U

ULTRASUEDE. *See* **Nonwoven Textiles; Flocking.**

UMBRELLAS AND PARASOLS The origins of the word "umbrella" lie in the Latin *umbra*, meaning shade, while "parasol" comes from the Latin *sol*, meaning sun, and the two words were used interchangeably up until the middle of the eighteenth century (Farrell 1985). Since then, "parasol" has come to denote specifically a shade that protects against the sun, while "umbrella" indicates an item that provides protection from the rain.

Most umbrellas and parasols consist of a central stick to which a number of ribs are attached. The ribs support the cover or canopy and, in turn, they are supported by stretchers from the center of their length to the tubular runner that slides up and down the stick (Farrell 1985). Historians indicate that while umbrellas were always designed to fold, some parasols were made rigid, with the cover consisting of a single circular piece of waxed cloth or taffeta supported on cane ribs.

Umbrellas date from over 3,000 years ago, and according to Crawford (1970), from early times they had religious and mythological symbolism. Most histories of the umbrella and parasol cite Egypt, China, and India as being important geographical locations in the pre-European history of the umbrellas.

In all such cultures where it has had a presence, the umbrella appears to have been associated with high status. Moreover, Stacey notes that: "The Oxford English Dictionary does in fact date the use of the word umbrella from 1653 as 'an Oriental or African symbol of dignity'" (1991, p. 114).

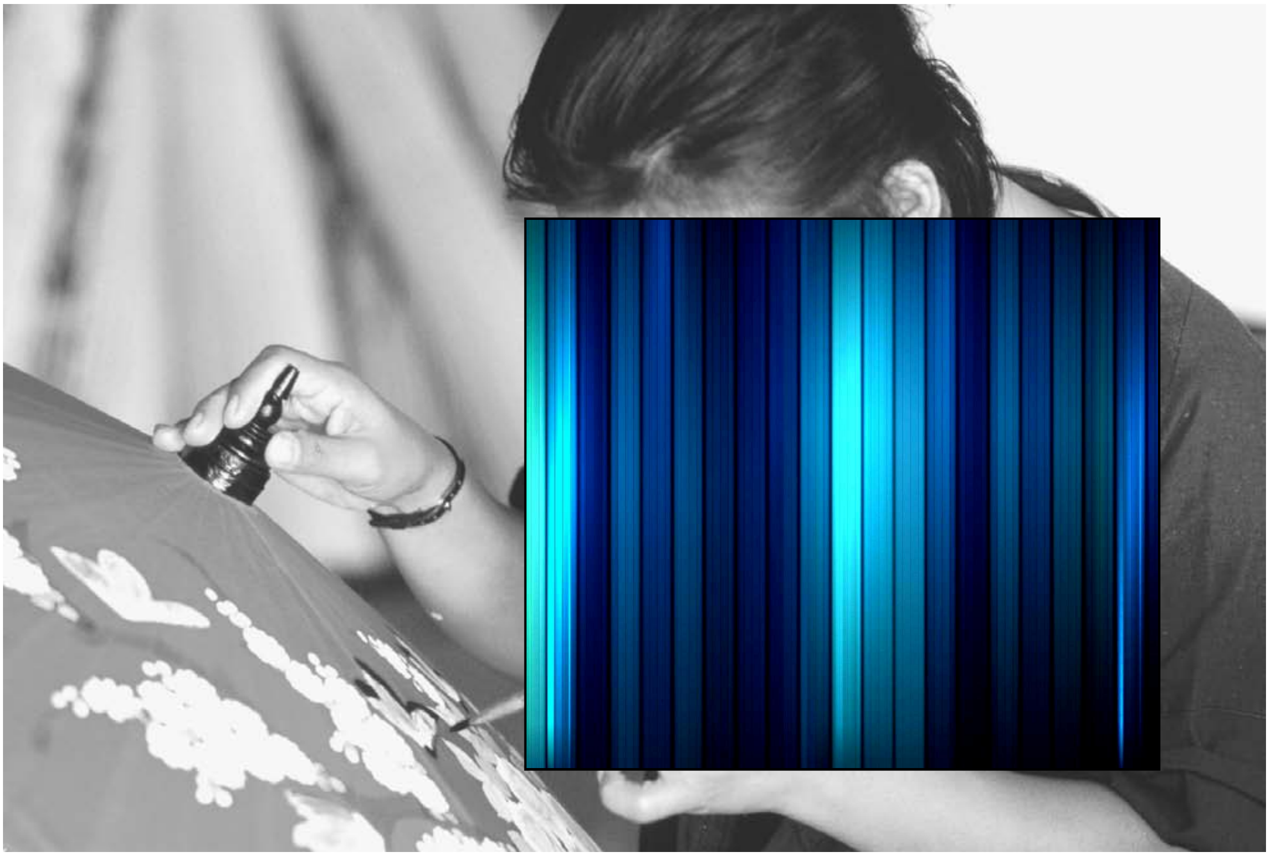
Many Asian countries have used the parasol in symbolic relation to their dignitaries, and Sangster notes: "In all eastern countries, with the exception of China and Turkey, the Parasol was reserved exclusively for the great men of the land." (1855, p. 18). According to Crawford (1970), Burma and Siam are two Asian countries that have the most regard for the umbrella as a symbol of sovereignty, and subsequently reports that the ruler of the ancient capital of the Burmese empire had the title of "King of the White Elephants and Lord of the Twenty-Four Umbrellas." The use of the umbrella as a symbol of respect appears to have continued into the twentieth century as Jacqueline Kennedy, widow of the American President John Kennedy, was accorded the privilege of the ceremonial umbrella when she visited Burma in 1967 (Crawford 1970).

In China, too, umbrellas have been used to denote status from as early as the eleventh century B.C.E. Frames at that time were made of cane or sandalwood and the covers of leather or feathers, for wet and dry days (Stacey 1991). During the period of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Crawford (1970) notes that ordinary people were not allowed to use umbrellas covered with cloth or silk: they had to use less prestigious items constructed from stout paper. Cheaper East Asian umbrellas are still made of paper manufactured from cotton rags, although better models use paper made from the bark bast of mulberry, which is much stronger. Covers are painted or lacquered and may be decorated with pictorial motifs or auspicious phrases (Crawford 1970).

Evidence of early European use of umbrellas is mentioned by Sangster: "We find frequent reference to the Umbrella in the Roman Classics, and it appears that it was, probably, a post of honour among maid-servants to bear it over their mistresses" (1855, p. 15). However, most historians indicate that the first European umbrellas were probably ceremonial items associated with the pope. There are extant depictions of the Emperor Constantine presenting Pope Sylvester I—who was in office from C.E. 314 to 335—with a brown and white striped umbrella (Crawford 1970) and Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447) incorporated an *ombrellino* into his coat of arms. Although the emblem is no longer used by the pope himself, it still appears on certain institutions and seminaries (Stacey 1991).

It is likely that trading activity in Asian colonies from the sixteenth century onward ultimately brought the umbrella to wider European attention. Portuguese women in India in the sixteenth century, for instance, would not venture out without an escort of slaves, one of whom bore a shade over his mistress to protect her from the sun and to emphasize her prestige, Crawford (1970) writes. The umbrella subsequently became a custom that returned with the Portuguese to Europe.

The umbrella or parasol started to appear elsewhere in Europe around this time and the French king, Louis



Asian woman decorating an umbrella. In many Asian cultures, umbrellas, often painted with decorations, are associated with status and dignity.

XIII, is reported to have owned a good number of umbrellas. Between 1619 and 1637 he enlarged his collection to include eleven sunshades made of taffeta and three umbrellas made of oiled cloth trimmed with gold and silver lace (Crawford 1970).

However, the umbrella had no significant presence in Britain until the eighteenth century. Although there are records of some eighteenth century "church umbrellas" designed specifically for use by members of the clergy, the traveler and philanthropist Jonas Hanway is generally credited with introducing the umbrella to London (Stacey 1991). Born in 1712, he traveled extensively to the British colonies and to Europe. On returning to London to carry out his philanthropic work, he was reportedly ridiculed by sedan chair carriers for his use of the umbrella, possibly because they perceived it as a threat to their business (Stacey 1991). Hanway's now infamous umbrella is most likely to have been French in origin (Farrell 1985).

But it took time for the waterproof umbrella to attain popularity in Britain, perhaps because to be seen with one was regarded as indicative of insufficient funds for a carriage (Farrell 1985). Moreover, Sangster writes that: "The earliest English Umbrellas . . . were made of oiled silk, very clumsy and difficult to open when wet; the stick and furniture were heavy and inconvenient, and the article very expensive" (1855, p. 31). The ribs of umbrellas at this time were made of whalebone—which lost its elasticity when wet—and the oiled silk or cotton cover would quickly become saturated and leaky. Furthermore, walking-stick umbrellas were uncommon in England in the eighteenth century (although they were being marketed in France), so they generally had to be carried under the arm or slung across the back (Crawford 1970).

In terms of production, Stacey (1991) notes that the first patent was taken out on an umbrella in 1786, and there was subsequently a proliferation of developments with over 121 patents filed in the 1850s alone. But as Sangster points out, "The most important improvement dates from the introduction of steel instead of whalebone." (Sangster 1855, p. 58). The most successful umbrella designs involving metal ribs were those patented by Henry Holland of Birmingham in 1840, and later by Samuel Fox in 1852 (Farrell 1985).

By the middle of the nineteenth century, there was a thriving umbrella and parasol industry in Britain, and Sangster notes that these items were well represented in the great exhibition of 1851. In particular, the elaborate umbrella belonging to the Maharajah of Najpoor captured the imagination of visitors and drew attention from visitors: "The ribs and stretchers, sixteen in number, divided the Umbrella into as many segments, covered with silk, exquisitely embroidered with gold and silver ornaments" (1855, p. 63). There is, perhaps, just a hint of umbrella envy in his subsequent statement that "we were glad to find that the visitors turned away from this display of barbaric pomp to the plainer, but more valuable productions of our own land" (1855, p. 63). It was at this exhibition that two of the Sangster brothers, who were themselves umbrella manufacturers, won a prize medal for their alpaca-covered umbrellas. Inferior to silk, but far cheaper and sturdier, alpaca became a highly popular textile for umbrellas in Britain in the 1850s (Crawford 1970).

By the end of the nineteenth century, umbrellas had become less of a novelty and more of an item of convenience. Best quality umbrellas had covers made of silk, cheaper ones of cotton, and green was the most popular color although blue, red, and brown umbrellas were also available. Handles were made of horn, ivory, antler, or wood, and were often decorated with bands of gold or silver (Farrell 1985). By the close of the nineteenth century, *The Tailor and Cutter* reported that "fashionable men are wedded to them" (Stacey 1991, p. 27).

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, manufacturers of quality umbrellas and parasols had their own outlets, while cheaper products were sold in the streets by itinerant vendors (Crawford 1970). Many retailers would offer a repair service as well as new products, and by the nineteenth century there was a healthy trade in refurbished umbrellas (Farrell 1985).

Compared to umbrellas, parasols were light and elegant, and throughout the early nineteenth century a wide range of styles and color were available. They were frequently referred to in magazines and newspapers of the time (Crawford 1970), although parasols were not generally carried by men (Farrell 1985).

Covers were made of chiffon, silk, taffeta, or satin and were often decorated with fringes, lace details, and embroidery. Long wooden bone or ivory handles were elaborately carved to feature animals and insects, porcelain handles were painted with delicate floral designs and some parasol handles even featured gimmicks such as inlaid watches (Bordignon Elestici 1990). Around the mid-1800s, the *en-tout-cas* became popular, as it fulfilled the function of protecting against both the sun and the rain (Farrell 1985), but one of the most remarkable parasols documented belonged to Queen Victoria, which she had lined with chain mail following an attempt to assassinate her (Stacey 1991).

The introduction of the automobile in the early years of the twentieth century initially encouraged the development of driving-specific parasols and umbrellas (Farrell 1985), but the new vehicles probably precipitated the decline of umbrella use, as people were less often on foot when out of doors (Crawford 1970). However, even during the interwar years (1918–1939), an umbrella was still regarded as "part of the unofficial uniform of a gentleman in London" (Farrell 1985, p. 79).

Although parasols, particularly those that emulated the style of flat, oriental sunshades, were popular up until the 1920s, the growing fashion for tanned skin effectively put an end to widespread use of the parasol by the 1930s. Looking to North America, Stacey notes that "neither the umbrella nor the parasol gained quick acceptance in America (1991, p. 59) and although Sidney Fisher's *Men, Woman and Manners of Colonial Days*, published in 1898, recorded sightings of umbrellas and parasols in Philadelphia in 1771, as a means of keeping off the sun they were reportedly regarded as a "ridiculous effeminacy" (Stacey 1991, p. 59). By the 1950s, however, Americans had championed the "unisex" umbrella, a distinct shift away from the gender-specific umbrella styles of Europeans (Stacey 1991).

The British umbrella trade had flourished in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as the colonies could be relied on to supply raw materials including canes, whalebone, horn, and ivory, and a thriving textile industry provided fabrics such as silk and cotton gingham for making covers. As a result, by 1851 London had about 1,330 workers in the trade, a third of whom were in the Stepney area of East London. But following the collapse of the parasol market in the 1930s and the domination of the umbrella market by cheap imports from the 1940s onward, the British umbrella industry effectively disappeared (Crawford 1970).

Farrell (1985) indicates that over time, each part of the umbrella and parasol has been the object of improvement, including the innovation of the cranked stick, which allowed the open umbrellas to be centered over the head rather than to one side, and the cycloidal umbrella, which had the stick placed off-center. Since the nineteenth century, however, the only significant structural development has been Hans Haupt's telescopic umbrella in 1930, and improvements to allow automatic opening, but patents continue to be filed at the rate of about twenty a year (Stacey 1991). Use of nylon covers since the 1950s was the only other notable development in umbrella design in the twentieth century (Farrell 1985).

