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Weaving the Nation: Scottish Clothing and Textile Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century

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Declaration

I confirm that the following thesis has been composed by me, and is completely my own work. None of the information has been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. Sections of Chapter 1 have been published in *Textile History,* 40:2 (2009).

Sally J.S. Tuckett 20th December 2010

Abstract

Clothing and textiles are an important means of communication, providing nuanced signals of economic and social status, occupation, and political affiliation. Consequently the study of clothing and textiles is a valuable approach to the investigation of a past society. Building on current methodological approaches associated with clothing and textile history and the study of material culture, this thesis will investigate how the clothing and textiles of the Scottish population in the long eighteenth century can be interpreted as symbols of wider cultural, social and economic practices.

Studies of tartan and Highland dress have dominated the literature on historical Scottish dress and textiles, a result of these items' intimate connection with modern Scottish identity. This thesis seeks to redress the balance by examining clothing and textiles in both the Highland and Lowland regions, in rural and urban areas, and in the experiences of the elite and non-elite sections of the population. This will be done using multiple and varied sources, including surviving artefacts, portraits, inventories, and contemporary literature. By incorporating quantifiable analysis and qualitative interpretation, this approach complements and adds to existing knowledge of Scottish clothing and textiles. The thesis begins with an examination of the clothing culture, looking at everyday clothing and its use in national, occupational, and political identities. Examination of the textile culture scrutinizes the use of textiles in literature, the economic and ideological approaches to the textile industry, and the practical motivations behind tartan manufacture. The role of 'fashion' in Scottish clothing and textile cultures is studied, looking at how outside fashions were received within Scotland, and how Scotland in turn influenced wider fashions. The thesis provides an overview of Scottish dress and textiles in the long eighteenth century demonstrating the importance such investigation can have on the comprehension of the wider social and economic practices of a nation.

Contents

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List of Abbreviations

ACC	Argyll Commissary Court Records
ECC	Edinburgh Commissary Court Records
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collections Online
ICC	Inverness Commissary Court Records
NAS	National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
NMS	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 volumes, (eds.) H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004), online edition
OSA	*Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1791-1799)
TICC	The Isles Commissary Court Records
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Introduction

The importance of textiles and clothing to any given culture is undeniable. Cloth provides the basic foundation of protection for the human body and constitutes a fundamental element of trade on local, national, and global scales.[1] Whether worn on the human body or displayed within the home, cloth and clothing has a semiotic role as a social, cultural, economic, and political indicator. Representations of and opinions on textiles and clothing were common in various contemporary sources from the eighteenth century. From tracts published during the Enlightenment which dealt with the issue of luxury and expressed concerns over the established social order, to travel accounts written by intrepid explorers – clothing and textiles were a significant object of interest to eighteenth-century society. The multivalent nature of textiles and clothing means that the social, cultural, and economic processes of a past society can be interpreted through the study of the clothing and textiles that were used. Scotland in the long eighteenth century is no exception. Contemporary sources provide multiple examples of the integration of cultural, political, and economic nuances into everyday clothing and textiles. In turn, an examination of how people acquired, owned, created, and maintained textiles and garments opens up discussions of Scottish society from personal, social, economic, political, and national perspectives. The potential for investigation into eighteenth-century Scottish clothing and textiles is vast but the historiography has been dominated by discussions of Highland dress and tartan. Beyond a few notable and often specialised examples,[2] little has been done to examine the use of clothing and textiles in everyday situations. This can be remedied by considering the use of clothing and textiles in both Highland and Lowland regions, in rural and urban environments, and beyond the minority of the social elite.

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[1] Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* (Oxford, 2005), pp.49-53.

[2] John Telfer Dunbar's *The Costume of Scotland,* (London, 1989) is one of the more significant works which deals with Lowland dress but even in this case eight of the fourteen chapters look specifically at aspects of tartan or Highland dress. More recently Stana Nenadic has produced work on the role of food and clothing as necessities in Scottish society. Stana Nenadic, 'Necessities: Food and Clothing in the Long Eighteenth Century', in Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley (eds.), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800,* (Edinburgh, 2010), pp.137-63. Noteworthy specialised works, discussed further below, have been produced by Naomi Tarrant and Margaret Swain based on specific items within museum collections.

Approaches to the Study of Clothing and Textiles

Studies of clothing have existed since the sixteenth century. Numerous publications appeared in this period with emphasis on illustrations and descriptions of the garments rather than any assessment of their historical, cultural, social, or economic implications.[3] Illustrative works remained popular in the following centuries with the focus of the work often reflecting the interests of the period. Influenced by the adventurous spirit of the age, works from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries focussed on the dress of "the barbarous and exotic Other".[4] By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the scope of interest had expanded to include details of historical dress.[5] This was fuelled by the growing sense of nationalism and national identity in the nineteenth century which was increasingly represented by a 'traditional' costume.[6]

The twentieth century saw the establishment of three main intellectual trajectories which were concerned with aspects of dress and textile history and which provide the core foundation for the current methodological approaches to the field. These were object-based histories, theoretical approaches, and economic and social histories. This categorisation is fluid. Some studies overlapped these strands, and each strand in turn developed its own sub-disciplines. By the end of the twentieth century, however, these three trajectories agreed on the validity of the study of clothing and textiles as a means to understanding a given culture or society.

Object-based studies of dress and textile history rose to prominence in the early twentieth century. Many were founded on private collections and conducted by independent scholars. Early twentieth-century works were primarily concerned with the changing styles, cut, and construction of clothing.[7] The work of C.W. Cunnington was illustrative of this trend. Cunnington's work contained detailed descriptions and illustrations of changing styles based on his own collection of

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[3] Lou Taylor, *Establishing Dress History,* (Manchester, 2004), pp.5-6.
[4] Ibid., p.5.
[5] Ibid., p.23.
[6] Ibid., p.25-33. The works of the Sobieski Stuart brothers attempted to capitalise on the mid nineteenth-century Scottish nationalist and romantic sentiment with their publications *Vestiarium Scoticum* in 1842 and *The Costume of the Clans* in 1845. John Telfer Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* (Edinburgh, 1962), pp.112-133, 103-111.
[7] Taylor, *Establishing Dress History,* p.46.

historical dress and on various museum collections around the country.[8] Influenced by the work of psycho-analysts and sociologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,[9] Cunnington's work emphasised the difference in gendered approaches to dress. Men, he argued, used fashion to articulate "Class Distinction" while women used dress for "Sex Attraction."[10] A further notable object-based historian was Doris Langley Moore whose private collection of historical dress eventually established the Museum of Costume, now the Fashion Museum, at Bath.[11] Less concerned than Cunnington with the notion that sexual attraction was a primary motivator for dress, Moore engaged in detailed examination of surviving costume from the nineteenth century. This enabled her to counter numerous popular myths associated with historical dress. The seventeen inch waist, for instance, thought to have been the ideal size aimed for in the nineteenth century, was not evident in any of the specimens Moore studied.[12]

The value of works such as those of Cunnington and Moore lies more in their use as a key for dating surviving garments than as a cultural analytical tool.[13] In later object-based studies, however, there were clear efforts at the contextualisation of surviving objects with other contemporary sources, resulting in informative and analytical works. As curator of the Gallery of English Costume at Platt Hall in Manchester, Anne Buck combined her knowledge of the collections with in-depth archival study and the use of contemporary literary sources. This resulted in a comprehensive account of eighteenth-century English dress covering multiple levels of society.[14] Natalie Rothstein's position as textile curator at the V&A enabled her to produce a definitive study of the eighteenth-century English silk industry. Rothstein produced a complete catalogue of the V&A's silk collection that was contextualised

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[8] Valerie Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History,* (London, 2004), p.62.
[9] Psycho-analyst J.C. Flugel argued that the clothing of each historical period emphasised a different part of the female body as a means of sexual allure. J.C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes,* (New York, 1969) originally published 1930, p.160-162. This argument has been refuted on many occasions since. Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality,* (London, 1986; Oxford, 2003), p.17; Amy de la Haye and Elizabeth Wilson (eds.), 'Introduction', *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity,* (Manchester 1999), pp.1-9, p.4.
[10] C.W. Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century,* (London, 1958), p.26.
[11] Taylor, *Establishing Dress History,* p.59.
[12] Doris Langley Moore, *The Woman in Fashion,* (London, 1949), pp.16-21; Taylor, *Establishing Dress History,* pp.59-61.
[13] Ibid., pp.52-53.
[14] Anne Buck, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England,* (London, 1979); Anne Buck, 'Clothes in Fact and Fiction', *Costume,* 17 (1983), pp.89-104.

with information on individual designers, the silk industry in general, and discussions of eighteenth-century consumption.[15] This work provided vital substance and context to the history of the eighteenth-century English silk industry. Object-based studies are the foundation of the modern study of dress and textile history. Without the detailed study of surviving garments and textile designs carried out in the twentieth century the modern student would be at a loss in dating and identifying such items themselves. In turn, this identification of garments and textiles is essential if the socio-cultural context of these items is to be understood.[16]

The use of surviving objects to study dress and textile history is not restricted to clothing and fabrics – works of art are also central. In the mid-twentieth century the interpretation of clothing in art was recognised as a useful technique for the dating of paintings.[17] In turn works of art were seen as the sources for the study of clothing and its social nuances. Aileen Ribeiro, formerly professor at the Courtauld Institute of Art, was one of the foremost proponents of this approach. Paintings and portraits can show how people of past societies "saw themselves as they really were, or as they wished to be".[18] In *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750-1820* (London, 1995) Ribeiro studied portraiture and other works of art to demonstrate how clothing was received, perceived, and used in the late eighteenth century. Ribeiro applied this approach to numerous periods and themes, including the issue of morality and dress,[19] and fashion in the French Revolution.[20] As with the study of surviving garments, the examination of art works also benefits from contextualisation. Consideration of who commissioned a portrait and why, and where the art work was intended to be hung, enriches the interpretations of the art work's cultural and social meanings.[21] This approach has helped develop this resource not only for the study of dress history, but also for exploring themes of reputation, respectability, and commemoration.

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[15] Natalie Rothstein, *Silk Designs of the Eighteenth Century: In the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, With a Complete Catalogue,* (London, 1990).
[16] Catherine Richardson, 'Introduction', in Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650,* (Aldershot, 2004), pp.1-25, p.5.
[17] Lou Taylor, *The Study of Dress History,*(Manchester, 2002) p.116.
[18] Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750-1820,* (London, 1995), p.7.
[19] Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality*.
[20] Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution,* (London, 1988).
[21] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England,* (London, 1993).

The contextualisation of surviving objects, started by writers such as Buck and Rothstein, is now recognised as being central to the study of dress and textile history.[22] This has been aided by developments in the study of material culture in general. Jules Prown, a professor of the history of art and material culture of America, maintained in the 1980s that surviving objects reflect the "beliefs of the individual who made, commissioned, purchased, or used them and, by extension, the beliefs of the larger society to which they belonged."[23] To access these beliefs he developed a three stage process for the study of surviving objects. A description of the object based on measurements and observations was to be followed by a sensory and intellectual engagement with the object, which in turn would lead to speculation over how it was received or used in its own time.[24] Examination of objects in this way would benefit the understanding of objects' roles as signifiers of "values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions".[25] This approach has been adopted by a number of dress and textile historians. Most recently Linda Baumgarten, curator of textiles and costumes at Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia, used surviving objects to analyse the clothing culture of early modern America. As well as an in-depth investigation into the construction and making of the garments, Baumgarten used archival and literary sources to provide social, economic, and political context to her discussion.[26] The result was a study which gives a practical description of what factors eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Americans might have considered in their choice of fabric and garment.

