ROBES POLITIQUES WOMEN POWER FASHION

ENGLISH

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FEMALE POWER AND POWERLESSNESS

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In the past, the ruling thrones of Europe were almost exclusively occupied by men. Women who ruled in their own right were the exception. In many countries, female family members were excluded from succession to the throne by law. However, even in countries which did not recognize a female line of succession, it was not unusual for female regents to be able to reign for a limited period as a substitute for a male ruler. In the subordinate role of mother or wife to the king, too, women were far from powerless and were able to pull strings politically.

With the French Revolution of 1789, the absolutist form of government was abolished and new political relations established. These were based on the principle that the people, not a single ruler, were holders of state power. Politics was considered a thoroughly male business. Women were firmly relegated to the domestic sphere. From the mid-19th century, this led to protests in many west-

ern-oriented countries, and in the first half of the 20th century, women fought for voting and representation rights in many states.

In the 19th century, Switzerland was considered one of the most progressive democracies. Nonetheless, in 1971, it was one of the last European states to introduce voting and representation rights for women. Up to this point, Swiss women had been denied political office. Switzerland is still a long way from gender equality in terms of numbers, both in parliament and the Federal Council.

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Immediately following the 2018 Swiss Federal Council elections, Swiss television broadcast a programme in which a communications professional and a style expert commented on the appearance of Karin Keller-Sutter and Viola Amherd, both of whom had just been elected as Federal Councillors. This programme caused public uproar, for it made it clear that female politicians still run the risk of being reduced to externalities, rather than being judged according to their skills and qualifications.

To mark the anniversary of Swiss women's right to vote, the Textile Museum is showing textile objects that symbolise women's claim to and representation of power throughout the changes in society, politics and fashion. Politically influential women move along a narrow path: on the one hand, a woman's wardrobe offers leeway for making a political statement. On the other hand, women (still) stand out in male-dominated spheres and run the danger of attracting criticism for their dress style.

Conceptually, the exhibition is theme-based in approach, without chronological ordering. The clothing of influential women is examined in six chapters from various viewpoints. Fifty textile objects illustrate the tension between femininity and a position of power, between scandal and idealisation, between populism and representation, demonstrating how clothing is deployed for strategic purposes. The specific examples from various centuries and countries reveal continuous elements, developments and changes.

INHALT

Ι	FASHION STATEMENTS CLOTHING AS STRATEGY	4
Π	IN THE MEDIA (FASHION) ICONS AND SCANDALS	7
Ш	NOT ONE OF US DEMONSTRATING GRANDEUR	10
IV	AMONG MEN TO IMITATE OR TO STAND OUT	12
V	ONE OF US DEMONSTRATING A CONNECTION TO THE PEOPLE	15
VI	IN THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING FEMALE SWISS POLITICIANS AND THE QUESTION OF CLOTHES	16

FASHION STATEMENTSCLOTHING AS STRATEGY

Sovereigns and politicians have deployed clothing for strategic purposes at all times. The conditions changed fundamentally, however: before the French Revolution. the position of power was justified as "a gift from God", was inherited or attained through astute marriage politics. The female ruler's appearance was a demonstration of this divinely ordained order. The social and political upheavals caused by the French Revolution, and the accompanying loss of tradition, resulted in splendid attire losing meaning as a symbol of ruling power. From then on, a female regent's clothing was subject to greater changes in fashion.

The last Empress of France, Eugénie de Montijo, attempted from 1853 on to reinforce her position of power by means of fashion. She came from a royal dynasty and was married to Napoleon III, who had achieved his imperial status through a coup d'état. She deliberated tried to distract attention from her dubious political legitimation by according a key strategic role to her wardrobe. With the aid of artificial dress codes that had not been handed down by tradition and by constantly changing her outfit, she sought to elevate her nobility. The luxurious attire turned out not only to obscure the flaws in her family tree, however; it also promoted textile production: the "robe politiques" attributed to Eugénie, made of exquisite materials, promoted the French textile industry.

Ball gown of Empress Eugénie (1826-1920)

1850–1870 Linen, needlepoint TM 03612

This dress is attributed to the last Empress of France, Eugénie de Montijo. Her husband, Napoleon III, is said to have bought her this dress made of Alençon lace, for which he paid 900 pounds. It is also said that 36 workers took 18 months to make it. The undergarment that goes with it has not been preserved. The material and colour of the fabric remain uncertain, as do the actual length of the skirt, the cut of the bodice and the shape of its collar. Due to the fragmentary nature of the dress and its uncertain dating, its mounting can only be regarded as an approximation of the original.

With the new Gotthard Tunnel, Switzerland has built the currently longest railway tunnels in the world and one of the most expensive. The fact that the population approved this project that has cost billions was celebrated as a successful example of direct democracy, and the inauguration of the tunnel was attended by numerous European heads of stateand government. However, no one else appeared with a similarly conspicuous outfit like that of Federal Councillor Leuthard. By wearing the "holey coat" she referred symbolically and cheekily to tunnel building as a core skill of the Swiss. At the same time, by choosing the Akris fashion label, she conveyed a sense of national pride and respect towards the country's industry.

2 Ensemble (from the sample collection)

Akris

2016, St.Gallen

Cotton, twill weave, embroidered

On loan from Akris

When the Gotthard Base Tunnel was opened in 2016, the then-Federal Councillor Doris Leuthard surprised others with extravagant clothing. She wore an outfit that appeared in the media as the "holey dress". The white coat and top with numerous stitched holes came from the spring collection of the St. Gallen fashion house, Akris. Deliberately chosen for this major event, her clothes served the role of sending a symbolic message.

3 Empress Eugénie (1826-1920)

Reproduction of a painting by Franz Xaver Winterhalter, 1853

This coronation portrait by Franz Xaver Winterhalter became the iconic likeness of the French Empress Eugénie de Montijo. The sumptuous silk, lace and jewels underscore the rank of the young ruler and at the same time mask her origins: Eugénie attained imperial dignity without being of royal blood.



4 Doris Leuthard

Former Member of the Federal Council 2016



© Keystone

5 Shoes belonging to Empress Eugénie (1826-1920)

1851-1900

Silk

On loan from the Thurgau Napoleonic Museum, Arenenberg Castle

6 Day dress

1851-1900

Silk, plain weave, moiré

TM 52948

This dress was probably coloured with aniline dye – a synthetic dye that was developed in 1856. This innovation quickly took off as a trend. An enormous quantity of silk fabric was required for garments of this sort. This benefited the silk industry in particular and – most of all – the factories in Lyon, whose silk products came to occupy a leading position in terms of artistry as well as technique.



