

Uniformierungen in Bewegung



**Vestimentäre Praktiken
zwischen Vereinheitlichung,
Kostümierung und
Maskerade**

Sharon Peoples
2007 BC1
Duck Suits to Dandies

Uniformierungen in Bewegung

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Gabriele Mentges
Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow
Birgit Richard (Hg.)

Uniformierungen in Bewegung

Vestimentäre Praktiken zwischen Vereinheitlichung,
Kostümierung und Maskerade



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Dagmar Neuland-
Vorwort

Gabriele Mentge,
Uniform – Kostüm

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Danksagung der Herausgeberinnen

Der vorliegende Band ist aus der interdisziplinär angelegten und im internationalen Rahmen veranstalteten Tagung „Uniformierungen in Bewegung. Vestimentäre Praktiken zwischen Vereinheitlichung, Kostümierung und Maskerade“ hervorgegangen, die vom 2.–4. 3. 2006 im Museum Europäischer Kulturen – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz stattgefunden hat.

Sie wurde in Kooperation mit dem Museum Europäischer Kulturen in Berlin durchgeführt. Damit kommt das Forschungsprojekt „Uniform in Bewegung. Zum Prozess der Uniformität von Körper und Kleidung“, das aus Mitteln der VolkswagenStiftung über drei Jahre gefördert wurde, zu seinem Abschluss.

Wir danken der VolkswagenStiftung und insbesondere Frau Dr. Vera Szöllösi-Brenig sehr herzlich für die großzügige Unterstützung. Dank schulden wir aber auch den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, vor allem in der Person von Herrn Prof. Dr. Konrad Vanja, die uns nicht nur gastlich in ihren Räumen aufgenommen, sondern auch finanziell und personell zur Tagung beigetragen haben.

Die im Rahmen dieser Tagung veranstalteten Führungen durch die Sammlungen der Lipperheideschen Kostümbibliothek und der neu erworbenen Kostümsammlung Ruf-Kamer des Kunstgewerbemuseums wurden ermöglicht durch Frau Dr. Adelheid Rasche und Frau Christine Waidenschlager. Ihnen sei hier nochmals unser Dank dafür ausgesprochen.

An einer Tagung sind stets viele Hände beteiligt. Hervorheben möchten wir die kompetente Mitarbeit von Nikola Schmidt, M.A., sowohl bei der Organisation als auch beim Lektorat und nicht zuletzt auch Svenja Adelt, M.A., die von ihr diese Aufgabe übernommen hat. Ihnen und den anderen studentischen wie zahlreichen technischen Hilfskräften und ebenso den unvermutet freiwilligen HelferInnen, sei im Namen der Herausgeberinnen herzlich gedankt.

Für die Korrektur sämtlicher englischsprachiger Abstracts sind wir Anthony Freitas zu besonderem Dank verpflichtet.

Kirsten Heusgen sei wie immer für die kundige und zügige technische Herstellung des Manuskriptes gedankt.

Gabriele Mentges
Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow
Birgit Richard

Im März 2007

Vorwort

Uniformierungen, Kostümierungen, Szenen der Maskerade gehören seit langem zum Forschungsterrain einer volkskundlich-ethnologischen und kulturhistorischen Forschung. Welche Fragestellungen und Begrifflichkeiten bei der Betrachtung von Kleidung und ihrem Zubehör, von Verkleidungen und dem Gebrauch von Masken sowie für die Gestaltung symbolischer Identitäten verschiedenster Art herangezogen werden, wie untersucht und insbesondere auch dechiffriert wird, dies weist in den letzten 100 Jahren eine große Vielfalt auf. Die Begrifflichkeiten und ihre Definitionen positionieren sich immer wieder neu zwischen Tradition und Moderne.