Running parallel to object-based studies throughout the twentieth century, theoretical disciplines increasingly used dress and textiles to illustrate or support their arguments. Sociologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the concept of fashionable dress as a means to analyse their theories on class relationships, gendered consumption, and fashion.[27] Thorstein Veblen argued that the notion of emulation was integral to the spread of fashion, and that conspicuous

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[22] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.52.
[23] Jules David Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method', *Material Life in America, 1660-1860,* (Boston, 1988), pp.17-37, p.18. Originally published in *Winterthur Portfolio,* 17:1 (1982), pp.1-17.
[24] Ibid., pp.23-27.
[25] Ibid., p.18.
[26] Linda Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America,* (Williamsburg, 2002), p.viii.
[27] Taylor, *Establishing Dress History,* p.44.

consumption in dress was a means to display an "accredited standard of taste and reputability."[28] Georg Simmel made similar assertions, maintaining that fashion in dress was driven by imitation among the social classes. The lower classes, according to Simmel, would imitate their social superiors, who in turn would adapt their own habits to perpetuate a different appearance from their imitators.[29] This process was dependent on the existence of a class system and as such, Simmel argued, fashion could not exist amongst classless societies, or non-European societies, where there were no social superiors to emulate.[30] Although these theories have since been refuted,[31] sociologists have continued to influence the field of dress history, particularly with their emphasis on the meanings behind changing fashions. Fred Davis, a sociologist writing in the 1990s, felt that Veblen and Simmel had not dealt sufficiently with the meanings behind clothing and fashion. Davis asserted that to fully comprehend the "code" of fashion, an understanding of the context in which it was situated was essential, including an awareness of details as "vague and transient" as the mood of the wearer and the observer.[32]

The interpretation of clothing as a means of communication and self-identification also became prominent outside the field of sociology. Coming from a literary background, Alison Lurie's study *The Language of Clothes,* originally published in 1981, equated trimmings and accessories to clothes with adjectives and adverbs.[33] In 2001 Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson asserted that dress and language were part of the "same fundamental human concern, namely to communicate."[34] These works signal the advent of what has been called the "new dress history".[35] This term has been applied to studies of dress and textiles written from the late twentieth century onwards which saw an increasing integration of cross-disciplinary approaches. Sociology, anthropology, ethnology, and art history were all seen as

[28] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions,* (London, 1957), p.168.
[29] Georg Simmel, 'Fashion', *The American Journal of Sociology,* 62:6 (1957), pp.541-558, p.543, 545.
[30] Ibid., p.541.
[31] For arguments against social emulation see John Styles, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England,* (London, 2007), p.198. For discussion on the Eurocentric perception of fashion see Jennifer Craik, *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion,* (London, 1993), p.xi.
[32] Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture and Identity,* (London, 1994), pp.7-8.
[33] Alison Lurie, *The Language of Clothes,* (London, 1992), p.10.
[34] Joanne Entwistle and Elizabeth Wilson, 'Introduction: Body Dressing', J. Entwistle and E. Wilson (eds.), *Body Dressing,* (Oxford, 2001), pp.1-9, p.2.
[35] Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History,* p.38.

useful means by which dress and textiles could be examined.[36] The study of clothing was not new to many of these disciplines. Anthropologists, for instance, had long recognised the importance of clothing and body adornment in reflecting individual and collective identities.[37] A recent example of the influence of anthropology on the study of dress and textiles can be seen in *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress*, a collection of essays published in 2004. In direct contrast to Simmel's argument, *Fashioning Africa* asserted that the divide between fashion in the West and ethnographic costume in the rest of the world was a false one.[38] Non-European countries had their own fashion systems which reflected political, gendered, social, national, and cultural identities. Anthropological and ethnographical methodologies provide researchers of dress and textile history with the tools and methods suitable for in-depth investigation outside the Eurocentric and social elite parameters set by early twentieth-century studies.

Building on the discipline of anthropology and the study of cultural symbols, the study of 'fashion theory' developed and expanded in the 1990s. Fashion and cultural identity were seen as intrinsically linked concepts which required a near constant reassessment of the definition of 'fashion'. Jennifer Craik's *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion* (London, 1993) examined feminine and masculine identities through twentieth-century clothing, arguing that 'fashion' could be seen in "alternative lifestyles, workplace and leisure cultures, and in all the mundane places and institutions of every day life".[39] The prominence of fashion theory in the study of dress and textiles was fully realised with the establishment of the journal *Fashion Theory* in the late 1990s. This journal aimed to promote the study and discussion of the relationships between fashion, the dressed body, and cultural identities.[40] *Fashion Theory* and the fashion theorists sought to bring a higher level of critical

[36] Ibid.
[37] Haye and Wilson, 'Introduction', p.3.
[38] Jean Allman, 'Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress', in Jean Allman (ed.), *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress,* (Bloomington, Illinois, 2004), pp.1-10, p.3.
[39] Craik, *Face of Fashion*, pp.x-xi, 4. See also Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher (eds.), *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning,* (Oxford, 1993).
[40] http://www.bergpublishers.com/bergjournals/fashiontheory/tabid/524/default.aspx, accessed 21 March 2010.

analysis to discussions of dress and fashion, taking it beyond the descriptive works of the earlier twentieth century.[41]

The third intellectual trajectory for dress and textile history came from the perspective of economic and social historians, which again developed their own sub-disciplines. Before the advent of the fashion theorists and the development of cross-disciplinary studies at the end of the twentieth century, the approach to dress and textile history took one of two forms. On one side were those considered the 'traditional' dress and textile historians whose works focused on extant garments and textile samples. On the other side were the economic historians who examined methods of production, technology, and trade.[42] The latter genre was principally concerned with the quantifiable evidence of textile manufacture rather than the uses and cultural meanings of these textiles once they had been produced. *The British Wool Textile Industry, 1770-1914* (Aldershot, 1982) by D.T. Jenkins and K.G. Ponting is one such study. Just as object-based studies were accused of being preoccupied with what was seen as superficial detail, economic historians faced criticism from object-based historians for their exclusion of surviving artefacts from their analysis.[43] 'Traditional' dress and textile historians felt that this rejection of surviving objects marginalised the object-based approach from the wider academic community.[44] In turn, those outside the realm of museums and collections, criticised 'traditional' dress historians for producing works of a "wholly descriptive tradition", charting in "minute detail over the course of several centuries the addition or deletion of every flounce, pleat, button and bow, worn by every class on every occasion."[45] These disputes aside, the value of economic histories is high as they are one of the main sources of information on historical textiles and textile manufacture. They provide invaluable quantitative data and information on the changing production methods, which in turn gives rise to questions of the social impact of these developments.

Economic historians were not the only ones to face criticism for not realising the importance of dress and textiles to their field, social historians were also censured for

[41] See Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History,* pp.38-45.
[42] For a full discussion of this division see Taylor, *Study of Dress History*, pp.64-69.
[43] Ibid., p.65.
[44] Ibid., pp.58-59.
[45] Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold, *The World of Consumption,* (London, 1993), p.93.

their apparent disinterest in the history of clothing.[46] Towards the end of the twentieth century, however, a number of key works appeared which helped to bring the economic and social studies and the object-based investigations closer together. Writing in the 1980s, Daniel Roche's work reflected the influence of the economic and social approach of the Annales School in France. Focusing on eighteenth-century Parisian society Roche interpreted clothing as a form of wealth, acting as a currency which in turn dictated people's relationships with their clothing. His cultural and social study of the dress of the Parisian population relied on quantitative data extracted from inventories of possessions taken at death.[47] Roche examined the role of fashion and clothing in a "cultural whole", including the consumption patterns of the non-elite population.[48] Although Roche did not employ surviving artefacts within his investigation, his economic methodology and convincing social analysis marked the turning point for studies of the use of dress and textiles in past societies.

At a similar period within British historiography there was a noticeable shift in academia from the study of production to the study of consumption. This development further helped to break down the divisions between object-based historians and the other disciplines.[49] From the publication of Neil McKendrick et al's *The Birth of a Consumer Society* in 1982, followed in 1993 by *Consumption and the World of Goods* by John Brewer and Roy Porter, the role of the consumer has played a key part in discussions of eighteenth-century society. Textiles and clothing have progressively become central to this field. Like Roche, historians of consumption and material culture have seen the advantage of examining inventories to provide gendered, social, and geographical comparisons of consumer culture and behaviour.[50] Beverly Lemire's work in the 1990s signalled the beginning of what has been described as "good practice in the use of new approaches in dress

[46] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.67; Richardson, 'Introduction', p.2.
[47] Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime,* trans. Jean Birrell, (Cambridge, 1994).
[48] Ibid., p.501.
[49] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.70.
[50] Lorna Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own: Women and Consumer Behaviour in England, 1660-1740', *Journal of British Studies,* 25:2 (1986), pp.131-156; Margot Finn, 'Men's Things: Masculine Possession in the Consumer Revolution', *Social History,* 2:2 (2000), pp.133-155; Stana Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers and Domestic Culture in Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1720-1840', *Past and Present,* 145:1 (1994), pp.122-156.

history".[51] Lemire combined quantitative data from sources such as probate inventories, with qualitative information from museum collections, visual sources, and contemporary newspapers.[52] In this manner Lemire began to bridge the gap between economic approaches to textile production, and the social history and object-based interest in the relationship between textiles, dress, and fashion. Furthermore, her discussion of the second-hand clothing trade has proved central to challenging preconceived notions of past societies. Fashionable clothing and textiles were traditionally viewed as the preserve of the social elite.[53] Lemire's investigation of the Old Bailey records, however, demonstrated that through theft, pawning, and the second hand market, the use of fashionable clothing and fashionable textiles was not limited to those of higher financial and social means.[54]

In a similar vein, John Styles's studies have been fundamental to exploring fashionable consumption within the lower levels of society. Styles's work on plebeian consumption has been integral to establishing that non-elites were not always subject to the same fashionable influences and urges of their social superiors.[55] His most recent work, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 2007), examined the use of clothes by the non-elite population as part of a wider discourse on the issue of consumption and material culture. Styles defined fashion as being both a "self-conscious, avant garde innovation" of the socio-cultural elite, and as the regular changes made to the "normative appearance" of the non-elite population.[56] This comprehensive definition enabled Styles to examine how the lower social orders received, interpreted, and adapted fashion to their own use of dress and textiles.

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[51] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.74.
[52] Beverly Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite: The Cotton Trade and the Consumer in Britain, 1660-1800,* (Oxford, 1991); Beverly Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce: The English Clothing Trade Before the Factory, 1660-1800,* (Basingstoke, 1997).
[53] There is still a strong argument for fashionable dress and textiles being limited to upper levels of society. Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe, 1715-1789,* (2nd edition, London, 2002), p.1.
[54] Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce,* ch. 5.
[55] John Styles, 'Clothing the North: The Supply of Non-Elite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England', *Textile History,* 25:2 (1994), pp.139-166; John Styles, 'Custom or Consumption? Plebeian Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England', in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (eds.), *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods,* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp.103-118.
[56] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.12.

The study of consumption and material culture is constantly expanding, a development which can only have a positive impact on the understanding of the use of clothing and textiles. A recent trend has been the investigation of global relationships and their impact on consumption. The trade of textiles is a useful medium for discussing and analysing these interactions. Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi's recently published volume of edited essays, *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850* (Oxford, 2009), examined cotton as the "first global commodity".[57] By looking at the how the textile was transported, acquired, and used across the globe, it was shown how cotton transcended national, cultural, and social boundaries.

It is now accepted by academics of various backgrounds that the study of clothing and textiles can contribute and even lead investigations into past societies. Consequently many current works are concerned with textile and clothing cultures, examining the interconnected and evolving relationships between fabrics, garments, people, and societies.[58] These works often take the form of edited essay collections, calling on the expertise of academics from various backgrounds. This form of publication has been criticised for being too fragmentary,[59] but they are representative of the fact that clothing and textile cultures are multivalent and can accommodate varied approaches. Catherine Richardson's edited volume, *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Aldershot, 2004) used clothing to discuss issues of national and personal identity, visual representations of social status, and the use of clothing as a metaphor for gendered morality. Similar themes were raised in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings* (Basingstoke, 2004), another edited collection of essays which called upon the expertise of "historians, art historians, literary and cultural critics."[60] The contributors to this volume used cloth and clothing to discuss cultural issues of the medieval period covering topics such as gender, class, ethnicity, religion, politics,

[57] Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi, 'Introduction: Cotton Textiles and Global History', in Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi (eds.), *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200-1850,* (Oxford, 2009), pp.1-13, p.2.
[58] Richardson, 'Introduction', p.6.
[59] Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History,* p.38.
[60] E. Jane Burns, 'Why Textiles Make a Difference', in E. Jane Burns (ed.), *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings,* (Basingstoke, 2004), pp.1-18, p.2.

and issues of production and consumption.[61] Incorporating visual and literary sources, these works emphasised the importance that an understanding of the use of clothing and textiles in a past society can have to the knowledge of wider cultural, social, economic, and political practices.

