22 Men’s Fashion 200822

Peter McNeil

The study of men’s fashion, like fashion generally, follows certain consistent themes as well as transforming the remit of its study at key points of political, social, and economic change. The “youthquake” and social revolutions of the post–World War II period, for example, saw the range of clothing options transformed for men. At the same time, the way in which the topic began to be seriously studied in the post 1970s period, began to consider sexual, racial, colonial, and post-colonial specificity as well as the gender dimorphism, class difference and social change beloved of early-twentieth-century sociology. The historical and contemporary are often seen as antithetical: the historian is accused of abandoning the quotidian and the co-joined contemporary theory used to analyze it, and the contemporary cultural historian sometimes pays insufficient attention to the complex historiographies of the past. The focus on the “eternal present” that tints neo-liberal societies finds a willing partner in the tendency of modern universities teaching fashion design as well as fashion studies to privilege “contemporary” themes and topics (it is often said that this is what students “want”). This is my own experience as a design historian working on dress amongst other things for 30 years—one is generally defined as one thing or the other. Approaches to contemporary fashion theory that privilege the “century of fashion,” 1860–1960, still often argue that there is no fashion or fashion system before the mid-nineteenth century, leaving the historiography of the past 220 years fractured. Into that mix in recent years has come the demand to “decolonize” fashion and to embrace instead the rich clothing cultures of all times and places as equally valid. Fashion theory of the past 25 years tended to value the semantic, theoretical, and conceptual operations of dress. The historians of the clothing economy tended to work separately from the dress theorists. The rise of interest in materiality and the compulsion to address sustainability has broadened what is commonly studied, once again.[1] Yet there is much to explore in the role of materials, materiality, and material possibilities in creating new fashion artifacts and images for men across the past 200 years. Certain templates of men’s fashion as well as everyday uniforms—from dungaree/overalls to military dress—allowed contemporary designers to creatively play with the repertoire of men’s fashion, often proposing new models of masculinity as a result. In this challenging assignment, addressing men’s fashion since 1800, I attempt to explain some of the large shifts in longitudinal clothing culture for men while at the same time indicating the academic landscape around the study of men’s clothes. The major frames that structure the account include the cult of youth and ongoing Romanticism, the secularization of sport, the influence of modern warfare in generating men’s fashions, the tendency to prefer modern ideas of comfort and convenience, and the transformation of fashion knowledge and fashion urbanism from print to hyperreality.

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The colony of New South Wales was less than 40 years old when an entrepreneurial Jewish tailor named I.G. Maelzer arrived in Sydney town from Calcutta, India, by 1831. He advertised his "Saxony cloths, cashmeres, kerseymeres, moleskins, velvets, silks" and "Military and Naval accoutrements." He joined other convict tailors who had arrived on the First Fleet: a "John Jaques" [sic] was described in the *Sydney Gazette* (the first printed newspaper) in 1803. Maelzer arrived at a time when migration from India to the Australian colony of many retired British officers and other Anglo-Indians was increasing, and when imports from India to the colony increased ninefold.[2] He had printed for him what is the first trade card for a tailor in the Australian colony (Figure 22.1).

The urbane image is a contrast to the generally received idea of a rough and ready New South Wales penal colony.[3] The engraving on his card shows a frock coat and hairstyle that is completely up to date by northern hemisphere standards, with a puffy shoulder and elegant, curly hair. It closely resembles a drawing by Daniel Maclise of the well-known dandy Benjamin Disraeli (1833). Such suits were intended not only for any "urbanites" in the small colonial outpost and expanding mercantile town. Maelzer announced in the *Sydney Gazette* (1831) that country customers could use his trade-card to "have their orders for dress executed by measuring themselves" according to the directions. Men many thousands of miles from Euromerican centers knew about contemporary fashion, and may have worn it, as opposed to utilitarian, military, and colonial prison dress. What it meant to them is less clear, as men tended to leave fewer written comments on their dress than women. Men's fashion might have been a tool of European colonialism in the nineteenth century, used to confirm notions of European superiority. Non-Europeans often reacted to such men's fashion by playing with it in parodic ways, such as the wearing of "stolen" military "red coats" without their trousers by Indigenous Australian men in the first decades of the New South Wales colony. Such Indigenous men were called "sans culottes" in a poem mocking their purported alcoholism in 1838.[4] There was a close relationship with the European men's dress adjusted for Indian and other South Asian locations, as many colonial goods were shipped to Australia via India and parts of the climate were similar: indeed, it was frequently said that Australia was almost as unpleasantly hot in summer as India.[5]

The first part of the chapter will elucidate the Eurocentrism generally encountered in accounts of men's fashion in European languages. It will indicate the importance of fashion to men's social and political identity in colonial and non-metropolitan settings around the world. The second half of the nineteenth century is often seen as a complex period in which different and clashing forces were at play. What was the role of artists, writers, bohemians, and expatriates in forming new conceptions of fashion as well as manufacturers, entrepreneurs, and merchants? In the nineteenth century, the fashions for men set at the European courts of the previous century were replaced with more sober woollen suits, suitable for the new world of business and the layout of the modern city with its wide streets, boulevards, and systems of transportation. Despite this new sobriety, some men, particularly young men, continued to pursue the utmost elegance in dressing. Sport began to transform the appearance of men, an influence that began in the mid- to late-eighteenth century and continued apace for the next 200 years. Although it is often claimed that nineteenth-century men's fashion was "dull," we often see instead a suave elegance expressed in garment such as the short waistcoat and fine tailoring of suits, the carrying of accessories such as gloves, and the importance of grooming the beard, moustache, and hair.

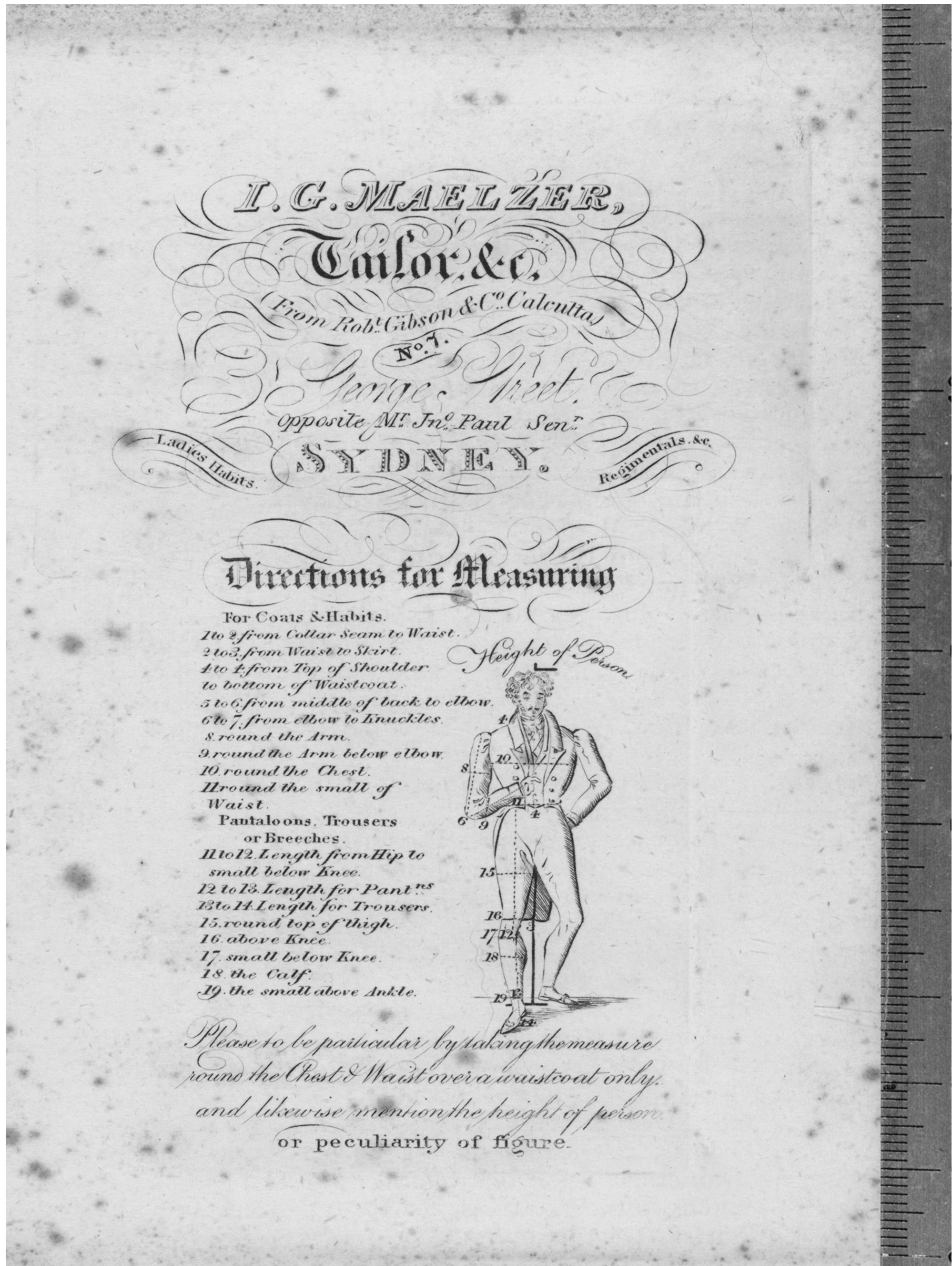

Figure 22.1 I.G. Maelzer, Tailor, &c. From Robt. Gibson & Co. Calcutta, No. 7, George Street ... Sydney. Trade card, engraved c1835, 13.6 × 8cm. Illus. The New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory, 1835. Collection Peter McNeil. Photograph David Brazil.

