social analysis, one remains cognizant of it. The display of one's social standing through dress has become more subtle, eclectic, and nonprescriptive. The key to assessment in the early 2000s is often in the details. Higher status is indicated by a perfectly cut and fitted garment, the use of natural and expensive fabrics, and brand-name wear. One's class affiliation is often given away only by the choice of accessories, such as eyeglasses, watches, or shoes. A stylish haircut, perfect and even teeth, and especially a slender body often have become more of a class signifier than dress itself.

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

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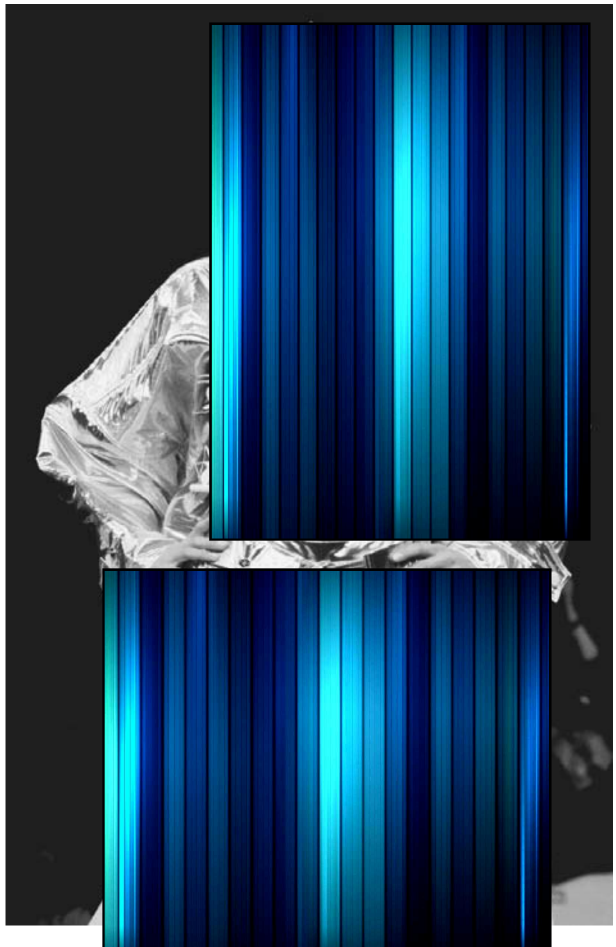
Katalin Medvedev

SPACE AGE STYLES Humans did not walk on the moon until 1969, but their imminent arrival was slotted on the world's calendar from the very beginning of the decade. Space exploration's grip on the popular consciousness during the 1960s contributed to a new fashion philosophy, becoming a pool of design inspiration; an analog to speculation about a radically transformed future that preoccupied the sensibilities of the decade. In



Space age outfit. A woman models an outfit from André Courrèges's 1994 spring/summer collection. In the 1960s, Courrèges was instrumental in developing the sleek, shiny, aerodynamic look called space age.

the April 1965 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*, Richard Avedon photographed British fashion model Jean Shrimpton wearing an astronaut's helmet and flight uniform. But it was hardly necessary to don an actual flight suit to be part of the styles that came to be known as "space age." Sleek as a fuselage, space age fashion emulated the aerodynamic simplicity and severity of a space capsule. Frills and flounces were eschewed in favor of a new, hard-edged and streamlined silhouette that also incorporated industrial materials. Space age fashion created a brusque and frequently shocking brave new universe within the 1960s fashion cosmos.

Blast off. As a design movement, space age fashion was above all a French phenomenon, promulgated mostly by men in their thirties who had been trained in the old-guard Paris couture, but saw the need to refute some of their pedigree. André Courrèges was perhaps the most creative. Courrèges was a member of Balenciaga's couture house for ten years before beginning his own business in 1961 in partnership with his wife Coqueline, who had also worked for Balenciaga. It took him but a couple of years to find his own feet, and when he did he kicked out the props from under establishment couture. "Things have never been the same since Courrèges had his explosion," Yves Saint Laurent said in a 1966 *Women's Wear Daily* (9 December, p. 1).

Before turning to fashion, Courrèges had dallied in both architecture and engineering, and this was reflected in his clothes. His dresses, suits, and trouser suits might be fitted, semi-fitted, or tubular, but they presented a bold and graphic silhouette, delineated as interlocking geometries by welt seaming and strategic piping. He preferred a restricted palette of monochromes and pastels, and was partial to aggressive checks and stripes. Courrèges used white a great deal, exploiting its myriad and contradictory connotations of sterility and/or purity as well as all-inclusive spectrum-spanning synergy.

Courrèges's work surely owed a debt to London ready-to-wear, but ever present in his work was the active, constructing hand of the couturier. His fabrics were flat, tailored wools, more intractable than what ready-to-wear was espousing. In a Courrèges suit a woman herself became a Brancusi-like distillation, an avatar of streamlined strength. Courrèges inveighed against the traditional appurtenances of femininity and foreswore the curvilinear. Reaching his meridian in 1964 and 1965, he advocated very short skirts as well as pants for all occasions, at the time a highly controversial proposition.

Women of the future. "Working women have always interested me the most," Courrèges said in *Life Magazine* in 1965. "They belong to the present, the future" (21 May, p. 57). Yet what he produced could not be easily transferred to the workplace, although his clothes and mass-manufactured imitations were seen on streets around the world. He offered what might be considered fashion manifestos. For him, high heels were as absurd as the bound feet of Asian women. He outfitted his models, instead, in flat Mary Jane slippers, or white boots that enhanced the graphic rectangularity of his silhouette.

After six years working for Balenciaga, Emanuel Ungaro assisted Courrèges for one year before opening his own doors in 1965. He also promised a radical departure from couture business-as-usual, pledging that there would be no evening clothes in this first collection, since he did not believe in them. He was certainly Courrèges's disciple during these years but his suits and dresses in childlike flaring shapes were gentle and more ingratiating. Essential to the success of the young house as unique fabrics designed exclusively for him by his partner Sonia Knapp. Knapp worked as closely with Ungaro as Coqueline Courrèges did with her husband.

A decade older than Courrèges or Ungaro, Pierre Cardin began his own business in 1957 after apprenticeships at several couture houses. During the epoch of space age, Cardin offered some of the couture's most outré designs, offered like so much during the 1960s as provocative hypothesis rather than empirical prototype. His shapes might resemble floral abstractions that devoured conventional clothing dimensions. His enormous collars and frequent use of vinyl evoked outer-space gear. Cardin was a Renaissance man whose many endeavors included his own theater. Both Courrèges and Ungaro established ready-to-wear and licensing franchises, but Cardin's endeavors were waged on an exponential scale. His empire included a highly successful men's wear line—"Cardin's cosmonauts" presented a complementary vision of men's apparel.

Like much of Cardin's ideas, Paco Rabanne pushed space age fashion toward wearable art. He too trained as an architect, then designed accessories, before the young designer created a sensation in 1966 with ready-to-wear sheaths of plastic squares and discs attached to fabric backing. They were *le dernier cri* of Paris fashion, memorably commemorated in William Klein's film of the same year, *Qui Etes Vous Polly McGoo.* For him the new and ultimate frontier of fashion had become "the finding of new materials." His investigation of plastics and other hardware as possible human carapaces proclaimed a new epoch in Paris's wonted tradition of clothes so intricately constructed that they could stand on their own.

Space age fashion was gestated in a salon environment that was just as stark and unadorned as the clothes. New-style fashion shows went hand in hand with the fashion experiments they showcased. They were hectic rather than stately, built around mysterious theatrical effects rather than the old-style hauteur.

Splashdown. In the early 2000s, space age styles seem a paradigm of the teleological mentality of the 1960s, a last glorification of industrialization before the realization of its downside. Hard-edged fashion stayed influential all through the 1960s, eventually being vanquished by the unconstructed fashion that prevailed during the first half of the 1970s. The leaders of space age fashion have all remained in vogue, and from time to time pay homage to their bellwether work of the 1960s.

See also **Extreme Fashions; Futurist Fashion, Italian.**

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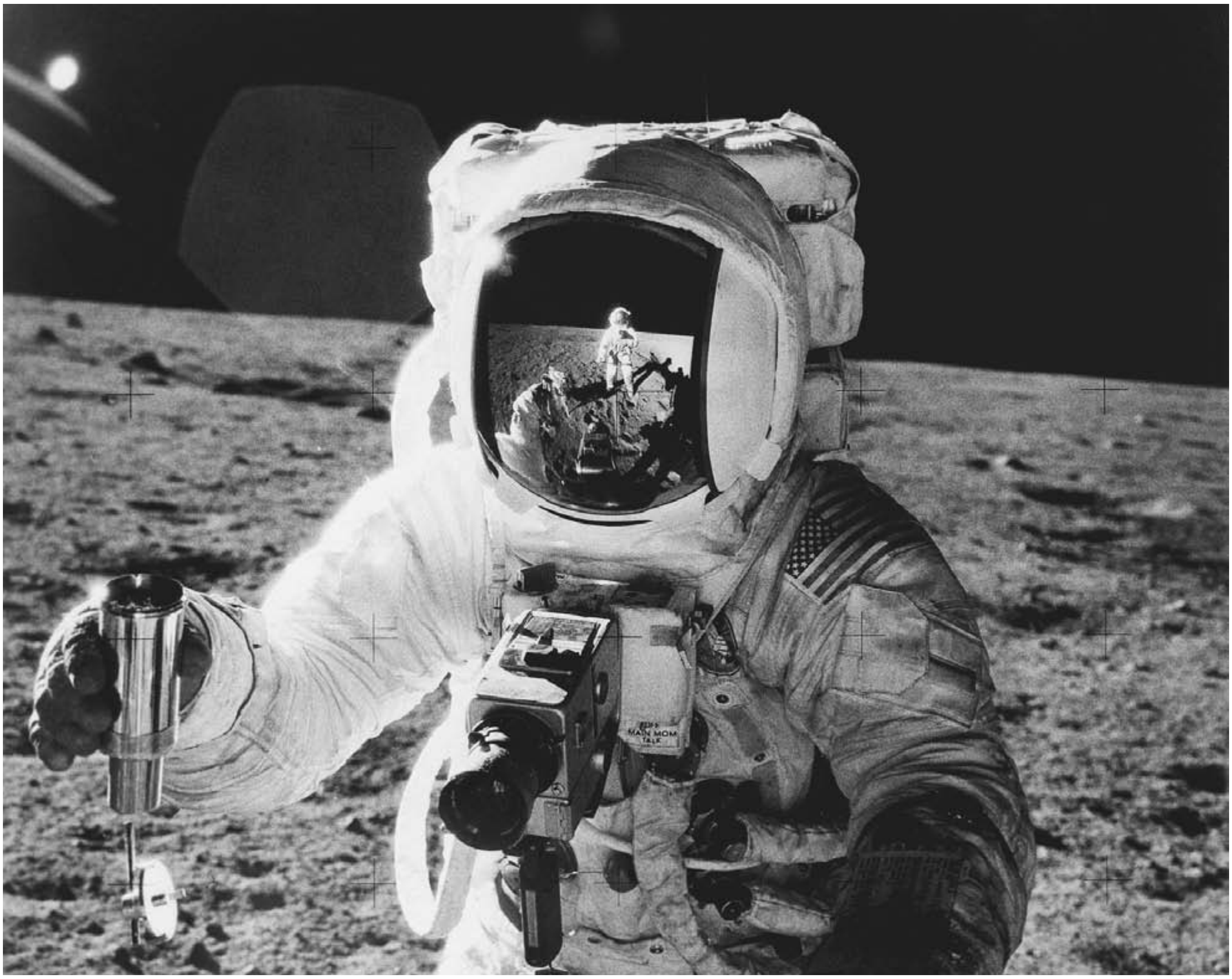
Joel Lobenthal

SPACE SUIT While there have been many different ensembles of clothing worn by astronauts, the term "space suit" generally refers to the total life-support system for Extra-Vehicular Activity (EVA) that takes place outside the shelter of the spacecraft. The extreme conditions of



***Apollo 12* astronauts.** Astronaut Alan Bean holds up a sample of lunar soil during the *Apollo 12* mission. Commander Charles Conrad can be seen reflected in Bean's visor. The space suits used by the *Apollo* astronauts were custom-made for each astronaut and were the first suits capable of operating with a portable life support system, freeing astronauts from physical connection to a space ship. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

outer space demand ensembles for EVA that are among the most complex clothing items ever designed.

Hazards of Outer Space

There are a variety of environmental conditions in outer space that humans cannot survive. Temperatures on the moon, for example, range from +250° F. to −250° F. (+121° C. to −157° C.). These temperature extremes are experienced instantly, as one moves from sunlight into shade. Astronauts are exposed to cosmic rays and charged particles from the sun. There is little filtration of ultraviolet light, so they must also have significant protection for their eyes.

The absence of atmosphere means that there is neither oxygen for breathing nor atmospheric pressure to keep body tissues intact. Without at least a portion of the pressure of the Earth's atmosphere on the body, its fluids begin to boil and migrate outward. When unprotected a person becomes unconscious in 15 seconds, with death quickly following.

Finally, micrometeoroids are small particle-like grains of sand that travel at great rates of speed. These pose the threat of suit puncture and the risk of loss of pressure.

Early Space Suits

Most space suits comprise many layers of fabric, grouped to serve three basic functions: (1) application of pressure, (2) thermal and impact protection from the environment, and (3) thermal and general comfort. Accessories add breathing air, abrasion protection, vision protection, and communications tools.

The precursors to the space suit, the pressure suits worn by high-altitude pilots, focused almost exclusively on one function: application of pressure. In 1934, Wiley

Post developed the first pressure suit as a practical alternative to pressurizing his plane. His suit was pressurized with pure oxygen, which also provided him with breathing air, and was shaped to his position in the cockpit. As with several generations of suits that followed, it was almost impossible to move in Post's suit once it was inflated.

The first true space suits, worn by astronauts in the Mercury program in 1961, provided air for breathing and cooling and allowed for emergency inflation in case the pressurization of the spacecraft failed. Using inflation only as an emergency measure solved the movement problems created by Post's suit. The Mercury suits also had an outer layer of aluminized Mylar for thermal protection.

When a walk outside the spacecraft was planned for the Gemini program in 1962, it became clear that a new suit design was needed. Astronauts would need more mobility and greatly increased thermal and micrometeoroid protection. A specially constructed "link-net" fabric covered the suit's "bladder" layer, the inflated neoprene suit used for pressure to keep the suit from ballooning. This made it easier for astronauts to move. For thermal and micrometeoroid protection, the Gemini suits relied on high-temperature nylons and nonflammable metals, with the outermost layer of the Gemini IX pants being made of a woven stainless steel. Gemini suits were air-cooled using umbilical cords that tethered astronauts to the spacecraft. The astronauts complained that these suits were too warm and reported that the air fogged their helmet visors.

The Apollo Suits

The EVA ensemble for the Apollo moonwalk in 1969 included a number of new features: gloves with rubberized fingertips; overboots for abrasion protection; and extra visors for eye protection. To increase thermal comfort, a Liquid Cooling and Ventilation Garment (LCVG) was used. It consisted of a stretchable bodysuit with cooled water circulating in tubing covering a major portion of the body. Excess body heat was conducted to the water in the tubing, then cooled and recirculated. A backpack, the Portable Life Support System (PLSS), enabled the astronaut to travel in outer space entirely without connection to the spacecraft.

The Thermal Micrometeoroid Garment (TMG), which covered the Apollo suit, provided protection from puncture and temperature extremes. It incorporated multiple layers of fabrics, many of them aluminized with spacers (noncollapsible structures that incorporated many protected air spaces) in between them. The outer layer was made of Teflon-coated Beta Fiberglas, which was resistant to ignition and melting.

Molded rubber constant-volume bellows joints at the shoulders, elbows, hips, and knees greatly improved mobility over earlier suits. The entire EVA ensemble weighed 180 pounds (82 kg) on Earth, but only 30 pounds (14 kg) in the moon's gravity. This basic Apollo spacesuit was also used for space walking during the Skylab missions.

Designs for the Future

The unique goals for the Shuttle missions were reflected in the Shuttle space suit, the Extravehicular Mobility Unit (EMU). The EMU was not custom-made or designed to be used on a single mission, as were previous suits. The upper torso, lower torso, arms, and gloves were manufactured in different sizes that could be assembled to fit almost any body size and shape. Suits were designed to last for fifteen years and many missions. The EMU weighed almost twice as much as the Apollo EVA suits, but this was acceptable since they would be used in microgravity rather than within the gravitational pull of a planet. The outer layer of the Shuttle suits was an *ortho* fabric—a blend of Teflon, Nomex, and Kevlar fibers in a unique weave. This covered seven layers of aluminized materials in the TMG rather than the fourteen used for Apollo suits.

Another new feature of the Shuttle EMU was its Hard Upper Torso Assembly (HUT), a rigid fiberglass shell on which the backpack was mounted. Fabric arm and lower torso coverings and a rigid helmet were joined to the HUT with rigid bearing joints. Similar rigid structures are seen in designs for future space missions, such as one to Mars, for which completely rigid hard suits, much like deep-sea diving suits, have been developed. These suits are purported to allow greater ease of movement, and be more durable, lighter-weight, and easier to don than previous space suits.

See also **Techno-Textiles.**

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SPANDEX. *See* **Elastomers.**

SPANGLES Spangles, also known as sequins or *paillettes*, are small, flat, circular ornaments usually made of metal, metallicized plastic, or other light-reflecting materials. Their primary use is to embellish apparel and accessories. Whereas beads are three-dimensional, spangles are essentially two-dimensional and can be overlapped to produce linear patterns.

The word "sequin" derives from the name of a small gold coin, the *zecchino,* which it resembles. The *zecchino* was introduced in Venice in 1284. *Chequeen*, a variant of the word, appeared in the English language in the late 1500s. By the nineteenth century, the word "sequin" was preferred to "spangle."

Historically, spangles, (which were once also known as "oes," because of their shape) were made by twisting gold or silver wire around a thin metal rod. The metal rings were cut off and hammered flat, resulting in a circular object with a central hole used to stitch it in place. In the 1920s, sequins were sometimes made of gelatin. In the twenty-first century, they are stamped out from plastic sheeting.

Spangles were a popular form of embellishment for the clothing of the aristocracy from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century. A host of sumptuary laws governing the dress of all classes of society prevented their being worn by anyone not of the nobility. In the seventeenth century, spangles were used to decorate men's and women's bodices, gloves, and shoes, as well as embroidered boxes and other decorative household items. In the eighteenth century, they appeared on muffs, shoes, women's gowns, and on men's coats and waistcoats. In the nineteenth century, sequins were still seen on court dress but they were also available to the general population. In the twentieth century, a craze for sequined "flapper" dresses emerged briefly during the 1920s. In the twenty-first century, sequins use in the apparel industry is primarily confined to womenswear and to the entertainment industry.

While other contemporary light-reflecting materials such as Lurex offer competition, designers including Norman Norell, Bob Mackie, and Carolina Herrera have used, and continue to use, sequins to produce eye-catching, shimmering evening wear.

See also **Mackie, Bob; Norell, Norman.**

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Whitney Blausen

SPANISH DRESS A reliable overview of the history of Spanish dress from the Middle Ages to the twenty-first century, including its borrowings from and impact on the dress of other cultures, remains to be written. The subject is complex because of the internal make-up of the country, the multicultural society that spawned and epitomized the great Spanish empire of the early modern period, and constant shifts in Spain's political and economic relationship with the rest of the world. A large if sparsely inhabited country, located on the most southwestern periphery of Europe, Spain embraces a variety of regional identities that owe much to differences in climate, geography, and language, and to a rich historical legacy. Spain has been a country of contrasts: partially occupied by the Moors for more than 700 years, it experienced the cohabitation (*convivencia*) of different faiths (Jewish, Muslim, and Christian) until 1492; from that date it became the consistent, vociferous and sometimes intolerant champion of Catholicism, a nation state that experienced its Golden Age in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its massive empire, acquired through inheritance of lands in the southern Netherlands and Italy and the forceful occupation of colonies in the Americas, Asia, and Africa, brought great wealth and power in world affairs until the early seventeenth century. As both gradually dwindled, Spain turned into "marginal Europe," modernizing only from the 1960s onward during the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco (1939–1975), and selling its cultural products, notably film and fashion, beyond its own frontiers and former colonies on an unprecedented scale since the 1980s.

The Spanish climate has lent itself to the cultivation of a wide range of raw materials for textile production, and skills in craft production have long been nurtured. Industrialization, having begun early, lagged behind that of northern Europe, and mass-production of clothing only took off gradually during the twentieth century. In the Middle Ages wool from the plains of Castile was much prized domestically and exported widely; flax (for fine and not-so-fine linens) grew plenteously in the damp climate of Galicia, and the Moors enriched Andalusia and Valencia by introducing sericulture and silk weaving. First of the peninsula, from the sixteenth century onward, the Spanish colonies supplied exotic dyestuffs, which delivered brilliant reds and the deepest blacks, colors that still inform the Spanish palette in ecclesiastical, regional, and fashionable dress. Weaving was well established by the Middle Ages, while knitting arrived by the thirteenth century, possibly introduced to Europe by the Moors via Andalusia. Spain became mechanized during the nineteenth century, while skills such as embroidery and leatherwork survived as prized handicrafts up to the present day.

Dress with a Difference

In the Middle Ages, Spain divided into Christian and Muslim zones, and hosted a variety of dress styles whose terminology and cut from the tenth century onward reveal a debt to Arab materials and garb—even in the Christian kingdoms. The contents of the tombs of the thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century kings of Castile in Burgos, for example, include mantles, surcoats, and tunics made of silks brocaded in northern taste with heraldic devices, such as the lions and castles of Léon and Castile, while the coffins are lined with silks with

Commentary by Foreigners Visiting Spain

Mid-Sixteenth Century

"The women generally wear black, as do the men, and around the face they wear a veil like nuns, using the whole shawl (*manto*) over the head. And when they do not wear the veil over the face, they wear high collars with huge ruffs; and they use [excessive] makeup…."

Camilo Borghese in 1594 on a visit to Madrid, (cited in *Garcia Mercadal,* p. 112)

Mid-Eighteenth Century

"Women of all ranks wear their rosaries in their hands whenever they go to church, and always in such manner that every body may see them. They are a part of their church-dress. I am told that it is customary, amongst the lower ranks, for the young men to present fine rosaries to their sweethearts. Women of whatever condition never go to church but with the *basquiña* and the *mantilla* on. The *basquiña* is a black petticoat, commonly of silk, which covers their gowns from the waist down, and the *mantilla* is a muslin or cambrick veil that hides their heads and the upper part of their bodies. If they do not turn up their veils, as some of them will do both at church and in the streets, it is difficult, if not impossible, even for husbands to know their wives" (Bareti, p. 421).

Mid-Twentieth Century

"… striking … are the differences in regional costumes. Except for the familiar Andalusian costume of high comb, mantilla, sleeveless bodice, and wide flounced skirts with large white spots, it is safe to say that nearly all Spanish regional costumes clearly reveal Moorish influence" (Bush, p. 69).

Islamic patterns—stylized vegetation, geometric motifs, stars, zigzags, and inscriptions in Arabic script. By the eleventh century the pilgrimage route across the north of Spain to Santiago de Compostela connected Spain with neighboring Europeans consistently and by the middle of the fourteenth century, the Spanish aristocracy and urban elite were wealthy enough to change styles in clothing regularly, enriching their wardrobes with fashions from Burgundy and Italy. The accession of Charles I (son of Philip of Burgundy) to the Spanish throne in 1516 sealed Spain's intimate relationship with both states and introduced the austere black and white dress so familiar from portraits of Spain's Golden Age: this formal dress (*gala negra*) was accessorized with lavish gold chains, buttons, and jewelry wrought from the precious metals from the Spanish-American colonies. The Spanish monopoly on logwood, a black dyestuff also imported from the new colonies, may well have had some bearing on this urban predilection for the color, as well as the devout Catholicism of subsequent monarchs (especially Philip II, III, and IV and Charles II) who, to some extent, eschewed overbearing ostentation. Nonetheless, descriptions of festivities throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that on holidays, those who could afford to do so often wore brightly colored garments of silk that were embroidered, brocaded, or trimmed in silver or gold. Spanish sumptuary laws made serious attempts to limit excess in the consumption of luxuries and to codify the distinctions between noble and bourgeois in the interests of protecting the Spanish economy and Spanish morals. References to the appropriate dress for Christian and non-Christian, promulgated in the first laws from 1252 onward, ceased after the expulsion of Jews at the end of the fifteenth century and Moors at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Throughout this period, such laws were of little relevance to the poor and marginalized who wore inexpensive undyed cloth in tones of brown, gray, or off-white. They thus earned the epithet "people of brown clothes" (*gente de ropa parda*), which instantly differentiated them from their social superiors (*gente de ropa negra*).

The Golden Age

Significantly, during this Golden Age, when Spain was wealthy and powerful, and the literary and plastic arts flourished, the king's censors approved the publication of the first Spanish manuals devoted to disseminating superior skills in tailoring. The first book, published in 1580 and reprinted in 1589, came from the plume of a Basque tailor, the second in 1617 from a Frenchman turned Valencian, the third in 1640 from a father and son from Madrid—in other words, representatives of all major regions. These books convey the shifts in Spanish fashions and allegiances over the period, and the requirements of the upper and educated echelons of society. Consisting of patterns for men's and women's fashionable garments, mourning dress, clerical garb, robes for the military orders of Santiago and Calatrava, horses' caparisons and military banners, they reveal that most garments were Spanish in origin. The late sixteenth-century examples of Moorish and Italian gowns encountered Hungarian and French suits in the later work of Anduxar (1640)—a sign of royal alliance through marriage to Hungary and of the rise of French fashions, slimmer in silhouette than their

Spanish counterparts. Change in cut demonstrated the gradual isolation of Spanish noblemen from their European peers as their highly influential dress composed of doublets, jerkins, trunk hose, and cloaks of various lengths gave way to the rather singular padded breeches (*calzones*) that made Spaniards look broad and solid in comparison with their northern peers. At around the same time, Spaniards' crinkly white ruffs (*lechuguillas*) ceded pride of place at men's necks to the *golilla*, a plain white semicircular collar built on a base of cardboard. Both forms of neckwear performed much the same function, as did their matching cuffs, preventing hard manual labor and in the case of the former keeping heads high and haughty. Women of the upper classes were similarly constricted: decked out in impressive jewelry, they wore richly patterned gowns with bell-shaped skirts over the Spanish farthingale (*verdugado*), a cage-like underskirt constructed of bands of willow. This item of clothing appeared in the 1470s and underwent several changes in shape thereafter, reaching enormous proportions between the late 1630s and 1670s. In its early manifestation it found its way into the fashions of neighboring states, while later it merely demonstrated Spanish distance from the mainstream.

Other aspects of Spanish dress that were constants in the urban landscape were the robes of clergy and members of religious orders, the voluminous mantles worn by women in the streets to cover themselves up (a sign of modesty evidently inherited from Moorish dress), and the addiction to all-enveloping mourning garments. Not only was black the color of formal court dress, but many of these items also had religious and moral connotations even into the third quarter of the twentieth century: the clergy and the bereaved were a particularly potent provincial and urban presence, especially among the white, sunlit villages of the south.

Dominance of Foreign Fashions

From about 1700 until the mid-twentieth century, the Spanish cognoscenti depended on Parisian (and sometimes British) modes. In the eighteenth century, under the ruling Bourbon dynasty, Spain received fashion news consistently from Paris via Spanish and French intermediaries—the powerful shopkeepers of the *Cinco Gremios Mayores*, ambassadors and well-traveled aristocrats, manufacturers' agents, the burgeoning French fashion press, and French emigrant dressmakers who set up businesses in the Spanish capital (as in other European cities). From the second half of the nineteenth century, wealthy female consumers and the most prestigious Spanish dressmakers made the annual or biannual pilgrimage to Paris to attend the haute couture shows, from which they acquired models for themselves or to adapt for their middle-class Spanish clients. In the major fashionable shopping centers of Madrid (center of government), Barcelona (heart of cotton and woolen production), and San Sebastián/Donostia (summer retreat of the court), by the beginning of the twentieth century there was a host of major dressmaking establishments whose reputation did not transcend national boundaries (such as Carolina Montagne, María Molist, El Dique Flotante, Santa Eulalia, Pedro Rodriguez, and Carmen Mir). In men's dress, reliance on Spanish tailors continued although the wave of Anglomania that hit France in the late eighteenth century extended to Spain. This legacy may even have carried over into the twentieth century: the first Spanish dictator, José Primo de Rivera, ordered clothes from Savile Row prior to his espousal of a politically sensitized form of dress; Cristóbal Balenciaga, a skilled tailor, chose England in 1935 as his first destination before moving to Paris; and Spain's only department store, founded in 1935 as a tailoring outlet with a line in ready-made children's clothes, still carries the name *El Corte Inglés* (English cut).