Queen Victoria in a quite similar purple dress. © John Jabez Edwin Mayall, Alamy.

Simonetta Sommaruga

Member of the Federal Council 2020



© Keystone

Simonetta Sommaruga wore this signal red dress in January 2019 for the opening of the World Economic Forum (WEF). She commented on her choice of clothes in these words: "When I opened the World Economic Forum at Davos last January, I was dressed entirely in red because my speech conjured up a world on fire, where the climate is under threat and where species are vanishing."

8 Ball gown belonging to Empress Elisabeth "Sisi" (1837-1898)

approx. 1865

Silk, plain weave

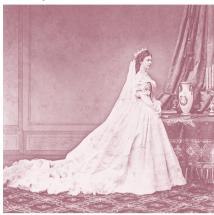
On loan from Winterthur Foundation for Art, Culture and History (SKKG), 15016

Royal clients beholden to national interests purchased creations from Charles Frederick Worth in Paris in secret, to avoid affronting the public in their countries. "Sisi", the Empress of Austria-Hungary, also obtained several items from the House of Worth each year.

Portrait of Empress Elisabeth ("Sisi") (1837–1898)

Reproduction of a coloured photograph by Emil Rabending, 1866

At her coronation as Queen of Hungary in 1867, the Austrian Empress Elisabeth wore a dress by Charles Frederick Worth that alluded to elements of Hungarian magnate costume. She had devoted attention to Hungarian interests over the years and on this occasion, she presented herself as a Hungarian. The dress was nevertheless in keeping with the latest fashion, given that – despite its characteristic nationalist appeal – it was designed by the most renowned Paris fashion house of the day.



10 **Trim**

1580–1620

Metal, bobbin lace TM 00096

This metal lace trim has small movable plates (tremolanti) whose polished surfaces shimmered effectively in the vivid light of candles, torches and fireplaces. The impact of the royal appearance was enhanced by decorations and materials such as pearls and precious stones, as well as gold and silver embroidery that caught and reflected the light.

11 Archduchess and Governor Isabella Clara Eugenia (1556–1633)

Reproduction of a painting by Alonso Sanchez Coello, 1586



This dress, made of the most lavish materials, produced an exceptional impact – not least when its wearer moved: in the glitter of the gold embroidery and jewellery, the vibration of the lace,

the play of light and shadow on the surfaces of the fabrics and the swaying of the skirt. A technical detail in the tailoring makes reference to this swaying motion: the lower part of the crinoline worn by Isabella has a wide fold that stretches over the hem in a curve and slopes down to the side. This structure of the skirt reinforces the movement of the person dressed in it, requiring her to take disciplined and measured steps.

12 Fragment

1551–1600, England Linen, silk, metal, embroidery TM 33667

The original use of this embroidery is unclear. It is very fine and sophisticated needlework from England whose style can be compared with the decoration on the bodice worn by Queen Elizabeth I in the "Rainbow Portrait".

13 Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603)

Reproduction of the "Rainbow Portrait", Isaac Oliver/Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, 1600–1602

This portrait shows Queen Elizabeth I in a dress that transforms her natural body into a representative embodiment of authority. Her mortal body is transformed into a symbol of power: she wears a garment which, figuratively speaking, sees and hears in all directions, elevating her to the absolute authority of control and knowledge.



14 Stole

1920-1930 Ermine fur TM 59344

For centuries, the white winter pelt of the ermine was a symbol of purity and flawlessness – an icon of royal power. From the Middle Ages onwards, a garment trimmed with ermine fur represented royal status, and the pelt with its characteristic black tail spots was often included in coronation regalia. Ermine fur lost its royal significance in the 20th century and was then used as a fashionable ornamentation for accessories.

15 Portrait of Catherine II, "the Great" (1729-1796)

Reproduction of a painting by Fyodor Stepanovich Rokotov, 1780



In 1762, following the assassination of her husband Czar Peter III, Catherine II had herself proclaimed as Czarina and Sole Ruler of Russia. This portrait emphasises Catherine's importance by depicting sumptuous materials and royal symbols. Purple, gold and sliver are just as much in evidence as the traditional insignia of power: crown, sceptre and orb, and the coronation robe lined with ermine fur.

IN THE MEDIA (FASHION) ICONS AND SCANDALS

The wardrobe worn by politically influential women has been treated not as a private matter, rather as a topic of general interest - both in the past and the present. Their choice of clothing was time and again cause for public censure. Women in state-bearing positions repeatedly rose to become fashion icons, whereby from the 19th century onwards, haute couture played an important role. One of the first and most important designers was Charles Frederick Worth. As couturier to queens, he designed dresses for Queen Victoria, Empress Eugénie and Empress "Sisi". These days, it is rather presidents' wives or representatives of royal families who are chosen to be style icons.

A portrait of the French gueen Marie-Antoinette caused a scandal in 1783. On the picture, she is depicted wearing a light cotton dress, which had been in fashion since 1780. The dress differed greatly in terms of material, pattern and finishing from representational court attire. The gueen showed herself not in the robes of a ruler, but of a servant. In this way, she broke with the values system that determined the significance and function of objects found in everyday court life. The criticism went so far that a second version of the picture had to be made presenting the queen in apparel befitting the court, a robe à la française. In so doing, the court portraitist Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun did not modify the picture's composition, she merely changed the dress.

A 2008 visit to the opera by Angela Merkel, at the time the German Chancellor, likewise led to international headlines. Her low-cut evening gown disturbed the politician's prevailing image; Merkel to that point had not displayed her femininity, instead making the woman's trouser suit her trademark.

1 Dress

(Robe à la française à grand panier)

approx. 1765, France
Silk, plain weave, brocaded
On loan from the
Kamer-Ruf Collection, 0380
In the 18th century, court dry

In the 18th century, court dress was composed of three parts: an overdress, a skirt, and a triangular bodice. These garments were worn over a crinoline and a corset. They were made of sumptuous silk fabrics, often patterned and brocaded with metallic threads. These garments, known as *Robe à la française*, were worn until the French Revolution.

Chemise gown (Chemise à la reine)

approx. 1780, England Linen, plain weave, printed

On loan from the Kamer-Ruf Collection, 0585 The chemise gown (or gaulle) is a two-piece garment in which the waistline is moved to just below the bust. The chemise gown dispensed with lace edging, pearl beadwork and elaborate trimmings, and was usually made of cotton or linen rather than silk. Although this garment had come into fashion from 1780 onwards under the name *Chemise à la reine (Queen's style gown)*, its relatively unadorned appearance did not correspond to conventional court dress.