The second half of the chapter traverses the twentieth century. The first half of that century saw epochal changes in the very notion of fashion. That period opens with the Great War. Throughout the century the needs and locations of contemporary warfare introduced and reinterpreted garments, colors, and material technologies to the wider male wardrobe. The manufacture of uniforms for two world wars accelerated standardization and lowered price points. The production and distribution of clothes was marked by mass production more so than in women's garments, which were often produced in smaller batches or units. That most woollen men's suits were bought ready-made indicates that fashion was an important aspect of modern democracy. Most of us wear mainly cotton and cotton-synthetic mixes today, but once woollens were king. The new mania for driving cars and motorbikes also demanded new types of comfortable belted jackets and leather caps. The majority of the male wardrobe seen outside particular formal or work environments is also heavily derived from earlier twentieth century sporting prototypes. The knitted, synthetic jersey fibres typically used in sports clothing now dominate casual wear; they require no ironing and dry very quickly. Their status now as "fast fashion" leads to a massive problem: they are currently difficult to recycle due to fibre separation, and their textiles often stain and deteriorate easily. Men's fashion was also influenced, amplified, and co-created by developments in the mass media, from radio to the MTV video. Fashion contributed greatly to the substantial reshaping of ideas about men and masculinity in the post–World War II period.

From Courtier to City Gent

The most expensive garments for men 200 years ago were the clothes required to visit or appear at court, in the presence of the aristocracy. The *habit à la française* (c. 1760) is also an example of an early trans-national or global fashion, for Europe at the very least, but was also worn by the English in India and the West Indies in the eighteenth century, although sometimes in a different, lighter colorway, even pure white.[6] Men's chamois leather breeches were one example of new, comfortable fashions influenced by the cult of the horse. Although they were not formal dress, they began to appear regularly in men's portraits from the 1790s. Ann Hollander noted in her work *Sex and Suits* (1994) that wool, leather and linen create for men a sense of "poetic harmony with his natural domain," rather than the sense of opposition created by glossy and smooth textiles such as satin and silk.[7] Boots, English style "jockey caps," whips and other equestrian accessories became the epitome of glamour for French men in the decade before the Revolution. Such tastes were expensive: the Prince de Ligne wrote "Horses and gigs will be the ruin of young men in Paris."[8] But no man of social standing wore trousers in the eighteenth century until after the Revolution, including artisans. Trousers were for active workers such as the rivermen and sailors. This was also the case for the North Americans, who complained of the luxury of the French and other Continental courts and wore either simple black or even homespun cloth to make their point.[9] Nonetheless, they kept their knee breeches, as pantaloons were too far from the respectable fashion ideal. The history of men's fashion is full of hybrid clothing admixtures. The Māori of New Zealand, for example, sometimes made European-style men's waistcoats with a conventional silk back and a front of woven and dyed harakeke (flax woven in a Māori technique) that were gifted to European (Pakeha) farmers as a token of relationship.[10] Māori, as well as Australian Aboriginal people, often wore combinations of local and European dress during the colonial period. These were clothing acts that ranged from adaptation, to rebellion, and parody.[11]

Managing the Body

Being fashionable was about much more than the garments. All guides to courtly behavior based on the Italian Renaissance precept, "The Courtier" (1528) by Baldassare Castiglione, insisted that to be elegant one also had to make it look easy. Education was important, as was training in movement by a professional dancing master or instruction in fencing or horse-riding. Just as now, the clothes were not meant to "wear you." Furthermore, the body and the dressed body were part of wider cultural understandings and philosophical structures. Barbara Stafford notes in her history of perception and the visualized body in the Enlightenment that reformers, whether they be Cartesians or Augustinian Jansenists, demanded that "showy ostentation" and "of the cosmetic imagination" be usurped.[12] Within neo-classical vision, rococo "color … was the antagonist to fixity. It was connected to change and superficial appearances that seized the eye."[13] Lessing reminded artists that "the civilized Thebans enacted a law commanding idealization in art. Digressions towards outlandishness were legally punishable."[14]

Many aspects of rococo dress continued in later periods. As the long eighteenth century transitioned to the nineteenth, much attention was paid to the wig. French men protected their hair with parasols, which were considered effeminate by the English until the Victorian period. Men did not give up their wigs with the French Revolution; William Pitt's *Hair Powder Act of 1795* (a luxury tax which levied money for the war against France) levied one guinea a year for the right to powder the hair—hence, users were called "guinea pigs." Pitt's motive was both practical and symbolic: "flouring" the hair diminished the ingredients required for bread.[15] Charles James Fox in turn mocked a tax on something as unstable as fashion.[16] A list of licensed men was published to encourage reporting of those who had not paid, an unusual act in fashion history: 46,000 men were paying the tax in 1812, so not a huge amount of the population.[17] Cutting the hair as an option to deal with the tax was known as "cropping," and some men were alleged to have worn plain, woollen wigs as an alternative.

Men also continued to wear perfumes, which were believed to have health attributes in staving off miasmas of infection, as well as smelling novel. The scents worn by Regency and Victorian gentlemen survive in some old-fashioned formulas and surprise us today with their very strong scents of flowers such as carnation and the musky smell of the Turkish steam bath (*hammam*). Jane Welsh Carlyle said of the famous fop the Comte D'Orsay in 1859 that he looked well but was "of no sex": the Comte wore tonal colors such as a blue satin cravat, and his gloves were scented with different *eaux de cologne*.[18] There has been a fashionable revival of such blends recently by companies such as the British firm, Penhaligon's. A great many satirical prints from around 1800–1810 depict men preparing their toilette, with copious amounts of perfume, make up and linen, as well as corsetry and even fake calves attached in their stockings. Such mannerisms often associated with military dress as the uniforms of the early nineteenth century were splendid in color and cut very tight. Colin McDowell argues that the "sexual blatancy" of such dress contrasted with the increasingly prudish tenor of later nineteenth-century society.[19]

Despite the appeal to our contemporary eyes of early-nineteenth century officers' dress, Philip Mansel has persuasively argued that such dress met with great resistance from upper-class English and French men. Unlike the splendid and very expensive *habit habillé* of the old regime, rank might be legible but not always status. To some men, uniformity felt like livery. By the 1850s, all British government officials had to wear civil

uniforms, distinguished in rank by the amount of embroidery. Full court dress for particular occasions with a bag wig and sword continued until 1939.[20] The element of obligation is particularly important for subsequent counter cultural attitudes and developments around prescribed and military dress.

Dangerous Dress

In post-Revolutionary Paris, wearing the dress of the *Ancien Régime* became dangerous. The safest dress was that of the working man, the so called "sans culottes" who did not wear knee breeches, but rather trousers. They often wore the *carmagnole*, a rough, woollen jacket. King Louis XVI never wore trousers in prison, but was humiliated by being depicted wearing the Phrygian cap, the symbol of Roman democracy.

Directoire fashion for men was very erotic. Enormous fallen collars, massive revers and very wide covered buttons contrast with the "absence" of the cut away suit jacket coat, which reveals the man's sex defiantly. Fashionable men replaced knee breeches with tapering trousers, a garment from the wardrobe of seamen, buckled shoes were replaced with boots and even shoe-lacing. The *Incroyable* was particularly fond of the stripe, a motif which became a men's fashion standard for the next 200 years, eventually appearing in striped woollen cloth for suiting and in the 1920s as men's neck ties (derived from regimental and club dress and popularized in the United States by the Prince of Wales). The stripe was one very successful way to look democratic while remaining stylish. Stripes became popular when reproduced on expensive silk only in the 1780s. They remained connected with leisure into the twentieth century when the sailor's matelot (striped cotton or knitted pullover) was worn by figures such as Gabrielle Chanel and Pablo Picasso on vacation in the south of France in the 1920s.