Europe's oldest and biggest umbrella shop continues, in the early 2000s, to trade under the name of James Smith & Sons (Umbrellas) Ltd., which was established in 1830. According to the London and Home Counties Survey (1957), "at one period umbrellas were actually manufactured inside the shop in a space four feet wide, and stock had to be stored in the window," and the company was one of the first to use "Fox Frames" in their umbrellas. In addition to conventional umbrellas, the firm has also specialized in the production of ceremonial umbrellas for traditional rulers in Africa.

Despite its pan-global origins, the umbrella has come to be regarded, in literature at least, as a quintessentially English item, perhaps due to the inclement weather for which Britain is famous. Stacey notes that Max Beerbohm said: "What is an Englishman without his umbrella? . . . It is the umbrella which has made Englishmen what they are, and its material is the stuff of which Englishmen are made" (cited in Stacey 1991, p. 7). In the twenty-first century, however, cheap and poorly made folding umbrellas have become disposable items, displacing durable, high-quality umbrellas in most parts of the world.

See also **Protective Clothing; Raincoat; Rainwear.**

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UNDERWEAR The idea of items of clothing being private or public or that a body can be in an appropriately clothed or unclothed state is a relative concept that differs over time and from culture to culture. No tribal society, unless it has been infiltrated by concepts of western dress, appears to have garments that could be considered as underwear: items of clothing that act as a layer of insulation between the skin of the body and its outer garments.

The anthropologist Ted Polhemus uses the example of the loincloth, which is a garment at once in direct contact with the wearer's genitals but at the same time open to the public gaze. He postulates that this intimacy is allowable in small established communities where everything is known of the participants, unlike the rituals followed in larger, more industrialized, and thus anonymous societies. It is only when the cultural notion of privacy is apparent that underwear can perform its ritualistic function of shielding the body from the open scrutiny of others.

It was in ancient Egypt that the concept of having a second layer of clothing between the skin and the outer, more decoratively embellished layer of dress was devised. At that time the inner layer was worn more as a status symbol than for any erotic or practical reasons.

In Europe and North America underwear appears to have developed in range and complexity as the sight of a naked body moves from being an everyday public occurrence to a social taboo, and codes of acceptable social etiquette and civility deem the naked body private. Strategies come into play to make the body respectable, and underwear thus achieves its primary role, to shield the sexual zones of the body from the gaze of others.

Up to the nineteenth century underwear in Europe and North America had two main functions: to protect expensive outer garments from the dirt of the body beneath, as bathing for most was an expensive and time-consuming luxury, and to add an extra layer of insulation. The first items of underwear were unisex and classless linen shifts with no particular erotic connotations. By the nineteenth century, however, the notion of underwear began to change as fashion became more inherently gendered.

Underwear remained practical and functional for men, with cotton being the staple material, but for women it became an erotic exoskeleton helping to achieve the fashionable silhouette by constraining the body and coding certain parts as sexual. The corset, for instance, derived from the *cotte* of the 1300s, a rigid laced tunic of linen, became a device used to compress the waist while simultaneously drawing attention to the breasts and hips. This leads to the inherent tension in the nature of underwear: it conceals but simultaneously reveals the erogenous zones of the body. Adam and Eve may have modestly covered their genitals with fig leaves, but by doing so, they drew attention to the sexual parts of their bodies.

The bra, for instance, supports the breasts but at the same time creates a cleavage, an entirely invented erogenous zone that exists only as a result of the underwear that creates it. Underwear also exists to disguise the messy reality of the functions of the body. On the one hand observers are fascinated by layers of clothing being stripped away but are repulsed when confronted with the traces of the body left behind. As the popular saying goes, "We should never wash our dirty linen in public."

Polhemus sees underwear as preventing what he dubs "erotic seepage" (p. 114) in public encounters, as in the case of men, whose penises are not always subject to voluntary control. Thus the tightly laced corset worn by women (and children up to the late eighteenth century, when the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau advocated their abolition for children) was not just a whim of fashion, it was also believed to lend support to the fragile bodies of women and to constrain their sexuality; women could be "strait-laced" but also "loose."

The corset is also an example of how certain forms of underwear have moved in and out of fashion and have been reworked into different garments that retain the primary function of shaping the body into the fashionable ideal. The couturier Paul Poiret may have declared the corset dead by the 1920s, but it merely went on to assume other forms such as the dancing corset, girdle, and the roll-on of the 1950s.

By the 1980s the corset had moved to outerwear through the work of British designer Vivienne Westwood who in her seminal Portrait Collection of 1990 featured photographically printed corsets using the work of eighteenth-century artist François Boucher (1703–1770). She subverted the whole notion of the corset as a physically restricting item of underwear by using lycra rather than the original whalebone or steel stays of the nineteenth-century version. The elasticized sides of Westwood's design meant an end to laces at the front or back. The corset could now be pulled over the head in one easy movement.

By the nineteenth century the range of underwear available for women had become elaborate and its use proscribed by ideas of sexual etiquette to the extent that the accidental revealing of underwear was considered as mortifying as the naked body itself. In 1930 J. C. Flügel in *The Psychology of Clothes* attempted an explanation: "Garments which, through their lack of ornamentation are clearly not intended to be seen (such as women's corsets and suspenders, the coarser forms of underwear) when accidentally viewed produce an embarrassing sense of intrusion upon privacy that often verges on the indecent. It is like looking 'behind the scenes' and thus exposing an illusion" (p. 194). Vestiges of this idea can be seen in contemporary culture, such as the acutely embarrassing state of a man being seen with his trouser zipper down, even if all he will be revealing is his underwear.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries underwear, in some instances, could not be referred to directly in polite conversation, with "unmentionables" being a favored phrase. The twentieth century brought changes, however, including a gradually more relaxed attitude toward both sexuality and underwear.

A key item of women's underwear was developed in 1913 when New York debutante Mary Phelps Jacob, under the name Caresse Crosby, designed one of first modern bras, although the notion of supporting the breasts dates back to the Roman Empire when women wore scarves or *strophium* to mark themselves out from the "barbarous" unfettered breasts of slaves. Jacob's bra was boneless and kept the midriff free, while suspending the breasts from above rather than pushing them upwards from beneath as was the nature of the corset.

Cantilevering was added to bras in the 1950s by firms such as Warner's, who had bought Jacob's original patent, and Triumph, whose cone-shaped, circular-stitched bra in nylon or cotton batiste was worn by the popular Hollywood incarnation of the Sweater Girl as exemplified by stars such as Jayne Mansfield and Mamie van Doren.

In America the union suit held sway for men until the 1930s, when the first shorts with buttons on the yoke, originally developed for soldiers during World War I, became more freely available. The union suit, fashioned out of knitted fabric that reached from the wrists to the ankles, was one of the first industrially produced items of underwear, and emphasized warmth rather than comfort or convenience. It made no direct reference to the penis—unlike the codpiece, which was less about sexuality and more about rank and status.

However, a massive cultural change occurred in the 1930s when Cooper Inc introduced its Jockey Y-front design with overlapping fly for ease of urination. In the same decade the boxer short, originally issued to infantrymen for summer wear in America during World War I, began its acceptability in men's underwear fashion. The 1960s saw a vogue for brightly colored underwear in nylon and polyester for both men and women, which continued through the 1970s. By the 1980s manufacturers responded to what appeared to be a newly fashion literate male consumer, popularly referred to as the New Man, who was taking a more active interest in his grooming and, concomitantly, his underwear.

Calvin Klein helped in a reworking of masculinity as erotic at the end of the twentieth century with his advertising campaign by photographer Herb Ritts in 1993, using pop-star-turned-actor Mark Wahlberg. Wahlberg was portrayed in Calvin Klein underwear as a powerfully sexual figure, overturning the traditional language of advertising and its representation of male bodies. Wahlberg displayed his semi-clad worked-out body in a mainstream advertising campaign that appealed to both a male and female gaze. A man's body could be sexualized outside the pages of gay erotic imagery, and women could find pleasure in looking. The social and physical power of masculinity was no longer expressed solely through the world of work, but through a semi-nude body clad in designer underwear.

While male underwear was playing with the idea of the erotic as well as the practical, women's underwear began to make reference to athletics, reflecting an increasing interest and participation in exercise and the world of physical culture. From the early twentieth century, as cultural attitudes toward women and sport have changed and an athletic rather than reproductive function has been acknowledged, manufacturers have responded with more practical underwear. One important development was Dupont's invention of nylon in 1938, which helped in the creation of ranges of easy-care, drip-dry underwear. Lycra followed made in 1950, a new material of a knit of two yarns: a synthetic polyester or polyamide, and elastic fiber or spandex.

Underwear that made direct reference to athletics was to reach a height in the 1980s when aerobic exercise and the newly toned and muscled body that ensued became the cultural ideal for women. The runner Hinda Miller invented the sports bra, which became a classic of women's underwear design, made of stretch fabric with no fasteners so as to be pulled over the head with ease—a direct response to the needs of sportswomen that has entered mainstream fashion. The sports bra has become a signifier of a healthy lifestyle rather than a garment simply worn by women athletes. By the early twenty-first century many items of underwear had body control as their primary function. The taboos around the intake of food and keeping the inner workings of the body pure through organic food and practices such as colonic irrigation have influenced underwear design, which evokes a "naturalness" and a "simplicity" to match the twenty-first century obsession with body engineering. Ironically, this supposedly "natural" look runs concurrently with an emphasis on the artificial in the guise of the Wonderbra and other forms of more erotic and body shaping underwear.

Underwear is no longer unmentionable, and the world's leading fashion designers and celebrities are prepared to lend their names to or launch ranges of directional underwear design—from Australian model Elle Macpherson and pop star Kylie Minogue to brands such as Tommy Hilfiger and Chanel. Designer label underwear carries such cachet for the young consumer that it is pulled up the body so as to be displayed openly over the waistbands of jeans, following a look originally associated with the protagonists of hip-hop culture from the South Bronx of New York in the 1980s.

See also **Corset; Jockey Shorts; Lingerie; Slip.**

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UNIFORMS, DIPLOMATIC Diplomatic uniforms are civilian uniforms worn by ambassadorial and consular officers at public occasions. These uniforms appeared around 1800 when European countries began to reform their administrations and assign uniforms to many of their public officials. Previously, diplomats, who usually belonged to the highest nobility, had worn their own splendid clothes at solemn occasions. Only the colors and badges of their livery servants' clothing indicated the ambassador's own court and the court of the ruler he represented (*Nach Rang und Stand,* pp. 85–93, 252–255).

History

In the second half of the eighteenth century, several European countries began to consider uniforms for their envoys to foreign countries. As early as 1768, France ordered that her consuls in charge of trade and shipping traffic in the Near East wear uniforms of the navy's commissioners and under-commissioners. By 1781, the French consuls received their own uniforms of blue cloth with red lining, red waistcoat, and breeches, decorated with buttons featuring the king's coat of arms and trimmed with gold braids denoting respective rank. One of the reasons for the introduction of diplomatic uniforms can be found in a letter sent by Netherlands consuls in Spain to their home country in 1776. They asked for uniforms in order to save money and claimed that uniforms would relieve them from buying expensive fashionable clothes needed for representing their country (Kramers, p. 23).

For patriotic reasons and in order to promote abroad the ideas of a national republican state, the First French Republic required that its representatives at foreign courts dress in the uniform of the French *Garde Nationale.* However, these early regulations were obviously not yet strictly followed, as an official portrait of Guillemardet, the French ambassador in Spain at that time, shows him wearing his private clothes together with a tricolor sash wound around his waist (Delpierre, p. 31).

Diplomatic uniforms became part of general administrative reforms issued by most European countries around 1800 as a response to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. When in the past the ambassador's impressive appearance depended on his personality and his own individual means, now uniforms made the person stand back behind the office he represented (Lüttenberg, p. 86–87). In several countries, diplomatic uniforms were among the first civilian uniforms to be issued because they represented the new reformed state to the outside world. When Count Maximilian von Montgelas, minister and head of the new reforms in Bavaria, ordered uniforms for the Bavarian state officers in 1799, he began his campaign with the office of foreign affairs. His regulations, published in 1807, were basically kept until as late as 1918. In fact, in most European countries, the design of the diplomatic uniforms changed very little in contrast to other civilian uniforms.

Design

The design of the diplomatic uniforms preserved the court fashion of the early nineteenth century, which was marked by richly embroidered tailcoats with standing collar, breeches or pantaloons depending on the formal event, and completed by a sword and a two-cornered plumed hat. With their lavish gold embroidery, the diplomatic uniforms were always among the richest of civil uniforms and resembled those of distinguished court officials. This was considered appropriate because members of the diplomatic corps usually belonged to the highest court circles and represented their country at the most official events at court. While most Bavarian state employees were clad in blue uniforms, Barvarian diplomats dressed in red ones similar to the uniforms worn by high officials of the Bavarian royal court. In most countries, diplomats had to acquire at least two uniforms: a richly embroidered full dress uniform for formal events and a simpler uniform for everyday use. English and

Bavarian diplomats needed three kinds of uniforms: full dress, levée dress, and frock dress.

While military uniforms signal rank mainly by stars and badges, civilian uniforms distinguish rank by the amount and quality of the embroidery. By 1847, the Lord Chamberlain's office divided the British diplomatic corps into five ranks and laid down rules for their respective uniforms precisely specifying the amount and width of the gold embroidery allowed for each rank. Ambassadors, who belonged to the first class, enjoyed the privilege of wearing the richest full dress uniform at grand state occasions. Sparkling gold embroidery of oak and palm leafs covered large areas of the tailcoat's chest, collar, cuffs, pocket flaps, and back skirts, as well as the seams. Gilt buttons showing the royal arms buttoned down the chest. White breeches, a sword, sword knot and belt, gloves, and a two-cornered hat with white ostrich feathers completed the full dress uniform. For less grand occasions, the English ambassadors donned the so-called levée dress uniform. Being less opulent its gold embroidery was restricted to the collar, cuffs, pocket flaps, and between the buttons on the rear waist. Long trousers belonged to the levée dress because they were considered less formal than short breeches. The embroidery on the full dress and levée dress uniform diminished in amount and width as the rank descended. (At informal dinners and evening parties, all members of the English diplomatic corps wore plain black frockcoat). Signaling a lower status within the foreign services, the uniforms of the English consular staff were decorated with embroidery of silver instead of gold (Tendrell, 35–42).