The fashion press played its part in disseminating fashionable styles. While those who could afford high-class fashions probably read French publications, printed matter in Spanish was available from the early nineteenth century. It owed much to its French or northern European models: fashion plates remained the same while captions were translated into Spanish (in the early nineteenth century Rudolph Ackerman's *Repository for the Arts* received this treatment; in the 1830s and from the 1880s respectively, the *Semanario Pintoresco Español* and *El Salón de la Moda* followed a similar procedure). In the twentieth century, *El Hoga y Moda* from 1909, the *Boletín de la Moda* from 1952, and *Telva* from 1963 represented national production. These journals dispersed styles to local, small-scale professional dressmakers and their amateur counterparts (home-dressmakers). Indeed, sewing and knitting skills probably thrived longer in Spain than in wealthier, industrialized European states where ready-made clothing was widespread and traditional roles for women were called into question earlier. The continued presence of the church as patron and educator of needlework skills and morals probably contributed to keeping these traditions alive until the end of the twentieth century.

Regional Dress

Despite the dominance of mainstream European fashions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a noticeable rejection of traditional mores from the 1960s as large numbers of young Spaniards moved from rural areas into the cities, regional dress survived, often preserved carefully for use at national or local fiestas (religious holidays) and rites of passage such as marriage. It is still commissioned and made in the early 2000s for special occasions. Such dress has always varied by region, its materials and form relating to local textile supplies, agricultural activities, and calendar. Anthropologists have identified three main types by zone—north and Cantabrian, central, and Andalusian-Mediterranean—but they are still far from completing a comprehensive study. In the north and center, woolens and linens dominate festive dress; sometimes decorated with bands of silk or embroidery, the colors are often deep (brown, black, and red or green), and heavy jewelry is common. In the south and east, gloriously colored silks, cottons, and linens flourish in the sun, accessorized with lace or transparent veiling often with a flash of metallic thread, a heady reminder of the legacy of the Moors. Such dress, although not immune to change over the centuries, is a fossilized version of earlier fashionable, festive, or working dress. While many of its features have their roots in the eighteenth century, some go much further back, and others date to more recent times. In Valencia, silks with eighteenth-century designs are still woven to satisfy the demand for festive dress comprising full, ankle-length skirts, worn with a tight-fitting bodice over a chemise and below a neckerchief and lace mantilla. Bullfighters' suits of lights (*trajes de luces*) fall into this category, their most obvious roots in popular Andalusian *majo* attire of the eighteenth century, worn at the time that the sport commercialized. The short jacket with braiding covering its seams harks back to seventeenth-century practices in tailoring, while the knitted net hairpiece (*redecilla*) so familiar from Francisco Goya's paintings located its wearers among the popular classes. The tight-fitting breeches or pantaloons belong to late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century fashionable men's dress.

The exchange between fashionable and regional dress works both ways: at the end of the eighteenth century, certain aristocrats and Queen María Luisa herself adopted a version of Andalusian *maja* dress, the black lace mantilla and overdress, secured by bold red or pink sash; in the work of twentieth century and contemporary Hispanic fashion designers regional variations are often a leitmotiv. Cristóbal Balenciaga (1895–1972) and Antonio Canovas del Castillo (1913–1984), who made their reputations outside Spain through austere modernist designs, provided bursts of Spanish drama in their many flamenco-inspired dresses, even once they were resident in Paris. The picturesque qualities of such gowns were no doubt familiar (and possibly desirable) by then to the many foreign tourists who visited the Costa Brava, Costa Blanca, and Costa del Sol in growing numbers from the 1950s onward. Regional dress, sentimentalized as a symbol of a lost golden age with superior values since the nineteenth century, has also served an overtly political function: following the Civil War (1936–1939), the right-wing Falangist party encouraged the celebration of regional festivities and the wearing of regional dress in the interests of promoting national cohesion and identity (much as the Nazis did in Germany and the Vichy government in France).

A New Golden Age?

Spanish dress may inadvertently have reached beyond Spanish frontiers before the 1980s via the acquisitions of tourists at the establishments advertised in tourist guides to Spain, via the creations of those Spanish couturiers who sought a propitious environment for their creativity in Paris, and via limited coverage in high-class fashion magazines such as *Vogue*. It is only since the mid-1980s or so, however, that Spanish designers and clothing companies have marketed their wares abroad on a significant scale. Spanish government initiatives probably played some role in this drive although the industry is still relatively undercapitalized and undeveloped. In the early 1980s the socialists began with the revitalization of the textile industries, and by the middle of the decade turned their attention to the clothing sector. In 1985 they established the Center for the Promotion of Design and Fashion (CPDM) under the auspices of the Ministry of Labor and Energy, and in 1987, the Cristóbal Balenciaga prize that recognizes annually the achievement of the best Spanish designer, the best international designer, the best textile design company, and the best new designer. Subsequently, exhibitions of Spanish fashion brought design into the public eye: in 1988, *Spain: Fifty Years of Fashion* held in Barcelona; in 1990 *Spanish Designers* held in Murcia; and the projected opening of a fashion museum and research center in Guetaria received government backing of $3.2 million in 2000. An elite group of fashion designers has emerged: they are known on the international catwalk as well as at the equivalent national events (Gaudí in Barcelona and Cibeles in Madrid), and they have outlets worldwide (such as Sibylla, Adolfo Domínguez, Pedro del Hierro, Antonio Miró, Purifiación García, and Roberto Verino, to name a few). Even more impressive is the forceful, expanding ready-to-wear sector, notably the retailers Cortefiel and Loewe (both established in the late nineteenth century), Pronovias (the first company to provide ready-to-wear wedding dresses in Spain from the 1960s), and Mango and Zara, notorious internationally for its rapid reproduction of catwalk fashions. The expansion of their shops worldwide demonstrates the growth of these young empires: between 1964 and 2003, Pronovias opened 100 shops under its own name in Spain, one in Paris, with one in New York in the pipeline. It also distributes its goods through 1,000 multibrand shops in more than 40 countries, having diversified into cocktail wear and accessories. Zara, the original firm from which the Galician Inditex group grew, opened its first store in A Coruña in 1975, its first stores outside Spain (in Portugal, United States, and France) in the late 1980s, by 2000 had 375 stores worldwide, and only one year later more than 600. Barcelona-based Mango entered the arena in 1984 in Spain, expanded gradually in the following decade, and exponentially from the 1990s onward, boasting a total of 630 shops in 70 countries by 2002. The manufacturing base of these firms is located in the traditional textile manufacturing areas of Galicia and Catalonia.

Although these empires have grown quickly and, significantly, have flourished since the late 1980s, it is difficult to measure their impact on Spanish consumers who have access to all the top international brands in their major city centers and probably mix and match such brands with the Spanish newcomers, as fashion magazines recommend (indigenous *Dunia* between 1978 and 1998, and *Telva* since 1963 and Spanish language editions of *Cosmopolitan*, *Elle*, *Vogue*, *GQ* since 1976, 1986, 1988, and 1993 respectively). It is not always possible to detect overtly Spanish features in products intended to sell in the global market and Spanish consumers are anxious to espouse a broadly fashionable appearance, like their counterparts in neighboring France and Italy. The kind of personal expression typified by the sub-cultural styles of northern Europe seems absent from Spanish streets. Increasing wealth and new professional opportunities and lifestyles for women may have boosted demand for fashion. In 1989, the CPDM published a survey on the changing habits of Spanish consumers since the mid 1980s. The findings suggested that there was an acute awareness of and pride in Spanish fashion, whose variety of styles and different price ranges competed with other European goods—even young consumers who aspired to American styles could create them through buying Spanish. Designer clothes were no longer reserved for special occasions but were now worn for everyday wear. Eleven years later, a Galician sociologist noted the correlation between lifestyle, social class, and choice of dress: the professional and educated classes in Spain aspired to follow seasonal fashion and conform to a recognizable "correct" appearance; they shopped in city center designer stores. The classic suit remained the main preference for both sexes. The epitome of this awareness of and national pride in domestic designer products must surely be the addition to the credits at the end of the Spanish national news on television of the name of the designer of the presenter's clothes—all too often, it is Adolfo Domínguez, the doyen of classic, unstructured tailoring and a color palette of black, gray, and aubergine. This second Golden Age of Spanish fashion has surely inherited features from its august forebear.

See also **Ethnic Style and Fashion; Europe and America: History of Dress in (400–1900 C.E.)**.

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Lesley Ellis Miller

SPECTACLES. *See* **Eyeglasses.**

SPINNING The origins of hand spinning, or twisting fiber to make yarn or thread, perhaps date back to the Paleolithic period. An ivory figurine found in France has been carbon-dated to 25,000 B.C.E. The figure is shown wearing a loincloth made of strands which were probably formed by hand-twisting since the earliest known hand spindles are from the later Neolithic period.

Hand Spindles

A hand spindle is any implement which can be rotated or twisted by hand to spin yarn or thread. In its most primitive form, a hand spindle can be a branch pulled from a tree or a rock picked up from the ground. In its most common form, it is somewhat like a top. It has a straight shaft with a weight attached to give added momentum. Along with primitive weapons, such as the axe and the knife, it is one of the oldest and most widely used tools of the human race.

The oldest hand-spun weaving fragment found was unearthed at the archaeological excavation of Catal Huyuk in south-central Turkey, and has been carbon-dated to more than 8,000 years old. It appears to be a bast fiber carefully prepared and spun into a very smooth yarn. It was woven at 30 threads per inch in one direction and 38 in the other direction.

Spindle whorls have been found in recent Middle Eastern excavations which date back to 8,000 B.C.E. The date generally accorded to the invention of the wheel is 3,500 B.C.E. Thus, it is possible that understanding the principle of rotation as it was applied in a spindle whorl subsequently led to the invention of the wheel.

Development of Styles

Hand spindles developed into an astonishing array of styles designed for different types of fibers and yarns and various methods of spinning. Some are designed to revolve freely, suspended from the yarn. Others rotate with the weight of the spindle supported on a surface. Whorls can be positioned at the top, center, or bottom of the spindle shaft. A range of sizes developed, from little needle-like slivers of bamboo weighted with tiny beads of clay to yard-long wooden shafts with large plate-like wooden whorls.

The spindle style most widely used throughout history has been the small bead whorl type. It was the basic spinning tool in India, Africa, Southeast Asia, much of China, and throughout Meso-America.

By 2,500 B.C.E., the Egyptians were spinning linen so fine it could be woven at 540 threads per inch. The Peruvians were able to spin alpaca yarn at 191 miles per pound. The famous Dhaka muslins spun in India measured 253 miles per pound. Using the Tex System of measuring yarns gravimetrically, we can determine that they reached the highest level of skill that it is possible to achieve by hand or machine.

Simple spindles produced all the thread, yarn, and cordage for household use, for commerce, and for war. They met all these needs: clothing, household fabrics, blankets, tents, uniforms for armies, cloth wrapping, and cordage for packages, trappings for animals, rugs and tapestries, sails for ships, and vestments for church and the nobility.

Since spindles are small enough to be carried easily, they were used while walking, shopping in markets, watching flocks, visiting neighbors, and caring for children.

Spindles continued to be used long after spinning wheels appeared. They are still in use in many parts of the world. One can watch them being used in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, North Africa, and Latin America.

Spinning Wheels

Spinning wheels evolved from the hand spindle. They first appeared in India about 750 C.E. From India they spread to Persia by 1257. They reached China by 1270. The first evidence of spinning wheels being used in Europe occurs in the guild laws of Speyer, Germany, in 1298.

The spinning wheels in Asia did not have legs. The base rested on the floor or ground and the spinners sat on the ground while spinning. In Europe, the base rested on legs. In the simplest design, a spindle with a grooved whorl

Line art drawing of spindles used throughout the world. The spindles are used for handspinning, or the process of twisting fiber to make yarn or thread. BETTE HOCHBERG. REPRODUCED BY PERMISISON.

was mounted horizontally between two vertical posts at one end of the base. A large wheel was placed at the other end of the base. A single cord encircled the groove in the whorl and the large wheel. Each time the large wheel revolved one time, the little whorl revolved many times.

The spinner turned the large wheel with one hand, and drafted the fiber as it was spun into yarn with the other hand. The yarn was then wound onto the shaft of the spindle.

The Great Wheel

As time passed, spinning wheels evolved into what is called the great wheel or walking wheel. The diameter of the wheel grew to three or four feet. Legs were added to the base. The spinner gave a quick turn to the wheel and walked back from the wheel as the yarn twisted, and walked forward to the spindle to wind on the yarn. This style of wheel was usually used for spinning short staple wool and cotton.

Lack of space in small cottages limited its use. Great wheels were about two feet wide and six feet long. They were widely used in northern Europe and were still in use on some American farms in the early twentieth century.

The Flyer Spinning Wheel

The earliest evidence of a spinning wheel with a flyer is a woodcut illustration in the "Waldburg Hausbuch" in Speyer, Germany, dated 1480. The flyer eliminated the need for the spinner to pause and wind each length of yarn as it was spun.

The flyer holds a bobbin on its shaft. A drive cord is doubled to encircle the large drive wheel and both the whorl on the metal shaft of the flyer and the bobbin, which turns freely on the shaft. Since the groove on the bobbin is deeper than the groove on the flyer, it rotates faster and continuously winds on the yarn as it is spun.

Adding a Treadle

The Chinese were probably the first people to add foot treadles to spinning wheels. The addition of a treadle meant the spinner could sit comfortably and no longer had to turn the wheel by hand. The design of the spinning wheel as we think of it today was now complete.

Distaffs

Spinners using either hand spindles or spinning wheels usually used a distaff to hold a ready supply of fibers as they spun. Distaffs could be held in the hand or belt, mounted on a spinning wheel or free standing. They were used throughout Britain, Scandinavia, Russia, Greece, the Middle East, and many parts of Latin America.

They varied from simple sticks to elaborately carved and painted artifacts. Small distaffs designed to be held in the hand or worn on the wrist were used to hold short fibers. Long or tall distaffs were used with long wools, flax, and hemp.

Preparation of Fibers

Better yarn or thread can be spun from most fibers if they are carded or combed before spinning. To card wool, early people used the dried heads of the teasel plant, which are covered with firm, fine, hooked bristles. This helped to remove debris and align the fibers.

Thorns set into a leatherback were found in a prehistoric lake village in Glastonbury, England. They were used to card animal fibers. Similar carders are still made with wire teeth. Carding removes debris, disentangles the fibers, and more or less aligns them. Combing aligns the fibers and removes the short fibers. Seeds had to be pulled from cotton bolls by hand. Then the cotton was beaten with wandlike sticks to loosen and fluff the fiber before spinning. The most important bast fibers, which are taken from the center stalk of the plant, are linen, jute, and hemp. After drying and retting, they underwent breaking and hackling. This freed the fibers from the stalk.

Working at Home

Before the industrial revolution, families worked together at home. They raised their own sheep, which provided wool for spinning. Sheep also provided milk, cheese, meat, leather, tallow for candles, and parchment for writing. These could be used by the family and village, or sold to traders. Farmers had economic independence and the freedom it provided.

Families could spin as they watched over the children and farm animals and while walking to town to shop or trade. At night, groups of neighbors gathered together to spin by firelight. They gossiped, told stories, and sang. By working together, families and communities could provide for all of their needs. Skills were passed down from generation to generation. The first sign of change was the "putting out" system. Merchants began to deliver fibers to farms and villages to be spun in homes. This eliminated the cost of maintaining factories, but could not supply sufficient yarn.

The Industrial Revolution

The population of England doubled in the seventeenth century. There were more people than the farm and village economy could employ. England's leading companies had created enough capital for the industrialization necessary to spin and weave great quantities of fabric cheaply.

The industrial revolution really began with a revolution in the way cloth was spun and woven. All of the conditions necessary to change the family and village-based culture and economy into the factory system occurred in the eighteenth century.

In 1733, John Kay invented the fly shuttle loom, which increased weaving speed and thus the need for more yarn. By 1767, James Hargreaves devised the spinning jenny, which could only spin weft yarn. To supply the need for higher-twist warp yarn, Richard Arkwright invented the water frame, and by 1782 his mill employed 5,000 workers. The cotton mule, invented by Samuel Crompton in 1779, required only one worker to watch over 1,000 spindles. By the 1780s, Edmund Cartwright devised a way to connect the machines to power supplies.

People from villages, which had bred farmers, craftsmen, and merchants for centuries, now flocked to the cities to find work. Home production could no longer compete in speed and price. Some villages were decimated, with only the old, the infirm, and babies left to fend for themselves. Conditions in most of the early textile mills were deplorable. Children as young as five or six worked long hours. Workers were fined for arriving late, being ill, or breaking any rules. When people could not find work, they turned to drink or begging.

Hand Spinning and the American Revolution

During this period, economics was guided by mercantilist philosophy. Mother countries expected their colonies to supply them with raw materials at low prices. They would then manufacture great quantities of goods and sell them to the colonies at high prices. British restrictions on American production and trade were major causes of the American war for independence.

American colonists were forbidden to export textiles. It was illegal to transport yarns or yardage from one colony to another. The British decreed the death penalty for anyone attempting to take plans or information or textile machinery to the colonies.

In 1768, Washington commanded his militia to wear hand-spun uniforms, and the Harvard graduating class wore hand-spun suits to protest British restrictions. During the American Revolution, 13,000 hand-spun, hand-woven coats were made for the Continental Army. During the Civil War, most of the Confederate soldiers wore hand-spun uniforms.

The use of cotton in the United States surged forward with Eli Whitney's invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, which made cotton the most widely used fiber in America. By 1816, power looms began to be installed in the United States. At that time, 95 percent of American cloth was still being made with hand-spun yarn.

Contemporary Hand Spinning

It would be wrong to assume that technological improvements were destined to replace traditional methods all over the world. Hand spinning is still done with all styles of spindles and spinning wheels in many part of Southeast and Central Asia, the Near East, Africa, and Latin America.

In industrially developed countries, hand spinning has become an enjoyable pastime. Excellent spindles, spinning wheels, and looms, and a wide selection of fibers, are available. Many industrialized countries have guilds of spinners and weavers, which meet to share skills and information.

Many art museums have collections of old textiles in which one can see quality that equals or surpasses anything produced by twenty-first century industry. There are excellent art history books in which one can study clothing in paintings of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Magnificent gilded cut velvets, satins, brocades, and laces are depicted in pictures that were painted on hand-spun, hand-woven canvas.

See also **Loom.**

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Bette Hochberg

SPINNING MACHINERY The machinery for spinning threads and yarns has evolved from hand spinning flax into linen using a spindle in Egypt as long ago as 4,500 B.C.E. to computer-controlled open-end spinning in 2000 C.E. The evolution of textile processing has been a major contributor to technical development in general. The Romans founded colleges, essentially the first agricultural experiment stations, at which enhancements of the methods for flax and wool production were developed and disseminated throughout their empire. Yarn spinning is needed to impart strength and continuity to collections of fibers, particularly if they are discontinuous. Fibers as short as one inch (2.5 cm) can be formed into continuous yarns by twisting them around each other and, if the fibers have a natural twist, such as cotton, the limit can be as short as 3/8 inch (1 cm).

By around 3,500 B.C.E. the Egyptians started using cotton as a fiber and a parallel development occurred in Peru around 3,000 B.C.E. Since the cotton fibers are round while growing but flatten and become ribbonlike when dry, the shorter fibers can be twisted into a yarn using a supported spindle. However, since cotton was difficult to spin prior to the development of more mechanized spinning techniques, it was not used extensively in Europe until the industrial revolution.

An important early mechanical innovation for spinning was to attach a whorl, or flywheel, at the lower end of the spindle in order to facilitate rapid rotation, which resulted in an increase in the production rate. In India around 750 C.E. the Charkha, or Jersey Wheel, was developed by mounting the spindle on a frame, and rotated by connection to a wheel, with a treadle being added by the Chinese. Still, the spinning process was discontinuous because the drafting, that is drawing out of the fibers, and twisting were carried out in separate steps. Leonardo da Vinci contributed the flyer, which allows the twisting and winding to be carried out continuously and simultaneously, leading to development in the sixteenth century of an efficient way of spinning that was used for a long time. Subsequently the feeding and drafting of the fibers became the rate-limiting steps in the spinning process, until significant improvements occurred in the eighteenth century: John Wyatt introduced the concept of drafting rollers in 1733, being incorporated by Richard Arkwright into the Water Frame spinning machine. In 1770 James Hargreaves invented a spinning machine named the Spinning Jenny in which the stretching and twisting were mechanized. In 1779 Samuel Crompton combined the concepts of incorporating the drafting rollers, stretching, and twisting into an enhanced spinning machine—which he dubbed the Mule—but it was still a discontinuous process. Charles Danforth's throstle and John Thorpe's frame and traveler are the precursors of the modern continuous ring spinning machines, which revolutionized textile machinery. As a result the spinning speed was limited only by the maximum traveler speed, determined by heat generated due to friction in ring frame.

Until the development of the break spinning, or open-end spinning, drafting and twisting took place concurrently. In open-end spinning, drafting, twisting, and winding are completely separated. The drafting stage ends up with the creation of a stream of individual or single fibers at a point on the spinning line where the air velocity is at its maximum. Subsequently, twisting begins in the "condensation stage," where the velocity is decreased enabling the assembly and twisting of multiple fibers to form yarns, of which fineness depends on the drafting ratio. The most important advantage of open-end spinning is its very high productivity, the package size depending on the winder and not on the spinning device, as is the case with ring spinning.

There are many ways to perform open-end spinning, but rotor spinning seems to be one of the best air-mechanical ways to enhance the technology. As of the early 2000s high performance rotor spinning units can run at speeds up to 150,000 revolutions per minute, delivering yarn are the rate of 235 meters per minute. They produce large packages of yarn in contrast to ring spinning bobbins that are limited by the size of the spindle.

A critical aspect of yarn spinning from the early spindles to the modern ring spinning and open-end methods is imparting twist to the fibers making up the yarn to provide cohesion and strength. In all cases, that is imparted by taking up the yarn on a rotating device with the collection of fibers being fed either parallel to the long axis of the rotating device or at an angle less than 90 degrees to it. If the fibers were fed perpendicular to the axis of the rotating device, no twist would be imposed. This twisting is accomplished with a spindle by having the fibers fed almost parallel to the long axis of the spindle. For the early spinning wheel this was accomplished by feeding the fibers at an angle onto a mule (a rotating rod), so that they would move toward the opposite end of the take up. In ring spinning the traveler is a guide that spins around the take up guiding the lay down of the fibers (sometimes under computer control) and the traveler is fed nearly parallel to the long axis of the take up. In open-end spinning the fibers are deposited on the inside of a rotating drum after being fed into one end of the drum.

See also **Yarns.**

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SPORT SHIRT The term "sport shirt" describes any of several styles of shirt originally designed and worn for sporting pursuits, but in the early 2000s are incorporated into the broader category of informal or leisure wear. Examples include polo shirts, rugby shirts, and short-sleeved shirts cut similarly to business shirts but in less formal fabrics and colors, and with collars designed to be worn open.

It is almost impossible to discuss a man's wardrobe without mentioning the importance of sportswear in providing some of its key silhouettes throughout recent history. With the decline (and in some places the actual demise) of the suit in the workplace, and by default the shirt and tie, and the rise of "dress down," or business casual, men have looked to the clothing they wear in their leisure time as the basis for both adherence to sartorial standards and the display of individual taste. For many, regardless of sporting intention or not, these items tend to have either a sporting association (possibly by celebrity endorsement) or have a dual purpose as sports and casual dress item. Sport shirts play a vital role in the dress-down wardrobe. They are readily available, accessible price-wise, and require little thought when being coordinated with other items.

The polo shirt is a classic example of sportswear filtering through to the mainstream as a fashion staple. Designed for the rigours of the polo pitch during the nineteenth century, the polo shirt was later adapted for the tennis court. The tennis version designed during the 1930s by René Lacoste was welcomed with enthusiasm by the rich and famous on the French Riviera.

With the rise of the leisure-wear market during the 1970s (when many men broke with the tradition of wearing a shirt and tie both during the week as well as on the weekend), the polo shirt was adopted into the working wardrobe and was also worn with jeans or unstructured slacks for leisure time. This marked the advent of an era when men and women began to put comfort first as a criterion for choosing their clothing.

Although Lacoste pioneered the sports-shirt look, Adidas, Fred Perry, Ben Sherman, and (in particular) Ralph Lauren championed the look from the 1980s onward. During this period, its popularity coincided with rise of style tribes such as the mods, casuals, B-boys, and skins. Each group incorporated a particular manufacturer's version to create its individual look.

During the same period, the generally small and inconspicuous monograms that had been tastefully embroidered on many of these shirts (Lacoste's crocodile, Lauren's polo player) were imitated and enlarged by rival companies (Henry Cotton used a fly fisherman, Fiorucci a triangle). Logos and branding came to be an integral part of the look of some polo shirts, rugby shirts, and other leisure wear. The look would be picked up and exploited by many designers and brands, including Tommy Hilfiger, Chipie, Nike, Benetton, and Diesel.

The rugby shirt, like the polo shirt, originated in a jersey garment worn for a particular sport. The standard rugby shirt, with a knit collar and broad stripes (originally in team colors) moved off the playing field and into the leisure wardrobe in the mid-twentieth century and has remained a staple item of male casual dress.

The American men's outfitter Brooks Brothers was instrumental in developing sports shirts derived from the white shirt that had become standard business wear in the early twentieth century. The company introduced madras cotton shirts (in bright stripes and plaids) in the 1920s, cut similarly to business shirts (though looser-fitting) but intended to be worn without a necktie. And at least according to legend, John Brooks, president of Brooks Brothers, noticed at a polo match in England that the players had their collars pinned down in order to stop them flapping in the wind. Taking this idea back to America, he developed it into the Brooks trademark button-down collar shirt. Originally intended to be worn, like the polo shirt, as a sports shirt (that is, without a tie and with its top button unbuttoned), the button-down collared shirt was adopted in the 1950s as part of the Ivy League look, worn with a tie, sports jacket, and casual slacks; it is a look that has endured.

See also **Polo Shirt; Sports Jacket.**

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SPORT SHOES Athletic footwear has become ubiquitous since the mid-1950s, and it is easy to forget that sport shoes were initially designed for a specific purpose—for functionality, comfort, and to maximize athletic performance. As diverse as traditional footwear itself, athletic shoes fall into the following categories: running/training/walking, court sports, field sports, winter sports, outdoor sports, track and field, and specialty shoes (i.e. gymnastics, weight lifting, water, etc.).

Shoe development dates back 10,000 years, stemming from the need for protection from rough terrain. Egyptians used sandals for ball games as far back as 2050 B.C.E. Ancient Roman spiked military shoes called "caliga" were used as weapons against opponents. Greek athletes in the ancient Olympics preferred running barefoot before adopting sandals in the eighth century B.C.E.

Until 1860, more attention was given to style and fashion rather than to functionality—particularly for women. Sport shoes, if worn at all, did not differentiate much from each other and imitated the handmade styles and leather construction of traditional footwear. Skating boots, for example, were merely adaptations of high-cut Victorian style street boots with blades. Leather bars were sometimes placed across the soles of soccer shoes for traction. Football and baseball players wore identical high-cut leather shoes before cleats were introduced in 1890 and fashion determined the height of the boot.

Early twentieth-century sport shoes. Sport shoes began to appear in the late 1800s, as increased time for leisure led to the rising popularity of sports in general. © SANDRO VANNINI/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The popularity of recreational sports, previously restricted to the wealthy upper class, developed in the late nineteenth century as a response to increased amounts of leisure time by the general public. Public interest in sports coincided with the marathon era and the beginning of the modern Olympics. Of significant importance was the advent of the canvas sport shoe—adopting the term "sneaker" in 1873—that followed Charles Goodyear's 1839 development of vulcanized rubber. From croquet to running, boating, tennis, and bicycling, this multipurpose shoe influenced street fashion with its variations of sateen, canvas, or buckskin uppers and black or brown leather bands.

It was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that mass production of shoes made athletic footwear readily available to the general public. The first great athletic shoemakers, including Joseph W. Foster for Reebok, the Dassler brothers, Marquis Converse, and Leon Leonwood Bean (L.L. Bean) arose at this time. Increased competition in sports accelerated the quest for developing more comfortable, better-performing, flat-soled shoes. As amateur athletes became professional, they influenced the maturity of sports and athletic shoes became more specialized.

By the 1930s, athletic shoe companies J. E. Sullivan and G. L. Pearce of the Spalding Company, the Dassler brothers (who later split into Adidas, Inc. and Puma, Inc.), Richings of the Riley Company (later renamed New Balance), Chuck Taylor of Converse, and J. Law of England became internationally recognized. Vulcanized rubber sole tennis and basketball shoes, traditionally in black and white shades, were now offered in a variety of colors. Skating boots with Nordic pin binding, previously in black and brown, became available for ladies in white. Interchangeable cleats and nailed-on studs were used for field and winter sports, and track shoes became lighter and more functional.

Out of sheer necessity, protection and function were major factors in the design of many sport shoes. In 1935, inspired by near-fatal accidents involving footwear, Vitale Bramani invented a multipurpose-soled mountain boot and Paul Sperry created a non-slip sole for boating.

L.L. Bean launched his company in 1911 with leather and rubber galoshes that served as a solution to chronically wet feet during his hunting expeditions.

