

ANGLICA

An International Journal of English Studies

27/1 2018

EDITOR

Grażyna Bystydzieńska [g.bystydzienska@uw.edu.pl]

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Martin Löschnigg [martin.loeschnigg@uni-graz.at]

Jerzy Nykiel [jerzy.nykiel@uib.no]

Marzena Sokołowska-Paryż [m.a.sokolowska-paryz@uw.edu.pl]

Anna Wojtyś [a.wojtys@uw.edu.pl]

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Magdalena Kizeweter [m.kizeweter@uw.edu.pl]

Katarzyna Kociołek [kkociolek@uw.edu.pl]

Przemysław Uściński [przemek.u@hotmail.com]

ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDITOR

Barry Keane [bkeane@uw.edu.pl]

ADVISORY BOARD

Michael Bilynsky, University of Lviv

Andrzej Bogusławski, University of Warsaw

Mirosława Buchholtz, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń

Edwin Duncan, Towson University

Jacek Fabiszak, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Jacek Fisiak, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Elżbieta Foeller-Pituch, Northwestern University, Evanston-Chicago

Piotr Gąsiorowski, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Keith Hanley, Lancaster University

Andrea Herrera, University of Colorado

Christopher Knight, University of Montana,

Marcin Krygier, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Krystyna Kujawińska-Courtney, University of Łódź

Brian Lowrey, Université de Picardie Jules Verne, Amiens

Zbigniew Mazur, Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin

Rafał Molencki, University of Silesia, Sosnowiec

John G. Newman, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley

Michał Jan Rozbicki, St. Louis University

Jerzy Rubach, University of Iowa

Piotr Ruszkiewicz, Pedagogical University, Cracow

Hans Sauer, University of Munich

Krystyna Stamirowska, Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Merja Stenroos, University of Stavanger

Jeremy Tambling, University of Manchester

Peter de Voogd, University of Utrecht

Anna Walczuk, Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Jean Ward, University of Gdańsk

Jerzy Welna, University of Warsaw

GUEST REVIEWERS

Teresa Bela, Jagiellonian University, Cracow

Bartłomiej Błaszkievicz, University of Warsaw

Anna Branach-Kallas, Nicolaus Copernicus University, Toruń

Małgorzata Grzegorzewska, University of Warsaw

Paweł Jędrzejko, University of Silesia, Sosnowiec

Janusz Kaźmierczak, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Agnieszka Kotwasińska, American Studies Centre, University of Warsaw

Anna Krawczyk-Laskarzewska, University of Warmia and Mazury, Olsztyn

Zuzanna Ładyga-Michalska, University of Warsaw

Ewa Łuczak, University of Warsaw

Dominika Oramus, University of Warsaw

Marek Paryż, University of Warsaw

Wit Pietrzak, University of Łódź

Paweł Stachura, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań

Mikołaj Wiśniewski, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Warsaw



UNIVERSITY
OF WARSAW

Katarzyna Kociolek

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4222-1077>

University of Warsaw

London's Suffragettes, *Votes for Women*, and Fashion

Abstract

Suffragettes' militant campaigns for voting rights are commonly dissociated from fashion, yet, in fact clothing and accessories were widely used by Emmeline Pankhurst and her fellow activists to gain visibility and increase public support for the suffrage movement. As commented by Katrina Rolley (1990), the suffragettes were frequently confronted with unfavourable representation of themselves in the press. Yet, thanks to their distinctive use of fashion, as observed by Paula Bartley (2002), the so called "Coronation Procession" held on 17 June 1911 in London was "one of the most colourful and spectacular of all the women's suffrage demonstrations" (122–123). Because there is little research on the importance of fashion in public space and the relationship between fashion and the women's movement, the objective of the article is to show how sartorial practices of suffragettes countered their negative representation in the press. By applying elements of Cognitive Metaphor Theory to selected political cartoons by William Kerridge Haselden in the *Daily Mirror*, and fashion advertisements in *Votes for Women* magazine, the article demonstrates that the suffragettes used fashion in order to both increase their public visibility and to conform to normative femininity.