Diplomats discuss the Treaty of Ghent, 1814. Early nineteenth-century, European diplomatic uniform boasted tailcoats with standing collar, breeches, and gold embroidery. A sword and two-cornered plumed hat, not pictured, completed the ensemble.

Most European diplomatic uniforms were quite similar in shape but varied in color, design of embroidery, and of course in the design of the buttons showing the coat of arms or initials of the ambassador's ruler. Austrian diplomats dressed in dark green tail coats with cuffs and collars of black velvet covered with gold oak leaf embroidery. After 1817, Prussian diplomats wore dark blue tail coats with cuffs and a standing collar of black velvet, decorated with gold embroidery showing neoclassical oak leaf scrolls. Whereas during the course of the nineteenth century most uniforms of governmental officials became modernized along with the military uniforms, the ornate diplomatic uniforms tended to keep their traditional shape. In 1888, when the German government revived the *altbrandenburgische waffenrock* as the full state uniform to be used by most governmental officers of upper rank, the diplomats were at first excluded. Only later, after having launched several requests, did the German diplomats receive permission to wear the richly embroidered long coat, which revived elements of uniforms worn by Prussian military officers during the eighteenth century (Lüttenberg, p. 90).

Later and Non-European Developments

Although the majority of the European countries gave up uniforms for most of their governmental officers at the end of World War I, several countries decided to keep diplomatic uniforms. Germany, for example, had already abandoned its richly embroidered diplomatic uniforms during the Weimar Republic, although the Nazis' fondness of impressive uniforms brought back the diplomatic uniform for a short while. The stage designer Benno von Arent recreated a new diplomatic uniform with the help of Mrs. von Ribbentrop, wife of the German foreign minister. Its full dress uniform consisted of a dark blue tailcoat with silver oak leaf embroidery covering the coat's modern lapels. A silver sash, silver aiguillette, and a small dagger completed the startling uniform. Even by the twenty-first century, some European ambassadors still appeared in full dress uniforms at special occasions. A photo taken of the New Year's reception at the Vatican in 2001 shows from left to right the ambassadors of Monaco, the Netherlands, Thailand, Great Britain, Spain, France, and Belgium, all clad in splendid diplomatic uniforms.

The embroidered full dress uniform of European diplomats impressed several non-European courts. Formal portrait photos taken during the nineteenth century depict Indonesian princes wearing jackets richly embroidered with gold thread in the style of Western diplomatic state uniforms together with multicolored native sarongs and pajamas. A most striking adaptation of Western state uniforms took place in Japan in 1872, when two centuries of isolation had come to an end and the Japanese emperor Meiji decided that all members of his military, court, and government (including the diplomatic corps), abandon traditional Japanese dress and adopt European uniforms.

Quite in contrast to monarchic countries, the republican United States renounced civil uniforms for its diplomats, and their use was even prohibited by Congress. Of Civil War veterans only those of the Northern states were allowed to wear their military uniforms. Consequently, during the nineteenth century, American diplomats frequently ran into trouble when trying to attend formal events at European courts, which would only admit men in uniform. Thus, Theodore Roosevelt attracted considerable attention when he attended the funeral of the English king Edward VII in 1910 and was the only foreign representative who did not appear in uniform.

See also **Fashion and Identity; Uniforms, Military.**

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Elisabeth Hackspiel-Mikosch

UNIFORMS, MILITARY Distinctive attire for pursuing the business of battle has been part of armed conflict everywhere in the world since humanity invented war. The very carrying of arms, both offensive and defensive (spears, clubs, shields, helmets, etc.), gives the warrior a different appearance from someone engaged in more pacific tasks. However, the idea of a military uniform, clothing all members of a unit in similar dress, is a relatively late development in the long history of human conflict.

In various parts of the world, minor or major potentates and warlords used part of their wealth to clothe a corps of guards in uniform dress in the same manner that other palace servants might wear some sort of personal livery. This sort of early uniform survives in the ceremonial dress of the contemporary Papal Guards in Rome (according to legend, designed by Michelangelo) and London's Yeomen of the Guard, whose uniform is similar to that worn in the courts of the Tudors. True military uniforms, however, only came into use with social and political developments in Europe that have come to be known as the "military revolution."

The military revolution came about in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as musketry fire from mass formations became decisive on Europe's battlefields. While the individual musket was an ineffective weapon, when used by well-drilled and well-disciplined troops, the musket allowed infantry so armed to dominate any battle. This change in weaponry led to the crystallization of military organization into professional armies consisting of relatively highly trained rank and file soldiers arranged in permanent organizations. At first these units were raised by individuals who sold their services to the highest bidder. The unit commander then provided clothing for his troops; the interests of economy as well as building *esprit de corps* led to uniformity of clothing within these units.

An important aspect of combat is the ability to distinguish friend from foe. Prior to the domination of the battlefield by gunpowder this could be accomplished through the use of standards or flags (such as the eagle of the Roman Legion) or temporary identification devices (scarves or armbands) allowing one side to recognize its allies. However, the possibility for fatal errors in unit identification was great on seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century battlefields enshrouded in smoke from the volleys fired from black-powder weapons. Even flags were of little help as these were often emblazoned with the badge of the unit's commander rather than a national symbol.

This led to a spread of uniformity of dress beyond the battalion level to that of most of the military forces of a kingdom or state. As permanent military establishments were developed in Europe, the practicality of uniform regulation for all troops in the service of the state became recognized. By the mid-eighteenth century colors of clothing had become associated with national armies. Britain largely clothed its army in red, France in pale gray or white, Prussia in dark blue, Bavaria in sky blue, Austria in white, Russia in dark green, etc. There were exceptions; foreign regiments in the service of French monarchs, for example, often wore red or blue. Following the events of 1789 the new French republic changed the color of the uniform of the French infantry to blue.

Sometimes a uniform color had significance that crossed national boundaries. Both Britain and France dressed their artillery in blue. German and British rifle regiments were clothed in a very dark green. Naval uni-

The Texas A&M Drill Team in full dress uniform. Though military uniforms in the twentieth century adopted styles more functional for combat, some ceremonial uniforms continued to display elements of military pagaentry. © PHILIP GOULD/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

forms throughout the globe have been of navy blue (white in the summer) and more recently the world's air forces have worn a dress uniform of light blue.

Principles Underlying Military Dress

James Laver has seen three competing principles that determine the form of military uniforms. He named these the hierarchical principle, the seduction principle, and the utility principle. The hierarchical principle manifests itself in differentiating ranks within a military organization and differentiating elite from ordinary soldiers. Hence, since 1831, the regiments of foot guards in the British army have worn the bearskin headdress that distinguishes them from line-infantry regiments. This also represents the seduction principle, since the headdress increases the height of its wearer, hence making him more masculine and attractive. Laver argues that both the hierarchical principle and the seduction principle manifest themselves in times of peace; however, both produce a form of dress often impractical in the face of the rigors of campaign. In times of war, badges of rank may be dispensed with because they draw enemy fire, illustrating the victory of the utility principle over the hierarchal principle. Similarly, the seduction principle yields to utility as tight-fitting, "smart" uniforms of the parade ground are replaced by looser dress allowing the ease of movement necessary in combat.

While the hierarchical principle dictates that elite units differentiate their dress from ordinary military units, there is also the fact that it seems to be nearly universal that others if given the opportunity will appropriate the symbols of elite status. The jump boots of American paratroops in World War II were once a proud symbol of their elite status, but later in the war they came to be devalued as a status symbol as other soldiers, even those in noncombatant roles, acquired them.

It is also true that an army of one nation will adopt the dress of the army of that state which is perceived to be a superior military power. Throughout history one country or another has dominated military style, with others copying their uniforms. French military style dominated the uniforms of much of the world's military until its defeat in the Franco-Prussian war; then armies throughout the world replaced their French kepis with German spiked helmets. Also, units aspiring to similar elite status will ape dress of other elites. In many of the world's armies the green beret has come to be associated with elite commando formations, the red beret with airborne troops, and the black beret with armored troops. In World War II, the British commander Bernard Montgomery and the men of the Royal Tank Corps wore black berets, as did the Germans in the Panzers they fought in the North African desert. In earlier centuries light cavalry worldwide adopted the heavily laced jacket of the Hungarian hussar or the square-shaped *czapka* headdress of the Polish lancer.

The Evolution of Military Uniform

In cut and general form, military uniforms reflect the style of civilian fashion of their time, although distinctive elements, such as epaulets and headgear, are added that clearly mark the wearer as a soldier. After body armor largely fell into disuse in the mid-seventeenth century, the soldier dressed like his civilian cousin, although the colors of his clothing would reflect his unit and increasingly the state or monarch he served. The necessity to carry arms with belts capable of holding ammunition pouches, bayonets, swords and the like did give the soldier a distinctive appearance.

Even at this early point in the evolution of military uniforms a purely military form of headdress, the grenadier cap, came into being. During the late seventeenth century, the grenade was a significant factor in infantry tactics. It was an iron sphere filled with gunpowder that was ignited by a fuse. Specialist troops were trained to light these fuses from a hand-held match and then throw the grenades into the ranks of the enemy. Since two hands were required for this, grenadiers had to sling their muskets on their backs, an operation difficult to accomplish when wearing the broad-brimmed hats of the era. Thus grenadiers were given a sort of stocking cap. Some military tailor concluded that these grenadiers, already selected for their size and strength, would look even more impressive if the cap were stiffened to increase the apparent height of its wearer (Laver's seduction principle). The grenadier cap became a symbol of an elite soldier (Laver's hierarchical principle). Since elite troops were useful for assaulting or defending key positions on a battlefield, European armies continued to designate units as "grenadiers," and these wore grenadier caps long after grenades had become obsolete (hand grenades were reintroduced in warfare in the trenches of World War I). The grenadier cap was sometimes given a metal front (such as that worn by the Russian Life Guard Pavlovski Regiment in full dress until 1914) or made of fur. The fur headdress worn by the Brigade of Guards at Buckingham Palace in London is in fact a grenadier cap.

The horsed soldier was sometimes distinguished from mounted civilians by wearing the cuirass. This body armor continued to be utilized by heavy cavalry long after the infantry had abandoned it. The civilian hat was worn for a long period, despite its proclivity to be blown from the head when engaged in a charge. This tendency eventually led to the cocked hat being replaced by helmets of various forms in the late eighteenth century. The crest on these helmets served both the seduction principle and the utility principle, for in addition to making the horseman more imposing, it provided some additional protection from sword cuts.

It was the recruiting of light cavalry from the eastern frontiers of Europe that provided a novel and exotic appearance for a large portion of the cavalry in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European armies. Austria first recruited Hungarian horsemen to serve as light horse in its military establishment. The dress of these Hungarian hussars had a great influence on military style, both for mounted troops and soldiers. Many armies copied the appearance of the Hungarian jacket fastened by many rows of cords and toggles across the chest. A second, fur-lined jacket (the pelisse) slung over the left shoulder was also widely adopted in the dress of light cavalry, as was the sabretache, a leather pouch or envelope that was suspended from the sword belt.

It is Hungarian headgear that probably had the greatest impact on the appearance of the military. These horsemen wore either a stocking cap edged in fur or a cylindrical felt cap. Through time the fur on the stocking cap was expanded, making the fur cylinder with a bag falling to one side from the top, a form of headdress known as the busby. The cylindrical felt cap was the inspiration for the shako. The shako was widely adopted in all branches of the military during the Napoleonic Wars. Britain dressed its infantry in shakos in 1800; it was not until 1806 that the line infantry of Napoleonic France adopted this headdress. The shako continued as the most common form of military headgear until the defeat of France by Prussia in 1870 and continues to be worn by some units (as, for example, in the full dress of the Corps of Cadets of the U.S. Military Academy).

Just as Hungary provided the pattern for the dress of hussars in armies around the globe, Poland provided the model for the dress of lancers, particularly after Poles played a prominent role in the multiethnic armies of Napoleon. The square-topped *czapka* and plastron-fronted jacket or tunic with piping along its seams was worn by substantial segments of cavalry in Europe and even had an impact on the uniforms of colonial India.

In considering the pressure for elaboration of military uniform and the counter pressure for utility, one can contrast the European experience of the Napoleonic Wars and the long era of peace that followed that conflict. While in theory the armies that fought in the Napoleonic Wars had colorful and elaborate uniforms, in practice they presented a much more drab appearance. Uniforms faded in the sun or wore out on long campaigns and were replaced by clothing obtained locally. The rigors of winter campaigning forced troops to march in gray or brown overcoats rather than full-dress coatees. Plumes would be stowed in knapsacks, while shakos or bearskin

Early twentieth century West Point military academy cadets. The shako, a hat worn by the cadets shown here, held the allure of adding apparent height to the wearer. ANNE S.K. BROWN MILITARY COLLECTION, BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

bonnets would be protected from the weather by oilskin covers. Loose trousers replaced the tight breeches and long buttoned spatterdashes or gaiters of the parade ground. With the coming of the long period of peace following Napoleon's defeat, the appearance on the parade ground moved to the forefront and uniforms reached a degree of fantastic elaboration not seen before or since. The realities of war returned in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to banish such sartorial splendor from military life.