Bohemianism

In 1799, Napoleon made his coup d'état, and fashion changed once again. Napoleon would have had little time for sartorial misfits, but Paris was spawning just that. The *barbus* were outlandish artists and artisans such as hairdressers and tailors who wore little beards and capes. It appears that some even showed their chest in a *décolletée* manner, a fashion that had not been seen since the Renaissance and that did not return until the 1960s. The wife of the artist Jean-Antoine Gleizes (Madame Aglaé) wrote this of such men in 1800: "Long white trousers which go up to the armpits, yellow shoes closely moulding the foot, held by straps, a red waist-coat tied in the back and with a very low neckline showing very little or no shirt, a long beard, short hair, and then a piece of red cloth thrown over the shoulder."[21] This is a very important aspect of men's fashion for the subsequent two centuries: *bohemianism*, which had many later resurgences such as the deliberately scruffy hair and clothes worn by young men in the 1830s–1850s, seen in many surviving daguerreotypes, and with the hippy and flower power movement a century later, in the 1960s.[22]

In complete contrast to this sloppy bohemianism was the revival of court dress enforced by the Emperor Napoleon. For court, Napoleon insisted upon silk or velvet embroidered suits. Knee breeches were reintroduced as compulsory. The new format, with a neo-classical shape, placed new emphasis on the shoulders, which were meant to be broad. There was extensive use of gold and silver thread and it was this period that created the dress uniforms and template for dress that had to be worn at courts by diplomats and visitors in Europe until World War II. The old court dress of the *Ancien*

Régime under Louis XVIII was now laughed at, yet the informal *frac* was considered unacceptable as being too informal, and so the only alternative was to focus on military dress as a *de facto* court dress. An officer wrote: "Since the court has become completely military, to the great detriment of our industries ... it is no longer possible to go to the palace in habit bourgeois [civilian dress] ... so in order not to become confused with the footmen, I must demand permission to wear épaulettes."[23] The Napoleonic wars generated new military dress that generated countless fashions; for example, the "hussar-style" jackets with fur trims and elegant frogging (little boys' jackets continued to be braided in Hussar and other military styles into the late nineteenth century).[24] The uniforms worn at the Congress of Vienna further consolidated this trend. Dress types such as this were reworked by Vivienne Westwood in the 1990s; very similar designs by her were worn by hyper-muscular male models at the Love Ball, an AIDS fundraiser in Vienna in the early 1990s.

Bucks of Elegance

Historians of the fashion press have argued that it was only in the Napoleonic period that fashion news began to be addressed mainly to women. The fashion periodical, which had embraced images, stories, and news about men from its birth in the 1760s, seemed to turn away from men after the French Revolution. Men appear only twice in the 1799 issues of *Correspondence des Dames*, which covered fashion generally. The more entrenched association of women's light reading and amusement with the world of fashion does not mean that men themselves lost interest in clothing. In fact, the years after the Revolution created in England and in France an intense period of reflection and fascination by and for men's fashion. It was the period of the "dandy."

The writer Barbey d'Aurevilly wrote that before the term dandy became widely adopted in the 1790s at Eton, the "despots of elegance" were known as "bucks," an English term that refers to a male animal, but which also has a sense that is untranslatable.[25] "Buck" or Beau Brummel was the heroic ideal and he was not just noted for his fine dressing, but also his house in Chapel Street, his library, his furniture, his horses, his snuff boxes, his canes, and his Sèvres porcelain.[26] The English dandy of the Regency period, who stripped back his wardrobe to the essentials of the finest shirt, cravat linen and woollen broadcloth, with perfectly-blacked boots by a maker such as George Hoby of St. James's Street, and accessories such as a white thorn-wood cane, became a pan-European ideal. As Elizabeth Amann remarks, the dandy constituted "an erasure of effort" and was a reductive fashion figure—whereas the earlier macaroni had added volume and accessories to their looks.[27] The dandy's eager preparations to leave the house were hilariously reported by the print satirists of their day. It was claimed that garments became so tight that men such as the Comte d'Artois had to be lowered into his leather breeches which were so smooth that "not even the most clairvoyant eye could discover a single pleat."[28] Dandies were meant to be thin, and Carolyn A. Day has demonstrated how in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the medical condition tuberculous as a wasting disease was connected to positive beauty attributes of litheness, a white flushed complexion, large pupil-eyes, false hair (as hair was weakened by the disease), sensitivity, and glamour for men and women of the affluent classes (for the poor it was seen as degeneration).[29] The dandy and diarist Captain Rees Howell Gronow described such gentlemen "remarkable for their eccentricities of dress and manners" as the "lions of the day both in London and Paris"; he noted a certain extravagant

Captain T- who kept perfect English carriages and horses, lived in two different hotels at the same time, and dressed in capacious trousers and a coat "remarkable for its wide, bagged sleeves … and a pair of golden spurs with rowels of the circumference of a small dessert plate."[30] The actor "Romeo" Coats appeared in Bath and the Haymarket, London, in gaudy satin and furs, real diamond buttons and buckles, and a "singular shell-shaped carriage, drawn by two fine white horses."[31] The foppish Lord Petersham promoted a new type of greatcoat and claimed to use a different box of snuff every day of the year: when complimented on a pretty Wedgwood box he lisped "Yes, it is a nice summer box but would not do for winter wear."[32] Such dandies directed even the appearance of their grooms: Petersham was well known for his equipage of fine, brown horses with matching harness, and a groom dressed in the same color coat to the ground with a cockaded hat.[33]

France remained a center of fashion production and innovation in the nineteenth century. However, much of the fashionable template was now derived from English rather than continental taste. A disciplined sobriety became desirable. Harvey has pointed out how attention to perfect linens led to the ideal "scrubbed cleanliness" of the later Victorian period.[34] An aniline dye for black was patented in 1863, making black easier to fix.[35] Careful inspection of cloth and clothing was the basis of this approach to fashion, which ironically was also meant to be inconspicuous. Gloves of different hues for day and evening, often yellow for day, and finely crafted boots and shoes that made the feet look small, were the desired accessories. Such foppery was often projected onto suggestions of homosexuality, generally associated with foreigners and cosmopolitan affectation. The Australian author Marcus Clarke described the following scene set in Hobart Town, Tasmania (van Diemen's Land) in 1838: "Clad in glossy black, of the most fashionable clerical cut, with dandy boots, and gloves of lightest lavender—a white silk overcoat hinting that its wearer was not wholly free from sensitiveness to sun and heat—the Reverend Meekin tripped daintily to the post office, and deposited his letter."[36]

The dandy's other essential accessories included lorgnettes and spying glasses so that he could look back at others looking at him. Such lens technology owed their derivation from Enlightenment optical experimentation and as Stafford argues, privileged sight over touch.[37] Magnification was also gendered: it "became associated with the positive male virtue of seeing problems intensely and analytically."[38] Nonetheless, poet-dandies of mid-nineteenth-century France continued some attributes of the rococo courtier. Barbey d'Aurevilly kept a diary in 1838, in which he described staying in bed all morning, drinking chocolate, seeing the hairdresser and tailor from his bed, taking lunch at the famous restaurant *Grand Véfour* (still in existence), looking at the bookshop, florist, and glove shop, then dinner and a visit to an actress or theater and bed around two am.[39] It was a delightful period for well to do fashionable men and it was very much about being young, thin, and optimistic, rather like the 1960s. Fashionable suits had tight, puffed jacket sleeves that stayed in fashion in the 1830s (similar to the Maelzer image that opened this chapter), and were often made in rich tones such as plum and claret and in cloths including cotton plush (velvet). Such attire was accompanied by natural hair and hearty good looks. Slim fitting leather shoes or tight boots were fashionable options. Subsequent periods remained fascinated by early dandyism. London in the 1960s had a pop singer called "Beau Brummell": a cross between a teddy boy and a Regency dandy, he had a large quiff of his own blonde hair and was photographed opening a new menswear shop arriving by open carriage.