Dieser Ausgangspunkt in Wissenschaftsgeschichte und Abgrenzung eines weit ausgreifenden Themenfeldes konnte deshalb für die Gestaltung einer Kooperation zwischen den Universitäten Dortmund und Frankfurt am Main sowie dem Museum Europäischer Kulturen – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin herangezogen werden, als es um die Vorbereitung und Durchführung einer Tagung zur Thematik „Uniformierungen in Bewegung. Vestimentäre Praktiken zwischen Vereinheitlichung, Kostümierung und Maskerade“ im Frühjahr 2006 in Berlin ging. Die Tagung in unserem Museumsquartier „Museen Dahlem – Kunst und Kulturen der Welt“ und der damit einhergehende wissenschaftliche Kontakt zu den Referentinnen und Referenten gestalteten sich im besten Sinne als Terrain für einen innovativen wissenschaftlichen Austausch zwischen universitär-akademischen Institutionen und den Forschungspotenzialen in den historisch gewachsenen Sammlungen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Hier waren insbesondere das Kunstgewerbemuseum und die Lipperheidesche Kostümbibliothek in der Kunstbibliothek mit Führungen und Präsentationen beteiligt. Kooperationen dieser Art ermöglichen Grenzüberschreitungen mit veränderten Forschungsperspektiven und gegenseitigen Inspirationen. Parallel dazu wurde der Tagungsrahmen zu einem Höhepunkt für künstlerische Präsentationen und einer spezifischen Ästhetik in Bildern und in einer Performance zu UniformPhantasien der Textilkünstlerin Pia Fischer.

Das Gelingen der Tagung ist dem Engagement vieler Aktiver zu danken. Insbesondere möchten wir uns bei den Initiatoren, Gestaltern und Förderern des Forschungskolloquiums bedanken: bei Frau Prof. Dr. Gabriele Mentges und ihren Mitarbeiterinnen vom Institut für Kunst und Materielle Kultur der Universität Dortmund, bei Frau Prof. Dr. Birgit Richard und ihren Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter vom Institut für Kunstpädagogik der Universität Frankfurt am Main sowie bei der VolkswagenStiftung. Der Dank gilt aber auch den benachbarten Institutionen in den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, hier insbesondere Frau Dr.

Adelheid Rasche und Frau Christine Waidenschlager. Wir freuen uns überdies, dass wir die Ergebnisse dieser Tagung als Wegeleitung der Forschung und der forschenden Sammlungen unserer Schriftenreihe als Band 4 zufügen können. Allen Referentinnen und Referenten der Tagung gilt daher unser besonderer Dank, ebenso Nikola Schmidt und Svenja Adelt sowie dem Waxmann Verlag in Münster für die editorische Betreuung des Tagungsbands.

Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow
Konrad Vanja

Im März 2007

„Die Uniformität aus der schwei Zwanziger Jahre Frauen und Mäc in den Einzelheit untypisch für die Ansehen genoss Werkbund, zur S Kult der maschir Uniformität (Sykc Männlichkeit, Mc formität zu diese belegen. Aber h tief in das 18., ja s Prägung von Ur soldatischen Unif der Technologie Fertigung – Stich Massenproduktic wesentliche Best 27). Daraus haben s leitet: Erstens die Identitätsdiskurse Moderne¹ aus, U wünschte Rande einer neuen Aus vorneherein eine Zuerst einmal ist unvermeidliches Dabei sind wir vor in der zweiten Mc

Sharon Peoples

Duck Suits to Dandies

The argument of this chapter is that Australian male convict clothing of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was an active agent for social change. The setting up of penal settlements was designed to bring about moral reform. However it was not so much through moral enlightenment, as was hoped for, but more as a catalyst to economic power and social reorganisation. For many years, received Australian history painted the early colonials as rum-drinking, no-good, lazy workers who avoided any form of physical exertion (Clark 1956; Hirst 1983; Horne 1972; Hughes 1987; McQueen 1968; Shaw 1966). In the last twenty years this has been refuted by a number of historians (Nicholas 1988; Elliot 1988; Keneally 2005; Oxley 1996). However, none of these authors made the connection between cloth, behaviour and the body. Investigating textiles such as convict uniforms remind us of complexities of representation and the body and between the functional and the symbolic.