Although there are still inherent differences between the three main intellectual trajectories and their various sub-disciplines, they are currently united in their recognition of the importance of context. Objects cannot be studied without some acknowledgement of their contemporary socio-economic conditions. In turn, investigation into material culture and consumption can be enlightened with the examination of the objects that were being consumed. Although full integration of different sources and approaches into a single study is not always possible, the recognition that sociological, anthropological, ethnographical, social and economic, and art historical approaches can elucidate knowledge of dress and textile history, is vital to the future of the field.

Studies on Scottish Clothing and Textiles

The literature on historical Scottish clothing and textiles followed similar patterns to those that have been described above. Economic histories, object-based studies, and an increased interest in the history of consumption can all be identified. There were some notable exceptions, however, conditioned by factors unique to Scotland.

The role of textile manufacture in the industrialisation of Britain in the late eighteenth century ensured a high level of interest in textile production from the perspective of economic history. For Scotland, the focus has principally been on the growth and expansion of the linen and cotton industries in the eighteenth century. This continues a trend from the eighteenth century itself which saw these two industries take centre stage in strategies for economic modernisation and social improvement. David Bremner's monograph *The Industries of Scotland: Their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition*, first published in 1869, set the tone for much of the following works. He espoused the perception that the eighteenth-century English woollen industry was too strong for Scotland to compete with and so interest in the

[61] Ibid., p.13.

Scottish industry declined after the Union of 1707.[62] Although Bremner paid greater attention to the linen and cotton industries many aspects of woollen manufacture were covered, including attempts to incorporate sixteenth-century observations on fashion.[63] Statistics of the numbers of machines, the amount of horsepower used, the weight of the wool consumed, and the number of people employed by the industry, are all useful to the modern student.[64] As an economic history, however, there was little consideration of what fabrics were used for and why. In particular, being concerned with the growth in industry there was little reference to the fact wool was a ubiquitous and domestically produced textile in Scotland before industrialisation.

The idea that linen and cotton were more important to the Scottish economy than wool was not significantly challenged until the 1970s. Clifford Gulvin argued against preconceived notions that the Union of 1707 resulted in failure for the woollen industry.[65] Gulvin's *The Tweedmakers: A History of the Scottish Fancy Woollen Industry 1600-1914* (Newton Abbot, 1973) sought to re-establish the importance of the manufacture of Scottish woollens to the Scottish economy. He examined the strengths and weaknesses of the Scottish woollen industry from political and economic standpoints. His focus on tweed reflected the nineteenth-century importance of this fabric from an economic perspective, both to particular regions and to Scotland as a whole.[66] As with Bremner's work before it, however, Gulvin's focus was on technical developments and economic output rather than the social implications of woollen fabric either before or after industrialisation.

Greater reference to the use of clothing and textiles was made in the social histories. Henry Grey Graham's *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,* originally published in 1899, made comparisons between rural and urban communities, demonstrating social and economic change over the course of the century. He used a variety of sources including contemporary literature, memoirs, and antiquarian collections of documents. Cultural references to the use of textiles

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[62] David Bremner, *The Industries of Scotland: Their Rise, Progress, and Present Condition,* (Wiltshire, 1969), pp.150-153.
[63] Ibid., p.146.
[64] Ibid., p.157-160.
[65] Clifford Gulvin, 'The Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry, 1707-1760', *Scottish Historical Review,* 50 (1971), pp.121-137.
[66] Clifford Gulvin, *The Tweedmakers: A History of the Scottish Fancy Woollen Industry, 1600-1914,* (Newton Abbot, 1973), p.187-188.

and clothing were made. New brides, according to Graham, were expected to stock their husband's home with household linen upon their marriage,[67] and labourers' wages often included items of clothing.[68] Graham also noted that homespun fabrics became less popular as the century progressed and as access to foreign textiles became easier.[69] The decline in the use of homespun has been taken up by numerous historians since. T.C. Smout, in his comprehensive survey of Scotland from 1560-1860, used the example of changing habits in the dress of the gentry, from the use of homespun to foreign fabrics, to show their changing standards of living and the increased interest in 'politeness'.[70]

Smout and other historians from the mid-twentieth century onwards have used the textile industry and its growth at the end of the eighteenth century as a gateway for examination of wider economic and social change. The declining fortune of handloom weavers at the beginning of the nineteenth century, for instance, and their relative political activism compared with other workers has often been referred to.[71] Christopher A. Whatley's work *Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation,* (Manchester, 2000) is one of the most recent to detail the part played by textile workers in the social and economic events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The experiences of weavers and cotton spinners are discussed in relation to other industries and workers, tracing the development of a Scottish working class consciousness.[72]

Clothing and fashion do not feature heavily in the Scottish social and economic histories but the frequent references to textiles and textile manufacture in relation to wider social and economic conditions reflect their significance in understanding Scottish society at large. The pervasive nature of textile manufacture, starting with domestic industry and culminating in its role in Scottish industrialisation means that it cannot be excluded from any examination of Scottish economic and social history.

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[67] Henry G. Graham, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,* (London, 1928), p.18.
[68] Ibid., pp.15, 183.
[69] Ibid., pp.17, 215. As Bremner had before him, Graham devoted more space to linen than to woollen manufacture. Graham, *Social Life of Scotland,* pp.513, 515-519.
[70] T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830,* (1969; London, 1985), p.266.
[71] Ibid., pp.418-419; T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2000,* (London, 2000), p.224-225.
[72] Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society, 1707-1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation,* (Manchester, 2000), chs. 6, 7 and 8.

Works that dealt specifically with Scottish dress tended to focus on Highland dress. Foremost in this category was the work of John Telfer Dunbar. An archaeologist turned costume historian, Dunbar was a prolific collector of textual sources relating to Highland dress. His monographs, *History of Highland Dress* (Edinburgh, 1962) and *The Costume of Scotland* (London, 1981), were based on these collections, contextualised with anecdotal accounts, contemporary poetry, portraiture, and historiographical sources. Dunbar's monographs are the first port of call for any student or researcher into Scottish dress. Dunbar's collections of historical letters, textile samples, and in some cases full garments have been distributed among the museological institutions of Edinburgh.[73] This provides an excellent opportunity for the study of archival sources with complementary extant objects. A significant portion of correspondence relating to tartan manufacturers William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, now housed in the NLS, was also collected by Dunbar.[74]

Scottish history and the subsequent modern Scottish identity is the product of many myths, a subject which has generated much discussion in itself.[75] Highland dress and tartan are significant contributors to this combined notion of myth and identity. Much of the literature of the twentieth century was concerned with either refuting or supporting myths associated with tartan and Highland dress. A popular topic was the history of the kilt. Particularly controversial was the idea that this iconic Scottish garment had been invented by an Englishman, Thomas Rawlinson, in the 1720s. The most vehement supporter of this idea was the late Lord Dacre, Hugh Trevor-Roper.[76] Earlier commentators had approached the subject in a more

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[73] A major collection originally owned by Dunbar is housed in the Edinburgh City Museum at Huntly House on the Canongate, Edinburgh. Included in the collection are numerous tartan samples from William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn (HH1303/51/50), a tartan jacket (HH1303/111/50), and tartan trews (HH1303/106/50) reputedly worn at the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822. My thanks to Denise Brace for supplying me with this information.

[74] Further details on Dunbar's collection in NLS can be found at http://www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/cnmi/inventories/acc12251.pdf.

[75] See Murray G.H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present,* (London, 1991); Murray G.H. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army in 1745,* (Edinburgh, 2009); Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland: Myth and History,* (London, 2008).

[76] Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition,* (Cambridge, 1983), pp.15-42; Trevor-Roper, *Invention of Scotland,* pp.198-202. This view has also been most recently accepted by Jonathan Faiers, *Tartan,* (Oxford, 2008), p.79.

ambiguous manner. H.F. McClintock's *Old Irish and Highland Dress* (Dundalk, 1943) listed accounts of Highland dress from 1093AD onwards. He compared the different descriptions to determine when changes to the dress came into effect, concluding that the kilt was a relatively modern invention but leaving Rawlinson's role in the matter open to debate.[77] Dunbar followed a similar approach, leaving it to his readers to make up their minds on the issue.[78]

A further debate that dominated twentieth-century literature was the question of the antiquity of clan tartans, an issue that is integral to the modern Scottish sartorial identity, and to the modern tourism industry. Nineteenth-century writers such as the Sobieski Stuart brothers and James Logan, who were all keen to promote the history of the Gael, maintained that clan tartans had an ancient lineage and deserved to be revered.[79] This notion was contested by twentieth-century researchers who argued that clan tartans were in fact a nineteenth-century invention born out of the expediency of tartan manufacturers.[80] Acknowledgment of these myths and disputes is necessary when considering the roles Highland dress and tartan have played in the creation of a modern Scottish identity.[81] However, these debates do not necessarily add to the understanding of the cultural value of eighteenth-century Highland dress and tartan. The controversies over tartan, for instance, can obscure the basic attractive properties of the fabric and the pattern, which contributed to its popularity as much as its turbulent and often romanticised history.[82]

Once the issue of clan tartans had been settled, the historiography of tartan took on a more practical approach. James Scarlett, a respected tartan historian of the late twentieth century, divided works on tartan into two main categories:

> …those consisting principally of short histories of the Clans accompanied by pictures of their tartans, with introductory essays on tartan, Highland dress and other kindred subjects and lists of affiliated

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[77] H.F. McClintock, *Old Irish and Highland Dress, With Notes on that of the Isle of Man,* (Dundalk, 1943), pp.141-167.
[78] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* pp.12-14.
[79] See Dunbar's discussion of the *Vestiarium Scoticum* by John Sobieski Stuart. Dunbar, *Highland Dress,* pp.112-143.
[80] Ibid., pp.17-19; Hugh Cheape, *Tartan: The Highland Habit,* (Edinburgh, 1991; 3rd edition, 2006), pp.68-72; Faiers, *Tartan,* pp.37-48.
[81] For a sociological perspective of this debate see David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation,* (2nd edition, London, 2001), pp.132-136.
[82] I am grateful to Hugh Cheape for discussing this topic and sharing his opinions with me.

> septs; and second those, much less common, that are actually about tartan.[83]

Scarlett's own work fell into the second category. Scarlett traced the history of tartan, discussing early references to the material and its initial methods of production, drawing on historical and historiographical sources. He provided thread counts and guidelines for weaving, along with a brief history for each sett. He also raised many questions which he hoped his successors in the field would answer. The archives of William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, he felt, provided ample opportunity for further investigation into the history of tartan.[84] In the last fifteen years tartan has also been subjected to scientific investigation. Using the vast collections of tartan samples collected by men such as folklorist Alexander Carmichael in the nineteenth century,[85] researchers have employed scientific methods to determine factors such as the age of the tartan fragment and the composition of the dyes.[86] Once again the issue of 'myth' was involved when in 1995 tartan fragments associated with Prince Charles Edward Stuart were analysed for their authenticity.[87]

Tartan and Highland dress were not the only subjects of interest. Work based on Scottish collections of surviving artefacts was undertaken by a combination of independent researchers, museum curators, and academics during the twentieth century. Margaret Swain's work on Scottish embroidery relied on detailed examination of surviving examples from the early modern period and remains the main text for the topic.[88] She also produced work on the use of the nightgown in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, based on Scottish and British collections.[89] The works of Naomi Tarrant, former curator of costume and textiles at NMS, are prominent for their diversity. In her monographs of the late twentieth century

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[83] James D. Scarlett, *Tartan: The Highland Textile,* (London, 1990), p.16.
[84] Ibid., p.201.
[85] Samples of Hebridean tartan collected by Carmichael are now held in the Museum of Edinburgh and NMS.
[86] Cheape, *Tartan,* p.85-87; Helen C. Rawson, John Burnett, and Anita Quye, 'The Import of Textile Dyes to Scotland: The Case of William Wilson and Son, Tartan Weavers of Bannockburn, 1780-1820', *Review of Scottish Culture,* 12 (2000-2001), pp.18-29.
[87] Cheape, *Tartan,* p.85.
[88] Margaret H. Swain, *Historical Needlework: A Study of Influences in Scotland and Northern England,* (London, 1970).
[89] Margaret H. Swain, 'Nightgown into Dressing Gown: A Study of Men's Nightgowns Eighteenth Century', *Costume,* 6 (1972), pp.10-21.