Everything the dandy was consumed was a commodity, and he therefore underscores theories of "capitalist modernity" and "modern urban existence" with its new spaces,

open views, commercial leisure, and atmosphere of unsatisfied melancholy and nonchalance.[40] Philip Mansel argues that the prestige of the dandy was in part that it "enabled members of the aristocracy to make up in cut and elegance what they had lost in visual splendor" with the decline of the richly decorated *habit habillé*.[41] Aileen Ribeiro has pointed out that the rebuttal of color for men was seen by some such as Gautier as serving "to focus attention on the face and hands" and that dandyism was in decline by the 1840s, when the "domesticity of Queen Victoria's court encouraged bourgeois sobriety."[42] The dandy also functioned as something of a safety valve between the old values of the aristocracy (which depended on inheritance and birth) and those of the ascendant middle classes (which depended on money and work). More generally, the dandy's use of black speaks to Harvey's thesis that wearing black oscillates between "intensity" and "effacement: with importance, and with the putting on of impersonality."[43]

The other function of the dandy was to shock the bourgeoisie and to cultivate the self as a work of art. There was a general rejection by the younger generation of artists and writers of the materialism and vulgarity of contemporary society in which profitmaking had replaced older aesthetic ideals. In Renaissance Italy, many towns and Republics had prescribed dress for adult men. Uniforms or livery that was gifted to the professions and servants meant that there was less choice in clothing than might be imagined today. This permitted young men—who were not yet qualified to belong to professions—to engage with individualistic fashion more vigorously. It is this passionate desire to be thoughtful and distinctive in appearance that has kept the spirit of dandyism alive as an inspiration to the present day. The focus on the self as a work of art—which is known as *Bildung* in German thought—is the basis of the Romantic notion of creating the self through aesthetic choices. It also encouraged the notion that fashion is for the young and the outsider. The classic texts on dandyism are Balzac's *Traité de la vie élégante* (1830), Barbey d'Aurevilly's essay on Beau Brummell (1843), and Baudelaire's *Le Peintre de la vie moderne* (1863).

Men's fashion was well documented within the birth of photography. Even if the men posing for their photo might be wearing their Sunday best, the range of fashion is striking and there is nothing whatsoever dull about the early Victorian period (the years from 1830 to 1850). The daguerreotypes taken at this time of young men wearing enormous propeller-like cravats, fine silk and satin waistcoats and stocks, enormous plush top hats, over-sized coats, and tight checked trousers reveal the wide range of clothing choices available to nineteenth-century men. Enormous cravats were fashionable in the 1840s, some embroidered at the ends, in many colors and varieties. For private leisure, square-toed embroidered slippers were bought ready-made or made up by a wife or lover. Dressing gowns were sometimes boned so that men kept a good figure at home.

Apart from this sartorial particularity, most men aimed to own at least one suit by the nineteenth century. The United States was repeatedly described throughout the nineteenth century as the best-dressed nation in the world. (Figure 22.2)

Ready-made clothing made this possible: an Englishman observing 1840s Boston wrote: "In all this flitting crowd, you can scarcely point to a single individual who is not well dressed … there is no nation on earth in which the coat goes so far as to make the man."[44] Most tailors in colonial America stocked ready-made goods. The first large manufacturer of men's clothing was the Army in Philadelphia, that began to produce for the War of 1812. Large amounts of woollen and cotton textiles were produced on power looms by the 1840s; some weaving technologies that sped up production were adopted in the United States earlier than in Britain. Also, by the 1840s, ready-made men's clothes

Figure 22.2 Hammerslough, Saks & Co. makers of fine clothing. The various shapes of the human body that we provide for, lithograph, c. 1890. Library of Congress.

were sold in five storey establishments that astonished visitors for their "size and grandeur."[45] The sewing machine was of such focus in the United States that 7,339 patents were issued from 1842–1895.[46] Between the 1850s and 1860s sewing machines that could manage curved seams began to be used for the first time for men's suits. A frock coat that took 16.5 hours by hand would take 2 hours, 38 minutes by machine; a satin vest that took 7 hours, 19 minutes by hand took 1 hour, 14 minutes by machine.[47] By the 1880s, there were electric machines; the rate of sewing shifted from 800 stitches a minute by treadle to 4,000 stitches a minute by machine.[48] Machines could cut through 40 layers of cloth in 1893.[49] Most of the workers in these industries were immigrants. Coats were no longer made laboriously by one tailor but once a pattern was established, each component was subcontracted to about 40 workers with typically lower levels of skill. Some factories centralized operations with as many as 6,000 people in Hart, Schaffner, and Marx in Chicago in 1910.[50] Clothing costs declined rapidly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Fast fashion had arrived.

Photography is a good proof that colonial men often embraced high fashion. A rare surviving image shows an unknown man of fashion in colonial Sydney, Australia, photographed by James Gow, George St Sydney, c1855, wearing a spotted double-breasted waistcoat and an enormous taffeta cravat. (Figure 22.3)

Figure 22.3 Unknown man of fashion, c1853, daguerrotype by American photographer James Gow, George St, Sydney (arrived Sydney 1853). Collection Peter McNeil. Photograph David Brazil. Courtesy Martin Kamer, Zug.

Gow had arrived in Sydney from San Francisco in 1853. Men who spent too much time with women and indulged in luxury and vices were connected in the colonial mind with the figure of the "cavalier servant," and such behavior was blamed for everything from failures of policing to the rise of homosexuality. Fashionable men who frequented the theaters of Melbourne in the 1860s were called "poodles" and some wore bright vermilion pomaded hair parted down the middle, white waistcoats and carried eyeglasses and umbrellas, even when they were not required.[51]

On the other hand, the colonial Australian gold rush saw the rise of large numbers of traveling salesmen and businessmen who required respectable but fashionable "business fashion" suits for long journeys in a country before railways. How did men on the Australian goldfields engage with fashion, and how was such fashion retailing structured for men? Melissa Bellanta argues that such men deliberately spurned top hats and swallow tail suits and wore instead short, loose-lined jackets (known as sacks in North America, the term was not used in Australia, jackets being described more by the cloth

from which they were made), narrow trousers, bowler hats, white shirts and patterned waistcoats, neckties, jewelery such as pearl tie pins, and natty facial hair. Such clothing can be observed in the Holtermann archive, a series of glass plate negatives of almost all the inhabitants of the gold mining area of Hill End (near Bathurst, New South Wales) and Gulgong, in which the images can be blown up to reveal minute details.[52] The prospectors on the goldfields wore fashionable hats and belts with utilitarian trousers, rather like rodeo or cowboy dress in the twentieth century. Photography is also proof, as argued by Ribeiro, that men's suits were often messy, creased and crumpled when worn in daily life, particularly those of working professionals such as the famous photograph by Robert Howlett of engineer Isambard Brunel (1857).[53]

Wilde Dress

The clothes of the *Ancien Régime* of eighteenth -century France and England have been a constant inspiration for men of subsequent ages. Eccentricity in English dress is a rich vein of cultural thought which positioned the "natural singularity" of famous individuals as expressing "a very British notion of liberty" and the English constitution.[54] Revivals of Georgian taste have varied as differently as the interest in colored gem-stone rings and fine silk waistcoats worn in the nineteenth century by aesthetes, to the New Romantic musical fantasies of the 1980s crafted by Vivienne Westwood for the flamboyant singer Adam Ant. French designers such as Jean-Paul Gaultier and John Galliano played creatively with this sartorial repertoire in the 1980s and 1990s. Men were offered clothing adorned with printed or woven flowers, which many people found feminine. It has been proposed by cultural historians that the verticality of such floral motifs suits the proportions of the dressed human body. Certainly, until the last decades of the eighteenth century, the woven and embroidered textiles for men's dress revolved around flowers and floriate forms, a fact that turns on its head the association of flowers with femininity.

The appearance of fashionable men was of particular interest within late-nineteenth-century Decadence, a cultural movement that privileged experience and modern aesthetics. The popularizer of Decadence, sometimes also called more politely the Aesthetic Movement, was Oscar Wilde, along with the artist James Abbot McNeill Whistler, and other writers, designers, and aesthetes of the time. Stafford argues that the *fin-de-siècle* Symbolists stand in a lineage from artist-theorists of the Romantic period such as David Pierre Giottin Humbert de Superville (1770–1849), who published a proto-semiotic theory in which "easily recognisable signs were charged with potential emotions" and in which concrete symbols whether they be faces, insignia or clothing "meant something."[55] Whistler sometimes wore in public white cotton trousers with a black overcoat, a "harmony in black and white" as Mortimer Menpes recorded.[56] Oscar Wilde was notable for his fur coats, gem-stone rings, and "loud" colored silk waistcoats. He had his hair curled regularly by a Parisian hairdresser. Wilde argued for a dress reform and a return to knee breeches rather than trousers and soft velvet suits. Although this daywear was not widely adopted by everyday men, for the space of the smoking room and the bedroom, well-to-do men embraced opulent smoking jackets made of materials as different as striped silk, Indian cashmere or the branded silks that covered cigar boxes and enjoyed wearing Turkish-style embroidered smoking hats and slippers. This was a ready-made exoticism which today would be viewed as cultural appropriation, but at the time was very much about a deliberate spurning of European bourgeois materialism. Eventually it would become the "bare foot luxury," a concept expressed by Italians in the 1960s–70s that

suggested that wearing Indonesian sarongs and even going shoeless and topless in a beach locale such as Bali was the most decadent fashion choice of all.[57]