This paper speculates on why uniforms were created for the convicts, how clothing was utilised as a reward system, why textiles that were used for the uniforms were embedded with politics, how clothing was used as an organising principle, the body politic of 'magpie' and 'canary' suits and the effects of imposing uniformity on members of British society so far from the homeland. Together these factors contributed to and developed a new style of consumer, the Convict Dandy (Elliot 1988). Although the concept of the convict dandy is not new, very few Australian historians appear to have acknowledged the role of textiles and convict clothing as active agents for social change. The concept of uniforms in motion is illustrated through social mobility, moving through the class system.

The Politics of Uniforms – Coded Clothing

Why did the British government clothe convicts in Australia? Convicts in the overcrowded prisons of Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries relied on families, friends and religious groups to provide clothing and food while they languished either waiting for court proceedings or carrying out sentences. Those committed to transportation on the First Fleet¹ were able to bring what belongings they could procure with them on the eight month voyage

to the new penal colony in Australia. Replicating the British justice system was the initial mandate on arrival and a 'natural' division of the group formed between the military and the 750 or so convicts.

Maintaining that division became difficult, as the harsh environment caused clothing to deteriorate and wear out rapidly. Without ready replacement the value of clothing rapidly increased and subsequently became a form of currency, blurring the boundaries between the two classes. The lessening of visible state power caused anxiety among the military. Once regular supplies for the colony were established almost two years later, Governor Phillip ordered working men's clothing for the convicts as their existing attire were threadbare and almost non-existent (Elliot 1988: 106). Male convicts initially wore blue cloth or kersey (coarse ribbed woollen cloth), duck trousers (made of untwilled cotton), coarse linen shirts, yarn stockings, and woollen caps. The eventual re-supply of smart uniforms for the "red-coats"² stood in contrast to the convicts.

Even though the concept of uniforms was relatively new at the time, it was associated with the military rather than the lowest of society. The militarisation of penal discipline undoubtedly influenced the use of clothing as a management and organising strategy. After the initial struggles, a hierarchical system of clothing was introduced as, inevitably, further crimes were committed in the new colony. Convicts who committed serious crimes were re-transported to new penal settlements that were specifically established to deal severe punishment, rather than building skills desperately needed for the colony. It was at Moreton Bay, Norfolk Island, Port Macquarie, Macquarie Harbour and Port Arthur that the magpie and canary suits were used as part of the punishment system.

There were general types and trends in the clothing system.³ The penal system roughly divided the convicts into four groups. The lowest group carried out hard labour in gangs and wore the black and yellow magpie wool suits (see Image 1, Colourplate, page 368). The colours were juxtaposed like harlequin or jester outfits, and were not only denigrating to the men, but like all convict uniforms, assisted in surveillance. It also served to identify them if caught after escaping. In the Australian bush the yellow and black is particularly difficult to disguise or camouflage. The next tier up wore the all yellow canary suits (Image 2). In 1833 in Port Arthur and Macquarie Harbour, Tasmania, the standing order was that all convicts, on arrival, wear the standard yellow suit. The decree stated that the imposition of the coarse yellow dress was considered severe punishment. The suits were replaced about every seven or eight months. Conversely withholding new uniforms was also a punishment and after working in the very cold waters of Macquarie Harbour on the west coast of Tasmania or working in the scorching sun of Moreton Bay, Queensland, one can imagine why. The worn-out clothing provided little protection against the elements. The wet woollen clothing also slowed the movement of the convicts. The heavy suits discouraged escape.

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Good behaviour entitled the next
and largest group to wear clothing of
white/grey duck (untwilled cotton).
Educated convicts were allowed
a grey dress, as were prisoners
on probation for good conduct.
Some of these convicts wore their
own clothes when uniforms were
not available. However, the courts
ordered that the tail or frock of
a refractory convict's long coat
be cut off (Young 1988: 82). This
indicated that the man was not
free, almost as if removing his tail
feathers or clipping his wings. He
was under control and he was
emasculated. The short jacket was
considered to be a juvenile garment
and was intended to signal the
wearer's powerlessness. 'Ticket-of-
leave-men', those at the top of the
convict ranking, were free to buy
and wear their own clothes. The
distinguishing feature of their outfits
was a blue cap with a leather
peak and a neckerchief of black
twilled cotton (Young 1988: 78). This

system of clothing reinforced the
eighteenth century notion that clothing was an indicator of social position and
the uniforms marked the body having moved from suffering to penitence.

