

Madras Fashion of the American Women's Costume in the Sixties*

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Abstract : This study aimed to explore how India madras fashion was diffused in the American women's costume of the different social levels from 1960 to 1975, by using fashion illustrations such as photographs, drawings and advertisements collected from fashion magazines. The purpose was to obtain data for high fashion (*Vogue*), mainstream fashion (*Mademoiselle*) and college newspapers for youth fashion. The data were incorporated from 439 clothing items classified by different categories over the 16-year period. The results indicated that the appearance of madras in the American women's fashion in all social classes supported the idea that fashion change during this period accompanied a concurrent change in social environment. In America during the 1960s when there was strong influence of youth counterculture and interest was high on Indian culture, this corresponded to the time of maximum popularity of madras observed in American fashion in general from 1965 to 1971. Though the Indian influence on fashion in the sixties was often ascribed solely to youth counterculture, it is evident that different social groups-high and mainstream social classes, responded to the appeal of Indian culture in different ways.

Key Words : Madras, American fashion, the Sixties, Indian influence

I. Introduction

One of the features of the American society in the sixties was the widespread fascination in Indian culture. The adoption of Indian cultural assets including clothing had been identified as a key element of the counter-culture. Some youth in the sixties turned to what they considered as a more natural way of life, often manifested in an interest in Eastern culture, including Indian costume styles (Nunn, 1984). Many costume

historians (Kemper, 1977; Bernard, 1978; Black and Garland, 1980; Russell, 1983) asserted that the spread of Indian influence through American culture followed a "trickle-up" diffusion pattern, beginning at the grass-roots level among young people and eventually reaching elite, high-status populations. They have also speculated the extent to which they were related to the cultural change of the same time period. However, there was only a few systematical research conducted on this subject using documents as primary sources.

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Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore how India madras fashion was diffused in the American women's costume of the different social levels from 1960 to 1975, by using actual documents of the period as primary sources.

Madras is a fine cotton fabric hand-loomed in a variety of plaided patterns that was produced in the Madras section of India. The term "bleeding madras" was often used in the sixties' American fashion due to the Indian vegetable dyes bleed when washed. Similar domestic fabrics produced to imitate Indian madras were shown in the American costume during this time period as well as the imported genuine madras fabrics.

A content analysis method was used to analyze the data obtained from the primary sources such as fashion magazines and university newspapers, to find out when madras appeared in American women's fashion. The content analysis instrument form was developed for systematic data gathering with predetermined categories of madras fashion. The results of the study were arranged by using seriation analysis ordering the frequency of each appearance chronologically for the entire period for different social levels including high, mainstream and youth.

II. Indian Influence on the 1960s American Culture

The Indian influence affected the 1960s American culture such as the adoption of Indian music, religions, philosophies and fashion. Mass media frequently covered popular musicians' interest in Indian culture and the American youth

enthusiastically imitated the Indian culture, thanks to the widespread influence of Indian popular music such as folk and rock and roll on the American culture. The Beatles have incorporated Indian elements into American rock and roll and their music contributed greatly to the youth culture. In the late sixties, the Beatles travelled to India to learn the techniques of one of the most popular Indian-originated religion called Transcendental Meditation with Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the founder of the International Meditation Society (The Rolling Stone, May 25, 1968, p. 6). George Harrison, one of the Beatles member, studied Indian music from Ravi Shankar, the famous Indian sitarist (Norman, 1981). Besides the Beatles, the Beach Boys (Miller, 1980) and Rolling Stones (Newsweek, December 18, 1967, p. 67) also took interest in the Indian religion such as Transcendental Meditation.

Indian influence was also found in the popularity of Indian music played by Indian players with instruments such as sitar, tambora, and tabla. Indian musicians toured many university campuses in America in this period. Ravi Shankar was the most popular Indian musician and made several appearances to American colleges during the late sixties. The Indian musicians always wore Indian costumes when they appeared on TV.

The rock groups such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones led the fashion in the sixties by making appearances wearing ethnic costumes. In particular, the popularity of the Beatles helped expose the public to a change in length of young men's hair from a crew cut in the fifties (Wilcox, 1958) to a Beatles haircut-a long bob for men, brushed forward toward the eyes-in the sixties

(Anspach, 1967; Roach and Eicher, 1973). The influence of Indian culture on these musicians was shown in their manner of dress (Dowley, 1983; Stokes, 1980; Yorke, 1976). Most of the young music fans imitated the celebrity's way of dressing in Indian costume fashion.