In the late nineteenth century, avant-garde artists in Paris were already wearing second-hand clothes from two generations earlier, that they adopted to appear "bohemian." The fashionable and well-connected Australian artist Charles Conder picked up things from the flea markets in the 1890s in a deliberate attempt to insert himself into an older Paris ethic, as well as to economise: "When he had the means he would buy cheap clothes, cut according to some exaggerated fashion, past or present; when he had none he would gaze at them through shop windows, and regret the few francs that could transform him into a Marsay or a Rubempré" [characters from Balzac].[58] These would be Walter Benjamin's "memory traces" so fruitfully explored by Caroline Evans.[59] It is not dissimilar to more recent concepts of fantasy "in the re-presentation of the past" that might be found in readings of post-modern film, as it exceeds nostalgia, and is not simply re-creation. "Vintage" was fashionable well before our own time and might de-center time, place, and authority. It could be put to uses as different as Jimi Hendrix's wearing of nineteenth-century military uniforms or reinterpreted as Mick Jagger's infamous white "frock dress" (a version of a Greek man's *fustanella* designed by Michael Fish in 1969), which Michael Lankjaer argues placed Jagger in a Byronic and Romanticist tradition.[60] The transformative potential of vintage is captured in two lines from the New Zealand poem "In the Second Hand Clothes Shop" by Elizabeth Smithers: "Lounge lizards and ladies of the night/Have been here and gone off in disguise … ."[61] Rees-Roberts usefully links post 1960s vintage to an "aesthetic space" different from that of "realism and modernism" and to theoretical concepts surrounding representation: "the spatial realm of juxtaposition, heterotopias, and simultaneity" in postwar culture.[62]

Men's clothes, although they had lost the extreme mannerism and patterning of eighteenth-century court dress, retained an elaborate syntax of cut, tonal color, and texture. Tweed trousers for men were popularized after Sir Walter Scott wore what had been a shepherd's check in 1826. Summer fashion for urbane, wealthy men in the late-nineteenth century continued to be light and playful, often white with contrasting playful effects including painted floral waistcoats with designs such as blue hydrangeas, a flower popular within Decadence. Surviving garments include some with a boned construction which shaped the form of the male body.[63]

One consequence of the infamous Oscar Wilde trial of 1895, in which he was jailed for indecency, was that "Wilde … transformed dandyism into a vehicle for a homoerotic presence and a sexualized symbol of the Decadence."[64] Although it could be said that "anxiety" around the topic of men and their clothes heightened, the often-used "anxiety" is rather imprecise. Figures as diverse as the wealthy French connoisseur Boniface, Comte de Castellane (Boni de Castellane) or the American writer Tom Wolfe, clearly enjoyed their dandiacal clothing strategies and deployed them for celebrity purposes in periods as different as the 1920s and the 1970s and 1980s respectively.

Royals, Sport, Fashion, and War

Oscar Wilde was certainly not the only influence on fashions for men at the *fin-de-siècle*. Royalty continued to be of enormous interest and set many sartorial trends. When that great lover of pleasure, Edward VII, visited Marienbad incognito as the Duke of Lancaster, he was followed by tailors from Paris, Budapest, Vienna, and Berlin who photographed him and took notes about his clothes. Edward VII introduced many

novelties into men's fashion. For the countryside such as at Sandringham, he permitted an informal dress code. The Henry Poole ledger marked as "HRH 1865" is for an evening coat without tails, the first "dinner jacket." He is also credited with making fashionable the creased trouser in 1909 (his groom dried them with a board weight after heavy rain, resulting in the line), turned-up cuff trouser (after hitching his trouser bottoms at a dirty racing track) and, as his girth grew, undoing the bottom button of his waistcoat. The blazer is supposed to derive from a short garment with gold buttons worn by the crew of HMS Blazer in honour of Queen Victoria.[65] Early-twentieth-century British Labor politicians wore black suits, whereas Tories wore the more formal dress of black frock-coat, which was often worn with contrasting colored or finely striped trousers.[66] World War I shook part of the certainty of these dress codes forever, and in the process men's fashion was remade once again.

Sport and war might seem to be dissonant but many of the garments adapted for wartime use originated in elite sporting traditions. Throughout the last century all manner of garments, styles, and textiles from the riding, shooting, and golfing wardrobes began to be adopted for city and town, infiltrating even aspects of the city suit. Olivier Saillard calls the enormous transition from sportswear to towns-wear the "secularization of sportswear" and a "radicalization of urban dress, viewed through the prism of sports and simplification."[67] The first garment produced by the French horse-riding outfitters Hermès in 1925 was a deerskin, zip-up golf jacket, predating Elsa Schiaparelli's use of the zipper in women's clothes in the 1930s.

The rise of weekends, vacations, and the cult of sport among working people emerged strongly in the United States in the 1910s. The cult of the body upon which part of this was predicated has an older derivation. The Victorians—men and women—liked looking at photographs and paintings of nude men. Many men made a living by showing their bodies to the public; there was no such profession in the previous century. Nineteenth-century commentators argued that city culture debilitated its male youth and they developed a set of formalised body-work rituals in the place of manual labor. Physique magazines were pioneered by the Prussian-born body worker Eugen Sandow, and also functioned as pornographic stimulants. The men often had talcum powder applied to their bodies to make them appear smoother and whiter—just like a marble statue—and this continued in "jock" photos until the 1950s and 1960s. Nude images of Sandow could be found in the plutocrat homes of ladies' boudoirs in Newport, Rhode Island, at the end of the nineteenth century.[68] Sandow even toured Australia in 1905. A whole repertoire of new male professions emerged from this date: the physical athlete, boxer, professional strongman, physical culture instructor, model, and gymnastic instructor. A great many "body culture" periodicals appear from 1890s and on postcards after 1900. The famous Arrow shirt man in the United States, an invention of the illustrator Leyendecker, was called a "hunk of male magnificence" at the time.[69] France held a *concours de beauté plastique de Paris* in the 1920s. American President Woodrow Wilson had a "personal trainer," Abe Boshes, who was also famous for his semi-nude photo shoots around 1915. An Indian man was also celebrated at the time, Professor KV Iyer of Bangalore, famous for his semi-nude photoshoots and his commercial gym. These presented a striking image of the non-white ideal physique body. In contemporary gym culture, a Foucauldian reading sees the way in which "the energy of the fit body becomes not just an instrument, but also a precious sign of the individual's value."[70]

Hybrid forms, clothing innovations and newly developed synthetic fibres created a whole new domain of "casual wear" in the first half of the twentieth century. The jock

strap descends from the "bike web" invented by Charles Bennett in Britain in 1874 (riders were called "jockeys").[71] The term "sneaker" was coined in America to describe a croquet shoe with canvas upper and vulcanised rubber sole in 1875. Many clothing innovations emerged from the Olympic Games, first held in 1896. Futurist Thayat (Ernesto Michahelles) developed a one-piece men or boys' sports-suit in 1918 which resembles the later tracksuit, as a radical reworking of men's clothing and which is thought to be the first jumpsuit. German company Schiesser first introduced ribbed cotton underwear for men in the 1920s; they had a fly after WWII. The American company Jockey introduced the Y-front in 1935. The polo shirt came from India and was popularized by the tennis player René Lacoste, whose nickname "Alligator" provided its logo, in a honeycomb piqué weave, with a back longer than the front, from 1933. Golf sweaters from the Shetland Isles were popularized by the youthful celebrity the Prince of Wales. German Olympians popularized the anorak in 1936. US college or varsity wear, printed with symbols, spread the sweatshirt, tracksuit, and windbreaker around the world. Inter-war male wrestlers wore elaborate brocaded dressing gowns between fights; republished by *Vogue Italia* in 2004, such images reinforced the dandiacal offerings of Tom Ford.

More of the body was on show. It is significant that what we call the "frontier countries": Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and West Coast United States (California) developed new body cultures fundamentally linked to sports fashion.[72] Men began to slip down the straps of their bathing costumes, revealing more of the body: in the 1930s, Janzten suits came with "shouldaire strings" that could be removed altogether, and by 1935 Jockey retailed bathing trunks with no straps.[73] Scottish-born, Australian-based (from 1910) knitting-mill chief Alexander MacRae developed the "Speedo" knitted bather, worn by an Olympic champion in 1932. By the early 1960s Australian Peter Travis had designed the "budgie smuggler," a revealing trunk that sat on the hips rather than the waist, and had less drag in the water. Some were designed with co-ordinating shorts and open shirts that were redolent of the new California sports-fashions for men. Items of occupational dress, such as the white singlet in Australia and the black singlet in New Zealand (such sleeveless tops were originally woollen, and later cotton), shifted from their working-class association for sheep shearing and abattoir work to become sporting insignia by the 1920s. North Americans would call them a tank top, and they had earlier, striped counterpoints in nineteenth-century French oarsmen and 1930s Riviera wear. By the 1980s they were appropriated as part of erotic gay male casual attire in both countries when they were made shorter and tighter.[74]

The Crimean War (1835–1836) and the extreme cold of Southern Russia saw the rise of the full beard for men, the cardigan and balaclava for servicemen.[75] Thomas Burberry's gabardine trench coat of 1835 was only for informal, wet weather wear, but became iconic around the world after British soldiers wore a version of it with buckles and no buttons in the trenches of World War I. Burberry's ready-made water-proof coats, pea-jackets, and greatcoats were popularized with Army endorsements for their Naval Weatherproofs; other companies producing such clothes included the well-known brand Acquascutum. Such clothes were popular, Tynan argues, as they married War Office requirements with traditional concepts of country leisure.[76] Knitted socks, mittens, and mufflers were widely worn in the trenches of the Great War. The blouson was also worn first by soldiers, but it relates to the older lumberjack.