As competition increased on the Olympic track fields and collegiate basketball courts following World War II, better-performing, lighter-weight athletic shoes were highly sought after. Keds and the Converse "sneaker" basketball shoe led the American athletic market while simultaneously becoming an American postwar youth symbol when worn with blue jeans on the streets. Onitsuka Tiger, formed in 1949 and forerunner to the brand Asics, introduced new materials such as nylon uppers and blown rubber wedges and midsoles on their shoes for long-distance runners. New Balance also catered to this group by introducing width fittings and engineering shoes with rippled soles for traction and heel wedges for shock absorption. Bob Lange's mono-bloc polyurethane injected downhill ski boot invented in 1957 was voted the most innovative shoe construction of the century a decade later.

European manufacturers Adidas and Puma dominated the athletic footwear market in the international sports of soccer, tennis, and track, as they aligned themselves with winning collegiate and professional teams to promote the performance image of their shoes. Adidas's leather basketball stitched-shell shoe construction, for example, was launched, outfitting half the UCLA and Houston players in their national championship competition. Along with Tiger in Japan, they gave birth to centralized sport-shoe marketing and early biomechanical shoe designing.

By the end of the 1970s, the U.S. sports scene evolved into a more general pursuit of individual fitness. American sport shoe pioneers Bill Bowerman, Jeff Johnson, and Phil Knight (founders of Nike, Inc.) introduced major innovations ranging from nylon uppers and full-length cushioned midsoles to running shoes, the waffle sole, air cushioning, and a variable width lacing system. Meanwhile, traditional U.S. sport shoe companies also began to compete internationally with Europeans and Japanese with "pseudo-athletic" styles to cater to this new market. Reebok, catering to the trend toward fitness activities at the time, created a soft napa leather athletic shoe aimed specifically at the female consumer in 1982.

Spearheaded by the running boom in the United States, sport shoe design went beyond material composition to encompass biomechanical ergonomic footwear design. Biomechanical, electronic, and computer testing were added to the old practice of wear testing. Ratings of running shoes in the magazine *Runner's World* (established in 1975) also intensified product development improvements. Advanced technological and biomechanical research has made athletic shoes more specialized, more functional, more technical, and more expensive.

Sport shoe companies, once a humble and modest specialized segment seeking practical solutions to footwear problems, developed into trendsetting multibillion-dollar lifestyle brands since the 1950s. Professionalism through televised sporting events and sports star endorsements has dramatically increased the public's interest in sports. Advanced science, athletic professionalism, and an increasing population seeking more comfortable lifestyles in the second half of the twentieth century, has provided an environment that allows sport shoes to become even more pervasive in the future of fashion and apparel.

Golf shoes. By the end of the twentieth century, specialized sport shoes, such as these golf shoes and spikes, were available for a wide variety of athletic activities, as well as for everyday wear. © ROYALTY-FREE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

See also **Sneakers; Sportswear.**

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Angel Chang

SPORTS JACKET A sports jacket is a short single-breasted coat, originally men's wear but in the early 2000s worn by both men and women. Similar to a suit jacket in fit, detailing, and fabrication, it is usually less shaped than a suit jacket. Originally intended to be worn in the country for sporting pursuits, the sports jacket is often seen in many other contexts as well. Its nineteenth-century ancestor, the original Norfolk jacket, was made of tweed, checked, or herringbone woolen cloth, and was cut quite differently from the sports jacket of the early twenty-first century. The Norfolk jacket was not simply the jacket of a country suit, but a suit jacket designed with a particular purpose in mind; it was intended for, and could only be afforded by, the rich for leisure pursuits.

History

At its inception, in the 1860s, the sports jacket was part of the hunting attire worn by the Duke of Norfolk. The Norfolk jacket was buttoned high to the neck, had a box pleat centered on its back, and two box pleats in the front. Because of its structure, the jacket was ideal for shooting, with flapped pockets used to store ammunition and provisions; its belted waist allowed for full mobility of the hunter's arm while he was taking aim with his gun. These sports jackets would often be worn with knickerbockers and deerstalker hats or sometimes, less frequently, with bowler hats.

Cut from heavy wool or tweed in autumnal and rural tones such as mustard, ginger, green, and brown (very different from the business stripes and plain colors worn in the city), the sports jacket was rarely worn with another piece of outerwear as it was itself specifically designed for the outdoors.

The Twentieth Century

By the early twentieth century, the Norfolk jacket, still associated with the rural life enjoyed by the landed gentry and the rich alike, had been modified from its original design. The signature belt and box pleats were removed, and it began to be worn for other country activities, including as garb for spectators at sporting events, and also as an alternative to the traditional suit jacket. The shoulders were fuller, sleeves wider, and the armholes larger. The sports jacket gave men the opportunity to dress differently after work or on the weekends. Just as the lounge suit was beginning to replace formal suiting worn to the office, the tweed jacket became an acceptable part of casual dress.

This new sports jacket, as worn by urban consumers, was cut in a style more akin to that designed for horse riding and was usually worn with flannel trousers. The New Look sports jackets were typified by angled waisted pockets, a breast pocket, and, often, leather buttons as well as a swelled edge instead of the customary plain buff edge associated with suiting. Further features were developed such as leather patching at the cuff or even on the elbow.

The desire to maintain a clear difference between the attire worn at work and in one's leisure time has clearly driven the sales of the sports jacket. However, many creative professions, such as advertising during the 1960s, began to allow their staff to wear the sports jacket as business clothing. For many, it became an expression of freedom and individualism. The informality of the look gave men the opportunity to be more creative in their choice of fabrics and patterns than they ever could with a formal suit. Even the late Duke of Windsor commented that the brighter a pattern on a sports jacket, the better he liked it.

Twenty-first Century Sports Jackets

In the early 2000s, sports jackets are available in wide choice of patterns and colors. As the idea of the separate jacket has spread throughout the world, other materials have been employed to allow for climatic variations. Seersucker has become a favorite in the southern United States. Deriving its name from the Persian *shlr-o-shakkar* (literally, milk and sugar), the blue-and-white-striped jacket in this lightweight fabric has become an American classic. The Italians are also noted for making up exceptional lightweight sports jackets in soft fabrics. However, for many, traditional sports jackets cut either on London's Savile Row or bought from a tweed expert such as Cordings of Piccadilly remain classic staples. In these versions, buttons should be made of natural materials, especially horn; the lining should be sewn into the jacket by hand; and should feature working cuffs (that is, with buttons that fasten into buttonholes rather than being sewn on simply as decorations).

As with many other articles of clothing that once were exclusively men's wear, sports jackets have been modified in cut and style for women. The women's sports jacket, worn with trousers or a woolen skirt, forms the foundation of a distinctive style that is simultaneously dressy and relaxed.

For men, the older rule that a sports jacket should be worn with knickers or with a pair of gray flannel trousers has been relaxed. It is fully acceptable to wear a jacket with a smart pair of moleskin, corduroy, cavalry twill trousers, a simple pair of plain woolen trousers, or even jeans. With the increased popularity of casual wear, for many men in the United States and Europe, the combination of a sports jacket and slacks is deemed a somewhat formal look.

See also **Sports Shoes; Sportswear.**

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Tom Greatrex

SPORTSWEAR At the beginning of the twenty-first century, "sportswear" describes a broad category of fashion-oriented comfortable attire based loosely on clothing developed for participation in sports. "Active sportswear" is the term used to cover the clothing worn specifically for sport and exercise activities. Now generally accepted as the most American of all categories of dress, sportswear has become, from the second half of the twentieth century, the clothing of the world. It consists of separate pieces that may be "mixed and matched," a merchandising term meaning that articles of clothing are designed to be coordinated in different combinations: trousers or shorts or skirts with shirts (either woven or knit, with or without collars, long-sleeved or short) and sweaters (either pullovers or cardigans) or jackets of a variety of sorts.

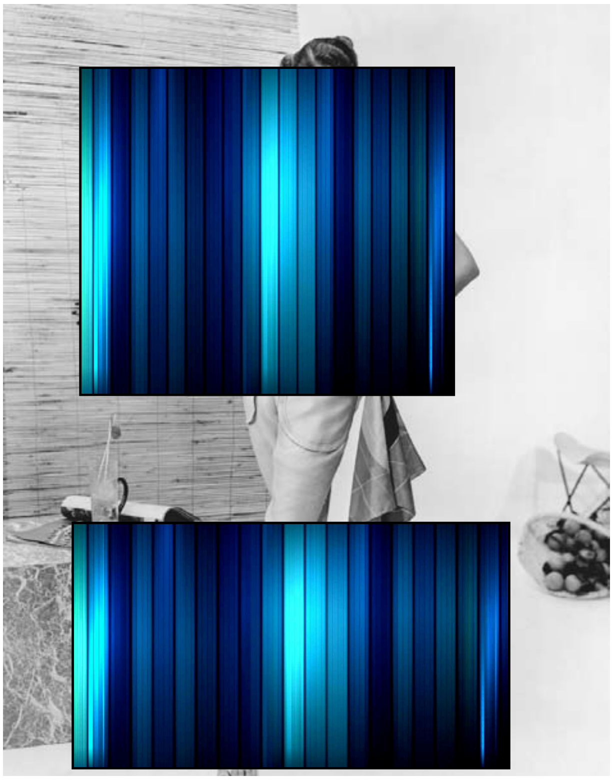
Ralph Lauren sportswear. Two models show outfits from Ralph Lauren's spring/summer 1994 pret-a-porter collection. Elegant sportswear is a hallmark of Lauren's designs.

Pre-Twentieth Century

The origins of sportswear, so intimately tied to the rise of sports, are complex, arising from pervasive social change and cultural developments in the mid-nineteenth century. Previously, sport had been the domain of the landed well-to-do, revolving mostly around horses, shooting, and the hunt. Clothing generally was modified fashion wear, but distinctions between the clothing of the country and of town had appeared as early as the eighteenth century. Men, especially young men, wore the new collared, sometimes double-breasted, skirtless but tailed frock for shooting or country wear, itself probably adapted from the military uniform of the early eighteenth century. This coat was quickly adopted into fashionable dress for young gentlemen. Fox or stag hunting called for skirted coats and high boots to protect the legs, and for trim tailoring that would not hamper the rider maneuvering rough terrain and the new fences that were an outcome of the British Enclosure Acts (1760–1840). These acts, by transferring common grazing lands to private holdings, resulted in fences never needed before, thereby adding new challenges to cross-country riding and revolutionizing the sport of hunting.

The long, straight, narrow, severely tailored riding coats that emerged toward the end of eighteenth-century England traveled to France as the *redingote*, to become a high-fashion garment for both men and women for the next several decades, through the 1820s. Eventually, red coats became the acceptable color for the hunt, possibly for the obvious reason of making the riders more easily visible. As early as the eighteenth-century, women also adopted severely tailored riding coats based directly on men's styles, creating a standard that still characterizes women's sportswear in the early twenty-first century. Americans, both men and women, followed the English lead in sporting activity. These upper-class choices set the tone and provided the models for the future, but it took democratization to effect change overall. That came with the industrial revolution and the rise of leisure activity among even the poorer classes.

With the movement of the population away from its agrarian past into the cities, reformers realized that the working classes had no real outlets other than drinking



Active sports ensemble. A model displays a 1952 Claire McCardell sportswear design. McCardell was one of several American designers who popularized sportswear for women after World War II (1939–1945). The comfort and versatility of sportswear helped it to quickly become a staple of American leisure clothing.

for what little leisure time they had. In an era of revivalist fervor that preached temperance, the concerned middle classes sought other, safer avenues of activity for the poorer classes. Both active and spectator sport and games helped fill that gap. European immigrants to the United States, particularly those from Germany and the Scandinavian countries, brought a variety of outdoor sports and games for men with them, and an accompanying culture of health and exercise that they nurtured in their private clubs. Clothing for these activities was more relaxed than the street clothes of the time, and consisted often of a shirt and trouser combination. Native-born Americans also had had a long history of team games, early versions of various ball games that continued to be played once the population moved to the cities. However, it was baseball, with its singular attire, that most influenced men's clothing for sport. Baseball had emerged as a popular team game with new rules after the first meeting of the elite New York Knickerbocker Base Ball Club with the New York Nines at Elysian Fields in Hoboken, New Jersey, on 19 June 1846. By the 1850s, many other more democratic clubs of workers played the game as well, quickly turning it into America's favorite sport. In 1868, the Cincinnati Redstockings were the first major team to adopt a uniform of bloused shirt, baggy knee breeches, and sturdy knee socks. The unusual pants, so different from the long stove-pipe trousers of the time, were named after Washington Irving's seventeenth-century character, Dietrich Knickerbocker—not coincidentally the same surname the first baseball team in America had adopted as its own. These became the accepted trouser for active sports in general, and were dubbed "knickerbockers" after the original team. Knickerbockers's success may be seen in their appearance for the next century for shooting, bicycling, hiking, and golf. By the 1920s, they were even worn by women.

Active sports uniforms and clothing grew out of necessity. Players needed protection from bodily harm in contact sports like football and hockey; they also needed to let the body breathe and enable it to move as easily and freely as possible while performing the sport. The entire history of active sports clothing is tied to higher education, the increasingly rapid developments in textile technology, and the Olympics. For example, football, a new and favorite game in men's colleges in the late nineteenth century, adopted a padded leather knickerbocker, pairing it with another innovation, the knitted wool jersey pullover. Lightweight wool jersey, an English invention of the 1880s, was perfect for men's sporting pullovers (which soon were referred to as "jerseys"). Perhaps the most enduring of these has been the rugby shirt—striped, collared, and ubiquitous. It had its beginnings as the uniform for the "new" nineteenth-century game begun at the venerable British school, Rugby, but proved so enduring that it is still worn in the early 2000s, by men, women and children who never thought of playing the game. Jersey was equally adopted into women's dress for sport as well. The new lawn tennis of the 1870s was ripe for a flexible fabric that allowed greater movement, and jersey filled that need by the 1880s. In that same decade, students in the new women's colleges left behind their corsets, petticoats, and bustles for simpler gathered dirndl-style skirts and jersey tops taken directly from men's styles in order to participate in sports like crew and baseball. At the same time, men's schools added a heavier outer layer of wool knit to keep the body warm, and since athletic activity brought on healthy sweating, "sweater" clearly described its role. When a high roll collar was added, the "turtleneck," still a staple of sportswear, was born. The college environment was important because it allowed a looser, less rigid, more casual kind of clothing on campuses frequently isolated from the formality of fashionable urban attire. Soon after the introduction of these pieces of specific clothing for sports in collegiate settings, women borrowed them, wearing them for their own sports and leisurewear from the end of the nineteenth century and on.

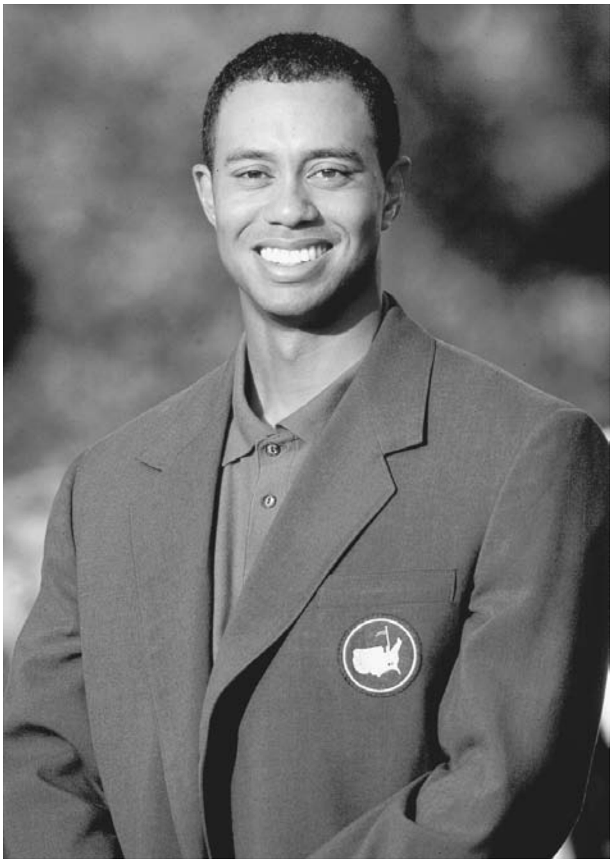
The modern Olympic Games introduced new generations of active sportswear. From the first meet in 1896, men appeared in very brief clothing to compete in track and field and swimming events: singlets, or tank tops, with above-the-knee shorts, and knit—sometimes fine wool and sometimes silk—skin-baring one-piece suits for swim competition. More surprising than these were the bikini-like liners that men wore under the sheer silk suits, without the tops, as typical practice garb. These items became the clothing for sport for men as the century progressed; even the briefs under the suits found their way into swimwear for men and women some half-century or so after their introduction.

Twentieth Century

Fabrics have played an important role in the development of active sportswear. As with sheer knits at the turn of the twentieth century, so too did stretch fabrics form a second skin shaving seconds off time in competition. From the introduction of Lastex in the 1930s to the spandex of the twenty-first century, clothing for active sports has reflected the attention to sleek bodies, to speed. Speedo, the Australian swimwear company, first introduced its one-piece stretchy suit in the 1950s. From that time on, swimwear became sleeker, tighter but more comfortable because of the manufactured stretch fibers. The concept proved irresistible for men and women in all active sports: new stretch textiles produced ski pants in the 1930s fashioned with stirrups to anchor the sleek lines, bicycle shorts in the 1970s, all-in-one cat suits for skiing, sledding, sailing, speed skating, even running in the 1980s and 1990s. With the biannual Olympic publicity, the new active suits, shorts, and tops found their way into active sportswear and onto athletic bodies everywhere. Even the nonathlete wanted the look, pressing fashion-wear manufacturers to adopt the tight-fitting yet comfortable clothing that technology had made possible.

Sportswear, as opposed to active sportswear, fulfills an entirely different role. Though their roots are the same, sportwear concerns the fashionable aspect of clothing for sport rather than the athletic. Individual items such as jerseys, sweaters, and turtlenecks came directly out of active sports. Certain jackets also became linked with sports and therefore sportswear. The most notable of these, still a staple of modern dress, is the blazer. This standard straight-cut lounge jacket of the late nineteenth century was adapted both by colleges and early sports clubs, the new tennis, golf, or country clubs that emerged in the 1870s and 1880s, who used their own club colors for these jackets, often fashioning them in stripes called "blazes." Hence, blazers. Striped blazers, popular through the 1920s, have had revivals since, most notably in the late 1950s and 1960s. Generally, however, they gave way to single-colored blazers in the 1930s. The best recognized of these is the bright green Masters jacket of golf.

For women's leisure wear (and it must be noted that women never wore this casual, "new" clothing in any other setting), women adopted men's clothing, as they had earlier. This had been noticeable in the 1890s with the clothes of the New Woman, with her blazer, shirt-



Tiger Woods. Golfer Tiger Woods after winning the 2002 U.S. Masters tournament. Woods wears the green blazer that is traditionally given to the tournament's winner. © SIMON BRUTY/SI/NEWSPORT/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

waist, and easy skirt, or even, on occasion (though not as routinely as is now believed) with divided skirts for such activities as bicycling. By the turn of the twentieth century, young women wore jerseys, turtleneck sweaters, and cardigans, borrowed directly from their brothers. In addition, many chose to leave off their corsets when participating in active activities, opting instead for lighter, unboned "sporting waists." This last move was perhaps the most forward-thinking of all in affecting change in women's dress. Magazines of the day picked up the new "daring" fashions, with illustrations, to spread them across the country. Early movies, even those prior to the 1920s, also helped distribute and popularize the new styles, showing beautiful young women dressed for all sorts of activities: swimming, golf, tennis and, as time went on, simply for leisure. So the foundations had been laid in the nineteenth century, but the phenomenon of sportswear for women really began in the 1920s with the post–World War I emergence of mass production in women's wear.

The new loose, unfitted styles of the 1920s allowed a much freer approach to women's dress for play and

Rugby players. A group of rugby players, wearing the striped shirts after which their sport is named. © DUOMO/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

leisure. Although women still clung to skirts, the dresses for such sports as golf and tennis were so admired (to say nothing of the sports figures who wore them, like Suzanne Lenglen, a French tennis champion, and later, Babe Didrickson) that they became day dresses for women whose lifestyles and pocketbooks allowed variety in their clothing. These golf and tennis dresses, with their pleated skirts and tailored tops, sometimes two-piece and sometimes one, comfortable and washable, became the prototypes for the most American of all clothing, the shirtwaist dress. So welcome were tennis dresses that in the 2000s they still prevail over shorts for competition tennis and, as early as the 1940s, offered a new, short skirt length that eventually became accepted into fashion wear.

Trousers for women were another matter. The struggle for their acceptance was a long one, dating from the early nineteenth century when, as baggy "Turkish trowsers," they were introduced for water cures and exercise, then later adopted as dress reform. It was sport, however, that provided the reason for their acceptance, as long as they were kept within strictly sex-segregated environments like the emerging women's colleges or all-women gyms. The heavy serge bifurcated bloomers worn for the new game of basketball were the first acceptable pants for women, and worn with turtlenecked sweaters in the early part of the twentieth century, became an outfit for magazine pinups. The bloomers slimmed down by the 1920s, becoming the popular knickers of that decade, and the introduction of beach pajamas for leisurewear at the same time led to further acceptance, even if not worn in town settings.

The movies helped to sell the image of women in trousers, especially in the 1930s with actresses like Katharine Hepburn and Marlene Dietrich. Even then, women did not wear pants for fashion wear. World War II changed their image, when trousers became the norm for factory workers, but still, pants were not acceptable for the average woman except when she was on vacation or in the country. Indeed, trousers were not accepted for professional working women until the end of the 1970s or early 1980s. But since that time, trousers have become the norm for women everywhere, professionals and vacationers alike, proving once again that women borrow their most comfortable clothing from men's wear.

Mass manufacturing made the simple items of ready-to-wear sportswear inexpensive and practical for everyone. The notion of designing separates to go together in coordinated fashion, a key concept of sportswear, began in New York in the mid-1920s when Berthe Holley introduced a line of separates that could be interchanged to suggest a larger wardrobe. The concept of easy separates for leisurewear in resort or casual surroundings, if not for more formal wear, grew in the 1930s and finally took hold for more general wear in the 1940s, during World War II. American designers such as Claire McCardell, Clare Potter, and Bonnie Cashin turned to designing ready-made American sportswear, using inexpensive fabrics and following the easy, comfortable styles that made it so popular in the United States. Companies such as B. H. Wragge in the 1940s marketed well-designed separates, particularly to the college-aged crowd, at inexpensive prices that they could afford. After the war, with manufacturing back to prewar norms and the introduction of the more formal New Look from France, the distinction between American and Parisian clothing became even more evident. American designers more and more turned to the casual expressions in fashion that American women loved. By midcentury, the great designers who captured the essence of American style, Bill Blass and Geoffrey Beene, had begun to be recognized, and were turning their attention to ready-to-wear sportswear. Eventually they even brought sportswear ideas into eveningwear, directly translating the shirts, sweaters, and skirts women were so attached to into elegance for evening. Finally, toward the later twentieth century, Ralph Lauren took what had become the staples of sportswear—jackets, sweaters, shirts, pants, and skirts—and gave them a distinctly upper-class edge by reviving the elegance of the club-based sports clothing of the 1930s and 1940s. These later twentieth-century designers captured the American Look and made it their own, turning the higher end of sportswear back to its origins by appealing to the upper classes. But by then, the style of dress known as sportswear was open to all, in all classes and levels of society, through mass manufacturing and mass marketing. A truly American style, sportwear has spread throughout the world, representing a first in clothing history.

See also **Activewear; Blazer; Lauren, Ralph; Sport Shirt; Sweater; Swimwear.**

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Patricia Campbell Warner

STEELE, LAWRENCE Lawrence Dion Steele has been known since 1994 for his feminine and unapologetically sexy designs, produced in Milan, Italy. Lawrence Steele was the second of four children, born in 1963 to an Air Force family in Hampton, Virginia. Although Steele was raised in Rantoul, Illinois, he traveled extensively with his family. Working for a jeans company helped finance his education at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago. He graduated from the school with honors and a bachelor of fine arts degree in 1985.

After graduation Steele worked in Japan as an anonymous designer during the 1980s. He always knew, however, that he wanted to establish a business in Milan. Consequently he directed his attention toward Italy's fashion capital, where he lived and worked in the early 2000s.

Early Career

Steele began his career in Italy by assisting the design team of Jan and Carlos, known for minimalist design and fine machine-made knitwear. As manager of several collections for designer Franco Moschino from 1985 through 1990, Steele gained valuable experience translating the designer's riotous and radical ideas into actual designs. He was present when Patrizio Bertelli and Miuccia Prada expanded their vision of adding a ready-to-wear line to the Prada luxury leather goods company between 1990 and 1994. Steele recognized the value of their formidable personalities through collaborating with them.

Steele began defining his own fashion philosophy in the early 1990s. In 1994 he launched the Lawrence Steele label with the descriptive title of Platinum s.r.l., produced by Casor SpA in Bologna. The fashion press and industry gave Steele's first collection of 120 garments a particularly favorable response. This initial collection, however, did not reflect the minimalist construction and attention to details that became the hallmarks of his later style. Instead he paraded interpretations of Russian and Eskimo dress down the runway.

Beginning in 1998, Lawrence Steele's knitwear was produced by Miss Deanna SpA in Reggio Emilia. The most outstanding models of the early twenty-first century displayed his 1999 collection, "exalting feminine dress" (Lenoir, p. 27) in New York City. In the same year, Steele introduced LSD as a collection of urban active wear for men and women, made with innovative technical fabrics and produced by Alberto Aspesi and Company SpA. A Platinum s.r.l. spokesman announced an agreement with the Legnano-based manufacturer to produce and represent the Lawrence Steele label.

Fashion Innovations

The Lawrence Steele label was available in designer salons in department stores and high-end boutiques around the world in the early 2000s. During his association with Casor, Steele motivated the Bolognese factory to implement new and unusual methods for treating materials. To accommodate their exacting client, Casor's staff perfected gold-leaf finishing on baby alpaca, stretch cashmere, oil-slick neoprene, gold suede, sequin detailing on silk, and multiple zippers on satin. Steele also created ensembles of leather with Lycra at the request of the DuPont Corporation. This exclusive product gives exceptional elasticity to natural leather.

Steele collaborated with the artist Vanessa Beecroft, known for her living compositions and photographic documentation, in a public event in July 2001. Steele identified the event as an aesthetic presentation as opposed to a political protest. Thirty black female models stood motionless for several hours in the Palazzo Ducale of Genoa. The women had been made uniform in color with body paint and identical wigs, and were dressed in black two-piece bathing suits detailed with clear plastic straps. Designer Manolo Blahnik produced the models' spike-heeled footwear according to Steele's suggestions.

Characteristic Styles

While Steele's demeanor in interviews was calm and sweet, his intensity and ambition radiated through his descriptions of his clothing. "I make the clothes modern women will find utterly desirable; my vision is glamorous, sensuous and a little dangerous and it includes breasts!" (Specter, p. 98).

The on-screen glamor of Diana Ross in the film *Mahogany* dazzled Steele as a boy; as an African American, he proudly acknowledged her as his muse. His ideal female of the early 2000s had a long neck, even longer legs, and a slim, vibrant body. Marlene Dietrich, Marilyn Monroe, and Josephine Baker were the film sirens who appeared on his inspiration boards. Copies of line drawings by Madeleine Vionnet, Cristóbal Balenciaga, Coco Chanel, and Charles James were tacked to the walls of his atelier above random stacks of international periodicals.

Steele's memorable runway presentations attracted the interest of such stylish celebrities as Jennifer Aniston, Naomi Campbell, Erin O'Conner, Lauryn Hill, Meg Ryan, Oprah Winfrey, and Julia Roberts. The atmosphere at his shows compared with the electric excitement of a rock concert. Steele designed a "red carpet" gown in layers of black chiffon with a plunging back and twisted halter detail displaying the shoulder area, which he consided an erogenous zone. He watched Aniston walk down the aisle wearing the gown he designed for her wedding in 2001—hand-stitched and seed-pearl-encrusted with a 28-yard skirt of silk tulle. "I wanted the effect of a cloud around her feet" (Alexander, p. 29).

Designs and Artistic Hallmarks

Steele's sophisticated signature was evident throughout his collections of adaptable, supercharged, and sensuous clothing. He combined non-extreme styling, figure-flattering cuts of industrial luxe (such as metal-based fabric), and studied, monochromatic color schemes. He built thematic groups, ranging from "techno" to "viva-glam" (stretch cashmere) (Singer 1998, p. 352), all produced in shiny PVC, fiber-optic nylon, angora, marabou, perforated rubber, glossed chiffon, raffia spikes, netted Swarovski crystals, and slashed leather—examples of his unusual choices of material.

During the development of a Steele collection, swatches of sequined animal prints and paillette-strewn sheer fabrics may be arranged for inspection on the workroom floors of an uncluttered but busy atelier. Press releases described Steele's pieces as modular and precise, insulating and industro-luxe in such colors as metal, bark, and dust. Textures were described in terms of weightless quilting and padded taffeta. Themes derived from popular culture inspired bomber jackets molded in mink and track suits edged in gold braid. Program notes listed such directions as Refined versus Primitive. One collection contained references to "straight forward," "clean," and "necessary."

