universität wien

DIPLOMARBEIT

Titel der Diplomarbeit

"Dressing Up. Of Clothes and Accessories in Jane Austen."

Verfasserin

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angestrebter akademischer Grad

Magistra der Philosophie (Mag. phil.)

Wien, im März 2010

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt: A 190 344 299
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt: Lehramtsstudium UF Englisch, UF Psychologie und Philosophie
Betreuerin: Ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Monika Seidl

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere thanks to...

... my parents and family for believing in everything I do and supporting my education in every possible way,

... Ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Monika Seidl for her constant ideas and advice in countless issues and for her great encouragement and reliability,

... Sophie for proof-reading parts of this thesis despite her new job, and finally

... my dearest friends and everyone else who has contributed to my life in a positive way during the past few years.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction

The myth of Adam and Eve shows how long people have understood that there is no natural dress, not even any naturally protective dress; there is only meaningful dress.
(Hollander, *Feeding the Eye* 105-106)

The purpose of this diploma thesis is to analyse six novels of Jane Austen concerning clothes, accessories, hairstyle, shoes, et cetera. Supported by constant references to fashion styles of Austen`s life time, a considerable number of situations from the novels has been analysed. Furthermore, this study intends to clarify the meaning of certain references, for example in terms of social status, age, sex, character attributes and cultural norms. The novels that have been investigated are *Sense and Sensibility, Pride and Prejudice, Northanger Abbey, Mansfield Park, Emma* and *Persuasion*. In her novels, "Jane Austen [...] was concerned with domestic life" (Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* 435). As the domestic sphere is often mainly associated with women, this study tries to analyse to what extent the subject matter of dress plays a role for both sexes and why this might be the case. In order to support some hypotheses, the present thesis includes several references to Austen`s *Letters*, as they "yield a picture of the life of the upper middle class of that time" (Chapman x).

In order to enable readers to maintain their flow of reading, the following abbreviations for Austen`s novels are used:

E = Emma
MP = Mansfield Park
NA = Northanger Abbey
P = Persuasion
P & P = Pride and Prejudice
S & S = Sense and Sensibility

1.1. Overview

Chapter 1 of this diploma thesis will continue with some information about society at the turn of the 19th century and the sources of influence that were significant for fashion in Regency England.

Chapter 2 will focus on the representation of women. To be more specific, section 2.1. provides some facts about what was regarded as fashionable in women`s dress around 1800 and provides a basis for the analysis of female clothing in Austen`s novels (section 2.2.). Furthermore, section 2.3. explains some details concerning fabrics and colours that were used for Regency fashion. Chapter 2.4. discusses a rather special kind of women`s clothes, i.e. the wedding dress. One reason for the inclusion of this section is the following argument by Hughes: "Wedding dresses seem to have followed an independent roué in fiction, however: they do not operate for the writer as other dresses do " (183). Section 2.5. covers the topic of women`s shoes, before chapter 2 will be concluded by a section about female hairstyle and headgear (2.6.). Section 2.6. offers some information about the history of female hairstyle on the one hand, and it closes with a closer investigation of the use of hairstyle and headgear in Austen`s novels.

In contrast to chapter 2, chapter 3 covers the representation of men with regard to Regency fashion (3.1.) and a rather profound analysis of Austen`s references to the clothes of her novels` male characters (3.2.). Chapter 3.3. deals with a special kind of male dress, i. e. military and naval uniforms. Men`s footgear is discussed in section 3.4., before section 3.5. covers a brief survey on the history of men`s hairstyle and finally tries to analyse various references to the same that occur in Austen`s works.

Before the conclusion (chapter 5), chapter 4 investigates the subject matter of accessories, such as rings, jewels, pearls, gloves and umbrellas. Again,

the references in Austen are analysed in terms of their links to the novels` characters as well as to accessory fashion trends in the Regency Period.

1.2. The Regency Period and Fashion

The time Jane Austen spent in Bath certainly contributed to her developing sense of and interest in fashion. Le Faye refers to Jane Austen`s life time as "one of the most interesting periods in British history" (40). The time between 1811 and 1820 is referred to as British Regency, and its society and lifestyles certainly had a considerable influence on Austen`s novels. For example, the landed gentry, a social class which most of Austen`s male protagonists belong to, consisted of members of parliament, urban merchants, soldiers, sailors, doctors and farmers, to name just a few. Jane Austen herself was a member of the middle class. "During the eighteenth century the British Royal Navy had become the best in the world, an island nation`s symbol of security and prosperity, and popularly regarded as invincible" (Le Faye 76). On the one hand, England was taking part in wars almost constantly, especially during the years of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. On the other hand, however, these years brought along technical and industrial innovations, which fostered the means of transport. Victories in war implicated the achievement of foreign territories and Britain`s international relations prospered in terms of trade and commerce. (Le Faye 40 – 79)

While men were concerned with politics and foreign connections, women rather dominated the domestic sphere. "The daughters of the landed gentry families would probably have had only the minimum of formal instruction before leaving home [...] to marry country gentlemen in their own rank of society" (Le Faye 87). Education was "not considered necessary for girls" until "well into the nineteenth century" (87). If any education was given to them at all, it was usually done so at home, and it strongly focussed on acquiring so-called female accomplishments, e. g. drawing, needlework, painting and playing the pianoforte. The general

notion existed that it was essential for a woman to provide her future husband with a most comfortable home, just as he was expected to provide enough financial stability for his family in return. Most members of the gentry were able to "employ a number of servants to enable [themselves] to maintain [their] expected place in society" (123). Moreover, dancing and going to theatres belonged to the most popular social activities for both women and men at the time. (Le Faye 87 – 123)

Just like any kind of fashion, the Regency style was influenced by contemporary happenings in society, politics and foreign cultures concerning clothes, accessories and hairstyle. While the costumes of the decades before were often affected by imitation of “aristocratic extravagance” (Breward, *Culture* 119), the end of the eighteenth century was “more indicative of development and continuity” (119) and commanded “a healthy and expanding consumer culture” (119).

England and France were regarded as “the leaders in fashion” (Laver 155) in the early years of the nineteenth century, but their mutual war did not contribute to the export and import of fabrics and garments in a very supportive way. While dress style had been similar before 1814 in the two countries, the ladies had to face the fact that the styles of fashion had been drifting apart during the reign of Napoleon Bonaparte. “The French Ladies were still wearing white, but the skirt, instead of falling straight to the ankles, now flared out slightly at the hem. English costume, on the other hand, was beginning to look ‘romantic’, with echoes of such Elizabethan elements as puffed and slashed sleeves” (Laver 156-157). One might get the impression that the French style was rather dominant, as women in England instantly regarded their own costumes as out of fashion and became desirous of dressing in the same way as women in Paris did. Astonishingly, “[t]he exact opposite happened in the case of men`s dress” (Laver 157). Tailors in London definitely performed better work than their French competitors, which made French men eager to copy the English male costumes that had already been extremely influential in the decades before. (Laver 155-161)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, travelling to British colonies, as Sir Thomas Bertram and William Price do in *MP*, introduced oriental styles of fashion and decoration to the English. At one point in the novel, Lady Bertram tells Fanny Price that "William must not forget [her] shawl, if he goes to the East Indies; and [she] shall give him a commission for anything else that is worth having" (Austen, *MP* 593). In her usual narcissism, Fanny`s aunt further states, 'I wish he may go to the East Indies, that I may have my shawl. I think I will have two shawls, Fanny' (Austen, *MP* 593). Furthermore, Buck refers to "Moorish turbans, Circassian sleeves and laced peasant bodices" (138) that were taken over from exotic regions. As Breward suggests, “a more knowing use of historical and oriental sources highlighted urban fashionability alongside a sentimental informality” (*Culture* 118). The nation seemed to be craving for a taste of foreign cultures, which they expressed consequently in their clothes, accessories and hairstyle. In the first couple of years of the nineteenth century English fashion was influenced by styles that had been observed, inter alia, in Greece, Egypt, Spain and India (Laver 156).

Ribeiro draws a rather interesting parallel between Regency male fashion and its influences by the current political and social changes that were taking place in England. She argues that "the beginnings of industrialisation and the events of the French Revolution, had influenced men to appear as though dressed for work – of a professional or intellectual kind" (95). Moreover, Buck claims that the war with France had some considerable influence on female fashion due to "the penetration of trimmings from military uniforms into women`s dress", which was reflected in "[f]rogs, epaulettes and braided and corded trimmings [....] on spencers and pelisses" (138). Similar details will be referred to in chapters 2 and 3.

2. The Representation of Women

> *Woman is fine for her own satisfaction alone. No man will admire her the more, no woman will like her the better for it. Neatness and fashion are enough for the former, and a something of shabbiness or impropriety will be most endearing to the latter.*
> (Austen, *NA* 995)

Bearing in mind that courtship is one of the main themes in Jane Austen`s novels, the above mentioned comments could be regarded as rather exceptional. In the course of flirting and looking for a husband, it might seem only natural for a woman to be eager to present herself to men in an optimal outward appearance. Thus, one could argue that women`s clothes, hairstyle and accessories certainly do not only pursue the purpose to satisfy the women themselves, but they can often contribute to raising a man`s attention. Several situations in which clothes and accessories play a significant role concerning courtship will be investigated in the following sections.

The association of satisfaction with fashion definitely needs to be considered. Even at the turn of the 19th century, a time when there was a comparatively little range of products that customers were able to choose from, the notion of satisfaction due to a certain purchase seems to have existed. Women living two centuries later might be confronted with emotions of satisfaction concerning fashion more than ever. Every item we buy is accompanied by different emotions, which influence our decision to buy it or not. Women`s performance of shopping is usually planned beforehand and often takes place together with female friends. Such a day does not only consist of purchasing clothes, but often goes along with other social activities such as going for a coffee and swapping all the latest gossip. The purchase of a certain piece of clothing that was much longed for may cause strong feelings of satisfaction in the person who buys it, no matter what sex. However, the subject matter of fashion seems to be highly associated with women.

Although the subject of clothes does not dominate Austen`s novels, one can definitely conclude from the author`s *Letters* that she had an immense interest in fashion herself. The following sections will investigate what was in fashion for English women in the Regency Period, and will further analyse various situations in Austen`s novels in regard to different kinds of clothes, shoes, headdress, etc.

2.1. Regency Fashion for Women

"I am amused by the present style of female dress;—the coloured petticoats with braces over the white Spencers & enormous Bonnets upon the full stretch, are quite entertaining. It seems to me a more marked *change* than one has lately seen" (Austen, *Letters* 273).

The changing style in women`s clothing, that Jane Austen refers to in this letter dated 1814, featured, according to Buck, a "battle of classical and Gothic taste" (137). In comparison to men`s fashion at the time, "[w]omen`s dress [...] was less extravagant, but showed an even more drastic break with the past" (Laver 152). Moreover, Buck points out that the turn of the 19th century brought along "a movement from the formal, the restrained – the classical temper – to the natural, the free – the romantic temper" (137). Flamboyant and ostentatious dresses, which used to be supported by hoops and were usually made of rather expensive material, were replaced by "a plain brief bodice [and] a narrow skirt falling straight and close to the figure from the high waistline in flowing, clinging lines of white muslin" (137) around 1800. Moreover, Buck argues that "[t]he draped lines of soft white fabrics gave this style of the early nineteenth century an affinity with the sculptured forms of Greece and Rome, but its inspiration was romantic" (137).

The above mentioned Gothic features could, for example, be noticed in the rather long waistline of female dresses (Buck 138). Only after 1815, or rather around 1820, "the waist [...] began to move downwards, slowly, but

with certainty" and thus allowed "the skirt to spread out more widely at the hem" (138). Therefore, one can assume that Austen imagined her female characters wearing dresses with rather high waists at the time she composed her novels. Figures 1 and 2 show some typical examples of female Regency fashion, i. e. dresses with a hemline slightly touching the ground, lace and ribbon details and silk frills, respectively, around the hemline, short puff sleeves, rather plunging necklines and extremely high waistlines in combination with long gloves, stoles, short necklaces and rather simple earrings. The short sleeves might be indicative for evening dresses, as "day dresses usually had long sleeves" (Buck 142) in the beginning of the 19th century.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Laver argues that "[p]erhaps at no period between primitive times and the 1920s had women worn so little as they wore in the early years of the nineteenth century" (155). It is however astonishing that rather light material, such as muslin, became fashionable in England, a country being well-known for its mostly unfavourable weather. "All female attire seemed to have been designed for tropical climates, and yet the climate of Europe can have been no different in 1800 from what it was in 1850, when women wore ten times as many clothes" (Laver 155). As England`s climate can

rather be regarded as the opposite of tropical, women at the time often needed additional clothes in order to keep warm. Thus, "there was a passion for shawls", which initiated a manufacturing of "imitation Cashmere shawls", as the original wool was almost impossible to import due to the current war (155). According to Laver, wearing a shawl "was considered the mark of the fashionable lady [...], and it formed an essential part of every woman`s wardrobe" (155). In a letter to Martha Lloyd dated November 1812, Austen refers to the use of shawls herself, "Cassandra & I think that something of the Shawl kind to wear over her Shoulders within doors in very cold weather might be useful" (Austen, *Letters* 197).

Instead of a shawl, "a tucker, habit shirt, or 'antique ruff' of white muslin" (Buck 142) used to cover the usually rather low necklines of female dresses. In addition, women wore spencers and pelisses, which Buck describes as "the outer garments most characteristic of 1810-30" (142). According to Le Faye, the spencer is "a short-waisted close-fitting jacket with long sleeves", and it "appeared in the 1790s" (98). Furthermore, she states that the pelisse, "a long coat or over-dress, buttoning down the front" (98), became fashionable a couple of years after the invention of the spencer jacket. As it has already been mentioned, the spencer was extremely short and thus conformed to the waistline of women`s dresses. Its ornaments, colours and length of sleeves did not differ from what was in vogue for dresses either (Buck 142). On cold and rainy days, Regency women wore mantles and cloaks, which they used to fold "loosely about the figure" (142). Jane Austen refers to cloaks in one of her letters, as she writes to her sister Cassandra, "Black gauze Cloaks are worn as much as anything" (Austen, *Letters* 83).

What was regarded as fashionable concerning fabrics and colours, shoes, hairstyle, headgear, and accessories in the Regency Period will be discussed in sections 2.2.2., 2.4., 2.5. and 4., respectively.

2.2. Dressing Up the Female Characters in Austen`s Novels

> *Love of dress – and by association, a concern for dress in art or literature – is still regularly dismissed as female and frivolous. [...] Dress, for Austen, has its proper place in life as in conversation or in art.*
> (Hughes 184)

The aim of this section is to provide an analysis of how various female characters are represented in Austen with special regard to their dresses. A closer investigation of general characterisation is based on some theoretical approaches by Jakob Lothe. In his work *Narrative in Fiction and Film*, he developed a model of characterisation in narrative fiction. On the whole, Lothe distinguishes direct definition and indirect presentation of characters. According to him, "direct definition means that a character is characterized in a direct, summarizing way—for instance by means of adjectives or abstract nouns" (81). Moreover, Lothe claims that "indirect presentation [...] demonstrates, dramatizes, or exemplifies a given character feature rather than naming it explicitly" (82). He further subdivides the category of indirect presentation into action, speech, external appearance and behaviour, and milieu (82). Of his two general categories Lothe ascribes greater importance to indirect presentation. Moreover, he adds that "[v]arious elements of characterization are as a rule combined with one another in the discourse" and "[t]he total picture we form of a character can be ascribed to many different signals in the text" (84).

Concerning a novel`s narrative voice, Lothe emphasises that "the narrator in a narrative text must be clearly distinguished from the author of the text", as "[t]he narrator is an integral part of the fictional text written by the author" (20). He further refers to the narrator as "a narrative instrument that the author uses to present and develop the text, which is thus constituted by the activities and functions that the narrator performs" (20). Lothe states that "the narrator is a part of the diegesis: he is in the fictional text while also helping the author to constitute and communicate it" (20 – 21). Thus,

the narrator plays an extremely significant role, as the readers rely on him in order to get some information about the fictive characters apart from the one they get via direct speech of the characters. Lothe distinguishes between two main types of narrators, i. e. the first-person and the third-person narrator, which are defined in the following way:

> In addition to being a narrator, the first-person narrator is in other words *active in the plot*, i. e. in the dynamic shaping of the text`s action, events, and characters. The third-person narrator is on the other hand outside or 'above' the plot, even though he is also in the text. Since he does not participate in the action, the function of the third-person narrator is more purely communicative. It is on the contrary typical for the first-person narrator to combine the functions of narrator and character.
> (Lothe 21)

Furthermore, Lothe differentiates between a reliable and an unreliable narrator. He claims that a "fundamental convention in narrative fiction is that we believe the narrator, unless the text at some point gives us a signal *not* to do so", however the "borderline between reliable and unreliable narrator may be blurred" (25). As some examples throughout the course of this study will indicate, Austen`s novels are dominated by third-person narrators. The following paragraphs will discuss and analyse various situations that deal with the subject of dressing in Austen`s novels.

Near the beginning of *P*, the spheres of women and men are clearly separated, which is revealed in the following way: "The Mr. Musgroves had their own game to guard, and to destroy; their own horses, dogs, and newspapers to engage them; and the females were fully occupied in all the other common subjects of house-keeping, neighbours, dress, dancing, and music" (Austen, *P* 1114). This citation is only one example of Austen`s attempts to demonstrate that dress was definitely regarded as a typical female concern around the turn of the 19th century. Whereas horses and dogs indisputably indicate outdoor activities and reading newspapers involves a certain degree of intellect and world knowledge, the occupation

with clothes and music can easily be pursued indoors and thus limits a woman`s scope.

"Dress was her passion" (Austen, *NA* 965). This introductory sentence regarding the character of Mrs. Allen offers a certain amount of pleasant anticipation to readers who are interested in clothing. Apart from the frequent dress-related remarks made by Mrs. Allen, in *NA* the reader can hardly turn a page without finding remarks about clothes, patterns, hairstyles and accessories, especially in the first half of the novel. The following paragraphs will focus on possible reasons why Mrs. Allen may be so obsessed with clothing in particular.

It is certainly worth analysing a character like Mrs. Allen in greater depth, as even Jane Austen herself chose the word 'dress' as the first word to describe this character. According to Lothe`s model of categorisation, the reader might observe the use of indirect presentation that Austen used for her character Mrs. Allen. More precisely, Austen initially describes Mrs. Allen via external appearance and behaviour, which implies that the narrator takes care of the character`s presentation and interpretation (Lothe 83). This is the case when Austen first mentions Mrs. Allen, as the narrator states the following shortly before his remark about the character`s passion for dress:

> It is now expedient to give some description of Mrs. Allen, that the reader may be able to judge, in what manner her actions will hereafter tend to promote the general distress of the work, and how she will, probably, contribute to reduce poor Catherine to all the desperate wretchedness of which a last volume is capable—whether by her imprudence, vulgarity, or jealousy [...]
> Mrs. Allen was one of that numerous class of females, whose society can raise no other emotion than surprise at there being any men in the world who could like them well enough, to marry them. She had neither beauty, genius, accomplishment, nor manner. The air of a gentlewoman, a great deal of quiet, inactive good temper, and a trifling turn of mind, were all that could account for her being the choice of a sensible, intelligent man, like Mr. Allen. In one respect she was admirably fitted to introduce a young lady into public, being as fond of going every

> where and seeing every thing herself as any young lady could be.
> (Austen, *NA* 964-965)

Mrs. Allen functions as a kind of surrogate mother to the novel`s female heroine Catherine Morland. She and her husband Mr. Allen decide to take Catherine to Bath together in order to introduce the young girl of seventeen to society and give her the opportunity to make some acquaintances that she might not have made had she stayed with her parents in Fullerton. As it has already been mentioned above, the various categories of characterisation might mix throughout the course of a novel. Thus, the reader will be able to form his or her own opinion about Mrs. Allen more intensely, for instance via content and form of her speech and actions. All information about Mrs. Allen can either be drawn from some of the third-person narrator`s comments or numerous examples of direct speech by the character, i. e. her characterisation mainly takes place in a rather indirect way. Statements by other characters that might indicate significant character qualities of Mrs. Allen do not occur in the novel.

In comparison to Mrs. Allen, who, later on in the novel has some considerable influence on the young girl`s clothes, Catherine`s mother Mrs. Morland also turns out to be worried about dress, but in a different way to Mrs. Allen. Whereas Mrs. Allen only has eyes for what is fashionable, Mrs. Morland gives her daughter the following piece of advice, 'I beg, Catherine, you will always wrap yourself up very warm about the throat, when you come from the Rooms at night' (Austen, *NA* 964). Hence, Mrs. Morland`s interest for what Catherine will wear is relatively restricted to her worries about her daughter`s health.

Catherine Morland is another character who is presented in not only one possible way of characterisation. Interestingly enough, the very first sentence of *NA* is, "No one who had ever seen Catherine Morland in her infancy, would have supposed her born to be an heroine" (Austen, *NA* 961). As with Mrs. Allen, the initial descriptions of Catherine are made by the third-person narrator. However, as it can be observed as the novel

proceeds, Catherine is not only characterised via the narrator`s comments and her own speech, but also via comments made by other characters, such as her friend Isabella Thorpe. Since Catherine Morland is the heroine of Austen`s *MP*, it is rather logical that a greater emphasis was put on her characterisation compared to the ones of Mrs. Allen and Isabella Thorpe, respectively. On the one hand, the cited statement entails that Catherine was a rather plain child, but, on the other hand, it lets the reader presume that the character might experience an enormous development as the novel`s plot proceeds. The subsequent characterisation contains several pieces of information about Catherine`s family and the milieu she grew up in, i. e. features of indirect presentation. However, this is immediately ensued by some direct definition in terms of descriptions full of adjectives concerning Miss Morland`s figure, complexion and hair. These direct observations are made by the narrator, as well. The mentioned examples, as well as some additional features of characterisation occurring only in the first chapter of *NA*, are further evidence that an interaction of signals contributes to the presentation of a character rather frequently.

Throughout the course of the story, Catherine develops from a rather naive girl to a confident young lady, who eventually turns out to be much less superficial and more intelligent than her first friend in Bath, Miss Isabella Thorpe. However in the first few meetings of the two characters the reader is lead to believe the opposite. One source of Catherine`s intellectual development is certainly her enormous interest in reading poems and books, especially Gothic novels, which sometimes leads her to surreal fantasies of real life situations. Every now and then the young girl enjoys escaping from so-called "worldly concerns of dressing and dinner" (Austen, *NA* 982) by reading. Mrs. Allen does not share her love of reading at all though. As it has already been mentioned, her main concern is dress, thus she worries about "the delay of an expected dress-maker" (Austen, *NA* 982*)* probably as much as her young friend does about dark deeds and villains in the books she reads. On a first look at the two characters it can be said that Catherine seems somewhat more intelligent than Mrs. Allen, as an interest in fashion does not necessarily determine great intellect.

This assumption is based on an argument by Hollander, who states that "[d]eep personal concern about the details of one`s own clothes may still be supposed to indicate a shallow heart and a limited mind" (*Seeing Through Clothes* xv). By all means, Austen definitely suggests a certain intellectual difference between Catherine and Mrs. Allen`s, since she categorises fashion as a "worldly concern", indicating that a preference for reading books belongs to an area that might be of a somewhat higher intellectual challenge. Some more examples will reinforce this assumption in the following paragraphs.

Having spent the last years of her life in Bath herself, Jane Austen was definitely influenced by the city which lead the way with fashion for many British people then. Many of the author`s letters to her sister Cassandra are proof of how important clothes, hairstyles and accessories were to many people at the beginning of the 19th century. Consequently, it is certainly not astonishing that a novel which is mainly set in Bath contains remarkably more utterances about fashion and dress than Austen`s other works. Moreover, the thought that the author might have felt an almost urgent need to include a character such as Mrs. Allen seems only natural.