Queen Victoria of England established a trend at her 1840 wedding that has lasted to the present day: she wore a wedding dress of cream-coloured silk satin with lace trimmings on the neck and sleeves. With its slim waist, voluptuous skirt and white colour, the dress is still regarded as the prototype of the classic western wedding dress. While the colour white already prevailed in the 1820s as a symbol of innocence and purity, it was Victoria's wedding that made the trend respectable. Previously, women wore wedding dresses in a variety of colours.

Queen Victoria shaped the fashion for mourning, too: black as the colour of bereavement can point to a long tradition in the western world. The forms of mourning attire differed according to region and social station, however. Following the death of her husband in 1861, Victoria decided to wear only black from then on. The fashion of black as the colour of mourning was established throughout the 19th century as an enduring social custom.

Comparable trendsetters in the 20th century are First Ladies such as Jackie Kennedy. The clarity of her appearance, the absence of frills and simple lines have served as a model for the development of fashion from the 1960s onwards.

2 Mourning dress

approx. 1860, England Silk, plain weave, moiré On Ioan from the Kamer-Ruf Collection, 1190

Wedding dress

approx.1865, England Silk, plain weave On loan from the Kamer-Ruf Collection, 1200

Marie-Antoinette (1755–1793) Queen of France

Reproductions of two paintings by Élisabeth Vigée Le Brun, 1783





4 Dress

Charles Frederick Worth approx. 1895, France Silk, jacquard fabric On loan from the Kamer-Ruf Collection, 1750 Charles Frederick Worth, an Englishman residing in Paris, was the founder of Haute Couture. He rose to become the unrivalled fashion designer to Europe's high aristocracy in the second half

fashion scene for almost half a century.

of the 19th century. Thanks to his adroit strategy,

Worth was an influencer of style on the Paris

5 Stocking and shoe belonging to Queen Victoria (1819-1901)

1801-1900

Silk

On loan from the SKKG Winterthur, 13909



Photograph: Queen Victoria of England in mourning dress, © Hulton Archive, Cetty

Coat, belonging to First Lady Jacqueline "Jackie" Kennedy (1929–1994)

1964

On loan from SKKG, Winterthur, 0733



Photograph: Jackie Kennedy in Chanel: this dress became world famous because she was wearing it on the day of John F. Kennedy's assassination. © Art Rickerby, Cetty

Cécile Duflot (*1975)

Former French politician



© MAX PP

Cécile Duflot was booed during a vote in the parliamentary chamber in 2012 because she was wearing a blue and white dress patterned with

flowers. According to Duflot, one of the deputies even shouted: "Come on, unbutton the dress!" Absurdly, she had purchased this dress because she had been criticised for sitting in parliament in jeans a few months earlier. This blatant case has since become part of a French awareness-raising campaign against sexism in everyday life.

Teresa Bellanova (*1958)

Italian Minister of Agriculture 2019

On the day of her swearing-in ceremony, Teresa Bellanova wore a luminous blue chiffon dress with flounces, which provoked hate attacks from the right-wing political camp. Bellanova countered the attack with a twinkle in her eye: the following day, she shared a photo of herself in a yellow dress with black polka-dots on social media: #vestocomevoglio (I dress as I like).



© Indipendente Agenzia fotografica

9 Angela Merkel (*1954)

Federal Chancellor of Germany 2008

Angela Merkel has developed an unmistakable style over the years: interchangeable black trousers with straight, wide legs, accompanied by a blazer jacket in countless variations of a basic model by the German designer Bettina Schoenbach. When Merkel deviated from her accustomed style for the opening of the Oslo Opera House, a discussion flared up about her décolleté.



© Keystone

10 Micheline Calmy-Rey (*1945)

Former Member of the Federal Council

Micheline Calmy-Rey flew to Tehran in 2008, in particular to mark the signing of a long-term gas supply contract between Iran and the Axpo subsidiary EGL. At the meeting with the then President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, she covered her hair with a headscarf. A photo of the event went around the world and attracted criticism, with the headscarf receiving far more attention in certain media than the controversial meeting.



© Reuters

11 Diana Spencer (1961-1997)

Former Princess of Wales 1989

For a time, "Lady Di" was the world's most photographed woman and she is still regarded as a style icon today. In 1989, she wore a white, strapless silk dress with a beaded bolero jacket which the media dubbed the "Elvis dress". This look was controversial as it was considered too decadent for the occasion – a state visit to Hong Kong. Diana went on to exploit the fame of the ensemble for charitable purposes: it was auctioned at Christie's for three million pounds as part of a fund-raising campaign for AIDS and cancer organisations.



© Getty

12 Michelle Obama (*1964)

Former First Lady of the United States 2009

Michelle Obama goes down in history as the First Lady of the first Afro-American President. She won over the American public with her wisdom, grace, openness and inspirational nature, and her keen fashion sense made her a style icon. She often favoured somewhat un



© Keystone

known fashion designers such as the Cuban-born Isabel Toledo. Toledo created this pale green dress made of St. Gallen lace, worn by Obama at her husband's inauguration.

13 **Grace Kelly (1929–1982)**

Actress and Princess of Monaco



© Getty

Grace Kelly's elegant, classic style already made her a fashion role model for many women during her lifetime. Her style was defined by her dresses with swirling skirts, pussy-bow blouses and cashmere cardigans, as well as the legendary "Kelly Bag" by Hermès, which was named after her. Equally characteristic of her style was the way Grace Kelly tied fine silk scarves around her head, crossed them under her chin and knotted them at the nape of her neck - also known as the "Kelly Style".

14 Eva Duarte Perón (1919-1952)

Actress and wife of the President of Argentina

Eva Duarte, who came from a humble background, rose within a few years to become the most powerful woman in Argentina because of her marriage to Juan Domingo Perón, the country's President. Eva Perón, popularly known as "Evita", championed the destitute and railed against the upper

class and educated bourgeoisie. She held up her own origins in order to demonstrate her closeness to the people. At the same time, she flaunted superb dresses by Christian Dior and Jacques Fath as well as expensive jewellery, giving her the status of a fashion icon.



© Getty

15 Yulia Tymoshenko (*1960)

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine

A politician who is highly controversial in her home country, Tymoshenko was the face of the "Orange Revolution" in 2004. She and her braided blonde hairstyle subsequently became more than a visual metaphor for Ukrainian nationalism. Thanks to a skilful combination of folkloric elements and dresses from Western haute couture labels, she created an iconic image of herself, signalling her down-to-earth approach and allegiance to her homeland at the same time as a cosmopolitan and open, pro-European stance.