Reflecting changes in civilian fashion, by the mid-nineteenth century the tight-fitting waist-length coatee, widely worn for nearly fifty years, was replaced in the world's military by the tunic or frock coat with skirts that at least partially covered the thigh. Russia and Prussia also adopted leather helmets with brass spikes, while for the most part the rest of the world continued to wear the shako or kepi. At this same time there were developments in firearms technology that led to a revolution in military uniforms.

For almost three centuries the smooth-bore musket had dominated the battlefield. The effective range of this weapon was so short (one hundred yards or less) that troops were drilled not to fire until they could see the whites of the eyes of their enemy. Hence, the color of a uniform was unimportant as long as one could be recognized by one's allies and not be taken for the enemy. While there was some use in battle of firearms with rifled barrels that were effective at far greater distances, these early rifles were cumbersome to load. The invention shortly before the American Civil War of a rifle, which could be loaded as rapidly as the old smooth-bore musket, was soon followed by the invention of a breech-loading rifle. A further innovation was the magazine rifle allowing an infantryman to fire several shots after a single act of loading his weapon. Smokeless powder eliminated the huge clouds of acrid smoke that obscured vision on the black-powder battlefield. All of these factors led to the adoption of uniforms whose purpose was to inhibit the recognition of troops at the great distances at which they were now vulnerable to rifle fire.

Khaki was first used in India, originally in the Corps of Guides raised by Lieutenant Harry B. Lumsden in 1846. A decade later, during the Indian Mutiny, a number of British regiments dyed their white summer uniforms khaki to be less visible on the battlefield. While Britain experimented with other drab colors, notably gray, khaki was worn in India, becoming official dress for that station in 1885 and for all foreign stations in 1896. In 1902 Britain adopted a khaki service dress. Other nations followed Britain's example; the first three to adopt a khaki service dress were the United States, Japan, and Imperial Russia. Both France and Germany used khaki for their colonial troops, but Germany in 1910 chose a light gray for its regular army and France, while it began the Great War still in dark blue uniforms, switched to horizon blue early in 1915.

The trench warfare of 1914 to 1918 led to the universal adoption of steel helmets. The threat of gas attacks meant gas masks had to be easily accessible. Trenches, barbed wire, and the machine gun reduced the cavalry to no role at all. Increasing mechanization meant the auto mechanic replaced the farrier in keeping the supply lines functioning, and at least one critic of modern trends in uniforms has lamented that the dress of the soldier now mimics that of an employee of a service station. The war changed the view of the proper soldiers from that of impressively and colorfully dressed units executing precision drill on the parade ground to massive armies engaged in savage warfare under the appalling conditions of the modern battlefield. The pomp and splendor of military pageantry and glory of full dress observable before the war (as late as 1913 the German army was executing maneuvers in a version of full dress) was gone forever.

Wars subsequent to the watershed years of 1914 to 1918 have seen the combat uniform increasingly, and with greater sophistication, being designed to prevent the soldier from being seen rather than allowing an imposing appearance to frighten or cow the enemy. Khaki and olive drab have been replaced by "disruptive pattern" clothing to conceal even more effectively the fighting man or woman. Uniforms have come to be designed even to conceal the soldier from the night-vision equipment finding increasing use on battlefields. The small flashes of color, the division patches that identified the soldier's unit in World War II, have been reduced in the American army to black on olive drab. The increased emphasis on concealment has exacted a price, however, as "friendly fire" has at times proved as hazardous to troops engaged in military operations as the fire from a dispirited enemy overwhelmed by a long period of bombardment from aircraft and missiles.

There has also been an emphasis on attempting to protect the soldier in combat. Modern technology has produced lightweight body armor, "flak jackets," to protect the torso. Some nations have suits, yet untried in a combat situation, to enable the soldier to fight on a battlefield contaminated by nuclear or biochemical weapons.

Modern Ceremonial Dress

Ceremony still plays a role in the relation of the military to the state, and dress appropriate for this ceremonial role is still significant in most military establishments. Although in a few cases, as with the British Brigade of Guards and the U.S. Marine Corps, uniforms virtually unchanged from the pre-1914 full dress are utilized, most of the world's military carries out ceremonial duties in much more drab clothing. Although economy is often cited as the reason for this abandonment of the full-dress uniforms, major portions of most armies utilize an order of dress for parade that could easily reflect earlier full-dress uniforms. It is modern fashion that dictates that the modern soldier parade in khaki or a similar shade. Yet in most military organizations there remains pressure to present a "smart" appearance on parade. In some cases, contemporary combat dress is utilized with the addition of ceremonial elements of uniform. The French Foreign Legion parades in camouflage combat attire with the addition of spotless (and plastic) white belts and the traditional green and red epaulets and the white kepi that date to the nineteenth century. There is still more than simple utility in the creation of the dress of the soldier.

See also **Armor; Camouflage Cloth.**

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Thomas S. Abler

UNIFORMS, OCCUPATIONAL

UNIFORMS, OCCUPATIONAL Occupational uniforms are nonmilitary civilian uniforms worn by members of certain professional groups during work or at official occasions. Specified and usually handed out by the employer, the uniform is designed in certain colors and carries signs and badges which signal the employee's function and rank within a professional organization.

Court Liveries

The first examples of occupational uniforms are liveries (from the French word *livrer*, meaning to deliver), which were uniform garments handed out to servants at European courts during the early modern period. Uniform in color, form, and decorations, liveries represented the household for which a servant was working. The coat of arms or initials of his master appeared on the liveries' buttons, trimmings, or badges. Already during earlier periods, princes, such as the Burgundian dukes, had their court members and servants dress in a single color at festive events in order to present a unified court. The livery proper began to spread during the seventeenth century, when the social status of a prince depended more and more on the splendid appearance of his court and his servants. These early liveries corresponded closely to military uniforms, which developed at the same time and which in the beginning were also called livery (in France, *livrée;* in Germany, *liberey* or *montur*). The colors of the military uniforms were usually identical to the liveries belonging to the household of the regiment's chief who, prior to the establishment of national armies, often owned the regiment.

Airline pilot in uniform. In the twenty-first century, commercial pilot uniforms were designed in accordance with the desired marketing image of the airline. © ROYALTY-FREE/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

Just like military uniforms during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most servant liveries were cut according to contemporary fashion. Their striking colors, heightened by lining and trimmings in contrasting hues corresponded to the colors of the noble household to which the servants belonged but were not necessarily identical with its heraldic colors.

Like military uniforms, the liveries also functioned as signs of rank and distinction. Most important, the servant's livery presented the social rank, ambitions, and financial means of the master. For this reason the American economic theorist Thorstein Veblen regarded servant liveries as a prime example for his seminal theory of conspicuous and vicarious consumption. The livery also indicated the servant's rank within a household. For example, the dress of pages, who themselves were members of noble families, were more richly decorated and made of more costly materials than the liveries of other servants. The servant's nearness to the master also determined the preciousness of his outfit. Since footmen accompanied their master very closely during travels, their dress had to be made of particularly fine materials, even though the footmen's small salary reflected a low position at court (Mikosch, p. 295). The livery always signaled the rank of the occasion: the more official the occasion, the richer the livery had to be; therefore, most courts provided simple liveries for everyday use and costly ones for festive events.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, when class distinctions became increasingly complex and

Depiction of nineteenth-century Austrian postman. In 1785, Prussian postmaster von Werder was an early proponent of obligatory uniforms for postal workers, arguing that the uniforms would not only distinguish postmen but also save them money.

nobility lost more and more of its privileges, servant clothes had to make up for the loss of status. Some late courts, like the one of the prince of Thurn and Taxis, put on a particularly rich display of servants fitted out with numerous liveries. The servants of Thurn and Taxis had to change clothes several times during the course of the day, even as late as the 1980s (Kliegel, p. 107). In order to project the image of a long aristocratic tradition, the design of the servant liveries tended to be antiquated. The tightly fitted *justeaucorps*, fashionable during the eighteenth century and decorated with rich gold braids, continued to be employed for formal occasions and tailcoats for less formal events or everyday use.

Early Professional Uniforms

Besides livery servants, postmen and miners were the earliest professional groups clad in uniforms. In the beginning, only certain signs, badges, or accessories symbolized their profession. During the sixteenth century, messengers were not yet dressed in uniforms but in regular traveling coats. They carried a badge on their chest or cap with the coat of arms of the city or noble court they served. Records of the seventeenth century already identify the horn as the sign of postal servants. The first time postal servants and officers were dressed in complete uniform clothes was early in the eighteenth century during celebrations at the Prussian (1703) and Saxon courts (1719). When the Saxon Elector Frederick Augustus and Polish King Augustus I, called Augustus the Strong, married his son Frederick Augustus to the imperial daughter Maria Josepha in 1719, he organized lavish wedding celebrations in Dresden and ordered his postal service and Saxon miners to take part in large numbers. For this occasion uniforms were designed that distinguished between the ranks and functions within a profession for the first time (Mikosch, pp. 315–332). Augustus, who was the head of the postal services and of the mining industries in Saxony, used the uniforms in order to present the image of a modern prosperous country. Consequently, these early occupational uniforms were actually splendid state uniforms mainly used for parading during court festivals. Lacking the necessary funds and the administrative structure, neither the Prussian nor the Saxon ruler succeeded in establishing regular occupational uniforms for their entire country at this time.

Civil Uniforms for State Employees

One of the first serious campaigns that tried to introduce an obligatory everyday uniform for members of one profession can be traced back to Germany in 1785 when the Prussian king Frederick II followed the suggestions of his general postmaster von Werder and decreed that all postal servants had to wear uniforms. He ordered state uniforms and uniforms for daily use. They consisted basically of blue coats with orange-colored collars and cuffs. Accessories, such as epaulets, aiguillettes, hat decorations, and swords distinguished between the ranks of the postmaster, postal secretary, postal attendants, and postilions. Von Werder's arguments anticipate the coming years when civil uniforms for state employees became more prevalent. He suggested that postal uniforms would help the servants save money, prevent them from wasting money for extravagant outfits, and ensure they dressed in respectable clothes. At the same time the uniforms would make the postal servants more easily recognizable to the general public.

Around 1800, many European countries introduced occupational uniforms for state employees as an important part of extensive administrative reforms that most countries issued as a response to the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars. The new reforms broke down the privileges of the aristocracy and the church, and prepared the ground for the development of a modern bourgeois society. The governmental officers' uniforms were intended to serve as symbols for the new ideal of a nation state run by an efficient and just administration. Inspired by those of the military, the uniforms' shape, colors, and decorations signified the function and rank of the officer. The uniforms were intended to work on two levels. From within, they enhanced the new bureaucratic structure and lent new confidence and pride to the state employees. From without, the uniforms were intended to evoke acceptance of the new state and its regulations as well as elicit new respect for its employees as the executors and representatives of the new state. The uniforms' shape underlined this message. Forcing an upright position the uniforms' particularly tight cut enhanced the proud and masculine impression of the man in uniform. Gradually most employees of governmental departments were clad in uniforms, no matter if they worked in public or not. This included, among others, the police services, fire departments, postal services, state-run mining and metalworking industries, forestry and transportation departments, as well as the departments of finance, interior, justice, and foreign affairs.

The general form of the occupational uniforms for state employees varied little during the nineteenth century and followed the form of military uniforms, beginning with tailcoats early in the century and adding the more practical, buttoned-down military tunic after the mid-nineteenth century. Most departments demanded state uniforms embroidered with gold and silver thread to be worn by officers at special occasions and simpler ones for everyday use. Smaller states, such as the dukedom of Brunswick, wanted to enhance their political importance by affording a luxurious array of uniforms in different colors and embroidery designs for each department. The large states of Prussia and Bavaria emphasized unity and efficiency by restricting their uniforms to one color. Prussia chose a dark blue ("Prussian blue"), and Bavaria ordered uniforms in a medium blue. Certain trimmings and signs identified different departments and ranks. The Prussian postal services wore their blue uniforms with orange-colored collars, cuffs, and pocket flaps. Bavarian uniforms had small symbols embroidered in silver thread on the tail: small horns stood for the postal service and winged wheels for the department of transportation. Each country had its own buttons showing either the coat of arms of the state or the initials of the ruler. The richness and width of embroidery on the chest, collar, cuff, and pocket flaps were meticulously prescribed and varied according to the rank of the officer within the administrative hierarchy (Hackspiel-Mikosch, pp. 221–287).

If the civil uniform symbolized the new administrational structures of modern states early in the nineteenth century, by the end of the century the civil uniform was regarded as a sign of stultifying and overexpanding bureaucracies supporting conservative governments, which, as in the case of Germany, became increasingly militaristic. At the end of World War I, when the German empire and its local monarchies were abolished, most civil uniforms for state employees disappeared. The Weimar Republic regarded the civil uniforms as a symbol of an outdated authoritarian state. Although, a few decades later, the German Nazi regime indulged in impressive uniforms, it did not revive civil uniforms for state employees. Instead, mass organizations such as the labor service were established. These organizations were structured like military institutions, and employees dressed in uniforms closely reflecting military hierarchies.

Royal English footmen in traditional uniform. Due to their proximity to their masters during travel, footmen traditionally wore uniforms of quality and decoration well above their court standing.

After the two world wars, only law-enforcement sections of the government (police, immigration, or prison wards) as well as certain public services (postal services, railways, fire fighters, or foresters) continued to wear uniforms. In Germany, the devastating experience of two world wars that had been supported by widespread militarism triggered a pacifistic countermovement during the 1960s and 1970s that regarded state authority and its uniformed representatives with strong skepticism. Responding to a signature campaign initiated by a young policeman who wanted less military-like and identical modern uniforms for all of Germany, in 1973 the German fashion designer Heinz Oestergaard created a new green-beige police uniform, which, with certain changes, is still worn today. The modern design and friendly colors of Oestergaard's more casual-looking uniforms were intended to communicate a modern and democratic image of Germany.