The Politics of Textiles

While ducking was used for the general population of male convicts, wool was
employed for the coloured magpie and canary suits worn by the lowest on the
convict classification. This use had a moral dimension. Development and growth
of industrial technologies in the eighteenth century meant new sources of money
developed. More luxuries were available as trade expanded. Silk was always
seen as a luxury cloth for the upper classes. Cotton was the new novelty in textiles
and affected the wool industry. Wool was the back-bone of the English economy
and the landed gentry, producing it, was threatened by the vast importation of
cheaper cotton by the new entrepreneurial middle class. In this context wool was
viewed as a moral fibre. Beverly Lemire quotes from an early eighteenth century



Image 2: Canary Suit.

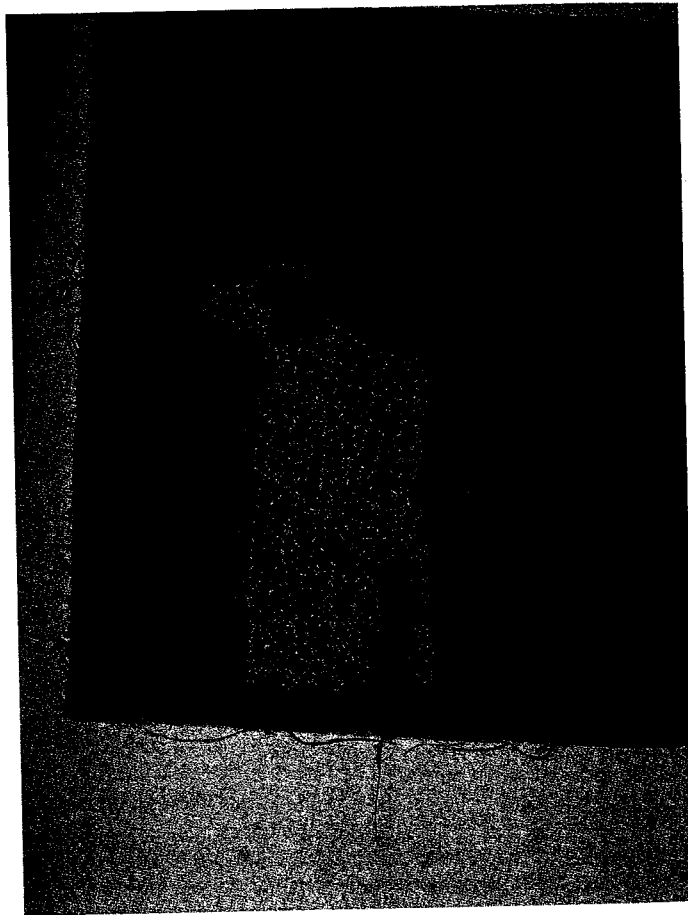


Image 3: Museum Man VI. Embroidered image.

pamphlet which sought to ban the importation of cotton into England: "wool will guide all other habits of the body" (Lemire 2000: 398). By using wool as the fabric for magpie and canary suits, the uniforms were infused with moral intent and a performative regime inscribed by its imposition on the convict body. The only time the state can successfully implement a type of sartorial morality is through imposing convict uniforms. Striped convict clothing was used in the penal colonies of America from around 1760 (Pasteroureau 1991: 56) and later in the century specific clothing for convicts were made for English, German, Austrian, Siberian and even Ottoman penal colonies. The French preferred to use a red tabard often in combination of ochre or brown pants and sometimes a green cap with yellow sleeves sewn on to distinguish repeat offenders (Pasteroureau 1991: 56). Visual literacy of systematic clothing was more apt in the eighteenth century.