Although some fashion theorists and historians point to a symbolic nature of specific garments e.g. "suit as a symbol of power" (Kaiser 137), or hats as "potent symbols of masculine identity" (Crane 2000, 103), a metaphor seems a far more accurate concept to refer to the signification of both individual garments and complex attires. While it is likely that any item of clothing may attain the status of a symbol once its presence in a given cultural context is sufficiently stable and its meaning unambiguous, in fact most garments rarely become symbols in the cognitive/linguistic use of the term. Moreover, the treatment of garments as symbols demands that there exists a prior, agreed, and arbitrary relationship between a given item of clothing (signifier) and its symbolic meaning (signified), which is rarely the case in fashion. Instead, individual, and collective sartorial practices resemble metaphorical utterances, which are culturally and context specific, might be unambiguous to a cultural insider but also profoundly confusing or at

best meaningless to a viewer having a different cultural background. Following Lakoff and Johnson's classification of linguistic metaphors these could be termed "conventional metaphors" (139). Yet, in fashion as in language there also exist "metaphors that are imaginative and creative" (Lakoff and Johnson 139), which, like verbal metaphors, help to shed some new light on specific experiences and circumstances. Individual dress styles, or subcultural dress codes might be seen as examples of such new metaphors, which provide "an organisation of important [...] experiences that [...] conventional conceptual system does not make available" (Lakoff and Johnson 141). The treatment of garments as symbols also often leads to an unjustified oversimplification of their meanings. For example, a corset which is frequently interpreted as a symbol of female oppression in the 19th century Western society (Entwistle 162), when regarded as a spatial metaphor produces radically different connotations. If viewed as an item that controls, shapes and limits the body it becomes metaphorically linked to physical and moral uprightness of the 19th century women, for whom the wearing of the corset ensured respectability.

Fashion has long been used as a normalising agent, and the link between high moral standards, social status and appropriate attire, which became particularly firmly established in the 19th century, prevailed well into the mid-twentieth century. Especially female fashion became the site of intricate signification. Thanks to abundant advice literature, women were trained to both mark and discern their gender as well as social identity through clothes. Both excessive care about visual appearance and failure to create a sufficiently groomed and feminine self may have resulted in social ostracism. Not surprisingly, political satire of the first wave of feminism draws on feminists' omissions to present themselves as "normal" women. Such omissions are often hinted metaphorically by specific dress or garments, identifiable as feminist gear, which endow the represented female activists with male attributes and render them as grotesque. The application of the Cognitive Metaphor Theory to the study of these illustrations allows to decode some meanings attached to garments and helps to understand how gender identity is constructed through dress.

According to Charles Forceville (2006) the power of visual metaphors, which he studied on the example of advertising, lies in the associational relationship between A (the image) and B (the concept). That is to say, when B is associated with a specific imagery, it acquires new meanings, including the ones that are inherent in A. Applying this formula to satirical representations of suffragettes, one can identify the depicted irregularities of fashion (i.e. violations of sartorial norms of that period) as A, which conveys B – the abnormal female. The aim of the paper is to demonstrate the importance of fashion in the creation of suffragettes' identities. Because there is little research on the relationship between fashion and the women's movement, with Elizabeth Wilson commenting mainly on the second wave feminism vestimentary habits, my objective is to show how sartorial representations and self-representations of the British suffragettes served

the purpose of building negative and positive representations alike. Therefore, the article examines both the political cartoons, which ridiculed suffragettes by depicting them in specifically stylised clothing, and the suffragettes' use of dress to convey their sense of self-respect and independence.

1. Political Cartoons: Metaphors of Insanity, Abnormality and the Unfeminine

According to Katrina Rolley (1990, 63) suffragettes were often depicted in the media as unfeminine and so dismissed by the mainstream culture as not representative of all women in the society. This negative stereotyping of suffragettes in the media served the purpose of alienating other women from the feminist cause. As a result, the press diminished the impact of their actions on the rest of the female population "declaring the suffragettes unnatural freaks ('Others') dissociated them from the contemporary ideology of feminine and left it intact" (63). As observed by Rolley, while the Edwardian society cherished the matronly ideal of femininity that was defined by a woman's relation with her husband and children, suffragettes often chose to stay unmarried, which would undermine their social position (Rolley 49–50). In recognition of the fact that to become successful they should avoid marginalisation, suffragettes were particularly keen to assert their place within mainstream ideal of the feminine.

The following part presents an analysis of selected cartoons depicting suffragettes, in which dress is used as a metaphor of insanity, abnormality and the unfeminine. The cartoons selected from the *Daily Mirror* and presented below, seem to be aimed at restoring traditional gender roles, by presenting unfavourable images of suffragettes and single women, who are often contrasted with images of or values represented by married women or by mothers. The clothing used in these images is meant to reinforce positive associations connected with marriage and motherhood while at the same time to show single women as aggressors, plotting "female 'invasions' and the 'swamping'" of men (22).