Some traditional civil uniforms continue to be worn today. Servants clad in sparkling livery still attend at European courts during important public occasions. Some European diplomats go on dressing in traditional richly embroidered state uniforms at formal occasions, such as New Year's receptions given by a head of state. Members of the Institut de France, the most elevated academic institution in France, still wear uniforms that were originally introduced in 1801 and are richly embroidered with olive branches in shades of green silk on black cloth. The academician's uniform is completed with a plumed two-cornered hat and a sword. Each generation tends to adapt the uniform's basic tailcoat to contemporary fashion. In 1981 Yves Saint-Laurent designed a modern version for Marguerite Yourcenar, who became a member that year.

Modern Occupational Uniforms

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the character of occupational uniforms has changed significantly. Reflecting the democratization of Western society, the uniforms' military elements, which symbolized the rank and function within a hierarchical organization, have stepped more and more into the background. Instead, professional uniforms have become part of modern concepts of corporate identity and corporate culture. Called corporate wear or corporate fashion, uniform dress at work is designed to communicate the philosophy of an organization or company and thereby is an increasingly important tool of marketing strategies. Investigations show that corporate fashion can significantly raise the image of a company and thereby elevate its stock-market value. Within a company, uniform dress, which is comfortable, fashionable, and clean, has been shown to improve working performance of employees by increasing their motivation and their identification with their company and fellow workers. A good-looking professional uniform attracts new customers and produces the image of trustworthiness and economic achievement. In his study of the ubiquitous civilian uniform in Japan, Brian McVeigh has revealed how much uniforms discipline the mind and body of Japanese office workers and, at the same time, express a particular economic nationalism in Japan.

The style of corporate uniforms changes according to the message a company wants to convey. The new uniforms for the German airline Lufthansa, introduced in January 2002, for example, are rather conservative. According to the company's public release, Lufthansa wanted their new uniform to convey the values of traditionalism, respectability, service competence, and timeless elegance. Uniforms of national airlines vary in style and are often understood as the business card of an entire nation. In contrast to Lufthansa, the German Railway decided on more innovative and fashionable uniforms intended to create the impression of a modern inventive company. When the German postal services introduced new uniforms in 2002, they kept the traditional blue and yellow colors but chose a more casual design, emphasizing comfort, function, and a young sportive style. The uniform of the American postal services is less concerned with fashionable change. The uniforms of their letter carriers are designed to adjust to the different extreme climates of the United States and to be instantly recognizable by their particular colors. Fast food companies, such as McDonald's, which cater mainly to young people, frequently dress their employees in cheerful colorful and casual-looking uniforms that correspond to the tastes and lifestyles of children and teenagers.

Production

During the nineteenth century, officers who could afford to had their uniforms made-to-order by tailors who followed the uniforms regulations published by the government. Some prominent uniform suppliers published their own summaries of the regulations and added illustrations and pattern drawings. The widespread need for uniforms during the nineteenth century led to the development of factories that produced ready-to-wear as well as made-to-measure uniforms. Eventually, large department stores offered a whole range of civil uniforms, including very richly embroidered ones.

By the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century, an increasing section of the fashion industry was specializing in the production of corporate wear. According to Public Broadcasting Service (PBS), the National Association of Uniform Manufacturers and Distributors estimates that the American "career apparel" industry is worth at least $6 billion. International companies as large as McDonald's potentially spend as much as $60 million a year on their uniform programs (Fast Food Fashion).

Today the industry offers a wide variety of clothes ranging from simple standard items, such as T-shirts and sweaters individualized by embroideries and corporate colors, to complete corporate fashion lines. When a large organization decides to introduce new uniforms it usually follows a long procedure. Well-known designers are hired to work very closely with the executive management in order to develop a unique design that communicates the company's corporate image. Before ordering new uniforms, prudent companies find out their employees' wishes and expectations and have them test sample garments to determine whether the uniforms can fulfill the requirements of practical function, quality, and comfort.

In times of economic instability the importance of corporate fashion grows as the image of a company can determine its failure or success in an increasingly competitive market. As a result, the British marketing company Up &

Down Marketing and Management Consultancy forecasts considerable growth for the corporate wear market, climbing from 168.6 million garments in 2000 to nearly 200 million garments in 2010 in Europe. At the same time, corporate fashion is spreading to more types of companies. Besides airlines, railways, and postal services, which continue a long tradition, a wide variety of service industries make increasing use of corporate wear, such as grocery stores, shopping malls, department stores, entertainment parks, restaurants, hotels, hospitals, and cleaning companies.

The definition of the occupational uniform should not be confused with certain traditional professional garments. The white coats of doctors, and the caps or berets and long gowns of professors, judges, or priests are typical for their profession in some countries. Although these items of clothing communicate symbolic messages and emphasize the special social status and profession of the person, they do not function as uniforms because their shape usually is not precisely prescribed by the employer, nor do the garments necessarily carry badges indicating function or hierarchical status within a larger organization.

See also **Uniforms, Diplomatic; Uniforms, Military.**

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Elisabeth Hackspiel-Mikosch

UNIFORMS, SCHOOL School uniforms have their historical antecedents in very old traditions. If understood broadly, "students" have donned special garments to set themselves apart for religious (monastic and priestly training) and economic purposes (apprentices wearing guild attire) for centuries. However, school uniforms as understood in their modern sense are a particular manifestation of a more general uniformization of populations apparent from about the early nineteenth century. This regulation of appearance is more specifically understood as "standardizing" and "disciplining" workers and citizens to meet the requirements of industrialization, capitalism, and national loyalty. Though historically some schools mandated uniforms for religious reasons or to maintain their "tradition," by and large school uniforms have been ideologically inspired by a notion that bodily control and regulated appearance beget social order, within the school and in society at large.

Practical Considerations and Functional Criteria for School Uniforms

Though the debate about the actual merits of student uniforms continues in the United States, advocates of school uniforms believe there are key elements to the successful uniformizing of a student body. These include: determining the style of uniforms should involve teachers, school administrators, parents, and students; uniforms should be affordable and available in all sizes; seasonal options should be available; the wearing of uniforms should be mandatory while allowing for special exemptions; recycling programs are suggested, as are the selling or trading of used uniforms; and uniforms should be introduced in the early grades first so students become accustomed to them as they progress through the higher grades.

School authorities might consider mandating age or grade-specific uniforms. Additionally, school authorities and educational administrators ideally should offer a variety of uniforms that are appropriate to gender and local weather conditions.

As for the materials used, important considerations include: durability (how many years it can be worn); dirt-resistant colors; colors that suit most complexions (for example, many suggest that bright red is discouraged since it does not flatter many people's natural coloring); fits all shapes and figure types; washability (preferably, materials should require little—or even no—ironing or dry cleaning); small two-way patterns for economical use of fabric.

Special climatic conditions should be assessed. For example, in Australia and New Zealand, there are criteria for "sun-safe" school uniforms. Or in other places, winter uniforms must be loose-fitting enough for individuals to layer clothes underneath the uniform.

Other practical considerations include degree of adjustability; comfort (enough so that students are not inhibited from engaging in typical school activities); how available mandated uniforms are at local outlets; if uniforms are within the price range of all students; and choosing an appropriate seller and supplier of uniforms.

Obviously, with so many students, selling school uniforms can be extremely profitable, and any in-depth analysis must explore the agenda of apparel manufacturers in advocating the use of school uniforms. Besides clothes manufacturers, giant retail chains such as JCPenney, Sears, Macy's, Target, Wal-Mart, and Kids "R" Us sell school uniforms.

Uniformity versus Individuality

School uniforms may be thought of as representing in material-cultural form the point in which the forces of two great upheavals, epitomized by the industrial and French revolutions, converge. However, despite encouraging the uniformizing of students (as well as workers and citizens), these two momentous transformations often work at cross-purposes. The industrial revolution was an economic project that eventually required formal schooling to learn radically new habits for rationalized labor. School uniforms came to symbolize the person as interchangeable and modular. Meanwhile, a more political project, the French Revolution (and other similar revolts of the same period), encouraged self-determinism and individuality, ideals that were often contravened by dress uniformity (in addition to demanding uniformed students—that is, workers-in-training—the industrial revolution immeasurably facilitated the spread of student uniforms through mechanical standardization and mass production). The tension between economic production and political liberation continues to shape debates about school uniforms: Some argue that school uniforms increase social order while others contend they run the danger of violating a person's right of self-expression. To what degree school uniforms actually do the latter, along with threatening a student's autonomy, self-worth, and dignity is, of course, debatable. In any case, contemporary discussions about school uniforms also reveal deeper concerns about student performance, school safety, the maintenance of social order, and the relation between the individual student (citizen-in-training) and the state.

From a more abstract perspective, one way to view the role of uniforms is by considering the person vis-à-vis uniformed dress. In regards to appearance and bodily regulation, one's person is either *impressed upon* (by societal rules) or it *gives off impressions* (by subjective intention). There are, then, two angles from which self-presentation practices associated with uniforms can be approached. The first is "person as a mannequin": one's body is inert, a passive object with clothes hung on it by others. The self is under control; one dresses for others. Roles and social status are imposed. The second angle is "self-governing": one's body is animate, something active, a self-regulating entity. The self is in control; one dresses, as it were, for one's self. Personal style and individuality are expressed. Arguably, one's appearance is a mixture of both these forms of self-presentation, but it is worth highlighting the self-governing perspective in order to illustrate the role of individual agency. Such a maneuver is necessary to account for what might be termed "resistance" (though not necessarily of a well-thought-out, explicit kind). For example, Japanese schools are known for enforcing uniform regulations, and yet many students routinely flaunt the rules by affecting a slovenly look, donning nonregulation articles, and even altering uniforms. Such dress practices are not political statements about the state, capitalism, and "the system," but rather personal expressions of insolence aimed at teachers, parents, and what is perceived to be the old-fashioned style of the older generation.

Here the difference between dress codes and uniforms needs clarification. If "uniformity" is a crucial component of any definition of uniforms, it is prudent to envision a continuum of dress codes, dress uniformity, and uniforms. In many places, there is debate about how much uniformity is desirable, and regulations vary widely. Some school policies are very liberal, requiring that students follow a dress code that does not require uniforms, while others ask students to don uniforms, and still others mandate that all students wear uniforms (though students are allowed to opt out for religious or personal reasons). Policies can even go further; in Japan, some schools are notorious for strictly enforcing, in military-fashion, every component of dress, including skirt length, hair style and color, and book bags.

Recent Historical Origins

Many British schools have a long history of school uniforms that have influenced school dress codes elsewhere (although the styles generally regarded as British school uniforms made their appearance in the late nineteenth century). By the early nineteenth century in Britain, the ensemble of student uniforms had more or less stabilized. At schools such as Eton and Harrow, a student uniform would include a short round jacket with deep lapels made of checkered woolen or strong cotton materials. By the 1920s, a typical boys' uniform for middle and upper-class schools might consist of a gray flannel suit (or blazer) with breast pockets, "Eton collar," school cap (or straw boater), and necktie with school colors. School badges or insignia would be affixed to the uniform. A typical girls' uniform might consist of a low-waisted dress in navy wool, pleated skirt, white collar with navy silk bow, navy blazer, black stockings and shoes, and a panama hat. Popular colors were navy blue, black, brown, or dark green. In the late nineteenth century, the introduction of sports, games, and gymnastics into the curriculum resulted in the modification of girls' uniforms.

Examples of dress uniformity among youth outside the school walls indicate broader cultural trends and attempts to acquaint children with the imperatives of formality, self-discipline, social order, and patriotism, as well as attempting to suppress working-class anomie and militancy. The uniforms of youth movements (such as Boy and Girl Scouts) illustrate these attempts. Another example is "sailor suits," which relied on a generalized "military metaphor"—children will be "recruited into society" through uniformization. The popularity of sailor suits, originally introduced in schools that trained boys for Britain's navy, spread to other countries (including Japan, where their influence can still be seen in girls' uniforms) among both boys and girls of all ages during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such continued popularity is arguably an illustration of how uniforms generally preserve older, even obsolete, styles (for instance, boys' uniforms in Japan are modeled on Prussian officer uniforms).

School Uniforms in the United States

In the United States, dress codes were commonly enforced in schools in the 1950s (girls, prohibited from wearing pants, had to wear skirts or dresses). During the 1960s, blue jeans, black leather jackets, and other accoutrements associated with gangs were prohibited among boys (and, of course, girls as well). By the 1980s, problems with gang violence led to dress codes that attempted to do away with gang colors. Dress codes have routinely been used to prohibit clothes with threatening language, insulting racial slurs, and alcohol or drug-related messages. They have also been used to ban miniskirts, tube tops, halter tops, and see-through clothing (such restrictions raise an interesting gender issue; some note that they unfairly discriminate against women since male students supposedly face less bodily regulation). Uniform policies began to spread in the late 1980s and then steadily increased throughout the 1990s. Though parochial and private schools have a long history of mandating school uniforms, the first public-school system to require uniforms, California's Long Beach Unified School District, has become a model for uniform policies in other places. Begun in 1994, this program involves about 60,000 elementary and middle school students.

An important symbolic push for school uniforms came in January 1996, when President Clinton endorsed their use during his State of the Union Address. One month later, the National Association of Secondary School Principals also endorsed them. Then, shortly after the presidential endorsement, the U.S. Department of Education sent a manual, "School Uniforms: Where They Are and Why They Work," to all 16,000 school districts. The manual listed examples of model programs and explained what are perceived to be the benefits of school uniforms, such as improved discipline and a decrease in violence and gang activity.

By 2000, thirty-seven states had passed laws empowering local school districts to establish their own uniform policies, while numerous local authorities have instituted their own policies. Definite figures are hard to come by, but estimates of public schools that have adopted uniform policies range from 8 to 15 percent of American schools. Other estimates are even larger, and claim that nearly half of the large urban school systems in the U.S. have adopted school uniform policies for some or even all of their schools.