© Reuters

NOT ONE OF US DEMONSTRATING GRANDEUR

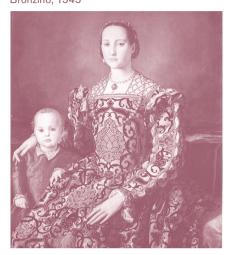
From antiquity to the Middle Ages and the Rococo Period, female sovereigns had to distinguish themselves from the other segments of the population through their appearance, too. Such precious materials as silk, metal threads and valuable fur, and their complex treatment, were a demonstration of the rulers' grandeur. Dress codes ruled the use of precious materials for each social rank concerned, contributing in this way to the preservation of the social and political order. While opulent sartorial luxury was prescribed for female rulers of earlier times. when seen on modern-day women politicians - appointed by the people, not elected by a higher power – they are seen as wasteful.

A portrait of Eleonora di Toledo from 1546 shows the daughter of the Vicerov of Naples in a splendid dress made of the most precious velvet gold material. Aged 17, she became Duchess of Florence through her marriage to Cosimo I de' Medici. The high position and great wealth of the bride's family helped reinforce the Medici reign and Eleonora's origin was a key factor in how her position in Florence was perceived. As a public person, within the context of a strengthened Medici rule, the duchess staged herself as a founder of religious institutions and as her husband's deputy ruler. The splendid velvet, painted in great detail in Bronzino's painting, is impressive demonstration of her claim to power, status and wealth. The regal magnificence of the dress underlines the importance of the House of Medici. Contrary to previous attributions, the dress' material does not come from Spain, but rather can be allocated to the luxury production of Florence. Hence, in this portrait, alongside the personal rank of the duchess, the local textile industry is effectively showcased, too.

1 Length of fabric

1549, Florence
Silk, metal, velvet, brocaded
On loan from the Kamer-Ruf Collection, 0100
In addition to rich brocading with gold and silver threads, this red cut velvet also features decorative elements with metal threads drawn out into small loops. Production of this fabric was extremely challenging in terms of technique, and it involved high material outlay. Except for the colour, the velvet is almost identical to the magnificent fabric of the robe worn by Eleanor of Toledo in the painting by Agnolo Bronzino. There is archival evidence that Bronzino was supplied with original fabric samples for use in painting the portrait.

2 Duchess Eleanor of Toledo (1522-1562) Reproduction of a painting by Agnolo Bronzino, 1545



3 Court dress with court train belonging to Mary Watson Wentworth, Marchioness of Rockingham (1736–1804) approx. 1794, France

Silk, metal, plan weave and atlas weave,

brocaded
On loan from the Kamer-Ruf Collection, 0575
After Napoleon I and his wife Joséphine ascended the throne, clothing took on a function as political propaganda. To ennoble the young empire, the ostentatious dress of the pre-revo-

empire, the ostentatious dress of the pre-revolutionary monarchy was revived. The train on the court dress, as an expression of extravagance and authority, became obligatory for ceremonial court dress throughout Europe.

4 Engageante (false sleeve)

approx. 1730, France Linen, needlepoint TM 02131

5 Fragment

1700–1715, France Silk, metal, damask, brocaded TM 45035

6 Fragment

1601–1633, Italy Silk, metal, damask, brocaded TM 45172

7 Fragment

1625–1650, Italy Silk, metal, plain weave, brocaded TM 45292

Ш

8 Elisabeth of France (1602-1644) Queen of Spain and Portugal

Reproduction of a painting by Frans Pourbus II, 1611



In this portrait, Elisabeth of France is wearing a dress made of opulent fabric decorated with fine vents set at an angle – a fashionable decorative device that could be used in numerous variations. The basis was an atlas fabric that is especially suitable for this type of decoration: cut edges hardly fray in this densely woven fabric, especially when inserted diagonally to the direction of weaving. A small fragment of a similar fabric is preserved in the Textile Museum. The vents were sealed up during the musealisation of the fabric, probably in connection with restorative work.

9 Collar

approx. 1610, Spain Linen, metal, filet lace TM 01944

10 Fontange (high head-dress)

approx. 1695, France Linen, needlepoint TM 01246

Lace, one of the most laboriously hand-crafted textiles, played an important part as a fashion adornment for ladies at court. Both needlepoint and bobbin lace developed in Europe during the late 16th century. Lace collars, bonnet bands and lace trims gave dresses a distinctly luxurious character because lace represented the most expensive of all embellishments for a garment.

11 Trim

1676–1750 Metal, vellum strips, bobbin lace TM 01123

12 Fragment

approx. 1600 Silk, metal, atlas weave, brocaded TM 34131

13 Fragment

1625–1650, Italy Silk, atlas weave, lancé TM 55216

14 Fragment

1501–1600, Italy Silk, velvet TM 45231

15 Length of fabric

1760, Lyon Silk, metal, plain weave, brocaded On loan from the Kamer-Ruf Collection, 1170

Silk of the highest quality was an indispensable element of court fashion, at least until the French Revolution. Silk robes worn at court were often made of intricately patterned fabrics with silver and gold threads, and were extraordinarily sumptuous. While Italy led the way in the production of these luxurious fabrics until the 17th century, the silk manufacturers of Lyon rose to world renown in the 18th century.

16 Who has ever felt real ermine fur? Here's the opportunity!

17 Empress Joséphine de Beauharnais Bonaparte (1763-1814)

Reproduction of a painting by François Gérard, 1807–1808

In this portrait, the French Empress Joséphine is wearing a coronation robe of red velvet with rich gold embroidery and an ermine fur lining. An enormous amount of silk velvet – a preferred fabric for ceremonial robes – was needed for this very lavish robe, which ended in a long train. The same applies to the fur lining, which is distinguished by the characteristic black tail spots of the ermine, the traditional sign of membership of the royal house.



18 Sawsan Chebli (*1978)

German politician

Flagrant luxury is viewed critically in today's Western democracies, and this is especially true of female politicians on the left of the political spectrum. The German SPD (Social Democratic Party) politician Sawsan Chebli unleashed

a storm of indignation because she had an official photograph of herself taken while she was wearing a Rolex watch on her wrist. She was reproached because a luxury watch was considered incompatible with the values of her party. Chebli received so much hate mail on Facebook because of this that she deactivated her account.