The cartoon by W. K. Haselden from the *Daily Mirror* (15 April 1907) entitled "The revolt of the dove" (Fig. 1) presents several scenes featuring women's relations with men. The top left corner one is separated with a curved line from the remaining five and is meant to represent a traditional male-female relationship, in which a passive and immobilised by her crinoline, young woman is totally submissive to a dominating man, possibly her elderly husband. Such reading of the image is assisted by a speech bubble above the female figure, which reads "Yes, dear. No, dear. I agree with you dear." The remaining scenes show a new and threatening woman, whose liberated self is also metaphorically represented by her clothes. The modern woman is no longer wearing frilled dresses but instead sports a blouse and an A-shaped skirt. Also, unlike the woman in the first scene, she is shown in motion, threatening men with a poker and a hatpin, punching



Figure 1: Reproduced by permission of Mirrorpix

or grounding them. In these verbo-pictorial metaphors fashion serves the role of emphasising the message about new women's aggressiveness communicated by such captions as "Don't you answer me!," "Don't dare to come home late again!" As the comic effect seems to rest on exaggeration, the hyperbole is most evident in the relationship between the picture of a suffragette wielding a rapier-like weapon, and the line: "Get off the earth or I'll stick you with my hatpin!" This seems to indicate a semantic transformation of a hat pin from a decorative feminine accessory to a signifier of women's empowerment and violent behaviour of woman suffrage activists.

Likewise, the cartoon entitled "Effects of 'votes for women' – upon Women's faces [on reverse]" (W. K. Haselden, *Daily Mirror*, 15 December 1910) represents suffragettes as failing to conform to ideals of female beauty and as such the

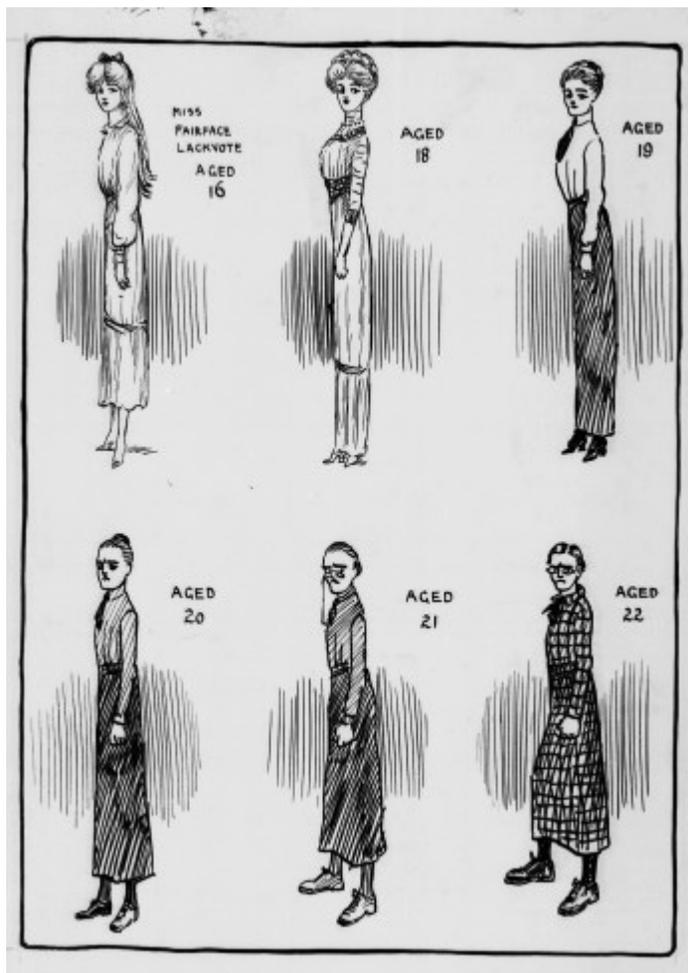


Figure 2: Reproduced by permission of Mirrorpix

image is clearly meant to deter women from participating in “Votes for Women” suffrage campaigns (Fig. 2). The verbo-pictorial metaphor on which the meaning of the cartoons rests establishes a direct connection between involvement in the suffrage movement and gradual deterioration of female appearance. The change of facial expression of the represented participant is accentuated by increasingly less feminine clothes that she is wearing. In other words, in the cartoon the bodily transformation of an enfranchised woman is accompanied by a radical change of fashion. While the 18-year old Miss Fairface Lackvote is wearing a bust-enhancing dress with frills and pointed heels, when aged 19 and 20 she is already sporting a tie, and at 22 she is dressed in a tartan smock-like dress and laced flats. The tartan as well as men’s shoes connote aggressive masculinity that is devoid of feminine charm. These masculine dress elements when combined with glasses



Figure 3: Reproduced by permission of Mirrorpix

(aged 21 and 22) seem to connote old age rather than sophistication or experience, as is a gradually stooping silhouette. In the cartoon dress clearly functions as a metaphor that conveys ideas about the newly enfranchised woman, who is less attractive, but physically stronger and more determined (clenched fist), as well as far more serious than her disenfranchised predecessor.