The Politics of

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The Politics of Dress

The notion of social organisation through dress was not new. However, clothing was given a new political inflection during the French Revolution. The English were horrified at events in France where the aristocracy were overthrown by the people wearing clothing with political affiliations (Hunt 1984; Wrigley 2002). The militant *sans-culottes* wearing the Marseille waterside workers' clothes with the Phrygian red caps of liberty rose in power. Knee length breeches were seen as aristocratic and were condemned by those seeking to rule. Full length trousers were the clothes of the peasants and the workers who were to inherit the rule of France. The counter-revolutionaries, the *Muscadins*, *Mervielluses* and *incroyables*, who stuck to their breeches, devised and wore outfits to indicate their loyalty to the aristocracy. The new body politic attempted, not only to represent political affiliation, but also to re-organize power in society through re-coding clothing by those vying for power in France. This was abhorred by those in power in England.⁴

England had dockyards full of felons who were seen as potential revolutionaries. Social control through clothing, that is, through some sort of uniformed appearance, was seen as a means of imposing a moral force and a belief that humility played an important part of reform (Maynard 1987: 58). In the military system reward was reflected in elaborate uniforms. But the reverse appeared true for the convict uniforms in Australia, where the more elaborate the outfit, the more degrading was the punishment.

The colloquial naming of the suits, magpie and canary suits, that the lower grade convicts were forced to wear, gives the impression that they were wearing costumes or indeed masquerade costumes. A broad arrow or the 'monarch's mark' was stamped onto all government issued suits to indicate property of his majesty, the King. Yellow, as in the canary suit, was a European colour of disgrace foisted upon prostitutes, perjurers and impostors. The addition of the black in the parti-coloured magpie suit giving a bizarre appearance pronounced the stigma of being a "government man"⁵. These linguistic bird metaphors resound with the idea of flight, of escape, of being elsewhere.⁶ They were powerful metaphors that reflected that the experience of wearing these textiles was used to form some sort of conceptualisation of a reality beyond incarceration.

The visual language of these magpie and canary suits was meant to humiliate the wearers, marking them out from the general population. It seems that the practice of segregation from society, not only through clothing, but of moving from the familiar to the unfamiliar through transportation. Isolation, surveillance and placing penal colonies so far from the centre of power have been common practice to emphasise humiliation. Indeed one Australian writer, Thomas Keneally, recently suggested that Australia was so far removed from England, that the explorations of the eighteenth century should be compared to space exploration as a modern day site for dumping unwanted migrants and member of society.⁷

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Australia has been inhabited for 26,000 years (Keneally 2005: 149), by a people who marked out social position on the body in an unrecognisable status code to the English who landed on the eastern shores of Australia in 1788. There was very little perceived architecture at that point, for both Indigenous peoples and the Europeans in the colony. The English could not read nor considered that the Australian Aborigines already had complex and sophisticated notion of architecture as means of organising people in space. Their body decoration was part of that system. Likewise the invading English, who consisted of the military, those willing to be uniformed, and the convicts, those unwilling wearers of woollen apparel, also had their bodies covered in decoration which was the organising principle for the penal settlement before any substantial buildings were erected. The simple technology of clothing as part of a reward system was used and was thought by some to work more effectively than the lash (Nicholas 1988: 11).

Imposing uniformity

What happens when uniformity is imposed on unwilling bodies? Imposing power through clearly visible means was thought to assist in showing convicts they needed to know their place and that visible utilitarian punishment of building roads and bridges benefited society. However, the space between the skin and that thin veneer of culture, clothing, can be a site for disobedience. Michel Foucault argues that where there are "forced relations", those bodies invested in by power, there is the potential for resisting or subverting that power (Foucault 1980: 56). How some enterprising convicts subverted authority was to unpick the black and yellow suits to remake black ones, suitable for disguise. Their clothing continually reminded them of their fall from grace. Only one full magpie suit and about 20 various parts of these convict suits exist today, as the stigma associated with them led to their rapid disposal. Reclaiming individuality through clothing was a priority of ex-convicts. The hated clothing led to one of the most interesting patterns of consumption.