The designer's philosophy of modern minimalist design was embodied in such themes such as Smoking in Bed, Hand Finished, and New Volume. He mixed tuxedo detailing with lingerie that included oversized crepe pants and camisoles. Steele's floral patterns capitalized on the recognition of computer-generated patterns. Steele persisted in editing and refining his ideas, beginning with the concept of "elegance as refusal" (Singer 1998, p. 358).

See also **Blahnik, Manolo; Celebrities; Elastomers; High-Tech Fashion; Moschino, Franco; Prada; Techno-textiles.**

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Gillion Carrara

STOCKINGS, WOMEN'S The stocking has an established place in the contemporary lexicon of erotic imagery. Elmer Batters, an American photographer, dedicated his life's work to documenting thousands of women in their stockinged feet. Stockinged women offer one of the most powerful images of modern female glamour and provide for the marketing of sexual allure.

Origins

The stocking was not always considered a sexual symbol. The earliest known example of a knitted sock, flat-cut and seamed at the back, was found in Egypt, where both knitting and weaving are thought to have originated. There is some debate as to whether hand-knitting was introduced to Europe by Christian missionaries, sea traders, or Arabs who, after conquering Egypt in 641 C.E., made their way to Spain. What is known is that it was widely established throughout Europe as a domestic skill by the thirteenth century. The majority of stockings were made from wool, although silk was commonplace for the aristocratic and landed gentry, and were viewed as a covering for the legs that was particularly practical for the climate.

Mechanical Production

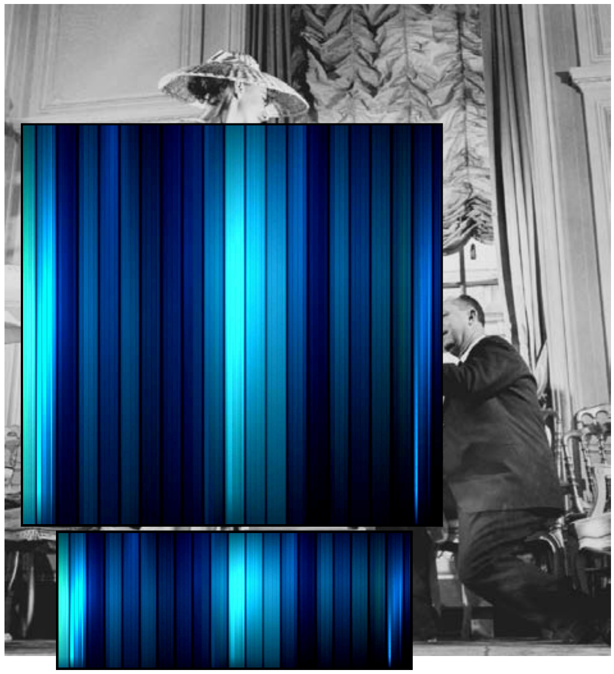
It was the development of the first knitting frame, by Reverend William Lee in Nottingham in 1589, that heralded an era of mechanical production that, along with Marc Isambard Brunel's circular-knitting machine (developed in 1816), was to transform the stocking from practical covering to erotic emblem. Lee's knitting frame took production out of the home, improved and standardized quality, and stimulated a demand for stockings that were an extension of the fashionable consumer's wardrobe.

The introduction of rayon in 1884, a cellulose-fiber material invented in France, changed production in a radical way. Rayon dominated the market for substitute silk stockings, facilitating widespread availability at an affordable price, until the invention of nylon, a more realistic alternative patented by DuPont in 1937. The first nylons were introduced in the United States in May 1940; four million pairs were sold in the first four days.

By the 1960s, the fully-fashioned, "one-size-fits-all" stocking began to outpace the flat-cut, classic seamed stocking, propelled by the introduction in 1958 of stretch Lycra. In addition, Lycra almost completely dispensed with the suspender belt as "roll-ons," early versions of tights, were developed. A British company, Bear Brand, first experimented with tights; by the arrival of the miniskirt in the early 1960s, tights were popular and widely available. Only the introduction of the "hold-up," a stocking with elasticized tops, breathed some life into the stocking market in the mid-1980s.

Fashion from 1400 to 1900

Men were the principal innovators in stocking fashions during the first few centuries of their introduction to Europe, bright colors accentuating the calves, with cross-garters tied at the knee and ankles embellished with embroidered "clocks" or motifs. In the early Georgian period, women's stockings were woven in complex patterns with intricate embroidery. By 1740, formal dress dictated a plainer white stocking that dominated fashionable evening wear until the 1880s.



Christian Dior with woman modeling stockings. Christian Dior kneels at right, working on a new design in 1948.

In the 1860s, hemlines began to rise and the white stocking was covered in candy-colored riots of spots and stripes; even tartan prints were used to honor Queen Victoria's passion for Scotland. By 1880, they were emblazoned with swallows, butterflies, flowers, and snakes and dyed in rich reds and pale yellows, although the end of the century saw color give way to practical black as women increasingly joined the workplace.

"What are the qualities essential to feminine allure? What is it that attracts and holds the eye of the male? Let me give you a hint. It begins at the tip of the toes and runs to the top of the hose … legs and feet" (Batters, p. 10).

Women line up for nylons. Nylon stockings were first introduced in 1940, and were in short supply during World War II (1939–1945). In 1946, with the war over and shortages easing, these women lined up at Selfridges and Company in London, waiting for a chance to purchase nylons.

Fashion and Retailing from 1900 to 2003

Women's magazines and mail-order catalogs provided manufacturers with new opportunities to introduce an ever-increasing array of stockings to an interested public. Thousands of small haberdashers were joined by department stores in major cities boasting dedicated hosiery sections. Positive magazine editorial became increasingly important in the aggressive marketing of hosiery products, as women's consumer power continued to grow.

The advent of the cinema heightened the appeal, and facilitated the marketing of stockings. Film stars like Betty Grable propelled the sleek, stockinged leg to iconic status—and it was an attainable glamour. In tandem, packaging design took on all the qualities of gift-wrapped candy—lined paper boxes tied with a bow made stockings a desirable gift. Brands such as Aristoc, launched in the 1920s, Wolford (1946), and Pretty Polly (1950s), are still major players in the hosiery market in the twenty-first century, principally by playing on the glamorous associations of their product—and the idea of womanhood as object of masculine desire, a sensual package waiting to be unwrapped.

The sleek, seamed black stocking was synonymous with postwar fashion, and a focal point for Christian Dior's "New Look" in Paris in 1947. It was another designer, Mary Quant, who revolutionized hosiery fashions a decade later—and signaled the downfall of the stocking as a standard mass-market product. Targeting the new teen, Quant commissioned lacy and patterned tights, emblazoned with her daisy logo, that flattered the miniskirt she made famous in 1963 and expressed the feelings of vibrancy and emancipation that characterized the times. In contrast, by 1971 stockings, now stigmatized as a masculine fetish, held only 5 percent of the market.

As women of all ages turned toward the comfort of tights, lingerie designers who marketed the suspender and stocking did so increasingly as an erotic statement. Of these, the best known is Janet Reger in the United Kingdom and La Perla in Italy. Launching her business at the same time as Quant, Janet Reger appealed to women's desire to look and feel sexy.

Eroticism

For Elmer Batters (and many others), the eroticism of the stocking and suspender belt lies in the lines they create, framing the female body, and the consideration in dressing that they imply. The stocking's eroticism is, however, a relatively recent development in its history. Women's stockings were not publicly seen until the reign of Charles II, and, as practical coverings, held few erotic connotations until well into the eighteenth century.

It was in performance that the stocking took on an erotic charge; the art of striptease pivoted on the deliberate, prolonged undressing of the female form. Not coincidentally, the "Naughty Nineties" (1890–1900)—the decade of the cancan and the Moulin Rouge—defined the stocking as an erotic symbol. The rustle of petticoats against silk stockings came to signify the repressed sexual energy of the times. For respectable ladies, it was dances like the waltz and the polka, the Charleston and the tango that allowed them to flash gentlemen a glimpse of a silk-clad ankle.

During World War II, American GI's with a secure supply of nylon stockings frequently deployed them as part of their courtship rituals. The cinema and the pin-up did most to uphold the allure of stockinged feet in the 1950s (Betty Page is one of the most iconic figures of the period), continuing into the 1970s and 1980s. It was another performer, Madonna, who was to alter the stocking's erotic connotations, liberating it as a symbol of masculine desire as the stocking "acquired the force of a manifesto … no longer a symbol of slavery,… it announced the liberation of the dominatrix" (Néret, p. 18). It was a trend, begun by Reger in the 1960s, and perpetuated by British lingerie brand Agent Provocateur in the 1990s, toward lingerie, and in particular the stocking and suspender belt, as a positive, feminine choice. In the twenty-first century, the stocking has come to symbolize "a superior kind of woman, bold enough to exploit her assets … a new concept which has made the notion of the 'woman as sex object' obsolete" (Néret, p. 18).

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Alice Cicolini

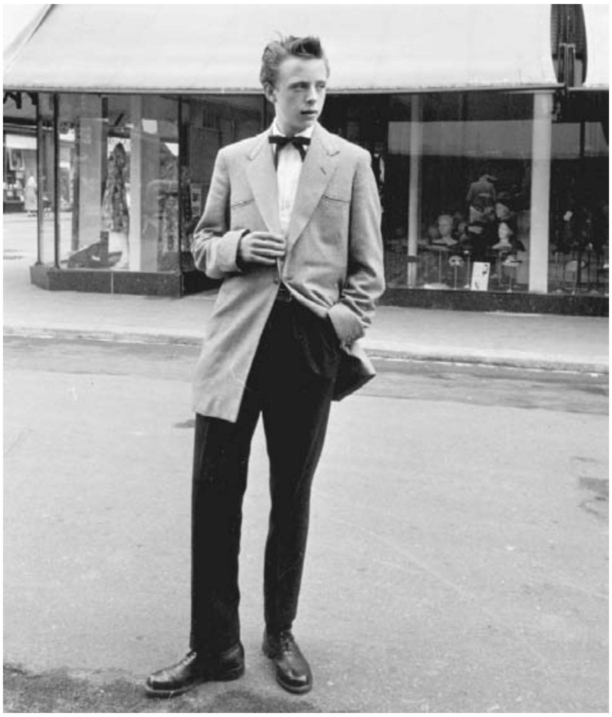
STONEWASHING. *See* **Distressing.**

STREET STYLE Street style has always existed. It is, however, only since the mid-1950s that its significance has been recognized, valued, and emulated.

Why this change? Arguably the most profound and distinctive development of the twentieth century was this era's shift from high culture to popular culture—the slow but steady recognition that innovation in matters of art, music, and dress can derive from all social strata rather than, as previously, only from the upper classes. As much as, for example, the twentieth century's accreditation of jazz, blues, folk, and tango as respected musical forms, the re-evaluation of street style as a key source of innovation in dress and appearance—in the early 2000s, a principle engine of the clothing industry—demonstrates this democratization of aesthetics and culture.

With the development of that system of perpetual style change that is called "fashion" (in the Renaissance), most new designs "trickled down" the socioeconomic ladder to be copied by anyone who could afford to do so. This system was still the order of the day in 1947 when Christian Dior launched his "New Look": first available only to a tiny, wealthy elite, the tight-waisted and full, voluminous hem of this design rapidly became available in department stores (and via patterns for home sewing) throughout the West. (Interestingly, one of the first prominent British street style "tribes," the Teddy Boys, might be seen as another example of the "trickle down" principle in that the distinctive styling of their extra-long jackets—and even their name—was copied from the "edwardian" style fashionable amongst some upper-class British men.)

Yet even as the "New Look" demonstrates the extent to which—in the middle of the twentieth century—the high-fashion world remained largely impervious to influences from outside the tight sphere of elite designers and their wealthy customers, a broader perspective on dress reveals a growing appreciation of styles and fabrics with distinct, explicit working or lower-class roots and connotations. Denim is a good example of this: originally worn only by male manual workers, the 1947 and 1948 Sears & Roebuck catalogs both feature casual wear for women and children made from this material. While the designs and catalog presentation of these garments promotes the symbolic context of cowboys and the "Wild West" rather than urban manual labor, it could be argued that the cowboy was the first "working-class hero." At around the same time, the flamboyant, extrovert, and extravagant zoot-suited "hipster" styles of black jazz musicians and (at the other extreme stylistically) the rough and ready look of the Bikers (models for Brando in *The Wild One*) were increasingly influencing the dress style of the sort of middle-class male who previously had looked only to upper-class style (and upper-class sports) for sartorial inspiration. Thus, even before the end of the first half of the twentieth century, one finds significant examples of "bubble up" replacing the previously all-pervasive "trickle down" process; of the upper class loosening its stranglehold on "good taste" in matters of dress and, therefore, the emergence of street style as a potent and energizing force.



A "Teddy Boy." The distinctive look of London's Teddy Boys in the 1950s is among the earliest prominent street styles. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

A Positive View of Street Style

The dramatic increase in the standardization of life after World War II (suburbanization, mass marketing, the franchising of restaurant and retail chains, the spread of television, and so on) may have increased the appeal of "alternative" lifestyles for individuals in search of "authenticity." The clothing styles of both the "outlaw" and those "from the wrong side of the tracks" became attractive as symbolic totems of escape from the bland (un)reality of what many cultural theorists have termed "late capitalism."

Important also was the astounding demographic blip of the "baby boomers" born just after World War II. As this generation grew up in the late 1950s and early 1960s, they came to represent a new sociocultural category—the "teenager"—who, by sheer dint of numbers and the fact that, by and large, they had money to spend, became a significant focus of the economic and cultural worlds. Slow off the mark in its embrace of "youth culture" (and still determinedly upper class and elitist), high fashion had little to offer the average baby-boom teenager who saw street style as a hipper, more authentic, and relevant source of stylistic inspiration. Every street "look" (beat, mod, rockabilly, biker, etc.) brought with it an entire lifestyle package of values and beliefs, a philosophy and, it was often hoped, a new, alternative, community.

This admiration of street style was especially true of young males. Fashionable male dress reached a crescendo of blandness in the 1950s with the typical, middle-class Western male reduced to near sartorial invisibility. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that street style in the twentieth century was as biased toward men (hipsters, beats, teddy boys, bikers, mods, hippies, psychedelics, skinheads, glam rockers, punks, new romantics, goths, casuals, b-boys, etc.) as fashion has been biased toward women. The rise of street style represents the return of the peacock male from near extinction and this undoubtedly plays a key part in its rising popularity and importance.

Finally, mention should be made of the importance of street style as a facilitator of group identity and subcultural cohesion. Since the close of World War II, Western culture has seen a dramatic decline in the significance of the traditional sociocultural divisions such as class, race, religion, ethnicity, regionalism, nationalism, and so on in defining and limiting personal identity. While liberating and egalitarian, this diminishing of the importance of such traditional sociocultural groupings created a huge amorphous, undifferentiated, homogenous mass within which a sense of community—"People Like Us"—became more problematic. The "tribelike" groupings of, for example, bikers, beats, and teddy boys in the 1950s; mods, hippies, and skinheads in the 1960s; headbangers, punks, and b-boys in the 1970s; and goths, new age travelers and ravers in the 1980s, offered a much needed sense of community—especially for teenagers who, beginning to separate from the parental family but not yet having created their own family unit, feel this need most acutely. Significantly, while throughout human history sociocultural groups have always used dress and body decoration styles to signal and reinforce their group identities and their shared culture, now, for the first time, one's appearance and style became a sociocultural glue which, it was hoped, would bind together disparate strangers—most of whom would never meet but all of whom shared a culture encrypted in a particular style of dress and music.

From the 1940s through the 1980s street style coalesced into dozens if not hundreds of alternative "tribes"—each with its own complex, integrated subcultural system of style, values, and beliefs. Many of these evolved, distinguishing one from the other (hipsters to beats to hippies) while others developed in an antagonistic process energized by opposition (mods/rockers, hippies/punks). In the process, a complex family tree of "styletribes" has spanned (and in many ways defined) several generations.

An Advertisement of Self

Street style "tribes" offered (and, for many, seem to have provided) that sense of community and shared identity that is so difficult to find in contemporary society. But while significant remnants of many of these subcultures remain scattered around the globe, such commitment and group identity have become less typical of the twenty-first cen-

Skateboarders. A group of teenage skateboarders pose for a picture in Manhattan. Many teenagers reject conventional fashions, instead developing their own street styles to better reflect their identities. © ROSE HARTMAN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

tury. Such looks are now, typically, plucked off the shelf of the post-modern "supermarket of style," tried out, promiscuously mixed with other looks, and then discarded.

However, while street style may now have entered a post-tribal phase, this is not to suggest that its importance has diminished, since fashion, in its strict, traditional sense, no longer structures and empowers most of the clothing industry. As the supreme expression of modernism, fashion's orderly, lineal production of new, "New Looks" and the consensus in the form of a singular, progressive "direction" that it demanded, is ill-suited to the complexity and pluralism of the postmodern age within which the possibility of progress, the value of uniformity, and the desirability of transience are increasingly questioned.

Originally attractive because of its perceived "authenticity," its offer of "alternative" choice and its capacity to "say" something significant about those who wear it, street style has moved into a key position within the clothing industry in a postmodern age characterized by a crises of identity, truth, and meaning. This is to say, not only has the "fashion industry" come to increasingly and persistently look to "the street" for design inspiration, but, more significantly, that how clothing functions in the early 2000s from the perspective of the consumer—how it is purchased, worn, and valued—is more rooted in the history of street style than in the history of high fashion. Consumers have, in other words, moved a very long way indeed from the world of Dior's "New Look" in 1947 and the direction of this movement is commensurate with that approach to dress and appearance that has come to be known as "street style."

The "bubbling up" of stylistic inspiration (often, modeled by up-and-coming pop musicians) has become widespread within every segment of the clothing industry including "High Fashion." Moreover, street style's delight in "timeless classics" and its disdain for the ephemeral (Hell's Angels never coveted "This Season's New Biker Look") is seen in a widespread resistance to throwing out everything in one's wardrobe just because some fashion journalist might claim that "brown is the new black." While once the consumer sought out a "total look" from a particular designer, it is increasingly

Motorcycle gang from *The Wild One.* Johnny Strabler (Marlon Brando, center) and his motorcycle gang from the 1953 film *The Wild One,* which helped to popularize the tough, leather-clad look of bikers, is an early example of a street style influencing fashion. © JOHN SPRINGER COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

thought that only a pathetic "fashion victim" takes such a passive approach. Thus, the construction of a presentation of self is increasingly seen as the work of the creative individual.

To this end, in a process that can be traced directly back to the Punks, the twenty-first century consumer—using garments and accessories from different designers, brands, or charity shops as "adjectives"—samples and mixes an eclectic (often even contradictory) range of looks into a personal style statement. This emphasis on what a look has to "say" also largely derives from street style. While pure fashion articulated only "This is new and I am therefore fashionable," street style was always deeply resonate with more complex personal (even philosophical and political) meanings—a choice of cut or color or fabric calculated to convey a precise summary of attitude and lifestyle. Street style obliged the individual to wear his or her values and beliefs on the sleeve—in a way that more often than not required commitment and courage. Arguably, it is this capacity to give visual expression to where one is "at"—to articulate personal differences and, therefore, to create the possibility of interpersonal connection between like-minded individuals—which, in an age of too much communication and too little meaning, is street style's most valuable legacy.

See also **Hippie Style; Punk; Subcultures; Teenage Fashions; Zoot Suit.**

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Ted Polhemus

STRIPED CLOTH The term "striped cloth" describes any textile woven, knitted, or printed in such a way that bands of different colors, evenly or unevenly spaced, appear on the surface of the fabric. Striped cloth is usually warp-faced cloth (that is, cloth in which the warp yarns lie on the cloth's surface) in which the warp yarns are laid out in bands of different colors, but striped cloth can also be weft-faced, or knitted, or printed to emulate woven stripes. Fabrics in which bands of different colors appear in both the warp and the weft (or are printed in such a pattern) are known variously as checks, gingham, tartan, and plaid.

Origins

Striped cloth is found among the some of the earliest extant examples of woven textiles and must have arisen as a natural consequence of the color variability of yarns, particularly woolen yarns. Randomly distributed warp yarns of different colors or shades would have spontaneously produced a sort of asymmetrical striped cloth; it would then have been a very small step for the weaver to stretch her warp in such a way as to space out at even intervals the varying colors of yarn, producing true striped cloth. The use of yarns dyed in different colors must have been the next, equally obvious, step in the process of producing striped cloth. By early historic times, striped cloth was a normal part of the weaver's repertoire in cultures around the world, although it does not appear that the wearing of striped cloth predominated in any of the societies of antiquity.

The Devil's Cloth

As the French social historian Michel Pastoureau has pointed out, in the European Middle Ages striped cloth took on strong connotations of deviance and abasement. Servants and court jesters wore striped cloth; so did prostitutes, madmen, and criminals, not voluntarily but by official orders. The bold, broad, contrasting stripes of their garments seemed to stand for neither-this-nor-that, ambivalence, ambiguity, and a realm of unclear and violated boundaries. This connotation of striped cloth is with us still; a jumpsuit or a tunic-and-trousers combination garment made of broadly striped cloth, in either horizontal or vertical stripes, instantly carries the association of prisoners, convicted criminals, or, in a tragic variation, inmates of concentration camps. A loose, lightweight pajama-like union suit of brightly striped cloth, with a broad collar and cuffs, is the iconic outfit of the clown, a figure whose humor derives from his license to transgress the boundaries of orderly society.

The wearing of stripes was not always a sign of social deviance, but even as a fashion statement, stripes had connotations of boldness and daring, a willingness to test the boundaries of social tolerance. The broadly striped hose worn by young men in the Italian Renaissance, familiar from countless paintings and tapestries, gave them a swaggering air that must have seemed impudent and shocking to their more soberly dressed elders.

Striped cloth also had a role to play in heraldry, as overjackets, streamers, and banners of colored stripes could be used to display the colors of knights in combat or in the simulated combat of the tournament. The heraldic use of striped cloth survives in the practice of suspending medals signifying civil and military honors from striped grosgrain ribbon, with the color, width, and placement of stripes specified exactly by the rules of the decoration. In some cases the honor also includes the right to wear a wide sash of striped ribbon in the same colors as the ribbon of the medal itself. Ribbon in the tricolor pattern of red, white, and blue, often folded into a rosette worn as a hat decoration, became a potent symbol of the French Revolution.

Stripes in Fashion

Although striped cloth never entirely lost its connotations of danger and deviance, it acquired other associations, so that by the eighteenth century striped cloth entered the repertoire of ordinary European fashionable clothing. In particular, striped clothing acquired sporting or leisure connotations; Victorian paintings of seaside scenes frequently show women strolling in long summer dresses of black-and-white or blue-and-white striped fabric. As this association with the seaside suggests, stripes also called to mind nautical images. Woolen sweaters knitted with horizontal stripes of blue and white became standard gear for sailors, from Venetian gondoliers to crew members of private yachts.

The almost infinite number of possible combinations of colors and widths in which striped cloth could be produced led to a continued symbolic use of striped garments in a way that distantly recalled the old rules of heraldry. Boating clubs and cricket teams at English universities frequently sported boldly striped blazers in club colors. Neckties in stripes of prescribed colors and widths (with the cloth cut on the bias to produce diagonal stripes) similarly were used to identify members of military regiments, alumni of university colleges, clubs, and similar affinity groups.

The associations of striped cloth with leisure and sporting pursuits also made sturdy striped canvas popular for the upholstery of outdoor furniture, the canopies of beach umbrellas and cabanas, and the like. In the early twentieth century, before the invention of air-conditioning, buildings in Western cities were festooned in summertime with brightly striped awnings to keep sunshine and rain from entering open windows.

Striped Cloth in the Twenty-First Century

Since World War II, striped cloth has occasionally been fashionable for women's attire, and almost any year's ready-to-wear collections will include some striped dresses, skirts, and shirts. Horizontally striped sweaters remain sportswear standards for both men and women. But the major uses of striped cloth today are so understated as to escape immediate notice; striped cloth is primarily used now for men's suiting materials and for men's dress (business) shirts and ties. Partly in the hope that vertical stripes produce an illusion of a slimmer and taller body, many men wear dark suits with very thin stripes (pinstripes) or slightly fuzzy stripes (chalk stripes) of white or some other light color. Shirting materials, too, are frequently woven in white or light colors with dark pinstripes, or in stripes of even width (often of blue and white). In some years bright, multicolored stripes come into fashion; these are often made up into shirts with white collars and cuffs. And plain shirts are often worn with "regimental" striped ties (which, in America at least, seldom have or retain their specific symbolic associations). Sober business attire is the last bastion of a type of cloth that once had a far wider and more exciting range of meanings.

See also **Nautical Style; Neckties and Neckwear; Prison Dress; Ties; Uniforms, Sports.**

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John S. Major

STRIPTEASE Publicists coined the word striptease in the late 1920s. It is still an evocative word, bringing to mind the lurid image of a busty, 1950s performer bumping and grinding in tasseled pasties and a sequined g-string. This icon of overtly commercial sexuality had its heyday in the 1950s, but the history of the striptease reaches as far back as the nineteenth century.

Starting in the 1850s, what is often referred to as the "scandal of tights" swept through America. Flesh-colored stockings were worn on the stage by comediennes, chorines, and cancan dancers revealing limbs that had been all but eliminated from the fashionable silhouette. The costume shocked audiences, but was allowed by censors since it had originated on ostensibly respectable stages in Europe, such as the Gaiety in London and the Folies Bergère in Paris. These nineteenth-century performers never actually disrobed, but they were harassed, fined, and occasionally jailed for pulling up their skirts, flashing their underwear, and swiveling their hips in a way that evoked the throes of passion. In 1893, the American purveyors of the tights-clad leg show, found mainly in burlesque and vaudeville theaters, shed even more clothes in order to adapt the "exotic" dance of the Chicago World's Fair's Little Egypt (whose performance launched the first and longest-lived euphemism for the stripteaser: exotic dancer).

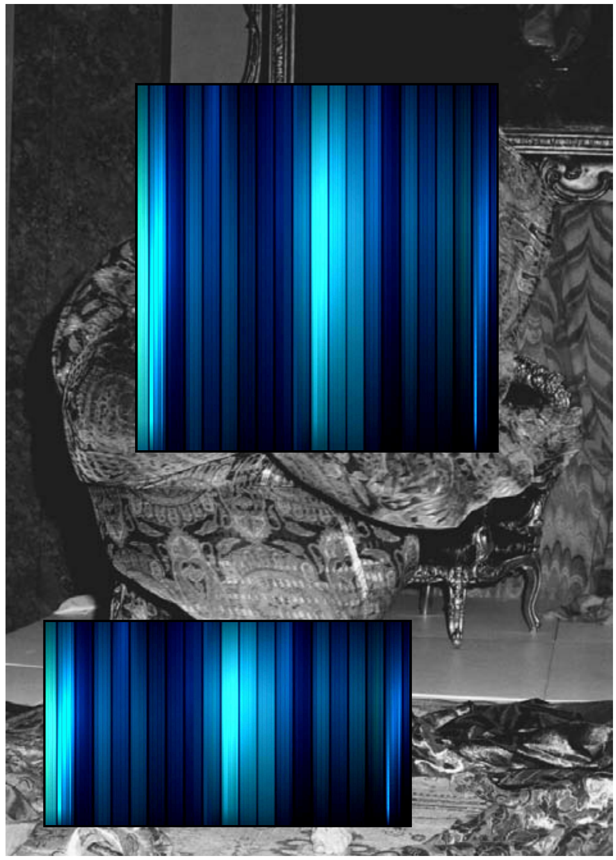
The element of bare flesh was introduced around the turn of the century at the tea parties of socialite ladies. Early modern dancers like Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, and Maud Allan scandalized moralists with the degree of physical exposure in the costumes for their dances that were launched through the patronage of wealthy women interested in Orientalist art and culture. Duncan performed at ladies' matinees in bare feet and without tights, dressed only in a classical gown (made at first of her mother's muslin curtains). St. Denis adopted the exotic dance of the World's Fairs and dressed in ultra-sheer and bejeweled net garments. Allan developed a Dance of the Seven Veils based on the biblical story of Salome that was so popular that prominent women were inspired to hold a costume party of Salome-style dress. Through the popularity of modern dancers, a formula was filtered into American popular theater where numerous young women reduced their stage costumes to gauzy skirts, beaded bras, and bared midriffs in an effort to interpret foreign cultures, real and imagined, through the art of dance.

By the 1910s, the first accounts of striptease appeared on the heels of the advent of modern dance. Vaudeville historian Joe Laurie, Jr. claimed that vaudeville headliner Eva Tanguay let the veils drop in her version of the Salome dance in 1912. Morton Minsky claimed that burlesque performer Mae Dix invented it when she removed the detachable collar and cuffs of her costume in full view of the audience in order to save on her cleaning bill. Former stripteaser Ann Corio credited Hinda Wassau with inventing the act when forced to shimmy out of a chorus costume that had caught on the beads of the ensemble worn beneath for purposes of a quick change. The "Glorified Girls" featured in the mainstream Broadway revue of Florenz Ziegfeld, Jr. also made nudity more and more acceptable on the stage with opulent *tableaux* such as "Lady Godiva's Ride" in the *Follies of 1919*.