During the first couple of days of their stay in Bath, Mrs. Allen and Catherine are extremely busy to meet all preparations that are necessary for a young girl`s first evening in the famous Upper Rooms. The first pages of the novel tell the reader that its

> heroine's entrée into life could not take place till after three or four days had been spent in learning what was mostly worn, and [Mrs. Allen`s] chaperon was provided with a dress of the newest fashion. Catherine too made some purchases herself, and when all these matters were arranged, the important evening came which was to usher her into the Upper Rooms. Her hair was cut and dressed by the best hand, her clothes put on with care, and both Mrs. Allen and her maid declared she looked quite as she should do.
> (Austen, *NA* 965)

Only a few lines later a certain superficiality in Mrs. Allen`s personality becomes obvious when she enters the ball-room "[w]ith more care for the safety of her new gown than for the comfort of her protegée" (Austen, *NA* 965) and furthermore passes comment on a lady`s gown in a very critical and rather denunciatory manner by calling her "strange-looking" and "old fashioned" (Austen, *NA* 966). Some weeks later Mrs. Allen`s real reasons for feeling very comfortable in Bath are revealed, as she is finally acquainted with some people there, "and, as the completion of good fortune, had found these friends by no means so expensively dressed as herself" (Austen, *NA* 973). All these remarks are indicators of indirect presentation of Mrs. Allen`s character. Hence, the most information the reader is able to acquire about Mrs. Allen throughout the novel is implied in her almost constant use of direct speech.

Apparently, Mrs. Allen can only be happy and satisfied when she is surrounded by people who she feels superior of in regard to sense of fashion and wealth. To what extent these so-called friendships have a deeper emotional and moral value for her is admittedly somewhat disputable. However, she is not the only character who enjoys talking about herself the most. Mrs. Thorpe, the mother of Catherine`s friend Isabella, frequently spends the afternoon with Mrs. Allen "in what they called conversation" (Austen, *NA* 973). As a matter of fact, in these long hours of sitting together "there was scarcely ever any exchange of opinion, [...] for Mrs. Thorpe talked chiefly of her children, and Mrs. Allen of her gowns" (Austen, *NA* 973). Therefore, the topic of their conversations seems to be rather unimportant, but as long as each one of them is able to pursue her own interests, both are satisfied and pleased with each other`s company. As Mrs. Allen has no children of her own, she might feel a strong need to compensate this fact by concentrating on fashion and her looks as much as she does, maybe simply because she does not have anything else to talk of. The following citation confirms this assumption:

> Mrs. Thorpe [...] had one great advantage as a talker, over Mrs. Allen, in a family of children; and when she expatiated on

> the talents of her sons, and the beauty of her daughters, [...] Mrs. Allen had no similar information to give, no similar triumphs to press on the unwilling and unbelieving ear of her friend, and was forced to sit and appear to listen to all these maternal effusions, consoling herself, however, with the discovery, which her keen eye soon made, that the lace on Mrs. Thorpe`s pelisse was not half so handsome as that on her own.
> (Austen, *NA* 971)

Although it is never mentioned in the novel, it is certainly imaginable that a married woman who had no own children at Austen`s time did probably not fit into the role that society expected of a woman perfectly. Therefore, any woman who was in the same situation as Mrs. Allen may have felt somewhat inferior to her female acquaintances who did have a family.

Considering all of these points made, it is no great surprise that Mrs. Allen`s character is not the most profound, at least from what can be interpreted of how she presents herself to society. Still, no matter how desperate Mrs. Allen might be on the inside, she certainly lacks good manners and appropriate behaviour. It seems that no situation or person will ever prevent her from talking about her favourite topic, no matter if the people she talks to are actually attentive listeners or if she is essentially talking to herself. Even while sitting with a company of female and male friends, if Mrs. Allen "saw a speck upon her gown, she must observe it aloud, whether there were any one at leisure to answer her or not" (Austen, *NA* 987).

There are two situations which reveal that Mr. Allen definitely has much better manners than his wife. Being characterised indirectly, for example by means of some information about his milieu near the beginning of the novel, Mr. Allen`s character turns out to be more profound than his wife`s due to further indirect presentation such as speech and action. In the first situation that has been mentioned above the couple meets Catherine`s brother James Morland again after an undefined, but probably rather long time. In the course of the conversation Mr. Allen invites the young gentleman to dinner, whereas Mrs. Allen obviously cannot think of anything

better than to summon James "to guess the price and weigh the merits of a new muff and tippet" (Austen, *NA* 982). To burden the young man with such a request is most inappropriate in this case, because it would be a sign of politeness at least to concentrate on more important subjects when talking to a person she rarely meets. Mrs. Allen`s iterative references to her personal concerns reveals her somewhat insensitive manner. She is a female character who never seems to consider whether somebody shares her own interests, and she tries to force them upon her conversation partners almost desperately.

The second sequence that is important with regard to manners is the following dialogue between Mrs. and Mr. Allen:

> [Mr. Allen] 'Young men and women driving about the country in open carriages! Now and then it is very well; but going to inns and public places together! It is not right; and I wonder Mrs. Thorpe should allow it. [...] Mrs. Allen, are not you of my way of thinking? Do not you think these kind of projects objectionable?'
> [Mrs. Allen] 'Yes, very much so indeed. Open carriages are nasty things. A clean gown is not five minutes wear in them. You are splashed getting in and getting out; and the wind takes your hair and your bonnet in every direction. I hate an open carriage myself.'
> [Mr. Allen] 'I know you do; but that is not the question. Do not you think it has an odd appearance, if young ladies are frequently driven about in them by young men, to whom they are not even related?'
> [Mrs. Allen] 'Yes, my dear, a very odd appearance indeed. I cannot bear to see it.'
> (Austen, *NA* 1011-12)

The conversation takes place some time after John Thorpe, a young man who is described as rather self-opinionated and revolting, makes the suggestion to make a day trip in open carriages with Catherine Morland, her brother James and his own sister Isabella. John does not make a secret of his affection for Catherine, although she does not seem to return these feelings. Besides, James Morland and Isabella Thorpe are very interested in each other and Austen implies they will become a couple later on, still, they are not married or even engaged yet. Thus the imagination of

four young people, or more precisely, two women and two men being seen in public together, laughing and screaming freely in an open carriage, would probably be a shame for the older generations, and especially for Mr. Allen, who functions as a kind of substitute father figure to Catherine while she stays in Bath. His wife, however, does not seem to see anything embarrassing or inappropriate in John Thorpe`s suggestion. Again, the only things that could worry her about going in an open carriage are the harms such a trip could do to a woman`s looks in possibly ruining her clothes and messing up her hairstyle.

In *NA*, there is a younger female character that strongly resembles Mrs. Allen after a closer investigation, namely Isabella Thorpe. In the first part of the novel, descriptions of her might encourage the reader to judge her as a rather intelligent and experienced young woman. Due to the fact that her good friend Catherine Morland is four years younger than her, Isabella is characterised as "at least four years better informed" and having "a very decided advantage in discussing [...] points" like "dress, balls flirtations and quizzes" (Austen, *NA* 972). According to Lothe`s model of characterisation there are a great deal of indirect presentations of Isabella to be found in the novel, for example in terms of her milieu and behaviour. Miss Thorpe has apparently heard and seen a good deal more of the world, or at least of England, than Miss Morland, because the narrator states that Isabella is able to "compare the balls of Bath with those of Tunbridge; its fashions with the fashions of London" (Austen, *NA* 972). Besides, Austen adds several features of direct definition of Isabella Thorpe. For example, she includes a description of Catherine watching Isabella from a window, envying "the graceful spirit of her walk, the fashionable air of her figure and dress" and feeling "grateful [...] for the chance which had procured her such a friend" (Austen, *NA* 972). At that point, Catherine definitely feels inferior to Isabella in her experience and sense of fashion, but it does not seem to bother her as much as it would her aunt Mrs. Allen.

Despite these descriptions and the fact that Isabella has spent more time in Bath than Catherine, it becomes evident very soon that, in fact, the

former sees a role model in the latter when it comes to matters such as style and dress. Only three pages later Miss Thorpe remarks, 'But, my dearest Catherine, have you settled what to wear on your head tonight? I am determined at all events to be dressed exactly like you' (Austen, *NA* 976). With this remark, she suddenly interrupts an on-going conversation about Gothic novels and changes the subject to her greater interest in fashion, extremely similar to the way in which Mrs. Allen often does to irritate her peers. Besides, from nowhere the tables seem to turn for Miss Morland and Miss Thorpe and Catherine is presented as the superior one, even if she might not be aware of this situation in the beginning. Throughout the further course of the novel, this assumption is affirmed even more by indirect ways of characterisation, such as several remarks that Isabella makes which indicate that she looks up to Catherine for advice regarding style.

Regarding Isabella`s parallels to Mrs. Allen, it can be said that they share a certain kind of naivety and superficiality in judging other people. At one point in the novel, Miss Thorpe tells Catherine about when she saw James Morland for the very first time,

> 'The very first day that Morland came to us last Christmas—the very first moment I beheld him—my heart was irrecoverably gone. I remember I wore my yellow gown, with my hair done up in braids; and when I came into the drawing-room, and John introduced him, I thought I never saw any body so handsome before.'
> (Austen, *NA* 1020)

Even though Isabella is not characterised directly as naive or superficial, the reader might attribute these character qualities to her from what she says. Interestingly enough, Isabella remembers her own looks extremely well, whereas she apparently did not pay that much attention to the dress or hairstyle of James Morland. It can be assumed that characters who are as obsessed with clothes and hairstyle as Mrs. Allen or Isabella Thorpe may appear rather selfish and narcissistic to the reader. Both female characters have a strong tendency to see exclusively themselves and pay

rather little attention to other persons at all times. Thus, it is not surprising that they remember their own looks better than anybody else`s.

Moreover, Isabella`s inferiority towards others becomes apparent in a letter she writes to Catherine after the latter has left Bath: 'I wear nothing but purple now: I know I look hideous in it, but no matter—it is your dear brother`s favourite colour' (Austen, *NA* 1071-2). Reading between the lines, there is a strong indication of Isabella`s unbalanced mind, as well as her lack of confidence and own opinion. Again, this is an example of indirect presentation, and only the attentive reader will be able to judge Isabella`s character qualities due to the content of her speech. Even though Isabella feels that the colour purple does not fit her, she wears it every day in order to impress her beloved James Morland. Expanding this interpretation, one could claim that she has a rather weak personality and would probably submissively obey the man she loves. When she later refuses James Morland`s marriage proposal, because she suddenly learns that he is not as wealthy as she expected, her superficiality seems to peak. During her brief relationship with Frederick Tilney, Isabella behaves like a naive and most inexperienced little girl by completely subjecting herself to him. Consequently, her high hopes are disappointed and she has to acknowledge that her superficial behaviour has not worked in her favour. At the end of the novel, the parallels of Isabella and Mrs. Allen`s personalities are revealed once more, because the latter remembers certain events in connection to what she was wearing, even though the conversation does not relate to her at all. Thus, when Mrs. Allen talks to Catherine about Mr. Tilney, she states, 'I have a notion you danced with him, but am not quite sure. I remember I had my favourite gown on' (Austen, *NA* 1083).

Throughout the course of the novel it can be observed that Mrs. Allen`s intention to influence Catherine Morland on the issue of clothing comes into fruition. This becomes apparent when the narrator states that the young woman worries a great deal about her appearance at an upcoming ball on the weekend. "What gown and what head-dress she should wear

on the occasion" are said to be "her chief concern" and she "cannot be justified in it" (Austen, *NA* 994). Furthermore, she is described to lie "awake ten minutes on Wednesday night debating between her spotted and her tamboured muslin, and nothing but the shortness of the time prevented her buying a new one for the evening" (994). However, as this is one of the very few remarks that are made about Catherine and her concern for clothes, it can be assumed that Austen did not intend to present the novel`s heroine as a very superficial one to the reader. Compared to Mrs. Allen, Miss Morland certainly cares for a multitude of things other than fashion. Summing up, it can be said that Austen's *NA* definitely makes the most references to clothes when comparing all of her novels. However, also her other works, for example *MP*, often discuss the subject matter of female dress in a rather detailed way, and therefore they will be investigated in the further course of this chapter.

In *MP* the reader might detect a personification of dress, particularly after Fanny Price cautions her cousin Miss Bertram against jumping over a small ditch. 'You will hurt yourself, Miss Bertram,' she cried, 'you will certainly hurt yourself against those spikes—you will tear your gown—you will be in danger of slipping into the Ha-Ha. You had better not go' (Austen, *MP* 479). Meanwhile her cousin has already jumped across and consequently responds, 'Thank you, my dear Fanny, but I and my gown are alive and well, and so good bye' (Austen, *MP* 479). It is somewhat unnatural for a gown to be described in that way, in the view of the fact that only human beings and animals are usually described with personifying adjectives such as "alive" and "well".

In the beginning of the same novel, Fanny`s aunt Lady Bertram, who takes charge of her niece in order to provide a more comfortable life for her, is portrayed as "a woman who spent her days in sitting nicely dressed on a sofa" (Austen, *MP* 434). Due to this indirect presentation by the third-person narrator, the reader may already guess at that point of the story that Lady Bertram is a rather passive character. Her superficiality and the fact that she judges others from their appearance and attractiveness

makes her comparable to *NA*`s Mrs. Allen to a certain extent. Lady Bertram is the wealthy sister of Mrs. Price, Fanny`s mother. As Fanny`s parents lead a rather poor life with several children in Fullerton, Lady Bertram and her husband Sir Thomas Bertram decide to include Fanny into their own family when she is only a little girl. However, growing up with her cousins Tom, Edmund, Maria and Julia Bertram, Fanny Price often feels unhappy, because every member of the family, apart from Edmund, suggests she is merely tolerated and not at all welcome in the household. The first indication of that takes place when the narrator describes Fanny`s first few days at Mansfield Park. Her cousins Maria and Julia, though still children themselves, "could not but hold her cheap on finding that she had but two sashes, and had never learnt French" (Austen, *MP* 431). As a consequence, it becomes incredibly obvious that the Bertram girls have been raised in a completely different world than Fanny on account of their wealthy and rather arrogant parents. For them, materialism and traditional female accomplishments seem to be more important than good manners and moral values. Furthermore, the remark that even "the maid-servants sneered at her clothes" (Austen, *MP* 431) implies that the Bertrams are an upper class family who take the luxury of having servants for granted. For a first characterisation of Fanny Price and the members of the Bertram family a mixture of various typical elements of indirect presentation is used, as rather inexplicit descriptions about the characters` external appearance, for example clothes, and behaviour occur as well as further information about the milieus they all grew up and live in.

The theatrical play that several young people plan to perform at Mansfield Park offers several opportunities for the characters to mention dress and style. As it will be referred to in section 3.2., some of the men make various remarks about what costumes and colours might be appropriate. Concerning the female characters of the play, a rather interesting remark occurs when Tom Bertram tries to persuade Fanny Price to play a part, as well. At first, Fanny is not keen on taking part in the play, and she explains that she has no great talent in acting at all. However, Tom would love to see her playing the Cottager`s wife, and he is very eager to present the

role to Fanny in a most attractive way. Interestingly enough, he does this via a description of clothes and outward appearance of how he imagines the character of an old woman. Tom tells Fanny, 'Do not be so shame-faced. You`ll do it very well. [...] We do not expect perfection. You must get a brown gown, and a white apron, and a mob-cap, and we must make you a few wrinkles, and a little of the crows-foot at the corner of your eyes, and you will be a very proper, little old woman' (Austen, *MP* 505).

Whereas even some men seem to bother a great deal about what to wear in "Lover`s Vows", the theatrical play they want to perform, it is still the women`s duty to put the costumes together. For example, Mrs. Norris does not act in the play, but she is "busy [...] superintending their various dresses with economical expedient for which nobody thanked her" (Austen, *MP* 514). Mrs. Norris does not miss a chance to announce that she expects Fanny`s assistance with needlework and everything else that needs to be done for the actors` costumes. At one point she cries, 'Come Fanny, [...] I want you here. [...] I have been slaving myself till I can hardly stand, to contrive Mr. Rushworth`s cloak without sending for any more satin; and now I think you may give me your help in putting it together.—There are but three seams, you may do them in a trice' (Austen, *MP* 516). Furthermore, Mrs. Norris informs Fanny that she would prefer to have 'nothing but the executive part to do' (516). After a closer investigation of Mrs. Norris` character it can be assumed that she is rather happy to help even though she maintains the contrary. Be it as it may, if she had not taken care of the missing details and trimmings of the dresses, it would still have been the duty of a different woman. Taking into consideration that everything that was to be done inside the house was considered feminine at the beginning of the 19th century, it is unimaginable that a man would sew his own costume.

Moving away from the theatrical play and taking a closer look at the novel`s characters, a certain number of remarks about clothes reveal a good deal about Fanny Price. Taking into consideration that detailed descriptions of dress are generally rather rare in Jane Austen`s works, the following

situation can still be considered one of the most important ones. At that point of the novel it has already become apparent to the reader that Edmund Bertram and Fanny Price might turn out to be more than cousins to each other later on. After Fanny has dressed up for a dinner engagement, the following conversation takes place between Edmund and her:

> [Edmund:] 'Now I must look at you, Fanny, [...] and tell you how I like you; and as well as I can judge by this light, you look very nicely indeed. What have you got on?'
> [Fanny:] 'The new dress that my uncle was so good as to give me on my cousin`s marriage. I hope it is not too fine, but I thought I ought to wear it as soon as I could, and that I might not have such another opportunity all the winter. I hope you do not think me too fine.'
> [Edmund:] 'A woman can never be too fine while she is all in white. No, I see no finery about you; nothing but what is perfectly proper. Your gown seems very pretty. I like these glossy spots. [...]'
> (Austen, *MP* 546)

Although the cited dialogue is rather short it definitely displays Fanny`s genuine modesty. It is in her nature that she feels somewhat uncomfortable when being looked at, as she points out a few pages earlier in the novel. This is demonstrated again here when she worries that Edmund might think her 'too fine'. The fact that men, particularly Edmund Bertram, suddenly feel fairly attracted by Fanny almost exclusively due to her clothes may be considered a key moment in the novel.

It is rather remarkable that the heroine`s outward appearance is not described until the reader has turned more than a hundred pages. However, Fanny`s aunts Mrs. Norris and Lady Bertram are concerned about Fanny`s clothes even before she arrives at Mansfield Park. Very near the beginning of the novel, Mrs. Norris remarks that there will be 'housemaids, who could either of them help dress her [...], and take care of her clothes' (Austen, *MP* 429). Even much later, when Fanny has already become an adult, her aunts do not think that she is capable of dressing herself in an appropriate manner. When they see her fully dressed for a

ball, an occasion which section 4.1. will deal with in greater detail, they are rather content with Fanny`s outward appearance. Lady Bertram, however, does not believe that Fanny was able to make herself look so extraordinarily pretty. After her husband`s praise of Fanny`s dress, Lady Bertram exclaims, 'Yes, [...] she looks very well. I sent Chapman to her' (Austen, *MP* 574). Apparently, Lady Bertram is not aware of the fact that Fanny did not make any use of her aunt`s initial suggestion to have a servant come in order to help her dress. Thus, Lady Bertram is absolutely convinced that Fanny owes her good looks to her aunt exclusively. Upon Lady Bertram`s comment, Mrs. Norris argues the following:

> Look well! Oh yes, [...] she has good reason to look well with all her advantages: brought up in this family as she has been with all the benefit of her cousins` manners before her. Only think, my dear Sir Thomas, what extraordinary advantages you and I have been the means of giving her. The very gown you have been taking notice of, is your own generous present to her when dear Mrs. Rushworth married. What would she have been, if we had not taken her by the hand?
> (Austen, *MP* 574)

With this remarks, Mrs. Norris greatly praises herself as well as her sister, Lady Bertram, and her brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Bertram. The citation reveals that Mrs. Norris holds the view that Fanny`s good looks might be regarded as a result of the positive influences and good manners of the Bertram family. Fanny Price, modest as ever, does not even dare to correct her aunts` wrong assumption, but she just makes her think she is right. The third-person narrator points out, "Not but that [Lady Bertram] was really pleased to have Fanny admired; but she was so much more struck with her own kindness in sending Chapman to her, that she could not get it out of her head" (577).

Fanny`s extraordinarily good looks on the discussed evening are again the subject of conversation at a later point of the novel, i. e. when Fanny informs Lady Bertram that Henry Crawford proposed to her. Lady Bertram seems rather joyful about the offer that was made to her niece and argues, 'I will tell you what, Fanny, [...] I am sure he fell in love with you at the ball

[...]. You did look remarkably well. Every body said so. Sir Thomas said so. And you know you had Chapman to help you dress. I am very glad I sent Chapman to you' (Austen, *MP* 607-608). Thus, Lady Bertram is of the opinion that Henry Crawford fell in love with Fanny exclusively due to her pretty dress and good looks that particular night. Furthermore, Lady Bertram`s frequent repetition about her own generosity concerning sending the servant to Fanny emphasises her rather exaggerated positive self-perception and the lack of independence she attributes to Fanny. Having analysed various examples from *MP*, it seems appropriate to take a closer look at Austen`s most famous novel *P & P* now.

P & P includes a rather considerable situation that deals with Elizabeth Bennet, who will be also referred to as Lizzy throughout the course of this study. The first characterisation of the young woman in respect to her clothes takes place in chapter VIII. Lizzy`s elder sister Jane is currently staying at Netherfield, to where she was invited to dinner with Mr. Bingley, but then became ill and was forced to stay for a longer time. As Lizzy despises their mother for being almost joyful about the fact that Jane had to stay with Mr. Bingley, she truly worries about her sister and hastily sets out for Netherfield. Unfortunately, her rather long walk is accompanied by heavy rainfall and, understandably enough, Lizzy`s outward appearance suffers from the unpleasant weather situation. Consequently, indirect presentation of Elizabeth takes place via the following conversation between Caroline and Louisa (the two sisters of Mr. Bingley), Mr. Bingley and Mr. Darcy:

> [Caroline Bingley:] '[...] Her hair so untidy, so blowsy!'
> [Louisa Hurst:] 'Yes, and her petticoat; I hope you saw her petticoat, six inches deep in mud, I am absolutely certain; and the gown which had been let down to hide it, not doing its office.'
> [Mr. Bingley:] 'Your picture may be very exact, Louisa, [...] but this was all lost upon me. I thought Miss Elizabeth Bennet looked remarkably well, when she came into the room this morning. Her dirty petticoat quite escaped my notice.'

> [Caroline Bingley:] '*You* observed it, Mr. Darcy, I am sure, [...] and I am inclined to think that you would not wish to see *your sister* make such an exhibition.'
> [Mr. Darcy:] 'Certainly not.'
> (Austen, *P & P* 229)

Apart from the information the reader gets about Lizzy`s appearance, the cited conversation further includes some indirect presentation of the four speakers, as well, which is done via their content of speech. Caroline and Louisa, for example, being described as "fine women, with an air of decided fashion" (Austen, *P & P* 214) somewhat earlier, judge Elizabeth in a most derogatory way. Whatever prejudices they might have against Lizzy as a person, Caroline and Louisa express their low opinion of her on behalf of her dirty clothes. Shortly before the cited conversation the two Bingley sisters claim that Elizabeth has "no stile, no taste, no beauty" (229) and further describe her as looking "almost wild" (229). This adjective might be used as a contrast to the looks of Caroline and Louisa, who are exclusively described as looking extremely neat and cultivated at all times. Furthermore, the adjective wild could be an indication of Elizabeth`s progressive personality which is not considered as appropriate for a young woman in the eyes of Caroline and Louisa, whose behaviours are far from being wild. In addition, Mr. Darcy`s initial prejudice against Lizzy is revealed by his short, but definitely disparaging remark about her outward appearance. Thus, the novel`s title perfectly reflects two of Darcy`s most dominant character qualities. Besides, by repeating the word "petticoat", a rather strong focus is put on Lizzy`s most striking piece of clothing in this situation. Furthermore, the use of repetition might also emphasise Caroline and Louisa`s loquaciousness. When Miss Bingley is in conversation with Mr. Darcy later and realises that he actually admires Miss Bennet, Caroline refers to Lizzy as not being pretty at all. She further remarks, 'and in her air altogether, there is a self-sufficiency without fashion, which is intolerable' (Austen, *P & P* 356).