19 Aurelia Frick (*1975)

Liechtenstein politician 2018



© Daniel Schwendener

At the opening of the Landtag (Liechtenstein's parliament) at Vaduz in 2018, the politician Aurelia Frick wore a fur coat. According to a report in "20 Minuten", the tabloid newspaper, this coat unleashed a scandal. Frick was accused of poor taste, and she was subsequently obliged to take a public stand: "Since the fur coat is something I inherited, the question is whether I should burn it and buy a down jacket instead, or wear it. I decided to do the latter."

20 Vaira Vike-Freiberga (*1937)

Former President of Latvia

During her time in office, Vike-Freiberga developed a striking style characterised in particular by patterned two-pieces made of high-quality damask and jacquard fabrics. In a radio interview, she said that she had spent a large part of her income on buying clothes that she would never wear again. Despite her admissions, she was quick to dismiss any accusations of extravagance: "A self-respecting state representative cannot afford to look shabby at an official ceremony in the presence of the Queen of England or the Netherlands or the Empress of Japan."



© Alamy

IV

AMONG MEN TO IMITATE OR TO STAND OUT

The dark suit - seemingly timeless and almost a uniform by now - is an essential component of a male politician's wardrobe. In contrast, many opportunities are open to the politically active woman to position herself by means of a deliberation choice of clothing. She can come close to her male political colleagues visually, selecting attire that take its bearings from men's dress style. The woman's suit - a blazer, worn with a kneelength skirt or with trousers - symbolises professional authority these days. Such labels as Chanel, Jil Sander or Giorgio Armani are pioneers of a modern female fashion that combines female and male elements.



In 1979 Margaret Thatcher became the first female prime minister of Great Britain. In the course of a decade, she developed into one of the most powerful women in the world. That was revealed in her wardrobe, too, which was an essential component in the way she presented herself. In the strict business outfit, with her coiffured helmet-like hairdo and pearls, she shaped a style of fashion as the "iron lady" that expressed power and femininity at the same time. Like a knight's armour, her clothes had to attract every gaze and repel every attack. In a setting traditionally dominated by men, her clothes exuded efficiency and authority. At the same time, she consciously deployed her femininity and her lady-like style moulded power dressing in the 1980s.

In particular, her handbag became a symbol of her style of governing for many. The English term "handbagging", which-describes verbally attacking opponents and colleagues, was so popular during her term of office that it made it into the English Oxford Dictionary.

1 Two-piece belonging to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013)

Aquascutum approx. 1989, England Wool, silk, twill weave On loan from Sir Peter Wood CBE

This two-piece was worn by Margaret Thatcher in May 1989 on the tenth anniversary of her election as the UK's first female Prime Minister. Thatcher was renowned for her impeccable appearance, regardless of the circumstances. In 1984, the IRA perpetrated a bomb attack on the Grand Hotel in Brighton, where the Prime Minister and her entourage were staying for a party conference. Thatcher, who was working on her speech to conference at the time of the explosion, did not miss the opportunity to change her clothes for the next day before she was escorted out of the rubble at 3 am.

Up to the 19th century, aristocratic men and women dressed in an equally splendid manner. Fashion was in luxury clothing that was representational in its aims. Louis XIV introduced a variant on the soldiers' tunic as the male garment par excellence. The Justeaucorps, as the jacket was called, was fitted to the waist and reached to the knee. It was combined with a waistcoat and breeches. It varied in material and decoration depending on the social standing of its owner. In the years following the French Revolution, long trousers prevailed as the standard attire for men. In France, they became a political symbol, for breeches were part of the clothing worn by the aristocracy which had become discredited. Moreover, wool fabrics in muted colours replaced the patterned silks. They paved the way for a plainer and more rational style of dress. The bourgeois age of the 19th century ultimately led to silk suits in opulent colours being done away with permanently. The frock coat gradually replaced the tailcoat and for its part was pushed aside by the modern jacket from 1870 onwards. With this, the development of the man's suit as still worn today was broadly speaking complete.

The modern-day man's suit has resulted in an almost uniform appearance on the part of males, with only ties, socks or the use of pins and buttons allowing an individual note.

2 Justaucorps

1770–1790, France Silk, plain weave, embroidered TM 21479, 21500, 21501

3 Tailcoat

approx. 1850, Switzerland Wool, plain weave, fulled TM 55247

As an elegant garment, the tailcoat played an important part in men's fashion throughout the 19th century.

4 Suit worn by Alain Berset (*1972)

Member of the Federal Council Giorgio Armani, Hugo Boss Blended fabric, cotton, plain weave On loan from Alain Berset



Alain Berset wore this suit on the day of his election to the Federal Council in December 2011, and also on other occasions. © Bieler Tagblatt

5 Suit belonging to Michael Töngi (*1967)

Member of the National Council WE, Cotondoux Blended fabric, cotton, plain weave On loan from Michael Töngi



The men's suit does not offer much scope for fashion. Michael Töngi is among those who know how to exploit its possibilities. Brightly patterned shirts combined with suits available from normal commercial outlets have evolved into his trademark. Töngi wore this ensemble in 2018 when he was sworn in as a member of the National Council. © Keystone

Two-piece

Chanel approx. 1970, France Silk (chenille), metal, knitted TM 59330

In 1954, Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel created a costume with a loose jacket and a slightly flared skirt made of coarse-nep tweed fabric. The "Chanel costume", as it soon became known, has been varied again and again since the 1950s, but its basic form has endured until today. These elegant ensembles were worn all over the world, especially by well-to-do professional women: not all of them were genuine "Chanels", but copies in all price ranges.

7 Two-piece

Giorgio Armani 1980s, Italy Blended fabric, atlas weave TM 59305

Giorgio Armani successfully transposed the essential features of men's fashion into fashion for women: Armani turned the men's blazer into a jacket for women, replacing the conventional costume jacket. Nowadays, women's fashion from Armani still eliminates superfluous elements and emphasises comfort without losing the business character of the clothes.

8 Tuxedo

Yves Saint Laurent 1967, France Wool, plain weave On loan from Swiss Museum of Fashion, 2002-0160

In his 1966 autumn/winter collection, Yves Saint Laurent introduced the tuxedo for women, which was still perceived as scandalous back then. Although Marcel Rochas created the first casual trouser suit for women in 1934 and Marlene Dietrich was already wearing tailored trouser suits at that time, it was Yves Saint Laurent who eventually made these garments famous.