The "drab" color khaki (possibly derived from the Hindi/Urdu word for "dust," and indicating a wide range of colors from grey to brown), is meant to derive from a military

use in Peshawar, India, in the 1840s, when a British army officer bought up white cloth to make loose uniforms that were then washed in a muddy river to create camouflage.[77] The modernizing British Army moved away from red uniforms and adopted more practical khaki for the Boer War and World War I. The enormous production of uniforms in indicated in this statistic: in March 1916 British Parliament debated the provision of uniforms and declared that the normal provision was 1,900,000 but with the outbreak of war the figure was now 117,090,000.[78] To produce such enormous volume, civilian trades were "enlisted." Officers could have their own tailors make service dress, but regular army men also turned to tailors if they could afford it.

Boxer shorts as underwear (summer infantrymen issue) were introduced to the European mindset by American troops during World War II. Duffle (from the Belgian wool fabric *duffild*) coats were worn at the landing of the Allies in Normandy, June 6, 1944: the Inuit parka was worn by American troops in camouflage green. Khaki-colored clothes were popularized in the United States as "chinos" after they were worn by troops in the Philippines during World War II.

Innovations in fashion and new cultural understandings of masculinity often go hand in hand. For example, the material invention by Dupont of synthetic fibre Lycra (Spandex in the United States, elastane in Europe, invented 1958, widely used by the 1960s–1970s) is coincidental with the theoretical speculation of Roland Barthes, who in 1978 described the effects of gym going as a new "reflected culture of the body."[79] The convergence of sportswear and men's fashion was fruitfully explored in the Italian exhibition and publication *Human Game: Winners and Losers* at the Palazzo Pitti (2006), which connected sport with body or performance art and the work of 1960s–1970s figures such as Bruce Nauman and Vito Acconci. This account also indicates the significance of material and technological innovation in sports fashion across the twentieth century in changing both fashion aesthetics and masculine moods. The impact of sports fashions was transformed and amplified to global scale by the rise of Black youth culture in the United States from the 1970s, MTV video in the 1980s, rap music in the 1990s, and the internet in the 2000s. Basketballer Michael Jordan popularized a shaved head and loose shorts. Basketballer Dennis Rodman's bisexual queerness made dyed hair and make-up more visible for men in the mid-1990s.

Works by sociologists such as Ulrich Beck, author of *The Risk Society* (1992), and Frank Furedi, author of *Culture of Fear* (1997), argue that since the 1980s–1990s, the culture of risk management in Western society has super-charged a new culture of risk, in which everything from white-water rafting to extreme sports has engendered new practices and new looks. Adventure fashion brands such as Patagonia, the use of Velcro nylon (invented in Switzerland 1948), Gore-Tex (windproof polymer), the cult of sailing, DayGlo colors (fluorescent pigments made by the United States company)—originally designed for safety for workers—are all evidence of this trend.[80]

Despite the promise of freedom connected with sport and leisure, men's clothing for some is more and more regulated in the west, often by stealth. In the past two decades, many POPS ("privately owned public spaces," managed by landlords and developers) have proliferated. These vary from North American gated communities to enormous shopping centers such as the 42 acres of the United Kingdom's "Liverpool One." Their rise is linked to an increasingly draconian policing of dress. Items of clothing, particularly that worn by youth, are often connected to purported criminality and deviance by security firms, and simply banned. Prohibitions against the "hoodie" were famously imposed at the Bluewater Shopping Centre, Kent (UK) in 2005 and became even more

strongly associated with youth criminality during the British urban rioting of 2011.[81] Authorities saw the wearing of such clothes as a mechanism to evade identification or detection. The hoodie, often worn over a baseball cap (another prosthetic frame), not only shrouds the face of the wearer but also obscures the modern conception of dress as expressing individual identity. The word "hoodie" now means both a garment and a wearer. The hood has traditionally functioned as a source of protection from the weather and the elements, and it makes sense that poorer working-class youth might manage their thermo-regulation in that way. The Georgia Supreme Court ignored such clothing functions in 1990, citing a 1949 decision thus:

> public disguise is a particularly effective means of committing crimes ... From the beginning of time the mask or hood has been the criminal's dress. It conceals evidence, hinders apprehension, and calms the criminal's inward cowardly fear.[82]

Bubble Up

Collegiate style was embraced with remarkable global speed after World War II. Riveted blue jeans, patented by Levi Strauss in 1873, were widely worn in US colleges and are now one of the most common consumer items in any wardrobe. Yet 200 years ago cotton denim (made with a blue dye from Nîmes, hence "de Nîmes"; denim) was the attire of working men in the French and Flemish countryside. T-shirts are meant to derive from an incident when sleeves were sewn into sailor's undershirts so that Queen Victoria would not see their hairy underarms in 1890.[83] Worn as underwear and frequently displayed in the heat by American troops in World War II, the T-shirt has been recommended in sports-medicine journals as reducing the effects of "four physical factors: 'occlusion, heat, friction, and pressure'."[84] They were then worn for sports. Prominent Japanese businessman and politician Jirō Shirasu (Head of the Board of Trade in the post war period) wore Henry Poole bespoke suits for work but also embraced denim and white T-shirts for casual dress in Japan in the 1950s, looking markedly similar to many men today (figure). The son of an entrepreneur, educated in Cambridge, he is often described as the first prominent Japanese man to wear denim: he drove Bentleys as a student and later a Porsche.[85] A Japanese style icon, in the late 1970s, when he was approaching the age of 80, he modeled for the late Japanese designer, Issey Miyake.

This is the type of twentieth-century clothing style that Ted Polhemus calls "bubble up." He notes that the wearing of black leather "Perfecto" motor biker jackets (such as were made by Schott Brothers NY; in the United Kingdom, they were often called "Bronx" models) was worn as anti-fashion by young rebels and kids on the margins of society; only by the 1970s and 1980s did they become acceptable fashions and were worn by musicians of different genres and persuasion as an indication of "authenticity"—they also looked sexy and outsiderish.[86] The Ramones wore such jackets with too-small T-shirts, jeans ripped at the knees and tennis sneakers, establishing a fashion look that has survived for close to half a century. Rees-Roberts calls this clothing tactic an American "iconography of anti-conformism."[87] The leather jacket arrived in the United States firstly via wartime air force use, then motorcycle police wear: Harvey argues that the jacket worn by Marlon Brando in *The Wild One* (1953) is a parody of police wear.[88] The question of male dress and dissidence within mid- to late-twentieth-century culture is a complex one. In the 1950s, New York gender-fluid writer and bohemian activist Diane di Prima mixed with "junkies and jazz musicians ... drinking dykes [butch lesbians], thieves, hustlers and

confidence men in trench coats, runaways from the suburbs, dancers and musicians."[89] Her assembly wore "Levis and work shirts, made art, smoke dope, dug the new jazz, and spoke a bastardisation of the Black argot."[90]