As it will be referred to in section 2.4., Lydia Bennet elopes with George Wickham towards the end of *P & P*. Her mother`s enormous excitement

about one of her daughter`s getting married even prevails the negative aspects that the young couple`s engagement brings along. As Mrs. Bennet is extremely concerned with Lydia`s wedding dress to a great extent, the reader might feel that Mrs. Bennet has a certain preference for Lydia among her five daughters. However, after the wedding has taken place, Mrs. Bennet shows a comparable excitement about her eldest daughter Jane. When Mr. Bingley surprisingly pays a visit to the Bennets, there is a great uproar among the Miss Bennets and their mother:

> He came, and in such very good time, that the ladies were none of them dressed. In ran Mrs. Bennet to her daughter`s room, in her dressing gown, and with her hair half finished, crying out,
> 'My dear Jane, make haste and hurry down. He is come—Mr. Bingley is come.—He is, indeed. Make haste, make haste. Here, Sarah, come to Miss Bennet this moment, and help her on with her gown. Never mind Miss Lizzy`s hair.'
> 'We will be down as soon as we can,' said Jane; 'but I dare say Kitty is forwarder than either of us, for she went up stairs half an hour ago.'
> 'Oh! hang Kitty! what has she to do with it? Come be quick, be quick! where is your sash my dear?'
> (Austen, *P & P* 396)

It is rather striking that, in the cited situation, the main goal is to emphasise a young woman`s beauty via clothes and a hairstyle that are considered as appropriate for the current occasion. Jane is the explicit centre of attention now, and her mother wants her to face Mr. Bingley with a most perfect outward appearance. Thus, it can be argued that Jane`s looks seem to be even more important than, for example, which subjects of conversation she may raise with her future husband. This strong emphasis on outward appearance might be an allusion to the concept of the angel in the house, which represented the prototype of a perfect woman in the Victorian Age which followed the Regency Period in England.

Social class is something which can be expressed through clothes. *P & P* includes a very distinctive example of this. Several weeks after the wedding of Charlotte Lucas and Mr. Collins, Elizabeth Bennet pays a visit to the

couple, who are now living in Hunsford. Mr. Collins has just received an invitation for dinner at Rosings the following evening. He feels tremendously honoured and excited about the invitation, as it comes from Lady Catherine de Bourgh, who lives at Rosings. Lady Catherine is Mr. Collins` extremely wealthy and snobbish patron, and he treats her reverently. When the evening approaches, Mr. Collins gives the following advice to Elizabeth about the clothes she should put on for the visit:

> 'Do not make yourself uneasy, my dear cousin, about your apparel. Lady Catherine is far from requiring that elegance of dress in us, which becomes herself and daughter. I would advise you merely to put on whatever of your clothes is superior to the rest, there is no occasion for any thing more. Lady Catherine will not think the worse of you for being simply dressed. She likes to have the distinction of rank preserved.' (Austen, *P & P* 298)

Therefore, Mr. Collins` comments imply that clothes have a significant meaning and display social rank. In this special case, he even emphasises the importance of Lizzy`s expressing simplicity and modesty via her dress in order to avoid offending Lady Catherine by challenging their different social ranks.

Mrs. Gardiner, the wife of Mrs. Bennet`s brother, is a female character that is initially presented to the reader by direct definition: "Mrs. Gardiner, who was several years younger than Mrs. Bennet and Mrs. Philips, was an amiable, intelligent, elegant woman, and a great favourite with all her Longbourn nieces" (Austen, *P & P* 287). The narrator continues with using some elements of indirect presentation about the woman`s behaviour: "The first part of Mrs. Gardiner`s business on her arrival, was to distribute her presents and describe the newest fashions. When this was done, she had a less active part to play. It became her turn to listen" (287). On the one hand, these comments might indicate that Mrs. Gardiner is a rather materialistic person by prioritising presents and the talk of fashion before inquiring anything about her sisters` and nieces` welfare, for example. Yet, on the other hand, the cited observations may suggest certain character

qualities of Mrs. Gardiner to the reader that he or she might be able to conclude via the narrator`s use of indirect presentation. Moving away from *P & P*, the following paragraphs will point out some important examples regarding women`s dress in *E.*

E includes an interesting example concerning the development of romantic feelings due to a certain outward appearance. Emma Woodhouse and her good friend Harriet Smith exchange their opinions about Mr. Elton`s wife, who they have just seen for the first time. Emma claims that Mrs. Elton was "[v]ery nicely dressed, indeed" (Austen, *E* 837) and had "a remarkably elegant gown" (837). Consequently, Harriet replies, 'I am not at all surprized that he had fallen in love' (837). This remark certainly implies that Mr. Elton chose his wife, among other things, according to her elegance and sense of fashion. Miss Woodhouse repeats that she considers Mrs. Elton as "very pleasant and very elegantly dressed" (843) several times in the novel. These remarks are all elements of indirect presentation via speech, and in the case of Mrs. Elton the character is presented via the remarks of two young ladies, i. e. Emma and Harriet. At Mr. Weston`s ball in Volume Three, Chapter II, a part of Mrs. Elton`s characterisation is done by Jane Fairfax, who mentions, 'Mrs. Elton is going; dear Mrs. Elton, how elegant she looks! Beautiful lace!—Now we all follow in her train. Quite the queen of the evening!' (869). Interestingly enough, shortly after Emma and Harriet`s statements, Mrs. Elton remarks, 'We really seem quite the fashion'. By this remark she suggests self-praise for her husband and herself. As it will be referred to in section 2.4., further indirect presentation will occur by what Mrs. Elton states about her own wedding clothes.

Mrs. Jane Fairfax is a character mainly presented indirectly via the speech of other characters, who often refer to her as a rather elegant and fashionable young woman. She shares a secret with Mr. Frank Churchill, i. e. their engagement, which is only revealed to the other characters rather late in the novel. Of course, the couple spends several day and evening occasions together pretending not to be anything more to each other than mere acquaintances. At one point of the novel, the reader is even led to

the assumption that there might be a happy ending in terms of a conjugal union of Emma Woodhouse and Frank Churchill.

In one situation, a piece of clothing is used as a means of hiding Jane`s feelings. In Volume Three, Chapter V, Mr. George Knightley already suspects a possible affection, or at least a considerable degree of intimacy between Miss Fairfax and Mr. Churchill. When they are all entering a hall together with Emma, Miss Bates and some other of their acquaintances, the narrator comments, "Mr. Knightley`s eyes had preceded Miss Bates`s in a glance at Jane. From Frank Churchill`s face, where he thought he saw confusion suppressed or laughed away, he had involuntarily turned to her`s; but she was indeed behind, and too busy with her shawl" (Austen, *E* 879). Jane`s shawl is mentioned again only two pages later, when she decides to leave the party rather hastily and looks for it together with Frank Churchill (881). It is rather assumable that, although Frank is trying to catch her eye on entering the hall, Jane wants to escape the whole situation, because she feels rather uncomfortable on sitting at the same table with Frank and pretending not to know him well. By all means, Jane uses the shawl in order to hide her feelings and facial expression. Furthermore, the shawl gives her the opportunity to keep her hands busy and, therefore, she is able to pretend to have more important things to do than to look at Frank Churchill.

In fact, Jane Austen refers to shawls several times in her novels. In *MP*, for example, the following situation occurs: "Fanny`s last feeling in the visit was disappointment—for the shawl which Edmund was quietly taking from the servant to bring and put round her shoulders, was seized by Mr. Crawford`s quicker hand, and she was obliged to be indebted to his more prominent attention" (Austen, *MP* 563). Thus, Fanny Price is disappointed, because Edmund Bertram does not get the chance to help her with her shawl. Instead, Henry Crawford, pushing himself to the fore as ever, takes the opportunity of coming closer to Fanny and possibly touching her from Edmund. Moreover, Mr. Woodhouse in *E* mentions a shawl when he takes a first look at the drawing his daughter Emma has made of her friend

Harriet. Although Mr. Woodhouse praises Emma for her work, he criticises, 'The only thing I do not thoroughly like is, that she seems to be sitting out of doors, with only a little shawl over her shoulders—and it makes one think she must catch cold' (Austen, *E* 713). When Emma reminds her father of the fact that 'it is supposed to be summer' (713) in the picture, Mr. Woodhouse replies, 'But it is never safe to sit out of doors, my dear' (713). Thus, one might conclude that Mr. Woodhouse is a rather considerate and caring man, which could be due to the fact that his wife died rather early. In addition, Mrs. Weston, who was a constant support concerning the education of Emma, has just left Mr. Woodhouse`s household, as she got married herself. Maybe this is a further reason for Emma`s father to feel somewhat more responsible for Emma than before and to express his concerns about a young woman`s catching cold even in regard to the drawing of Harriet. The last two paragraphs of this section will discuss some situations that deal with dress in a rather different way. To be more precise, the closing of this chapter looks at the aspects of undressing and its possible associations to the characters` emotions.

In Austen`s novels, certain pieces of clothing are not only used to cover or hide something, such as Jane Fairfax`s shawl in *E* or Lydia Bennet`s glove in *P & P* (see section 4.2.), but, at some points, characters are presented as "undressed and in bed" (Austen, *S & S* 96) and "only half dressed" (97), respectively, whenever they are unhappy or worry about something. The cited situations occur after Marianne Dashwood has seen her beloved John Willoughby together with Miss Grey at a ball. Thereafter, Marianne has to realise that there is not going to be an engagement between Mr. Willoughby and herself, which she strongly hoped for. The third-person narrator informs the reader about Marianne`s tears when she goes to bed and her still "restless state of [...] mind" (97) the next morning. In contrast to that, Austen`s characters are never described as half dressed or even undressed when they are perfectly happy and have found peace of mind. Thus, it could be argued that the incomplete dressing of a person is sometimes an allusion to his or her incomplete happiness and complacency.

Another situation that supports this assumption occurs in *NA*, Volume Two, Chapter VIII. On Catherine Morland`s first evening at Northanger Abbey, where she has been invited to by the Tilneys, her imagination, enormously influenced by the great number of Gothic novels she has read, runs riot. Catherine`s adventurous mind, even more inspired by the somewhat eerie ambience of Northanger Abbey, suddenly sets her mind on the idea that Mrs. Tilney might not be dead, but actually still alive and hidden somewhere in the Abbey. The following citation describes the situation of Catherine`s first evening at the Abbey more precisely: "In revolving these matters, while she undressed, it suddenly struck her as not unlikely, that she might that morning have passed near the very spot of this unfortunate woman`s confinement—might have been within a few paces of the cell in which she languished out her days" (Austen, *NA* 1056). Thus, Catherine is preparing to go to bed and is giving her fancy full scope while she is taking off her clothes. It could be assumed that the act of undressing is again associated with a certain exposure of a character`s thoughts. Therefore, the stripping of clothes may indicate a strip of Catherine`s fantasy, which is revealed to the reader in a most adventurous way in this situation. Again, the missing and removing of clothes in a novel might reflect a restless state of a character`s mind. In order to be able to get a deeper understanding of female dress at Austen`s time, chapter 2.3. will provide some information about fabrics and colours that were popular for Regency clothing.

2.3. Fabrics and Colours

According to Williams, "[t]he years from 1780 to 1880 were crucial for the shaping of the textile industries of the modern world" (55). The century of the Industrial Revolution did not only bring along innovations in technical domains, but it had some considerable influence on the "production of printed and woven cloth" (55), as well. One of the greatest expansions of the end of the 18th century took place in the cotton industry (Watson 508). George III induced a vast import of cotton, mainly from Latin America and the West Indies. Moreover, the invention of some machines facilitated work

and simultaneously provided new jobs for weavers et cetera (Watson 508 – 512).

Among all materials that Austen mentions regarding clothes, muslin is definitely the one that is referred to most frequently. According to Hughes, "muslins were to the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries what synthetic fibres were to the mid-twentieth-century – they transformed life" (36). Furthermore, Buck claims that "[w]hite muslin had from the end of the eighteenth century been the main fabric used for women`s dress" and "was still the general and correct wear for dresses of all kinds in 1810" (139). Whereas members of the lower class used to wear mainly wool or fustian at the turn of the century, people of higher social rank tended to use finer materials such as satin, velvet and silk, especially for evening wear and special occasions (Hughes 36). Moreover, Austen mentions several kinds of fabrics in *P & P*, which can be observed in the following citation about Mrs. Bennet: "She was then proceeding to all the particulars of calico, muslin, and cambric, and would shortly have dictated some very plentiful orders, had not Jane, though with some difficulty, persuaded her to wait, till her father was at leisure to be consulted" (Austen, *P & P* 376).

Muslin gained enormous popularity in the 1760s (Hughes 37). Interestingly enough, the high status of "real Indian muslin" even exceeded cotton, which was imported to England after 1774 (37). In addition, Hughes states that muslin was "quite fragile", but at the same time "easy to work with", it "had to be washed and changed often" and "it was easier to dye than heavier fabrics" (37-38). The fragility of the fabric could be alluded to in the following remark taken from *S & S*, when Miss Steele encounters Elinor Dashwood and exclaims, 'La! if you have not got your best spotted muslin on!—I wonder you was not afraid of its being torn' (Austen, *S & S* 149). Although muslin was considered rather cheap material, the mentioned features actually imply that it was somewhat restricted to a rather wealthy target group. As it needed elaborate care, "extensive indulgence in this fashion involved the employment of several servants" (Hughes 38).

As section 3.2. will discuss in greater detail, Austen uses one of her male characters in *NA* to lay some emphasis on the various characteristics of muslin and its popularity. In *P & P*, for example, Austen refers to muslin via the character of Mrs. Bennet. When she contemplates what her daughter Lydia might be able to buy after her wedding to George Wickham, "fine muslins" (Austen, *P &* P 377) are one of the first possessions that come to her mind. This situation reinforces the argument that the purchase, or at least the frequent use of muslin requires a certain economic prosperity. Furthermore, muslin is not only mentioned a great number of times in Austen`s novels, but equally in her *Letters*. Interestingly enough, the fabric was even used for headdress, as the author refers to at one point, "I wore at the Ball your favourite gown, a bit of muslin of the same round my head, border`d with M^{rs} Cooper`s band – & one little Comb" (Austen, *Letters* 54). For further remarks about muslin, see, for example, *Letters*, page 46 and page 166.

Austen`s *Letters* are a further proof of the fact that it was common practice for women to rather buy some material for a dress and then have it made, for example by a maidservant. In December 1798 Jane Austen wrote to her sister, "I cannot determine what to do about my new Gown; I wish such things were to be bought ready made" (*Letters* 30). Fig. 3 shows a "[d]etail of a white muslin scarf worked in satin stitch by Jane Austen" (Byrde 108).

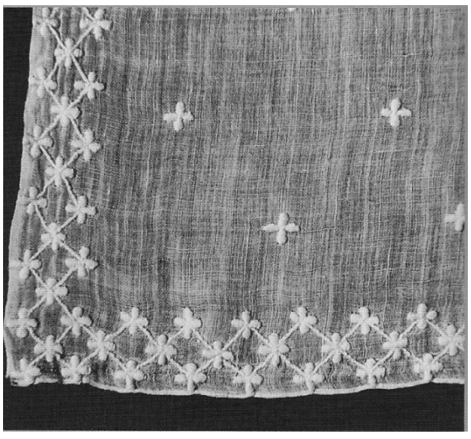

Fig. 3

During the years after 1810 there was a steady decrease of using muslin for evening wear, however it did not go out of style completely (Buck 140).

One of the fabrics that replaced muslin was satin, "but the most popular fabrics for evening wear, between 1815 and 1830, were the light, delicate textures of net, gauze or lace, transparent cream or white worn over a slip of white or coloured satin, pale pink, blue or yellow" (Buck 140). Furthermore, Buck points out that "day-time silks", the texture of which was not as heavy as that of evening dresses, were either "striped, usually on a cream of white ground, or checked" (140). Another fabric coming into fashion was "[l]evantine, a soft, twilled silk, [...] used both for dresses and pelisses and spencers" (140). Levantine was one of the influences English fashion received from the orient. In *MP* Austen refers to a different kind of fabric, namely calico. According to AskOxford.com, calico is "a type of plain white or unbleached cotton cloth" and has its origin in Calicut, i. e. a seaport town in southwest India. The mentioned reference occurs when Mrs. Norris tells Fanny Price, 'If you have no work of your own, I can supply you from the poor-basket. There is all the new calico that was bought last week, not touched yet. I am sure I almost broke my back by cutting it out' (Austen, *MP* 463).

In Jane Austen`s *Letters* she mentions a different kind of fabric:

> The Overton Scotchman has been kind enough to rid me of some of my money, in exchange for six shifts and four pair of stockings. The Irish is not so fine as I should like it; but as I gave as much money for it as I intended, I have no reason to complain. It cost me 3*s*. 6*d*. per yard. It is rather finer, however, than our last, and not so harsh a cloth.
> (Austen, *Letters* 22)

According to the notes in the *Letters*` appendix, "[a] 'scotchman' (not necessarily Scottish), was a pedlar carrying fabrics and drapery good round the countryside for doorstep sales" (362). "The Irish" refers to Irish linen, which is actually mentioned several times in Austen`s *Letters* and seems to have been a rather popular fabric for clothes, as well. It is quite remarkable how many details Jane Austen included in the letters she wrote to her sister Cassandra. For example, in this letter she mentions the linen`s

price and compares it to an earlier purchase, and she continues with a very distinct description of the cloth.

> *[W]hat meaning lies in Colour! From the soberest drab to the high-flaming scarlet, spiritual idiosyncrasies unfold themselves in choice of Colour: if the Cut betoken Intellect and Talent, so does the Colour betoken Temper and Heart.*
> (Carlyle 24)

It is fairly evident that the colours of clothing are also associated with certain fashion styles. As it has already been referred to in section 2.2., the narrator`s comment that "[a] woman can never be too fine while she is all in white" (*MP* 546) might lead the reader to the assumption that white was a highly fashionable colour for female dress at the turn of the 19th century. Furthermore, Mrs. Allen advises Catherine Morland in *NA*, "only put on a white gown; Miss Tilney always wears white" (Austen, *NA* 1004). This remark underlines the popularity of white dresses, because Miss Tilney is an extremely fashionable female character, and is therefore supposed to be acquainted with the latest trends. Buck points out that "[t]he colours of the beginning of the period, clear yellow, pale blue or pink, soft green, were worn always against a background of white, appearing in cloaks, mantels, spencers and pelisses over white dresses" (140).

By referring to pink, blue, green and coquelicot ribbons (*S & S* 147; *E* 817, 884; *NA* 975), and some yellow pattern (*E* 817), Austen conveys some examples of current colours. One can assume that Austen was rather fond of the colour coquelicot herself, as it is revealed in one of her *Letters* from December 1798. In the letter, Austen informs her sister about a feather that she intends to put on a cap which she is going to wear for an upcoming ball. Austen writes, "instead of the black military feather [I] shall put in the Coquelicot one, as being smarter; -- & besides Coquelicot is to be all the fashion this winter" (26). She further mentions her own green and pink

shoes (34; 51). Moreover, a reference to the colour purple occurs in *NA* (1071) and has been the subject of investigation in section 2.2.

According to Buck, whenever colours came into use, they were "used sparingly and always relieved by white" (140). Therefore it would have been rather inappropriate to combine a coloured spencer or pelisse with a dress of any other colour than white. Only the following years allowed more liberal combinations of colours as the style of dress became more elaborate (140). A further indication of white being regarded a most fashionable colour is when Harriet Smith tells Emma Woodhouse about her encountering her beloved Mr. Martin at Ford`s. Miss Smith exclaims, 'Oh! dear; I was so miserable! I am sure I must have been as white as my gown' (Austen, *E* 785). This citation indicates that Harriet wore a white dress and thus conformed to what was in fashion. Furthermore, in the cited remark the colour of a piece of clothing is used as a means of allusion to a character`s emotions. Fig. 4 shows a perfect contrast between women and men in their most fashionable colours at the beginning of the 19th century. Especially for evening occasions at the time women were regularly seen in white and men in black, respectively. Concerning Fig. 4 Hughes observes that "some of the older women are wearing darker muslins [...] but the light-coloured dresses draw the eye" (38).

Fig. 4

As Austen`s *Letters* prove, dresses were not only remade, but dying them was also quite common practice in order to make them look different. That the Austen family was wealthy enough to employ staff is implied, among other things, in the following remarks Jane Austen made in a letter to her sister Cassandra in 1796, "I have had my new gown made up, and it really makes a very superb surplice. I am sorry to say that my new coloured gown is very much washed out, though I charged everybody to take great care of it. I hope yours is so too" (Austen, *Letters* 6). Furthermore, she states, "Dame Bushell washes for us only one week more" (17), indicating that the family do not have to be concerned with doing their laundry themselves. It is rather assumable that the Austen family was even able to employ more than one person, as the author mentions several names in her letters. "John Steeven`s wife undertakes our Purification; She does not look as if anything she touched would ever be clean, but who knows? – We do not seem likely have any other maidservant at present, but Dame Staples will supply the place of one" (18). In October 1808 the author informs Cassandra, "Mother is preparing mourning for M^{rs} E. K. – she has picked her old silk pelisse to peices [sic], & means to have it dyed black for a gown – a very interesting scheme, tho` just now a little injured by finding that it must be placed in M$^{r}$ Wren`s hands, for M^{r} Chambers is gone" (143). The subject of colour will also be rather important in the following section, which will deal with an extremely special kind of female dress, i. e. the wedding dress, that Austen refers to in her novels in various situations.

2.4. Wedding Dresses

A wedding dress has an incredibly special function. It is the dress that a woman wears on the day that is often considered the best in her life. Even though divorces and remarriage are regarded almost usual at the beginning of the 21st century, for many it is still a common assumption that this special dress is chosen for an occasion which occurs only once in a woman`s life. However, no matter what century, it can definitely be claimed that to a great extent a wedding dress reflects a bride`s culture, because it somehow carries

"everything her culture finds beautiful" (McBride-Mellinger qtd in Hughes 157). Just like all other pieces of clothing and accessories, a wedding dress can be considered a symbol of its wearer`s social status, sex, age and cultural background. Above all, most women associate a large amount of emotions and individual meanings with their wedding dress. Moreover, Friese suggests that, "[v]ia its symbolic and rhetorical power, the wedding dress has the ability to articulate or to display, to conceal or to hide or simply to blur emotions, attitudes and values" (57). Hughes` argument that "[e]ven now a dress-design show ends with a wedding dress" (157) indeed stresses the huge importance of this special piece of clothing. The purpose of this section is to investigate the topic of wedding dresses in Austen`s novels, and, in greater depth, to analyse some further details about how and why wedding clothes are discussed in this context.

Although there is no explicit consensus of the exact date when the concept of the white wedding dress emerged, it will be pointed out later that Jane Austen definitely used some elements of a white wedding in her novels. For an approximate guideline concerning period of time, Hughes argues that "by 1850 the standard components of the church-wedding – the white dress, veil, wreath of orange-blossom and bouquet of flowers – had been in place almost half a century" (158). Unfortunately, there are no descriptions about bridal hairstyle and headgear in Austen`s novels. However, the tradition of wearing orange blossom in the bride`s hair has its origin in the Mediterranean. "In Crete, the bride and bridegroom were sprinkled with orange flower water; in Sardinia, oranges were hung upon the horns of the oxen that pulled the nuptial carriage" (Ball & Torem-Craig 17). Hughes claims that "[t]he orange-blossom wreath seems to have been imported into England from France around 1830" and that it was a "Mediterranean, pre-Christian symbol of fertility" (163). The British fondness for adopting what was fashionable in more exotic regions could be connected to the acceptance of various other fashion styles apart from the bridal headdress.

The colour white has been considered prototypical for wedding dresses throughout the previous decades. On the one hand a white wedding dress is

"a symbol for purity and innocence of girlhood" (Friese 61), whereas, on the other hand, the credible and more predominant reasons for the colour`s popularity originate from questions of availability and price of appropriate material. "At the time when white became the preferred colour for wedding dresses, it was not in vogue to wear heavy silks and brocades for evening wear and wedding gowns. Instead, thinner fabrics such as muslin, organdie, gauzes or linens were preferred", and "these fabrics were primarily available in white" (Friese 61). "Not only were the heavy brocades of the earlier period old-fashioned, they were also hard to get during the Napoleonic Wars" (Hughes 162), i.e. at the time when Jane Austen wrote her famous novels. Interestingly enough, the white wedding dress has been established as a tradition that is still followed around the world even though the issue regarding available fabrics no longer exists. In addition, Hughes argues that 19th century women were rather fond of the so-called "going-away dress", which usually had a simpler style than the wedding dress and was worn for the wedding journey (161).