Equally disdainful of suffragettes and the Votes for Women campaign is W. K. Haselden's cartoon "Female heroism in ancient and modern times [on reverse]," (Fig. 3) published in the *Daily Mirror* on 27 February 1913. The cartoon is divided into panels of equal size, with those on the left-hand side representing "Ancient Heroines" and those on the right-hand side depicting "Modern Heroines." Based on Forceville's categorisation of metaphors, the cartoon may be regarded as featuring a verbo-pictorial metaphor, for the meaning of the cartoon depends

on the connection between the embedded text and the image. Like in most other representations of women in political satire, also here dress seems to set the boundary between the acceptable and the transgressive feminine identities. The “Ancient Heroines” can be recognised not only through the labels used by the cartoonist, such as “The Roman matron,” “Joan of Arc,” “Boadicea,” but also largely thanks to their clothes, which reflect the heroines’ most common iconographic depictions. More importantly, the pictorial representations of the three ancient heroines clearly evoke the dominant Edwardian approach to womanhood by strongly accentuating their feminine identity. The Roman matron embodies maternal femininity, which according to Katrina Rolley, prevailed in the first decade of the 20th century and was deemed to be not only every woman’s individual vocation, but most importantly British women’s patriotic duty to ensure the rise of new generation of Britons, offering “the cheapest and least disruptive solution to Britain’s problems” (Rolley 49). The looming threat of the impending fall of British Empire, unrest in Ireland and the economic decline called for the need to restore order, so as noted by Rolley, the incumbent ideology of motherhood placed greater emphasis on mothers’ presence in the life of infants and firmly relegated women to their domestic settings. The suffragettes, according to Rolley, subverted this mainstream notion of femininity, not only by campaigning for “an extension of women’s ‘natural’ or designated sphere of influence” (50), but also by refusing to embrace their maternal role and instead conquering and reclaiming “male public space” (50). The suffragettes’ adoption of violence and their manliness is juxtaposed to Joan of Arc’s “dainty” figure, who despite being armoured, features a wasp waist, or Boudicca, whose long loose hair are trailing behind her when she is speeding in a chariot. While the stout firm figure of the Roman matron, the wasp waist of Joan of Arc and Boudicca’s hair are metonyms of dominant Edwardian femininity, the simplistic representation of suffragettes dressed in shapeless, nondescript clothing metaphorically connote lack of any individual characteristics and hence deprive suffragettes of subjectivity. The derogatory names “Miss Crankhurst,” “Miss Joan Arson,” “Mrs Hammer-glass” on the right-hand panels are attached to depersonalised images of three identically-looking and identically-attired suffragettes. Clad in an ankle-length, A-shaped skirt, oversized headgear, and *Votes for Women* sash, the suffragettes are shown as violently attacking men and property – knocking down a policeman, setting fire to a house and breaking window with a hammer. The women’s aggressive behaviour, unflattering postures as well as their suffragettes’ ‘costumes’ are clearly combined to pictorially denote aberrant and transgressive femininity, for as commented by Rolley, “such actions presented a fundamental challenge to dominant definitions of what women were and what they could do” (50).

2. Emmeline Pankhurst: Politics and Fashion

Because suffragettes were depicted in the political satire as unfeminine and unfashionable, their militant campaign for voting rights would become commonly dissociated from fashion. As commented by Rolley in the aftermath of suffragettes' militant actions political cartoonists were adamant to stress their unwomanly characteristics, in this way trying to discredit their femininity and deter other women from becoming involved in the suffrage movement. Notorious depictions of the WSPU (The Women's Social and Political Union) activists as unattractive and badly dressed women, who neglect their womanly duties and poorly perform as mothers or wives, undoubtedly motivated the suffragettes to look smart. Therefore, contrary to the press misrepresentation, clothing and accessories were widely used by Emmeline Pankhurst and her fellow activists to gain visibility and increase public support for the suffrage movement. Pankhurst's elegant and stylish personal appearance as well as deliberate use of clothing and costumes during protests and marches may be viewed as a direct response to these negative representation of the suffrage movement by the media.