Tarrant placed Scottish items in the context of costume and textile history in general, investigating issues of conservation, construction, collection, and display.[90] She also conducted archival research on the Scottish Turkey red industry in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[91] Along with works on tartan, object-based studies on the Paisley shawl were also popular in the late twentieth century.[92] More recently Lou Taylor examined three costumes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from the collections of NMS and the Museum of Brighton. All of the outfits had been worn in Scotland and were examined by Taylor to determine the social and cultural functions of Scottish border tweed.[93]

Portraits provide an important source for Scottish dress but are relatively understudied. Rosalind K. Marshall, a historian of early modern Scotland whose work often encompassed investigation into costume and textiles,[94] produced an overview of costume in Scottish portraiture from 1560-1830.[95] This study was limited to a discussion of the dress of the aristocracy by the nature of the source, but it was nevertheless important in demonstrating foreign influences on Scottish dress. A recent study by Robin Nicholson, an art historian and director of exhibitions at Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, provided an analysis of portraits to emphasise the "changing aspects of self-perception and identity" through this medium.[96] Using a group of portraits dating from 1745-1822, Nicholson's study was concerned with the representation of tartan in these portraits and how this could be interpreted in relation to the sitter and the circumstances of the art work.

As with dress and textile history outside Scotland, the role of consumption and material culture in the study of clothing and textile cultures is becoming ever more

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[90] Naomi Tarrant, *The Development of Costume,* (London, 1994).
[91] Naomi Tarrant, 'The Turkey Red Dyeing Industry in the Vale of Leven', in John Butt and Kenneth Ponting (eds.), *Scottish Textile History,* (Aberdeen, 1987), pp.37-47.
[92] Meta Muir and Janet Paterson, *A Century of Scottish Shawlmaking. Edinburgh 1777-1847. Paisley 1805-1877,* (Edinburgh, 1962). See also J. Hunter, 'The Paisley Textile Industry, 1695-1830', *Costume,* 10 (1976), pp.1-15; Dorothy Whyte, 'Edinburgh Shawls and Their Makers', *Costume,* 10 (1976), pp.16-28.
[93] Lou Taylor, 'To Attract the Attention of Fish as Little as Possible': An Object-Led Discussion of Three Garments for Country Wear for Women, Made of Scottish Woollen Cloth, Dating from 1883-1908', *Textile History,* 38:1 (2007), pp.92-106.
[94] See Rosalind K. Marshall, ' "To be the Kingis Grace Ane Dowblett": The Costume of James V, King of Scots', *Costume,* 28 (1994), pp.14-21.
[95] Rosalind K. Marshall, *Costume in Scottish Portraits, 1560-1830,* (Edinburgh, 1986).
[96] Robin Nicholson, 'From Ramsay's *Flora MacDonald* to Raeburn's *MacNab*: The Use of Tartan as a Symbol of Identity', *Textile History,* 36:2 (2005), pp.146-167, p.147.

important. Much of this process has been initiated in the Scottish field by Stana Nenadic, whose research into the material culture and consumption of Scotland has often referred to the use of clothing and textiles. Inventories of possessions taken at death have been used by Nenadic to examine the consumption habits of eighteenth-century middle-rank consumers, in which household textiles played a central role.[97] Using sources ranging from funerary accounts to travel literature Nenadic has studied the habits of consumption in the Highlands, demonstrating that remote as well as accessible regions participated in the consumption of fashionable goods.[98] Most recently her examination of clothing and food in eighteenth-century Scotland interpreted everyday clothing as "social entities", acting as a focus for "everyday practices, a source of identity and part of a material world to which subtle social and even political meanings were attributed."[99] Nenadic's work is an important starting point for placing Scottish clothing and textiles under a systematic cultural and social investigation.

Following a different agenda Hugh Cheape, formerly a curator at NMS, examined specific garments and textiles of the Highland regions. Using his knowledge of museum collections, along with the expertise of analytical chemist Anita Quye, Cheape reinstated the importance of female Highland dress through detailed examination of the arisaid, or plaid, using scientific analysis of the dyestuffs and discussing its fashionable uses over the early modern period.[100] Cheape's *Tartan: The Highland Habit*, first published in 1991 and now in its third edition, reflects the increasing interest in the cultural, social, and political symbolism behind Scottish textiles and dress. It also demonstrates a collaboration of museum- and archive-based research on tartan and Highland dress "as art and artefact",[101] a methodology which dress and textile historians are keen to continue promoting.

[97] Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers'.
[98] Stana Nenadic, 'The Highlands of Scotland in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century: Consuming at a Distance', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 28 (2005), pp.215-228.
[99] Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.138.
[100] Anita Quye and Hugh Cheape, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', *Costume,* 42 (2008), pp.1-20.
[101] Cheape, *Tartan*, p.5.

Structure and Aims

Arising from the different methodologies applicable to dress and textile history, this thesis employs a cross-disciplinary approach. By exploiting a different source as the basis for each chapter the thesis navigates through the various techniques that have been used for the study of clothing and textiles. Due to their inherent advantages and disadvantages different types of sources tell contrasting stories, providing diverse perspectives on the cultural meaning of cloth and clothing. These stories and their interpretations can then be used to reflect on the intellectual trajectories of dress and textile historiography discussed above. This produces a more subtle analysis of the cultural meaning of clothing and textiles than if one main source was relied upon. The simultaneous scrutiny and exploitation of multiple and varied sources is a unique methodological contribution to the field of dress and textile history.

The value of each source to the field in general is scrutinised, while simultaneously providing a qualitative and quantitative picture of eighteenth-century Scottish clothing and textile cultures. For instance, particular use has been made of inventories of possessions taken at death, a resource that has proved popular among historians of consumption and dress historians. Inventories have their limitations however. For multiple reasons they do not always list items that were in the possession of the deceased. Only a third of the inventories examined for this project contained information regarding clothing or textiles. Without recourse to any other type of source it could be assumed that the remaining two thirds of the sample did not own any clothing or textiles. When other sources are employed such as portraits, sketches, and written accounts, it can be seen that a complete lack of clothing or textile ownership was unlikely. The inventories that do contain references to dress and textiles, however, provide the fundamental information needed to create a picture of what a cross section of the Scottish population was wearing in the eighteenth century.

This cross-disciplinary approach has been influenced by a collaborative relationship with the NMS. Privileged access to the collections, as well as to the expertise of the staff, both past and present, has opened up many avenues of investigation and lines of enquiry that would not have been possible had only archival resources been consulted. That being said, the cross-disciplinary approach

also works to the strengths of the researcher. This study does not pretend to be an art history or a specialist textile study. While it does acknowledge the importance and benefits of these approaches and makes a virtue of their contributions to the field, the thesis calls mainly on the use of documentary sources. This exploits the experience of the researcher as an archival historian with interests in the social, religious, and political history of Scotland.

The thesis is divided into three sections. The first examines the Scottish clothing culture; the second looks at the textile culture; and the third section investigates both clothing and textiles in relation to fashion. What was worn under everyday circumstances in eighteenth-century Scotland had a different cultural relationship with society than the manufacture and use of textiles. In turn, the consideration of fashion in clothing and textiles as a separate theme provides a further alternative perspective on the Scottish clothing and textile cultures. Despite the inherent connections and relationships between these three topics, dividing them up in this manner enables the incorporation of a greater number of sources. This separation further compliments the cross-disciplinary approach.

The first section examines the Scottish clothing culture. It looks at the use of clothing to create national, regional, professional, and political identities, and how these identities can be used to illuminate wider social and cultural themes of eighteenth-century Scottish history. The section investigates what the Scottish population wore in both Highland and Lowland regions, and in rural and urban areas. It considers what items of clothing were popular and under what circumstances.

As object-based studies were the foundation of dress history during the twentieth century, it was appropriate that this study would also begin this way. The first chapter uses objects housed in the NMS to determine the meanings of national dress in eighteenth-century Scotland. The provenance of the objects is discussed to highlight how the semiotic meaning and interpretation of dress varied according to the circumstances in which it was worn and used. These objects are examined in conjunction with documentary and visual sources, emphasising the now widely recognised theme that surviving objects need to be placed in their "socio-cultural and historical context".[102]

[102] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.52; Prown, 'Mind in Matter'.

Having considered garments worn for specific occasions, Chapter 2 is an empirical analysis of the clothing that was owned and used by various sections of the Scottish population on an everyday basis. Building on studies of Scottish,[103] English,[104] and French[105] material culture, inventories of possessions taken at death are used to determine the contents of wardrobes of men and women in Highland and Lowland regions, and in rural and urban areas. The chapter examines what type of garments dominated the wardrobes and which fabrics were most common. The information from the inventories is contextualised and contrasted with observations extracted from contemporary travel literature.

Chapter 3 shifts the emphasis from what was being worn, to why certain clothes were worn and under what circumstances. By looking at three types of visual sources, Chapter 3 considers the use of clothing in the creation of occupational identities. Depictions of clothing in portraiture, engravings, and carved gravestones were used by both professional and labouring classes to promote a respectable and collective identity. These images provide an insight into how people wished to be seen, and raises the question of how these images could be interpreted by others. The visual sources are compared with information taken from the sample of inventories studied in Chapter 2. This enables comparisons to be made between the idealised wardrobes of the visual images and actual wardrobes of the inventories.

The politicisation of clothing has long been a topic of interest for those concerned with the meanings and language of dress.[106] Chapter 4 analyses the use of dress and adornment during the politically-charged 1790s, and in the radical era of the early nineteenth century. This chapter relies on documentary sources to access the motivations and incentives for and the repercussions of adopting forms of political dress. The sources include reports sent to the Home Office in London, newspaper reports, accounts of court proceedings, and autobiographical detail. The subjective

[103] Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers'.
[104] Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own'.
[105] Roche, *Culture of Clothing.*
[106] An event which has produced a prolific amount of literature is the French Revolution. J. Harris, 'The Red Cap of Liberty: A Study of Dress Worn by French Revolutionary Partisans 1789-1794', *Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 14:3 (1981), pp.283-312; Ribeiro, *Fashion in the French Revolution*; Richard Wrigley, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France,* (Oxford, 2002).

nature of these sources provides insight into how political clothing was perceived and incorporated into Scottish political rhetoric.

Having examined the clothing of the eighteenth-century Scottish population, the second section is concerned with the textile culture. The culture of cloth in the social, cultural, and economic experiences of Scottish society is examined. More specifically it analyses the cultural significance of wool and woollen products, including tartan, to eighteenth-century Scottish society through literary, political, and economic perspectives.

Chapter 5 examines contemporary literature and poetry for references to textiles and textile manufacture. These references are used to reflect upon wider cultural practices and social relationships. The manufacture of homespun textiles, particularly woollen ones, and their use as metaphors for the moral and economic welfare of Scottish society is explored. It is also shown how references to textiles and textile manufacture in literature can be used to represent social and economic change and more specifically, how the population reacted to and interpreted these changes.

Chapter 6 examines the attitude and approaches of the improvers to the woollen industry through studying their treatises and debates. This chapter provides a theoretical, economic, and political context to the themes of national and moral advancement raised in the previous chapter. This will be accompanied by a discussion of the practical efforts at improvement in the woollen industry initiated by the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures and individual efforts of various aristocratic improvers.

Having investigated the place of homespun woollen fabrics in Scottish society and examined wool's position in wider economic thought, this section ends with an examination of commercial woollen manufacture in eighteenth-century Scotland. Chapter 7 explores the history and role of William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, the pre-eminent tartan manufacturers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Correspondence, order books, and accounts are used to investigate the workings of the firm and the extent of their trade networks both within Scotland and abroad. A study of William Wilson and Son and their contribution to the tartan market links the economic practice of woollen manufacture to the cultural identity of Scotland.

The final section of the thesis is concerned with the notion of fashion and its relationship with Scottish dress and textiles. The clothing and fabrics discussed in Sections I and II were all influenced to some degree by changing ideas of fashion, whether in their initial manufacture or their subsequent use. Further investigation is needed, however, to place the Scottish relationship with fashion in a broader British and world-wide context.

Chapter 8 studies the dissemination and reception of fashionable dress across Scotland. Newspaper advertisements are used to scrutinise the marketing techniques that were used to appeal to the Scottish consumer, and to assess the impact of English and European fashionable influences. Through the use of Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* the adoption and adaptation of fashionable dress by the non-elite Scottish population will be examined. The perceptions of fashionable dress will be discussed, taking regional and social differences into consideration.