Fig. 5 shows the wedding gown that Princess Charlotte Augusta of Wales was wearing for her wedding to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. Princess Charlotte was the only child of Caroline of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and King George IV, probably better known as Prince Regent, of the United Kingdom. As the couple married in 1816, it can be assumed that the Princess`s wedding dress served as a model for a great number of English women`s wedding dresses in the Regency Period. With its high waistline, rather plunging neckline and hemline just off the ground the style of the wedding dress in Fig. 5 clearly conforms to what was regarded most fashionable for women in Regency England.

Fig. 5

Forsling provides the following description of this wedding dress:

> White silk net embroidered in silver strip with a spotted ground and borders. The wedding dress, composed of a most magnificent silver lama on net, over a rich silver tissue slip, with a superb border of silver lama embroidery at the bottom, forming shells and bouquets above the border; a most elegant fullness tastefully designed, in festoons of rich silver lama, and finished with a very brilliant rollio of lama; the body and sleeves to correspond, trimmed with a most beautiful point Brussels lace, in a peculiar elegant style. The manteau of rich silver tissue lined with white satin, trimmed round with a most superb silver lama border, in shells to correspond with the dress, and fastened in front with a most brilliant and costly ornament of diamonds. The whole dress surpassed all conception in the brilliancy and richness of its effects. Head dress, a wreath of rose buds and leaves, composed of the most superb brilliants.
> (Forsling, *Regency Weddings*)

Jane Austen chose courtship and romance as the central themes of her novels. After some thorough reading of her works it becomes very clear that she put the highest emphasis on conveying the following message to the reader: the characters who marry for love will finally get rewarded with a much happier life than those who marry for money and luxury goods. Almost each of her novels' heroines declines a marriage proposal due to lack of feelings at one point of the story. As an indication of Austen`s use of irony, these proposals are sometimes made by rather ridiculous men, for example by Mr. Collins in *P & P* and Mr. Elton in *E*. In contrast to Austen`s own life, however, her heroines all become happy by finally marrying the men they love.

Although Jane Austen was rather economical concerning detailed descriptions of wedding dresses in general, there is at least one reference to them in each one of her six novels that are the subject of investigation in this paper. *MP*, for example, only includes one reference to wedding clothes. Rather surprisingly, this situation occurs towards the end of the first half of the novel, whereas novels often tend to close with a wedding of two main characters (Hughes 157). However, the author may have decided to include

a wedding a great deal earlier simply due to the fact that the couple that is to be married consists of two minor characters. After the wedding of Maria Bertram and Mr. Rushworth the narrator observes, "It was a very proper wedding. The bride was elegantly dressed—the two bridesmaids were duly inferior" (Austen, *MP* 535). Whatever Jane Austen might explicitly mean by using the adverb "elegantly" is left to the reader`s imagination. It is fairly comprehensible though, that the bridesmaids are not described to be dressed more elegantly than the bride, since the bride is supposed to be the centre of attention in every wedding.

Two other novels that include very little about wedding dresses are *S & S* and *P.* In fact, in *S & S* the only reference to a bride`s clothes occurs when Mrs. Jennings is surprised about the fact that Marianne Dashwood "came to town with [her] on purpose to buy wedding clothes" (Austen, *S & S* 98).

In *P* the author mentions that Captain Harville`s "mother had some old friends in Bath, whom she wanted to see; it was thought a good opportunity for Henrietta to come and buy wedding-clothes for herself and her sister" (Austen, *P* 1211). Since the probable purchase of wedding dresses is mentioned as one of the reasons for travelling to Bath, it can be assumed that shops in the city have a great variety of dresses, materials and patterns to choose from. As it has already been mentioned in section 2.2., Bath was considered as a role model concerning fashion trends and was therefore fairly attractive to people from the countryside or from smaller towns. The narrator continues, "Anne`s only surprise was, that affairs should be in forwardness enough for Henrietta`s wedding-clothes to be talked of: she had imagined such difficulties of fortune to exist there as must prevent the marriage from being near at hand" (1211).

In *NA* wedding dresses are mentioned in two situations. This novel also differs from the typical happy ending including a wedding ceremony, but the mentioned situations both occur in the first half of the book. The first allusion to a bride`s dress occurs during a conversation between Catherine Morland and Mrs. Allen. In this conversation the former poses numerous questions to

the latter in order to get to know some more details about Mr. and Miss Tilney, who Mrs. Allen has just met. As Miss Morland has an increasing affection for Mr. Tilney, she is particularly eager to learn more about his family and background. Consequently, Mrs. Allen informs her that she knows some facts about the young man`s deceased mother, Mrs. Tilney. As Mrs. Tilney, formerly Miss Drummond, attended the same school as Mrs. Hughes, an acquaintance of Mrs. Allen, it is not surprising that Mrs. Allen is informed rather well about the Tilneys. Mrs. Allen tells Catherine that 'when [Miss Drummond] married, her father gave her twenty thousand pounds, and five hundred to buy wedding-clothes. Mrs. Hughes saw all the clothes after they came from the warehouse' (Austen, *NA* 992).

As it has already been referred to in section 2.2., Mrs. Allen refers to facts about clothes whenever she has the opportunity and in this case she especially refers to the financial support which was given to Mr. Tilney`s mother for a special dress by her own father. The information that Miss Drummond`s father was able to spare twenty thousand pounds as a dowry for his daughter lets the reader conclude that he probably has a high income. In fact, this assumption is confirmed by Mrs. Allen who describes the Tilneys as very wealthy. Therefore, it can be assumed that Miss Drummond had the option to choose a rather extravagant and expensive wedding dress, which is certainly something that Mrs. Allen envies to a great extent. Furthermore, it is remarkable that Mrs. Allen remembers a fact about the price of a woman`s wedding dress and not a different kind of clothing. This may lead to the assumption that the significance of the wedding dress and its superiority compared to other dresses is emphasised in particular by Mrs. Allen`s comment.

The other situation that refers to wedding clothes in *NA* takes place shortly after James Morland proposes to Isabella Thorpe. However, their engagement is not confirmed yet, as the young couple still waits for the consent that Isabella`s father is supposed to impart in a letter. Isabella makes rather long conversation with her good friend Catherine Morland, who is at the same time to become her sister-in-law. Isabella wonders about where she

and her future husband might live and if they will be able to enjoy a wealthy life. Furthermore, Isabella affirms her affection for James Morland to his sister Catherine. Although it turns out later that Isabella finally does not marry James, she seems to have very deep and true feelings for him at that point of the novel. One of her greatest fears that she reveals to Catherine in their above-mentioned dialogue is the possible negative answer by letter that she might receive from her father the following day. Thereupon it is stated that "[a] reverie succeeded this conviction—and when Isabella spoke again, it was to resolve on the quality of her wedding-gown" (Austen, *NA* 1021). Thus, the reader may guess a certain confidence that Isabella has concerning the reaction of her father. If she did not believe in his positive answer at all, she would probably not care about what her wedding dress should look like. Apart from that, Isabella Thorpe`s superficiality, which has already been compared to that of Mrs. Allen in section 2.2., becomes apparent once again.

In *P & P*, there are five situations that refer to wedding clothes. It is interesting to notice, however, that these references rarely concern the description of the dresses, but rather the issue of organising the important occasion. Mrs. Bennet tells Mr. Gardiner the following right after she has been informed of the secret engagement of her daughter Lydia and George Wickham, 'And as for wedding clothes, do not let them wait for that, but tell Lydia she shall have as much money as she chuses, to buy them, after they are married. [...] And tell my dear Lydia, not to give any directions about her clothes, till she has seen me, for she does not know which are the best warehouses' (Austen, *P & P* 365). While these utterances certainly imply a kind of motherly advice to some extent, Mrs. Bennet`s desire for being in control of everything becomes obvious yet again. Furthermore, the issue of financial support for her daughter`s wedding is mentioned. As it will turn out somewhat later in the novel, however, Mrs. Bennet finally has to face the fact that her husband does not at all intend to give his daughter the amount of money she might wish to receive. In a large part this may be due to his strong objection to Lydia`s engagement to Mr. Wickham. It is declared that

> Mrs. Bennet found, with amazement and horror, that her husband would not advance a guinea to buy clothes for his daughter. He protested that she should receive from him no mark of affection whatever, on the occasion. Mrs. Bennet could hardly comprehend it. That his anger could be carried to such a point of inconceivable resentment, as to refuse his daughter a privilege, without which her marriage would scarcely seem valid, exceeded all that she could believe possible. She was more alive to the disgrace, which the want of new clothes must reflect on her daughter`s nuptials, than to any sense of shame at her eloping and living with Wickham, a fortnight before they took place.
> (Austen, *P & P* 378)

It becomes apparent that Mrs. Bennet seems to be a rather superficial woman, somewhat reminding of Mrs. Allen in *NA*, caring more about the looks than about the moral standards of her daughter. Therefore, clothes seem to worry Mrs. Bennet to a larger extent than the credible adverse criticism Lydia will get from most members of their society. While Mrs. Bennet seems to be mainly concerned about Lydia here, in the further course of the novel it becomes apparent that she pursues most stubbornly the main goal of her life, which is to have her daughters married.

Before the above-mentioned situation, Mrs. Bennet boasts about the alleged financial generosity she believes can be shown to Lydia. Mrs. Bennet once exclaims, 'Lizzy, my dear, run down to your father, and ask him how much he will give her. Stay, stay, I will go myself. Ring the bell, Kitty, for Hill. I will put on my things in a moment. My dear, dear Lydia! – How merry we shall be together when we meet!' (Austen, *P & P* 375). One possible conclusion that can be drawn from this citation is that Mrs. Bennet definitely cares a great deal about the wedding clothes of her daughter. Again the reader might be led to believe that Lydia could be her mother`s favourite. Although there is much talk about the good prospects of an upcoming wedding for the eldest daughter Jane in the very first chapters of the novel, it is rather astonishing that Mrs. Bennet does not seem to worry about the actual looks of Jane on her wedding day at all. Everyone knows from the beginning that Jane`s worshipper, Mr. Charles Bingley, is rather wealthy and shows impeccable manners in stark contrast to Lydia`s groom Mr. Wickham. Therefore, Mrs. Bennet might feel an urgent need to compensate this fact by placing special

emphasis on more superficial issues, such as Lydia`s wedding dress. However good or bad the Bennets` financial situation may be, the citation further indicates that they belong to middle class at least, as they obviously enjoy the luxury of having staff. In particular, Mrs. Bennet tells her daughter Kitty to call for Mrs. Hill, who is one of the family`s housekeepers at Longbourn.

Besides, Lydia and Wickham`s elopement and secret engagement are strongly reminiscent of the uncountable couples that tied the knot in secret after the introduction of the Marriage Act in 1753. This Act, also known as The Clandestine Marriage Bill, "was designed to prevent rich heirs and heiresses of good family from being seduced into clandestine or runaway marriages with their social or economic inferiors" (Bannet). Introduced by Mr. Attorney General Ryder, "the Bill [...] required that people get married in what we now take to be the normal and natural way: with banns or a license and parental permission for minors, before witnesses and an authorized clergyman, and by recording the event in a Marriage Register" (Bannet). Since the opportunity to marry where and when they wanted to was taken away from young people, it is fairly imaginable that they were eager to choose a partner who also corresponded to their own social status. Of course there were a great number of people who decided to marry despite their class differences. Thus, "[s]ecret weddings abounded" (Hughes 159) after the Marriage Act had been introduced in England.

Another situation is worth mentioning regarding wedding dress in *P & P*. The novel`s heroine Elizabeth Bennet and her elder sister Jane at one point reflect about the evident affection that Mr. Bingley has for Jane. While Jane is not convinced of Mr. Bingley`s feelings yet, Lizzy has already noticed his obvious fondness of her sister. The two sisters are further discussing a letter from Miss Caroline Bingley, informing Jane that Mr. Bingley is not supposed to return to Hertfordshire in the near future. Furthermore, Miss Bingley subtly expresses her personal desire of a possible liaison between Mr. Bingley and Mr. Darcy`s sister. Miss Bingley`s description of how much her brother allegedly admires Miss Georgiana Darcy raises unpleasant doubts in Jane

Bennet. As her own affection for Mr. Bingley has already been declared rather explicitly before that point of the story, learning that the young man might prefer Miss Darcy is certainly a reason for Jane to be somewhat jealous of them spending the winter in London. Still, her sister Elizabeth reasons that Caroline Bingley`s unreliable allusions are mere fabrications out of her own jealousy. Actually, Miss Bingley must have already noticed a mutual attraction between Jane Bennet and Mr. Bingley. Disappointed that she is not a great object of attraction herself to her heartthrob Mr. Darcy, Miss Bingley grudges other people`s bliss of love. In order to convey these facts to Jane, Lizzy explains, "[c]ould [Miss Bingley] have seen half as much love in Mr. Darcy for herself, she would have ordered her wedding clothes" (Austen, *P & P* 276). With this statement Elizabeth reinforces that Jane can be absolutely sure about Mr. Bingley`s love for her and that a future wedding between them is rather presumable.

Jane Austen`s *Emma* closes with the wedding of two main characters, namely Miss Emma Woodhouse and Mr. George Knightley. Interestingly enough, Austen does not inform the reader about any details of the wedding dress, but she uses one of her minor characters to judge the bride`s looks:

> The wedding was very much like other weddings, where the parties have no taste for finery or parade; and Mrs. Elton, from the particulars detailed by her husband, thought it all extremely shabby, and very inferior to her own.—'Very little white satin, very few lace veils; a most pitiful business!—Selina would stare when she heard of it.'—But, in spite of these deficiencies, the wishes, the hopes, the confidence, the predictions of the small band of true friends who witnessed the ceremony, were fully answered in the perfect happiness of the union.
> (Austen, *E* 957)

Austen`s reasons for choosing Mrs. Elton for making the only comment about Emma`s wedding ceremony might be to emphasise Mrs. Elton`s inclination to mockery one last time. In addition, the trigger for her rather spiteful statement might be some secret envy of Emma. Before Mr. Elton married his wife, former Miss Augusta Hawkins, he had actually proposed to Emma Woodhouse. Although Augusta can now enjoy calling herself Mrs. Elton,

Emma`s youthful ease and esprit might still be anathema to her. Moreover, Mrs. Elton can be considered a rather vulgar person, as she once mentions that 'Hymen`s saffron robe [was] put on for [them]' (Austen, *E* 858) about her own wedding. Mrs. Elton`s comment on Emma and Knightley`s wedding further implies that even her sister Selina would have been bewildered about such an unspectacular wedding dress had she been able to see it. The cited paragraph actually consists of the very last sentences of *E*. Moreover, it is most extraordinary to speak of deficiencies concerning some details of wedding clothes that are considered inferior by Mrs .Elton. Still, "one can assume that modesty and discretion on the part of author and bride secures married bliss" (Hughes 162), as the couple`s "perfect happiness" (Austen, *E* 957*)* is pointed out right after Mrs. Elton`s offensive comments. Hughes argues further that the reader might associate the mentioned white satin and veils to the typical style of a wedding dress nowadays, "though what Mrs. Elton has in mind is not the long face-concealing veil of later periods but the bonnet veils worn by female wedding guests" (162). Interestingly enough, "[v]eils and scarves of lace, silk and muslin were fashionable for day and evening wear in 1816 – the date of *Emma* – and fashion historians agree that the wedding outfit was consolidated at this period" (Hughes 162).

Somewhat earlier in the novel the reader is able to witness some of Mrs. Elton`s thoughts about her own wedding. In Chapter XVII, Volume Two, she says to Jane Fairfax,

> 'I must put on a few ornaments *now*, because it is expected of me. A bride, you know, must appear like a bride, but my natural taste is all for simplicity; a simple style of dress is so infinitely preferable to finery. But I am quite in the minority, I believe; few people seem to value simplicity of dress,--shew and finery are every thing. I have some notion of putting such a trimming as this to my white and silver poplin. Do you think it will look well?'
> (Austen, *E* 855)

Ironically, Augusta Hawkins strongly points out her own preference for simple things before she becomes Mr. Elton`s wife. Whether this is a mere deception by the narrator, or whether Mrs. Elton only acquires a more

splendid style after she has been married herself is left to the interpretation of the reader. On the whole, it can be noticed that Mrs. Elton makes frequent use of "figurative language" (Babb). Especially in the situation cited above, she probably intends to "show her vivacity, but it actually indicates her appalling lack of taste through the wild disproportion between the expression she uses and the situation she describes" (Babb). Furthermore, Babb claims that Mrs. Elton tends to "generalize in order to launch herself into a region where she may shine in lonely majesty", particularly with her statement about what a bride has to look like.

2.5. Shoes

Jungle primitives prefer to go barefoot.
(Adamson Hoebel 21)

Whereas some Indian tribes and indigenous people from several parts of the world refuse footwear in order to dry their feet more quickly, wearing shoes is a most natural thing for the Western civilisation (Adamson Hoebel 21). Inhabitants of Western Europe, for example, have made use of footwear in order to protect their feet from injuries for centuries. Besides, a desire to use shoes as adornment arose, at least among those people who had enough financial means to buy or have made more shoes than they needed essentially.

As the making of footwear has improved immensely throughout the centuries, the vast variety offered today definitely exceeds the mere functional aspects of shoes. On the one hand, the market offers footwear for any kind of occasion and weather, for example sandals, wellingtons and snow boots. On the other hand, footwear stores almost seem to overflow with shoes that have the mere functions of adorning the legs, being a kind of accessory to the wearer`s clothes, and perfecting a lady`s fashionable appearance. In contrast to today, it needs to be said that the ladies at Austen`s time did not wear high heels at all. Their shoes and boots were either completely flat or had no more

than a rather small heel (Buck 144). Buck further states that "[t]he colour of spencer, pelisse or hat or the trimmings of the dress was often repeated in the shoes" (144), especially in the first quarter of the 19th century. Whereas white slippers were popular for balls and dances in the evening, half-boots were mainly used for walking during the day (144). A closer investigation of half-boots in one of Austen`s novels will be provided in the following paragraphs. Furthermore, "shoes and clothes were made to measure, not yet available off the peg" in contrast to "gloves, hats, stockings and ribbons" (Le Faye 124).

In Jane Austen`s fourth novel *E*, shoes play a significant role in at least one part of the novel. The heroine Emma Woodhouse has dedicated her life to matchmaking. Being so busy with the possible love between her friends, she seems to completely forget about her own welfare regarding love affairs. Expectedly, Emma does not stay single throughout the whole book though, as she finally marries Mr. George Knightley. Returning to the specific scene which was mentioned above, it all starts out when Emma is going for a walk with her friend Harriet Smith, when Mr. Elton suddenly crosses their way and joins them. Since Emma has just been left by her former governess Mrs. Weston, who was called Miss Taylor by maiden name, Miss Woodhouse`s desire to have a new female companion is immediately apparent. In Harriet she finds this new friend to share her thoughts and gossip, and, as Miss Smith is only seventeen years of age, Emma treats her to some extent as her own protégée. Therefore, it is unsurprising that Harriet is Emma`s next victim for matchmaking. Emma would like to seize the opportunity to extend the acquaintance of Miss Smith and Mr. Elton, when "she immediately stopped, under pretence of having some alteration to make in the lacing of her half-boot, and stooping down in complete occupation of the footpath, begged them to have the goodness to walk on, and she would follow in half a minute" (Austen, *E* 737).

The third-person narrator then continues with a description of how Emma agonises about how to give Harriet and Mr. Elton a further reason to continue their private conversation, but finally she has to catch up with the other two.

However, Emma is a smart young woman who cannot bear to give up that easily. Therefore, the following citation demonstrates the fact that Miss Woodhouse does not run out of ideas to advance her matchmaking plans, if possible:

> They now walked on together quietly, till within view of the vicarage pales, when a sudden resolution, of at least getting Harriet into the house, made [Emma] again find something very much amiss about her boot, and fall behind to arrange it once more. She then broke the lace off short, and dexterously throwing it into a ditch, was presently obliged to entreat them to stop, and acknowledge her inability to put herself to rights so as to be able to walk home in tolerable comfort.
> 'Part of my lace is gone,' said she, 'and I do not know how I am to contrive. I really am a most troublesome companion to you both, but I hope I am not often so ill-equipped. Mr. Elton, I must beg leave to stop at your house, and ask your housekeeper for a bit of ribband or string, or any thing just to keep my boot on.' (Austen, *E* 737)

Whatever Emma would have made up, had she not been wearing laced half-boots is left to the reader`s imagination, but he or she can feel certain that the novel`s heroine would have been able to contrive another problem about her shoes or her dress as a reason to leave her companions by themselves. According to Buck, "[f]or walking there were half-boots, just covering the ankle and laced down the front, of leather, cloth cotton or silk, and shoes, usually of kid" (144). Furthermore, McDowell emphasises the purpose of and the associations with laces. He argues that lacing signifies sexual desire and implicates strong erotic imagery. Being redolent of corsets, laces on boots implied the reciprocal action of lacing and the hope for release, as well (McDowell 73). In Emma Woodhouse`s case her laced boots might therefore be metonymic with her subliminal sexual cravings which she has not been able to act out yet.

Figure 6 shows an example of a Regency half boot decorated with a shoe rose, which was usually made of silk and "[added] a charming touch to an otherwise fairly practical shoe" (Reeves). Jane Austen once mentions shoe roses in her novels, namely when the Bennet girls are eagerly busy with all

necessary preparations for an upcoming ball at Netherfield. In the course of these preparations and a relentless rain the girls are growing fairly impatient having received no news from a visiting relative, and even "the very shoe-roses for Netherfield were got by proxy" (Austen, *P &P* 259).

Fig. 6

Whenever shoes are mentioned in the works of Jane Austen, they are linked to the current weather in the majority of cases. Like nowadays, shoes were not only designed to fulfil a function around the turn of the 19th century, but more often to serve as a pretty addition to the clothing of the ladies and gentlemen. Even though the material which footwear was made of had already improved compared to that of the 18th century, "women`s footwear [...] was fairly flimsy [...] and quickly soaked through by water and mud" (Reeves). As one might imagine, such shoes were certainly not advantageous in rainy England. Thus, referring to shoes in mostly unfortunate weather situations might have been an intentional use of irony by Austen. For example, when Elizabeth Bennet once visits Mr. and Mrs. Collins in *P & P*, "Mr. Collins would have led [Elizabeth and Charlotte] round his two meadows, but the ladies not having shoes to encounter the remains of a white frost, turned back" (Austen, *P & P* 296). Furthermore, in *E* Miss Bates is worried about her cousin Jane`s feet getting wet (Austen, *E* 865). However, the same person emphasises that she does not have the same worries about herself due to her "quite thick shoes" (Austen, *E* 865). Moreover, Mrs. Clay in *P* apparently wears rather thick boots, "much thicker than Miss Anne`s", although Mr. Elliot finally observes that "his cousin Anne`s boots were rather the thickest" (Austen, *P* 1187).

After a closer investigation of shoes in Austen`s novels it can be observed that the mentioned footwear combines both functions that were mentioned near the beginning of this section. Of course practicality was to the fore for people living at the turn of the 19th century, as they were not able to enjoy the comfort of going by car or public means of transport. In fact they often had to walk or ride long distances and were in greater need of adapting their footwear to the current weather situation than we might be today. The function of footwear cannot have been exceptionally practical though, as it can be observed, for example, in the different styles of shoes that ladies combined with evening dresses, as well as in shoe roses and other details that ladies used to attach for an explicit adorning purpose.

2.6. Hairstyle and Headgear

The acorns of the forest or the wild bees of Hybla cannot surpass in number the infinite variety of women`s coiffures.
(Ovid qtd. in Corson 19)

Alongside fashion, hairstyles were highly influenced by ancient role models. Furthermore, as it has been referred to in greater detail in section 1.2., existent commercial relations to exotic places, such as the East and West Indies, played a significant role in English fashion in all areas. The rather informal and casual fashion of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century respectively was not only reflected in costume, but also in headdress. As Breward points out, “feminine hairdressing was […] transforming its original smooth bouffant appearance into a mass of frizzed [...] curls beneath extravagant straw and ribbon hats” (*Culture* 119). So as to gain greater insight into what was fashionable in hair at the time of Jane Austen, a concise retrospection on the history of hairstyles seems necessary.