The acceptance of nudity necessitated bawdy entertainment to up the ante further in order to secure their lucratively raunchy reputations. The result was striptease. The precedent of nudity established by modern dancers implied artistic motives. The striptease represented a return to the flash-and-tickle approach of populist vaudeville dancers. That was infinitely more appealing to male audiences and it was achieved not through nudity, but through an undressing that mimicked the disrobing which preceded a sexual encounter. The formula was simple: the slow parade of a beautiful girl in a beautiful gown; the removal of stockings, gloves, hairpins; the slow shimmy out of the clinging, formal dress; and the briefest wriggle in only a g-string. Nudity made artistic became artistry made erotic.

Four burlesque producer brothers named Minsky became inextricably connected with striptease in the 1920s. Their publicists, George Alabama Florida and Mike Goldreyer, came up with the name for it and promoted its finest practitioners. These included Margie Hart, Georgia Southern, Ann Corio, and the incomparable Gypsy Rose Lee. When the Great Depression came, the Minskys were able to lease a theater on Broadway. Gypsy Rose Lee thrived in Minsky shows during this era and set the tone for high-style striptease as an extremely beautiful woman who was also an engaging comedienne and natural-born celebrity. The Minskys were so successful that theater producers and real-estate interests (along with some conservative religious organizations) banded together to get the act of striptease itself banned in New York City. They succeeded in 1937 when the word burlesque and the name Minsky were banned in New York City, and all the theaters that featured striptease were shut down. Similar bans followed in other cities across the nation.

Throughout the 1940s, a few burlesque houses survived and Minsky strippers used their fame to headline shows on carnival midways. In the years following the crackdown on striptease, some concessions were made to avoid trouble with the law. The use of pasties to cover the aureolas was the most noticeable change, but the addition of sequins, rhinestones, and tassels changed pasties from a handicap to an innovation. As nightclubs entered a boom following World War II, striptease came back in style again. A 1954 *Newsweek* article reported that the number of stripteasers had quadrupled since the 1930s and that 50 nightclubs in New York City featured striptease. The article gleefully recounts the props in the shows (snakes, monkeys, macaws, doves, parakeets, stuffed horses, swimming tanks, and bubble baths); the cost of the costumes ($850 to $1,000 for Lili St. Cyr's Vegas act); and the stage names in use (Carita La Dove—the Cuban Bombshell, Evelyn West—the $50,000 Treasure Chest Girl). The star performers of this era employed all the over-the-top shtick of 50 years of vaudeville in their acts. Blaze Starr had a red settee, which she had tricked out with a fan, canned smoke, and a piece of bright silk that would appear to go up in flames. Lili St. Cyr did interpretive striptease based on *Salome*, *Carmen*, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, and *Sadie Thompson*. Tempest Storm promoted herself relentlessly, dating celebrities and accepting a mock award from Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis for having the two biggest props in Hollywood. These acts were so popular that in 1951 Frenchman Alain Bernadin opened the Crazy Horse Saloon in Paris to bring American-style striptease to European cabaret audiences. Another garish heyday for striptease had arrived. But by the 1960s, that heyday had come and gone.



Dance of the Seven Veils. Lyn Seymour rehearses for a production of Oscar Wilde's 1891 play, *Salome*. Although tame by modern standards, the "Dance of the Seven Veils" perfomed in the play helped begin a trend towards the seductive, near-nude dancing known as striptease. © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis. Reproduced by permission.

In the decades that followed, striptease was rejected in favor of the direct appeal of already bare flesh. The topless trend kicked off in the mid-1960s when a go-go dancer at a San Francisco strip club performed in Rudi Gernreich's topless bathing suit without getting arrested. Topless lunches, topless shoeshines, and other mundane acts improved by toplessness were featured in the clubs that had showcased striptease. Bottomlessness logically followed. By the 1970s, the hugely profitable pornography industry almost eclipsed live nude girls altogether. Crackdowns on the pornography industry in the 1980s encouraged a resurgence of striptease, but much of the glamour and humorous shtick of 1950s striptease was excised in favor of the intimacy of the lap dance for an audience of one and as a result, the theatrically-inclined tassel-twirling stripteaser was replaced by the more readily accessible silicone-enhanced bottle blond with one leg wrapped around a metal pole.

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Jessica Glasscock

SUBCULTURES A point on which many costume historians have concurred is that fashion, as it is currently understood—the propensity for continual change in clothing designs, colors, and tastes—is a relatively recent phenomenon in the history of humankind, virtually unknown before the fourteenth century and occurring only with the emergence of mercantile capitalism, the concomitant growth in global trade, and the rise of the medieval city. (Among the few exceptions are Tang Dynasty China and Heian Period Japan.) Other scholars have analyzed fashion as an aspect of a distinctively modern and Western consumer culture that first gained impetus in the eighteenth century, concurrent with the onset of the industrial revolution. Either way, to be "fashionable" in this sense of the term must not be understood as a natural, universal, or biologically given aspect of human behavior, but as a socially and historically specific condition. Fashion is, in other words, a cultural construction. Its very existence, form, and direction are dependent on the complex interplay of quite specific economic, political, and ideological forces.

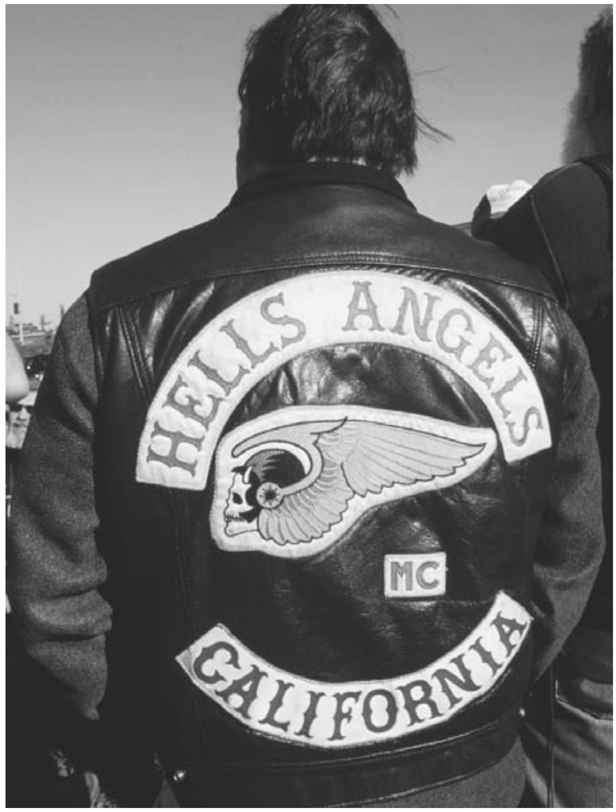
If fashion is cultural then fashion subcultures are groups organized around or based upon certain features of costume, appearance, and adornment that render them distinctive enough to be recognized or defined as a subset of the wider culture. Depending on the group in question, subcultures may be loosely or tightly bounded; their collective identification may be self-attributed or imputed to them by outsiders. A particular gender, age span, social class, or ethnic identity may dominate membership. Subcultures often create their own distinctiveness by defining themselves in opposition to the "mainstream"—the accepted, prescribed, or prevailing fashion of the period. They may be either radical and forward-looking or reactionary and conservative in relation to the dominant mode of dressing: in either case, they aim toward exclusivity. Thus, while these subcultures may depend upon fashion for their very existence, their members may dispute the relevance of fashion (as both phenomenon and terminology) to their own identity, perhaps preferring to orient themselves around the idea of "style" or "anti-fashion." "Anti-fashion is that 'true chic' which used to be defined as the elegance that never draws attention to itself, the simplicity that is 'understated'… Anti-fashion attempts a timeless style, tries to get the essential element of change out of fashion altogether" (Wilson, pp. 183–184).

Early Examples

Elizabeth Wilson's *Adorned in Dreams* includes a useful introductory discussion of certain forms of early, European fashion subcultures that favored rebellious, or oppositional, dress. Along with the "great masculine renunciation" of the early nineteenth century, in which men forsook foppish perfumed effeminacy for classic understated sobriety, came the figure of the Regency dandy. Although English in origin, dandyism soon found a resonance in post-revolutionary France, where it was adopted by the avant-garde youth subculture, the Incroyables. The typical dandy was undoubtedly motivated by a narcissistic obsession with image, display, and the presentation of the self through dress; yet his overriding concern was with sheer quality of fabric, fit, and form, not overbearing or ostentatious ornamentation. This coterie of young gentlemen was thus characterized by an ethos of stoical heroism, a disciplined quest for refinement, elegance, and excellence, the diverse historical legacy of which can be seen in male Edwardian dress, the 1960s mod subculture, and the character of John Steed in the cult TV show, *The Avengers.*

The fastidiousness of the dandy can be contrasted with the flamboyance of the bohemian, who also emerged in the early nineteenth century, but as a romantic reaction against the perceived de-humanizing utilitarianism and rationalism of the industrial revolution. Although often solidly upper-middle class in origin, the romantic rebel—as artist, visionary, or intellectual—was fundamentally anti-bourgeois in tastes and outlook, their moral quest for self-renewal through art synonymous with a desire to escape the inhibitions of conventional lifestyles and appearances. Bohemian countercultures have been a feature of many major Western urban centers of creativity—Paris, London, New York, Berlin, San Francisco—at regular intervals over the past two hundred years. From the casual neckties, romantic robes, and ethnic exoticism of the early French bohemians, via the existentially-inspired black uniform and pale complexions of the 1950s beatniks, to the natural fibers, Eastern-influenced designs, and psychedelic aesthetic of the 1960s hippies, Wilson's book provides descriptions of their many and varied forms of sartorial dissent.

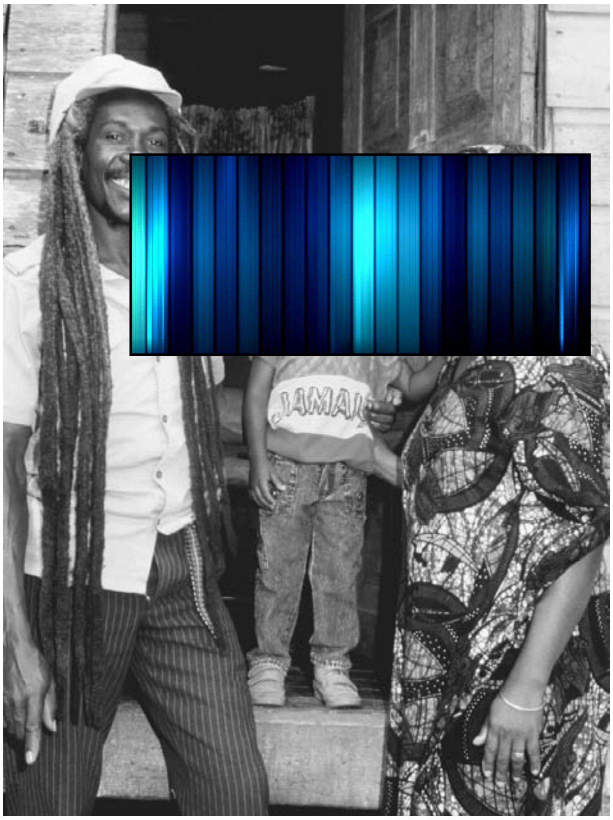
Because calls to free the physical self from the strictures imposed by social conventions of dress can imply a need for either increased functionality of design or a relaxation of hitherto too rigid forms, oppositional fashions and attempts at reformist dress can display both puritan rational and aesthetic romantic elements. Artistic or aesthetic dress of the nineteenth century called for the natural and free-flowing draping of the female body at a time when the tightly corseted, narrow-waisted, and heavily bustled female was the height of popular fashion; yet it is interesting that a movement founded in 1881 to free women from precisely these restrictions and impediments of conventional Victorian dress should be called "The Rational Dress Society." In the Soviet Union of the 1920s, the rational aspects of dress design were underpinned by the scientific tenets of Marxist-Leninism. Constructivist artists such as Vladimir Tatlin, Liubov' Popova, and Varvara Stepanova combined geometric Modernist motifs with the principle that form follows function to address the utilitarian clothing needs of urban industrial workers. The resulting revolutionary garments, intended for mass production, were destined, however, to remain—like aesthetic dress—a minority taste—the artistic expression of an avant-garde subculture.



Hell's Angels. A member of the Hell's Angels Motorcycle Club, in Los Angeles, California, 2000. American motorcycle gangs cultivate a distinctive appearance that sets them apart from mainstream fashion, helps them to identify other members of the biker subculture, and identifies their place within that subculture. © Ted Soqui/Corbis. Reproduced by permission.

Youth Subcultural Styles

The British context. Despite assumptions to the contrary, working-class youth subcultures, based around distinctive, dissenting styles, were not confined to the period after World War II. Geoffrey Pearson, for example, in a study of the "history of respectable fears," notes the presence in late-nineteenth-century Britain of the troublesome teenage "hooligan" (an Australian equivalent of the same period was known as the "larrikin"). Notwithstanding some regional variations in style between the



Rastafarian family in Jamaica. The distinctive clothing and hairstyles of Rastafarians constitute a fashion subculture. © DAVID CUMMING; EYE UBIQUITOUS/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

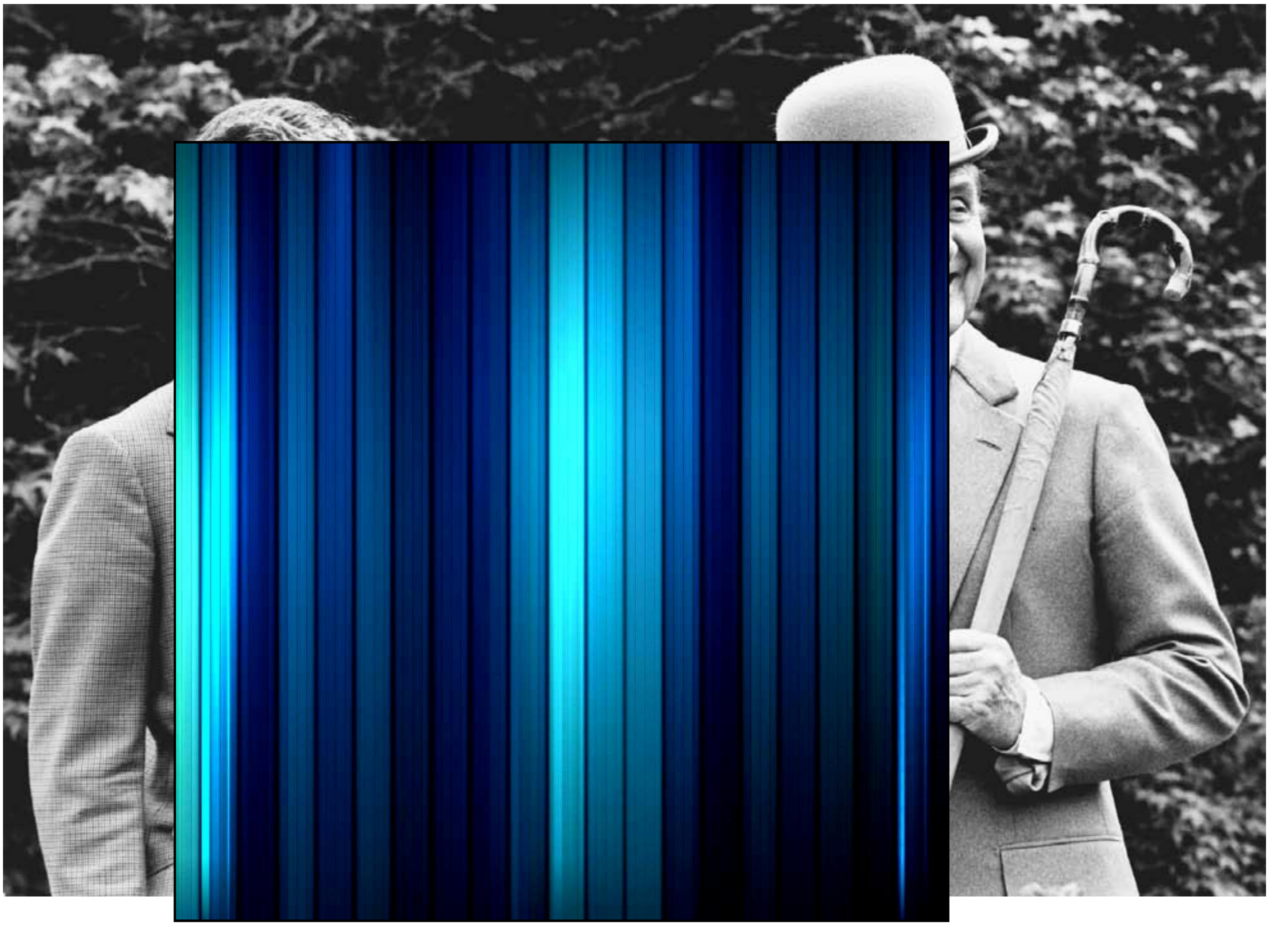
different hooligan groups—the Manchester "Scuttlers" and the Birmingham "Peaky Blinders," for example—there was adopted a quite distinct uniform of large boots, bell-bottomed trousers, a loosely worn muffler or scarf, and a peaked cap worn over a donkey-fringe haircut. The whole peculiar ensemble was set off with a broad, buckled, leather belt.

There were six or more intervening decades between the demise of the original "hooligans" and the emergence of the more familiar and clearly documented British youth subcultures of the post-1945 era—the teddy boys, mods, rockers, hippies, skinheads, and punks. Yet Pearson sees no fundamental difference between the way the Victorian gangs constructed clearly recognizable styles by appropriating elements from the range of fashionable sources available to them and the attempts by the more recent "spectacular" youth subcultures to create new, oppositional meanings through the recontextualization of raw commodities from the market—a process that the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham, England, termed "bricolage." Hence, the working-class teddy boys of the early 1950s appropriated the long lapeled neo-Edwardian drape suit from exclusive London tailors who aimed to bring back the pre-1914 look for upper-class young men. But the teds combined this item with bootlace ties (from Western movies), greased-back haircuts, drainpipe trousers, and thick creped-soled shoes.

CCCS writers such as John Clarke and Dick Hebdige had adopted an analysis whereby subcultural styles were "decoded" or read as a text for their hidden meanings. Hence, the fastidious and narcissistic neatness of the mods, with their two-tone mohair suits, button-down collared shirts, and short, lacquered hair, could be interpreted as an attempt by young working-class people in menial and routine employment to live out on a symbolic level the affluent, consumerist, and classless aspirations of the early 1960s. By contrast, the skinheads who emerged later in the same decade typically sported very close-cropped hair or shaven heads, Ben Sherman shirts and suspenders, and short, tight jeans or sta-press trousers with Dr. Martens boots—a combination of elements that signified a "magical" desire to return to the puritan masculinity of a rapidly disappearing traditional proletarian lifestyle. By the end of the 1970s subcultural fashions had become less easy to decipher in this way. Hebdige, analyzing punk style in his classic text *Subculture*, was driven to assert that the punks' "cut-up" wardrobe of bondage trousers, school ties, safety pins, bin liners, and spiky hair signified meaningfully only in terms of its very meaninglessness, as a visual illustration of chaos.

American and Australian examples. In Britain during the early 1960s, the natural enemy of the cool, clean-looking, scooter-riding mods were the leather- and denim-clad, insignia-decorated, greasy-haired rockers, or motorbike boys as Paul Willis called them, renowned for their macho, rock 'n' roll image and "ton-up" speeding runs on heavy-duty Triumph Bonnevilles. Yet the reputation of the British rockers was tame by comparison with the notoriety of the American "outlaw" biker gangs of the postwar era, the most famous of which were—and still are—the Hell's Angels. Organized territorially in "chapters," and espousing an ideology of personal freedom and conservative patriotism, the "Angels" rode their collective "runs" on "chopped hogs"—customized Harley-Davidson bikes. Their famous Death-Head emblem or logo, as described by Hunter Thompson, is a cloth patch embroidered with a biker helmet atop a winged skull, and a band inscribed with the words Hell's Angels and the local chapter name. These "colors," as they are known, are typically sewn to the back of a sleeveless denim shirt.

Heavy Metal is a rock music genre that has given rise to a virtually global fashion, arguably derived from a crossover of elements from biker, glam, and hippie culture. Headbangers or metalers, as they are known, are characterized by their typical dress of black T-shirt, often bearing a heavy metal band name, faded denim jeans, and a leather or denim jacket, perhaps decorated with various badges, patches, and band insignia. For both men



The New Avengers. The stars of the 1970s British television series *The New Avengers,* (from left to right) Gareth Hunt, Joanna Lumley, and Patrick McNee. McNee's character, John Steed, epitomized the style of the later-day Edwardian dandy. © HULTON-DEUTSH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

and women, hair is usually long, the body or arms are often tattooed, and jewelry may be worn. The music itself has fragmented into various subgenres such as thrash-, death- and sleaze-metal, each with its own variant on the general metaler look. Jeffrey Arnett views young American metalheads (as they are named in the title of his book) as particularly prone to the alienation, anomie, and hyper-individualism that, from his point of view, characterize contemporary American youth more generally.

Because of the immense power of its market, and the dependence of subcultural fashions upon commodity production and consumption, styles originally developed or popularized in America have rapidly spread to other cultural contexts. In a chapter in Rob White's edited book on the Australian experience of youth subcultures, Stratton discusses the case of the 1950s bodgies and widgies —terms used to denote male and female members respectively. The style of the bodgie and widgies was originally jazz- and jive-oriented and loosely derived from the zoot suit (discussed below) worn by young black and Hispanic Americans in the 1940s. Later, however, this Australian subculture became influenced by American biker culture and also began to incorporate elements from rock 'n' roll. Boys wore leather jackets or drapes with thin ties, drainpipe trousers, and winkle-picker shoes; girls had pencil skirts, stilettos or pedal-pusher shoes, and beehive or ponytail hairstyles.

Neglected Dimensions and New Developments

Gender and ethnicity. In a chapter in *Resistance through Rituals*, Angela McRobbie and Jenny Garber noted that most of the subcultures and styles examined by the CCCS appeared overwhelmingly male in both composition and orientation. They concluded that girls *had* actually been present in such subcultures, but were rendered marginalized and invisible by the masculinist bias of the writers. It was only with the publication nearly a quarter of a century later of *Pretty in Punk*, Lauren Leblanc's noteworthy text on Canadian female punk rockers, that females in a male-dominated style subculture were studied comprehensively, in their own right and on their own terms. Leblanc's sample displayed a range of punk signifiers, including hair brightly dyed and worn in a Mohawk style, facial piercings, tattoos, and the "street-" or gutter-punk look—dark, baggy T-shirts and trousers with black boots. Leblanc concludes that women's presence in a largely male punk subculture can be explained by the way their membership enables them to resist certain normative and stylistic aspects of fashionable (i.e. mainstream) femininity.

Although ethnicity, like gender, has been a relatively neglected dimension in the writings of subcultural style, the American "zooties" of the 1940s are one of the better-documented examples of black and Hispanic rebellious fashion. Derived from black, hipster jazz culture, the zoot suit comprised an oversized, draped and pleated jacket with hugely padded shoulders, worn with high-waisted, baggy-kneed and ankle-taped pants, often set off with a wide-brimmed hat worn over a ducktail hairstyle. During a period of wartime rationing of material, the wearing of such an extravagant, luxurious, and ostentatious style led to rising tensions between the young black and Hispanic male zooties and white U.S. servicemen, sparking off full-scale riots in a number of U.S. cities.

Within the British literature on subcultures, the ethnic dimension has been more typically viewed in terms of the effects of postwar British "race relations" and black style on the formation of indigenous rebellious youth fashions. A noted example of such an approach is Dick Hebdige's discussion of the Jamaican rude boy and Rastafarian subcultures. Elements from the first of these styles—the cool look, shades, porkpie hat, and slim trousers with cropped legs —fed first into 1960s mod and then the Two-Tone movement of the late 1970s. Rastafarians, to symbolize their oppression by white society (Babylon) and their prophesied return to Zion (Africa), have adopted knitted caps (called "tams"), scarves, and jerseys in red, gold, and green, the colors of the Ethiopian flag. It is, though, the Rasta's dreadlock hairstyle that has most significantly been taken up by certain groups of white youth, particularly new-age hippies and anarcho-punks, to show subcultural disaffection toward the dominant social order.

Post-Modernism and Post-Subculture

The practice of borrowing ethnic signifiers has reached extreme proportions in the contemporary, transatlantic example of the Modern Primitive subculture. The chapter by Winge, in David Muggleton and Rupert Weinzierl's *The Post-Subcultures Reader*, details how this subculture with its largely white membership adopts aspects of so-called "primitive" tribal cultures, such as black-work tattoos, brandings, keloids, and septum piercings. While subcultural styles have typically been constructed by a borrowing of elements from other sources, this relocation of traditional elements in a modern, urban setting could be seen as a prime example of a tendency toward a more complex cross-fertilization of time-compressed stylistic symbols in an increasingly global context. It is further argued that the identities fashioned from these diverse sources are themselves ever more eclectic, hybrid, and fragmented. Such a position has led some writers to proclaim that subculture—traditionally used to denote a coherent, stable, and specific group identification—is no longer a useful concept by which to comprehend these so-called "post-modern" or "post-subcultural" characteristics of contemporary styles.

That attempts at re-conceptualizing the term subculture, such as "neo-tribe," or "post-subculture," have proceeded on the terrain of post-modernism owes much to the American anthropologist Ted Polhemus. His *Streetstyle* is particularly worth singling out here, most obviously for its vividly illustrated genealogy of late-twentieth-century subcultures, from the 1940s zoot-suiters to the 1990s new-age travelers, but also for its attempt in the final chapters to conceptualize a new stage of development in the history of popular street fashion—"the supermarket of style." "Those who frequent the Supermarket of Style display…a stylistic promiscuity which is breathtaking in its casualness. 'Punks' one day, 'Hippies' the next, they fleeting leap across ideological divides—converting the history of street style into a vast theme park. All of which fits very neatly within postmodern theory" (Polhemus, p. 131).

Muggleton's *Inside Subculture* represents the first attempt to test such theoretical propositions about post-modern fashions. Using data from interviews with members from a range of subcultures, Muggleton generally agrees with post-modern claims concerning the fluidity, fragmentation, and radical individuality of dissident youth styles. He describes, for example, those such as the respondent with a Chinese hairstyle, baggy skateboarder shorts, leather biker jacket, and boots, whose eclecticism arguably leads them to disavow any affiliation to a group identity. Paul Hodkinson's *Goth* is a qualitative study of self-identifying members of the gothic subculture. Both male and female goths are noted for their dark and macabre appearance, typical features being black clothes, whitened faces, long, dyed black hair, plus dark eyeliner and lipstick. *Goth* differs somewhat from *Inside Subculture* in its stress on the continuing cultural coherence and stylistic substance of the British subcultural scene. Yet the potential reader is advised to seek out these two texts for their complimentary rather than conflicting assessments of the contemporary fashion subculture situation.

See also **Extreme Fashions; Punk; Retro Styles; Zoot Suit.**

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David Muggleton

SUIT, BUSINESS The man's business suit is an emblem of official power and professional identity, suggesting a life free from physical toil. The three-piece suit, allowing for differences of cut and fabric, has been the basis of the male wardrobe since the last quarter of the seventeenth century. King Charles II, on the restoration of the British throne in 1660, set the style for a new way of dressing. He appeared in a knee-length coat, vest (waistcoat), and breeches. As diarist Samuel Pepys recorded, "Oct 15th 1666. This day the king begins to put on his vest. It being a long cassock close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silk under it, and a coat over it" (p. 324).

The loosely cut knee-length coat, embellished with elaborately worked buttonholes and deep turned-back cuffs, and embroidered waistcoat remained the staple of the British court style until the mid-1720s. As the British nobility spent much of their time on their country estates, the boundaries between the clothing of the landed gentry and the middle classes became eroded. Clothes that had originally been made for riding became upgraded into acceptable day wear and even for more formal occasions.

The influence of sporting dress increased an appreciation of the solid virtues of fit and finish. Throughout the eighteenth century, the comfortable and practical coat, waistcoat, and breeches, made mostly of wool, underwent little alteration. Abstaining from overt display was a requirement of the prevailing nonconformist religion, and together with the need for equestrian practicality this resulted in a movement away from baroque splendor to greater simplicity. By the 1780s this style of dress was correct for all but the most formal of occasions and obligatory court appearances. During the next twenty years, the coat became more streamlined and the turned-back cuffs, full coat-skirts, and pocket flaps began to be refined, with the waistcoat cut straight across the waistline. Legs were clad in knitted pantaloons, to provide a long, lean line in keeping with the desire to ape the natural masculine ideal of classical revivalism that was a significant aspect of dress at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This look was exemplified by George Bryan "Beau" Brummell, born in 1778, who established himself as a paradigm of sartorial exactness and simplicity. A close friend of the Prince of Wales, who became Regent in 1811 and later George IV, Brummell created a vogue for bespoke tailoring. He took his patronage to the Burlington estate where fashionable tailors had begun to congregate in the late eighteenth century.