During the sixties, many Americans were also attracted to ideas derived from the tradition of Eastern religions. According to Cox(1977), a large number of people were involved to an extent unprecedented in American religious history. These religious and philosophical traditions included Hinduism from India, Tibetan Buddhism and Zen Buddhism from Japan. Many religions originated from Hinduism were established in the United States in the mid-sixties. Some of the major Hindu-related religions or philosophies embraced by American youth in the sixties were the Transcendental Meditation (often called TM), the Hare Krishna movement, the Divine Light Mission by Maharishi Ji, and many Yoga centers (Cox, 1977; Ellwood, 1979; Glock and Bellah, 1976).

The Transcendental Meditation was founded by guru Maharishi Mahesh Yogi in 1958. His teaching was based on Vedanta, the Hindu philosophy. The guru's organization, known as the Spiritual Regeneration Movement, established centers in the United States (*Time*, October 20, 1967, p. 86). In the late sixties and early seventies, some universities including the University of California, Los Angeles and Harvard University offered courses in the theoretical and practical aspects of Transcendental Meditation. The Hare Krishna Movement started when Hindu swami, A.C. Bhaktivedanta found the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in 1966 (Daner,

1975). During the late 1960s, Bhaktivedanta was seen giving lectures, dancing and chanting with his devotees who included counter-cultural leaders (e.g., Allen Ginsberg and Timothy Leary) and rock bands (e.g., Grateful Dead, Big Brother and the Holding Company) (Daner, 1974).

The Divine Light Mission founded by Maharaj Ji from India first appeared in the United States in 1971. By 1973, about fifty thousand Americans who were mostly between the age of 18~23 followed this religion from India (Christopher, 1975).

The followers of these Indian religions and philosophies introduced Indian costume, Indian music and Indian culture. In particular, the followers of the Hare Krishna Movement adopted the full Indian attire including dhotis for men and saris for women, just like their Hindu counterparts (*Newsweek*, April 1, 1974, p. 68). The use of madras fabric in American women's fashion can be seen as a reflection of the American cultural phenomenon taking great interest in the Indian culture. Thus, this study focused on examining the late 1960s and early 1970s cultural movement of the United States.

III. Research Method

Fashion illustrations like photographs, drawings and advertisements were used to examine India madras fashion in American women's costume from 1960 to 1975. Data related to high and mainstream fashion were collected from fashion magazines and college newspapers for youth fashion.

Periodicals were chosen to be used in this study because they are the best documentary sources available for the time period and relatively contain vast information. The fashion magazines used as primary sources were “*Vogue*” for high fashion and “*Mademoiselle*” for mainstream fashion.

College newspapers published at universities in the areas of Washington, D. C. and San Francisco/Berkeley were used to obtain data for youth fashion because fashion magazines for college students at this time did not published. The Washington, D. C. and San Francisco/Berkeley metropolitan areas were selected to represent the youth culture in the United States from 1960 to 1975. Many researchers agreed that the leadership of youth culture took place in the San Francisco and Berkeley area during this period (Cavan, 1972; O’Neil, 1971; Perry, 1970; Smith and Luce, 1971; Stickney, 1971). Thus, this place was chosen as an excellent source for gathering information. Washington metropolitan area was chosen for it was one of the major cultural centers in the United States and as it was home to several universities, like San Francisco and Berkeley. The university newspapers used were *Daily Californian* from the University of California at Berkeley, *Foghorn* from the University of San Francisco, *Golden Gate* and *Phoenix* from the San Francisco State University, *Diamondback* from the University of Maryland, *University Hatchet* from the George Washington University, *Hoya* and *George Town Voice* from the Georgetown University and *Tower* from the Catholic University of America.

The content analysis instrument was developed to obtain data and to record information using the

content analysis categories. This instrument provided information on the illustration or advertisement, which periodical it was from, the name of the object, the name of clothing item, price range, name of manufacturer or retailer, and the category based on the description-originated or attributed.