Authorities were concerned with punishment, discipline and reformation of the individual, and perhaps Australia was seen as a site to carry out theories of reform. These ideas were indicators of a complex weave of archaic and Enlightenment attitudes to punishment. As Linda Young notes, these uniforms provided a number of social roles: they were simultaneously active agents in the sentence of criminal transportation; and they were carriers of highly charged social messages at home and abroad (Young 1988: 70–84). By creating a passive surface through the use of uniform clothing and reducing the personality, with all its individual faults and traits, to a body, clothed and numbered was seen as a way to improving the mind, or more importantly at this time the soul. In Foucauldian terms classifying, categorising and observing these bodies, by codes, marks and signs produced knowledge used to survey and regulate the lives of convicts enmeshed in the distribution of power (Foucault 1977).

Clothing not only clasped also into physical size 157–162 cm; 165–170 the beginnings of the needed room to move out often meant that were compounded v didn't fit. At a time w fitting garments them in contact with the ski he wore. As well the ex public display which ir with this psychological How the bodies perfe constraints. Those con that weighed between riveted around the ank chain could be attach the body but the clothi The trousers had butto without having to rem work their way up thro to become what Jane

The New Consumers

Two factors facilitated within one generation they were to be remun Secondly, as a result of set working hours for the were encouraged to g convicts could enter int There were two main sc this paper I have discu however, one of the e colonial consumer deve the self through the digr consumption.

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Clothing not only classified the bodies into a hierarchical punishment system but also into physical sizing. The clothing came in three sizes according to height: 157–162 cm; 165–170 cm; and those over 172 cm (Young 1988: 77). This was the beginnings of the notion of mass produced clothing. These working bodies needed room to move and the labour that the convicts were expected to carry out often meant that the clothes were inadequate. The problems with supply were compounded with the probability that the limited sizing, clothes often didn't fit. At a time when not only status was reflected in the clothes worn, ill fitting garments themselves were humiliating. The tactile qualities of rough wool in contact with the skin were a continual reminder to the wearer of the clothes he wore. As well the external surface of the clothing was for the gaze of others: a public display which in itself was torture. The performative display and discipline with this psychological discomfort affected the physical body.

How the bodies performed were also determined by other external physical constraints. Those convicts wearing the magpie and canary suits wore chains that weighed between six and fourteen kilos and consisted of thick rings of iron riveted around the ankle, linked by about 1.5 metres of chain. A vertical length of chain could be attached in the middle with which to carry the weight. Not only the body but the clothing design had to accommodate this form of punishment. The trousers had buttons down the sides of the legs so that they could be taken off without having to remove the irons around the ankles.⁸ How could these people work their way up through this physically and psychologically demanding system to become what Jane Elliot calls the Convict Dandy?

The New Consumers

Two factors facilitated transforming the convicts into a new breed of consumer within one generation. Firstly, from the start convicts were not to be slaves, they were to be remunerated for work done (Keneally 2005: 48; Nicholas 1988). Secondly, as a result of the near starvation the governor, Arthur Phillip, instigated set working hours for the convicts: from 0700 to 1500. After work hours the convicts were encouraged to grow their own food which could be traded. Hence the convicts could enter into an economic system far earlier than anticipated.

There were two main sources of clothing: government and private enterprise. In this paper I have discussed the system of government-issued convict clothing; however, one of the effects of imposed institutional garments saw the new colonial consumer develop a preference for imported luxury items. Representing the self through the dignity and pleasure of choosing apparel was entwined with consumption.