Already quite early in her childhood did Pankhurst realise the importance of dress in politics. When recalling the first election after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1867 in her autobiography *My Own Story*, Pankhurst reminisces about how she used the new identical dresses that she and her sister were wearing that day to support the Liberal party. The dresses were green, and following the fashion of the time, had to be worn over red petticoats. On discovering that they were sporting the colours of the Liberal party "I was struck with that fact that we were wearing red and green – the colours of the Liberal party" (8), which their father supported, Emmeline devised a way of encouraging Liberal votes by turning herself and her younger sister into Liberal party badges. After arriving at the polling station, the girls lifted their skirts to show the red fabric beneath the green dresses and paraded in front of the crowds of voters; "we two children picked up our green skirts to show our scarlet petticoats, and brimful of importance walked up and down" (8).

This early experience of sartorial-political activism, from which Pankhurst recalls being "shortly snatched by outraged authority in the form of a nursery-maid" (8), foreshadows her adult-life WSPU campaigns, which she mounted with unprecedented care for their visual component, turning the suffrage processions into mesmerising theatrical events, in which costume and dress played a significant function. For example, on recounting the 21 June 1908 demonstration in London, she admits being overwhelmed by the sheer size of the gathering "when I mounted my platform in Hyde Park, and surveyed the mighty throngs that waited there, [...] I was filled with amazement," calling it "a gay and beautiful as well as awe-inspiring spectacle" (114). According to Pankhurst, it was the WSPU 'uniform' of white dresses accessorised with colourful hats that added such splendour to

the event, for she noted that “the white gowns and flower-trimmed hats of the women, against the background of ancient trees, gave the park the appearance of a vast garden in full bloom” (114). The commentary represents the protesters as organically linked with and integral to their surroundings, as if legitimating women’s presence in that male-dominated public space.

Realising the power of dress and fashion in transmitting meanings about one’s identity and social status, Emmeline Pankhurst was careful to wear “her purple ‘uniform’” (162) also while lecturing in the USA, and only replaced the WSPU colours with black when she was in mourning after the loss of her son, mother and sister, all of whom died in 1910 (117). The looks of another leading suffragette Flora Drummond “General” can be interpreted as a metaphor of the WSPU’s militancy and of its leading position among other suffrage organisations. The elements of dress that connote top military rank, accentuated by Flora’s nickname, leaves little doubt that through unusual sartorial practices, Drummond intended to give prominence to women’s rights movement, to inspire awe and respect in the viewers, impart a sense of pride as well as possibly intimidate potential opponents.

3. Suffrage Costumes and Sartorial Display

As observed by Paula Bartley (2002) the so called “Coronation Procession” on 17 June 1911, during which the WSPU joined forces with other women’s rights organisations, was “one of the most colourful and spectacular of all the women’s suffrage demonstrations.” Led by Drummond in military-like costume and on horseback, the procession included a woman dressed as Joan of Arc, as well as women dressed as prisoners, nuns, and queens. “There was also an Empire Pageant with women from the colonies in their national costume and an international contingent in national dress” (123), comments Bartley. Diverse suffrage organisations taking part in the march displayed their colours – the WSPU – the purple, white and green, the NUWSS (The National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies) – the red, white and green, the WFL (The Women’s Freedom League) – the gold, white and green, whereas women professional groups wore either distinctive robes (academics) or distinctively coloured dresses – actresses wore the pink and green; writers were dressed in black, white and gold, the artists in blue and silver (123). The procession numbering 40 000 people, according to Bartley “must have made a striking display” (123). As such it can be interpreted as a visual metaphor of suffragettes’ unity and power.

In the times when dress still conveyed a clear message of a person’s social status, many suffragettes used clothing to disguise their true identities to avoid arrests or to be otherwise invisible to the police. According to Bartley, activists such as Grace Roe, Nellie Hall Humpherson and indirectly also Pankhurst herself