9 Trouser suit

Jil Sander 1990s, Germany Blended fabric, twill weave TM 59304

Jil Sander is known for her purist style. Clear lines, minimalist design and timeless colours are the hallmarks of her garments. Her trouser suits and cool blazer costumes, adapted to the prevailing fashion by slight changes to the cut, represent elegance and quality. The feminine touch is achieved by making a blazer fit almost as snugly and casually as a blouse.

10 Amelia Bloomer (1818-1894)

American women's rights activist 1849

Daguerreotype

On loan from: Martin Kamer

From 1851 onwards, Amelia Bloomer and her comrades-in-arms launched long, wide trousers for women, gathered at the ankles and known as Bloomer Pants. A shortened skirt of the same fabric was worn over them. Their aim in launching this initiative was to reform female dress. The majority of the population, however, found the Bloomer costume scandalous and accepted it only for women's sporting activities, if at all. In this daguerreotype, Amelia Bloomer wears straight-cut trousers under her shortened skirt.

11 Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013)

Reproduction of a drawing by Michael Leonard, 1980

"Her First Year" is a cartoon showing Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher as Joan of Arc, surrounded by various government ministers as putti. The drawing was commissioned by the Sunday Times.

12 The Bernese noblewoman Katharina von Wattenwyl (1645–1714)

Reproduction of a painting by Theodor Dietrich Roos, 1674

Katharina von Wattenwyl was arrested in 1689 as a spy for the French King Louis XIV. As a young woman, she had already caused a sensation due to behaviour which was considered unfeminine in those times: she was a talented horsewoman, she became involved in political matters, and she fought duels. This painting dating from 1674 impressively documents her defiance of prescribed role patterns: she had herself portrayed with her hair flowing splendidly, dressed in armour and ermine fur.



© Fondation du Château de La Sarraz/C. Bornand.

13 Justin Trudeau (*1971)

Prime Minister of Canada

Trudeau uses his socks to make statements about fashion and politics. During an interview with an American TV station, the Canadian Prime Minister flashed red socks adorned with white maple leaves from under his trousers. At the Gay Pride Parade in Toronto, which coincided with the end of Ramadan, he wore brightly striped socks bearing the words "Eid Mubarak" ("A Blessed Festival"): Trudeau, who advocates tolerance and multiculturalism, paid equal tribute to both events in this way. And at the WEF in Davos? Violet socks with yellow rubber ducks.



© Keystone

14 Gerhard Schröder (*1944)

Former Federal Chancellor of Germany

Male politicians also run the risk of attracting criticism for their style of dress. For example, the former Federal Chancellor of Germany Gerhard Schröder made negative headlines when he sat for a portrait by the star photographer Peter Lindbergh, just after he assumed office. His deriders christened him the "Cashmere Chancellor" or the "Brioni Chancellor", and the SPD (Social Democratic Party) politician was never again able to shake off these sobriquets.

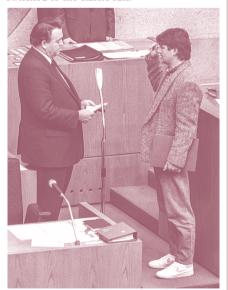


© Keystone

15 Joschka Fischer (*1948)

Former German politician

When he was sworn in as Minister for the Environment in 1985, Joschka Fischer wore a coarse tweed sports jacket and trainers. This choice of clothing was intended as a provocation, because trainers were considered a symbol of rebellion at that time: as Germany's first Green minister, he used the casual clothing to point out that – as a Green – he did not belong among the established politicians with their dark suits and white shirts. Soon afterwards, he himself switched to the classic suit.



© Keystone

16 **Donald Trump (*1946)**

Former President of the United States

Donald Trump's appearance and dress habits have been reported on with remarkable frequency in recent years. His hairstyle, the too-long tie, the expensive but ill-fitting suits, the colour of his skin ... Despite all this, such reports pale into insignificance beside the articles about the dress habits of his wife, Melania Trump.



© Keystone

7 Yanis Varoufakis (*1961)

Former Finance Minister of Greece

In 2015, Greek Finance Minister Varoufakis emerged as an adversary of the other countries in the euro zone. He attempted to negotiate an alternative to the rigid austerity policies of the European Union, but without success. Varoufakis became the face of the financial crisis and media interest in him was enormous. He toured Europe wearing leather boots, a leather coat and a shirt hanging out of his trousers, presenting himself in the role of the outsider who has no time for etiquette.



© Keystone

18 Filmed interviews with members of the National Council and the Council of States on the issue of dress

Autumn session of 2020 in the Federal Parliament building

© Film by: Eveline Falk, Daniel Leippert and Adrian Aeschbacher on behalf of the Textile Museum

19 Self-help literature: "Dress for Success" by John T. Molloy and Edith Head

1960s to 1980s

Two-piece, trouser suit, padded shoulders, string of pearls: when it comes to women in positions of power, the term "power dressing" is often used in fashion, and women can get tips on this subject from numerous magazines. The classic notions of formal dress are looking increasingly outmoded today, as a dress code has developed in recent years that gives women in public positions much more leeway in their choice of clothing than was the case a few decades ago.

ONE OF US DEMONSTRATING A CONNECTION TO THE PEOPLE

When it comes to what they wear, politicians today walk a tightrope: an excessively opulent or luxurious appearance runs the risk of being seen as elitist. At the same time, as representatives of the people they are servants of the state and so have representational functions to fulfil. This balancing act is especially evident when it comes to informal appearances in public - for example, the Swiss Federal Council trip, the traditional annual excursion lasting two days. Of course, everyday clothing is deliberately worn, too, to send the message: I am one of you.

A female Federal Councillor today cannot be recognised as such by her attire alone. By contrast, the Federal Council Officer or Bundesweibelin positioned next to her is unmistakable. This office-holder wears the robe or Talar, an official gown for ceremonial duties and public appearances. A tailcoat-like frock coat is used underneath and for everyday duties in the parliament building, as is a two-pointed hat as headwear.

The robe which is also worn by female judges or female university professors evolved from the Schaube, a frock coat of the upper bourgeoisie. The frock coat came from the redingote, a gentleman's riding jacket. The two-pointed hat arose during the 1780s as a hat for men and continued in the military uniforms and gala dress of diplomats and naval officers.

The Federal Council Officer carries out not only official tasks and errands, she also has to perform tasks relating to protocol, such as the swearing-in of the Federal Council. In 2005, Petra Huber-Neff was the first woman to stand by the side of Federal Councillor Samuel Schmid as a Federal Council Officer. Today, five female Federal Council Officers and eight male Federal Council Officers serve at the federal level.