Arguments for School Uniforms

Advocates of school uniforms possess a large array of arguments about why they are beneficial. Such arguments can be categorized into three types:

Education-socialization benefits. Supporters of school uniforms commonly cite improved discipline, increased

Hong Kong boys in school blazers. Elements of the typical British school boy's uniform, such as a flannel blazer with breast pockets adorned with the school emblem, can often be seen in the school uniforms of other countries. © JAMES MARSHALL/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

self-esteem, and more school pride. Learning, rather than being distracted by "fashion wars," becomes the focus of schooling (though some schools have adopted more casual styles for uniforms, which might include blue jeans). Peer pressure is reduced. Embarrassment from not being fashionable, teasing, and bullying is mitigated. Moreover, any pedagogical practice that encourages students to find their sense of self-worth in something other than outward appearance is highly welcomed by parents.

Administrative benefits. Some teachers and administrators claim they have witnessed a decline in disciplinary problems while they have seen an increase in solidarity and camaraderie in schools since everyone appears to be on the same "team." Additionally, uniforms make it easier for school staff to identify who belongs on campus, thereby enhancing safety.

Social engineering. School uniforms act as "social equalizers," hiding the differences between the "haves" and "have-nots." Moreover, because parents do not have to contend with purchasing new clothes to keep up with constantly changing fads, educational expenses are kept down.

Arguments Against School Uniforms

Reasons against uniforms are fewer than those for, and usually include arguments about how uniforms dampen freedom of expression and inhibit individuality. Some complain that, at schools with a uniform policy, teachers are burdened with being "fashion police." There are also legal issues: Opponents contend that dress codes violate the constitutional right of freedom of expression (though court decisions have generally upheld the constitutionality of dress codes). Others argue that the push for uniforms is a superficial response to serious problems and distracts from more pressing educational needs, such as lack of adequate school funding, dilapidated facilities, and drug use.

There are significant legal implications between dress codes and uniforms that involve students' rights and freedom of expression. A dress code usually stipulates what cannot be worn (proscription), while a uniform policy stipulates what must be worn (prescription). In the United States, the courts have viewed the former more positively. However, mandating the wearing of school uniforms faces more of a constitutional challenge (see DeMitchell, Fossey and Cobb; Starr).

Some policy-makers in support of school uniforms report dramatic declines in suspensions, fighting, substance abuse, robbery, and assault on teachers in schools in which uniforms have been adopted. Despite these success stories, research on the results of school uniforms is still inconclusive. Indeed, several studies have argued that there is no empirical evidence that uniforms have a positive effect on student behavior or academic achievement. More sophisticated studies are needed that factor in sociological variables such as type of school, composition of student body, class size, and socioeconomic level of school districts.

School Uniforms in Japan

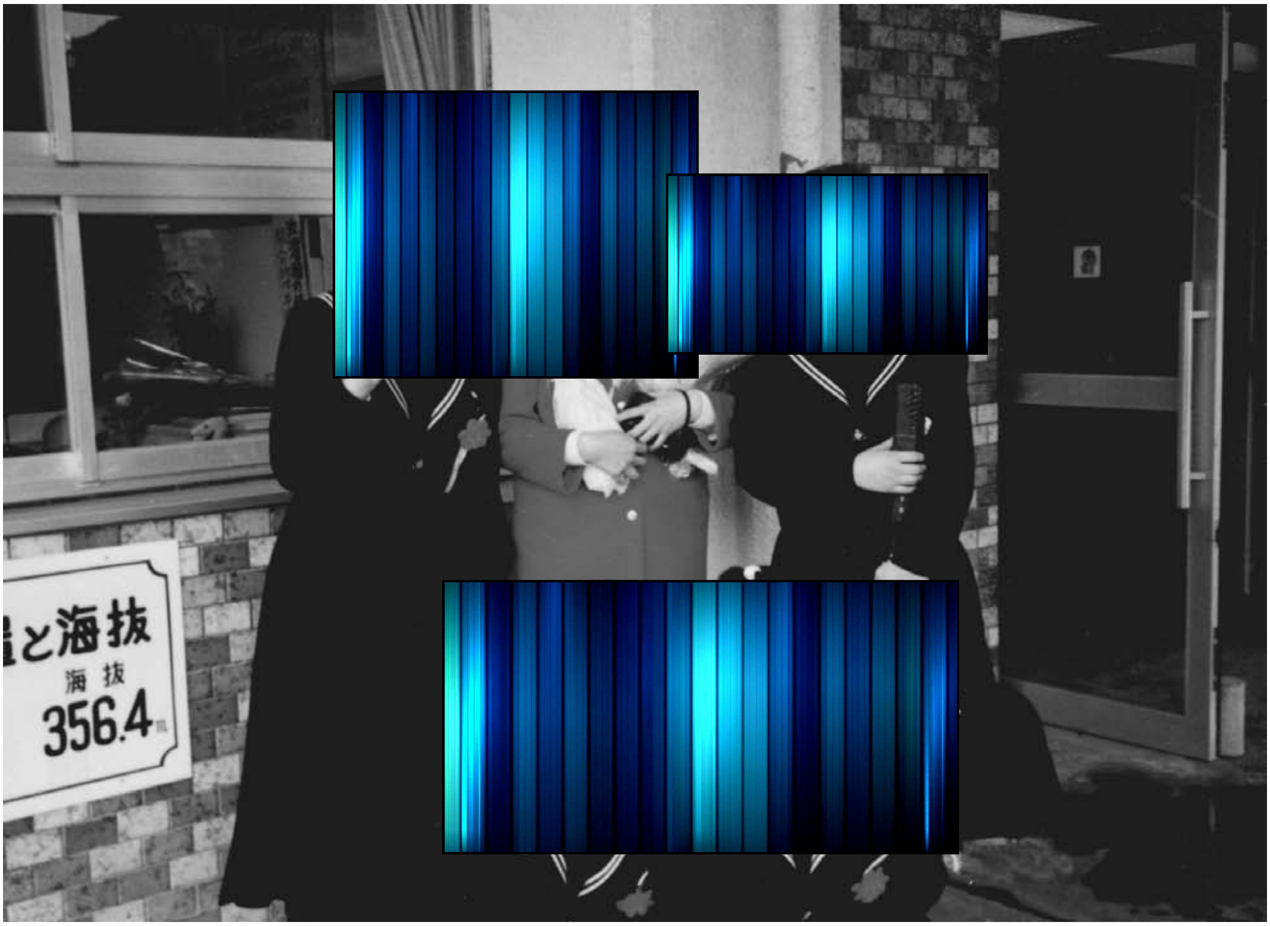
Major themes emerged from a study of the views of Japanese student on uniforms.

Unity, integration, and solidarity. The most common terms that came up in discussions about student uniforms were "integration," "unit life" (*shûdan seikatsu*), and "solidarity." McVeigh relates that students commented on the feeling of unity, *esprit des corps*, school identity, and, later corporate identity enhanced by uniforms.

Social control and order. Notions of social control and order were evident in how some students explained that uniforms make it easy to identify one's social role and to which unit one is affiliated. Additionally, students learn to follow rules, a benefit for when they enter society.

Suppression of individuality. On the negative side, McVeigh notes that a number of students tapped into the debate about how a dress code infringes upon their "human rights" and "freedom," denying them "expression of personality" and diminution of individuality.

Institutional face. Many students made a strong association between uniforms and a school's "image." Being a student means wearing the "institutional face" of a



Girls in school uniforms. School uniforms based on sailor suits, such as these, have retained popularity since their first use by schools that trained for the British navy. BRIAN J. MCVEIGH. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

school off-campus. Others explained that uniforms made them proud of their school and that a uniform is the "school's face."

Being observed and monitored. Some students reported that uniforms gave them a "consciousness of rules" and being under control (person as mannequin). Uniforms allow teachers to keep an eye on students who can thus be more easily monitored in public.

Class distinctions and discrimination. Not a few students felt that uniforms were important not for only instilling a sense of solidarity, but also for hiding class differences that might lead to jealousy. One student reported liking to wear uniforms in middle school, "But when I entered high school, I noticed that low- and high-ranked high schools all had their uniforms. If one attended a lower-ranked school, people had a biased view of you. So I think high schools shouldn't have uniforms" (McVeigh 2000).

Ethnonational identity. Though it is very difficult to gauge to what degree uniforms construct ethnonational identity, it is worth at least noting the linkages. McVeigh relates that one student explained how wearing a uniform made her "proud of being Japanese" while another said "uniforms protect Japanese culture." Some students linked uniforms to supposedly Japanese "virtues" and "tradition" such as harmony, unity, and politeness.

The "Consumerist Revolution"

The "who" and "why" of clothing guidelines changes the debate about uniformization. Militaries have used uniforms since ancient times, and policing and security forces have been more recently uniformed, while those subject to extreme control or sanction, such as criminals, paupers, and the mentally incapacitated, have been increasingly regulated during the last two centuries. Such practices of bodily regimentation are more or less uncontroversial. However, debates and discussions about the uniformization of youth are more contentious and will not soon disappear.

From a more scholarly perspective, student uniforms are significant because they implicate a number of concerns that still require investigation. These include how to disentangle—or link up—socialization, power, personhood, and self-presentation. Such topics deserve attention since they come together in what may be termed the "consumerist revolution." This is the emergence since the nineteenth century of what seem to be two contradictory trends that nevertheless mutually reinforce each other: (1) the desire or right to have choices over one's consumerist practices (wearing or not wearing certain articles of clothing; person as self-governing agent); and (2) the imperative to signal one's allegiance using clothing to the politico-economic machinery that produces these very choices (person as mannequin). As an instance of material culture, school uniforms offer a visible, concrete manifestation of this paradoxical historical development. Herein lies their significance.

See also **Academic Dress.**

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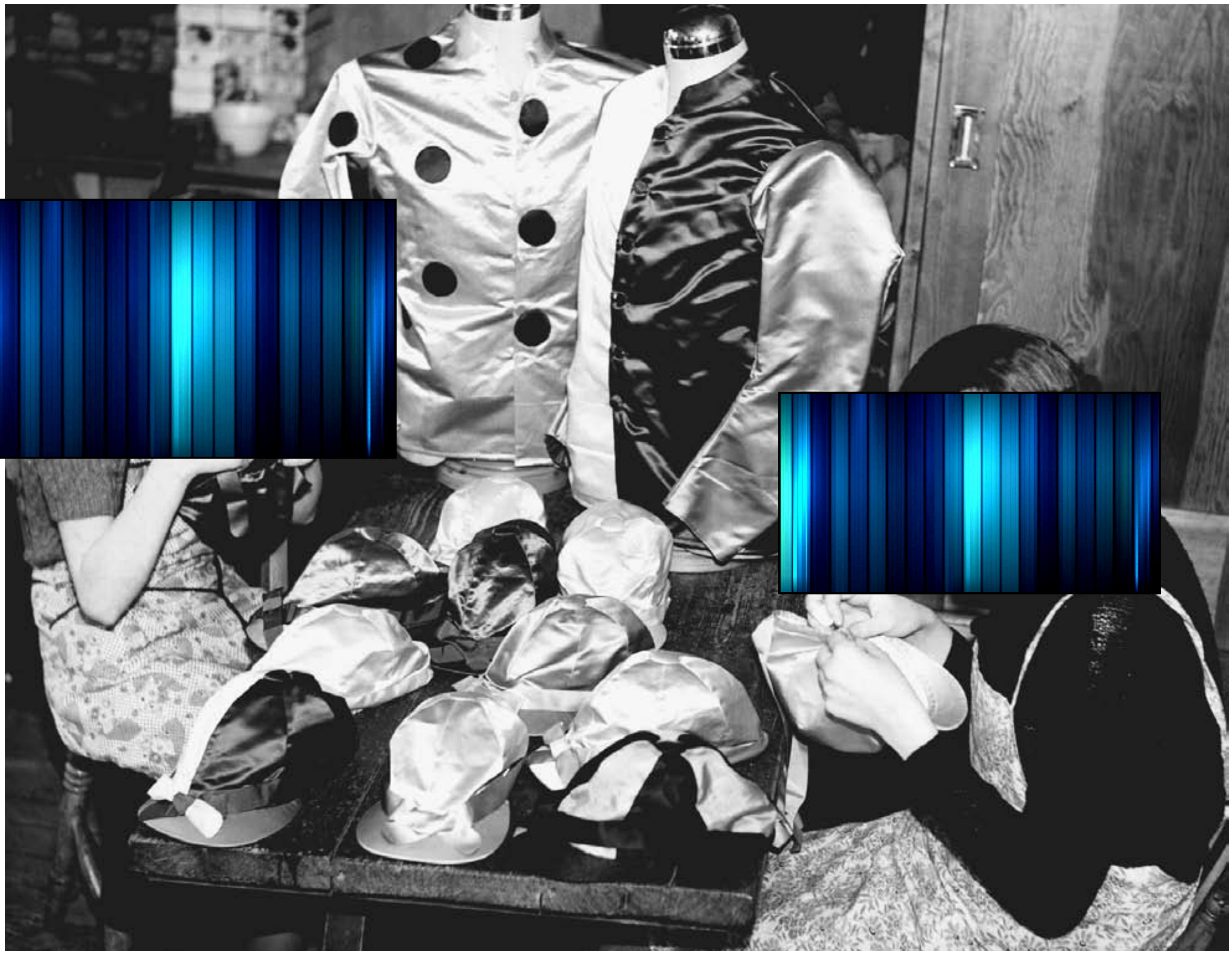
Brian J. McVeigh

UNIFORMS, SPORTS Since the time when humans were able to stand upright, running has been an activity conducted for survival, in order to hunt for food and escape danger. In terms of competitive-running (track and field) events, the Ancient Olympics (776 B.C.E.), in Olympia, Greece, probably best document the history of running. The Olympics are typically associated with feats of superior athleticism and hundreds of sporting events, but the first Olympics were one-day religious festivals to celebrate the gods (specifically Zeus) that the Hellenic society worshiped. The "single foot race" (which covered one length of the stadium) was the only sporting competition until the fifteenth Olympiad. As the Olympic festival expanded, other sports like chariot racing, boxing, and pentathlon were added. Married women, who were forbidden to look at other men, were banned from the festival and were killed if they were caught attending. Virginal women were allowed to attend the Olympics so they could see what the ideal man looked like, and they had their own sports competition called the Heraean festival (after the goddess of Hera), where javelin throwing was a popular competition. All of the athletes participated in the nude (for ease of movement) and wore no foot protection. The branch of a wild olive tree was the official prize for an Olympic winner (Hickok Sports 2004).