adopted class cross-dressing in order to mislead the authorities (154). In the case of the WSPU leader, the arrest of a woman dressed in identical clothes to those worn by Pankhurst, allowed Emmeline to be transferred to a safe place “where she was entertained [...] and spent the next day reclining in a deckchair in the garden” (Bartley 155). As noted by Bartley, wigs and charwoman clothing were commonly used to conceal identity. The most notable example of “dressing down” to look like a working-class woman was offered in 1910 by Lady Constance Lytton (Bartley 121), who by wearing working-class clothes and using a false name “Jane Wharton” proved that the upper-class activists received privileged treatment after arrest and that women with connections like herself, Emmeline Pankhurst or Flora Drummond were spared the suffering of force feeding while imprisoned. To conceal her privileged social position, Lady Lytton adopted working-class appearance, using clothes as a form of a theatrical costume that helped her in building a credible character and facilitated her performance. Roland Barthes, who in his seminal work *The Language of Fashion*, stresses the link between the meaning of clothes and their function as theatrical costumes, notes that with the arrival of Romanticism and the growing need for “historical accuracy” (22) of theatrical performances, clothes became essential for the creation of “roles” (22). Lytton’s “deed,” may be easily likened to what Barthes terms “those dress phenomena which are artificially reconstituted in order to signify” (27). In a personal account of the event, published in 4 February 1910 issue of *Votes for Women*, Lady Lytton recounts:

So I disguised myself; I changed my personality, and I went and made my protest outside that very goal where the hideous abominable things were being done. It was easier than I thought. I merely cut my hair. I bought clothes of a different type to my own. I removed initials from my underclothes. I put on glasses and that was more than sufficient. (392)

Emmeline Pankhurst describes the event in her autobiography, as “one of the most heroic deeds to be recorded in the history of the suffrage movement” (187) and explains how after Lady Constance had “cut off her beautiful hair and otherwise disguised herself, put on cheap and ugly clothing, and as “Jane Warton” took part in a demonstration at Newcastle,” she was arrested and treated “as an ordinary prisoner” (187). It is worth noting the difference in the description of the clothes selected as Lytton’s costume. While in the *Votes for Women* article Lytton seems careful not to alienate lower-class women and euphemistically describes the clothes as being “of a different type to my own,” Pankhurst does not flinch from establishing a connection between material worth and aesthetic quality, simply calling the attire “cheap and ugly.” Through active use of fashion in their campaigns, members of the WSPU proved that dress united female activists, as dress was of interest to women from all social backgrounds “rich and poor, working and middle-class” (Montz 56).

As the visual played a significant role in Victorian and Edwardian cultures alike and “The ‘womanly’ woman was most immediately recognizable through her ‘feminine’ appearance” (Rolley 51), the suffragettes mostly used clothes to present themselves as respectable, ‘womanly’ women. According to Rolley, looking respectable and well-dressed was of such concern for both Emmeline Pankhurst and her followers: “The WSPU evidently realized that in order to gain an active place *within* society, they had to appear socially acceptable” (Rolley 56) that between the years 1908 and 1911 WSPU magazine *Votes for Women* featured a fashion column. The advice given to suffragettes included warnings against “obscuring hats, or skirts which would trail or have to be held up untidily” (Rolley 52), but primarily the magazine “reminded members of the need to be well-dressed” (52). As noted by Rolley, the numerous advertisements of items of clothing that can be found in the magazine as well the sheer volume of photographs of smartly attired suffragettes testify most potently to the political importance of clothes for the suffrage movement. Likewise, Amy L. Montz states in her article “‘Now she’s all hat and ideas’: Fashioning the British Suffrage Movement” that suffragettes “recognized the usefulness of fashion in conveying a woman’s voice” (56). Such attitude to fashion, clearly supports the claim made by Montz that “by dressing carefully, fashionably and well, suffragettes disguised their otherwise contentious political beliefs through the acceptable clothing of the middle and upper middle class” (57). Also, in her analysis of the role of national costumes in the suffrage campaign, Montz observes that “the portrayal of the suffragettes in traditional national garb embodied the nation on a synecdochical level, allowing a few women in Irish or Welsh dress, for example, to represent visually the entirety of Irish or Welsh women” (58).

4. *Votes for Women*: Metaphors in Fashion Adverts

As noted by Rolley, *Votes for Women* magazine featured “advertising [...] largely oriented around clothes and beauty” (52) which reflected the shop owners’ conviction that Suffragettes were “a potentially profitable market” (52). One of the issues of *Votes for Women* (9.06.1911, 591) includes an advert for Debenham and Freebody Foulard Frock (Wigmore Street London). The drawing of a sleek and slender model in a narrow, floor-length dress and an enormous flower-decorated hat accompanies a copy that reads in a smaller font: “Beautifully made and from rich quality satin, striped foulard, light and cool; in six smart combinations of fashionable colours. A most becoming and useful frock” (591). While the heading in larger block capitals promises “READY-TO-WEAR FROCKS,” the advert itself is placed next to the text about the Suffragettes Great Procession, which advises the readers to “Prepare for the Great Procession; Learn Words and Tune of The March of the Women.” Such typographic proximity invites analogies between