As we have seen throughout the paper clothing was agency for change. Up to the mid eighteenth century clothing had been a clear indicator of social position. Dress and demeanour was a vehicle for manners, status and location of place. Like ranking in the military, position in society was quite clear and was assumed

as static. However, the new mobility in society caused by the Industrial Revolution was equally true for Australian convicts: physical mobility, that is, transportation from England, for them meant opportunity for social mobility. Transgressing barriers through dress was systemic. Transgressing social barriers was far more possible in Australia yet perhaps not always successful. The new consumers were denigrated for their lack of social graces. They did not always have what Marcel Mauss terms as the correct "techniques of the body" (Mauss 1973). This perhaps was a combination of the physical effects of incarceration and *habitus* that developed. The *habitus* they operated in was a combination of physical effects and their previous life in England.

Historian Jane Elliot undermines the myth that the Australian colonials spent all their money on alcohol (Elliot 1988). In fact her research looking at consumption and import records illustrates that the spending habits of the convicts and ex-convicts greatly departed from their contemporaries in the lower classes in England. The convicts were paid for their labour and were free to spend their time and money how they wished out of work hours. Labour was scarce and therefore relatively well paid. Although prices of food, alcohol and clothing were exorbitant, the lower classes were able to purchase what they wanted. They could never hope for this if they had remained in England. The external markers of status and class by clothing began to blur far more quickly than back home. The preference for imported luxury items, despite that prior to 1815 more money was spent on clothing than on any other consumer item, liquid or solid.

Elliot gives evidence of labouring men acquiring five new pairs of trousers over six months in addition to working clothes. Counterparts in England were lucky to have a second set of clothes (Elliot 1988: 57). The colonials aspired to new clothing whereas second-hand or stolen clothes were the lot of their contemporaries back home (Lemire 1988: 277; Lemire: 2000: 60). Elliot traces purchases through the account books of various Sydney merchants – "a quiet economic and social revolution" (Elliot 1988: 57).

Private enterprise was quickly established as the colonial bureaucracy seemed to blunder their way through providing for the colony. In fact in the First Fleet all the women's clothing was left behind. Governor Phillip was the first to resent expenditure on, what he saw as, unnecessary luxuries of fancy clothing and haberdashery, which took up valuable space in the few incoming ships. Many men and women indulged in speculation in the importation and sale of haberdashery and related goods – these could be one off events or the beginning of embryonic traders. Even after 1800, 500–600% profit could still be made on a shipment of clothing and haberdashery.

These dressed up Dandies who promenaded along the dusty streets were despised by the military and the middle class free settlers, who were the ones that left written records behind. The accounts of the early colonial days were written by upper class visitors, who either ridiculed the excessive finery or demonised the

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Summary

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love of outrageous luxury of the lower classes. The power that this type of writing had, of maintaining myths of large amounts of alcohol either sold throughout the colony or lieu of wages is refuted in Elliot's thesis. Although convict letters and diaries are extremely rare, however there exists a strong narrative (Duffield/Bradley 2001). The English government was not keen for information about the quality of life in Australia to be disseminated back home. Elliot's thesis highlights the need to be wary of who is writing about whom, historically.

Conclusion

There was very little interest in the convict era until the 1970s in Australia. The taint of the past was tied up with the cultural cringe. The convict suits were discarded. Generally the remnants of the architecture of the penal settlements were recycled or left to decay. Although there is relatively small material evidence of the convicts, there are documents of government clothing allowances, decrees on the wearing of canary suits, shop keepers' records and account books, deprecating descriptions of convict Dandies. All contribute to the meaning and resonance of their existence. The metaphoric use of textiles to illuminate social and political relations, here in this paper the duck, magpie and canary suits reflect any number of feelings and experiences that are embedded in cloth, thread and fabric. Yet when considered as what was intended as a systematic routine of punishment and to maintain British society, the result was vital in changing the penal colony to a fully functioning free society. At times convict clothing facilitated in transgressing, destabilising and subverting rules and orders. Encoding and imposing uniforms helped develop a new type of consumer who aspired to buy new clothes rather than the second-hand clothes of their counterparts back in England. In some ways labelling the body in obvious and blatant ways, without the subtlety of subliminal social markers engrained in dress, further encouraged social mobility and in this sense the clothing system rewarded many convicts.