2.6.1. A Brief Survey of the History of Female Hairstyle

That people and cultures have always set trends in hairstyles, and that at least the majority have always been eager to present themselves à la mode in public becomes evident when taking into account that even the "Cro-Magnon man and his contemporaries laid great emphasis on the female hairdo" (Adamson Hoebel 22). It is most likely that the best evidence for this is the statuette of the Venus of Willendorf (see Fig. 7) which was assumingly created between 24.000 and 22.000 BC (Witcombe). Famous for its feminine curves, it appears that the artist did not have any particular interest in any facial features at all. Interestingly enough though, "the pattern of the hair style is meticulously incised" (Adamson Hoebel 22). According to Adamson Hoebel, this very "trait of the Venus of Willendorf in the Aurignacian epoch [...] was not a mere accident but a strong feature of the culture, for a similar degree of care was lavished upon the hair pattern of the female head from the Grotte du Pape at Brassempouy" (22) (see Fig. 8).

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Throughout history female hairstyling has changed innumerable times. Examining pictures from the Regency Period, however, hairstyles at the time greatly resemble what was fashionable for ancient Greek women, and, even more so, for the female population of ancient Rome shortly before and after the birth of Jesus Christ. In these periods of time women pinned up their hair into a bun at the back of their heads and often used ribbons as a piece of

adornment. Some further parallels between Roman and Regency hairstyles are that women`s buns usually released some strands of hair to fall in their faces. In the majority of cases these strands of hair and fringes were worn in curls. Those who were not blessed with natural curls made use of certain aids and appliances that can be compared to today`s curling irons. For example, even the Egyptians used "bronze hair curlers" (Corson 24). It can be assumed that they were used by women just the same as for men`s hair and beards. (Corson 64-69; 72-77; 82-83)

People of high rank in society, such as members of royal families, have always been role models in fashion and styling for people of inferior rank. Corson argues, "if a queen had her hair cut short because of illness, as did Marie Antoinette, then all the ladies of the court followed suit" (21). Towards the end of the 16th century, during the reign of Elizabeth I in England, "English ladies of the court also powdered or dyed their hair yellow to match Elizabeth`s natural hair colour" (Corson 172). Dark hair was far from being regarded as chic at the time and this was due to the strawberry blonde hair of the Queen of England (Corson 172). In 18th century France Madame de Pompadour, mistress of Louis XV, had some significant influence on women`s hairstyle (Corson 329). Surprisingly, her coiffures were relatively simple in comparison to the high and pompous ones her female companions frequently had at the same time. Finally, the turn of the century brought along a decrease in extravagance of hairstyle only to again become more ostentatious in the second half of the 19th century, i.e. in Victorian England. (Corson 499-557)

Figures 9 and 10 feature some typical examples of Regency hairstyle for women. Fig. 9 shows a lady called 'La Belle Zélie' by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, who was a French Neoclassical painter in the first half of the 19th century. Ingres was especially famous for portraying other people. The portrait underneath was painted in 1906 and depicts a woman who has her hair pinned up at the back of her head while the visible strands on the forehead and temple indicate a very extravagant styling. Fig. 10 portrays another example of typical female hairstyle at the beginning of the 19th

century. It is an example of the portrait 'Madame Récamier' done by François Gérard, another Neoclassical painter. The represented coiffure in Fig. 10 is rather similar to that in Fig. 9, however, the curls in Gérard`s painting seem to be somewhat more loose and the whole hairstyle does not look as stiff as the one in the portrait by Ingres. The attentive observer will notice that the lady in the second portrait uses a rather large hairpin which is golden in the original painting (Laver 154).

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

2.6.2. Representation of Female Hairstyle and Headgear in Austen

According to Adamson Hoebel the "trimming and arrangement of the hair is not merely a matter of decoration and ornamentation" (22), but it is a representation of age, sex and social status (22-23). This chapter tries to investigate to what extent descriptions of hairstyle were used by Jane Austen and, furthermore, what might be the various meanings in these descriptions.

One interesting example can be found in *NA*. Near the beginning of the novel, its heroine Catherine Morland is described to have "a thin awkward figure, a sallow skin without colour, dark lank hair, and strong features" (Austen, *NA* 961). On the following page her physical development is specified in the following way: "At fifteen, appearances were mending, she

began to curl her hair and long for balls; her complexion improved, her features were softened by plumpness and colour, her eyes gained more animation, and her figure more consequence" (Austen, *NA* 962). Comparing these two descriptions it is clearly indicated that curling tongs were existent at the beginning of the 19th century. The use of them was apparently rather common even though Catherine is very young when she is said to have used them, and, furthermore, she does not belong to the upper class. Therefore, one can assume that age and social status did not influence a woman`s ability to have access to such equipment which is rather surprising.

In *E* it is also mentioned once that the heroine`s "hair was curled, and the maid sent away" (Austen, *E* 762), which implies that upper class women, such as Emma Woodhouse, were able to afford the luxury of having maids to dress her hair. Apparently, Austen even found it necessary to point out whenever a lady of such a high rank in society did not take the advantage of being helped by a servant. The following citations, including some remarks that are made by Miss Bates who is talking to Emma about Miss Fairfax, put some emphasis on this, 'Miss Woodhouse, [...] how do you like Jane`s hair?—You are a judge.—She did it all herself. Quite wonderful how she does her hair!—No hairdresser from London I think could' (Austen, *E* 866). The last sentence of this quotation could also be a subtle and somewhat ironic retrospection to an earlier part of the novel, when Emma Woodhouse is fairly upset because she discovers that Frank Churchill has left for a day trip to London only to have a haircut there. A more explicit analysis of this section of the novel is to be found in section 3.5.2.

In *NA* Isabella Thorpe states the following when she meets her friend Catherine again after a rather long time, 'My sweetest Catherine, how have you been this long age? but I need not ask you, for you look delightfully. You really have done your hair in a more heavenly style than ever: you mischievous creature, do you want to attract every body? I assure you, my brother is quite in love with you already' (Austen, *NA* 993). With that, Isabella refers to the fact that her brother John has had a strong affection for Catherine ever since he first met her. Miss Thorpe`s comments further

indicate the likelihood of her brother falling even deeper in love with Miss Morland almost exclusively due to her hairstyle and her looks. Using the adjective "mischievous" for her good friend might imply Isabella`s secret envy of Catherine`s radiant looks, despite having said it rather in jesting fashion.

Later in the same novel, when the engagement between Miss Fairfax and Mr. Churchill has already become public, Frank interrupts himself while giving his congratulations to Emma Woodhouse about her previous engagement to Mr. Knightley. Suddenly Frank looks at his beloved Jane and cannot resist from describing every single detail of her looks in the most affectionate way to Emma. Among other things he admires Jane`s skin, which "one cannot call [...] fair" (Austen, *E* 953) according to him. Mr. Churchill states that Miss Fairfax has "a most uncommon complexion, with her dark eye-lashes and hair" (953). Beyond that he refers to the possible use of jewellery as pieces of adornment for his fiancée`s headdress by telling Emma, 'You will be glad to hear (inclining his head, and whispering seriously) that my uncle means to give her all my aunt`s jewels. They are to be new set. I am resolved to have some in an ornament for the head. Will not it be beautiful in her dark hair?' (Austen, *E* 954). These remarks suggest that Frank Churchill is comparing his future wife to a queen due to his thought of adorning her hair with some jewellery. Of course, it is not possible to prove what the author`s intention was in fact, but it is certainly one possible interpretation to claim that Mr. Churchill believes Miss Fairfax will become his personal queen and is therefore eager to 'crown' her with his aunt`s jewels.

An indication for the fact that women used hairpins in order to keep their hair from falling down is apparent in *S & S*, when "a pin in her ladyship`s head dress slightly scratching the child`s neck, produced from this pattern of gentleness, such violent screams, as could hardly be outdone by any creature professed noisy" (Austen, *S & S* 67). Taking a closer look at this quotation, it becomes clear that "her ladyship" refers to Lady Middleton from Barton Cottage and the hurt child is her little daughter Annamaria. Apart from this, women`s hair is significant only in one other aspect in *S & S* and that is when a lock of hair causes great confusion among some of

the novel`s female characters, because it makes up a man`s ring and therefore functions as a part of an accessory (see chapter 4). In *MP* there is only one reference to female coiffure to be found, and that is when Henry Crawford watches Fanny Price, observing that "her hair [is] as neatly as it always is, and one little curl falling forward as she wrote, which she now and then shook back" (Austen, *MP* 588). As with John Thorpe and Catherine Morland in *NA*, *MP*`s Henry Crawford seems to show an increased interest in Fanny Price owing a great extent to her looks, and, inter alia, her hair. When writing *P & P* it seems Jane Austen did not see the necessity of including any descriptions of hairstyle at all, either female or male, and neither does she refer to female hairstyle in *P*.

Apart from the adorning function of hairstyle and headgear, hats and bonnets are often used as a means of hiding emotions in Jane Austen`s works. To begin with *NA*, headdress is mentioned for the first time at the opening of the novel when Catherine Morland and her aunt Mrs. Allen enter the Assembly Rooms in Bath for the very first time of their stay. Having looked forward to being able to watch other people dancing, they see "nothing of the dancers but the high feathers of some of the ladies" (Austen, *NA* 965). This citation has more depth to it than what the reader may initially consider. Apart from the fact that high feathers were in fashion at the time (Peacock 76), and there were almost exclusively fashionable to people in Bath, this situation reveals some feelings of the characters, as well.

On this very occasion, Catherine also experiences a certain part of society that she never has before. She and Mrs. Allen have not made any acquaintances in Bath yet and they feel rather out of place while making their way through the crowd in the Assembly Rooms. Their limited view might be metonymic with their limited possibilities to make conversation, as they have not become acquainted with any other ladies or gentlemen yet who they could sit with. Supposedly, both women suffer a feeling of inferiority to the others, and moreover, they may believe to be drowning in this sea of high feathers. As it turns out in the course of the evening, however, their fears are utterly ungrounded.

A different part of the novel that includes a piece of headgear functioning as somewhat more than just a pretty addition to a woman`s dress is the following: "How her heart swelled with joy and gratitude, as she passed the barriers of Portsmouth, and how Susan`s face wore its broadest smiles, may be easily conceived. Sitting forwards, however, and screened by her bonnet, those smiles were unseen" (Austen, *MP* 670). This citation refers to the second to last chapter of *MP*, or, more precisely, to when Fanny Price`s little sister Susan accompanies the elder one to Mansfield Park in order to live there with Sir Thomas and Lady Bertram, just as Fanny did before. Susan is extraordinarily happy, since this invitation to a house that is a great deal more elegant than her parents` place presents the possibility of becoming acquainted with a higher standard of living to her own. Due to this, the young girl is understandably in high spirits when she leaves her old home in Portsmouth. On the contrary, she might be somewhat concerned to leave her poor parents and siblings behind and maybe does not fully understand yet why exactly she has been chosen to lead a wealthier life. However, Susan`s shyness and conscientiousness induce her to use her bonnet in order to hide her inner joyfulness and delight.

Bonnets were not even one of the ladies` favourite accessories to purchase at the turn of the 19th century, but some women even made their own headgear, or rather had it made by their maids, if the social status and the financial situation allowed so. Moreover, it was not unusual to add certain details such as trimmings to a hat, possibly to give it a very personal touch. An example of this can be found in *S & S*, when Miss Anne Steele talks about her sister Lucy, 'She vowed at first she would never trim me up a new bonnet, nor do any thing else for me again, so long as she lived; but now she is quite come to, and we are as good friends as ever. Look, she made me this bow to my hat, and put in the feather last night' (Austen, *S & S* 147). On the whole, various kinds of hats, bonnets and caps were regarded as fashionable for women, often draped and decorated with ribbons, natural and artificial flowers, laces, feathers and brooches (Peacock 76-79). In a letter to her sister Cassandra, Jane Austen mentions the popularity of bonnets herself as

she writes, "My Mother has ordered a new Bonnet, & so have I; --- both white chip, trimmed with white ribbon. --- I find my straw bonnet looking very much like other peoples & quite as smart. --- Bonnets of Cambric Muslin […] are a good deal worn, & some of them are very pretty; but I shall defer one of that sort till your arrival" (Austen, *Letters* 83). Fig. 11 shows a range of hats and bonnets that were in fashion for English and French women during the first years of the 19th century.

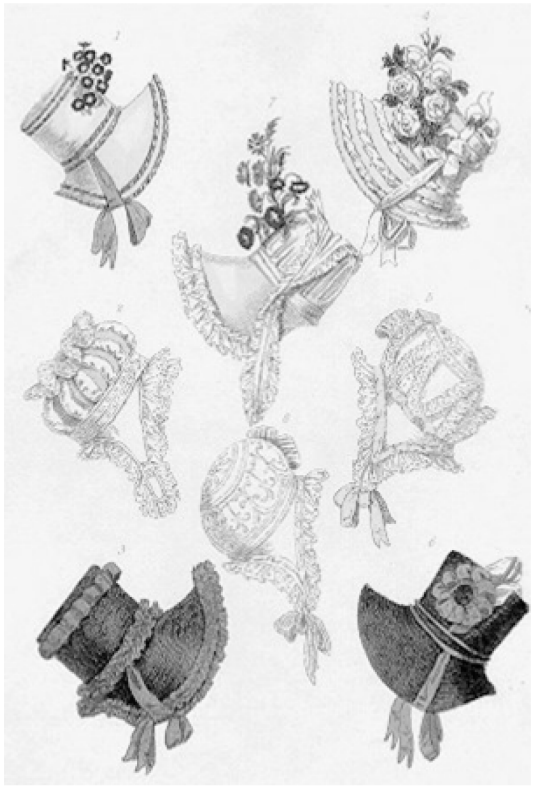

Fig. 11

In a further letter to Cassandra dated June 1799, Jane Austen reveals some interesting information concerning adornment and decoration of hats and bonnets. She writes,

> Flowers are very much worn, & Fruit is still more the thing. – Eliz: has a bunch of Strawberries, & I have seen Grapes, Cherries, Plumbs & Apricots – There are likewise Almonds & raisins, french plumbs & Tamarinds at the Grocers, but I have never seen any of them in hats. – A plumb or green gage would cost three shillings; -- Cherries & Grapes about 5 I beleive [sic].
> (Austen, *Letters* 42)

Moreover, Austen refers to some caps and she states that "they save [her] a world of torment as to hair-dressing" (Austen, *Letters* 24). She further points out that her hair currently "gives [her] no trouble beyond washing and brushing, for [her] long hair is always plaited up out of sight, and [her] short hair curls well enough to want no papering" (24).

In *NA*, Isabella Thorpe uses a hat she saw in a shopping window as an opportunity to meet two young gentlemen again, who had both before shown interest in Catherine and herself. Whilst Isabella pretends to be "glad [to] have got rid of them" (Austen, *NA* 977), it becomes obvious that in reality she longs to be admired by these young men again:

> 'And now, what say you to going to Edgar`s Buildings with me, and looking at my new hat? You said you should like to see it.'
> Catherine readily agreed. 'Only,' she added, 'perhaps we may overtake the two young men.'
> 'Oh! never mind that. If we make haste, we shall pass by them presently, and I am dying to shew you my hat.'
> (Austen, *NA* 977)

In *MP* Austen mentions a bonnet in a rather different context. During a conversation between Mary Crawford and the two Mr. Bertrams the question whether Fanny Price has already been introduced into society yet is raised by Miss Crawford. 'I begin now to understand you all, except Miss Price,' she says, 'Pray, is she out, or is she not?—I am puzzled.—She dined at the parsonage, with the rest of you, which seemed like being *out*; and yet she says so little, that I can hardly suppose she *is*' (Austen, *MP* 450). Thereafter, Edmund replies that the question of being out or not does not matter that much to him, because he considers his cousin Fanny 'grown up', having 'the age and the sense of a woman' (450). In 18th and 19th century society, however, a young girl`s being out in society or not did matter significantly, as the ones being out were "permitted to attend the more grown-up social events, such as balls and assemblies" and had "entered onto the marriage market" (The Republic of Pemberley). Mary Crawford then continues with her own interpretation of this notion, stating that a 'girl not out, has always the

same sort of dress; a close bonnet for instance, looks very demure, and never says a word' (Austen, *MP* 450). Interestingly enough, she ascribes a certain style of clothing and headgear to a girl that has not been introduced into society yet. The close bonnet she refers to could serve as an indication of closed or crossed legs and in consequence an indication of virginity and chastity, which was expected from a young girl not being out.

One thing that English fashion adopted from the “new wave of Orientalism” (Laver 156), which was repeated at the beginning of the twentieth century, was the turban (Laver 224-225). However important turbans might have been for Jane Austen herself, she mentioned them only one single time in the six novels that are subject of investigation in this study. In *NA*, Catherine Morland receives a letter from her friend Isabella Thorpe in which the latter writes about the latest fashion in Bath, since the former has left the city for a certain time. Thus, Isabella writes that '[t]he spring fashions are partly down; and the hats the most frightful you can imagine' (Austen, *NA* 1071). Moreover turbans are mentioned in the course of the letter. Miss Thorpe tells that 'Anne Mitchell had tried to put on a turban like mine, as I wore it the week before at the Concert, but made wretched work of it—it happened to become my odd face I believe, at least Tilney told me so at the time, and said every eye was upon me' (Austen, *NA* 1071). As in countless situations before, Isabella`s vanity becomes apparent in this letter when she implies that almost the same turban as hers was worn by another woman who did not look quite as well with it. Her distinctive ego is even further supported by Mr. Tilney`s compliment about her headgear and looks. Although Isabella refers to her face as "odd" it can be assumed that this will not be able to cloud her general high self-esteem.

P & P offers another example of female headgear that is worth being analysed in greater detail. Lydia Bennet, one of the heroine Elizabeth`s younger sisters, shows her other sisters what she has just purchased together with their sister Kitty: 'Look here, I have bought this bonnet. I do not think it is very pretty; but I thought I might as well buy it as not. I shall pull it to pieces as soon as I get home, and see if I can make it up any

better' (Austen, *P & P* 329). This citation indicates that it was fairly common to change and remake certain details on pieces of headgear and clothing for women at Austen`s lifetime. The further conversation exposes that the elder and, presumably, more reasonable sisters in fact consider Lydia`s bonnet rather hideous. However, Lydia`s easiness and her low endowment of evaluation, which is confirmed in her imprudent elopement with George Wickham later on, do not let her be alienated by her sisters harsh comments in any kind of way. She states, 'Oh! but there were two or three much uglier in the shop; and when I have bought some prettier-coloured satin to trim it with fresh, I think it will be very tolerable' (Austen, *P & P* 329). Again, Lydia Bennet stresses the obvious possibility to trim her bonnet with some additional satin, maybe in a sash. Furthermore, it is rather interesting to observe that she is able to buy a bonnet which does not even accord with her taste utterly. Thus, the reader may assume that Lydia belongs to a family who does not belong to lower class, but has enough financial stability in order to allow a rather dispensable purchase such as this bonnet.

3. The Representation of Men

Throughout the centuries, a great aim of boys` education has been to bring them up to be brave young men. While having especially focussed on bodily strength for males, girls have been raised with a much higher awareness of their looks. Of course this cannot be applied to every single child in the world and to every period of time. In fact, having reached the 21st century, the world of fashion is not dominated by women any longer. There are a great number of male models nowadays and men with an interest in fashion are no longer particularly uncommon.

The purpose of chapter 3 is to present some facts about male fashion in the English Regency Period, as well as to analyse a selection of situations

concerning male clothes, shoes and hairstyle that Austen referred to in her novels.

3.1. Regency Fashion for Men

Parallel to women`s Regency fashion, there was a rather considerable change in style for men during the first years of the 19th century, however, the change in women`s clothes is considered somewhat more significant (Le Faye 84). "[C]oat, waistcoat, breeches" (Breward, *Culture* 117) formed the basics of every fashionable man`s wardrobe from the early 18th century onwards. Laver contrasts men`s fashion at the time to the one in France and draws the conclusion that the style of English men was comparatively simpler (153). Moreover, Le Faye argues that there was an "overall tendency [...] for men`s clothes to grow plainer in style and fabric and more comfortable for everyday wear, as most men spent much time out of doors and on horseback" (86). According to Laver, a Regency man`s wardrobe of so-called country clothes consisted of the following: "a top hat, a not too exaggerated neckcloth, a coat with revers and a collar of medium height, made of plain cloth and cut away in the front, a waistcoat, not as short as it had been in the 1790s, breeches with a square flap and diagonal side-pockets, and breeches fitting into riding boots" (153). In fact, breeches were considered as "the remaining link with the eighteenth-century style" (Buck 145). Hughes argues that, in the first half of the 19th century, "fashionable males [...] – inspired by the newly-discovered Parthenon sculptures – hoped to recall the nude forms of Greek deities, with cropped hair, skin-tight pantaloons and manly chests decked in clean white linen" (47 – 48).

Fig. 12 shows Ingres` portrait of Lord Grantham, who is dressed in typical male Regency fashion. Buck describes the illustration and the characteristics of men`s dress at the beginning of the 19th century in the following way:

In 1810 this dress was a coat, with high collar double-breasted, the front cut away in a horizontal line at a high waist-level, leaving the thighs free [...]. Its material was cloth, olive-green, claret colour, dark blue or black. Beneath it was a waistcoat of white marcella, and with it cream or light sage cloth breeches, white silk stockings and black slippers. At the neck the lawn or muslin frill of the linen shirt flowed out over the waistcoat, and the cropped head was held high by the deep white neckcloth, folded round the neck and knotted in front. [...] [T]he fabric of informal, out-of-doors or country wear had become the fabric of formal wear also, and the varying richness of colour and texture of silks and velvets, of woven and embroidered pattern, had departed from men`s dress.
(Buck 144)

Fig. 12

Buck argues that "[t]he high cut-away line of the coat matched the high waist-line on women`s dress, and in 1809, when this was lengthening, the fashion notes of men`s dress make the same comment, that coats are long in the waist; and it moved, slightly, towards the new higher level 1816-19" (146). Moreover, neckcloths and cravats constituted an essential part in male fashion at the time. Austen even refers to cravats in her novels (e.g. *NA* 1084). Usually, the neckcloth "was a large triangle of white muslin, which was folded into a band, placed round the neck or twisted in front"

(Buck 146) and could be worn for almost all occasions, whereas the colour white was considered as appropriate for both day and evening wear (146). Buck further mentions that "there was still some richness of colour left in the cloth of the coat [...] and the contrast of the dark tone of the coat with the light-coloured breeches or pantaloons" around 1810 (145). Especially due to Beau Brummell, black became a most fashionable colour for coats, as well as for male evening dress, throughout the following decades (145).

George Bryan Brummell, or Beau Brummell, as he was later referred to, was a good friend of George IV, who was Prince Regent between 1811 and 1820 (Hughes 48). A great number of literary sources associate Beau Brummell with the developing concept of the English dandy. It is certainly true that Brummell "exercised the most correct taste in the selection of each article of apparel, of a form and colour harmonious with all the rest, for the purpose of producing a perfectly elegant general effect; and no doubt he spent much time and pains in the attainment of his object" (Jesse 17). A particular feature of dandyism was, for example, the rather elaborate style of neckwear. "The collar of the shirt was worn upright; the two points projected on to the cheeks and were kept in place by a neckcloth, either in the form of a cravat or a stock" (Laver 160). Ribeiro points out that "Brummell`s conception of what a gentleman should wear was based on neatness, cleanliness, harmony and lack of affectation" (100). Apparently, Brummell was of the opinion that "an Englishman should choose the happy medium between an excessive reliance on the latest fashions and being quite indifferent to them" (Ribeiro 100). Furthermore, she rather contradicts the prevailing notion that Beau Brummell`s style was indicative for dandyism (101).