Description of each illustration and advertisement was analyzed and categorized into one of two groups-originated or attributed. Operational definitions were developed as follows:

Originated: An object was categorized as “originated” in India if the description overtly stated that it was imported from India. A style was also considered to have originated in India if the description indicated that it was a “genuine or authentic” Indian object. In those cases, the retailer’s name was recorded in the content analysis instrument form.

Attributed: An object was considered “attributed” to India if the description stated that it was in the Indian style made in the United States. When the object was categorized as “attributed” to India, the name of the manufacturer or retailer was recorded.

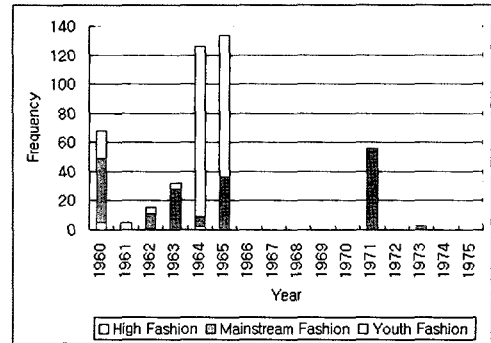
Most of the obtained data consisted of advertisements containing verbal descriptions of madras as well as illustrations which were mostly drawings rather than photographs. Therefore, a total of 439 illustrations and advertisements related to madras costume objects were used in the study.

IV. Results and Discussion

The results of the study were incorporated from

the 439 items classified by item categories over the 16-year period. Out of this data, 245 madras items were obtained from the university newspapers, 186 items from the mainstream fashion source, *Mademoiselle*, and 8 items from the high fashion source, *Vogue*.

The data was summarized in Table 1 in terms of the total frequency of madras from each fashion source and their attribution category (either 'originated' or 'attributed') for the period from 1960 to 1975. The results of an overall seriation were presented in the form of a bar graph which shows the total frequency of madras in all fashion sources for each year (Figure 1).



<Fig. 1> Madras in American Women's Costume from 1960 to 1975

<Table 1> Frequency of Madras in American Women's Costume

	High Fashion		Mainstream Fashion		Youth Fashion		Total
	O	A	O	A	O	A	
	1960	0	5	19	25	9	
1961	0	0	0	0	4	1	5
1962	0	1	3	7	2	2	13
1963	0	0	5	23	1	3	34
1964	0	2	3	4	116	1	124
1965	0	0	2	34	97	1	134
1966	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1969	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1970	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1971	0	0	5	51	0	0	56
1972	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
1973	0	0	0	3	0	0	3
1974	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1975	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8		186		245		439

<Table 2> Madras Fashion Items in American Women's Costume

	Item	High Fashion	Mainstream Fashion	Youth Fashion	Total	
Clothes	Shirts	2	51	43	96	
	Dresses	1	39	36	76	
	Skirts	0	27	32	59	
	Shorts	1	16	28	45	
	Jackets	0	9	11	20	
	Pants	0	13	3	16	
	Swimsuits	0	10	4	14	
	Suits	0	4	1	5	
	Coats	0	4	0	4	
	Culottes	0	3	0	3	
	Jumpsuits	0	2	0	2	
	Total	4	178	158	340	
	Accessory	Scarves	0	1	24	25
		Sandals	0	0	21	21
Belts		2	2	8	12	
Headbands		0	0	8	8	
Hats		0	3	0	3	
Bags		0	2	0	2	
Accessories		2	0	26	28	
Total		4	8	87	99	
Total	8	186	245	439		

Table 2 shows the frequency of the clothing items made of madras appeared from 1960 to 1975. A total of seventeen madras clothing items were found in American women's fashion. These items include shirts (Figure 2), dresses (Figure 3), skirts, shorts, jackets, pants, swimsuits, suits, coats, culottes, jumpsuits, and accessories like scarves, sandals, belts, headbands, hats and bags. The items were included in the category of "accessory" in

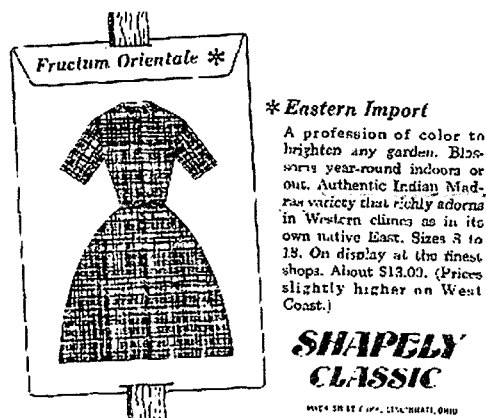
which they were described just as "accessory" using madras in the primary sources, without providing any specific name of clothing item.