The modern Olympics were revived in April 1896 and in the early 2000s they include twenty major track and field events (not including separate events for men and women). At the first modern events, the track and field dress consisted of woven shorts and knitted tank tops with colored athletic striping to identify athletes by country. Athletes wore leather track spikes that were constructed much like a traditional men's dress shoe with nails on the sole for traction. Twenty-first-century track and field athletes wear uniforms that are very lightweight, breathable, and aerodynamic. There are two trends. One is that the athlete wears as little as possible, so that the body is almost nude—reflecting the dress of the original Olympic athletes. Men who follow this philosophy wear body-conscious polyester and spandex knit shorts and a tank top. Women wear body-conscious polyester and spandex knit briefs and a sports bra top. The other trend is to cover the entire body (including the head) in aerodynamic body-conscious polyester and spandex knit "skin" where the athlete is theoretically making the body more "fluid," so that it has less resistance (drag) from the racing environment. This particular uniform technology is also seen in swimming, ski racing, and speed skating. For most of the running events, lightweight track spikes are worn to help propel the athlete over the running surface. In longer running events like the marathon, a lightweight racing flat is worn, which is constructed more like a modern day sneaker. For the field events, like discus and javelin, the athletes wear sport-specific footwear or ones that have been customized.

Football (Soccer)

Football or soccer is another sport that has a long history. Some historians credit the Chinese with the earliest form of football in 255–206 B.C.E. The sport was called Tsu Chu, and it was used to train soldiers as part



The production of jockeys' hats and shirts. Like the bright colors worn by a jockey, many sports' uniforms serve the purpose of enabling easier differentiation between players. © HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION.

of their physical education program. Many societies including the Ancient Greeks, Aztecs, Romans, Japanese, and Egyptians have claimed to be the creators of football too, as any sport where a ball is kicked is seen as a predecessor to the modern sport (Miers and Trifari 1994 p. 26; Langton 1996, p. 15–27). The object of modern-day football is to move a single ball, by passing it between players, and kicking it into an opponent's goal. At the end of a ninety-minute game, the team that has the most goals wins the game. Hands cannot be used to pass the ball, as seen in rugby or American football. The sport is played between two teams, with eleven athletes on each team. Football as we know it in the early 2000s is based upon rules and regulations formed in London, England, in October 1863 by delegates from the Association of Football (Miers and Trifari 1994, p. 36–37).

The first modern day uniforms (1860s to 1880s) consisted of wool or cotton knickers, a woven or knitted pullover (typically with a buttoned welt opening), knee-length socks, a cap, and leather-work boots with leather or metal cleats. Some teams utilized colored stripes as a way to identify their team and because they were easy to incorporate into a woven or knitted material. Other teams had badges that were sewn onto their jersey (usually on the left side of the chest) for further identification. The sport was played with a round, leather ball that was inflated with a pig's bladder. Shin guards were not widely used during this time. In the latter part of the 1800s, woven shorts became popular, as they provided better freedom of movement. The use of woven materials for jerseys became less and less visible as the game evolved into the early 1900s. The use of wool declined, and synthetic fibers were more relevant (for laundering, durability, and comfort). Shin guards were more and more visible on players, but not mandatory until 1984. The original guards were made of leather and boning with horsehair stuffing, where twenty-first-century guards are made of synthetic plastics and high-performance foams. Football jerseys, shorts, and socks are made of high-wicking fibers and are designed to allow the athlete to move with efficiency and accuracy. The uniforms contain very little or no seaming and accessory pieces (buttons and zippers). The football "boot" is really a shoe-type construction with cleats or studs that is streamlined in design to help the player control the ball and run fast. Ball technology has changed the game most. The lighter the ball becomes, the faster the game becomes. Goalkeepers prior to the 1970s never wore goalkeeper gloves. But with players and ball technology, the ball can be kicked at speeds around 100 mph and the goalkeeper needs his or her hands protected with foam gloves. Uniform styles also include player numbers, names of the player on the back of the jersey, sponsorship, and club badge. There are also home and away uniforms. Many sport brands and football clubs have their own game-day and lifestyle collections that enable fans to wear their favorite team or player's colors as a supporter outside the stadium and as a fashion statement.

Cricket

Shepherds from the southeast of England are recognized as the creators of cricket in the 1300s. They played a game on the short grass pastures where it was possible to bowl a ball of wool or rags at a target. The target was usually the wicket gate of the sheep pasture, which was defended with a bat in the form of a shepherd's crooked staff. Records show that King Edward II was a fan of the game, as well as Oliver Cromwell. It was a sport adopted and appreciated by the upper class, and there are gambling records from 1751 showing bets made on matches exceeding £ 20,000 (Lords 2004). In an effort to formalize how the sport was played, rules and regulations were formed in 1787, at the Marylebone Cricket Club (Farmer 1979).

The objective of cricket is quite complicated, as it is based upon a multitude of rules and regulations. To simplify,

> cricket is a team sport for two teams of eleven players each. Although the game play and rules are very different, the basic concept of cricket is similar to that of baseball. Teams bat in successive innings and attempt to score runs, while the opposing team fields and attempts to bring an end to the batting team's innings. After each team has batted an equal number of innings (either one or two, depending on conditions chosen before the game), the team with the most runs wins. (Mar)

The traditional dress (sometimes referenced as "creams") worn for cricket is cream or white in color, symbolizing cleanliness, confidence, and keenness (Dunn et al. 1975). All players typically wear cotton/polyester trousers and a buttoned-down cotton/polyester shirt. Some will wear a cable or heavy rib-knitted V-neck vest or sweater (also in cream or white). White shoes or "boots" for cricket are worn, which look like golf shoes and serve a similar purpose of providing traction. Protective batting gloves, thigh pads (worn on the inside of the trousers), and combination thigh, knee, and shin pads (worn on the outside of the trousers) are worn to protect the player from ball impact. Each batter has a wooden bat that is shaped long like a baseball bat, but has a flat surface for hitting. In the past caps were worn more than helmets and sometimes players did not cover their heads at all. Helmets are worn for impact protection, but even in the late 1970s many players thought they were not "manly." One reference states: "If a senior player feels sufficiently unnerved by the speed of a fast bowler then there is nothing in the rules to prevent him placing one on his head. But avoid the indignity if you can" (Farmer 1979, p. 10). Some international matches are played in football (soccer)-styled uniforms with colorful jerseys and trousers. Some traditionalists feel that these uniforms disrespect the heritage and eliteness of the sport, as football was traditionally a sport for the working class.

Rugby

Rugby is a version of football (soccer) where players are allowed to carry the ball with their hands. The sport originated at the Rugby School in England with a sixteen- year-old student named William Webb Ellis who picked up and carried the ball during a football (soccer) game in 1823. Some say that Ellis was inspired by the Irish-native game called Caid (where Ellis's father was stationed with the Third Dragoons guards). The sport was adopted in the 1860s by other schools and universities in England, and by 1871 the English Rugby Union was formed to standardize the rules (Trueman). The basic objective of the sport is that two teams, of fifteen players carry, pass, kick, or ground a ball to score as many points as possible. The team with the most points at the end of a match wins. Rugby became associated with the British upper class, whereas football (soccer) was the sport of choice for the working class, because of its origin at private schools and universities. This is quite ironic, since the game of rugby requires enormous physical strength, extensive physical contact, and is often played in the mud (created by inclement weather).

The original game was played with a round leather ball that had a pig's bladder. Since rugby was originally a schoolboy's sport, the school uniform was typically worn to play in. In the 1800s the upper-class school uniform consisted of a top hat, white trousers, braces (suspenders), black jacket, white shirt, and a tie. Black leather shoes or boots complemented the outfit. Everything except the top hat and jacket were worn to play rugby. Boys even tried to take the "newness" out of their school uniforms by getting them extra dirty while playing. At the end of the 1800s, knicker-length trousers in darker colors became popular for their ease of movement and ability to hide dirt. Caps were worn on the head in team colors, often with badges. Collarless jerseys (sometimes with a leather yoke) with numbers were seen in the early 1900s. The advent of synthetic fibers and knitted materials allowed for more comfortable uniforms in the 1900s. The rugby game in the early 2000s is played with an oval ball, a bit blunter in shape than the modern American football. This shape allows the ball to be easily bounced and drop-kicked. Cleats similar to the ones worn for football (soccer) are also worn to help the player run fast and establish traction with the ground, especially if it is muddy. Players who are larger and play defense wear a higher-cut version for ankle stability. A horizontally striped polo shirt design (with long sleeves), with three to four rubber buttons down a center front welt became known as the "rugby shirt" and was worn by players with traditional athletic shorts. Sporty teens and college students adopted this design in the 1970s, and again in the early 1990s. At the 2003 Rugby World Cup, teams were seen wearing body leotards that prohibited the opponent from grabbing and tugging down players during a match. Many players still do not wear any impact protection. The players who do, wear lightweight helmets, rib, and shoulder pads. Gloves are also worn to protect the hands and provide extra grip, while some players still choose to only tape their wrists and fingers. Some players tape their ears to prevent cauliflower ear.

Baseball

Like football (soccer) many ancient societies had some sort of game that could be linked to the sport of baseball. Most historians believe baseball is based on the English stick and ball game of rounders. In the early 1800s the sport became very popular in America and it was known by numerous names including townball, base, or baseball. Many small towns formed teams, and baseball clubs were formed in larger cities. By 1845 Alexander Cartwright formalized the rules of baseball, and in 1846 he organized the first recorded baseball contest (between the Cartwright Knickerbockers and the New York Baseball Club) at Elysian Field in Hoboken, New Jersey (Bowman and Zoss 1986, p. 10–11). The basic idea of baseball is to hit a ball that is pitched by an opposing team's pitcher with a wooden bat and get around three field bases to make a run (score) without getting caught. After nine innings, the team with the most runs wins the game.

The baseball uniform has a very rich history. The Knickerbockers adopted the original uniform in 1849, and it consisted of a white flannel collared shirt, woolen trousers, a straw hat, and leather shoes. Like other sports in the late 1800s, knickers were adopted (for more comfort) and leagues soon used color and patterns (like stripes and checks) to identify players, positions, and teams. At the turn of the twentieth century, team badges and names were on almost every player's shirt. The baseball shoe became a high top with cleats for better ankle stability and traction. The straw cap was now made of wool. The shirt collar was removed for more comfort and numbers were added on the sleeve for further player identification. In the 1940s, the All-American Girls Softball League was formed, and women wore uniforms featuring belted short-sleeved tunic dresses with caps. Player names were added in the 1960s to the back of the jerseys (along with numbers) (National Baseball Hall of Fame). In the twenty-first century, the uniform is reminiscent of the original uniform in that it consists of a shirt or jersey and trousers, but they are constructed with nylon or polyester fibers and are often knitted, which allows them to fit very close to the body. Trousers typically have stirrups, which allude to the look of the old-fashioned knickers. Jerseys are still closed up the center front and are either short sleeved or sleeveless to allow a cotton T-shirt to be worn underneath for heat management. Players still wear caps (typically they are made of cotton and polyester fibers), and helmets are now used for impact protection when batting.

Basketball

Dr. James Naismith, a Canadian Presbyterian minister, invented the sport of "Basket Ball" on 21 December 1891 at a Springfield, Massachusetts, YMCA Training School in response to a work assignment that required him to create a sport that could be played indoors during the winter (Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame, Inc.). Naismith's idea was to utilize athletic skill instead of strength like in American football or rugby. With thirteen rules, the basic object of Naismith's new sport was to put a ball in an opponent's "basket." At the end of the game, the team with the most baskets wins. The first game of basketball was played with eighteen players (nine to a team) and used a football (soccer ball), and two peach baskets as the goals (Wolff 1991, p. 7–13). Women were involved in the game almost immediately, and Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, was the site of the first collegiate women's basketball game in 1893. Although there have been some major changes to the game since it was first invented, it is still one of the most popular games played. Over 300 million people play basketball in the early 2000s (Naismith Memorial Basketball Hall of Fame, Inc.).

The original basketball uniform consisted of everyday clothing that boys would wear to school, like a pair of full-length trousers, a buttoned-down shirt, and leather shoes. Over a period of twenty years, specific team uniforms were created for men to identify team names and colors. The first uniforms were composed of a knitted pullover with appliquéd team letters or names, knicker-length woven trousers, knitted striped knee socks, and leather shoes. The uniform soon reduced itself to a pair of woven short-shorts, a knitted tank top, leather kneepads, knee socks, and basketball sneakers like the Converse All-Star. For women, the first basketball uniforms consisted of large belted black bloomers that extended below the knees with stockings and white middy shirt. In the twenty-first century, basketball uniforms for men and women are almost identical, less complicated, and protective. They use nylon and polyester and material constructions to provide thermal comfort on the court. A typical uniform consists of a sleeveless knitted jersey tank, shorts that are almost knee-length, ankle-length socks, and basketball sneakers. Furthermore, each player's uniform typically has a number on the front and back of the jersey for identification on TV and for spectators. Sometimes the player's surname is printed on the back of the shirt for further identification. Basketball sneakers are built to provide traction on the wood court floor and ankle stability from medial-to-lateral movements.