By 1806 the first tailor was established in Savile Row. By 1810 tailoring techniques were capable of producing an unembellished coat of exquisite fit with emphasis on sculptural seaming and construction. The coat now had a collar that curved around the neck and formed flat lying lapels across the chest, the most distinctive element of the modern-day suit. The perfect fit was also due to the use of woolen cloth, which is both pliable and responsive to steam pressing, unlike the taut weave of silk. Wool was also easily available, a staple cloth of England's sheep farmers. Ready-made clothes were available from the 1820s, and with the development of the railroads and the opening of department stores they came to dominate the market, though bespoke tailoring remained standard wear for the middle and upper classes. Secondhand merchants provided clothes for the poor, and hawkers redistributed redyed patched clothing at markets.

In 1815 trousers, very often looped under the foot, replaced pantaloons and were worn with the frock coat, which owed its origins to the military greatcoat. First appearing in 1816, it was the most usual coat for daywear, typifying middle-class respectability as it was worn by the professions and by businessmen. Buttoned from neck to knee it was decorated across the chest with frogging. By 1850 the morning coat was preferred. Based on the riding coat, (riding was a popular morning activity) it began to be worn on formal occasions, replacing the frock coat, and by 1900 it was the established norm for business and professional activities.

The nineteenth century saw an increasing division between the public and private roles for men and women. The psychologist J. C. Flügel identified the early nineteenth century as era of "The Great Masculine Renunciation," when men became more concerned with propriety than with the pleasures of adornment. This supposition that men gave up their right to a choice of elaborate clothing, leaving the pleasures of ornamentation only to women, can be countered by the many different masculine styles that developed at that time. For example, the Paletot was introduced in the 1830s. This was a jacket, cut loose and without a waist seam; it came to denote a certain bohemianism. Refined by the 1850s into the lounge jacket, and worn with matching waistcoat and trousers, it became the lounge suit and was initially worn after lunch and only in private, never on formal occasions or in the city. However, city workers were wearing ready-to-wear versions in darker colors, and by 1920 it assumed respectability and was subsequently worn for all business events. It became the all-purpose male costume of the twentieth century.

Advances in technology made possible the production of men's suits in large quantities, standard sizes, and a wide range of price points, thus helping to ensure the suit's continuing popularity over a long span of time. During the middle decades of the twentieth century, suiting materials became lighter in weight, reflecting the widespread use of central heating in homes and workplaces.

After World War II, men's wear became more casual and youthful in appearance; in America, the collegiate "Ivy League Look" became dominant. Also influential was the Italian streamlined silhouette developed by tailors in Rome and Milan. Italian and American suits influenced British tailoring in the 1950s and 1960s, just as London was becoming the center of youth fashion. John Stephen opened the first of his men's wear shops in Carnaby Street, purveying styles that were colorful, cheap, and fun. The clothes presaged the look of the hippie era in the use of richly textured and colored materials and exploitation of historical revivalism. The response of traditional male outfitters was to attempt to offer suits with some of the eccentricities of Carnaby Street but allied to something suitable for business wear. In 1965 men's outfitter Austin Reed filled the gap between Carnaby Street and traditional tailoring, providing contemporary suits for the young executive. Male-orientated publishing ventures such as *Man About Town*, which was first published in 1961, (subsequently called *About Town* and then simply *Town*) placed shopping for fashion firmly in the context of a leisure activity. The bespoke end of the market was not immune to change. Tommy Nutter, defined by the style press as a "designer tailor," took over premises on Savile Row and combined traditional qualities of craftsmanship with excessive detailing.

The 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of Italian luxury ready-to-wear. Giorgio Armani, in particular, became known for his unstructured suits, which combined ease and elegance, thus linking the freedom of the 1960s with the drive for financial success that typified much of 1980s culture. The revival of the suit heralded a new seriousness about being successful, epitomized by the aspirational "yuppie." The burgeoning style press and the advertising industry emphasized the importance of a lifestyle that included not only clothes but also iconic accessories such as the Rolex watch and the Mont Blanc fountain pen. The newly important role of the merchandiser, rather than the buyer or designer, underpinned the emphasis on lifestyle marketing. Men's shops took on the appearance of a gentleman's club. Retailers such as Ralph Lauren and Paul Smith sold the "English look" amidst the accoutrements of an Edwardian gentlemen's club such as sofas, leather-bound books, and sports paraphernalia, all evoking an era of leisured gentility.

When women entered the marketplace in substantial numbers in the 1980s, they began to adopt elements of male dress, wearing an approximation of the male suit. As they achieved more confidence they exaggerated the tailored qualities of the suit with ever widening shoulders and flying lapels, subverting its formality with short skirts and stiletto heels, a look known as "power dressing."

Despite a long-term trend toward more casual dressing, the suit remains an icon of authority. However its details might vary, it remains fundamentally the same. The business suit implicitly evokes the virtues of assertiveness with self-control, diffidence in success, and just enough socially acceptable narcissism to be attractive.

See also **Armani, Giorgio; Flügel, J. C.; Lauren, Ralph; Tailored Suit; Trousers.**

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Marnie Fogg

SUMPTUARY LAWS Sumptuary laws can be dated to at least the fourth century B.C.E., and while they have largely disappeared in name, they have by no means disappeared in fact. By definition, they are intended to control behavior, specifically the excessive consumption of anything from foodstuffs to household goods. By convention, they have come to be largely associated with the regulation of apparel, their most frequent target. Typically, those issued by executive or legislative entities—and that are thus laws in the legal sense—have lasted no more than a few decades before being repealed or annulled. Infinitely more enduring have been extra-legal pronouncements that codify social or religious precepts, such as the injunction against garments woven of wool and linen proclaimed in Leviticus 19:19 and still obeyed by Orthodox

Jews. (The longevity of restrictions on women's dress issued by modern theocracies remains to be seen, now that these have passed from custom into law.)

Types

Sumptuary regulation is of two general types: prescriptive and proscriptive. The first defines what people must purchase, wear, or use, the second what they may not. Although both approaches limit choice, proscriptive laws can be seen as less onerous in so far as individual freedom is concerned since they imply acceptance of anything not expressly forbidden.

Goals and Outcomes

Personal liberty is never a factor in such legislation; however, actual statutes are written to address any of a number of sociocultural objectives deemed important by the issuing authority. Rulings in effect between 1337 and 1604 in medieval and renaissance England, for example, reflect multiple (and by no means mutually exclusive) goals: resisting new fashions, protecting public morals, preserving the public peace, maintaining social distinctions, and—extremely important to this commercial nation—defending the domestic economy and promoting home industries. Across the Channel, particularly in Protestant countries, sumptuary laws were more likely to assume the deity to be as offended by sartorial choices as was the government. Here, one might compare an English statute of 1483, which banned without explanation the stylishly short gowns that failed to mask "privy Members and Buttocks" (*Statues of the Realm*, p. 22) with a Bavarian injunction that prohibited uncovered codpieces because these were offensive to God. After the conclusion of the Thirty Years War in 1648, however, the sumptuary laws of the German states began to resemble those of England in their emphasis on economic issues.

One of the intended outcomes of much sumptuary law is that of separation, the division of people into explicit categories. Modern examples tend to differentiate by religion, whether by choice (the Amish cap) or by coercion (the yellow star). In earlier times, a populace was more likely to be divided by class than by creed; and in hierarchical societies in which ritualized honors were due those of superior rank, status had to be readily recognizable if people were neither to insult their betters (by failing to offer the proper marks of respect) nor embarrass themselves (by extending undeserved courtesies to those beneath them).

Parameters

The desire for upward mobility may be both innate and unquenchable; however, much of sumptuary legislation is concerned with defining the degrees of rank and wealth that govern the wearing of metals, textiles, colors, decorative techniques, furs, and jewels. Limitations on gold, silks, purples, lace, embroidery, sable, and precious stones are, thus, recurring elements, as are injunctions against certain fashions (including short robes, long-toed shoes or *poulaines*, and great hose) considered unacceptable for moral, patriotic, or economic reasons. Improving economies raised not only the earnings but also the aspirations of, especially, the merchant classes, however, and England was not unusual in its continuing reformulation of vestimentary prohibitions relative to disposable income. While the threshold most commonly cited in English law is £40, in 1337 Edward III limited the wearing of furs to those with a disposable income of at least £100, and in 1554 Queen Mary lowered the minimum for silk to £20 (although she also insisted on a net worth of £200, an amount reiterated in a Massachusetts law of 1651).

Penalties

Most sumptuary legislation provides penalties for lawbreakers that could include confiscation of the offending garment, fines (up to £200 in England), tax auditing, the pillory, or even jail. That legislators were themselves subject to (and breakers of) these statutes may help to explain both their lax enforcement and their frequent repeal. In England, at least, lack of compliance was so general that in 1406 Henry IV vainly requested that violators be excommunicated. In 1670, women who used dress and cosmetics to "betray into matrimony any of his majesty's subjects" (Geocities.com Web site) were to be punished as witches.

Women

As might be expected, the attention paid to women in sumptuary law varies with time and country, and does so in ways that reflect their place in society. Generally speaking, early modern sumptuary legislation treats women in one of four ways: it exempts them specifically or ignores them completely (implying that women were of no consequence); or, conversely, it subjects them either to the same requirements as men or to parallel requirements (implying that women were not to be disregarded). There are of course exceptions. A few statutes imply fear of gender confusion. In the third century C.E., for example, the emperor Aurelian barred men from wearing shoes of yellow, green, white, or red since these colors were reserved for women. Others were aimed at keeping women in the home, as did an edict enacted in Rome in the second century B.C.E., that forbade their riding in a carriage in or near populated areas. More (both written and unwritten) were intended to keep them modest—Hebrews, Romans, early Christians, and early Americans alike mandated simplicity in feminine hairstyles, clothing, and accessories. Perhaps not surprisingly, prostitutes received special attention, as did courtesans, who, finding their consorts among the nobility, rather naturally rivaled wellborn women in their dress. From at least the thirteenth century onward, European prostitutes were commonly enjoined to wear some form of distinctive clothing, whether striped hoods, striped stockings, colored patches, or bells (interestingly, such markers were prescribed for other social outcasts, among them lepers and Jews).

Summary

Collectively, sumptuary laws reflect a need for permanence that is shared by governments, religions, and smaller societal groups alike. That so many have been written and so few endure speaks to the fundamental dissonance between the institutional need for stability and the personal desire for independence.

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

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Reed Benhamou

SUNGLASSES Sunglasses, spectacles with tinted lenses, were originally a purely practical safety device, designed to protect the eyes from excess sun and glare. In the twentieth century, however, they became an important fashion accessory, whose use and meaning continues to evolve.

Sun Glasses to Sunglasses

Tinted spectacles were made in Europe as early as the seventeenth century, but were used because they were thought to be beneficial to the eyes, or to conceal the eyes of the blind, and were not "sunglasses" in the modern sense. The need for eyewear to protect the eyes against sun and glare first became apparent in the mid-nineteenth century, when early polar explorers and high-altitude mountaineers experienced snow-blindness, and spectacles and goggles with tinted lenses were developed, some with side shields of glass or leather. (The Inuit used slit snow-goggles of wood or bone, which covered the eyes.) As increasing numbers of Europeans and Americans were exposed to the strong sun of tropical and equatorial colonies and territories, dark glasses began to be worn there as well.

Sunglasses became more widely available in the 1880s, when bathing and holidays by the sea became popular with the general public; by 1900, inexpensive tinted glasses (now known as "sun glasses") were sold by seaside vendors, and worn by English tourists in Egypt to reduce the desert glare. The invention of the automobile, and the popularity of motoring as a fashionable leisure activity, also brought protective eyewear into common use, and tinted motoring goggles were available by the 1910s.

Hollywood Style and Glare Control

In the 1920s, sunglasses were occasionally worn for active outdoor sports such as golf and tennis, and for the newly fashionable activity of sunbathing. They did not truly enter the fashion sphere, however, until the early 1930s, when Hollywood stars such as Bette Davis and Marlene Dietrich were photographed wearing them between takes on the set, attending tennis matches and horse races, or trying to appear in public incognito. Sunglasses began to symbolize the glamour of life in Hollywood, but there was little variation in style at first; most 1930s sunglasses, for both men and women, had round, flat glass lenses, with narrow celluloid frames. The only fashion decision lay in choosing the color of the frames; these were usually translucent and in colors close to tortoiseshell, but opaque white frames were also considered chic.

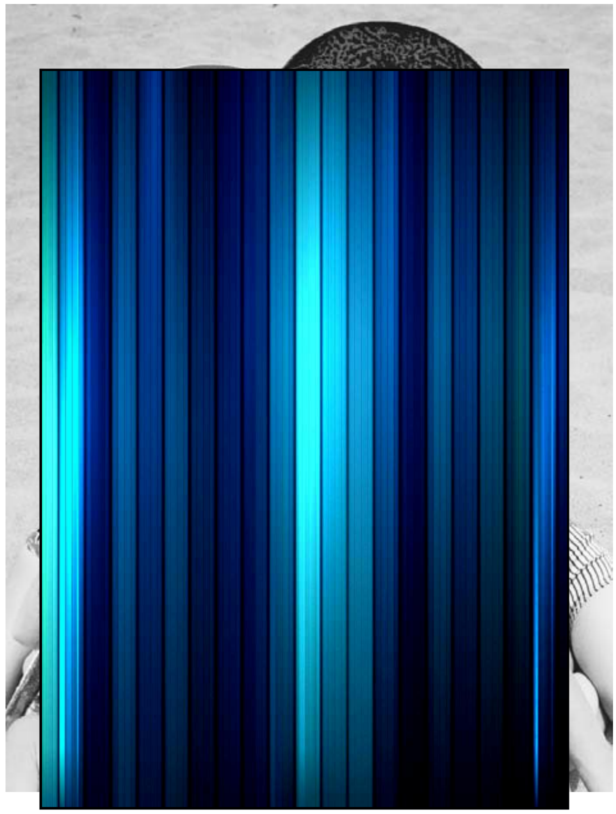
Toward the end of the decade, the demand for sunglasses, and the variety of available styles, increased dramatically; in 1938 the number of pairs sold went almost overnight from the tens of thousands into the millions, and manufacturers rushed to come up with new colors and styles. Sunglasses began to be shown with street clothes, in addition to ski and beach wear, and *Vogue* suggested styles, such as the white pair featured on the cover of the 1 August 1939 issue, with "wide rims and earpieces, giving the approved 'goggly' appearance" (p. 81). Sunglasses, being less expensive than prescription eyewear, and associated with vacation and leisure activities, were quickly embraced as a "fun" fashion accessory, and even bizarre novelty styles soon found a market.

The quality of sunglasses also improved in the 1930s, and both of the major U.S. optical companies introduced lines of sunglasses with optical glass lenses (ground and polished like prescription eyeglasses). Taking advantage of the public appeal of daring aviators such as Charles Lindbergh and Amelia Earhart, Bausch & Lomb introduced the metal-framed "Anti-Glare Aviator" sunglasses in 1936, and the following year gave them the more appealing brand name "Ray-Ban" (to emphasize protection from harmful infra-red and ultraviolet rays). American Optical teamed up with the Polaroid Corporation in 1938 to produce the first polarized sunglasses, with glass lenses incorporating a polarizing film. World War II brought new popularity to military-style sunglasses, especially Ray-Ban Aviators (worn by Navy pilots and General Douglas MacArthur), and lent them the air of toughness and competence that has kept the style popular ever since.

To See and Be Seen

After the war, the craze for sunglasses quickly resumed in full force. Advertisements began to emphasize smart styling over eye protection, and distinct men's and women's styles were developed. Sunglasses could now be purchased in drug, variety, and department stores, at prices from 25 cents to 25 dollars. With growing competition, established manufacturers increased their advertising and diversified; American Optical launched the "Cool-Ray" trademark, and in 1948 introduced inexpensive Polaroid plastic lenses. It became fashionable to have multiple pairs for sport, everyday, and even evening wear, and in colors to match particular outfits. Eyeglass wearers could have sunglasses made with their prescription, or choose from a variety of clip-on styles.

In the 1950s, to boost sales, sunglass manufacturers began coming out with new models every year, following the lead of the automobile industry. As with eyeglasses, the harlequin, or "cat-eye," shape was the dominant style for women, but sunglasses took the style to much more fanciful extremes. Sunglasses were made with carved, laminated frames shaped like flames, flowers, and butterflies, studded with rhinestones, imitating unlikely materials like bamboo, or trimmed with false "eyelashes" of raffia. Even relatively conservative frames were produced in bold and unusual shapes, colors, and patterns, and were given model names such as "Torrid," "Vivacious," and "Peekini." For men, new styles with clean lines and heavy plastic frames were popular, the most famous being the Ray-Ban "Wayfarer," introduced in 1952.



Women model the latest fashions in sunglasses in California, 1941. Sunglasses first became popular as a fashion accessory in the 1930s. By the 1940s they were beginning to be offered in a variety of styles, some of them quite fanciful, such as the sunflower-shaped frames at the bottom right.

Whatever the frame style, sunglasses were also worn because of the air of mystery they imparted to the wearer. One could still hope to be mistaken for a celebrity such as Grace Kelly or Rita Hayworth, but sunglasses also offered, as a 1948 ad for the first mirrored sunglasses put it, "the wonderful fun of looking out at a world that can't see you" (Saks 34th St. advertisement for "Mirro-Lens" sunglasses, *New York Times*, 28 March 1948, p. 30). Dark "shades" contributed considerably to the "cool" of bebop jazz musicians and beatniks, who wore them even in dark nightclubs. Once the fad for wearing sunglasses at night caught on, however, it became harder to tell the "hip" from the "square"; as one observer told the *New York Times* in 1964, "If you're really 'in' you wouldn't be caught dead wearing them indoors or at night because you'd look like someone who is 'out' but is trying to look 'in'" (Warren, p. 66).

By the early 1960s, sunglasses were more popular than ever, with an estimated 50 million pairs per year sold in the United States by 1963. They were also available in more styles than ever before; Ray-Ban advertised "the see and be-seen sunglasses, [in] all kinds of designs—bold, shy, classic, crazy, round, oval, square, oriental" (Evans, p. 17). President Kennedy often appeared in public wearing sunglasses, and Jacqueline Kennedy started a fad for wraparound sunglasses when she began wearing them in 1962. Similar sleek, futuristic styles from Europe inspired Polaroid to launch the French-sounding C'Bon brand, featuring "the St. Tropez look." Sunglass advertising was also taken to new and imaginative heights; the famous "Who's that behind those Foster Grants?" campaign of the mid-1960s, in which celebrities such as Vanessa Redgrave and Peter Sellers were shown transformed into a series of exotic characters by Foster Grant sunglasses, were highly successful in promoting the power of sunglasses to "subtly alter the personality," (Foster Grant advertisement, 1964, available from www.fostergrant.com) and release the wearer's inner tycoon or femme fatale.

In 1965, André Courrèges's sunglasses with solid white lenses and viewing slits were the first designer sunglasses to receive wide attention. They soon inspired other space-age designs such as Sea-and-Ski's "Boy-watcher," a seamless slit goggle that could also be worn as a headband, and a variety of alien-looking "bug-eye" styles, with frames in day-glo colors or shiny chrome. So-called "granny glasses" were also popular, as were large round wire-rims with lenses in pale psychedelic tints. Enormous round dark glasses, such as those designed by Emilio Pucci, were another style favored by celebrities late in the decade.

In the 1970s, the trend toward oversized designer frames continued. In keeping with the fashionable "natural" look, lenses became paler, with gradient tints in the same rosy shades fashionable for eye makeup. The eyes were now visible, and in the April 1977 issue of *Vogue* sunglasses were declared "the new cosmetic" (p. 146). As the decade progressed, expensive sunglasses by designers such as Pierre Cardin and Givenchy became sought-after status symbols, and were frequently worn on top of the head like a headband when not in use. Sporty mirrored styles were also popular, especially for men.

New Optical Identities

In the early 1980s, the trend to harder-edged styles in black and bright colors coincided with the revival of Ray-Ban's Wayfarer style, which was given a high profile by the Blues Brothers, the 1983 film *Risky Business*, and the TV series *Miami Vice*. Heavy black sunglasses with conspicuous designer logos harmonized with the era's penchant for "power dressing," and similar flashy styles were reproduced for every price range. Oddly shaped, futuristic "new wave" styles were another trend, and the mirrored aviator style was revived once again by the 1986 film *Top Gun*. High-tech "performance" styles designed specifically for outdoor sports, by makers such as Vuarnet and Revo, first became popular in the 1980s, and started a craze for iridescent mirrored lenses.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, in sunglasses as in eyeglasses, minimalism, industrial design, and revivals of earlier styles were the dominant themes. Designer logos fell out of favor early in the decade, and pared-down fashion and hairstyles required clean-lined, sleek frames with meticulous detailing. New sports styles by Oakley, so close-fitting that they seemed to merge with the face, were popularized by athletes such as Michael Jordan and Olympic speed-skater Bonnie Blair. These high-tech glasses, using novel materials such as magnesium alloy and gold iridium, were highly influential, and began to blur the line between sports and fashion eyewear.

At the turn of the century, sunglasses are more important than ever as an individual fashion statement, but there is no dominant style, unless it is "freedom of choice." After a series of "retro" revivals, and trends started by musical celebrities, avant-garde designers, athletes such as Lance Armstrong, the NASCAR circuit, and films such as *The Matrix*, the sunglass market has fractured into many specialized niches. An unprecedented variety of designer collections is available to choose from in the early 2000s, and larger makers such as Ray-Ban feature several smaller "themed" collections, each with its own distinct aesthetic. Over the course of the twentieth century, sunglasses have become an essential part of the fashion and image-making vocabulary, and they seem likely to continue to fill this role in the future.

See also **Eyeglasses.**

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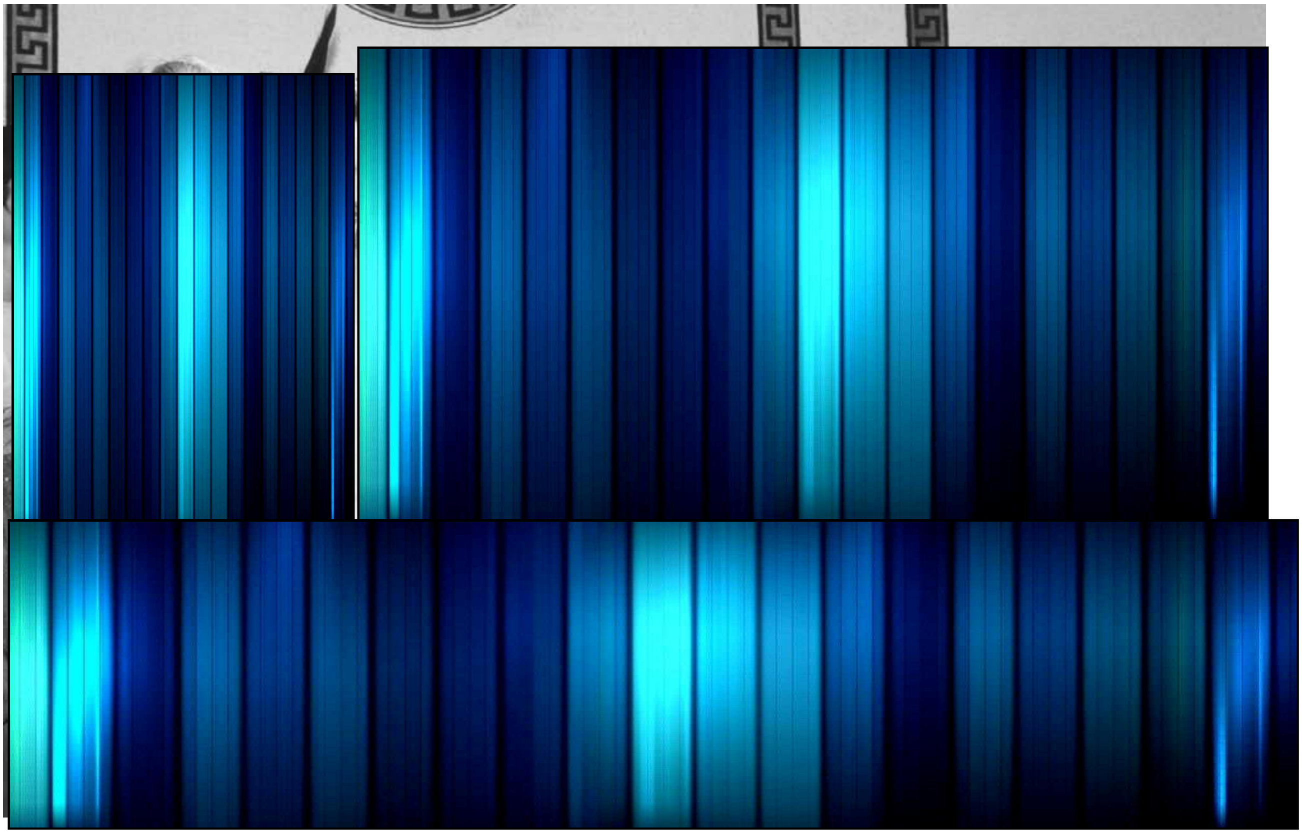
Susan Ward

SUPERMODELS "Supermodel" ranks with "genius" and "original" as one of the most-abused terms in the fashion lexicon. Indeed, it has been so overused that by the late 1990s, when the Supermodel phenomenon (personified by larger-than-life mannequins such as Cindy Crawford, Claudia Schiffer, Naomi Campbell, and Christy Turlington) had long-since peaked and passed, the word had lost almost all meaning, becoming a generic gossip-column descriptive promiscuously pinned on almost any fashion model with, or in some cases, merely wanting, a public profile.

Though many claimed to have coined the term, notably the 1970s model Janice Dickinson, the first recorded use of the word was in a 1948 book, *So You Want to Be a Model!* by a small-time model agent named Clyde Matthew Dessner. It came into more general usage in 1981, when *New York* magazine published "The Spoiled Supermodels," in which Anthony Haden-Guest, the incisive British journalist, chronicled the myriad misbehaviors of highly paid models and photographers in the cocaine-clouded world of post-Studio-54 New York City.

In pure terms, there had been supermodels long before that—at least, if supermodels are defined, as they properly should be, as mannequins whose renown and activities stretch beyond the bubble-world of fashion.

Supermodels don't just look the part—they have to live it. The earliest one was probably Anita Colby, who began her career in the 1930s as a model with the Conover Agency in New York, but was soon lured to Hollywood where, in 1944, she served as ringleader of a gang of models who co-starred with Rita Hayworth in the big-budget film, *Cover Girl*. Colby's success in publicizing the film—she arranged an average three magazine cover stories per cover girl—won her a job as image consultant for the great producer, David O. Selznick, an appearance on the cover of *Time* magazine, a recurring spot on the *Today Show* (where a young Barbara Walters



Designer Gianni Versace and supermodels. Fashion designer Gianni Versace stands amidst models (*From left:* Unknown, Unknown, Shalom Harlow, Linda Evangelista, Kate Moss, Naomi Campbell, Amber Valletta) for his autumn-winter 1996–1997 haute-couture collection. © PHOTO B.D.V./CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

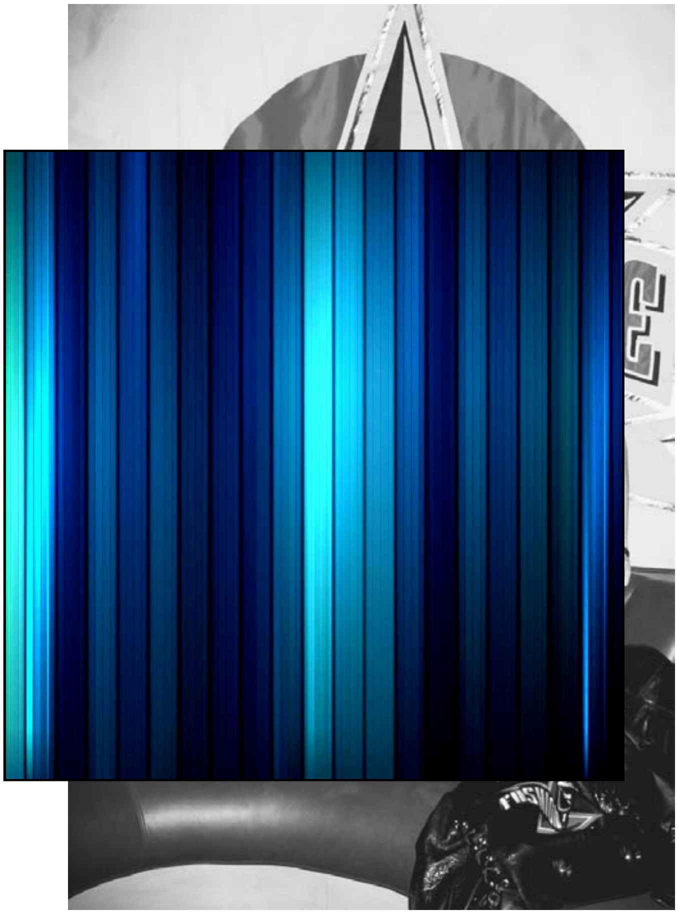
wrote her scripts), and marriage proposals from Clark Gable and James Stewart.