1 Costume of a female Federal usher

Synthetic fibre, twill weave, gilded silver On loan from the Federal Chancellery / Kostüm Kaiser

2 Viola Amherd (*1962)

Member of the Swiss Federal Council A few days after their election to the Federal Council, the newly-elected members travel to ceremonial events in their home cantons. Viola Amherd, for example, was accompanied by her Federal usher and her predecessor Doris Leuthard on her journey to Valais, where they were received by cantonal politicians and the public.



© Kevstone

Photograph of the Federal Council's field trip in 2011

Following the last ordinary session of the Federal Council, its members set out on their traditional two-day annual field trip. The Federal Chancellor and the two Vice Chancellors also join this tour. The Federal Council's field trip has taken place every year since 1957, usually visiting the home canton of the President of the Swiss Confederation who is currently in office.

4 Kamala Harris (*1964)

Vice President of the United States Photograph: Screenshot of the Instagram profile of Kamala Harris.

Following the proclamation of Biden's electoral victory, the Vice President-designate of the wUSA Kamala Harris posted a video on social media. Filmed immediately after a jogging tour, she rejoiced in their shared victory: "We did it. We did it, Joe!" she said. Through this evidently spontaneous video, shot in an everyday situation, Harris showed that she is close – and wants to stay close – to the reality of the lives of the people she will help to govern in the future.

5 Jacinda Ardern (*1980)

Prime Minister of New Zealand
Photograph: Screenshot from Jacinda
Ardern's video chat on Facebook

During the lockdown in spring 2020, Jacinda Ardern responded to citizens' questions in a live video chat session on Facebook. For this occasion, the politician wore a washed-out sweatshirt and her little daughter was leaping around in the background. Through her appearance, she showed that she is familiar with everyday home office life from her own experience: "Excuse my leisurewear! Putting little children to bed can be a chaotic business and that's why I'm not in my work clothes," Ardern said.

IN THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING

FEMALE SWISS POLITICIANS AND THE QUESTION OF CLOTHES

Female Federal Councillors are only subject to dress rules on a small number of occasions, such as state receptions, for example, whereby the dress code is laid down by the female Federal Councillor concerned. The business regulations of the Council of States prescribe only "decorous clothing". The National Council does without clothing regulations. These open guidelines and the variety of women's fashion offer female politicians numerous opportunities, which female Swiss politicians make use of in a multitude of ways.

Painting "Wunder Schweizerland, werthster Freyheit höchster Zier"

Anonymous, approx. 1612, probably Zurich Oil on canvas

On loan from the Swiss National Museum, LM-65151

This painting is the first depiction of Helvetia, the national patron of Switzerland, in personified form. Dressed in the "ancient garb of chastity", she wears the arms of the thirteen cantons of the Old Swiss Confederacy, shaped into a crown. Helvetia is surrounded by three European rulers on either side: the Margrave of Baden, the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Savoy, the Kings of Spain and France, and the Doge of Venice. Although women were excluded as active politicians for a long time, allegories of the state representing the community and the nation were always personified as females throughout Europe, especially from the 19th century onwards.

2 Traditional Lucerne costume belonging to Yvette Estermann (*1967)

Member of the National Council Silk, wool, linen, cotton, plain weave On loan from Yvette Estermann



Yvette Estermann wearing traditional Lucerne costume in the chamber of the National Council © Keystone

"I wore this costume in 2007 at the first swearing-in ceremony in the National Council. Next day, the newspaper Blick put the picture on the cover page. Several colleagues then said: I have already worked in parliament for so many years and not yet managed to be on the cover page. You have been here just one day and are already on the front page."

"A woman once said to me that she couldn't imagine being in politics if only because you're always being criticised for what you wear. I believe that the best remedy for everything – not just for clothes – is perhaps to be annoyed for a short while, and then to laugh about it. Otherwise, one might not take on this task. You need to bring a thick skin along with you. And espe-

cially as a woman, you would like to please everyone and be as perfect as possible."

"Normally I try to emphasise my femininity, I find that important and right."

Evening dress belonging to Doris Leuthard (*1963)

Former Member of the Federal Council Akris

Silk, metal, plain weave On loan from Museum Aargau



Former President of the Swiss Confederation Doris Leuthard wearing this evening gown at the commencement of the Gala Dinner. © Keystone

"I wore this dress twice. One cannot wear evening gowns of this kind often. People immediately comment on it... To begin with, I wore it at the anniversary gala marking 50 years of the Neue Aargauer Bank in 2015, and then in May 2017 on the occasion of the three-day visit to China, when meeting with the President of China, Xi Jinping. That was an important visit for Swiss-Sino relations and we gained a lot from it."

4 T-Shirt with Swiss Cross belonging to Anita Fetz (*1957)

Former Member of the National Council and the Council of States Swisstouch Mixed fibres, knitted, printed On loan from Anita Fetz



Anita Fetz with a Swiss Cross T-Shirt in the chamber of the National Council © Keystone

VI

"I wore this t-shirt at the autumn session of the National Council in 2001 on the occasion of the debate on the initiative concerning Switzerland joining the UN. It was clear that the usual entrenchments would be celebrated during the parliamentary debate. The SVP with nationalism and emotional rhetoric about neutrality versus the centre-left parties with their reason-based arguments. I gave some thought to how I could break through this ritual for once. The idea came to me of the Swiss Cross t-shirt. In line with the motto 'pictures say more than 1,000 words", I came out in the Council as a left-wing patriot with the core message: 'Switzerland and its symbols belong to everyone and are not identical with right-wing conservative isolationism, nor with neutrality."

5 Foulards and "sun brooch" belonging to Ruth Dreifuss (*1940)

Former Member of the Federal Council Fabric Frontline Silk, plain weave, etched, printed, gilded brass On loan from Ruth Dreifuss



Ruth Dreifuss with a rose-print foulard. © Keystone

When Ruth Dreifuss was elected to the Federal Council in March 1993, she wore a sun brooch on her blouse. This brooch subsequently became a symbol of support for women in politics. The Social Democratic Party of Switzerland (SP) is reissuing the brooch to mark the 50th anniversary of women's suffrage.

"My life changed fundamentally within three days in 1993: between my nomination as candidate and my election to the Federal Council. Due to changing jobs from my position as central secretary for the Alliance of Trade Unions to the country's government, I had to round out my wardrobe. The meeting with the media and the preparation for my new role left me no time to deal with it, however. So I asked my two nieces, 24 and 23 years old, to rummage through the women's clothing stores, and we spent the night trying on the outfits that they had delivered to my home. I still haven't greatly changed my style, however: navy blue and black as the base, lit up by bright scarves and jacket."