the fashionable model depicted in the advert and the suffragette reader of the magazine. The advert seems not only directed at women who intend to participate in the Great Procession, but it also paints a portrait of the Procession's participant. Both the image and the copy of the advert imply that a suffragette is a stylish and elegant woman, who is knowledgeable about the latest fashions ("combinations of fashionable colours") and appreciative of expensive fabrics ("rich quality satin"). The slim and fit body of the model in the drawing may be described by the adjective that is used with reference to the dress itself, i.e. "light," which accentuates a perfect harmony between the dress and the wearer's body. Such emphasis on ideal fit seems all the more important in an advert for ready-to-wear dresses, as it renders them as equally good as the garments made to measure. The ready-to-wear dresses also seem to appeal to another implied characteristic of a suffragette, namely her practicality. Despite being a woman of fashion, a suffragette to whom the advert is addressed is concerned with clothing's utility ("useful frock") and, as the advert implies, is likely to prefer learning "Words and Tune" of suffrage songs to spending long hours at the dressmaker's.

Likewise, other adverts in the same issue are based on the notion that a suffragette is a stylish, yet practical, woman. The advert for PETER ROBINSON'S REGENT STREET (594) promotes "a selection of attires – dresses, hats and accessories for the Great Demonstration, June 17," which clearly links the political role of the suffrage procession with fashion and the participant's implied need to present the appropriate sense of dress. The advert is accompanied by a drawing of an elegantly-postured model wearing the advertised: "R. S. Rowena Smart Tennis pretty coloured striped Chiffon Voile, trimmed White Lace Insertion and Black Velvet Ribbon." Such description conforms to the characteristics of fashion writing, whose main objective according to Anna König is to establish "the notion of fashion as a source of pleasure" (212), but at the same time identifies the suffragette as a woman capable of finding pleasure in fashion and enjoying the exclusive finish of a garment. A similarly complex message is conveyed by hats' advert "HATS FOR THE PROCESSION" (594), which reads "Designed in artistic combination of the colours, hand-made, smart and comfortable, Clara Strong, 84 Elspeth Road, Lavender Hill, PAGENT." The explicit connection between decorative hats and the suffrage procession accentuates the important role of this highly visible headgear for the suffragettes. Katrina Rolley (1990) commenting on disrespectful looks of some suffragettes after being involved in militant actions observes that they would always first correct their hats regardless of how injured they might have been (60). In other words, as also proved by numerous photographs of suffragettes, a richly decorated hat was used as a metaphor of respectability, for "a woman's unkemptness and wildness directly correlates with her political anger" (Montz 62), making her unfeminine.

One of the adverts from June 17, 1911 issue of *Votes for Women* is openly related to the colour scheme used by suffragettes during their public activities:

marches, demonstrations and rallies. On page 595 WILLIAM OWEN, Westbourne Grove, W. advertises “WHITE ATTIRE FOR PROCESSIONAL WEAR, SMART COAT AND SKIRT” as well as “DAINTY WHITE BLOUSES.” The advert features an existential assumption, to use Norman Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis theory, that there is a special category of clothes named “proceSSIONAL wear.” In that the advert internalises suffragettes’ clothing as a type of a uniform that not only ensures their greater public visibility, but may also be linked to women’s collective identity, stressing their sense of pride. The use of adjectives “smart” and “dainty,” which in the advert describe individual items of clothing, may by extension connote these features in their wearers. Such a linguistic strategy used in the advert helps to construct a positive image of suffragettes, who, as proved by theorists and historians, were particularly keen to appear smart in order to counter their negative media representations as disorderly and aggressive.