The 1940s and 1950s were dominated by the supermodel sisters Dorian Leigh and Suzy Parker. Leigh, the older sister, lived large; she had affairs with Harry Belafonte, Irving Penn, and the Marquis de Portago, and a two-day marriage to drummer Buddy Rich; she founded two modeling agencies, and gave Martha Stewart her first job when she owned a catering business. Sister Suzy Parker, best known as photographer Richard Avedon's muse, was also a gossip column staple and a Hollywood star before she settled into domesticity as the wife of actor Bradford Dillman.

The next generation of supermodels was led by Britons Jean Shrimpton and Twiggy. Shrimpton had the good fortune to hook up with David Bailey, the best of a batch of trendsetting British photographers known as the Terrible Trio, just as the 1960s were getting started. She was a pouty-lipped, saucer-eyed, eighteen-year-old modeling school graduate; he was a twenty-three-year-old East End rake-in-the-making. Together, they kicked off the Youthquake before he went on to marry actress Catherine Deneuve, and she to an affair with actor Terence Stamp and an appearance on the cover of *Newsweek*.

A year later, The Shrimp was replaced by a Twig, or rather Leslie Hornby, a.k.a Twiggy, who catapulted to worldwide fame (and another *Newsweek* cover) with the help of a hairdresser at Vidal Sassoon who called himself Justin de Villeneuve. Twiggy was the first model to gain a profile outside fashion before making the jump into film. But she was also a comet—by 1968, she'd burned out. In 1971, she made a comeback as an actress, but despite some success, never again saw super-stardom. "I used to be a thing," she said in 1993. "I am a person now" (Gross, p. 183).

By then, of course, many other women had donned the rainments of the supermodel, only to be disrobed by a public eager for the next new…thing. Thanks to a lift from *Sports Illustrated*'s swimsuit issue, Cheryl Tiegs revived the poster girl, and the supermodel phenomenon, when she crossed over from fashion into the worlds of the pinup and then the eponymous product marketer—a trajectory many wanna-be "supes" would follow thereafter. Hers wasn't the only path to stardom. Janice Dickinson made it by doffing her clothes at every opportunity, Iman by hooking up with the socialite photographer Peter Beard, who billed her as fresh out of the African bush, even though she was the educated daughter of a diplomat.



Supermodels. Naomi Campbell, Elle MacPherson, and Claudia Schiffer (left to right) pose for a picture at the opening of New York's Fashion Café in 1995. These women, and a few other top models, are known as supermodels on account of their celebrity status. © MITCHELL GERBER/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Christie Brinkley parlayed her moment into several decades, and in the early 2000s is a star-billed political activist. Patti Hansen and Jerry Hall married Rolling Stones and became celebrities through sexual association. But that path to staying power didn't always lead to the same destination. After Elaine Irwin married rocker John Mellencamp, she fell from view, apparently content to be a wife and mother.

Irwin was one of ten supermodels photographed for *Harper's Bazaar* by Patrick Demarchelier in 1992, the peak of Supermodeldom. With her in the picture were Christy Turlington, Cindy Crawford, Naomi Campbell, Linda Evangelista, Yasmeen Ghauri, Karen Mulder, Claudia Schiffer, Niki Taylor, and Tatjana Patitz. Along with Helena Christensen, Stephanie Seymour, and later, Kate Moss, this baker's dozen formed the core of the real Supermodel Corps, aided and abetted by image-conscious designers such as Karl Lagerfeld, Calvin Klein, and Gianni Versace, photographers such as Patrick Demarchelier, Peter Lindberg, and Steven Meisel, and the Parisian model agent Gerald Marie. All of their behind-the-scenes machinations helped create the supermodel moment.

Each, in his own way, had seen a window of opportunity open in 1987, when fashion's excesses of the preceding ten years, followed hard by a stock-market crash on Wall Street, and a worldwide recession, put an end to the designer decade that had been launched along with Calvin Klein jeans back in the pre-super 1970s. When the pouf dress—symbol of those heady days—went pop, the air went out of fashion and designers lost their way, just at the moment when the mass market seemed to have discovered them. The supermodels were used as a placeholder, a distraction, a way to keep the attention of the audience focused on fashion, while behind the scenes, the designers scurried around looking for a new message better suited to their times and their greatly expanded audience. Only problem was the supes soon became the tail that wagged the dog of fashion.

But truth be told, they couldn't sustain their "suzerainity." By 1995, the public had tired of the supes and were ready for something, anything, else. The fashion business was tired of them, too. They were too demanding, too expensive (Evangelista had famously remarked that she wouldn't get out of bed for less than $10,000; by 1995, that price had risen to $25,000), too overexposed. The shelf life of models is generally seven years. The supermodels were pert nose up against their use-by date. "I won't use her," as designer Todd Oldham said of Campbell, then the worst behaved of the lot (Gross, p. 438).

In 1996, just in time, a new model movement came along. The small, unassuming girls who were newly in favor were called waifs, and they dressed in a style with the un-appealing name, grunge. Unfortunately, although it did take to Kate Moss, the last of the era's supermodels, the public didn't go along with the rest of the trend, and soon enough a new crop of larger-than-life models appeared. But fashion had been downsized—and they were too. Amber Valletta and Shalom Harlow made a run for the top but fell short. In their wake came other girls (for that's what the business calls them, even though they are its representation of womanhood), but few supes. Had you asked a boy tossing a football in Indiana to name the supermodels of 2003, he would probably say Gisele Bundchen and Heidi Klum (both stars of the ad campaigns run by Victoria's Secret, which replaced *Sports Illustrated*'s bathing suit issue as the source of all fashion knowledge for American men)…and then he would pause, searching for more names but not finding them.

Which means that as surely as long hems follow short ones, the time is probably nigh for the return of the supermodel.

See also **Fashion Models; Grunge; Twiggy.**

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Michael Gross

SWEATER The knitted sweater is a staple garment of everyday clothing, being functional, versatile, and fashionable. The hand-knitted "shirts" and "waistcoats," worn as underclothing by both rich and poor from the seventeenth century, can be linked to the "gansey" or "jersey" worn by fishermen and sailors of the British Isles and Scandinavia from the mid-nineteenth century. With the emergence of machine production, the functional, fitted woolen sweater was adopted for sailors' uniforms in 1881, and continues as standard issue for navy and army personnel into the early 2000s.

By the end of the nineteenth century, fashionable clothing had become more relaxed as outdoor and leisure pursuits grew in popularity, cumbersome multiple layers reduced, and knitted underwear transformed into outerwear. Fashionable young men increasingly took up sports activities, and the masculine "sweater" (a close-fitting, knitted undergarment for absorbing sweat generated by exercise) was soon adopted by women.

The growing emancipation of women saw their participation in sports such as golf, tennis, and cycling, and, together with the bifurcated "bloomer," the fitted sweater formed an outfit which gave unprecedented freedom of movement. The publication of instruction booklets for knitting designs fostered the rapid spread of new sweater fashions.

The evolving forms of the sweater have become symbolic of their time. During the 1920s and 1930s, key events influenced the sweater in fashionable dress: Coco Chanel's use of knitted jersey fabric (inspired by men's sweaters) for relaxed but sophisticated style; the Fair Isle patterned pullover worn by the Prince of Wales; Elsa Schiaparelli's famous trompe l'oeil hand-knitted sweaters; and the jazz age of F. Scott Fitzgerald and *The Great Gatsby.* The jumper-knitting craze that followed World War I's "knitting for victory" inspired several popular songs. Long lean "jazz jumpers" (both homemade and store bought) helped to define the softer, boyish silhouette of the "flapper" era.

The intricate tailored hand knits of wartime thrift; the glamorous styles and provocative image of the Hollywood

Schiaparelli sweater. The sweater is a versatile garment that has been adapted for a wide variety of fashions. Elsa Schiaparelli's "bow-knot" sweater was a hit in 1920s America and stands as one of her most famous designs.

"sweater girls" of the 1940s; golfing argyle-patterned sweaters, and the twin set of classic sophistication, (produced, for example, by Pringle of Scotland), have all become standards. The black polo-neck sweater of the avant-garde and the beatnik's "sloppy Joe" mohair sweater of the 1950s; the growth of Italian style and casual wear in the 1960s, and the ravaged punk sweater of the 1970s, have also become iconic.

Pioneered by British designers such as Patricia Roberts, Artwork, and Joseph, the craft revival of the 1970s and 1980s transformed the hand-knitted sweater with multiple colors, pictorial or graphic patterning, and intricate stitchery. "Designer knitting" strongly influenced the development of technology for more complex mass-produced sweaters. In Europe, Missoni and Kenzo applied new color, texture, and proportion to high-fashion sweater dressing, exploiting jacquard technology to the fullest. Krizia created a popular range of animal-patterned sweaters that became a signature in each successive collection. Sonia Rykiel, Vivienne Westwood, and later Clements Ribeiro recolored traditional sweaters in stripes and argyle pattern variations. By the mid 1990s, the knitwear designs of Missoni and Rykiel were again popular as revival fashion reinterpreted earlier periods. At the more commercial end of the fashion spectrum, Benetton focused on color and universal appeal for its low-priced knitwear, which, through global branding and retailing, made basic knitwear accessible, fashionable, and fun. In the twenty-first century, a wide range of machine-made sweaters regularly feature in high-fashion collections of such as Prada, Armani, and Donna Karan. Oversized, dramatic, and elaborate hand-knitted sweaters are a focus of Dior, Gaultier, and Alexander McQueen couture collections. As knitting technology advances, the sweater remains integral to fashion and a basic garment capable of infinite variation.

See also **Casual Dress; Knitting.**

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Sandy Black

SWEATSHIRT According to Merriam-Webster's dictionary, the word "sweatshirt" materialized in 1925. It denoted a collarless, long-sleeved, oversize pullover made of thick fleecy cotton. The earliest sweatshirts were gray utilitarian gear that athletes wore while training for traditional sports. Sweatshirts not only provided warmth, but as their name revealed, they also possessed the functional ability to induce and absorb sweat during exercise.

The design of the sweatshirt evolved to include the zipper front "hoodie"—first marketed by Champion Athletic wear for football players to use on the sidelines. Sweatshirts with matching pants ("sweat pants") created an ensemble known as the jog suit, track suit, or sweatsuit, and they became widely popular in the 1970s along with the craze for jogging. Contemporary derivatives ranging from short-sleeved or sleeveless sweatshirts to "sweatskirts" and the development of high-tech materials with better insulation and increased comfort offer proof of the sweatshirt's continuous ability to adapt to the needs of the wearer.

Sweatshirt as a Sign

The sweatshirt's potential as a portable advertising tool was discovered in the 1960s when U.S. universities began printing their names on the medium. For students and parents alike, university names on sweats became the preferred casual attire for exhibiting school pride. The sweatshirt, along with the T-shirt, provided a cheap and effective way of disseminating information on a mass scale. The T-shirt slogan fad of the seventies inevitably translated to sweatshirts. Recognizing the relative simplicity of customization and the power of clever graphics combined with catchphrases, sweatshirts became a vehicle for personal expression for both the designer and the person wearing them.

Subcultural Appropriation

The rise of extreme sports in the 1980s, such as surfing and skateboarding, and the simultaneous establishment of hip-hop as a cultural phenomenon, reinjected a whole new level of cool into the sweatshirt. For surfers, the sweatshirt became a practical component of beachwear. The sweatshirt provided the obvious solution to quick warmth upon exiting the ocean, and facilitated drying off by absorbing excess water. As surfing gained a strong following, the sport's popularity was harnessed by various labels, the most successful perhaps being Stüssy and Quicksilver of the 1990s. Favorites of young adults and teens, the brands produced a lucrative globally-marketed clothing line that included, of course, the sweatshirt.

As skateboarders took to the streets translating the vertical movements of surfing to flatland, they too adopted the sweatshirt in part for its functionality—the heavy cotton was an extra layer of cushion between the skin and the concrete pavement. In the early 1980s *Thrasher Magazine* and *Transworld Skateboarding* both began publication and informed skaters of techniques and tricks through short articles and sequences of vivid photographs. The consequence of such a visual resource was the subtext of skate style. Scores of suburban youth, unable to emulate the moves, could now at least imitate the look. This look typically included a T-shirt, baggy cargo shorts/pants, a hooded sweatshirt, and a pair of trainers made for skateboarding. Like their surfing counterparts, skate labels increasingly catered to a wider audience hungry to appropriate the skater look.

Another revolution brewed in the late 1970s, that time on the east coast of the United States. In the South Bronx of New York, hip-hop culture was born out of a rebellion to disco and as an alternative to gang life. Rap, Djing, breakdance, graffiti, and fashion combined to produce an artistic phenomenon that would reach across global boundaries to become a billion-dollar industry.

Early components of hip-hop fashion, otherwise known as "old school," included sweatsuits, Adidas or Puma trainers, Kangol hats, and big, gold jewelry. Colorful sweat ensembles were not only everywhere and cost effective, but they reflected the vibrancy of graffiti murals and proved functional when performing breakdance moves. As groups such as the Sugar Hill Gang, and later Run DMC, began to garner recognition, the old-school look became representative of hip-hop style. The countless hip-hop fashion labels of the early 2000s continue to promote the legacy of the sweatsuit by maintaining it as a central focus in both their men's wear and women's wear lines.

Intersection with Fashion

From humble beginnings as athletic wear, the sweatshirt has achieved mass-market domination, re-propelled by the birth of logomania in the 1980s. Designers wishing to cash in on branding, utilized the sweatshirt in part to do so. From Vivienne Westwood's "Anglomania" sailor sweatshirts to Calvin Klein's ubiquitous "CK" example, sweatshirts with designer logos became the affordable version of designer wear for the masses.

The sweatshirt's commercial success is a direct result of its connotations of comfort, sportiness, and practicality. In the early 1980s, designer Norma Kamali sought to create a collection for the working woman that epitomized those aforementioned ideals. Her answer was the well-received Spring–Summer 1980 "Sweatshirt Collection" in which Kamali designed an entire wardrobe from sweatshirt fabric.

Subsequent designers have also utilized sweats—evidenced by sport's influence on both men's and women's Fall 2003 collections. Dolce & Gabbana literally referenced hip-hop on hooded sweatshirts that read "*l'Hip-Hop C'est Chic*" while Bernhard Willhelm's much anticipated menswear debut produced skateboarder inspired skull 'n' crossbone hoodies, Harlequin tracksuiting, and U.S. flag print sweats with confetti overprint. Jean Paul Gaultier's women's wear line put a sporty spin on the classic pinstriped suit with a hooded sweatshirt worn underneath the jacket, and Michael Kors's modern take on the sweatsuit included pairing it with a fur vest. The ultimate marriage, however, between fashion and athletic wear is Y-3, the collaborative by-product of Yohji Yamamoto and Adidas. Here, sportswear is reclassified as high fashion through the introduction of luxury detailing to classic athletic staples like the jog suit.

The sweatshirt's ability to transcend its athletic origins by becoming both an influential component of sportswear and an element of various subcultural dress, testifies to its importance in fashion; furthermore, the fashion system's innate ability to recycle pre-existing motifs guarantees that the sweatshirt will evolve for years to come.

See also **Casual Dress; T-Shirt.**

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Jennifer Park

SWEATSHOPS Sweatshops are workplaces run by unscrupulous employers who pay low wages to workers for long hours under unsafe and unhealthy conditions. For example, in a clothing sweatshop in California in the early 2000s, Asian women sewed for ten to twelve hours per day, six or seven days per week, in a dim and unventilated factory loft where the windows were sealed and the emergency doors locked. The workers had no pension or health-care benefits and were paid at a piece rate that fell far below the legal minimum wage. When the company went bankrupt, the owner sold off the inventory, locked out the workers without paying them, moved his machines in the middle of the night to another factory, and reopened under a different name.

The term "sweatshop" is derived from the "sweating system" of production and its use of "sweated labor." At the heart of the sweating system are the contractors. A large company distributes its production to small contractors who profit from the difference between what they charge the company and what they spend on production. The work is low skilled and labor intensive, so the contractors do best when their workers are paid the least. Workers employed under these conditions are said to be doing sweated labor.

Sweatshops are often used in the clothing industry because it is easy to separate higher and lower skilled jobs and contract out the lower skilled ones. Clothing companies can do their own designing, marketing, and cutting, and contract out sewing and finishing work. New contractors can start up easily; all they need is a few sewing machines in a rented apartment or factory loft located in a neighborhood where workers can be recruited.

Sweatshops make the most fashion-oriented clothing—women's and girls'—because production has to be flexible, change quickly, and done in small batches. In less style-sensitive sectors—men's and boys' wear, hosiery, and knit products—there is less change and longer production runs, and clothing can be made competitively in large factories using advanced technology.

Since their earliest days, sweatshops have relied on immigrant labor, usually women, who were desperate for work under any pay and conditions. Sweatshops in New York City, for example, opened in Chinatown, the mostly Jewish Lower East Side, and Hispanic neighborhoods in the boroughs. Sweatshops in Seattle are near neighborhoods of Asian immigrants.

New York City sweatshop. A scene from a sweatshop on New York City's Lower East Side, 1908, as photographed by Lewis Hines. The workers here are probably recent Jewish immigrants. Modern-day American sweatshops continue to exist and continue to rely on recent immigrants willing to work long hours for very low pay.

The evolution of sweatshops in London and Paris—two early and major centers of the garment industry—followed the pattern in New York City. First, garment manufacturing was localized in a few districts: the *Sentier* of Paris and the Hackney, Haringey, Islington, the Tower Hamlets, and Westminster boroughs of London. Second, the sweatshops employed mostly immigrants, at first men but then primarily women, who had few job alternatives. The source of immigrant workers changed over time. During the late nineteenth and twentieth century, most workers in the garment sweatshops of Paris were Germans and Belgians, then Polish and Russian Jews and, into the 2000s, Yugoslavs, Turks, Southeast Asians, Chinese and North African Jews. Eastern European Jews initially worked in London sweatshops, but most of these workers were replaced by Cypriots and Bengali immigrants. Also, sweatshop conditions in the two cities were the result of roughly similar forces; in the nineteenth century, production shifted to lower-grade, ready-made clothing that could be made by less skilled workers; skill requirements further declined with the introduction of the sewing machine and the separation of cutting and less skilled sewing work; frequent style changes, particularly in ready-made women's wear, led to production in small lots and lower entry barriers to new entrepreneurs who sought contracts for sewing; and, as contractors competed among themselves, they tried to lower labor costs by reducing workers' pay, increasing hours, and allowing working conditions to deteriorate.

In developing countries, clothing sweatshops tend to be widely dispersed geographically rather than concentrated in a few districts of major cities, and they often operate alongside sweatshops, some of which are very large, that produce toys, shoes (primarily athletic shoes), carpets, and athletic equipment (particularly baseballs and soccer balls), among other goods. Sweatshops of all types tend to have child labor, forced unpaid overtime, and widespread violations of workers' freedom of association (i.e., the right to unionize). The underlying cause of sweatshops in developing nations—whether in China, Southeast Asia, the Caribbean or India and Bangladesh—is the intense cost-cutting done by contractors who compete among themselves for orders from larger contractors, major manufacturers, and retailers.

Clothing was not always produced with the sweating system. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, seamstresses made clothing by working long hours at home for low pay. They sewed precut fabric to make inexpensive clothes. Around the 1880s, clothing work shifted to contract shops that opened in the apartments of the recently arrived immigrants or in small, unsafe factories.

The spread of sweatshops was reversed in the United States in the years following a horrific fire in 1911 that destroyed the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, a women's blouse manufacturer near Washington Square in New York City. The company employed five hundred workers in notoriously poor conditions. One hundred and forty-six workers, mostly young Jewish and Italian women, perished in the fire; many jumped out windows to their deaths because the building's emergency exits were locked. The Triangle fire made the public acutely aware of conditions in the clothing industry and led to pressure for closer regulation. The number of sweatshops gradually declined as unions organized and negotiated improved wages and conditions and as government regulations were stiffened (particularly under the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act, which imposed a minimum wage and required overtime pay for work of more than forty hours per week).

Unionization and government regulation never completely eliminated clothing sweatshops, and many continued on the edges of the industry; small sweatshops were difficult to locate and could easily close and move to avoid union organizers and government inspectors. In the 1960s, sweatshops began to reappear in large numbers among the growing labor force of immigrants, and by the 1980s sweatshops were again "business as usual." In the 1990s, atrocious conditions at a sweatshop once again shocked the public.

In 1995, police raided a clandestine sweatshop in El Monte, California (outside Los Angeles), where seventy-two illegal Thai immigrants were sewing clothing in near slavery in a locked and gated apartment complex. They sewed for up to seventeen hours per day and earned about sixty cents per hour. When they were not working, they slept ten to a room. The El Monte raid showed an unsuspecting public that sweatshop owners continued to prey on vulnerable immigrants and were ignoring the toughened workplace regulations. Under intense public pressure, the federal government worked with unions, industry representatives, and human rights organizations to attack the sweatshop problem. Large companies pledged to learn more about their contractors and avoid sweatshops. Congress proposed legislation that would make clothing manufacturers responsible for the conditions at their contractors. College students formed coalitions with labor unions and human rights organizations to organize consumer boycotts against clothing made in sweatshops. Despite these efforts, the old sweatshops continued and many new ones were opened.

In the early twenty-first century, about a third of garment manufacturers in the United States operate without licenses, keep no records, pay in cash, and pay no overtime. In New York City, about half of the garment manufacturers could be considered sweatshops because they repeatedly violate pay and workplace regulations. In Los Angeles, the nation's new sweatshop center, around three-quarters of the clothing contractors pay less than the minimum wage and regularly violate health regulations.

The resurgence of sweatshops in the United States is a byproduct of globalization—the lowering of trade barriers throughout the world—and the widespread use of sweatshops to make garments in developing countries. American clothing companies must compete against producers elsewhere that can hire from a nearly endless supply of cheap labor.

In the clothing industry, one sees a classic case of the "race to the bottom" that can come with unrestrained globalization. As trade barriers are reduced, clothing retailers face intensive competitive pressure and, squeezed for profits, they demand cheaper goods from manufacturers. The manufacturers respond by paying less to contractors, and the contractors lower their piece rates and spend less money maintaining working conditions. Quite often, the contractors move abroad because the "race to the bottom" also happens worldwide. Developing countries outbid each other with concessions (for example, wages are set below the legal minimum, child labor and unhealthy work conditions are overlooked) to attract foreign investors.

The fight against sweatshops is never a simple matter; there are mixed motives and unexpected outcomes. For example, unions object to sweatshops because they are genuinely concerned about the welfare of sweated labor, but they also want to protect their own members' jobs from low-wage competition even if this means ending the jobs of the working poor in other countries.

Also, sweatshops can be evaluated from moral and economic perspectives. Morally, it is easy to declare sweatshops unacceptable because they exploit and endanger workers. But from an economic perspective, many now argue that without sweatshops developing countries might not be able to compete with industrialized countries and achieve export growth. Working in a sweatshop may be the only alternative to subsistence farming, casual labor, prostitution, and unemployment. At least most sweatshops in other countries, it is argued, pay their workers above the poverty level and provide jobs for women who are otherwise shut out of manufacturing. And American consumers have greater purchasing power and a higher standard of living because of the availability of inexpensive imports.

The intense low-cost competition spurred by the opening of world markets is creating a resurgence of sweatshops in the United States. The response has been a large and energetic anti-sweatshop movement aimed at greater unionization, better government regulation, and consumer boycotts against goods produced by sweated labor. But despite the historical rise and fall and rise again of sweatshops in the clothing industry, their fundamental cause remains the same. The sweating system continues because contractors can profit by offering low wages and harsh conditions to workers in the United States and abroad who have no alternatives.

See also **Globalization.**

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Gary Chaison

SWIMWEAR Clothing for swimming, bathing, and seaside wear has been an important and influential area of fashionable dress since the late nineteenth century. The evolution of swimming and bathing costumes has been closely associated with trends in mainstream fashion and advancements in textile technology, but has also reflected broader societal attitudes about personal hygiene, body exposure, and modesty, and whether or not it was appropriate for women to participate in active sports.

Bathing Costumes

Swimming and bathing were common activities in the ancient world, and the Romans built public baths in even the most remote parts of their empire. After declining during the Middle Ages, bathing was revived in the seventeenth century, when it became popular as a medicinal treatment. At spas such as Bath and Baden, where bathers sought out the warm mineral waters for their therapeutic effects, linen bathing garments—knee-length drawers and waistcoats for men, and long-sleeved linen smocks or chemises for women—were in use by the late seventeenth century. These garments were worn for modesty rather than appearance, and could be hired from the baths by those who did not wish to purchase their own.

In the eighteenth century, medical authorities began to prescribe salt-water bathing, and seaside towns, along with large floating baths in most major cities, began to cater to large numbers of health-conscious visitors. Bathing usually consisted of a quick dip, often in the early morning, and was considered more a duty than a pleasure. Until the mid-nineteenth century, male and female bathers were almost always segregated from each other, either through the provision of separate bathhouses or stretches of beach, or by using the same area at different assigned times. Modesty was also preserved by the use of "bathing machines"—small buildings mounted on wheels, in which the bather would change from street clothes into a bathing costume while a horse and driver pulled the machine into the sea. The steps by which the bather would descend into the water were often covered with an awning to ensure that he or she would not be seen until mostly underwater. Thus protected from the eyes of the opposite sex, men generally bathed nude, or in simple trunks with a drawstring waist; women's bathing gowns were cut much like the chemise (undergarment) of the period, but were often made of stiffer material so as not to cling to the figure, and sometimes incorporated weights in the hem to keep the gown from floating. The only purpose of bathing garments at this time was to keep the bather warm and sufficiently covered up, and little thought was given to their appearance.

In the early nineteenth century, bathing began to be considered a recreational as well as beneficial activity, and seaside holidays grew in popularity. Each locality had its own standards for appropriate attire, and the costumes worn varied widely from place to place. In general, however, as women began to be more active in the water, rather than simply immersing themselves, their bathing dresses became slightly shorter, and were gathered or fitted around the waist. At the same time, ankle-length drawers or pantaloons, similar to the drawers worn as underwear by ladies in the 1840s, began to be worn underneath.

From the mid-century on, mixed bathing became more acceptable, and as stationary beach huts began to replace bathing machines, bathing costumes were more visible, and attention began to be paid to making them

Bathing Beauties

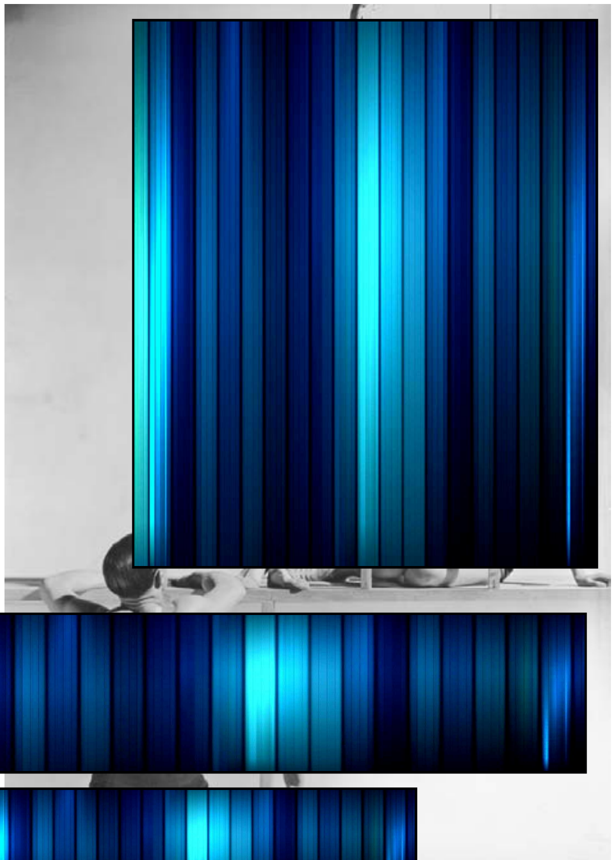
Beautiful aquatic women have been important fantasy figures since ancient times, when sirens, mermaids, and water nymphs led heroes of mythology astray. The modern-day bathing beauty, however, did not appear until the late nineteenth century, when bathing dresses were first seen in public. As these were the most revealing costumes allowed for women at the time, images of pretty bathing girls, both in wholesome advertisements and on naughty postcards, soon proliferated. Around 1914, the comedies of silent film producer Mack Sennett began to feature a bevy of young women in exaggerated and revealing bathing dress, whom he called his Bathing Beauties. Their popularity inspired beach resorts such as Venice Beach, California, and Galveston, Texas, to stage annual bathing girl parades and beauty contests; the Miss America pageant started as one such bathing girl contest, held in Atlantic City, New Jersey in 1920 to encourage late-season tourism. Over the years this and other beauty pageants, with their parades of women in bathing suits and high heels featured in newsreels and television broadcasts, have been instrumental in associating swimwear with feminine beauty in the popular imagination. (This connection was not lost on Catalina Swimwear, a major pageant sponsor, which started the Miss USA and Miss Universe pageants after the 1951 Miss America refused to pose in a swimsuit during her reign.)