1. The Trend in Madras Fashion Appearance

The distinctive trends were observed generally in the two time periods: 1960 to 1965 and 1970 to 1973 (Figure 1). The introduction of madras unique to these two time periods may have been unrelated to each other. Madras in American women's costume appeared in the period between 1960 to 1965. Although considerable fluctuation in the total frequency was noted over a given period of time, the peak periods of madras in women's fashion were from 1964 to 1965. This suggests that some India madras already existed in the early sixties and they became more frequent in the mid-sixties, due to the potential influences from the youth counterculture's interest in Indian culture. The appearance of madras only in the mainstream fashion later on from 1970 to 1973 may be explained as a revived fashion style as the Indian culture continuously absorbed into the American mainstream culture throughout the early seventies.



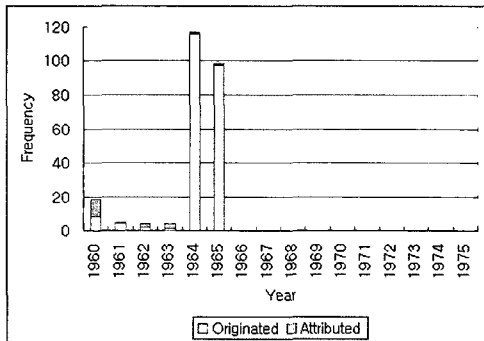
<Fig. 2> Madras shirt(Mademoiselle, Feb. 1960, p. 44



<Fig. 3> Madras dress(Mademoiselle, Feb. 1965, p. 159)

1) Madras in Youth Fashion

Madras appeared in youth fashion between 1960 to 1965 (Figure 4). The peak period was 1965 that may be directly related to the Indian-oriented youth counter-cultural behavior which emerged during the same period. As shown in Table 2, twelve madras items were found in youth fashion. Although the kind of item was slightly lower than that of the mainstream fashion, the total frequency

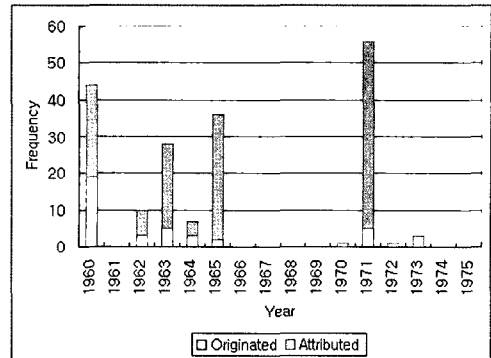


<Fig. 4> Madras in Youth Fashion from 1960 to 1975

of madras in youth fashion was much higher than both mainstream and high fashion. It was noted that madras fashion was more prevalent in youth during the time period studied in every aspect of costume including clothes and accessories. The frequent items appearing in youth fashion were shirts, dresses, skirts, shorts, scarves and sandals. The number of accessories made of madras fabric were higher in youth fashion than in mainstream and high fashion. Moreover, madras sandals and headbands were found only in the youth fashion. These items may be considered as a youth counter-cultural fashion items of the sixties. Figure 4 shows the highly-concentrated imported items within the youth fashion during the entire said period. The price of madras items in youth fashion was significantly lower than those of mainstream and high fashion. At the same time, the simple level of authenticity was perceived in the madras clothing styles adopted by college fashion since most items were made in India.

2) Madras in Mainstream Fashion

Although a considerable fluctuation in the total frequency was noted over a given period of time,



<Fig. 5> Madras in Mainstream Fashion from 1960 to 1975

the peak periods of madras in the mainstream fashion were between 1965 to 1971 (Figure 5). This suggests that madras already existed during the early sixties and became more frequent during the mid-sixties and early seventies due to the potential influences from the youth counterculture's interest in Indian culture. As shown in Table 2, fifteen madras items were found in mainstream fashion which was more than the youth and high fashion. The items appearing in mainstream fashion include shirts, dresses, skirts, shorts, jackets, pants, swimsuits, suits, culottes, jumpsuits, scarves, belts, hats and bags. The total frequency of madras in mainstream fashion was much higher than the one in high fashion and slightly lower than in youth fashion. Overall, the mainstream fashion showed more variety and number of madras items than high and youth fashion .