Footwear and outerwear adverts seem to also allude to the public activities of the suffragettes, who are metaphorically represented as committed to their cause, active, mobile, resilient, practical, yet elegant. A series of adverts for Bendable House shoes (*Votes for Women*, 16.01.1914, 235) emphasise such qualities of the shoes as comfort, softness, durability. According to the copies, the shoes “give a sense of ease and restfulness,” (24.01.1913, 247) which makes them ideal for “home wear, during work or leisure or whenever long standing is necessary” (16.01.1914, 235). Since they are not only practical, but also “provide comfort with elegance, durability with daintiness” (24.01.1913, 247) and are “smart and neat,” mixing “the ease of a soft felt slipper with the elegance of an evening shoe” (*Votes for Women*, 16.01.1914, 235), it seems hardly surprising that the advert might appeal to *Votes for Women* readers. The purposeful ambiguity of the phrase “whenever long standing is necessary” seems to imply political activism of the suffragettes and their physical as well as psychological toughness and resilience, while adjectives such as “smart,” “neat,” “elegant,” “dainty” point to the women’s aesthetically-oriented femininity. Burberry’s adverts for “Waterproof dress,” and “Tweed gowns” stress the garments utility and suitability for “travel, motoring or walking,” as well as “for sport and country wear” (24.01.1913, 238). Such description seems to metaphorically depict women as potentially engaged in the above-mentioned activities, i.e. as mobile and active regardless of the weather conditions. Yet, as does the shoe manufacturer, also Burberry focuses on the aesthetic aspect of the advertised items of clothing stressing their “artistic colouring,” “many styles,” and the fact that they are “graceful,” “smart,” and “becoming” (24.01.1913, 238).

Conclusion

To conclude, according to Roach and Eicher, political power has been sartorially represented by the use “symbolic dress” as well as diverse accessories that are a personal “mark of identification” (116). While political figures may occasionally resort to wearing historical costumes for the sake of “traditional ceremonial display,” subtler forms of sartorial demonstration of power and political ideology are more frequently adopted. The early 20th century women’s rights campaigners not only wore and promoted dresses that were looser and more comfortable, but also used clothing to stress their sense of community and group cohesion. Emmeline Pankhurst and other members of the WSPU used clothes “as reinforcement of belief, custom, and values” (Roach and Eicher 118), by creating their own dress code which was meant to connote (and metaphorically communicate) freedom from the social constraints, independence, equality and fraternity. The WSPU’s colour scheme, badges and sashes on the one hand were a public manifestation of political views, while on the other hand they served the purpose of establishing a visual code that helped female activists to forge their new identities of liberated women. The marches of thousands of white-dressed women made a terrific visual impact, of which the suffragettes were perfectly aware. If a white dress became a suffragette’s uniform, the badges, pins and brooches adorned with the WSPU colours became the WSPU’s “medals” for courage and commitment to the cause. The analysis of suffragettes’ sartorial practices confirms that adornment and fashion played an important communicative function in British women’s liberation movement in the early 20th century.

References

- Barthes, Roland. 2013. *The Language of Fashion*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Bartley, Paula. 2002. *Emmeline Pankhurst*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Crane, Diana. 2000. *Fashion and Its Social Agendas*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Crawford, Elizabeth. 2003. *The Women’s Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide 1866–1928*. London: Routledge.
- Entwistle, Joanne. 2000. *The Fashioned Body*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Forceville, Charles. 2006. *Pictorial Metaphor in Advertising*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Haselden, William Kerridge. 1910. “Effects of ‘votes for women.’” *Daily Mirror* (15 December).
https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/search/cartoon_item/subjects_text%5B%5D=suffragettes

- Haselden, William Kerridge. 1913. "Female heroism in ancient and modern times [on reverse]." *Daily Mirror* (27 February).
https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/search/cartoon_item/subjects_text%5B%5D=suffragette
- Haselden, William Kerridge. 1907. "The revolt of the dove." *Daily Mirror* (15 April).
https://www.cartoons.ac.uk/search/cartoon_item/subjects_text%5B%5D=suffragettes,
- Kaiser, Susan B. 2013. *Fashion and Cultural Studies*. London: Bloomsbury.
- König, Anna. 2006. "Glossy Words: An Analysis of Fashion Writing in British Vogue." *Fashion Theory* 10. 1/2: 205–224.
- Lakoff, George, Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press.
- Montz, Amy L. 2012. "'Now she's all hat and ideas': Fashioning the British Suffrage Movement." *Critical Studies in Fashion and Beauty* 3. 1 & 2: 55–67.
- Pankhurst, Emmeline. 1914. *My Own Story*. London: Eveleigh Nash. Project Gutenberg.
- Roach, Mary Ellen, and Joanne Bubolz Eicher. 2007. "The Language of Personal Adornment." *Fashion Theory. A Reader*. Ed. Malcolm Barnard. London: Routledge. 109–121.
- Rolley, Katrina. 1990. "Fashion, Femininity and the Fight for the Vote." *Art History* 13. 1 : 47–70.
- Votes for Women*.
<https://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=IMJZBBnUFLgC>,