Battling Consumerism: Punk and Grunge

To many readers, it is punk that most signals an attitude and a dress of deliberate rebellion; indeed, Andrew Bolton claims, "No other countercultural movement has had a greater or more enduring influence upon high fashion."[91] Punk emerged around 1974 and 1975 simultaneously in New York nightclubs and a London boutique; the American punk was more middle class and UK punk more working class in origin. English Punk Rock was an artful confection largely devised by the "Diaghilev of punk," Malcolm McLaren, using the anti-establishment strategies of the French Existentialists and the later Situationists that McLaren learned about in art school and with a Notting Hill group called "King Mob," as well as his meetings with the New York punk Richard Hell who tied his T-shirts together with safety pins. Whether making clothes from the black plastic-like cloth once worn by British rail porters (discovered in a warehouse) or designing T-shirts depicting Queen Elizabeth II with a safety pin through her nose, McClaren aimed to make "the perfect uniform for people" who were "battling the consumerist fashions of the high street."[92] Dysfunction in cities such as London also saw black and new bright-colored garbage bags pile up, fitting material for punk clothing experimentation. Second-hand jackets were sprayed by friends at car-paint shops. Westwood and McLaren's first shop, *Let it Rock*, firstly stocked 1950s vintage pieces such as brothel creeper shoes and drape jackets. The changing name of their business reflected their shift towards more insurrectionary aspects of society: *Too Fast to Live, Too Young to Die*; *SEX*; and *Seditionaries*: bondage trousers (based on "lunatic asylum" dress) and S&M corsets; and finally, *Nostalgia of Mud*: hobo and hillbillies dress. It is unusual in fashion history for people to be arrested for wearing particular clothes (women in trousers in nineteenth-century Paris and cross-dressers in Australia wearing women's underwear are examples). None of this went without notice: a man was arrested for wearing the Tom of Finland penis-hanging T-shirt in Piccadilly Circus and charged under an obscure 1824 *Vagrancy Act* for showing an obscene print in a public place. Police subsequently raided the Seditionaries boutique claiming that it was an indecent exhibition. Such clothes were often released strategically by McClaren to promote his band, The Sex Pistols and by 1976 a French music journalist called Westwood and McClaren "couturiers situationnistes."[93] In a strange twist, the plagiarist McLaren later encouraged police investigation of those pirating his and Westwood's early punk clothes.[94] The deliberate unpleasantness of Punk Rock has been valorised as authentic "empowering amateurism" of DIY culture, or representing the voice of the streets, or as music and behavior exploring "the poverty of the everyday," intra-generational hatred, as well as "the politics of boredom."[95] Bolton sees in it "agitprop," nihilism, infantilism and a "state of perpetual adolescence," with frequent use of childhood garments and accessories from the safety pin to infants' tartans and the school tie.[96] Richard Hell states that his punk hairstyle, often said to be based on that of the 1870s poet Arthur Rimbaud (called a "diabolical beauty" by his lover Paul Verlaine), was not derived from an artistic model but simply a conventional short-back and sides that had become untidy.[97] The band New York Dolls knew and wore Westwood clothes: their androgynous look surprised the public. Perennial punk references are found in the

very different designs for women and men of Rei Kawakubo, Junya Watanabe, Zandra Rhodes, Issey Miyake, Jean-Paul Gaultier, Katharine Hamnett, Gianni Versace, Stephen Sprouse, Marc Jacobs, Martin Margiela, Jeremy Scott, Gareth Pugh, John Galliano, Alexander McQueen, and Miguel Adrover.

The clothes associated with "grunge" (originally a form of music—Pacific Northwest garage rock and Seattle "Sea-Port Beat" of the 1950s–1960s, later youth music of the 1980s–1990s) entered the popular visual imagination via the albums and music videos of late-1980s bands such as Nirvana and its lead singer, Kurt Cobain, known for wearing lumberjack wool-checked shirts that college students had first appropriated in the 1950s. Jennifer Le Zotte points out that the latter appropriated the DIY and subversion of gender binaries (sometimes called "gender fuck") clothing strategies of groups such as The Cockettes, wearing a "jaded variation of drag," such as dirty hair, flannel shirts, punk accessories, and thrift store dresses with lumber boots, examples of clothing culture akin to 1980s bricolage in post-modern art and design.[98] Designers such as Marc Jacobs began to retail garments that were deliberately distressed, a strategy that Rei Kawakubo had embraced earlier and with a different intent. DIY ethos has its roots in older anti-fashion, pro-health or non-normative modes worn by extraordinary individuals: the Australian-born composer and folklorist Percy Grainger designed with his wife Ella his own incredible suits made from striped bath or terry towelling fabric in the mid-1930s; the suits were worn in private.[99]

Trickling Across: Androgyny and the 1960s

As well as bubbling up, fashion began to trickle across: "men and women could literally and symbolically enter each other's wardrobes and appropriate and experiment … ."[100] The dress worn by the Beatles was directed by their manager Brian Epstein (who was gay) to move their image away from 1950s delinquents towards a 1960s version of cool: neither leather jackets nor jeans, neither smoking nor drinking in public as they did at the outset: rather the high-buttoned skin-tight Beatles suit of 1964 (made by a London tailor who had worked for stars such as Cliff Richard), tight trousers, thin ties, Cuban-heeled boots, and their new, clearly styled Beatle haircut. The cut differed from their earlier, longer Teddy boy look, a new style that they had encountered in Germany, possibly influenced by the Jean Cocteau film *Orpheus* (1950), and therefore of queer derivation, as Gregg remarks.[101] One interviewer remarked: "But your funny hair-cuts aren't natural."[102] The Beatle look has been interpreted as gender-fluid by Gregg, who calls it a model of "erotic perfection," worn in opposition to the dominant North American casual menswear of the "preppy" look.[103] Beatles suits were also influenced by the designs of modernist Pierre Cardin and his Nehru-style jackets. They also stand in a relationship to the dress of the *Incroyables*: the Beatles could hardly sit down in their tight suits. Hardy Amies, late dressmaker to the current Queen, consulted on men's fashion designs for high street chain Hepworth in the 1960s stated: "Fashion today is to be classless in dress. The whole point is to be sexy."[104]

This was also not the pro-leftist gender equality described by Louise Wallenberg for 1960s Sweden and the unisex designs of Sighsten Herrgårdh: it was always clear from appearances that the Beatles were men.[105] All manner of small dandyisms were possible at the time: the 21-year-old Melbourne-London bi-sexual gallerist Sweeney Reed (formerly Tucker) refused in the 1960s to carry a wallet as it disrupted the line of his tight trousers and in turn had his bank notes ironed for his use.[106] The new focus on men's

hairstyling also contributed to the demise of men's hatting, which waned considerably in the 1960s: Kennedy wore a top hat to his Inauguration in 1961 but was almost always hatless. As Drake Stutesman remarks, "It was in the 1960s that for the first time since late Antiquity, women and men went bareheaded as a rule, not as an exception."[107] Hatlessness indicates a parallelism in men's and women's clothing since the 1960s which was less common before: unisex clothing for sport and leisure: the caftan and the unitard. Eugenia Paulicelli emphasises that as early as 1952, Italian designers such as Brioni and Angelo Litrico reintroduced bright color into the men's suiting wardrobe: red or purple for morning or evening jackets, even admixtures of blue and green created by the wool maker Cerruti, and the softer tailoring of the Neapolitan suit. She also points out that Italian film and films set in Italy spread the look to wide audiences: *Roman Holiday* was made in 1953.[108] *North by Northwest*, which made the man in the grey flannel suit famous (suits by tailor Quintino of Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles), was released in 1959, at the same time as the extended paper edition of Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. As Steven Cohan argues, the character played by Cary Grant (a well-known dandy in real life) can be interpreted within Goffman's concepts of "sign activity" and "impression management."[109] These attributes highlighted the "absorption of masculinity into consumerism" and "came to personify the corresponding conflation of substance and packaging."[110] In a commentary with roots in both Baudelaire and Simmel, Cohan argues that the "communication skills newly required for success in business" in post war North America "demanded a heightened sensitivity to outer appearances which in turn induced the 'business mind' to see social identity as a persona, or mask'."[111] Orrin E. Klapp wrote in 1962 of the contemporary United States "in our society we do not have, as one might at first suppose, freedom from typing but a choice of type."[112] Nikita Khrushchev was astonished on meeting Nelson Rockefeller in 1959 that "the biggest capitalist in the world … was dressed more or less like other Americans."[113]

The Warhol Effect

Moe Meyer's sparkling anthology *The Politics and Poetics of Camp* (1994) has reworked the lineage Susan Sontag established from the eighteenth-century aristocrat to the nineteenth-centurty aesthete Oscar Wilde to the twentieth-century urban homosexual. The world of artist Andy Warhol in the 1960s-1980s encapsulates much of this ethos. Warhol dictated a daily diary to Pat Hackett for many years for tax purposes from 1972. As well as listing his taxi, bell hop, and dining expenses, the diaries are littered—literally—with reference to the new body politics and dressing of the 1970s and 1980s, as well as contemporary art, artists, photographers, and celebrities, including Victor Hugo, Christopher Makos, Joe and Bobby Dallesandro, and Robert Mapplethorpe. Warhol loved the nightlife. His dairies describe in late 1977 Victor Hugo at Studio 54 wearing punk pants with a hole in them for his penis to hang through. In July 1978, Warhol designed a dress that was made up six upcycled dresses to wear to the fashion designer Halston's party. Barbara Allen came as a man in a jockstrap. At Studio 54 Warhol was surprised to be introduced to beautiful boys that he was told were called "butch"; guys weighing over 170 pounds and looking like a footballer. This is the body type that photographers Bruce Weber and Herb Ritts later captured in a spectacular way, and it is fascinating that Warhol had to struggle to find the words to describe this new body type. Weber has pointed out the influence of the sense of "non time" and

post-industrial settings in 1960s New British cinema on his oeuvre.[114] This was a period genuinely excited by the body that was on active, libertine display in the new nightclubs, bars, and sex clubs of metropolitan centers. Warhol documented the emergence of the "clone" at the new New York venue called The Saint, where everybody dressed alike in blue jeans, with no shirts, and mustaches.