Summary

Although convict clothing is the only successful form of state-imposed clothing rules, it can be seen that the power of clothing has an experiential dimension – both in its wearing and viewing. This chapter explores agency and practice through the way in which Australian convict clothing assisted in the social mobility of a low socio-economic group, generally assumed to have little ability to improve their wealth and status.

Annotation

- 1 Eleven ships made up the First Fleet from Portsmouth, England, to Botany Bay arriving in May 1787. Over 750 convicts were carried on board. Subsequent fleets were sent with more convicts and provisions but did not arrive for two years.
- 2 "Red-coats" referred to the marines who wore red jackets.
- 3 For more detailed descriptions, see Maynard 1994; Young 1988.
- 4 When the French explorer, Jean-Francois de la Perouse, arrived in the ships *La Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*, at Botany Bay two weeks after the English took possession of the country they were given a very wary and cold reception (Hughes 1987: 86).
- 5 Although I have used 'convict' throughout the paper 'government man' was the term used by the convicts themselves. For discussion, see Duffield & Bradley (1997: 9).
- 6 The Australian magpie is known for its notorious attacking of pedestrians and cyclists during the spring nesting season. However, the European magpie is known for its thieving behaviour and the link becomes obvious. "Canary bird" is old English slang for a jail bird and the use of the yellow wool in Australia, the term is apt. Another avian term was a cockatoo; this is still in use, but in colonial Australia was also used to describe those incorrigible convicts who were sent to Cockatoo Island (Laugesen 2002: x).
- 7 Thomas Keneally: *The Commonwealth of Thieves*, Public lecture. Australian National University, 7 October 2005.
- 8 It was Major Logan, at the penal settlement in Moreton Bay, Queensland, who devised these side-buttoned trousers along with having shirts stamped with the word "felon" on their backs; this appears to be specific to that settlement.

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Images

Image 1: Magpie
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Image 2: Canary
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Image 3: Museum

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Images

Image 1: Magpie Suit. Collection of the Tasmania Museum and Art Gallery, photograph by the author

Image 2: Canary Suit. Collection of the Tasmania Museum and Art Gallery, photograph by the author

Image 3: Museum Man VI. Embroidered image, Collection of the author

Uniformierung und Kostümierung sowie Maskerade gewinnen als Kleidungspraktiken und Inszenierungsformen in der Gegenwart zunehmend an Bedeutung. In ihnen materialisiert sich die wachsende Unsicherheit im Umgang mit Identität, Selbstbild und Selbstwahrnehmung. Wie, warum und in welchen Kontexten diese vestimentären Praktiken in diese Auseinandersetzung eingebunden werden, beleuchten die hier versammelten Aufsätze unter den verschiedenen disziplinären Blickwinkeln von Geschichte, Kulturanthropologie, Ethnologie, Soziologie, Film- und Medienwissenschaft, Kunstgeschichte sowie Design und Fotografie. Die Beiträge gehen der Frage nach, wie Vereinheitlichung, Kostümierung und Maskierung, ob privat, im Verein, in der Wirtschaft, in Jugendszenen, in der Kunst, in der Politik oder im Film, ob verordnet oder freiwillig, als Integration, Abgrenzung oder Vergemeinschaftung erprobt und erfahren werden. Diskutiert wird, ob die traditionellen Formen der Identitätskonstruktionen durch neue Vorstellungen und Praktiken abgelöst werden oder in neue – reflexive – Praxisformen münden.

Mit Beiträgen von Inga Betten, Marita Bombek, Jennifer Craik, Sven Drühl, Anthony Freitas, Maaïke Gottschal, Jan Grünwald, Stella Donata Haag, Regina Henkel, Janet Hethorn, Viola Hofmann, Iris Hopf, Heike Jenß, Susan Kaiser, Dagmar Konrad, Gabriele Mentges, Sabine Müller, Dagmar Neuland-Kitzerow, Sabine Otto, Sharon Peoples, Birgit Richard, Alexander Ruhl, Bärbel Schmidt, Christian Schmitt, Uli Schuster, Anne Sonnenmoser, Kerstin Szodruch.