American Football

The sport of American football derived from rugby. Football (soccer) has also been noted as a cousin to American football. The sport came to America in the mid-1800s and was played by many northeastern colleges, like Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia. In 1876, Harvard and Yale Universities met together in Massachusetts to formalize the rules of American football. The object of the game was to move an oblong-shaped ball across a goal line by kicking, throwing, or running with it. The team that can get the most points in four quarters wins. The game is played between two teams, each with eleven players. In American football, the teams can be rotated in and out of the game, which is different than football (soccer) and rugby.

In the beginning of the Professional Football League in the 1920s, there were no rules regarding the equipment players wore. Teams only provided players with long-sleeve knitted wool jerseys, and socks in team colors and logos. Many players used the equipment that they acquired at university (if they went). To protect the head from contact, players wore soft, pliable leather "head helmets" with nose guards, while some players felt that long hair was good enough. Pants were knicker-length and were made of brown cotton canvas (reminiscent of the original Levi's). Players also wore cleats to enhance traction when running, especially in the mud (McDonough et al. 1994, p. 31,). Throughout the 1900s elaborate equipment was developed for the player, including pads made with high-density plastics and foams for the neck, thighs, hips, groin, ribs, knees, shoulders, and sometimes the forearms. Over the protection, the player usually wears a knitted jersey, knee-length pants, and socks, in team colors and made of synthetic fibers that provide durability and thermal comfort. Like in many other sports, jerseys contained the name and number of the player and team logo for on-field identification. Many of the equipment developments during the last century were created by players themselves or by equipment managers. Players in the early 2000s wear proper, durable helmets with face and mouth guards (McDonough et al. 1994, p. 110). Lightweight cleats are worn for different field environments like grass or synthetic turf. Gloves are sometimes worn for warmth and to provide a better grip on the ball. Even the ball has gone through a series of changes, making it more durable, aerodynamic, and easier to handle.

See also **Sneakers.**

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UNISEX CLOTHING The term "unisex" as applied to dress was coined in the late sixties to denote clothing suitable or designed specifically for both males and females. Prior to this, fashion most traditionally contextualized stood for the clear demarcation of the sexes through the reaffirmation of gender identity. Simply put: women wore skirts, and men wore pants. Although historically there were of course experiments in appropriation, the decade that produced the Youthquake solidified the idea of universal dress.

Denim jeans and T-shirts, popularized in the 1950s by Hollywood cinema, inaugurated the democratization of clothing. Up until that point, they had served as working-class garments that signified a particular niveau in society. For the burgeoning younger generation, the seductive charm of young actors like Marlon Brando and James Dean, combined with the powerful vehicle of motion pictures, transformed jeans and T-shirts not only into fashion phenomena, but perhaps the first truly accepted unisex articles of clothing.

The seeds of youth revolution, planted in the 1950s, fully blossomed the following decade. The 1960s were a period of extraordinary change—one in which conventional notions of age, gender, and class were completely redefined. In an environment conducive to experimentation, the era pushed designers to incorporate new definitions of youth and universality into their work. The idea of unisex, in particular, gained currency precisely for its implications of multifaceted freedom. In the obvious sense, unisex meant liberation from gender, but more importantly, its association with the future in its disavowal of traditional hierarchies and old-fashioned attitudes made it a major driving force for fashion.

Key Designers

The 1960s not only brought the Youthquake, but it was also the age of space exploration. All aspects of society were affected by it—including fashion, which was directly reflective of the times. Placing a big importance on minimalist design, geometric construction, the use of synthetic materials, and the idea of unisex, designer Pierre Cardin revolutionized fashion by creating futuristic clothing fit for the space age. He produced single-breasted, round-necked jackets, stretch jersey tunics, and leggings for both sexes and dressed men and women alike in unitards and jumpsuits accessorized with rounded helmets and flat plastic eye shields.

Like his contemporary Cardin, Rudi Gernreich flourished in a time when political and social unrest called for the re-mapping of gender identity. Often labeled the "inventor" of unisex fashion, Gernreich explored male and female representation in society by playing with established ideals. His unisex project erased the line dividing the sexes through de-emphasizing the importance placed on sexual attributes and rendering them banal. The centerpiece of the unisex project was the monokini—a one-piece topless bathing suit intended to be worn by men or women who had shaved off all head and body hair.

Impact of Unisex

The concept of unisex has far-reaching implications because it disturbs society on such a basic level. Fashion becomes a powerful tool in subverting sexual identity through connotations of dress. Throughout history and with varying degrees of success, designers have challenged conventional dress codes. In the 1920s, Chanel envisioned a new femininity in fashion that incorporated trousers—the symbol of masculine power. However, it was not until the Women's Liberation movement of the 1970s that pants were universally accepted as female attire. From this point forward, the impact of unisex expands more broadly to encompass various themes in fashion including androgyny, mass-market retail, and conceptual clothing.

Androgyny. Androgynous habits of cross-gender impersonation date back to the privileged classes of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England and France; however, after the industrial revolution and the subsequent rise of capitalist societies, a fairly structured dress code dividing men and women re-emerged. The next great revolution in fashion—the Youthquake of the 1960s—would shatter those gender ideals. The sixties' premium on youth led the way for fashion that was neither specifically feminine nor masculine. From space age to hippie, the idea of dressing was less about being boyish or girly than it was about an overall frenzy of youth fascination.

The 1970s continued with the exploration of gender both underground and in the mainstream. In fashion proper, Yves Saint Laurent advocated the masculine look for women while the subcultural movements of punk and glam rock established, at least visually, an identity through androgynous dress. Further, in the 1980s, Jean-Paul Gaultier sent men and women down the same catwalk in similar-style sarongs and pant-skirts inspired by the Orient. Simultaneously, the new-wave movement fused punk and glam-rock influences to create the next generation of unisex fashion.

In the contemporary moment, the styles of the 1970s and 1980s live on through countless retro revivals, but the pioneer of a new type of androgyny, one reborn in luxury lines, is Hedi Slimane, designer of Dior Homme. Slimane reworks men's classic tailoring through subtle detailing, and his collections have become coveted internationally by both chic men and women. As he himself states, "I think it's all a state of mind. Who cares whether a guy or a girl wears the garments? This masculine/feminine dialectic doesn't interest me—in my head, we're all a little bit of both" (eLuxury.com May 2003).

Mass-market retail. Retailers such as The Gap (incidentally born in revolutionary 1969) have produced wildly successful globally marketed clothing lines founded on a basic range of simple unisex separates: T-shirts, jeans, trousers, sweaters, and jackets. Their domination of the clothing market stems from their affordability, accessibility, and their capacity to transcend age, gender, and perhaps most importantly, trends. The Gap's consistency in design and marketing guarantees the firm's continual growth and success in a climate where the average consumer seeks more and more to dress in affordable, comfortable, casual wear that will stand the test of time.

Conceptual mode. The avant-garde in fashion has historically generated design based on a framework of conceptual ideas, converting theories into architecture for the body independent of gender. Ernesto Thayaht worked with fashion under the Futurist conviction that society could only be revolutionized through aesthetics. Fashion bridged the divide between the avant-garde and the masses. In the early 1920s Thayaht created the unisex garment known as the *tuta* that was similar in design to Russian Constructivist uniforms. The *tuta* was monotone, varied in fabric depending on the season, and was worn without an undershirt for all occasions.

The legacy of such experiments in fashion was rediscovered in various contexts from the 1980s onward. In contrast to the glitz and glamour of western fashion in the eighties, Japanese designers Rei Kawakubo and Yohji Yamamoto created collections the press dubbed as the "post-Hiroshima look." In a reaction to the hyper-feminized sexuality ubiquitous in European and American fashion, Kawakubo and Yamamoto designed genderless, loose, asymmetric and irregular clothing in black that placed a primacy on garment construction.

Conceptual fashion evolved the following decade with Belgian deconstructionists, most notably Ann Demeulemeester and Martin Margiela. Deconstruction revealed the process of tailoring, shape, and construction through surpassing gender codes and questioning body proportion. While traditional fashion physically reinforces sexual codification, these movements took the notion of gender identity away from clothing and reinserted the importance of garment fabrication and the conceptual origins of creation.

See also **Futurist Fashion, Italian; Space Age Styles.**

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Jennifer Park

UZANNE, OCTAVE Octave Uzanne (1852–1931) was a French writer and bibliophile, or book lover. Editor of several journals, such as *Le livre* (The Book), and founder of bibliophile societies that published illustrated books, he was also a prolific author who specialized in the art of making beautiful books. As of the early 2000s Uzanne is an obscure literary figure, remembered if at all as the author of a short story called "The End of Books" (1895), which foresaw how new technologies might result in such inventions as the audiobook. Yet he also produced a rich, albeit still neglected, body of work that helped to provoke discussion of fashion and femininity in fin-de-siècle France.

Uzanne was obsessed with women's fashions, which he described with ardent, even fetishistic attention to detail. Fashion, he insisted, was woman's only "literature," and he himself the only true "historian" of women's fashions. It is characteristic of Uzanne's work to regard fashion and femininity as inextricably linked. He revived the term *féminie* to describe everything that fell within the domain of woman—beauty, love, and fashion—and his reputation as a fashion authority was closely associated with his supposed expertise in female psychology. The famous dandy Jules Barbey d'Aurevilly, who wrote the preface to Uzanne's second book, *Le bric-à-brac de l'amour* (1879), told him, "Monsieur, you have *le sentiment de la femme*. You have what no one has anymore in our frigid era: You have an amorous imagination."

Uzanne's first and perhaps most famous book in the fashion genre was *L'éventail* (The Fan); (1882), a charming illustrated history of the fan. He admitted that his book was "not by any means a work of mighty wisdom and erudition," but merely the first of a projected series of "little books for the boudoir." Totally ignoring the use of the fan by East Asian men, Uzanne preferred to see it as the quintessential feminine accessory, "the scepter of a beautiful woman." His next book, *L'ombrelle, le gant, le manchon* (The Sunshade, the Glove, and the Muff); (1883), was also illustrated in rococo style by Paul Avril. Uzanne's tone continued to be playfully erotic. "The muff!" he exclaimed. "Its name alone has something adorable, downy, and voluptuous about it." Regrettably, he never wrote his promised book on shoes and stockings, although he later published *Les ornements de la femme* (Woman's Ornaments), which reproduced in one volume the combined texts of *The Fan* and *The Sunshade, the Glove, and the Muff,* both of which were also translated into English and published in London.

Son Altesse la femme (Her Highness, Woman); (1885) was an even more luxuriously produced book, with full-color illustrations by contemporary artists. Its subject, Uzanne wrote, was "the psychological history of the Frenchwoman from the Middle Ages to the present day." Her psychology, Uzanne implied, was quite sexual and therefore dangerous to mere men. Félicien Rops, best-known for his erotica, illustrated Uzanne's chapter on the medieval woman with a picture of a nude sorceress. One of Uzanne's favorite periods, the eighteenth century, was interpreted as a time of erotic dalliance, when upper-class Frenchwomen changed lovers as easily as they changed dresses.

La Française du siècle (The Frenchwoman of the Century; 1886) focused on the years since the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. Uzanne drew on a host of memoirs of the period to create a dramatic picture of changing modes and manners. For example, his chapter on the latter part of the French Revolution, known as the Directoire or Directory, included descriptions of such events as the *bal des victimes*. These bals were parties attended only by people who had at least one relative who had been guillotined during the Reign of Terror. Women cut their hair short, as though they too were about to be guillotined; some even wore a ribbon of red satin around their necks.

Uzanne later republished what was essentially the same book under at least two different titles: *La Femme et la mode. Métamorphoses de la parisienne de 1792 à 1892* (Woman and Fashion: Metamorphoses of the Parisienne, 1792–1892); (1892) and *Les Modes de Paris. Variations du goût et de l'esthétique de la femme, 1797–1897* (literally *Fashions in Paris*, but translated into English as Fashion in Paris. The Various Phases of Feminine Taste and Aesthetics, 1797–1897]; (1897)). As these various titles indicate, women and fashion were virtually interchangeable concepts for Uzanne, at least with respect to Frenchwomen, or Parisiennes, whom he chauvinistically regarded as the most feminine of all women. Significantly, he also emphasized the importance of the specific venues within which fashion-oriented behavior occurred, such as the promenades in the Bois de Boulogne and the annual painting exhibitions at the musée du Louvre.

In the meantime, Uzanne wrote *La Femme à Paris*, translated into English as The Modern Parisienne; (1894), one of his most significant books. In this work, he moved beyond the restricted world of fashion to explore the lives of women at all levels of French society. Many working women in Paris were employed in some branch of the fashion industry, and Uzanne did considerable research into the lives of dressmakers and saleswomen as well as female artists, actresses, bourgeois housewives, and, of course, sex workers—from common prostitutes to expensive courtesans. In 1910 he republished *La Femme à Paris* in a cheap edition under the title *Parisiennes de ce temps.*

Many of Uzanne's books were masterpieces of the art of bookmaking, lavishly produced in numbered editions for collectors. He was solicitous of every detail from the typography to the paper and the design of the cover. His book *Féminies* (1896), for example, was a deluxe publication featuring numerous striking color illustrations by Félicien Rops. As previously mentioned, Uzanne revived the word *féminie* to refer to everything in the domain of women (beauty, love, fashion), claiming that it was now necessary to use the plural since there existed so many "gynecological republics." The cover illustration of *Féminies*, influenced by symbolist art, depicted a woman piercing a rose with a dagger.

By the early twentieth century, Uzanne was reduced to publishing small and inexpensive editions of his books. *L' Art et les artifices de la beauté* (The Art and Artifices of Beauty; 1902), for example, contained only black-and-white illustrations. In a series of chapters on such subjects as cosmetics, hairstyles, corsets, jewelry, and underwear, however, Uzanne continued to explore the ways in which fashion and artifice constructed feminine beauty.

See also **Dandyism; Fashion, Historical Studies of; Fashion, Theories of; Paris Fashion.**

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