Warhol's approach described perfectly what Rees-Roberts has called the "retromania" of the 1960s-1970s, a "'regime of visibility' articulated through the conjunction of design, image and label."[115] Warhol also prefigured contemporary commercial and artistic culture, for example, the branding strategies of menswear label Abercrombie & Fitch, a late-nineteenth-century outdoors-brand, rebranded after 2012, and directed at gay and gay-positive consumers. It used "overt homo-eroticism," shirtless greeters at store doors, hyper-masculine advertising reminiscent of Calvin Klein's designs and advertising in the 1980s, and "hypermediated retail environments" connected to "identity myths" in which the "customer co-creates and sustains the brand itself."[116]

In concluding with these comments on Warhol, we can say that lived fashion culture itself changed approaches to fashion history as much as what was being taught in the universities and published on academic presses. Non-academic sources such as periodical, newspaper and film, TV and music video programming provide both primary sources and valuable propulsion in this field, and the writing was often of a high standard in quality fashion press. Over the past 250 years, men's fashion has demonstrated certain consistent themes and trends. These include the consolidation of a template of dressing in which a suit jacket matched with trousers came to dominate formal dress. There was a strong a focus on class-based and etiquette-appropriate dressing in which accessories such as ties and hats were considered essential wear. Since the 1920s (so, over the past 100 years), there has been a marked emphasis upon sport, leisure dressing, and the cult of the masculine body. In the past 50 years there has been a premium on youth cultures, music-related fashions, and sub-cultural styles. Today a multiplicity of looks for men are possible: at the time of writing there is resurgence of claims that men might wear non-binary clothing in the future. Those who study contemporary fashion experience it for themselves. It is the hope of this piece of writing that some of the ways in which we can reactivate the clothing meanings and possibilities of the past have been demonstrated for our own times.

Notes

1 McNeil and Bellanta, "Letter From the Editors," 325–8.
2 Broadbent, "Fashioning a Colonial Culture," 19–20.
3 Two of these trade cards are known. One is in the National Gallery of Australia; the other, in the collection of the author.
4 Karskens, "Red Coat."
5 Broadbent, "Fashioning a Colonial Culture," 19–20.
6 McNeil, "Despots of Elegance," 235–48.
7 Hollander, *Sex and Suits*, 81.
8 McDowell, *Man of Fashion,* 46.
9 Jones, "George Washington."
10 Butts, "Every Garment Tells a Story," 70–1.
11 Karskens, "Red Coat."
12 Stafford, *Body Criticism,* 204.
13 Stafford, *Body Criticism,* 206.
14 Stafford, *Body Criticism,* 226.

15 The low-grade starch used for hair powder was not in fact generally edible.
16 Amman, *Dandyism,* 186.
17 Amman, *Dandyism*, 169–70.
18 McDowell, *Man of Fashion*, 73.
19 McDowell, *Man of Fashion*, 79.
20 Mansel, "Monarchy." See also Maxwell, *Patriots*.
21 Levitine, *Dawn of Bohemianism,* 65.
22 Langkjaer, "Rock Military Style."
23 Mansel, "Monarchy," 131–2.
24 Rose, *Making*, 61–3.
25 Barbey d'Aurevilly, *Du dandyisme*, 58.
26 Gronow, *Regency Recollections*, 157.
27 Amman, *Dandyism*, 163.
28 Quicherat, *Histoire du Costume,* 618. Author's translation.
29 Day, *Consumptive Chic*, 83.
30 Gronow, *Regency Recollections*, 105.
31 Gronow, *Regency Recollections*, 169.
32 Gronow, *Regency Recollections*, 186.
33 Gronow, *Regency Recollections*, 186.
34 Harvey, *Men in Black*, 32.
35 Ribeiro, *Clothing Art,* 349.
36 Clarke, "His Natural Life," 352–3.
37 Stafford, *Body Criticism*, 36.
38 Stafford, *Body Criticism,* 346.
39 Shanks, *Baudelaire: Flesh and Spirit*, 42.
40 Rees-Roberts, "Single Men," 196.
41 Mansel, "Monarchy," 127.
42 Aileen Ribeiro, *Clothing Art*, 345; on sobriety 275.
43 Harvey, *Men in Black*, 257.
44 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone*, 39.
45 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone*, 57.
46 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone,* 75.
47 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone*, 77; 79.
48 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone*, 78.
49 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone*, 81
50 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone*, 97.
51 Kemmis, "Men-Poodles," 13.
52 Bellanta, "Business Fashion," 190–1.
53 Ribeiro, *Clothing Art*, 346.
54 Amman, *Dandyism*, 166.
55 Stafford, *Body Criticism*, 41.
56 Ribeiro, *Clothing Art*, 352.
57 McNeil, "Emptying." See also Picard and Wood (eds), *Tourism.*
58 Rothenstein, *Life and Death of Conder*, 51.
59 Rees-Roberts, "Single Men," 194.
60 Langkjaer, "Case of Misconstrued," 111–19.
61 Labrum, "Hand Me Downs," 130.
62 Rees Roberts, "Single Men," 193.
63 *Man's Vest* (summer waistcoat), "Carette."
64 Meyer, *Politics*, 77. On the afterlife of Wildean dress see Janes, *British Dandies.*
65 Engel, *24-Hour*, 56.
66 Harvey, *Men in Black*, 228.
67 Saillard, "Fashion and Sports," 418–25.
68 Chapman, *Adonis*, no pagination in work.
69 McDowell, *Man of Fashion*, 105.
70 Sassatelli, "Fit Bodies," 259.
71 Vaccari, "Jock Strap," 290.

72 Camoletto, "Bodies at the Limit," 487.
73 Daley, "On the Beach," 162.
74 Gibson, "Engaging in Mischief," 206–21.
75 Tynan, *British Army Uniform*, 12.
76 Tynan, *British Army Uniform,* 128.
77 Tynan, *British Army Uniform*, 2.
78 Tynan, *British Army Uniform*, 74.
79 Vaccari, "Bodysuit," 27.
80 Cashmore, "Risk," cited in *Human Game*, 310.
81 Turney, *Fashion Crimes* and Kinney, *Hood.*
82 Simoni, "Who Goes There," 254.
83 Engel, *24 Hour*, 72.
84 Vaccari, "T-shirt," 146.
85 Sherwood, "Jiro Shirasu."
86 Polhemus, "Trickle down, Bubble up," 368.
87 Rees-Roberts, "Single Men," 199.
88 Harvey, *Men in Black*, 244.
89 Brady, "Stay Home, Stay Stoned," 15.
90 Brady, "Stay Home, Stay Stoned," 15.
91 Bolton, *Punk,* 13.
92 Gorman, cited in "Serious Mayhem," 21–2.
93 Savage, "Symbols clashing everywhere," 28.
94 Gorman, cited in "Serious Mayhem," 24.
95 Gorman, cited in "Serious Mayhem," 19.
96 Bolton, *Punk*, 12.
97 Hell, "'Punk' Couture," 19.
98 Le Zotte, "Connoisseurs of Taste," 374–6.
99 Leong (ed), *Man Style*, 90.
100 Paulicelli and Wallenberg, "Introduction," 2.
101 Gregg, "Sanitizing the Beatles," 26.
102 Gregg, "Sanitizing the Beatles," 26.
103 Gregg, "Sanitizing the Beatles," 29.
104 McDowell, *Man of Fashion*, 142.
105 Wallenberg, "Mago's Magic," 188.
106 Harding and Morgan, *Modern Love*, 297.
107 Stutesman, "Rite of Passage," 58.
108 Paulicelli, "Fashion, Film, and Rome," 100.
109 Cohan, "Spy in the Gray Flannel Suit," 52.
110 Cohan, "Spy in the Gray Flannel Suit," 52.
111 Cohan, "Spy in the Gray Flannel Suit," 54.
112 Cohan, "Spy in the Gray Flannel Suit," 56.
113 Kidwell and Christman, *Suiting Everyone*, 171.
114 Rees-Roberts, "Single Men," 194.
115 Rees-Roberts, "Single Men," 190.
116 Pierson-Smith and H. Hancock II, "A& F Brand/Story," 412; 416.

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