The final chapter will consider Scotland's own legacy to the fashionable world: tartan. Chapter 9 explores the entry of tartan, both as a fabric and as a pattern, into fashionable circles in Britain and beyond, using fashion manuals and fashion plates. The inclusion of tartan into fashionable dress will be contextualised with other trends of the period and with any external circumstances that influenced changes to fashion. The second section uses newspaper advertisements to demonstrate how tartan, as primarily a woollen product, entered the realms of Scottish consumption as a fashionable material. It is determined how tartan was marketed and for what goods it was deemed appropriate.

This study makes distinctive contributions to both the field of dress and textile history and to eighteenth-century Scottish history. The cross-disciplinary methodology, using each chapter as a signpost for the multiple ways in which clothing and textile history can be examined, is unique. Each chapter offers something different to the wider meta-narrative of dress and textile history in general and to the history of eighteenth-century Scotland in particular. For dress and textile history it surveys the strengths and weaknesses of various source types. This emphasises the virtues of each type of source as a tool for the study of dress and textile history, while simultaneously demonstrating that no single source should be used in isolation. The amalgamation of methodologies and the sources allows the

thesis to analyse the meaning of clothing and textiles in eighteenth-century Scotland in a way that goes beyond what was worn and when. The emphasis on the interaction and relationship with fabrics and clothing allows for a number of important themes to run throughout the thesis.

The issue of regional relationships in Scottish clothing and textile cultures is a consistent theme. The thesis questions and examines the Highland/Lowland dichotomy and presents alternative regional differences such as rural and urban comparisons. The notion of the relationship between the centre and the periphery and the impact this relationship had on the clothing and textile cultures is also highlighted. This is examined on a number of levels, from the relationship of Scotland to the rest of Britain, down to parochial interactions and individual relationships with clothing and textiles. The thesis highlights the fact that use of clothing and textiles was not restricted or influenced by any one factor, but that multiple forces were constantly at work. Location, status, occupation, gender, and personal preference are all factors that need to be considered in the choice, use, and meaning of clothing and textiles. All these factors can be accessed and studied if willing to incorporate multiple sources and methodologies.

This study also aims to reposition wool and woollen products intellectually from the periphery of Scottish economic history, to the centre of the Scottish social and cultural experience. A great deal is known about linen and cotton and their cultural significance to eighteenth-century society.[107] In contrast, the social and cultural role of woollen products in general has been obscured by the prominence of tartan from the late eighteenth century onwards, and then tweed from the mid-nineteenth century. The iconicity of these fabrics eclipses the fact that other woollen fabrics, often domestically produced, were in universal use in multiple capacities throughout the eighteenth century. The thesis does not deny the importance of tartan to the Scottish clothing culture rather it seeks to re-establish the significance of wool and woollen fabrics to the Scottish clothing and textile cultures, of which tartan was just one part.

[107] See Georges Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France Since the Middle Ages,* (Cambridge, 1988).

SECTION I:

CLOTHING CULTURES

This section explores the role of clothing as a social and cultural marker, and as an articulator of multiple identities in eighteenth-century Scotland. The creation and maintenance of identities through clothing is explored from four different perspectives: national identity, regional identity, occupational identity, and political identity. In each case it is determined what types of garments were worn and how this clothing was used to create and perpetuate these identities. The importance of perception is established, particularly in terms of how clothing ensembles were viewed by other people, both from Scotland itself and from other countries.

A variety of sources are examined. This includes those which have already been used to analyse clothing in Scotland in other studies, such as portraiture, as well as those that are unfamiliar to the field of Scottish dress and textile history. The varied sources produce a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the eighteenth-century Scottish clothing culture. These chapters establish what was being worn by men and women across Scotland, from a mixture of social backgrounds. They discuss which fabrics were being used to make these garments and whether practices varied or stayed the same across the country. The circumstances under which these garments were being used are also examined, showing how social, cultural, and political factors could impact the use and meaning of clothes. This approach allows analysis of the basic functions of clothing, such as protection from the elements, but also cultural analysis of how clothing was used and interpreted by eighteenth-century Scottish society.

Chapter 1:

Nationalism and Tradition in Scottish Dress

There is a common assumption that clothing and textiles can be used to articulate and promote a national identity.[1] National identity, however, is hard to define as it means different things to different people. It can be expressed in many diverse ways - including dress - and is constantly affected by changing social, economic, political, and religious circumstances.[2] Two specific aspects of the relationship between dress and national identity will be discussed here. The first is where dress is used to promote a form of nationalism. Nationalism has been broadly defined as the conscious acceptance by a group of people who claim a common religious, ethnic, linguistic, or political identity and who define themselves as being distinct from other groups of people. Nationalism can be expressed through political and cultural means,[3] and dress can be employed as a tool for both. Clothing used to endorse nationalism is often connected with the politicised, educated, social elite which either adopts or invents articles of dress to promote its principles.[4]

The second aspect of the relationship between dress and national identity concerns the traditional and customary use of certain garments. These garments were worn on an everyday basis by the people who comprised the nation and as such these items became recognised forms of dress associated with that country. Garments may be consciously chosen by the wearer for practical reasons such as cost or protection and not necessarily chosen as a deliberate display of national identity. The emphasis here is more on the socio-cultural meanings of these items rather than the politicised use of dress when used for nationalist purposes. Nationalism and tradition in dress are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Customary and traditional items of clothing and fabrics, for instance, have often been used to articulate

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[1] Roze Hentschell, 'A Question of Nation: Foreign Clothes on the English Subject', in Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture,* pp.49-62; Oksana Sekatcheva, 'The Formation of Russian Women's Costume at the Time Before the Reforms of Peter the Great', in Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture*, pp.77-91.
[2] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837,* (Yale, 1992; London, 2005). For an in-depth discussion of Scotland and Britain see Alexander Murdoch, 'Scotland and the Idea of Britain', in T.M. Devine and J.R. Young (eds.), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives,* (East Linton, 1999), pp.106-120. For an analysis of the creation of Scottish national identity see William Ferguson, *The Identity of the Scottish Nation: An Historic Quest,* (Edinburgh, 1998).
[3] Jonathan Hearne, *Claiming Scotland: National Identity and Liberal Culture,* (Edinburgh, 2000), p.2.
[4] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.214.

nationalist beliefs and principles.[5] The division between nationalism and tradition in dress is useful, however, in demonstrating the different relationships that higher and lower levels of society had with dress and national identity.

The basic categorisation of nationalist and traditional dress has been further influenced by the surviving objects in museum collections that provide the basis of the discussion in this chapter. Collections of historical clothing and textiles can be divided into two general groups. The first are objects which were preserved because they were unusual or unique, or because they could be associated with a particular person and event.[6] Such items tend to dominate clothing and textile collections in museums. In this study, extant outfits associated with the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 are used to analyse the different relationships between nationalism and dress, particularly with relation to the politicised and social elite. The second group of objects are those which were preserved because of their importance in understanding or representing a certain culture and society. Such items are more likely to be everyday items of clothing rather than those associated with a special occasion or person of significant historical interest. These objects contribute to the discussion of the role of traditional and customary dress in Scottish identity. The garments of this category that are discussed here are the bonnet and the plaid, both worn by a cross-section of society and across Scotland throughout the eighteenth century.

Surviving garments and textiles are fundamentally important to the study of dress and textile history, offering researchers the opportunity to experience a historical material culture at first hand. There are, however, certain limitations in using surviving objects as a basis for the study of dress and textile history. The use of extant items is restricted by what has survived and what has been collected. Beyond the perils of natural decay and pests such as moths,[7] the collection policies of museums and the interests of individual collectors have acted as filters to the objects that remain available today. Consequently modern researchers using national

[5] Ibid., pp.218-219.
[6] Valerie D. Mendes, Avril Hart and Amy de la Haye, 'Introduction', in Natalie Rothstein (ed.), *Four Hundred Years of Fashion,* (London, 1984), pp.1-11, p.2; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal*, p.2.
[7] Naomi Tarrant, *Collecting Costume: The Care and Display of Clothes and Accessories,* (London, 1983).

collections are presented with a national narrative created by the interests of collectors from different periods.

All the extant garments discussed here are in the collections of NMS. These collections are the result of the amalgamation of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland founded in 1780, and the Royal Museum of Scotland, originally the Industrial Museum of Scotland established in 1854.[8] The Society of Antiquaries aimed to consolidate and protect collections of historical materials, hoping to encourage further research.[9] The Industrial Museum of Scotland was established in the wake of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and as such, its concerns were more focused on expanding education through the examination of manufacturing processes.[10] Both institutions were concerned with maintaining collections which were important to Scottish history and identity. Costume and textiles were not the prime objective of either institution,[11] but over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries these collections expanded. The National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland collected Scottish fabrics, including blankets and tartan samples.[12] The Industrial Museum collected textile samples from contemporary manufacturers and European ethnic clothing from places such as Iceland and the Faroe Islands.[13] Items of clothing associated with Scottish historical figures were also collected, ranging from a seventeenth-century academic gown worn by covenanting minister, Alexander Henderson, to a volunteer helmet worn by Sir Walter Scott.[14]

The Scottish collections have also been influenced by the work of individuals who were spurred on by the general nineteenth-century interest in Scottish history and

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[8] R.G.W. Anderson, 'Museums in the Making: The Origins and Development of the National Collections', in Jenni Calder (ed.), *The Wealth of a Nation in the National Museums of Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1989), pp.1-18.
[9] R.B.K. Stevenson, 'The Museum, its Beginnings and its Development. Part I: To 1858: The Society's Own Museum', in A.S. Bell (ed.), *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition: Essays to Mark the Bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and its Museum 1780-1980,* (Edinburgh, 1981), pp.31-85, pp.32-33.
[10] Anderson, 'Museums in the Making', p.2.
[11] Naomi Tarrant, *Textile Treasures: An Introduction to European Decorative Textiles for Home and Church in the National Museums of Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.8.
[12] Ibid., p.9.
[13] N.E.A. Tarrant, 'European Costume in the Royal Scottish Museum', *Textile History,* 15 (1984), pp.157-161, p.157.
[14] R.B.K. Stevenson, 'The Museum, its Beginnings and its Development: Part II: the National Museum to 1954', in Bell (ed.), *Scottish Antiquarian Tradition,* pp.142-211, p.148.

culture.[15] Some collectors were anxious to preserve what they saw as the traditional way of life of Scotland, which was being threatened by on-coming industrialisation and modernisation.[16] Alexander Carmichael, for instance, worked ceaselessly in collecting Gaelic folklore in the late nineteenth century.[17] Principally interested in the collection of tales and poetry from the Highland regions, Carmichael also accumulated tartan fragments and blankets, many of which are now in museum collections.[18] The survival of these items, often without much information other than a vague date and geographical area of origin, has impacted what is seen as important to the Scottish national narrative today.

Aside from the influence of past collecting policies, the object itself can also impact the progress of research. The condition of an object dictates whether or not it can be handled and examined. Natural fabrics are particularly vulnerable to changing environmental conditions. Similarly, any alterations made to the object need to be taken into consideration. Cloth and clothing production in the eighteenth century was labour intensive.[19] As such, if the lifespan of an item could be extended through alteration, then alterations would be carried out. These alterations can disguise the original purpose and meaning of the object, although it is now generally accepted by curators and researchers that consideration of alterations can add to the understanding and interpretation of the garment.[20] The provenance of an object is also central to understanding its role in society and its continued existence. Such information, however, is not always reliable or complete. Objects that have been handed down through generations of families can accumulate exaggerated or even falsified stories to explain their existence and survival. These factors need to be taken into consideration when studying surviving artefacts of any genre, not just clothing and textiles.

The multiple factors affecting the validity of using surviving items of clothing as a basis for historical research means that the socio-cultural context of the garments is

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[15] Robert Clyde, *From Rebel to Hero: The Image of the Highlander, 1745-1830,* (East Linton, 1995, repr. 1998), ch. 5.
[16] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.217.
[17] Derick S. Thomson, 'Carmichael, Alexander (1832-1912)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48849, accessed 25 May 2010.
[18] NMS collections contain tartan fragments collected by Carmichael from the Hebrides. NMS TTB18, 1953/1295 (1-20).
[19] Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.144.
[20] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* p.7; Tarrant, *Collecting Costume*, p.9.

essential for understanding the meanings behind these objects and their use. This chapter demonstrates what can be understood about the relationship between Scottish national identity and dress through the examination of surviving objects within a national collection. It examines what can be determined from the NMS objects themselves, and where recourse to other primary sources is needed in order to create a more complete picture.