"The joke, 'What does Ruth Dreifuss do with her old clothes? – She wears them!' arose in a humorous radio programme and continues to be told to this day. Of course, it is not quite true, but it was indeed (nearly) always the same image: black or dark blue, with a colourful silk scarf or cardigan."

6 Film sequence from "The Seven Female Members of the Federal Council" SRF DOK (series), 2018 © SRF

Ensemble belonging to Andrea Gmür (*1964)

Member of the Council of States Ursula Onorati, Le Sarte Pettegole Blended fabric, plain weave On loan from Andrea Gmür

"I was really surprised when one day, to do with the election in the Council of States, I saw two photos of me in the Luzerner Zeitung wearing this very blazer and it said in the accompanying article that this item clothing had 'brought me luck'. I found it something quite special, for I myself was unaware that I possessed a 'good luck charm' in textile form. The same article listed the occasions on which I wore this piece of clothing, and it amazed me that it had obviously been noticed. For sure, no one would have an idea like that for men."

"I have already several times had the experience that people can remember having seen me on television, perhaps even what blazer I wore, but they have no idea any more what I said. At least in that sense it was received positively. At the same time, due to all the criticism that we women have had to listen to, it's also a disadvantage, this reduction to appearances. Yet sometimes it seems to me that we women are the harshest critics of our own kind. Often, it's about whether we are good mothers or negligent ones, how much or how little we have gained or lost weight. I think we should show more solidarity with each other."



Andrea Gmür wearing the blazer described by the Luzerner Zeitung as the "lucky little jacket". © Keystone

8 Sheath dress belonging to Karin Keller-Sutter (*1967)

Member of the Federal Council Akris Silk, plain weave On loan from Karin Keller-Sutter



Karin Keller-Sutter

© Joel Hunn

"I like very much to wear fashion by Akris. It is timeless and suits me. I have known and appreciated the designer and creative director Albert Kriemler. I have been happy to wear this dress here over many years."

"One's appearance certainly plays a role, increasingly so among men, too – one need only think of Johnson or Trump! But it is still good policies that cast the best light on someone."

T-Shirt belonging to Tamara Funiciello (*1990)

Member of the National Council H&M Mixed fibres, knitted On loan from Tamara Funiciello



Tamara Funiciello

© Franziska Roth

"I am not trying to offer as small a target as possible with my clothes – but I don't accord them significance. Normally, I wear a kind of suit; black trousers, a black t-shirt and a blazer. It must be practical, it must be comfortable, I have to be able to wear it at a demo and in the National Assembly Room. That's it."

"Men and the male-dominated world, patriarchy, have controlled the female body for thousands of years. We can wear a burka and it's not good, we can wear a bikini and it's not good. It's never good. We can only escape this by avoiding it. Sexism and patriarchal structures work in very subtle ways. So, when I'd been elected to this National Council, I stood here and looked at my clothes and thought: yes, can I now go in there

like this? And luckily, I have people who say to me: yes, you can. But whether I myself would have reached this conclusion without having people who support me, I don't know, to be honest. And that's a kind of coercion, of power, and it's something that costs us resources and time, which men can use for something else. It's not without reason that women are called the 'stared-at sex', it still always matters."

10 Ensemble belonging to Franziska Ryser (*1991)

Member of the National Council The Kooples, Globus Silk, synthetic fibre, plain weave On loan from Franziska Ryser

"I wore this combination of clothes when I became president of St. Gallen City Parliament in 2017. The opportunity to be allowed to preside over the parliament at the age of 25 was certainly not an everyday event. To some extent, this moment was the beginning of my political career in recent years, which has probably emerged in my dress sense, too."

"I would not like to correspond to the clichéd image of a green politician. Many people are at first surprised when they hear that I am politically active for the Green Party. I like to use this fissure, because I can show in this way that I work both in science and in the economy – yet represent Green Party ideas. I believe it is possible to convey through clothing and style that this is no contradiction."



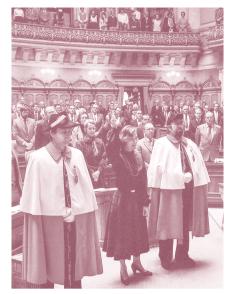
Franziska Ryser

© Augustin Saleem

11 Blouse (replica) belonging to Elisabeth Kopp (*1936)

Former Member of the Federal Council Akris Silk, atlas weave On loan from the Akris company

"During my time in the National Council, I deliberately avoided wearing trousers. I found that as the only woman in that place I didn't have to run around in trousers, too. It was not about standing out, but as at that time trousers for women were somewhat less widespread, I found a skirt more appropriate."



Elisabeth Kopp on the election day to the National Council. © Keystone

"On election day to the National Council I washed my hair in the morning, thinking, that has to be right. Then I stood in front of my wardrobe and thought, best of all would actually be a deuxpièce, but I didn't have that. So I simply put on what I liked best at the time. I was not aware of the 'Akris' brand then, I simply saw this dress and liked it. It was only later on that someone pointed out to me that it was a St. Gallen company and that it had actually matched my roots in St. Gallen perfectly."

The original blouse is in the collection of the Swiss National Museum. It can currently be viewed in the special exhibition titled "Members of the Federal Council since 1848".

12 Film sequence: Swearing-in of Elisabeth Kopp, the first female member of the Swiss Federal Council

"Tagesschau" programme on Swiss Television, 2 October 1984 © SRF

13 Filmed interview with former Member of the Federal Council Ruth Metzler on the issue of dress

Autumn 2020, Appenzell/Steinegg © Film by: Eveline Falk, Daniel Leippert and Adrian Aeschbacher on behalf of the Textile Museum

14 Filmed interviews with members of the National Council and the Council of States on the issue of dress

Autumn session of 2020 in the Federal Parliament building © Films by: Eveline Falk, Daniel Leippert and Adrian Aeschbacher on behalf

of the Textile Museum

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Textile Ausstattung realisiert durch Jakob Schlaepfer, St.Gallen

Wir haben die Bild- und Urheberrechte aller in dieser Ausstellung gezeigten Bilder und Werke nach bestem Wissen abgeklärt. Sollten uns Fehler unterlaufen sein, bitten wir um Entschuldigung und um Kontaktaufnahme. "Except for a few dresses that were specially made for grand ceremonies, none of 'mes robes politiques' I wore throughout all the time I spent at the Tuileries cost more than fifteen hundred francs, and most of them were much cheaper."

Empress Eugénie of France (1826–1920)

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