It might be argued that a rather strong inclination to emphasise the body underneath the clothes existed at the time. Just as women`s dresses, which tended to reveal a rather unusual amount of skin (see chapter 2.1.), men`s clothes, especially long trousers, often had a rather narrow cut. Beau Brummell somewhat exaggerated this trend and "prided himself on the fact that his clothes did not show a single wrinkle and that his breeches

fitted his legs like a natural skin" (Laver 158). However, Laver further comments that men, who did not conform to the dandy style exactly, rather wore trousers and pantaloons that "did not show the shape of the leg", even though they were "close-fitting" (160). Hughes suggests "a kind of egalitarianism between the sexes" (61) concerning female and male fashion. She argues, "In the early part of the [19th] century the simple, clinging verticals of female dress, followed (and frequently revealed) the lines of the body beneath, and had its equivalent in the new, pared-down, slim male silhouette" (61).

"'Glamour' was the key factor which placed stylish young men in early nineteenth-century London at the forefront of fashionable life for the first time, establishing the West End, their dressing-box and playground, as a rival to Paris in its role as global forcing-house for new sartorial trends" (Breward, *London* 25). Hollander even refers to a "new form of insistent male sexuality" (*Seeing Through Clothes* 228) in England. Furthermore, she claims that "the Dandy aimed to embody the highest masculine ideals", for example, never to be in love himself, but to be "very much, and very hopelessly, loved by women" (228) – a narcissism which stands in stark contrast to "other conventional male Romantics" (228).

According to Hollander, "[m]ale dress moved well ahead of female costume in expressing an ideal of modern comfort and ease of movement – tempered, as always, by the even more important ideals of personal attraction and social definition" (*Seeing Through Clothes* 127) in the late 18th century. She further states that, in contrast to some female portraits by Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, the "masculine body [...] is wonderfully nonchalant" (127) in various paintings that were made between 1800 and 1820. Hollander associates Regency male costume with "strong and enduring sexual attractiveness" (127), and she seems to be rather fascinated by "its balanced combination of tightness and looseness, of rigid control and Romantic careless ease" (127).

3.2. Dressing Up the Male Characters in Austen`s Novels

When analysing Jane Austen`s novels, one example of a man who is definitely not interested in the matter of clothes is Mr. Bennet in *P & P.* Sometimes he seems to be so annoyed by his wife`s endless talking about dress and other subjects that are not of great concern to him that he does not even bother to interrupt her. Such a situation is to be found near the beginning of the novel, when Mrs. Bennet raves about the clothing of Mr. Bingley`s sisters, "'I never in my life saw anything more elegant than their dresses. I dare say the lace upon Mrs. Hurst`s gown—' Here she was interrupted again. Mr. Bennet protested against any description of finery" (Austen, *P & P* 216).

In fact, a situation that occurs towards the end of *P & P* is worth mentioning in this context. When Mr. Bennet`s second daughter Elizabeth consults him about her engagement to Mr. Darcy, Mr. Bennet points out, 'He is rich, to be sure, and you may have more fine clothes and fine carriages than Jane. But will they make you happy?' (Austen, *P & P* 415). Thus, Mr. Bennet`s comments might support the assumption that he does not care about money and the ensuing possibility to afford a vast number of clothes a great deal. On the contrary, Mr. Bennet`s primary concern relates to Lizzy`s emotional welfare. One could argue that, according to Mr. Bennet, it is more advisable for a woman to marry a man she truly loves, independent of his fortune. This would be a rather progressive point of view for those days, since most women gained financial security only by marrying a rather wealthy man. Thus, it might be argued that Austen intended to draw a parallel to her own viewpoint via the character of Mr. Bennet. The fact that Austen definitely regarded love, and not financial stability, as the sole reason for a woman to marry has been investigated in section 2.4.

Mr. Bingley and Mr. Darcy, the male protagonists of *P & P*, are presented to the reader via direct definition. Their characterisation is made by a third-person narrator and can be referred to as direct, because adjectives are

used. For example, "Mr. Bingley was good looking and gentlemanlike; he had a pleasant countenance, and easy, unaffected manners" (Austen, *P & P* 215). His friend Mr. Darcy is initially characterised by the narrator`s comment, "Mr. Darcy soon drew the attention of the room by his fine, tall person, handsome features, noble mein" (215). Only a couple of pages later the narrator further comments on Mr. Darcy`s character. However, this part of Darcy`s characterisation is rather indirect, as it does not include any adjectives that describe any character qualities explicitly. On the contrary, it is left to the reader to draw some conclusions about Mr. Darcy`s character traits from the following comments, "Darcy [...] had seen a collection of people in whom there was little beauty and no fashion, for none of whom he had felt the smallest interest, and from none received either attention or pleasure. Miss Bennet he acknowledged to be pretty, but she smiled too much" (218). At this point of the novel, the reader may be led to the conclusion that there is a certain superficiality in the character of Mr. Darcy. Furthermore, the mentioned comments might be an indication of Darcy`s pride and the prejudices he tends to have about people he is not yet acquainted with very well, as it seems as if he judged others exclusively due to their outward appearance. What Mr. Darcy states about Elizabeth Bennet in the above-mentioned citation, will be withdrawn somewhat later, when he gets to know her better and even falls in love with her.

Interestingly enough, *P & P* includes one of the few references to cross-dressing Austen makes in the six novels that are the subject of investigation in this study. At one point, Lydia Bennet recounts,

> 'Dear me! we had such a good piece of fun the other day at Colonel Forster`s! Kitty and me were to spend the day there, and Mrs. Forster promised to have a little dance in the evening; [...] and so she asked the two Harringtons to come, but Harriet was ill, and so Pen was forced to come by herself; and then, what do you think we did? We dressed up Chamberlayne in woman`s clothes, on purpose to pass for a lady,—only think what fun! Not a soul knew of it, but Col. and Mrs. Forster, and Kitty and me, except my aunt, for we were forced to borrow one of her gowns; and you cannot imagine how well he looked! When Denny, and Wickham, and Pratt, and two or three more

> of the men came in, they did not know him in the least. Lord! how I laughed! and so did Mrs. Forster. I thought I should have died. And *that* made the men suspect something, and then they soon found out what was the matter.'
> (Austen, *P & P* 330)

The subjects of cross-dressing and masquerade are further discussed in *MP.* The novel includes several references to clothes in connection to a theatrical play some people intend to perform at Mansfield Park. According to Sales, "*Lover`s Vows* was a play that was cross-dressed on the professional stage" (102). He further points out that Tom Bertram, who initiated the play to be performed, "opens up the doors of Mansfield not just to the theatre itself, but also to the high society Regency masquerade ball" (102). Cross-dressing has always been associated with homosexuality and, as any divergence from a so-called norm might irritate certain groups of people, men who appeared in women`s clothes were often discriminated against, especially some centuries ago (102). In a masquerade, however, gender roles relatively blur, and "[c]lass and generational distinctions [are] also turned upside-down" (102). Thus, one can assume that none of the participants of the play would regard a man in women`s clothes as queer, as it is clearly defined that they are merely playing a role. Concluding, Sales argues that Tom Bertram`s "regency offers the transgressive pleasures of the masquerade ball" (102).

In the course of the preparations for the theatrical play it is revealed that Mr. Rushworth is a man who is definitely interested in clothes and cares about his outward appearance. Whereas he is "pointing out the necessity of his being very much dress`d, and chusing his colours" (Austen, *MP* 501) at first, he starts to bother somewhat later, 'But I do not much like the idea of being so fine.—I shall hardly know myself in a blue dress, and a pink satin cloak" (502). Thus, Mr. Rushworth can be considered as a man who is rather concerned about what he wears, even though it is only a costume for a theatrical play. His remarks could indicate that he somewhat fears to make a fool of himself and to look embarrassing.

The following conversation is taken from *NA* and takes place between Henry Tilney, Mrs. Allen and Catherine Morland. It is the "first crucial conversation" (Hughes 35) between Mr. Tilney and Miss Morland after she has secretly hoped to see him again for days. Interestingly enough, the dominating subject of their talk is dress and muslin respectively.

> They were interrupted by Mrs. Allen:--'My dear Catherine,' said she, 'do take this pin out of my sleeve; I am afraid it has torn a hole already; I shall be quite sorry if it has, for this is a favourite gown, though it cost but nine shillings a yard.'
> 'That is exactly what I should have guessed it, madam,' said Tilney, looking at the muslin.
> 'Do you understand muslins, sir?'
> 'Particularly well; I always buy my own cravats, and am allowed to be an excellent judge; and my sister has often trusted me in the choice of a gown. I bought one for her the other day, and it was pronounced to be a prodigious bargain by every lady who saw it. I gave but five shillings a yard for it, and a true Indian muslin.'
> Mrs. Allen was quite struck by his genius. 'Men commonly take so little notice of those things,' said she: 'I can never get Mr. Allen to know one of my gowns from another. You must be a great comfort to your sister, sir.'
> 'I hope I am, madam.
> 'And pray, sir, what do you think of Miss Morland`s gown?'
> 'It is very pretty, madam,' said he, gravely examining it; 'but I do not think it will wash well; I am afraid it will fray.'
> 'How can you,' said Catherine, laughing, 'be so—' she had almost said, strange.
> 'I am quite of your opinion, sir,' replied Mrs. Allen; 'and so I told Miss Morland when she bought it.'
> 'But then you know, madam, muslin always turns to some account or other; Miss Morland will get enough out of it for a handkerchief, or a cap, or a cloak.—Muslin can never be said to be wasted. I have heard my sister say so forty times, when she has been extravagant in buying more than she wanted, or careless in cutting it to pieces.'
> (Austen, *NA* 969)

At Jane Austen`s time, people of the middle class in Bath used to go to the Assembly Rooms almost daily in order to meet their acquaintances. More than a gathering place, however, the Assembly Rooms could be seen as a place where women particularly presented their latest purchases of gowns, hats, and shoes. Of course the ladies who strolled about the rooms in

circles all afternoon pretended to be busy in conversation with their female friends whose arms they linked. However, it can be assumed that the main purpose of these walks was merely to be looked at and admired. A lady`s age and marital status had much to do with by whom they longed to be looked at. Young single women such as Isabella Thorpe in *NA* definitely wanted to make a strong impression on the single men, whereas older married women such as Mrs. Allen probably wanted to simply boast of their wealth and sense of fashion in front of the other ladies.

What is so striking about this citation is that a young male member of society reveals an unusual profound knowledge concerning materials, prices and care of the clothes. In fact, Henry Tilney seems to know a great deal more about these subjects than most of his male colleagues, which makes a further analysis of his character and a possible explanation for his uncommon knowledge desirable. In this respect, it is necessary to refer back to Catherine and Henry`s conversation before they are interrupted by Mrs. Allen. Here, Henry wonders aloud what Catherine might possibly write into her journal after their meeting, and he suggests, 'Yes, I know exactly what you will say: Friday, went to the Lower Rooms, wore my sprigged muslin robe with blue trimmings—plain black shoes—appeared to much advantage; but was strangely harassed by a queer, half-witted man, who would make me dance with him, and distressed me by his nonsense' (Austen, *NA* 968). When Catherine replies that she might keep no journal at all, Henry exclaims, 'How are your various dresses to be remembered, and the particular state of your complexion, and curl of your hair to be described in all their diversities, without having constant recourse to a journal?' (Austen, *NA* 968). It appears to be rather strange that a young man considers it important at all that such details should be remembered.

Regarding Henry Tilney`s profound knowledge of muslin et cetera, it must be taken into account that since the death of his mother Henry has always been an intimate confidant to his sister Eleanor, who is a very elegant and fashion-conscious young lady. Their rather tyrannical father is certainly a reason for the two siblings` close relationship. Although Henry is male, he

might be a form of mother figure for Eleanor, and therefore it is rather plausible that he is so well informed about dress and other subjects that are usually attributed to women. Apart from that, Henry is characterised to be a very good-natured and magnanimous young man. Thus, showing his interest in female subjects when he converses with Mrs. Allen about muslin, for example, could be a sign of politeness rather than one of naivety as it is the case with his interlocutor. As the attentive reader of *NA* might notice, Tilney "does not expand on the topic of dress with anyone else" (Hughes 40).

By remarking what Catherine Morland might note in her journal, Tilney does not only enter the female domain concerning his interest in clothes. It is comprehensible that the spheres of the two sexes were considerably more separated at the beginning of the 19th century than we can imagine nowadays. Writing a journal about balls, dresses and secret amorousness was definitely something considered particularly feminine, and, moreover, something that women did not necessarily want to inform men about due to feelings of virtue and shame. The reason that Henry is so acquainted with female habits may, once again, be the closeness to his sister Eleanor. On the whole, Henry Tilney disclaims a "mysterious barrier between male and female concerns, [...] and that topics such as dresses [...] cannot be treated seriously as well as amusingly, if the occasion warrants" (Hughes 45). Comparing John Thorpe and Henry Tilney, the two young men who later each court Catherine, it is interesting to notice that her final choice will be the more untypical male of the two. (Hughes 36; 40; 45)

A further male character who shows a rather high interest in fashion is Mr. Yates in *MP.* He made the acquaintance of Tom Bertram at Weymouth and was then invited to Mansfield Park with the intention of maintaining their friendship. The reader does not learn a great deal about Mr. Yates` personality, apart from the fact that he finally elopes with Tom`s sister Julia Bertram and that he has a liking for theatrical plays and acting. Yet, the author chose the following sentence to introduce Yates to Mansfield Park: "The Honourable John Yates, this new friend, had not much to recommend

him beyond habits of fashion and expense" (Austen, *MP* 491). This description might not carry a high amount of conviction regarding Tom Bertram`s fondness for Yates. Whether the two young men share an interest in clothing is left to the reader`s imagination, but, by all means, both of them deeply appreciate acting and theatrical plays, which might be one reason for their friendship. Additionally, Tom Bertram`s purpose in life mainly consists of parties and drinking, hence his choice of a friend who also has little concern for 'real' problems, may be rather understandable.

The following quotation is an example of how clothes and outward appearance can have a considerable influence on the impression that a person makes on another one. 'But he talked of flannel waistcoats,' said Marianne, 'and with me a flannel waistcoat is invariably connected with aches, cramps, rheumatisms, and every species of ailment that can afflict the old and the feeble' (Austen, *S & S* 22). This first and rather negative utterance that Marianne makes about Colonel Brandon in *S & S* might possibly make the reader think of an older gentleman that could never satisfy and keep up with Marianne`s youthful notions of romantic love. However, he falls in love with her at first sight and eventually marries her. Although Marianne`s remark does not imply anything about Colonel Brandon`s characteristics, it can be classified as an example of characterisation via indirect presentation. In fact, the reader could make some conclusions about the Colonel`s approximate age by what Miss Dashwood comments on his own remarks. When Marianne Dashwood and Colonel Brandon marry in the end, the narrator mentions that Marianne has finally decided to spend her future life with a man "whom two years before, she had considered too old to be married,—and who still sought the constitutional safe-guard of a flannel waistcoat!" (Austen, *S & S* 206).

S & S also includes an example of direct definition concerning the characterisation of Mr. Palmer, who is Mrs. Jennings` son-in-law. In his case, the narration is made by a third-person narrator and takes place right after the characterisation of Mrs. Palmer, for which the narrator uses a mixture of direct definition and indirect presentation. Mr. Palmer is

characterised as "a grave looking young man of five or six and twenty, with an air of more fashion and sense than his wife" (Austen, *S & S* 59). Thus, it is rather striking that the narrator refers to the subject of fashion in the very first sentence about Mr. Palmer and further points out a remarkable difference in such to Mrs. Palmer.

In *P*, Admiral Croft makes a considerable remark about Sir Walter Elliot. Admiral Croft and his wife rent Kellynch Hall when Sir Walter is not able to afford to live there any longer. In one situation at Kellynch, Admiral Croft says to Anne Elliot,

> 'You will tell Sir Walter what we have done [...]. Indeed, I must do ourselves the justice to say, that the few alterations we have made have been all very much for the better. [...] I have done very little besides sending away some of the large looking-glasses from my dressing-room, which was your father`s. A very good man, and very much the gentleman I am sure—but I should think, Miss Elliot' (looking with serious reflection) 'I should think he must be rather a dressy man for his time of life.—Such a number of looking-glasses! oh Lord! there was no getting away from oneself.'
> (Austen, *P* 1160)

A part of the characterisation of Sir Walter Elliot is done here by speech of Admiral Croft. The cited remarks contain several features of indirect presentation, and it is up to the reader to interpret some character qualities of Sir Walter due to the Admiral`s content of speech. The references to the fact that Sir Walter used to have a great number of mirrors on the walls of his dressing-room might make the reader assume that Anne`s father actually enjoyed to be able to look at himself from various angles while dressing up.

Finally, *P* includes some references to male clothes and mourning. They occur when Anne Elliot spends a weekend in Lyme together with Charles, Mary, Louisa, Henrietta and Captain Wentworth. During a walk on the beach Anne encounters a young man who evidently admires her. This is revealed by the third-person narrator`s comment that the young man

"looked at [Anne] with a degree of earnest admiration, which she could not be insensible of" (Austen, *P* 1148). Anne encounters the same young man and "a well-looking groom", who she supposes to "be his servant" (1149) at the inn somewhat later. She further observes that "[b]oth master and man [are] in mourning" (1149). When Anne and her companions are having breakfast the next morning, "the sound of a carriage" suddenly draws "half the party to the window" (1149). Again, the "servant in mourning" (1149) is mentioned by the narrator as well as by some of the characters several times.

Eventually, the waiter informs the young friends that the surname of the man in the carriage was Elliot. Thus, Mary is strongly convinced that they have just got a glimpse of their cousin, "[h]eir to Sir Walter Elliot" (1149). This conclusion is mainly based on the waiter`s mentioning of the name Elliot and the fact that the said man wears mourning clothes. Whereas Mr. William Elliot is in mourning for his deceased wife, he still goes looking for a wife only half a year after his wife`s passing away. Mary further exclaims, 'I wonder the arms did not strike me! Oh!—the great coat was hanging over the pannel, and hid the arms; so it did, otherwise, I am sure, I should have observed them, and the livery too; if the servant had not been in mourning, one should have known him by the livery' (Austen, *P* 1150). Apart from the description that Mr. Elliot and his servant are "in mourning", there is no precise definition of what they are wearing. Furthermore, no details about colours, hairstyle and possible accessories are given. One can assume, however, that the prevailing colour of their clothes is black, as "[h]usbands, brothers, fathers and sons" of a deceased person "would be expected to wear black suits as well as a black crepe armband" (The Jane Austen Centre). It is further stated that "[t]heir mourning would be less noticeable [though,] as black was an accepted color for men`s attire, and expected at formal events" (The Jane Austen Centre).

Interestingly enough, there is only one single reference to male dress in *E*, namely when Mr. Knightley offers to go and get Mr. Woodhouse`s 'great coat' (Austen, *E* 718).

3.3. Uniforms

During the Napoleonic War Great Britain probably was France`s greatest enemy. Whereas initially the British appreciated the revolutionary reforms of the French, the former were soon disabused and accordingly prepared for war against the latter (Funcken 310). Since there are a couple of references to uniforms in Austen`s novels, this section tries to give some insight into English military uniforms at the beginning of the 19th century in connection to Austen`s novels.

Around 1800 the leather shako with feathers representing the colour of the companies on top replaced the hat as headgear of the British Army. This new kind of military headdress was an Austrian make and had the byname "stovepipe" (Funcken 310). The colours and styles of the uniforms distinguished the various soldiers from each other regarding their nationality and position. Carman mentions several reasons for the creation and subsequent development of uniforms. For example, he regards economy to be one of the main reasons, "because if a body of men are to be clothed it is obviously much simpler to produce several garments all of one pattern rather than many of differing styles and materials" (1). Furthermore, Carman points out that "[p]ride also plays a strong part in the development" (1), as it allows "a proprietary leader to demonstrate his claim that the followers are his alone by having them clad in his livery or colours" (1). Hollander emphasises the effect that uniforms might have on other people:

> When many different people wear similarly designed clothes, their bodies appear to have been cast in one mold – or to seem as if they should have been. A company of uniformed soldiers illustrates this extremely, but even a group of men in similar business suits reveals the attempt to stylize the body and its gestures in one general way. People usually see one another dressed; the most general perception of bodies is filtered through clothing.
> (Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* 86)

In Austen`s *P & P*, some references to red coats are salient. When Mr. William Collins announces his visit to the Bennet family in a letter, it is mentioned that "[t]o Catherine and Lydia, neither the letter nor its writer were in any degree interesting. It was next to impossible that their cousin should come in a scarlet coat, and it was now some weeks since they had received pleasure from the society of a man in any other colour" (Austen, *P & P* 245). The citation implies that the two youngest daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Bennet do not show great interest in the visit of their cousin, as he is not a member of the British Army. As Mr. Collins is not a soldier, but a clergyman, his female cousins automatically exclude him from the group of men they might want to fall in love with.

Catherine and Lydia are approximately fifteen and seventeen years old at that point of the story. One the one hand, their behaviour and the way they talk about men could be attributed to a certain naivety and lack of experience due to their young age. On the other hand, their preference for soldiers is rather replicable, because a young man fighting for his country could certainly be regarded rather courageous and impressive for a young girl who has not been to any other place than her home county so far. Even some pages earlier, Catherine and Lydia`s preference for officers is a subject of discussion between Mr. and Mrs. Bennet. As their two youngest daughters "talk of nothing but officers" (Austen, *P & P* 225), Mr. Bennet comments, 'From all that I can collect by your manner of talking, you must be two of the silliest girls in the country' (225). His wife, however, supports their daughters` affection and replies, 'I remember the time when I liked a red-coat myself very well—and indeed so I do still at my heart; and if a smart young colonel, with five or six thousand a year, should want one of my girls, I shall not say nay to him' (225-226) These remarks by Mrs. Bennet might already be indicative of the rather great importance she ascribes to the possibility of marrying off her daughters to a wealthy man. As Mrs. Bennet gets impressed easily by a man`s uniform, one could assume that she enjoys the thought of being acquainted with a man of higher social status than her own. Thus, a parallel can be drawn between the characteristics of Mrs. Bennet and her two youngest daughters.

Moreover, Miss Elizabeth Bennet feels somewhat attracted to George Wickham before Mr. Darcy informs her about Wickham`s deviousness. The third-person narrator mentions that Elizabeth Bennet "looked in vain for Mr. Wickham among the cluster of red coats [...] assembled" (Austen, *P & P* 259) at Netherfield ball.

According to Funcken, red was the common colour for the uniforms of generals as well as for members of the infantry (310-312). Therefore, the reader could assume that George Wickham possibly belongs to the militia infantry, as his rank is not mentioned explicitly in the novel, but he might be somewhat too young for being a general. However, it is even more plausible that Wickham might be a member of the cavalry, for example the Light Dragoons. When Lydia Bennet later reminisces about her wedding to George Wickham, she tells her sisters, 'all the time I was dressing, [...] I longed to know whether he would be married in his blue coat' (Austen, *P & P* 382). As Carman emphasises, the red coats of the Light Dragoons were changed to blue after some years (106). This might offer an explanation for the fact that Wickham is referred to in connection with a red coat near the beginning of the novel and in connection with a blue coat towards the end of the novel, respectively.

MP contains several references to uniforms. In contrast to the red and blue coats that are referred to in *P & P* though, *MP* deals with uniforms of the Royal Navy. Sir Thomas Bertram, a cruel man, who owns plantations in the West Indies, supports his nephew William Price, Fanny`s beloved brother, by getting him a commission in the Navy.

> William had obtained a ten days` leave of absence to be given to Northamptonshire, and was coming, the happiest of lieutenants, because the latest made, to shew his happiness and describe his uniform.
> He came; and he would have been delighted to shew his uniform there too, had not cruel custom prohibited its appearance except on duty. So the uniform remained at Portsmouth, and Edmund conjectured that before Fanny had any chance of seeing it, all its own freshness, and all the freshness of its wearer`s feelings, must be worn away. It would

> be sunk into a badge of disgrace; for what can be more unbecoming, or more worthless, than the uniform of a lieutenant, who has been a lieutenant a year or two, and sees others made commanders before him?
> (Austen, *MP* 627)

The citation refers to one of William`s visits at Mansfield Park. Having just become a lieutenant, he would love to show his uniform to his sister Fanny and the Bertram family. However, certain circumstances forced him to leave it at Portsmouth, from where he left for Northamptonshire. Moreover, the speculation of Edmund Bertram draws an analogy between clothes and their wearer`s emotions. Edmund supposes that William could only be able to present his uniform with dignified pride if he had been able to take it with him. Thus, one could argue that the clothes he wears in his function as lieutenant somewhat complete his personal identification with his position. Whatever passionate feelings he may have about being a lieutenant, it is rather reasonable that he has a strong desire to present his new position to the others by wearing the appropriate uniform. Furthermore it seems plausible that William needs his uniform in order to feel authentic in his position. Therefore, a uniform can definitely be regarded as a status symbol and a means to show authority. Fig. 13 shows a typical uniform of a Royal Navy Lieutenant. In the original illustration the coat is blue, breeches and waistcoat are white, whereas shoes and hat are black.