The Hollywood bathing beauty came of age in the 1930s, when photographs of stars and starlets posing in fashionable swimwear began appearing in large numbers. These images had an impact on fashions, as women sought to emulate the look of their favorite stars, and achieved iconic status during World War II, when pinups of Betty Grable and Rita Hayworth came to symbolize "what we're fighting for" to many American servicemen. Another, more active kind of bathing beauty was showcased in the aquatic ballets of Billy Rose's Aquacades at the 1939–1940 World's Fair, in the waterskiing spectaculars at Cypress Gardens in Florida, and, most memorably, in the lavish MGM films featuring Esther Williams, the first of which was the 1944 *Bathing Beauty.* Miss Williams, a 1939 national swimming champion, was a top box-office draw through the mid-1950s, and her film costumes, together with her ability to look glamorous before, during, and after swimming, did much to inspire the desired poolside look of the era.

Since its debut in 1964, *Sports Illustrated*'s annual swimsuit issue has probably been the most relevant modern incarnation of the bathing beauty tradition, and has come to symbolize its contradictions. Widely credited with popularizing the active, healthy California look in the 1960s, and thus encouraging women to be more athletic, the swimsuit issue has also been criticized for displaying women as sex objects for the enjoyment of a predominantly male audience. Seen as empowering, exploitative, or both, the bathing beauties seen in *Sports Illustrated* continue to influence swimwear fashion, and to act as a kind of barometer for changing cultural attitudes and standards of beauty.

more attractive. Bathing styles began to be covered by popular magazines, which both standardized bathing costumes and brought them into the realm of fashion, with new styles introduced each season. Women's costumes began to follow the silhouette of street fashions more closely in this period, but also developed their own fashion vocabulary; they were usually made of wool flannel or serge, in dark colors (which were less revealing of the figure when wet), and enlivened by jaunty details such as sailor collars and braid trim in contrasting colors. Bathing costumes also now required many fashionable accessories. Hats, rubberized and oilcloth caps, and a variety of turban-like head-wraps kept hair neat and protected from salt water. Full-length dark stockings kept the legs modestly covered, and flat-soled bathing shoes, often with ribbon ties crossing up the leg, protected the feet and set off the ankles. As wool bathing dresses became quite heavy when wet, and clung to the figure in a way that was considered unattractive and immodest, bathing capes and mantles were also considered necessary for the walk from the water to the changing room.

Later in the century, bathing dresses (the term "bathing suit" also came into use at this time) became more practical, with both skirt and pantaloons gradually shortened, necklines lowered, and sleeves shortened or even eliminated. In the United States, where it took longer for these styles to catch on, the one-piece (or "princess-style") costume became a popular alternative in the 1890s; this consisted of an attached blouse and knee-length drawers, with a separate knee-length or shorter skirt that could be removed for swimming. Even so, most bathing costumes were essentially variations of street fashions, intended largely for promenading by the sea and wading or frolicking in the surf; many required the wearing of a corset underneath, and were made of materials that would be ruined if they ever got wet. In the early



[redacted] this 1929 photo, swimwear in the 1920s was styled similarly for men and women. It had only recently become acceptable for women's swimwear to show bare legs.

twentieth century, the term "bathing dress" came to mean this kind of fashionable, skirted costume, as opposed to the utilitarian "swimming suit." Chemise-style silk bathing dresses with bloomers or tights continued to be worn by some women into the 1920s, but by the 1930s they were obsolete, and the terms "bathing suit" and "swimsuit" had become interchangeable.

Swimming Suits

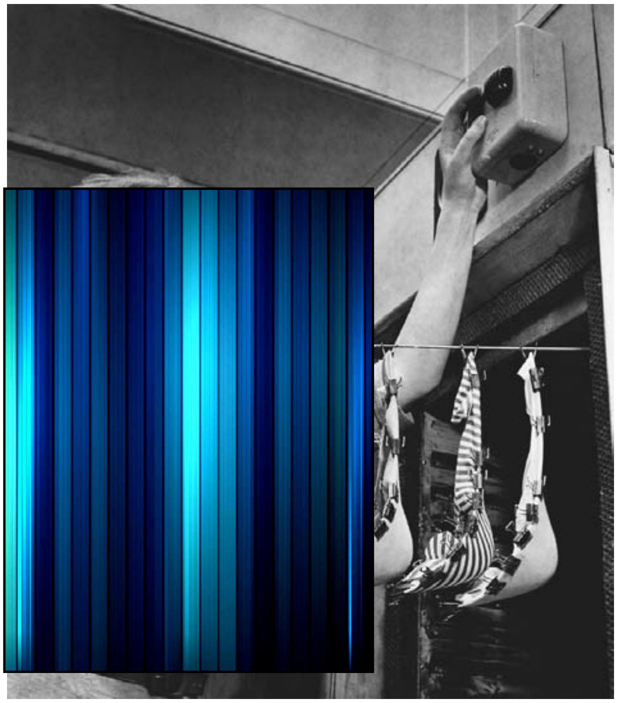
Until the mid-nineteenth century, swimming was an activity almost entirely limited to men. While men and women were segregated at baths and beaches, men were free to practice swimming unencumbered by clothes. As mixed bathing became more popular, however, they were forced to find a suitable costume, and by the 1850s men generally wore one-piece knit suits very similar to contemporary one-piece underwear (called union suits), but usually with short sleeves and legs cut off at the knees. Later in the century, there was also a two-piece version available, consisting of a short-sleeved or sleeveless tunic over knee-length drawers. To avoid any hint of impropriety caused by appearing in garments so similar to underwear, men's bathing suits were usually dark in color, sometimes with contrasting bands at the edges; striped suits were also popular, especially in France. This practical knit costume remained basically unchanged until the 1930s.

Women who wished to swim, however, found it much more difficult to find a suitable costume. Beginning in the 1860s, women were encouraged to take up swimming for exercise, and by the 1870s many women were learning to swim at pools and bathhouses, which had separate times designated for male and female bathers. In these sex-segregated situations, and for swimming competitions and demonstrations, female swimmers adopted simple "princess-style" one-piece suits, knitted garments similar to men's suits, or suits with long tights similar to those worn by circus performers. However, these garments were still not acceptable in mixed company, or for public wear out of the water, until the early twentieth century. The Australian swimmer Annette Kellerman became famous early in the century for her long-distance swimming feats and exhibitions of fancy diving, for which she wore sleeveless, form-fitting one-piece suits of black wool knit, sometimes with full-length stockings attached. She was an outspoken advocate for practical swimwear for women, and when she was arrested for indecent exposure for wearing a one-piece suit to a public beach in Boston in 1907, the resulting trial and publicity helped to change public attitudes on the subject. In 1912, the Olympic Games in Stockholm were the first to include women's swimming events, and by the beginning of World War I, one-piece knit suits had gained wide acceptance. In many places, however, local authorities passed strict bathing suit regulations, and the battle over the alleged indecency of abbreviated suits, particularly when worn without stockings, continued in many places into the 1920s.

The Modern Swimsuit

After World War I, several factors combined to produce a radical change in swimwear. Women had achieved new levels of independence during the war, and fashions began to allow them more freedom of movement. Interest in active sports of all kinds increased during the 1920s, and sportswear achieved new importance in fashion. Swimming also gained in popularity due to an increase in the number of municipal swimming pools, and the publicity given to such celebrities as Gertrude Ederle, who in 1926 became the first woman to swim the English Channel. Form-fitting knitted wool tank suits, almost identical to those worn by men, were promoted as active swimwear for the modern woman, and soon became the dominant style. At the same time, beach resorts on the Riviera or at Palm Beach became an important part of the fashionable calendar, and beach fashions assumed new significance in society wardrobes. Paris couturiers such as Jean Patou, Jeanne Lanvin, and Elsa Schiaparelli used crisply detailed knit suits—both two-piece suits of tunic and trunks and one-piece suits (known as maillots)—as a canvas for geometric designs in bold, contrasting colors. Spending long leisurely days at the beach also required an extensive on-shore wardrobe, including sunsuits and sunbathing dresses, beach coats and capes, bathing shoes and sandals, close-fitting hats for swimming and wide-brimmed hats for shade, colorful beach umbrellas, beach pajamas (very popular in the late 1920s) and, to hold it all, large canvas beach bags.

By the early 1930s, the growing popularity of sunbathing inspired suits with very low-cut "evening-gown" backs, suits with removable straps for sunning, and suits with large cutouts at the sides and back. The one-piece maillot, with or without a vestigial skirt or skirt front (called a "modesty panel"), was still the most common style, but two-piece suits, consisting of a high-waisted skirt or trunks and a brassiere or halter top, were introduced early in the decade. These sometimes coordinated with matching separates to convert into sundresses or playsuits, which succeeded beach pajamas as the most fashionable form of on-shore beachwear. So-called dressmaker suits were another popular style; these were skirted suits with attached trunks, cut like dresses and usually made of printed or textured woven fabrics (sometimes with an elastic liner).



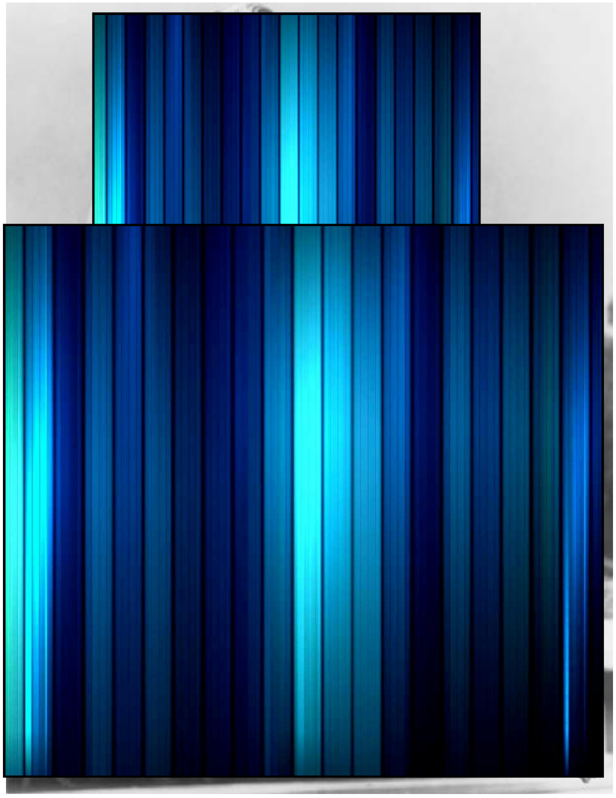
Bikini bras in production. Treated fabric, having been stretched over a plastic mold, is about to be baked in order to set its shape and create bikini brassieres. These bras were manufactured in 1949, but it was not until the 1960s that bikinis caught on in the United States. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

The Swimwear Industry

In the years following World War I, American manufacturers of ready-made swimwear, most of them based on the West Coast, played a major role in setting fashion trends, and in creating a mass market for fashionable swimwear. The first Jantzen swimming suits, introduced in the late 1910s, were knit in a double-sided rib stitch, which added elasticity and made knitted suits much more practical. The company's innovative advertising campaigns in the 1920s, often featuring Olympic champion swimmers such as Johnny Weissmuller, helped to popularize swimming as well as Jantzen bathing suits, and by 1930 Jantzen was the largest swimwear manufacturer in the world. Catalina and Cole of California, which became major competitors to Jantzen in the late 1920s, emphasized appearance and styling in their suits and advertisements; Catalina became associated with the Miss America pageant, and Cole with Hollywood glamour. Competition between these manufacturers, joined by B.V.D. in 1929, drove changes in swimwear styles and technology through much of the twentieth century.

When feminine curves returned to fashion around 1930, manufacturers began to find ways of shaping the body within the suit, using darts, seaming, and strategically placed elastic to uplift and emphasize the bust. The most important innovation, however, was Lastex, an elastic yarn consisting of an extruded rubber core covered in cotton, rayon, silk, acetate, or wool, which was introduced in 1931 and soon revolutionized the industry. It could be used in both knitted and woven fabrics, gave improved fit and figure control, and allowed designers to add supporting layers, such as brassieres and tummy-control panels, without adding bulk to the silhouette. Lastex-based fabrics, some also incorporating new synthetic yarns, were soon available in a variety of textures and surface treatments, including stretch satins, velvets, shirred cottons, and novelty knits. All-rubber suits, made of embossed rubber sheeting, were introduced in 1932, and were an inexpensive option throughout the decade, though they were easily torn, and sometimes peeled away from the body in pounding surf. Rubber found more practical application in bathing caps, which now fit close to the head to keep the hair dry, and in bathing shoes, many of which were molded rubber facsimiles of street footwear.

The 1930s were also when swimwear manufacturers first turned to Hollywood for style ideas and promotional tie-ins. Jantzen, Catalina, and B.V.D. began to use Hollywood stars in their advertising campaigns, and formed alliances with movie studios and studio designers, lending mass-produced suits an air of Hollywood glamour. Bathing suits worn by stars in films and publicity photos became a major source of swimwear fashion. For example, the strapless sarong-like costumes worn by Dorothy



Esther Williams poses in a bathing suit in 1945. Esther Williams achieved stardom and box office success with a number of "swimming movies" in the 1940s and 1950s, musicals that featured elaborate aquatic dances and that showcased her swimming talents. © BETTMANN/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Lamour, first seen in the 1936 film *Jungle Princess*, immediately inspired manufacturers to include sarong suits in their lines, and helped set a fashion for tropical prints in swimwear.

New Styles for Men

While the detailing of men's suits had been somewhat updated by the late 1920s, and their construction and performance had been improved, decency regulations in many places still required men to wear suits thst covered the chest up to the level of the armpits. As sunbathing became more popular, manufacturers tried to work around these regulations, producing suits with side and back cutouts to permit more sun exposure. Pressure to reduce the amount of fabric in suits also came from competitive swimmers, who quickly adopted the silk knit racer-back suits (with low-cut sides and a single back strap to reduce drag) introduced by the Australian company Speedo in 1928. By the early 1930s, public opinion on the decency of the male chest had begun to shift, and American manufacturers developed convertible suits, with tops that could be zipped off where shirtless bathing was allowed. Swimming trunks, although sold with matching shirts in more conservative markets, began selling well in 1934, and by 1937 had almost completely supplanted the one-piece tank suit. The more abbreviated and close-fitting styles of Lastex with built-in athletic supporters were given outerwear details, such as belts, pockets, and fly fronts, to distinguish them from underwear. Around 1940, the looser boxer-short style, usually boldly patterned, became another popular alternative, with matching short-sleeved sports shirts worn as cover-ups.

Postwar Styles

By the early 1940s, women could choose from a wide variety of styles and fabrics, and were encouraged to have a wardrobe of suits appropriate for different activities and occasions. The bust was increasingly emphasized in both one- and two-piece suits, through strategically placed cutouts, ruffles, and bra sections ruched or tied at the center to form a sweetheart neckline. Dressmaker suits made of woven fabrics were popular, in part because Lastex was in short supply during World War II; these included a new category of dressier suits, meant largely for lounging by the pool, with details borrowed from evening wear and an emphasis on firm figure control. Figure control became even more important after the war, as swimwear adopted the dramatic corseted silhouette made fashionable by Christian Dior's 1947 "New Look" collection. Lastex was once more available, and new synthetic fibers such as nylon were quickly adopted for use in swimwear. Suits began to be constructed like foundation garments, with boning, underwires, interfacing, and padding producing the desired high, pointed breasts, tiny waist, and jiggle-free figure.

Though the first bikini was introduced in 1946, the reaction in America was to move toward more covered-up suits, exemplified by the ladylike designs of Rose Marie Reid. In the 1950s, amid growing prosperity and increasing amounts of leisure time, and as more Americans had access to resort vacations and backyard pools, swimwear became more than ever a vehicle for display and fantasy. Swimwear manufacturers found design inspiration in exotic locales such as Mexico and Polynesia, and tropical print and batik ensembles, worn with printed cotton cover-ups and rustic accessories of straw, wood, and raffia, were popular throughout the decade. Exotic animals, especially felines, were another popular theme, as exemplified by the seductive leopard-spotted suits of Cole of California's "Female Animal" collection. Some glamorous poolside ensembles were made of waterproof taffeta and lamé, cut like strapless evening gowns, and decorated with beading and sequins to evoke ancient Egypt or the Arabian Nights. A wide variety of sunsuits, terry-cloth robes, footwear, bathing caps, and sunglasses, along with waterproof makeup, allowed women to maintain a polished appearance, both in and out of the water.

While most 1950s suits were designed to mold the figure to an artificial ideal, a few American designers, including Claire McCardell, Carolyn Schnurer, and Tina Leser, took a different approach. Beginning in the 1940s, they designed unpretentious swimwear and playsuits, usually of wool jersey or printed cotton, which emphasized practicality and freedom of movement over static display. McCardell's ingeniously draped and wrapped jersey suits were praised by the fashion media, but her body-conscious approach had little impact on mainstream styles until the mid-1950s, when swimwear in a similar spirit by designer Rudi Gernreich began to receive attention. Gernreich's sleek wool knit suits, inspired by dancewear, offered a stylish alternative to structured suits, and embodied the casual spirit of California, the source of many lifestyle trends in the late 1950s.

The 1960s to the Present

By the early 1960s, changing attitudes toward body exposure, together with the growing influence of the youth market, brought a new mood to swimwear. The new ideal of a youthful, tanned, and healthy look, with girls in bikinis and boys in cut-off blue jeans or baggy trunks (known as "jams"), was disseminated by beach party movies and the surf music craze. As the decade progressed, swimwear became briefer and more daring, with tiny bikinis, cutouts, mesh and transparent panels, and Rudi Gernreich's famous topless suit. Designs were drawn from an eclectic variety of sources, including pop art, scuba-diving gear, science fiction, and tribal costumes from around the world. The most important swimwear development, however, was the availability of spandex, a lightweight synthetic polyurethane fiber much stronger and more elastic than rubber, which was introduced for use in foundation garments in 1958. Spandex expanded the range of novelty fabrics available to designers, and that meant suits could now be made to fit like a second skin without heavy linings and supporting layers.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a fit, sculpted, and toned body became the new ideal. Rather than shaping the body, fashionable swimwear and beachwear was now designed to frame and reveal it, and difficult-to-tone areas such as the buttocks and upper thighs became the new erogenous zones. Athletic styles, such as racer-back tank suits and the Speedo briefs worn by Mark Spitz at the 1972 Olympics, were a major influence. One-piece suits returned to fashion, though many of them were essentially complex networks of crossed and wrapped straps joining small areas of fabric, and offered little more coverage than contemporary thongs and string bikinis. Stretch fabrics could be made lighter than ever, and bright, solid colors and metallic finishes were used for sleek maillots with thin spaghetti straps, which with the addition of a wrap skirt could double as disco wear.

Since the 1980s, despite warnings about the dangers of ultraviolet radiation, swimwear and beachwear have remained an important part of most wardrobes. Swimwear has been in what might be called its postmodern phase, with a wide variety of styles and influences operating simultaneously. Retro styles first appeared in the early 1980s, when designers such as Norma Kamali revived the glamorous shirred and skirted styles of the 1940s, and designs recalling every decade of the twentieth century have since appeared. Other recurring themes have been underwear-as-outerwear styles, with visible boning and underwires; minimalism; and streamlined athletic styles, emphasizing high-tech fabrics and finishes. Men have also been able to choose from a range of retro looks and amounts of coverage, from skimpy bikini briefs to baggy knee-length surfer styles; extremely baggy shorts with low-rise waists are a popular look in the early 2000s. Two late-1990s innovations were the tankini, a two-piece suit with the coverage and figure control of a one-piece, and the concept of mix-and-match swim separates, with a variety of bra styles, trunks, and skirted bottoms recalling the versatile playsuits of the 1930s and 1940s, and offering consumers unprecedented freedom of choice.

See also **Bikini; Gernreich, Rudi; Kamali, Norma; McCardell, Claire; Patou, Jean.**

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SY, OUMOU Oumou Sy (1952–) was born in Podor, Senegal. An autodidact, she is an internationally renowned and unique creative force who works at the intersection of art, spectacle, and social space. While her imaginative talent has been honed on costume design and manufacture since the early 1980s, her contribution is marked by her collaborations with other African artists in multiple media, including cinema, theater, music, and dance. This theatrical predilection provides a signature to her designs of costumes, haute couture, jewelry, and accessories, while her recent prêt-à-porter lines rely more on local conventions of dress.

Cultural Imperatives

Sy's work and life raise the arts of cloth, clothing, and body adornment to parity with the fine arts, literature, and cinema, in all of which the Senegalese excel. In the context of Dakar's Francophilic cultural elite, Sy openly and fiercely declares that she chooses not to write or read French. She often reminds listeners that she was raised in a conservative Toucouleur Muslim family in St. Louis, an old trading and colonial city of coastal Senegal. Yet, her articulate spoken voice in French lends an unusual intelligence and authority to her presence and designs. When she puts on her colonial officer's hat and says she is here to conquer, she means it. Her spectacular fashion shows are therefore not only visual and sensory feasts but also a platform for the articulation of an African pride that mines the past and present to produce a future that is in constant dialogue with origins. In effect, she places the cherished, rich Senegambian heritage of artisanship and body adornment into dialogue with the transnational terrain of the contemporary arts. Centuries of transregional trade with Europe and the Middle East and its former status as a French colonial capital have bred a fertile terrain for African and diasporic cultural production in Dakar. Sy is a bold, creative talent and figure for the arts in Dakar who innovates, even more than her creative cohort of African designers, with the materials, forms, and images of both African heritage and modernity. In 1996 Sy and her husband, Michel Mavros, a French filmmaker, founded Metissacana, a Web site, cyber café, and cultural center in downtown Dakar, Senegal. *Metissacana* is a Bambara French creole word meaning "the mixing of races and cultures (*metissage*) has arrived." This center spearheaded an emergent infrastructure for African fashion until its closure in 2002.

Launch of a Career

The complex place of gender in Sy's personal and creative narratives involves self-affirmation, transgression, and play. In her own life, Sy speaks of her mother's loyalty when she used profits from weaving commissions to buy her talented teenage daughter a sewing machine. Refusing her family's choice of suitors, Sy rebelled and married a mixed-race, Roman Catholic, Cape Verdean. The marriage ended in divorce, however, and at that point she moved around the country, finally settling in the old African district of colonial Dakar, the Medina, with her children. With the help of Dakar artists like Kalidou Sy, director of the School of Fine Arts, she launched her career in Dakar. Sy conceals her struggle in her playful figures of womanhood, especially perfume woman, cyberwoman, and calabash woman. The costumes worn by these characters present a subversive, mocking femininity in which icons used to polarize Africa and the West as primitive and civilized societies, respectively, are employed as decoration. She said in an interview for France's TV5, "Europeans think Africa is just too much, excess, and that's what calabash woman is about." She also commented in an interview at the Prince Claus Fund award ceremony, "Women of the future will be complete, outfit, accessories, everything" by looking to origins and reconstructing themselves aesthetically.

Since 1989 Sy has produced costumes, sets, hairstyles, and makeup for seventeen films, thirteen staged shows, and for musicians such as Baaba Maal and Youssou N'dour. This has brought her prizes from major festival contests and a much broader audience than fashion shows would allow. In the film *Hyenas* (1992), splendor adorns not royalty but the slaves of an old woman who was cast out from her home village as a young, pregnant girl and comes back to exact revenge. Obsessed with raw power, she uses her slaves to exhibit her beauty, power, and wealth. While Sy's designs for this woman and her entourage create spectacles in some scenes, their neutral tones fuse with the desert scenery to create visual effects of severity.

Design Characteristics

Sy constructs silhouettes of power expressed through volume and density. Refined artisanship provides the foundation of the costume's primary elements of cloth, and careful adornment of both the cloth and the body complete the effect. Inspired by the aristocratic traditions of the Wolof and Toucouleur—the major ethnic groups in Senegal—as well as the Islamic grand boubou, a six meter flowing, embroidered robe (called *mbubb* in Wolof), her garment forms are characterized by simple stitching of long swathes of cloth that are layered and wrapped. Like many other African designers, she innovates cloth traditions through production technology or the use of "African" cloth (such as cotton prints, woven strips, hand-dyed fabric) in Western styles. She designs tie-dye motifs and weaving for the broadloom, which she uses to weave cloth strips from two- to four-feet long, thereby producing large strips of cloth and reducing the number of seams required to stitch a garment; she also employs expert artisans who often experiment with mixtures of thread or dyes. Sy makes frequent use of embroidery in her costumes and fashion lines. Moreover, in these lines, she gives these traditional garments a Westernized form with belts, sashes, or tailored waistlines that lend contours to the body. African heritage is also the basis for her ornate accessories, jewelry, hairstyles, and makeup.

More than a collection based upon a design concept, Sy's costumes present tableaux of historical epochs. For example, the *Rois et Reines* series (Kings and Queens), dates from the mid-1990s and is inspired by the few historical images available of precolonial Wolof and Toucouleur royal finery. Heavy woven wrappers made of stitched strips of cloth are worn with simple tunic tops of the same cloth. Stoles, heavy amber jewelry, hair jewelry, woolen wigs, and makeup complete the adornment. Dark hues define the natural cloth dyes and the black facial makeup on tattooed lips and lined eyes. Silver and gold decorations on arms and in woolen wigs lend a luxurious feeling to the wearer.

Like the most innovative of designers, Sy's usage of primary materials is distinctive, for she does not limit herself to textiles. Her work is deeply modern, ironic, and humorous and uses an excess of materials from all sources. These media range from the urban garbage of perfume bottles to compact discs, calabashes, baskets, and feathers. The cyberwoman wears a taffeta pastel ball gown with CDs adorning the gown's neck and front surface as if embroidering a boubou. Perfume woman is adorned in a slinky, purple silk, wrap skirt and halter top with small perfume bottles—the cheap, sweet kind from Mecca—sewn on as if they were beadwork. Her face is framed with colored glass wands. Calabash woman wears a tight evening dress with a slit right up her leg and gourds springing from her headdress. These designs have often been photographed in the city streets of Dakar amid garbage, wrecked cars, and minivans. These icons of Africa and the West become signposts in the urban landscape for the tragicomedy of modernity, invoking an historical epoch through a series of garments.

Awards and Legacy

Sy has won prestigious prizes such as the Prince Claus Fund's 1998 prize, given to African fashion and shared with Alphadi of Niger and Adzedou of Ghana; the same fund gave her an honorary mention as an urban hero for her work with Metissacana (2000). She has also garnered honors for her representation of African fashion at the World Expo of Hanover (2000) and has won the prize of the festival of Wurzburg, Germany (2002); a special prize of the city of Rome (2003); and woman of the millennium (Guinea, 2003). Additionally, her costumes have won awards at the Pan-African Film Festival (1993) and those of Milan (1993) and Johannesburg (1995). She was commissioned by the French government to design costumes for the Dakar celebration of the French revolution's bicentennial (1989). She won the Radio France International Net Africa Prize for founding Metissacana, the first cybercafe in West Africa (2001). Her work has also been exhibited at several museums in Germany, and her couture is sold in boutiques in Paris and New York as well as in Dakar.

As an institution builder in culture and the arts, Sy has founded schools of modeling (Macsy) and couture (Leydi) that have produced prizewinning students. Since 1997 she has organized annual international African fashion weeks (SIMOD) that bring together African designers and models for display and networking in a collaborative, noncompetitive environment. In the 1990s she organized the Carnaval of Dakar, a revival of the traditional Fanal parade from her hometown, St. Louis. The event parades models in the costumes and fashions described above through the streets of Dakar's popular neighborhoods. The Metissacana Web site provided links to and information about cultural events and designers as well as an online store for distributing Sy's own clothing and jewelry line. More than this, the site was intended to spearhead national Internet culture in urban and rural Senegal, but it was closed in 2002 due to financial constraints and privatization of national telecommunications systems.

Sy's work of translation across historical epochs, social strata, and cultures make her art, spectacle, and social spaces so appealing to so many. In sum, the broad scope of Sy's creative and institutional interventions in Senegalese culture demonstrates not only her individual genius but also the way that cloth and fashion are embedded in so many aspects of Senegalese society and culture from elite consumption to popular festivity.

FROM *LA VIE A DE LONGUES JAMBES*

La beauté, c'est une chose à l'intérieur. La beauté du corps, ce n'est pas très important. Tous les corps sont beaux. Mais la vraie beauté, la vraie valeur de la beauté, c'est à l'intérieur qu'il faut la chercher. C'est là qu'elle a sa vraie valeur, et c'est là qu'elle est rare. Voilà la réponse à ta question. La beauté à l'intérieur, c'est ce qui devrait être notre but à tous.

[Beauty, it is an interior matter. Bodily beauty is not very important. All bodies are beautiful. But true beauty, the true value of beauty, it's in the interior that one must search. It is there that there is true value and it's there that is rare. That's the answer to your question. Interior beauty should be the goal of us all.]

Oumou Sy and Jean-Michel Bruyere, *La Vie a de Longues Jambes* [Life has long legs], 1995; translated by Hudita Mustafa.

See also **Colonialism and Imperialism; Ethnic Dress; Ethnic Style in Fashion; Textiles, African; Tie-Dyeing.**

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