Nationalism and Dress

The early eighteenth century was a time of contested national identity. Scotland was split between those who supported, or at the very least were content with, the established monarchy and those who wanted the Stuarts restored to the throne. Although Jacobitism was not a national movement as not all Scots were Jacobites, those who were Jacobites identified their cause as a national one.[21]

Jacobitism relied heavily on the use of symbolism. Portraits and medals were regularly issued to remind subjects of the Stuart presence and their right to the throne.[22] Symbols which promoted the Stuart family's royal lineage were adopted, including the oak tree with its associations with Charles II, and the white rose which could be traced back to the fourteenth century and the reign of David II.[23] The white rose was a prominent emblem in the eighteenth century used by Jacobite sympathisers of varying social statuses all over Britain.[24] It provided the basis for the shape of the white cockade worn in Jacobite bonnets during the rebellion of 1745 (Fig. 1.1), [25] and was a common device used in Jacobite portraiture (Fig. 1.2).

[21] Pittock, *Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, ch. 4.
[22] George Dalgliesh, 'Objects as Icons: Myths and Realities of Jacobite Relics', in J.M. Fladmark, *Heritage and Museums: Shaping National Identity,* (Aberdeen, 2000), pp.91-102; Edward Corp, *The King Over the Water: Portraits of the Stuarts in Exile after 1689,* (Edinburgh, 2001).
[23] Murray G.H. Pittock, *Jacobitism,* (Basingstoke, 1998), p.73.
[24] For English examples of the use of the white rose see Paul Kléber Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788,* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.210-211; Pittock, *Jacobitism,* p.59.
[25] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* pp.19-20.

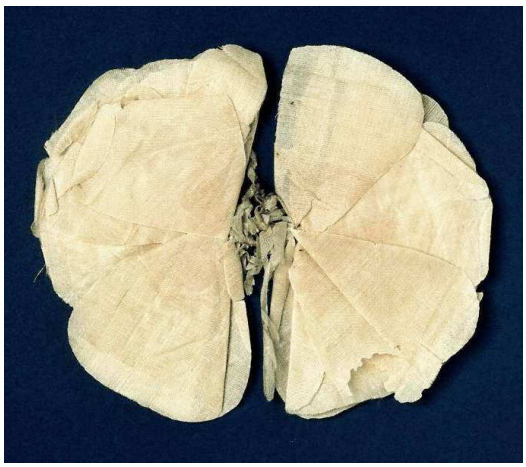

Fig.1.1: White cockade made of cambric, c.1745.
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Fig. 1.2: Portrait of a Jacobite Lady, by Cosmo Alexander, c.1740s. © Bridgeman Art Library /Drambuie Collection. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

White roses were incorporated into the embroidered design of an eighteenth-century ball gown held in the collection of NMS (Fig. 1.3).[1] The dress dates from the 1740s and is made of cream silk, heavily embroidered to shape. The pattern consists of naturalistic flowers, leaves, and fruit in coloured silks of long and short stitches which provide detailed shading. The embroidered fruit and flowers follow a vine of gilt thread which trace round the hem of the matching petticoat. The vine also traces round the hem of the gown and round the three-quarter length sleeves.

[1] I am indebted to Naomi Tarrant for her help in examining and discussing this dress.

The use of gilt thread and the quality of the embroidery suggests that the work was done by a professional. The silk panels are twenty inches wide, a width that was common with English silk weavers.[2] It is also likely that the gown was embroidered in Britain. The rococo style of embroidery and the overall cut of the dress are similar to other surviving examples from the 1740s,[3] elevating the fashionable status of the dress. The white roses are incorporated into the design at the front of the gown and would have been at hip height when worn with full petticoats and hoops (Fig. 1.4). With their multiple flat petals and a yellow stamen, the embroidered roses are reminiscent of the stylised Jacobite white rose.

Fig. 1.3: Dress supposedly worn by Margaret Oliphant of Gask at a ball at Holyroodhouse during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh in 1745, NMS 1964-553.

Fig.1.4: Close up of rose on silk dress.

The story associated with the dress when it was acquired by NMS was that it had been worn by Margaret Oliphant of Gask to a ball at Holyroodhouse during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh in the winter of 1745-1746. Consequently it was

[2] English silks tended to be nineteen to twenty-one inches wide, French silks were twenty-two inches. Rothstein, *Silk Designs,* p.27.
[3] V&A T/179 and A-1959, mantua and petticoat of cream silk, 1740s. Avril Hart and Susan North, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Fashion in Detail,* (London, 2009), pp.64-65.

assumed that the dress had been worn in the presence of Prince Charles Edward Stuart. This provenance cannot be proved beyond doubt,[4] but the story has become an integral part of the dress's biography.[5] By discussing the provenance of the dress, the detail of the white roses, and the socio-political context of the period, aspects of the relationship between dress and Scottish national identity can be uncovered.

Margaret Oliphant was born in 1720. She came from an inherently Jacobite family in Perthshire, recently described as being "ideological episcopalian Jacobites of undiluted vigour" with a "distinctly Scottish world view."[6] Numerous members of her family were active participants in the Jacobite campaigns. Her father, Laurence Oliphant of Gask, was prominent in the risings of 1715 and 1745, while her younger brother was aide-de-camp to Prince Charles in the '45.[7] Margaret's maternal grandmother, Lady Margaret Nairne, was responsible for encouraging numerous male relatives to join the rebellion in 1745.[8] Women's involvement in eighteenth-century politics was predicated on the family, which provided them with access to political situations, as well as the motivations for becoming involved.[9] With such familial participation in the Jacobite cause it is safe to assume that Margaret was exposed to and absorbed some of these political leanings. An example of Margaret's own attachment to the Jacobite cause can be seen in an account she wrote of the rising in 1745. The account reflected the predilections commonly associated with Jacobitism, particularly the belief in the divine right of the Stuart royal family and God's support for the cause.[10] Writing of the arrival of Prince Charles in Scotland Margaret asserted that it was the "hand of heven [sic]" which had brought a mist to

[4] The most likely sources to support this story would be the letters of Margaret Oliphant but these were destroyed by dry rot in the nineteenth century. E. Maxtone Graham, *The Oliphants of Gask: Records of a Jacobite Family,* (London, 1910), p.189n.
[5] Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.64-91, p.66.
[6] Murray G.H. Pittock, 'Oliphant, Laurence, of Gask, styled the ninth Lord Oliphant (1691-1767)', *ODNB,* www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20710, accessed 1 August 2008.
[7] Joseph Anderson (ed.), *The Oliphants in Scotland, with a Selection of Original Documents from the Charter Chest at Gask,* (Edinburgh, 1879), p.lxxix; T.L. Kington Oliphant, *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask,* (London, 1870), p.111.
[8] Maggie Craig, *Damn' Rebel Bitches: The Women of the '45,* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp.31-32.
[9] Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life, c.1754-1790,* (Oxford, 2005), p.16.
[10] Although not all Jacobites ascribed to the notion of the divine right of kings, it has been considered a common Jacobite ideology. Pittock, *Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, p.150.

disperse his pursuers and enabled him to land on Scottish soil.[11] Her admiration for the prince, and it can be argued by extension the Jacobite cause, was evident in her use of terms such as "Our glorus [sic] Prince" and "our young hero".[12] There is little doubt that Margaret, like the rest of her family, was a Jacobite who believed in and hoped for the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

Sartorial adornments were an essential part of the demonstration of female Jacobite loyalty. Particularly after the rebellion there was a noticeable rise in women using clothes and decorations to associate themselves with the cause. This trend can be attributed, at least in part, to the fact that women were not affected by the proscription act against tartan, which was introduced after the crushing of the rebellion.[13] Jacobite ladies incorporated tartan into their gowns, riding clothes, bed and window curtains, shoes, and pin cushions.[14] In 1746 the commander in chief of Scotland, the Earl of Albemarle, conducted a "raid on tartan dresses" when he learned of a plan by the ladies of Edinburgh to have a ball in honour of Prince Charles's birthday.[15] According to Bishop Robert Forbes's detailed account of the rising, the idea of a ball with tartan dresses had been started as a rumour to exploit "the folly and idleness of the Government folks".[16] Whether the ball had been planned or not, both the Hanoverians and the Jacobites recognised the importance of clothing and adornment in promoting a nationalist agenda.

Women, of course, were not the only ones to use clothing and accessories to express support for the Jacobite cause. The prominence of Highlanders in the army and the decision of both Prince Charles Edward and his Hanoverian opponents to use Highland clothing as a propaganda tool, ensured the constant association of Highland dress and tartan with the rebellion.[17] When Prince Charles Edward entered

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[11] Margaret Oliphant cited by Oliphant, *Jacobite Lairds of Gask,* p.124.
[12] Ibid., p.127.
[13] Pittock, *Jacobitism,* p.82.
[14] John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century,* 2 volumes (Edinburgh, 1888), vol. 2, p.85n.
[15] William Anne, Earl of Albemarle in Charles Sanford Terry, (ed.), *The Albemarle Papers, Being the Correspondence of William Anne, Second Earl of Albemarle, Commander in Chief in Scotland, 1746-1747,* (Aberdeen, 1902), p.348-9.
[16] Robert Forbes, *The Lyon in Mourning, or a Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart,* (ed.) Henry Paton, 3 volumes (Edinburgh, 1895), vol. 2, p.110-112.
[17] Robin Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Making of a Myth: A Study in Portraiture, 1720-1892,* (London, 2002), pp.62-80.

Edinburgh he wore an elaborate "Highland Habit" which included "a blue Sash, wrought with Gold…red Velvet Breeches, a green Velvet Bonnet, with a white Cockade, and a Gold Lace about it."[18] The ban on Highland dress and tartan after the failure of the rebellion demonstrated the success of both Whig and Jacobite propaganda in disseminating and perpetuating the myth that a Jacobite was instantly recognisable in such garb. Although the wearing of the white cockade was interpreted as a sign of guilt at the trials of Jacobites,[19] it was not banned along with tartan and Highland dress – a tribute to its ambiguity and popularity outside Jacobite circles.

It is not known if Margaret or a member of her family commissioned the fabric or the dress, or if she did in fact wear it at Holyroodhouse. Family tradition asserted that the dress had been embroidered by Margaret herself.[20] This would imply that the roses were a deliberate political statement of Jacobite support but, as noted, it is more likely that the embroidery was carried out by professionals. Furthermore, just as the general style of the dress accords with similar dresses from the period, white roses can also be seen on other extant items. A dress from the 1740s in the collections of the V&A has a near identical white rose incorporated into its pattern,[21] as does an embroidered panel with coloured silks.[22] As such, the embroidered design of the Oliphant dress could have been chosen for its elaborate, decorative, and fashionable pattern - without any intention of providing a sign of political or national affiliation. Similar points have been made with regards to the use of tartan in portraiture in the mid-eighteenth century following the proscription against tartan and Highland dress. Tartan in portraiture can be "intentional or incidental" and thus any interpretations about the political leanings of the sitter "must, by necessity, be

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[18] Andrew Henderson, *The Edinburgh History of the Late Rebellion, 1745 and 1746. With the Manifestos of the Pretender and his Son,* (London, 1752), ECCO, accessed 28 November 2009, p.14. See also Philip Mansel, *Dressed to Rule: Royal and Court Costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II,* (London, 2005), pp.46-47.

[19] Prince Charles had issued an order that no-one was to wear a white cockade unless they were in his service or part of the Highland army. This made identification of Jacobites easier for their prosecutors. M. Atholl Forbes (ed.), *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest, 1600-1800. With the Travels and Memoranda of Sir Alexander Dick, Baronet,* (Edinburgh, 1897), p.151. For accounts of the trials of Jacobites who were seen wearing the cockade see 'Depositions Against Jacobites', James Allardyce, (ed.), *Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period, 1669-1750,* (Aberdeen, 1896), vol. 2, p.339.

[20] Graham, *Oliphants of Gask*, p.189.

[21] See Hart and North, *Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Fashion in Detail,* p.154.

[22] V&A 39-1876 embroidered panel, eighteenth century.

occasionally hesitant or speculative."[23] To the casual observer the roses on the dress would have appeared to be part of an elaborate, fashionably aesthetic design. To someone such as Margaret and her associates, however, the symbolism of the white roses would not have escaped them. The embroidered roses were a conveniently ambiguous symbol of support for and affiliation with Jacobitism.