Fig. 13

The following citation refers to the situation when William is finally able to show his uniform to Fanny after she has returned home to Portsmouth with him:

> He, complete in his Lieutenant`s uniform, looking and moving all the taller, firmer, and more graceful for it, and with the happiest smile over his face, walked up directly to Fanny—who, rising from her seat, looked at him for a moment in speechless admiration, and then threw her arms round his neck to sob out her various emotions of pain and pleasure.
> Anxious not to appear unhappy, she soon recovered herself: and wiping away her tears, was able to notice and admire all the striking parts of his dress—listening with reviving spirits to his cheerful hopes of being on shore some part of every day before they sailed, and even of getting her to Spithead to see the sloop.
> (Austen, *MP* 636-7)

Interestingly enough, it is exclusively William`s uniform that makes him wear "the happiest smile", leaves Fanny in "speechless admiration" and even makes him look "taller" and "firmer". This example shows what enormous influence clothes in general, and particulary uniforms, can have on the wearer`s feelings of status and pride, as well as on other people`s judgements about and prestige of the wearer.

3.4. Shoes

Towards the end of the 18th century, English men preferred rather flat and light shoes with either very low or no heels at all, which was certainly practical for the enormous amount of dancing they used to do at balls. "Men's dress shoes lost their heels even before women's did, but some retained the fine buckles of the 18th century for the most formal of occasions" (The Jane Austen Centre). McDowell points out that small feet were regarded as a symbol of beauty and especially the dandies often bought shoes that were much too small for them for the mere purpose to be in fashion (26). Peacock mentions "short [and] long leather boots", "leather pumps with flat heels" and "low cut flat leather pumps, trimmed with buckles" (78 – 79) as fashionable for Regency men. Due to the fact that a great number of wars took place in the 19th century, the time period can also be regarded as a heyday of boots (McDowell 34). The most famous ones were Hessian and Wellington boots:

> Initially used as standard issue footwear for the military, especially officers, [Hessian boots] would become widely worn by civilians as well. The boots had a low heel, and a semi-pointed toe that made them practical for mounted troops as they allowed easy use of stirrups. They would reach the knee and had a decorative tassel at the top of each shaft. The Hessian boot would evolve into the rubber work boots known as "wellies" and the cowboy boot.
> (The Jane Austen Centre)

Consequently, the Hessian boots functioned as a kind of model for the Wellington boots, which were "fashionable among the British aristocracy in the early 19th century" (The Jane Austen Centre). In comparison to the Hessian boots, the Wellington boots were "cut closer around the leg" and made of "soft calfskin leather", which made them rather comfortable for male evening wear, but less comfortable for fighting (The Jane Austen Centre). Thus, men who wore Wellington boots were rather keen on imitating the style of the officers, but did not belong to the militia themselves in most of the cases. In fact, men in Wellingtons were regarded as extremely stylish, and the boots were a necessary purchase for every man who was eager to follow the fashion style of the dandies (The Jane Austen Centre).

In Jane Austen`s novels, extremely few references to male footwear are to be found. There are no detailed descriptions of men`s shoes at all, and, without any background knowledge about what was in fashion at the time, the reader could only possibly guess that, for example, boots were considered as a rather common type of footgear. One of the only indications of men wearing boots occurs when the narrator remarks that Henry Tilney "came booted and great coated into the room" (Austen, *NA* 1068).

E includes a rather interesting reference to men`s footwear: "Mr. Knightley was hard at work upon the lower buttons of his thick leather gaiters, and either the exertion of getting them together, or some other cause, brought the colour into his face" (Austen, *E* 846). The *Collins English Dictionary*

defines gaiters as "a cloth or leather covering for the leg or ankle buttoned on one side and usually strapped under the foot". In this mentioned citation, the reference to footwear is combined with the rise of emotions. The remarks preceding this citation are made by Emma Woodhouse, and she tells Mr. Knightley that he may not be aware of how highly he actually estimates Miss Jane Fairfax. As a consequence, one could argue that Knightley uses the buttons of his leather gaiters in order to keep his hands busy in a situation that might be somewhat discomforting for him. The reader has probably assumed by now that George Knightley and Emma Woodhouse may become lovers later on. Therefore, it might be plausible that Knightley wants to distract attention from the fact that he already feels something more than mere friendship for Emma. Furthermore, one can assume that the possible embarrassment in case his true feelings for Miss Woodhouse would be revealed rather causes his face to colour than buttoning up his leather gaiters.

3.5. Hairstyle and Headgear

Male hairstyle at the time of Austen`s novels shows a great parallel to that of early 19th century women (see section 2.6.). Thus, it is also true for men that the casualness and informality of clothes are somewhat reflected in the coiffures of the time. The two following subchapters will take a closer look at the development of different hairstyles throughout the ages and Austen`s references to male headdress in her novels.

3.5.1. A Brief Survey on the History of Male Hairstyle

Wigs, for example, have their origin in the Egyptian culture. According to Corson, the reason for the emergence of wigs is not quite certain, yet "a combination of the religious custom of shaving the head and the practical problem of keeping the hair clean and free of vermin in the hot Egyptian climate, especially since they had a taste for elaborate hair styles which could not be combed out frequently" (24) might offer an explanation. Whereas Corson calls the 18th century "the century of wigs for men" (261),

the occurrence of wearing a wig decreased and was only worn for very special occasions towards the end of the century (Breward, *Culture* 118-123). In all six novels by Jane Austen that have been analysed, there is only one occurrence of this special kind of headdress, namely when a coachman is "putting on his wig" (Austen, *MP* 528).

In Assyrian style, beards became rather popular (Corson 27). Compared to wigs, they "were more indicative of rank", as "kings and high officials wore them long and elaborately curled", whereas "slaves [...] shaved off their beards; and soldiers either shaved or wore short beards" (27). A few centuries later, the beard gained even greater importance in Persia, where "[u]nbearded men" were even "considered ridiculous" (28). People believed then "that the guardian spirit of the head might be injured or inconvenienced, the hair was not frequently washed; and when it was the occasion often became a ceremonial one, especially among royalty" (28). Moreover, Corson states that the Tyrians had a great liking for white hair powder (28), which was later considered highly fashionable in England, as well.

Men in ancient Greece and Rome usually wore their hair rather short (Corson, 54; 70). Furthermore, Corson mentions that Nero and other young Roman men who wanted to follow the latest trends in headdress "often curled or frizzed their hair, and until A. D. 268, sometimes wore gold dust or other coloured powders on it" (70). One might argue that the short and rather casual hairstyle of the ancient Greek and Romans could be a parallel to male hairstyle at the beginning of the 19th century. In fact, this seems rather natural, as Greek and Roman fashion also had a considerable influence on the style of Regency clothes (see sections 2.1. and 3.1.). During the reign of Henry VIII, short hair was fashionable, as well, and only the very end of the 17th century brought along a significant change in male hairstyle, as men started to let it grow then (159 – 160). According to Corson, the "seventeenth century was one of dramatic change for men", as it "saw the end of beards and men`s widespread use of wigs for the first time since the days of the ancient Egyptians" (198).

Investigating hairstyle and headgear at Austen`s time in greater depth, it needs to be mentioned that "[m]ost civilians were clean-shaven, but side-whiskers and occasionally moustaches were worn by military men" (Laver 161). Just like women, men also loved to wear hats, be it with curled or wide brims, tall crowns or attached ribbons and hat bands, for different occasions (Peacock 76-79). "Top hats of some form were worn at all times of day, but the correct hat for evening was the bicorne, in the shape of a crescent, the two brims being pressed against one another, which enabled the hat to be carried under the arm" (Laver 161). Underneath, the “hair was short, and it was the fashion to wear it somewhat dishevelled” (161). Oddly enough, a tax on hair-powder in 1795 (153) caused most people to refrain from using it, which might explain the more untidy hairstyle of men. Figure 14 shows a portrait Sir Thomas Lawrence painted of King George IV, former Prince Regent and Prince of Wales, respectively. The portrait illustrates the dishevelled look of hair and clean-shaved face that was regarded as the latest fashion in Regency England.

Fig. 14

3.5.2. Representation of Male Hairstyle in Jane Austen

Whereas Austen does not refer to any male hairstyle at all in *S & S* and *P & P*, she discusses one to a very great extent in *E*. Volume Two, Chapter VII, starts out with the narrator`s comment, "Emma`s very good opinion of Frank Churchill was a little shaken [...] by hearing that he was gone off to London, merely to have his hair cut" (Austen, *E* 800). The following paragraph tries to explain Miss Woodhouse`s obvious surprise about Mr. Churchill`s sudden departure in further detail.

> There was certainly no harm in his travelling sixteen miles twice over on such an errand; but there was an air of foppery and nonsense in it which [Emma] could not approve. It did not accord with the rationality of plan, the moderation in expense, or even the unselfish warmth of heart which she had believed herself to discern in him yesterday. Vanity, extravagance, love of change, restlessness of temper, which must be doing something, good or bad; heedlessness as to the pleasure of his father and Mrs. Weston, indifferent as to how his conduct might appear in general, he became liable to all these charges. His father only called him a coxcomb, and thought it a very good story; but that Mrs. Weston did not like it, was clear enough, by her passing it over as quickly as possible, and making no other comment than that 'all young people would have their little whims'.
> (Austen, *E* 800)

In the further course of the chapter, Emma`s high opinion of Frank Churchill is described in still greater detail, and it is mentioned that she considers all his manners and behaviour as "very promising". However, it is emphasised once again that Emma refers to the fact that Frank suddenly leaves Highbury only to get a new haircut as "an unfortunate fancy" (800). Unfortunately, the third-person narrator never informs the reader about what Frank Churchill`s haircut looks like, neither before, nor after his short trip to London. As Emma feels somewhat attracted to Frank at this point of the novel, and his somewhat erratic character irritates her, the mentioned situation might indicate that Emma would rather prefer a more steady man as her future husband.

Frank Churchill`s character is further emphasised via the use of some indirect presentation, i. e. by the narrator`s description of Frank`s behaviour and actions. "He came back, had had his hair cut, and laughed at himself with a very good grace, but without seeming really at all ashamed of what he had done. He had no reason to wish his hair longer, to conceal any confusion of face; no reason to wish the money unspent [...]. He was quite as undaunted and as lively as ever" (Austen, *E* 804). Thus, the reader might think of Frank Churchill as a rather self-confident and insensitive young man who follows his own moods without considering any consequences. Emma`s following moralising that "Mr. Knightley [...] is *not* a trifling, silly young man" (804) who would have behaved in a different way than Mr. Churchill could be a foreshadowing of Emma`s affection for Mr. Knightley that is revealed only towards the end of the novel. When Frank Churchill complains on how fast time flies at Highbury some pages later, Emma takes the opportunity to reproach Frank for his unannounced trip to London, 'Perhaps you may now begin to regret that you spent one whole day, out of so few, in having your hair cut' (Austen, *E* 809). Thereupon, he answers with a smile, 'No, [...] that is no subject of regret at all. I have no pleasure in seeing my friends, unless I can believe myself fit to be seen' (809).

NA and *P* include two references to hairstyle occurring in the characterisation of some male characters. In *NA*, Isabella Thorpe mentions an example of direct definition that Catherine Morland used somewhat earlier in order to refer to Mr. Tilney, i. e. 'a brown skin, with dark eyes, and rather dark hair' (Austen, *NA* 977). In *P*, the characterisation is done by Sir Walter Elliot`s direct speech and his use of direct definition about 'a certain Admiral Baldwin, the most deplorable looking personage you can imagine, his face the colour of mahogany, rough and rugged to the last degree, all lines and wrinkles, nine grey hairs of a side, and nothing but a dab of powder at top' (Austen, *P* 1102). A couple of pages later, "Sir Walter, without hesitation, declared the Admiral to be the best-looking sailor he had ever met with, and went so far as to say, that, if his own man might have had the arranging of his hair, he should not be ashamed of being

seen with him any where" (1109). This citation might imply that Sir Walter greatly admires the Admiral, and especially his looks. It is therefore assumable that the Admiral`s hairstyle conforms to what was considered as fashionable around the beginning of the 19th century.

4. Accessories

Adornment is never anything except a reflection of the heart.
(Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel)

Whenever we think of fashion, it is impossible not to consider accessories. Today`s notion of accessories covers all kinds of jewellery, be it rings, necklaces or earrings, or hair clips, belts and sunglasses. Basically, accessories refer to all kinds of additions to clothes, which is why gloves and umbrellas will also be discussed in section 4.2. Accessories are worn as an extra to clothes and serve as a necessary addition for everybody who intends to keep up with fashions. The plainest dress can achieve a substantial enhancement with accessories. However, accessories do not only reveal a woman`s or a man`s sense of fashion, but, to a greater degree, some character qualities, age, sex and social status can be indicated by wearing them. As it will be referred to in section 4.1., the decision for the appropriate accessory is often combined with a great deal of emotional factors, especially when it was received as a present and might therefore have a great personal value for the owner as well as the giver. Regardless of the way of acquiring accessories, either having received them as a gift or having purchased them of one`s own volition, the quotation by Coco Chanel can certainly be applied to everyone who wears them.

4.1. Rings, Jewels and Pearls

After the years of the French Revolution, those involved experienced a great number of social and political changes. Cultural habits such as clothing and adornment were affected by these changes. Hayward even argues, "A complete transformation took place in jewellery fashions in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century", which was apparently due to "[e]conomic and political uncertainties and the changing balance of society" (149). Taking a closer look at the use of accessories, and especially jewellery in the English Regency Period, it can be observed that "[t]he new jewellery was devised to meet the needs and satisfy the tastes of the bourgeoisie" (Hayward 149). In other words, popular jewellery of the early 19th century consisted of cheaper and less valuable gems than it had some years before. Hayward further states that especially the Regency style of clothing had some considerable influence on adornment in Austen`s time. While "high waists and simple bodices with square décolletage provided an admirable setting for a rich necklace or a brooch in the middle of the corsage", "short sleeves called for a lavish display of bracelets" (150). Towards the end of the 18th century women`s opulent hairstyles allowed great space for adornment, for example small pendants or bead chains. As coiffures became simpler at the beginning of the 19th century, the mentioned pieces of jewellery were rather used for other body parts. Instead, the tiara became a rather popular piece of adornment. Other common pieces of jewellery at the time of Austen were necklaces, earrings, bracelets and chains (Hayward 152). The purpose of the following paragraphs is to provide a selection of references to jewellery that are to be found in Austen`s works and to analyse them in greater detail.

> [Marianne] was sitting by Edward, and in taking his tea from Mrs. Dashwood, his hand passed so directly before her, as to make a ring, with a plait of hair in the centre, very conspicuous on one of his fingers.
> 'I never saw you wear a ring before, Edward,' she cried. 'Is that Fanny`s hair? I remember her promising to give you some. But I should have thought her hair had been darker.' […]

> He […] replied, “Yes; it is my sister`s hair. The setting always casts a different shade on it you know.”
> Elinor had met his eye […].That the hair was her own, she instantaneously felt as well satisfied as Marianne; […].
> (Austen, *S & S* 54-55)

The above mentioned ring with the mysterious lock of hair is an accessory worn by a male character, namely Edward Ferrars, in Jane Austen`s novel *S & S*. From its first mention, it causes various further suspicions and assumptions. Elinor is absolutely sure that it is a lock of her own hair, wondering how this lock was able to get into Edward`s possession, but finding out later that the hair in the ring actually belonged to Lucy Steele. Moreover, Edward pretends it was his sister`s lock of hair as he wants to keep his engagement to Lucy Steele secret. Accessories like rings belonged to contemporary fashion and were commonly worn by both women and men at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century. As Breward points out, the “increasing adoption of extravagant jewellery accentuated the new worldliness” (*Culture* 118). Interestingly enough, the novel includes another important lock of hair, which is worn as an accessory by a man, as well. In contrast to Edward and his ring, Willoughby keeps a lock of Marianne`s hair with him wherever he goes, but in a pocket-book (Austen, *S & S* 34). On account of greater temporal and spatial distances between two lovers, it was apparently of great importance to carry around something that belonged to one`s beloved with one than it might be today. This suggestion is confirmed in the following citation, which gives an account of the situation when Elinor finds out about Lucy Steele being a more intimate acquaintance of Edward Ferrars than Elinor dared to imagine:

> 'Writing to each other,' said Lucy, […] 'is the only comfort we have in such long separations. Yes, *I* have one other comfort, in his picture; but poor Edward has not even *that.* If he had but my picture, he says he should be easy. I gave him a lock of my hair set in a ring when he was at Longstaple last, and that was some comfort to him, he said, but not equal to a picture. Perhaps you might notice the ring when you saw him?'

> 'I did;' said Elinor, with a composure of voice, under which was concealed an emotion and distress beyond any thing she had ever felt before. She was mortified, shocked, confounded.
> (Austen, *S & S* 75)

However, Edward chooses Elinor Dashwood to become his wife in the end. In Lucy Steele`s farewell letter to him she refers to his accessory once more, "I have burnt all your letters, and will return your picture the first opportunity. Please to destroy my scrawls – but the ring with my hair you are very welcome to keep" (Austen, *S & S* 199). However, as Edward is now engaged to Elinor, it is rather plausible that he will either replace Lucy`s lock of hair with one of Elinor or that he will simply discontinue wearing the ring.

Another situation in the novel points out the importance of jewellery at the time, viz. when it is mentioned that Elinor, accompanied by Marianne, goes to an “exchange of a few old-fashioned jewels of her mother” (Austen, *S & S* 119). The place is extremely crowded, thus they have to wait in the queue for quite some time, which indicates for the reader that exchanging and buying jewels was very much in fashion for both women and men. The fact that also men were interested in accessories is revealed in the description of a gentleman

> giving orders for a toothpick-case […], and till its size, shape, and ornaments were determined, all of which, after examining and debating for a quarter of an hour over every toothpick-case in the shop, were finally arranged by his own inventive fancy, he had no leisure to bestow any […] attention on the two ladies.
> (Austen, *S & S* 120)

Ironically, one might be reminded of today`s reverse popular outrage, when men like to complain about having to wait for a very long time whenever they go shopping with their wives and girlfriends, by Elinor`s anger and impatience concerning the long time this gentleman takes for his decision. Furthermore, the novel mentions earrings, gold, ivory and pearls (Austen, *S & S* 120-123).

In *P & P*, two references to jewels are to be found, however, both only occur on the last few pages of Austen`s most famous novel. The first of the two references is made by Mrs. Bennet when she expresses her joy about Mr. Darcy`s proposal to her second eldest daughter Lizzy:

> 'Good gracious! Lord bless me! only think! dear me! Mr. Darcy! Who would have thought it! And is it really true? Oh! my sweetest Lizzy! how rich and how great you will be! What pin-money, what jewels, what carriages you will have! Jane`s is nothing to it – nothing at all. I am so pleased – so happy. Such a charming man! – so handsome! so tall! – Oh, my dear Lizzy!' (Austen, *P & P* 416)

This citation is rather remarkable bearing in mind that Mrs. Bennet has never made any positive comment about Mr. Darcy throughout the whole novel before, but rather just the opposite. Therefore, her sudden delight in Lizzy and Darcy`s engagement is extremely unexpected and might lead the reader to the assumption that Mrs. Bennet`s overwhelming joy is only attributable to Darcy`s wealth that Lizzy will be able to benefit from. Mentioning jewels and further luxury goods that her daughter will have in future, Mrs. Bennet seems to have changed her opinion about Mr. Darcy due to his capital and high status in society. Therefore, it seems as if she made the prospect of enjoying a life of materialism solely responsible for her daughter`s happiness.

The other reference to jewellery in *P & P* occurs when Sir William Lucas is in conversation with Mr. Darcy after the announcement of Lizzy and Darcy`s engagement. Sir William talks of Darcy`s 'carrying away the brightest jewel of the country' (Austen, *P & P* 419), thus using the imagery of a jewel as an allusion to Miss Elizabeth Bennet. The comparison of Mr. Darcy`s future wife with a piece of accessory might bring up a number of questions for the reader and induce him or her to analyse this metaphor in greater detail. Sir William states that Mr. Darcy is in possession of a jewel, but actually meaning a fiancée. His use of imagery could be a representation of men`s appreciation of women and how the role of a

woman was regarded in society at the time, respectively. Furthermore, Sir William`s comment might imply that Lizzy is Mr. Darcy`s personal accessory. Therefore, it may be assumed that a man like Sir William enjoys the thought of using women as accessories. Moreover, this assumption suggests that, in the eyes of a man like Sir William, a woman could be regarded as a pretty piece of adornment to a man, yet exchangeable at his convenience.

One novel by Jane Austen that deals with jewellery to an exceptionally great extent is *MP*. As the author spends indeed several pages discussing an accessory exclusively, these pages are definitely worth a closer investigation. More precisely, the extensive use of references to an accessory concerns the novel`s female protagonist Fanny Price and "a very pretty amber cross which William had brought her from Sicily" (Austen, *MP* 564). In the course of Fanny`s preparations for a rather important evening, i. e. a ball at Mansfield Park, she agonises about her outward appearance to a great extent. As for the issue of accessories, Fanny does not have a multitude of objects to choose apart from the amber cross that was given to her by her brother some time ago. Fanny`s modesty, which has already been pointed out in section 2.2., becomes even more apparent by way of the following passages taken from *MP*`s chapters VIII and IX.

As Austen points out, Fanny Price has "no confidence in her own taste" (*MP* 564), therefore Fanny seeks the advice of her friends Mary Crawford and Mrs. Grant. After the three young ladies have arrived at a decision concerning Fanny`s dress for the ball, Mary wonders about what her friend could wear around her neck, suggesting a necklace to be rather appropriate or even necessary for a ball. Fanny`s "greatest distress of all" (564) is that she has "nothing but a bit of ribbon to fasten" (564) William`s present to. Austen mentions that he "had wanted to buy her a gold chain too, but the purchase had been beyond his means" (564), which indicates that William Price is not an extremely wealthy young man. For this reason in particular, Fanny urgently wants to wear the accessory, as she feels she

would offend her brother`s feelings if she did not. Fanny`s problem of not having a chain or necklace to combine with the amber cross amber cross could be resolved by accepting the offer from Mary Crawford for Fanny to borrow or even keep one of her own numerous necklaces. Besides, the poor circumstances of Fanny and William`s family are then contrasted by the narrator`s comment that "Lady Bertram [...] had some extra visits from the housekeeper, and her maid was rather hurried in making up a new dress for her" (564). Thus, Lady Bertram is able to enjoy the luxury of having sewn a new dress by a maid for one single occasion, yet her niece is more concerned with the question whether she possesses anything appropriate to put on at all.

While Fanny Price almost does not dare to take one of Miss Crawford`s necklaces, it is very easy for Mary to spare one. She tells Fanny, 'You see what a collection I have, [...] more by half than I ever use or think of. I do not offer them as new. I offer nothing but an old necklace. You must forgive the liberty and oblige me' (566). Despite Mary`s obliging offer, Fanny does not dare to accept it for a rather long time, as she considers "[t]he gift [...] too valuable" (566). When Fanny is finally persuaded to choose a necklace, the author emphasises that she still shows modesty. Fanny`s decision to borrow one of Mary`s necklaces is not due to a simple pleasure of free choice, but she finds "herself obliged to yield that she might not be accused of pride or indifference, or some other littleness" (566). This comment suggests a certain apprehension concerning the possible negative way her wealthier friend Mary might judge her if she refuses her offer any longer. Even when Fanny eventually yields her friend`s offer, she intends to make her choice according to "which [necklace] might be least valuable" (566). Thus, as grateful Fanny is about the gold chain she chooses from Mary`s impressive selection, as great are her scruples about borrowing it, especially when she gets informed that Mary received the chain as a present from her brother Henry Crawford. Fanny`s good manners and her almost exaggerated modesty are revealed once again, "To take what had been the gift of another person—of a brother too—impossible!—it must not be!—and with eagerness and

embarrassment quite diverting to her companion, she laid down the necklace again on its cotton, and seemed resolved wither to take another or none at all" (567).