In the attribution category, the results were contrary between the mainstream and youth fashion. The number of items made in America was four times higher than the imported items, whereas in the youth fashion most items were

imported from India. This result indicates that madras was adopted as one of the American mainstream fashion style at the same time when Indian culture influenced the American society in general.

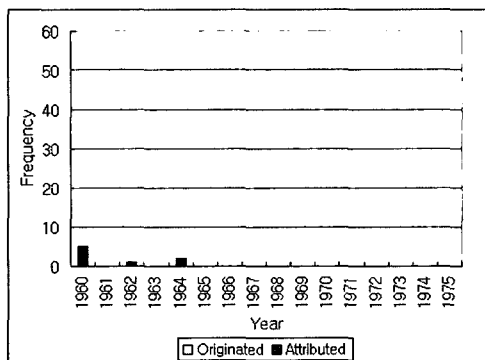
3) Madras in High Fashion

A mere 2% out of the total frequency of madras items was found in the high fashion in the sixties (Figure 6). Furthermore, madras appeared between the period of 1960 to 1964. This implies that the Indian-oriented youth counterculture has very little effect on the appearance of madras in the high fashion.

Only four madras items-shirts, dresses, shorts and belts-were found in the high fashion. In the attribution category, all madras items were made in America attributed in India. Therefore, it may be speculated that the popular madras fashion in the mainstream and youth fashion during this time period has diffused into the high fashion in a very limited way.

2. Madras Fashion Items

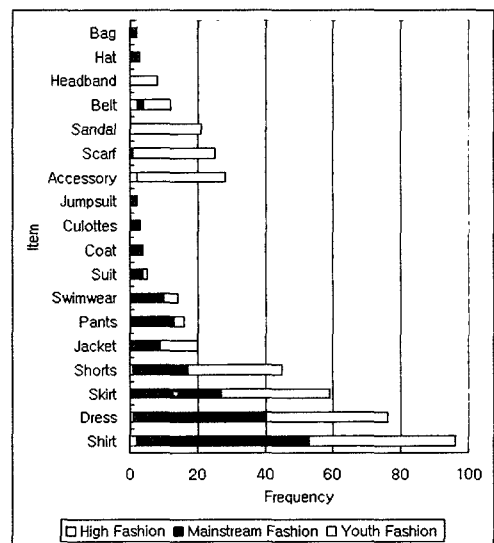
It was found that madras appeared in a variety of



<Fig. 6> Madras in High Fashion from 1960 to 1975

clothing items including accessories (Figure 7). The seventeen madras fashion items were classified into three groups in order to discuss their distinctive characteristics (Table 3). The first group (Group 1) consisted of the items which were unique to a single social class; the rest are classed either as the items which appeared in any two social classes (Group 2) or the items common to all social classes (Group 3).

The items unique to a single class (Group 1) included coats, culottes, jumpsuits, hats and bags in mainstream fashion, and headbands and sandals in youth fashion. The most variety in madras items were in mainstream fashion because of its tendency to feature many different items. Headbands and sandals made of madras fabric were found only in the youth fashion sources and they stayed for a relatively short period. Furthermore, the frequency of the items unique to a



<Fig. 7> Madras Fashion Items in American Women's Costume

<Table 3> Madras Items in American Women's Fashion

Group	Item	High Fashion	Mainstream Fashion	Youth Fashion
1	Coats		×	
	Culottes		×	
	Jumpsuits		×	
	Hats		×	
	Bags		×	
	Headbands			×
	Sandals			×
2	Skirts		×	×
	Jackets		×	×
	Pants		×	×
	Swimsuits		×	×
	Suits		×	×
	Scarves		×	×
3	Shirts	×	×	×
	Dresses	×	×	×
	Shorts	×	×	×
	Belts	×	×	×

Group 1: Madras Items Unique to Single Social Classes
 Group 2: Madras Items Appeared in Two Social Classes
 Group 3: Madras Item

single social class was minimal. Therefore, these items may be considered as fads.