A covert symbol such as the white rose of 1745 was neither necessary nor required by the summer of 1822. By this point the national identity of Scotland was no longer openly contested through the rivalry of different royal families and the Jacobite threat had faded. Having been on the throne for two years, it was decided after much deliberation that George IV should visit his northern kingdom.[24] Edinburgh subsequently became a stage for the promotion of tartan and Highland dress as markers of Scottish national identity.[25] The royal visit was carefully orchestrated to impress both visitors and residents of Edinburgh. Although tartan and Highland dress had been used as a sign of "Scottishness" prior to this occasion, including the rebellion of 1745, it was this royal visit which solidified both tartan and the kilt's roles as Scottish national dress.[26] In contrast with the white roses and tartan of the Jacobite rebellion, the display of a national identity through dress in 1822 had more to do with asserting cultural pride rather than a political agenda.[27]

The full-scale adoption of tartan and Highland dress was encouraged by a number of factors. These included the increased visibility of the Highland regiments in their Highland dress during the Napoleonic Wars[28] and the literary efforts of Sir Walter Scott which contributed to the romanticisation of the Gael.[29] Scott was intimately involved with the organisation of the royal visit and was keen to create a spectacle that would be to the "Credit of Old Scotland".[30] His pamphlet *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh* contained detailed suggestions for outfits to be worn at each event including, of course, Highland dress which he described as "the complete

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[23] Nicholson, 'From Ramsay's *Flora MacDonald'*, pp.146-167, p.147.
[24] John Prebble, *The King's Jaunt: George IV in Scotland, August, 1822,* (London, 1988; repr. Edinburgh, 2000), part one.
[25] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*, p.12.
[26] Ibid; W.A. Thorburn, 'Military Origins of Scottish National Dress', *Costume,* 10 (1976), pp.29-40, p.29.
[27] Hearne, *Claiming Scotland,* pp.2, 4.
[28] Nicholson, 'From Ramsay's *Flora MacDonald*', pp.158-159; Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition', p.25.
[29] See also Prebble, *King's Jaunt*, p.105.
[30] Walter Scott cited by Prebble, *King's Jaunt,* p.105.

national costume."[31] Men of the court were encouraged to wear regimental uniform or Highland dress, the latter irrespective of the wearer's background. Such demands were met with consternation among Highlanders and Lowlanders alike. Highlander Sir John Peter Grant of Rothiemurchus wrote that the whole occasion was a "ludicrous state of bustle and expectation… [with a] whimsical affectation of a sort of highland costume, with about as much propriety in the conception and execution as if it had taken place in Paris or Brussels."[32] Lowland-born Lord Henry Cockburn was even more outraged, describing the "affectation of Celticism" as "absurd and nauseous."[33] He went on to say

> That the real Highland Chiefs should appear in their native dress was natural enough. And accordingly many of them did appear – and with long tails – and often with false tails composed of base Lowlanders hired to represent the true ones. Hundreds who had never seen Heather had the folly to array themselves in tartan.[34]

Similar views were expressed outside Scotland. A report in the *Dublin Evening Post* noted that the Irish, who had received the king a year earlier, had done so with "no getting up of feelings – no calculations of consequences; everything was sincere, vehement and enthusiastic. The King saw us as we really were – not in masquerade – not as actors assembled to perform part of a pageantry".[35]

The items held in the collections of NMS that are connected with the royal visit are a testament to this tartan pageant. The study of two outfits in particular, demonstrates the various influences which encouraged people to adopt the national dress as envisioned by men such as Sir Walter Scott. The first outfit was worn by William Blackhall, a combmaker from Blackfaulds in West Lothian. It consists of a kilt and plaid of Hunting Cumming tartan, and a jacket and waistcoat of Glenorchy tartan. The jacket is double-breasted with facings and buttons covered in the same tartan as the main body (Fig. 1.5). All the garments are made of hard, woollen tartan.

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[31] Walter Scott, *Hints Addressed to the Inhabitants of Edinburgh, and Others, in Prospect of His Majesty's Visit,* (Edinburgh, 1822), p.20.
[32] Printed in Elizabeth Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady,* (Edinburgh, 2006), vol. 2, p.166n.
[33] Henry Cockburn, *Some Letters of Lord Cockburn, with Pages Omitted from the Memorials of His Time,* (ed.) Harry Cockburn, (Edinburgh, 1932), p.103.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Reprinted in *The Times,* 18 September 1822, issue 1167, p.2.

Fig. 1.5: Tartan suit worn by William Blackhall, West Lothian (1792-1863). NMS A.1993.2.8 A-D. © National Museums Scotland.

As a Lowlander, Blackhall's motivations for donning this outfit are intriguing. It is possible, even probable, that he was influenced by the ever growing prominence of the Highland army which kept tartan and Highland dress in the public eye. Equally, he may have wanted to dress up as a romantic Highlander for the day, or he may have been one of the hired "Highlanders" in the processions. As a combmaker it is likely that Blackhall was in contact with weavers and others involved in the textile industry, so it is possible that he was promoting the work of an acquaintance or business associate. There does not seem to have been, however, a sense that by conforming to this tartan ideal, the participants were contributing to the greater economic good of Scotland. A suggestion made a couple of weeks before the visit that the Scottish nobility and gentry should dress purely in Scottish manufactures in order to "give general satisfaction to an enterprising populations"[36] was met with derision in a Glasgow newspaper:

> This is quite in the style of the patriotically selfish; their inveterate narrowness produces want and embarrassment. What would the weavers of Paisley and Glasgow, and the surrounding country, say, if

[36] *Glasgow Sentinel,* 24 July 1822, NAS GD105/740/25 1:42, p.332.

> the good folks of London were to ask the court of St James' to appear only in the manufactures of England, merely because such dresses would give "general satisfaction to an enterprising" *English* population?[37]

National dress, in this case, was not intended to promote the economic prowess of Scotland, although there were certainly advantageous outcomes for the tartan manufacturers of Scotland and the clothiers of Edinburgh.[38]

Fig. 1.6: Piper's uniform worn by Malcolm McCallum, 1822. NMS A.1915.212
© National Museums Scotland.
Scotland.

The second outfit was worn by piper Malcolm McCallum from Glenlyon, west of Perth (Fig. 1.6). Slightly more elaborate than Blackhall's, this outfit is made entirely of Drummond tartan, consisting of a plaid, fringed at the edges, attached to the jacket by an epaulette at the shoulder and swept around under the left arm, worn with a kilt. The jacket is short, single-breasted with round metal buttons and a stiff collar similar to the military styles of the period.

[37] Ibid.
[38] William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn were one of the main producers of tartan for this event, see Chapter 7. George Hunter & Co. of Edinburgh also profited from the visit, supplying the king and numerous Scottish nobles with Highland outfits, see Prebble, *King's Jaunt,* pp.73-75, 110, 346-347.

As a Highlander the reasons or motivations behind McCallum's outfit are perhaps more obvious than Blackhall's but they are no more tangible. McCallum was part of one of the Highland retinues that descended on Edinburgh as directed by their respective chiefs. The Drummond tartan of McCallum's outfit, and the fact that McCallum was a piper, implies that he was part of the retinue of Lady Gwydir who had assumed the role as chief of the Drummonds on the death of her father, the eleventh Earl of Perth.[39] Lady Gwydir's agent had purchased Drummond tartan for the retinue from the tartan manufacturers William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, and had it delivered to Edinburgh at the beginning of August.[40] Numerous other chiefs went to great lengths to secure what they felt, and what they had been told, were the appropriate outfits for their retinues. Sir Evan MacGregor, chief of the Clan Gregor, paid £5 to each of the fifty men who formed his retinue and provided the cloth for their outfits.[41] The Earl of Breadalbane, furthermore, was told that of his men making the journey to Edinburgh "few or none…have a complete dress of the Kind of Tartan wished for",[42] and so set his agent to procure sufficient amounts of Breadalbane Campbell tartan to rectify the matter.[43] Commissioned specifically for the visit, these outfits were not intended to be representative of everyday clothing. Spectacle and awe were the ultimate aims.

The theatricality of the visit, with the prominent Highlanders and procession routes lined by purpose-built stages and stands, was further emphasised by the officials in the processions. Wearing costumes thought to have been designed by the actor and theatre manager William Murray, men such as the Lord Lyon King at Arms almost upstaged even the Highlanders.[44] The costume of the Lord Lyon consisted of a "magnificent tabard, over a mantle of crimson velvet, decorated with the various devices of this office, worked in gold, the train hanging over his horse and almost concealing it."[45] The robes of Sir Patrick Walker, in charge of the White Rod, were even more elaborate:

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[39] Ibid., p.209.
[40] NMS 1953.1312, William Murray to William Wilson and Son, Bannockburn, 9 August, 1822.
[41] Prebble, *King's Jaunt,* pp.132, 312.
[42] NAS GD112/52/610/5, Robert McGillin to the Earl of Breadalbane, 5 August, 1822.
[43] Ibid; Prebble, *King's Jaunt,* p.208.
[44] Ibid., p.243.
[45] Robert Mudie, *A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1822), p.92.

> [He] wore the superb jacket of crimson and gold…which was concealed in a great measure, by a splendid mantle of white satin, lined throughout with crimson, and fastened with a cord of gold and crimson. His lower vestments were crimson, and he had on brown boots adorned with gold tassels and fringe, and a black Spanish cap looped with gold, and with a black feather…[46]

As noted by Robert Mudie, who wrote and published an account of the royal visit, such display was "admirably calculated for effect".[47]

References to women's dress were noticeably fewer than those of men's dress. Any attention to female clothing focused on what should be worn to the drawing room reception with the king at Holyroodhouse. Scott advised no more than a "scarf of tartan"[48] be worn at this occasion. He felt that a whole train of tartan would not have a "graceful look…[and that] four or five yards of tartan satin sweeping the ground must produce an effect, to say the least, of a rather novel character."[49] Most women followed this advice. Lady Elizabeth Campbell's ensemble was fairly typical and was described as:

> A French tulle dress, beautifully striped in a novel way with silver lama, festooned at the bottom with silver trimming, and looped up with silver thistles, roses, and heath; the train of lilac silk, ornamented all round with silver thistle, rose, and heath, and beautiful plume of white ostrich feathers.[50]

One woman to go against Scott's sartorial suggestion was Margaret Sinclair, daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. Sir John Sinclair was an ardent supporter of what he considered the traditional "Highland Spirit" of Scotland, which included the appropriate Highland dress.[51] It should not be much of a surprise then that his daughter wore a "red tartan satin train" when she was presented to King George at Holyroodhouse.[52] Miss Mary Grant of Rothiemurchus, who was also present,

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[46] Ibid., p.93.
[47] Ibid., p.197.
[48] Scott, *Hints,* p.25.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Mudie, *Historical Account,* p.175.
[51] Sir John Sinclair, *An Account of the Highland Society of London, from its Establishment in May 1778, to the Commencement of the Year 1813,* (London, 1813), p.6.
[52] Mary Grant of Rothiemurchus, 'A Contemporary Account of the Royal Visit to Edinburgh, 1822' B.C. Skinner (ed), *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club,* 31 (1962), pp.65-167, p.124. This contrasts with the opinion expressed by Mary Cosh that those ladies who wore tartan at the drawing room did so because they "could not afford to commission a special dress for the occasion." Mary Cosh, *Edinburgh: The Golden Age,* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.635.

described Miss Sinclair's outfit briefly and succinctly as "hideous", while only grudgingly admitting that it looked "better than you would have supposed."[53] Scott graciously said the Caledonian Ball would be a suitable occasion for women to wear tartan but it does not appear to have been a popular suggestion.[54] Mudie noted that although the dresses of the Caledonian Ball were "more varied and fanciful than at the Peers' Ball", blue was the most popular colour with little sign of tartan.[55]

For women below the social elite, the only reference to clothing during the public events of the royal visit appeared in *The Times*. On the 19 August it was reported that many of the ladies who lined Leith Walk for the King's procession were "attired in the national tartan costume, and all with the Scottish favours provided for the occasion."[56] There is evidence to show that favours, such as ribbons and other accessories, were worn by women during the visit. T. and J. Blackwood, for instance, silk and linen mercers in Edinburgh, advertised the sale of patterns for women to embroider the St Andrew's Cross on pieces of silk and satin.[57] No other reference has been found, however, to the "national tartan costume". Artistic depictions of the visit, such as Alexander Carse's *George IV Landing at Leith,* did not include such outfits. Even caricaturists did not portray significant amounts of tartan on women, so "one can safely presume"[58] that tartan dresses were not in fact used (Fig. 1.7). Apart from certain exceptions such as the dress of Margaret Sinclair, national identity through dress was expressed by women with smaller items and adornments rather than whole outfits. A sartorial Scottish national identity was primarily displayed by the male population – a pattern which has persisted today.