Still, Mary can convince Fanny to keep the necklace by stressing that her brother 'is always giving [her] something' and that she has 'such innumerable presents from him that it is quite impossible for [her] to value, or for him to remember half' (567). These statements indicate that Mary and Henry Crawford come from a far wealthier background than Fanny Price, which is a fact that further prompts Fanny to feel inferior to her friends. Furthermore, repeated remarks and actions by Henry implying that he is rather attracted to Fanny contribute to her bad conscience about borrowing Mary`s necklace. "Reflecting and doubting, and feeling that the possession of what she had so much wished for, did not bring much satisfaction, she now walked home again—with a change rather than a diminution of cares since her treading that path before" (568).

On returning home, Fanny is surprised by encountering her cousin Edmund Bertram in her room, who has just begun to write a note on her desk. Greater surprise than to find Edmund there is a present he gives to Fanny. He explains, '[I] beg your acceptance of this little trifle—a chain for William`s cross. [...] I hope you will like the chain itself, Fanny. I endeavoured to consult the simplicity of your taste, but at any rate I know you will be kind to my intentions, and consider it as it really is, a token of the love of one of your oldest friends' (568). Edmund`s gift leaves Fanny "overpowered by a thousand feelings of pain and pleasure" (568) and is followed by her utter outburst of joy, 'I cannot attempt to thank you, [...] thanks are out of the question. I feel much more than I can possibly express' (568). A reason why Fanny obviously considerably prefers Edmund`s necklace to the one Henry bought for Mary might be Fanny`s secret feelings for Edmund which the reader can already suspect at that point of the novel.

When she finally sees Edmund`s chain she exclaims, 'Oh! this is beautiful indeed! this is the very thing, precisely what I wished for! this is the only ornament I have ever had a desire to possess. It will exactly suit my cross. They must and shall be worn together. It comes too in such an acceptable moment. Oh! cousin, you do not know how acceptable it is' (568). After Fanny has told Edmund about the previous events with Mary Crawford, Edmund insists on Fanny`s wearing Mary`s necklace for the ball. As a reason for his suggestion he mentions that he considers his own chain less appropriate for a ball than Mary`s. Furthermore, Edmund advises Fanny not to wear his chain, as he 'would not have the shadow of a coolness arise [...] between the two dearest objects [he has] on earth' (569). With this description he is referring to his beloved cousin Fanny, and to Mary Crawford, who he has a fondness for. The reader can assume that Edmund`s comment is a rather pleasant surprise for Fanny, as it suggests his possible affection for her. At the same time it becomes apparent that Mary Crawford is an object of desire for Edmund, thus Fanny might be somewhat disappointed that he places Mary on the same level as her.

While dressing up for the ball, Fanny`s "good fortune seemed complete" (574) as she realises that the necklace she borrowed from Mary Crawford "would by no means go through the ring of the cross" (574). Although she wanted to follow Edmund`s advice and keep his chain for a different occasion, she has no other choice but to use it now, since Mary`s necklace is "too large for the purpose" (574). "[W]ith delightful feelings [Fanny] joined the chain and the cross, those memorials of the two most beloved of her heart, [...] and put them round her neck" (574). When she finally sees and feels "how full of William and Edmund they were, she was able without an effort to resolve on wearing Miss Crawford`s necklace too" (574). Austen`s comment about Fanny`s two most beloved persons of course alludes to Fanny`s brother William and her cousin Edmund, who she finally marries at the end of the novel. One might argue that this comment could be a parallel to Edmund`s earlier statement about his "two dearest objects [...] on earth" (569). Furthermore, the fact that Fanny actually has to use Edmund`s chain might imply that not only Henry`s necklace is too large for

her accessory, but also Henry himself may be too superior in terms of wealth and social status for her as a woman and as his possible wife. The increasing belief that Fanny regards Edmund as a better companion is strengthened by the metaphor that his chain fits perfectly and is exactly what Fanny wished for. Bearing in mind that Edmund becomes Fanny`s husband later on, it could be argued that the description of the chain might in fact be applied to the man himself. Moreover, Fanny`s continuing scruples about accepting Mary`s necklace turn out rather replicable when Mary confesses to her at the ball that, in fact, she only acted on behalf of Henry when she made the effort to convince Fanny to borrow the necklace. As Fanny does not return Henry`s love in the least, it is pretty reasonable that she is even more relieved about having had to return Mary`s necklace finally.

The intensive discussion of Fanny`s jewellery might raise the reader`s excitement to what may possibly happen at the ball. As the issue covers several pages of the novel, one could assume that the high number of references to accessories might indicate a certain incident or, at least, it might allude to the enormous importance the upcoming event has for Fanny. In fact, the ball turns out to be highly satisfying for Fanny because she is asked for a dance with Edmund and several other young men. Furthermore, when Fanny is even asked to open the ball with Mr. Crawford, she experiences a first real feeling of affiliation in society, which is extremely pleasing and honourable for the modest young woman. Regarding fashion styles at the turn of the 19th century, the long gold chain Fanny borrows from Mary in the first place is rather typical. As times were becoming more progressive and clothes less high-necked, the purpose of such a necklace might have been to emphasise cleavage and bosom, and thus provoke sexual desires in men. Fig. 15 shows two "[t]opaz crosses given to Jane and Cassandra Austen by their brother Charles" (Byrde 51). It seems rather natural that Austen intended to draw a parallel to her own life by including a young man, i.e. William Price, giving a cross to his beloved sister in one of her novels, however Austen used amber instead of topaz in the book.

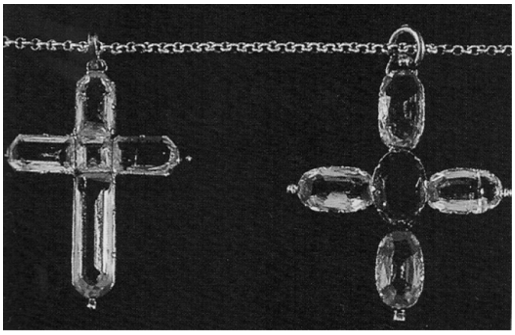

Fig. 15

Jane Austen`s *E* provides some references to pearls in connection with Mrs. Elton. At one point, however much later than the actual introduction of her character, the author comments that "Mrs. Elton, as elegant as lace and pearls could make her" (Austen, *E* 849) was looked at by Mr. John Knightley. As the reader may have already noticed a considerable amount of conceit in Mrs. Elton by this point of the novel, the cited comment might bring up the question whether only Mrs. Elton`s pearls and lace are able to emphasise her style and elegance. In fact, it seems as if Mrs. Elton`s accessories function as a means of disguise for her predominantly negative character qualities. By all means, Mrs. Elton certainly has a distinctive sense of fashion, and she never hesitates to praise herself for it when she is in company of friends and relatives.

> After a good many compliments to Jane on her dress and look, compliments very quietly and properly taken, Mrs. Elton was evidently wanting to be complimented herself—and it was, 'How do you like my gown?—How do you like my trimming?—How has Wright done my hair?'—with many other relative questions, all answered with patient politeness. Mrs. Elton then said,
> 'Nobody can think less of dress in general than I do—but upon such an occasion as this, when everybody`s eyes are so much upon me, and in compliment to the Westons—who I have no doubt are giving this ball chiefly to do me honour—I would not wish to be inferior to others. And I see very few pearls in the room except mine.'
> (Austen, *E* 866)

With special regard to Mrs. Elton`s characterisation, it needs to be pointed out that, according to Lothe`s characterisation model, the above cited

example belongs to the category of indirect presentation. The reader is able to draw some important conclusions about her character from her speech and action. Interestingly enough, at least this part of observation is done by the character herself. The assumption that Mrs. Elton can only be satisfied as long as she is able to feel superior to others is affirmed in this citation by her own statement about not wanting to be inferior to other people.

Pearls occur in a different context in *NA*. When Catherine Morland and Mrs. Allen talk about the Tilneys, the conversation (a part of which has already been analysed in section 2.4.), continues in the following way, 'I have a notion they are both dead; at least the mother is; yes, I am sure Mrs. Tilney is dead, because Mrs. Hughes told me there was a very beautiful set of pearls that Mr. Drummond gave his daughter on her wedding-day and that Miss Tilney has got now, for they were put by for her when her mother died' (Austen, *NA* 992). In this context, pearls function as a dowry given to Miss and Mr. Tilney`s mother when she was a bride. That Miss Tilney is in possession of her mother`s pearls actually seems to correspond to Mrs. Allen`s statement that Mrs. Tilney passed away. In fact, the death of a parent could be a plausible reason for a young girl to receive her mother`s pearls before her own wedding. Finally, in one situation of the same novel, Miss Eleanor Tilney is referred to as "that young lady with the white beads round her head" (Austen, *NA* 985). This statement occurs when Catherine Morland shows the sister of Mr. Tilney to her friend Isabella Thorpe for the first time. Miss Tilney, who is presented as a young woman with a great sense of fashion several times in the novel, obviously uses a string of pearls as an accessory for her coiffure. Thus, she definitely complies with the latest fashion of the time.

4.2. Gloves and Umbrellas

Some pieces of clothes that also functioned as accessories are different kinds of gloves that were of highest popularity at the time. Whereas men preferred leather gloves, the ones for women were made out of fabric.

When going outside, both sexes sometimes took along a walking cane, which women used to decorate, for example, with a ribbon. According to Laver, “indeed, no well-dressed man was ever seen in the street without one” (161). Moreover, Breward reconfirms that “fine kid gloves, lace handkerchiefs and cravats, walking canes and swords all helped in marking out the cosmopolitan gentleman” (114). Regency ladies often combined short-sleeved dresses with long or elbow-length gloves. Usually made of "white kid" (Buck 144), gloves were considered the perfect accessory for an evening dress. On the whole, especially women liked to dress up for special occasions, wearing turbans and bonnets decorated with feathers (see section 2.5.2.) and fans. "For daytime wear [gloves] were of kid or suede, usually in yellow, buff or white" (Buck 144). Furthermore, parasols, usually with cane handles, provided a shade on sunny days, often held by a man to protect the head of his beloved (Peacock 76-80).

In *P & P*, for example, gloves play a fairly important role as a means of concealing a very special accessory underneath. That is when Lydia Bennet returns home to her family after her elopement with and rash wedding to George Wickham. Lydia is tremendously excited about the adventurous weeks she has experienced and tells her mother about her previous encounter with William Goulding, 'and [I] took off my glove, and let my hand just rest upon the window frame, so that he might see the ring, and then I bowed and smiled like any thing' (Austen, *P & P* 381). Lydia`s gloves can be considered rather significant in this situation. Even though she is extremely proud of her wedding ring, she wears gloves which actually hide it. Of course the reason for wearing gloves could simply be the current weather situation or an indication of Lydia`s sense of fashion. Since Lydia boasts of being married by showing the ring to everybody who crosses her path, it can be assumed that she does not wear the gloves with the intention to hide what is underneath. Yet, the fact that she has to make the effort to take them off in order to make the ring visible for others may help prevent an increase in the number of people who dislike her, due

to her elopement. Thus, Lydia`s wearing gloves probably has a more positive purpose in this special situation than she might actually imagine.

Towards the end of *P* Captain Wentworth uses gloves as an excuse for re-entering the room in which his beloved Anne Elliot is still sitting. Before, Captain Wentworth was busy writing a letter, whereupon he left the room in quite a hurry. However, he almost immediately returns with a knock on the door. "He begged their pardon, but he had forgotten his gloves, and instantly crossing the room to the writing table, [...] he drew out a letter from under the scattered paper, placed it before Anne with eyes of glowing entreaty fixed on her for a moment, and hastily collecting his gloves, was again out of the room" (Austen, *P* 1222). Once again, Austen manages to make the reader see things from a character`s perspective extremely well, as it is rather easy to literally feel the excitement and nervousness of Captain Wentworth in this situation. Subsequently, it is revealed that Wentworth wrote a second letter before, in which he finally states his true feelings for Anne. In order to have the possibility to emphasise the importance of the letter to his beloved by putting it right in front of her, Wentworth must have left his gloves in the room on purpose when he first left.

That gloves were in fashion equally for women and men becomes obvious in Austen`s novels, because men`s gloves are mentioned in somewhat more situations than women`s. Another example of a male character who is presented as rather enthusiastic about gloves is Mr. Frank Churchill in *E*. During his first visit to Highbury, Emma Woodhouse accompanies him to town in order to make some purchases. When they approach Ford`s, Frank Churchill exclaims, 'Ha! this must be the very shop that every body attends every day of their lives, as my father informs me. [...] [P]ray let us go in, that I may prove myself to belong to the place, to be a true citizen of Highbury. I must buy something at Ford`s. [...] I dare say they sell gloves' (Austen, *E* 797). This citation suggests that Frank Churchill is a rather trendy young man who wants to keep up with fashions at all times. He was informed by his father that Ford`s was the fashionable place to call in

Highbury. Actually, Ford`s is referred to as "the principal woollen-draper, linen-draper, and haberdasher`s shop united; the shop first in size and fashion in the place" (Austen, *E* 785). Frank`s remarks indicate that he is not necessarily in great need of a certain piece of clothing or accessory, it rather sounds as if anything could please him as long as it can be bought at the famous warehouse. Therefore, it can be assumed that his choice for gloves is a fairly random one. Somewhat later in the novel, Mrs. Ford, the owner of the shop, asks Miss Bates about a pair of gloves that was bought at Ford`s. Miss Bates`s answer reveals that, as with bonnets and dresses, it was rather usual for women to make alterations to gloves in case they did not fit perfectly. Thus, she states, 'Thank ye, the gloves do very well—only a little too large about the wrist; but Jane is taking them in' (Austen, *E* 818). Besides, *NA*`s woman of fashion, Mrs. Allen, mentions silk gloves which she wears on countless occasions, for example when she goes to the Lower Rooms in Bath (Austen, *NA* 1083).

Whenever Austen mentions umbrellas or parasols, it is rather clear that she does it in connection to chivalry in most of the cases. In *P*, for example, Captain Wentworth tells Anne Elliot, 'Though I came only yesterday, I have equipped myself properly for Bath already, you see,' (pointing to a new umbrella) 'I wish you would make use of it, if you are determined to walk; though, I think, it would be more prudent to let me get you a chair' (Austen, *P* 1188). Thus, Captain Wentworth intends to lend his umbrella to Anne, although he is in need of one himself. At that point of the novel the reader has already anticipated a reunion of the former couple. However, this anticipation can only be based upon certain comments and behaviours by Captain Wentworth and Anne so far. However, taking into consideration that Anne was the Captain`s only reason for coming to Bath, his offering the umbrella to her can be regarded as an allusion to the events in store.

A fairly similar situation occurs in Jane Austen`s *E*. Emma Woodhouse explains to her father that Mr. Weston, 'because it began to mizzle, he darted away with so much gallantry, and borrowed two umbrellas for us

from Farmer Mitchell`s' (Austen, *E* 693) when she and Miss Taylor encountered him a couple of years ago. Emma refers to this occasion as the trigger for her intention to set Mr. Weston up with Miss Taylor, possibly because she recognises Mr. Weston`s noble personality. As the reader is informed near the beginning of the novel, Miss Taylor actually marries Mr. Weston, however, it remains undecided if the reason for their union was Emma`s matchmaking exclusively. Somewhat later in the novel Harriet Smith tells Emma about her encounter with Miss and Mr. Martin. Harriet states that Elizabeth Martin and her brother came into Ford`s while she was shopping there, as well. She further tells Emma, 'Elizabeth saw me directly; but he did not; he was busy with the umbrella. I am sure she saw me, but she looked away directly; and took no notice' (785). The mutual disconcerting encounter of Harriet, Elizabeth and Robert Martin is due to the fact that Harriet rejected Robert`s marriage proposal some weeks ago, and they have never met again since.

Apart from the mentioned references, Catherine Morland in *NA* points out that she 'hate[s] the sight of an umbrella', followed by Mrs. Allen`s statement that '[t]hey are disagreeable things to carry' (Austen, *NA* 999). Furthermore, Austen mentions women`s fans, as well as handkerchiefs and watches for both women and men as popular accessories at the time. On the whole, it can be said that Austen included a rather high number of references to accessories in her novels, and it is certainly noteworthy that most of these accessories would probably be regarded appropriate today. Such parallels are, for example, some gems and pearls that are still regarded as classic accessories for both day and evening wear, as well as watches for both sexes. However nowadays gloves and umbrellas are used to protect people from rain and cold weather and the accessory function has only remained for women attending posh evening events.

5. Conclusion

> [C]lothes in fiction are clothes in action, clothes experienced and clothes observed. To look at dress in literature needs many different spectacles, for dress is endlessly polyvalent and changing: the result may be obliquity, confusion and ambiguity, but as Elizabeth Wilson says, to avoid reductivism or normative moralizing about dress, 'we must attempt it'. Dress`s triumphant, paradoxical secret is that while we dismiss it as frivolous, chronically restless and ephemeral, it outlives us – in museums, art and [...] in literature. [...] Dressed in fiction, clothes of the past are warmed into life, metamorphosed into a kind of poetry.
> (Hughes 185)

On the whole, Jane Austen does not include an enormous amount of references to clothes, hairstyle and accessories in the six novels that have been the subject of investigation for this study. Hollander compares Jane Austen with Henry James and argues, "James is more daring and apt with his occasional references to dress than Austen. He is [...] more aware of the importance of qualities of clothing have in the area of sensibility, but he hangs back from indications of specific style" (*Seeing Through Clothes* 424). Taking a closer look at the situations in which Austen does mention clothes, she uses considerably more references to women`s clothes, and she is much more precise in the description of which. One might argue that the fact that she is a woman herself could have contributed to her somewhat greater interest in the details of her female characters` dresses and accessories. Hollander holds the view that the characters in Austen`s novels "are rather uncorporeal. Their looks elude a mental image, clothes included, and one must make an effort to *see* them, however well Austen lets us know them" (*Seeing Through Clothes* 439).

During the process of writing this diploma thesis, I have experienced a considerable number of interesting conversations with people who asked about my subject of investigation. The subsequent comments on it were rather remarkable, as they showed a sharp distinction in regard to the sex of the person I was talking to. Whereas women of every age considered

the topic of this thesis as particularly fascinating and outstanding, predominantly some young men referred to it as somewhat girly. In fact, most of the latter claimed that they had never heard anything about Jane Austen at all. Certainly, both fashion and Austen are two subject matters that are still strongly associated with the female domain. However, I absolutely agree with Hughes, who argues that even "Jane Austen [...] sees no reason why the subject of dress, within the general decorums of conversation, should not be as interesting to men as to women" (47). Thus, this diploma thesis will accomplish its purpose all the more, if it is of any relevance, be it scientific or non-scientific, for both sexes and if it is able to diverge from certain stereotypes due to every man who will read it.

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GERMAN ABSTRACT

DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG DER WISSENSCHAFTLICHEN ARBEIT

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit beinhaltet eine Analyse von Kleidung, Accessoires, Frisuren und Schuhen in den sechs folgenden Romanen der englischen Autorin Jane Austen: *Sinn und Sinnlichkeit* (Originaltitel: *Sense and Sensibility*), *Stolz und Vorurteil* (Originaltitel: *Pride and Prejudice*), *Die Abtei von Northanger* (Originaltitel: *Northanger Abbey*), *Mansfield Park*, *Emma* und *Überredung* (Originaltitel: *Persuasion*). Eine Vielzahl an Situationen aus den genannten Romanen wird analysiert und mit Hilfe von zahlreichen Zitaten zum Kleidungsstil Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts untermauert. Darüber hinaus beabsichtigt diese Studie die Bedeutung bestimmter Textpassagen zu verdeutlichen, beispielsweise im Hinblick auf gesellschaftliche Stellung, Alter, Geschlecht, Charaktereigenschaften und kulturelle Normen.

Jane Austen befasste sich in ihren Romanen zum Großteil mit dem Alltagsleben von Mitgliedern der gehobenen Mittelklasse, beziehungsweise des niederen Landadels, in der sogenannten Regency-Zeit Englands. Während sich die männliche Hälfte dieser Gesellschaft um 1800 hauptsächlich mit Politik und ausländischen Handelsbeziehungen beschäftigte, wurde die häusliche Domäne vorwiegend mit Frauen assoziiert. Aufgrund dessen versucht diese Studie zu analysieren in welchem Ausmaß die Thematik von Kleidung eine Rolle für beide Geschlechter spielt und bietet Erklärungsansätze warum dies der Fall sein könnte. Um bestimmte Hypothesen zu unterstützen verweist diese Diplomarbeit immer wieder auf Austens Briefe (Originaltitel: *Jane Austen`s Letters*), nachdem diese einen tieferen Einblick in das Leben der gehobenen Mittelklasse zu Lebzeiten der Schriftstellerin gewähren.

Die vorliegende Studie ist folgendermaßen gegliedert:
Zunächst bietet das erste Kapitel einige wichtige Informationen über die englische Gesellschaft zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, sowie über

Einflussfaktoren die für die damalige Mode signifikant waren. Der Schwerpunkt von Kapitel 2 liegt auf der Repräsentation von Frauen. Genauer gesagt liefert dieser Abschnitt mehrere Hintergrundinformationen zur weiblichen Auffassung von Mode und dem gängigen Kleidungsstil um 1800, und bildet somit eine Grundlage für die weitere Analyse der weiblichen Mode, auf die in Austens Romanen Bezug genommen wird. Im Zuge dessen wird ebenfalls auf die Bedeutung von Stoffen und Farben eingegangen. Des Weiteren widmet sich ein Teil des zweiten Kapitels einem besonderen Kleidungsstück, nämlich dem Hochzeitskleid. Abschließend untersucht dieser Abschnitt weibliche Schuhe, Frisuren und Kopfschmuck, und zieht zahlreiche Parallelen und Vergleiche zwischen der damaligen Mode und Austens Beschreibungen davon in den ausgewählten Romanen. Danach befasst sich Kapitel 3 mit der Repräsentation von Männern, und analysiert den männlichen Kleidungsstil zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, gefolgt von mehreren Bezugnahmen zu deren Darstellung in Austens Werken. Neben den Schwerpunkten Kleidung, Schuhe und Frisuren beschäftigt sich dieser Abschnitt außerdem mit den Uniformen der englischen Offiziere. Das vierte Kapitel untersucht den Gebrauch und die Bedeutung von Accessoires, wie zum Beispiel Ringe, Juwelen, Perlen, Handschuhe und Schirme.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Judith Mayr

Date & Place of Birth: 10th August, 1984 in Wels

Nationality: Austria

Education:

2004 - 2010: English and Psychology & Philosophy Studies for teaching certification, University of Vienna; expected time of graduation: June, 2010

2003 – 2004: English and Geography & Economics Studies for teaching certification, University of Vienna

1998 – 2003: HBLA (College for Occupation in the Social and Services Sector) in Wels
key course element: foreign languages & economics
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1994 – 1998: secondary school in Grieskirchen

1990 – 1994: primary school in Grieskirchen

Work experience:

July, 2009 – December, 2009: part-time employment as telephone interviewer at Statistik Austria, Vienna

March, 2007 – June, 2009: part-time employment as English tutor at Schülerhilfe, Vienna

July – September, 2008: temporary employment as a nanny in East Sussex, England

January – May, 2008: private tuition (English) for students

August, 2007: English tutor at Schülerhilfe, Vienna (summer course)

March, 2006 – June, 2007: part-time employment at Stadthalle, Vienna

July – September, 2006: temporary employment as a nanny in Brisbane, Australia

Summer of 2003, 2004 and 2005: temporary employment in catering at Eurotherme Bad Schallerbach

June – September, 2001: internship in catering, Saalbach-Hinterglemm

Additional Skills:

- languages: German (L 1); English (L 2); French, Spanish and Latin (basic knowledge)
- BEC Higher (Cambridge Certificate for Business English)
- ECDL (European Computer Driving Licence)