The items which appeared in the sources from two social classes (Group 2) were found only in mainstream and youth fashion sources. The items found in mainstream and youth fashion sources include skirts, jackets, pants, swimsuits, suits and scarves. This may suggest the close relationship between these two social classes. Moreover, the suggestion can be made to explain the fashion process of these items in which the diffusion of these madras items flowed upward from the youth subculture to mainstream society.

Group 3 consisted of four items common to all

social classes like shirts, dresses, shorts and belts. As seen from this list, madras fashion reflecting Indian influence was prevalent in women's fashion sources and college newspaper during this time period in clothing items such as shirts, dresses, skirts and shorts. Madras shirts found in this study included blouses and smocks. Moreover, it was noted that the madras items found in the high fashion were very minimal in terms of number and variety. The items found in high fashion-shirts, dresses, shorts and belts-were also found in the mainstream and youth fashion. Although, there were some differences between the items found in the high fashion and other fashion sources in terms of attribution. Most of the items in the youth and mainstream fashion sources were imported from India, unlike in the high fashion source, in which all items were made in America. This finding may demonstrate the possible upward fashion diffusion from the youth and the mainstream to high class because madras originally came from India.

In summary, Indian influences appeared in many aspects of clothing including clothes and accessories, in the sources from all social levels. However, the duration and item differs in many ways among the sources from the different social system. The result of the content analysis indicated that the mainstream and youth fashion source showed more variety of madras fashion and more frequently than the high fashion source. The investigation of these differences and similarities in clothing behavior among the media from the different social system can explain the cultural implications of the Indian influences and the fashion diffusion processes particular to the period

from 1960 to 1975.

The wide adoption of madras in the media from all social levels in the sixties supported the concept that fashion change can be explained in relation to the concurrent change in the social environment, even though the degree of madras fashion varied in the sources of different social levels. Adopting an unconventional design can result from social disturbance which alters the lifestyle of individuals. This result showed that a greater variability in female dress was noted during periods of social turmoil or confusion.

3. Attribution Category

As shown in Table 1, there were apparent differences in attribution category between the sources from different social levels. Among the total 245 items found in youth fashion, 229 items (93.5%) originated in India and the remaining 16 items (6.5%) consisted of attributed items. Also out of 186 items found in mainstream fashion, 149 items(80.1%) originated in India and the remaining 37 items(19.9%) consisted of attributed items. In contrast, all high fashion madras items were made in America and therefore attributed in India.

Definite differences were also found among the madras items of different social levels, in terms of the degree of cultural authenticity and price range. The designs shown in the high fashion items were the most elaborate and highly priced, whereas the same designs shown in youth fashion were characterized by their low prices. In incorporating Indian designs into the contemporary American fashion, the degree of cultural authenticity varied between social systems. The designs found in the

high fashion were transformed considerably and substantially in form and meaning, whereas the simplest level of cultural authentication was perceived in the designs which were directly imported in youth and mainstream fashion.

V. Conclusions

The results of the study indicated that the appearance of madras in American women's fashion in all social classes supported the idea that fashion change during this period accompanied a concurrent change in social environment. These unconventional styles reflected the social disturbance or confusion of the sixties which altered the lifestyles of individuals across many social strata. Between the late sixties and early seventies in America, there was a strong influence of youth culture and high interest in Indian culture. This corresponded to the time of maximum popularity of madras observed in American fashion in general from 1965 to 1971.

Though the Indian influence on fashion in the sixties and the early seventies was often ascribed solely to youth counterculture, it is evident that different social groups-high and mainstream social classes-responded to the appeal of Indian culture in different ways. First, the Indian madras appeared in the mainstream fashion source showed in a greater variety and for a longer period than those in the youth and high fashion source. And the youth fashion wore madras more frequently and for a period longer than in the high fashion. Second, the madras styles shown in the high fashion were more elaborate and highly priced whereas the youth

fashion were mostly imported from India and characterized by their low price. The madras styles shown in the mainstream fashion were in between youth and high fashion, in terms of their price and elaboration. Finally, the degree of cultural authenticity varied between them in incorporating madras styles into the contemporary American women's fashion. The styles found in the high and mainstream fashion were more considerably and substantially transformed in form and meaning.

In addition, this study supported the belief that the American fashion among different social classes in the sixties reflected the contemporary social movements.

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