The contemporary comments of Grant of Rothiemurchus and Lord Cockburn make it clear that tartan and Highland dress were not considered by everyone to be suitable as a national dress. Nevertheless, this "theatrical display of tartan splendour"[59] and the "bogus tartan caricature"[60] were staged with such success that the Highland garb became the accepted form of national dress that has changed little

[53] Grant, 'Contemporary Account of the Royal Visit', p.124.
[54] Scott, *Hints,* p.26.
[55] Mudie, *Historical Account*, p.257.
[56] *The Times,* 19 August 1822, issue 11641, p.2.
[57] *Caledonian Mercury,* 5 August 1822, issue 15746, p.1.
[58] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.146.
[59] Prebble, *King's Jaunt,* p.358.
[60] Ibid., p.364.

since. This theatricality and splendour could very well have been a motivating factor for Lowlanders and Highlanders alike to don the outfits. There was considerable hype around this royal visit, the first by a monarch since Charles II in 1650,[61] so it should not be wholly surprising that there was an eagerness to make an impressive appearance. However, the use of tartan and Highland dress was by no means a spontaneous demonstration of national identity. It was carefully orchestrated and perpetuated by a social elite as part of a "'cultural revival' style"[62] to show Scotland at what they felt to be her most distinctive and memorable.[63] The personal motivations behind why men like Blackhall donned such clothing, however, is harder to determine.

Fig. 1.7: *A Thousand Warm Receptions in the North*, satirical cartoon from the 1822 royal visit.

Traditional Dress

Traditional dress has been defined here as garments that were worn over a prolonged period of time by a cross-section of the population. Such garments were everyday

[61] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p.329.
[62] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.217.
[63] John Morrison, *Painting the Nation: Identity and Nationalism in Scottish Painting, 1800-1902,* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.49.

items of dress that were worn in informal and working environments rather than garments reserved for specific or special occasions. The garments discussed here are the bonnet and the plaid – both considered "national emblems"[64] of Scotland due to their consistent and widespread use throughout the eighteenth century.

Eighteenth-century depictions and descriptions of Scottish society made frequent reference to men wearing the Scotch bonnet – a flat, knitted piece of headgear that was worn in both the Highland and Lowland regions. The bonnet was not a high fashion item. Its primary purpose was one of function rather than aesthetics, which meant that it was likely to be reused and recycled until no longer useful.[65] Being made of wool, bonnets have been particularly vulnerable to pests such as moths, a factor which affects their survival rate in modern collections. Although some examples have survived (Fig. 1.8) the relative lack of extant items of this nature is a testament to their high use in Scottish society.

Fig. 1.8: Blue bonnet which belonged to Thomas Guthrie of Scroggerfield (1746-1820), NMS H.TBA.20.

Thought to have come into widespread use in the seventeenth century,[66] the bonnet was commonly worn by men across Scotland by the eighteenth century. The tightly knitted or felted wool and the flat, wide shape of the bonnet provided warmth

[64] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* chs. 8-9.
[65] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* p.106.
[66] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.154.

and protection against the elements.[67] Most descriptions referred to blue or russet bonnets and surviving examples demonstrate the popularity of blue (Fig. 1.8).[68] In the early eighteenth century the bonnet was worn by men from various levels of society including smaller landowners, giving rise to the term "bonnet lairds".[69] The bonnet has even been associated with royalty. In an example of the appropriation of traditional dress for nationalist purposes, Prince Charles Edward Stuart included the bonnet in his Highland outfit during his campaign of 1745-1746 (Fig.1.9).[70]

Fig. 1.9: Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788) unknown artist, eighteenth century. © National Galleries of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Despite this royal association the bonnet was principally linked with the working man. Its fundamental purpose of keeping the head warm and protected was useful for those who worked outside in both rural and urban locations (Fig. 1.10). The bonnet symbolised hard work, but in turn such hard work and labour could lead to

[67] Helen Bennett, 'A Murder Victim Discovered: Clothing and Other Finds from an Early Eighteenth-Century Grave on Arnish Moor, Lewis', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 106 (1974-5), pp.172-182', p.176.
[68] Ibid., p.177.
[69] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.145.
[70] Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie,* p.64. Prince Charles Edward Stuart was not the first Scottish royal to be depicted in the bonnet. An image of King James V wearing a bonnet was used on gold coins in 1540. Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.154.

prosperity and increased status. This process was implied in the gravestone of John Craig, a farmer from Midlothian who died in 1742 (Fig. 1.11). Craig was depicted in a fashionable coat which went down to the knees with detailed buttonholes and pockets. On his head was a flat bonnet.[71] The gravestone was a sign of Craig's prosperity and success as a farmer and at some point there was a conscious decision to include the bonnet as one of the symbols of that status.

Fig. 1.10: City porter in Edinburgh, David Allan, 1780s. Reproduced by courtesy of National Galleries of Scotland.

Fig. 1.11: Gravestone of John Craig, farmer, d.1742, Temple Churchyard, Midlothian. © Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The connection between the bonnet and the working man also appeared as a literary device. In Allan Ramsay's 'The Gentle Shepherd' a pastoral originally published in the 1720s and reproduced throughout the eighteenth century, the bonnet was part of a wider narrative which commented on the virtues of the rural Scottish population.[72] Lowland shepherd, Roger, wore a blue bonnet with white ribbons. Although criticised by Jenny for being too vain, it was Roger's approach to his

[71] For greater discussion of carved gravestones see Chapter 3.
[72] The society and culture described in pastoral works are often seen as idealised and nostalgic. These idealisations can also be interpreted as commentary on wider social practices and thought. See Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity,* (Aldershot, 2008), ch. 1. Scottish pastorals are discussed further in Chapter 5.

appearance, rather than the bonnet itself, which was being disparaged.[73] David Allan's illustrations for a later edition of 'The Gentle Shepherd' depicted the shepherds, Roger and Patie, in their bonnets and plaids surrounded by the Scottish countryside (Fig.1.12). As shepherds they worked on the land, caring for the sheep that provided the wool which produced the basic cloth of Scottish society.[74] The garments they wore, the bonnet and the plaid, were representative of both this process and of their Scottish identity.

Fig. 1.12: Cotton handkerchief printed with scenes from Allan Ramsay's 'The Gentle Shepherd', eighteenth/nineteenth century. © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Although there is evidence to show that the bonnet was still being worn at the end of the eighteenth century (Fig. 1.10) other sources indicate that changing fashions were undermining its popularity. Numerous reports in the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* from the 1790s noted that the bonnet was being replaced by the hat, which had previously been the reserve of the higher levels of society.[75] These reports were

[73] Allan Ramsay, 'The Gentle Shepherd', in Alexander Manson Kinghorn and Alexander Law (eds.), *Poems by Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson,* (Edinburgh, 1974), p.49.
[74] Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.140.
[75] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* pp.156-157.

particularly noticeable in Lowland areas, such as in the parish of Calder near Edinburgh and the parish of Symington in Ayrshire.[76] Working and labouring men in these areas were keen to leave this sartorial symbol of working life behind and adopt clothing that was associated with a higher social status.[77]

The bonnet was an exclusively male garment. The plaid, in contrast, was worn by both men and women in both Highland and Lowland areas.[78] The plaid was a primitive outer garment - an uncut, untailored piece of cloth that did not require a sophisticated manufacturing culture. It was a simple rectangle of fabric that was draped around the body according to the preferences of the wearer (Fig. 1.13). In some cases the manner in which it was worn could represent political allegiances.[79] The size of the plaid varied – the belted plaid worn by men in the Highlands could be twelve or thirteen yards in length,[80] while the plaid worn by women was typically two yards wide by four to five yards long, worn over a gown (Fig. 1.14).[81] Plaids were generally made of wool, although they could be made of more expensive fabrics such as silk according to the status of the wearer.[82] Tartan was a common pattern and appeared frequently in the visual depictions and written descriptions from the eighteenth century, but plaids could also be made of plain fabrics, particularly grey.[83]

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[76] Rev. James Wilson, 'Parish of Mid-Calder', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Calder%20Mid/14/364, accessed 3 December 2009; Rev. William Logan, 'Parish of Symington', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Symington/5/403-404, accessed 2 June 2010.
[77] For greater discussion of the *Statistical Accounts* see Chapter 8.
[78] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* pp.150-153; Quye and Cheape, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', pp.1-21; Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.142.
[79] Edmund Burt, *Burt's Letters from the North of Scotland,* (ed.) Andrew Simmons, (Edinburgh, 1998), p.48; Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.142.
[80] Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland, MDCCLXIX,* (Chester, 1771), EECO, accessed 15 May 2010, p.162.
[81] Quye and Cheape, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', p.5.
[82] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.48; Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.142. From the sample of inventories studied for Chapter 2, a number of references to plaids were made in both Highland and Lowland regions. Agnes Keelling, widow of a wright in Edinburgh had a "Large Highland plaid" in her possession when she died in 1720, NAS CC8/8/87/761-763, inventory of Agnes Keelling, ECC 1720; Jean Leslie, Countess of Leven had a "old silk Plaid much spoiled" amongst her clothing when she died in 1730, CC8/8/93/44-52, inventory of Jean Leslie, Countess of Leven, ECC 1730.
[83] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.36; Cheape, *Tartan,* p.24; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* p.113.

A common observation made by those who travelled round Scotland was that the plaid could serve as both bedding and clothing.[84] Edmund Burt, an Englishman who collected rents on unsold forfeited Jacobite estates near Inverness in the early eighteenth century, recorded many details about Highland life. He noted that when Highlanders had to spend a night out on the hills they would soak the plaid in a river and would wrap themselves up in the wet cloth. The combination of wet fabric and warm body then made a "steam like that of a boiling kettle" [85] and kept the wearer warm. The dual properties of the plaid as clothing and bedding can make it difficult to identify definitively surviving examples in museum collections. As an uncut and untailored piece of fabric it is not always apparent whether an extant plaid had been used as a garment, as a blanket, or as both.[86] This is further complicated by the fact that 'plaid' was a Scots term for coarse woven twilled cloth, as well as being used to refer specifically to a blanket or an item of clothing.[87]

Fig. 1.13: Highland soldiers from Francis Grose's *Military Antiquities Respecting a History of English Army*, 1786.

[84] Thomas Morer, *A Short Account of Scotland. Being a Description of the Nature of that Kingdom, and What the Constitution of it is in Church and State,* (London, 1702), ECCO, accessed 17 February 2009, p.8.
[85] Burt, *Letters from the North,* pp.197-198.
[86] Quye and Cheape, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', pp.1-2.
[87] Cheape, *Tartan*, p.24.

Fig.1.14: Engraving of a Highland lady wearing an arisaid by James Basire, eighteenth century. © Gaidheil Alba / National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The identification of a surviving item as an item of clothing or a blanket can be made easier by its pattern. This was most apparent in the plaids worn by women in the Highlands. Known as arisaids, these garments were woven with a predominantly white ground which gave them an overall lighter appearance than the darker tartans of male plaids.[88] Martin Martin, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, called the arisaid the "ancient dress" of the women in the western islands,[89] and it is clear the garment remained in use well into the eighteenth century. A surviving example dating from 1777 was made of the typical twill weave, with a white ground and red and green checks and embroidered with the initials 'MMK'.[90] The arisaid commonly used imported dyes, giving rise to the argument that it was a high status garment not intended for everyday use.[91] Evidence from travel accounts both supports and refutes this notion. It was frequently noted, for instance, that the plaid was worn at church, which was a common arena for the display of 'best dress'. Joseph Taylor, an Englishman travelling to Scotland in the early eighteenth century, was disappointed

[88] Quye and Cheape, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', p.2.
[89] Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695,* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp.247-248.
[90] NMS A.1990.27, arisaid of wool, 1777.
[91] Quye and Cheape, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', p.17.

to find that the plaid was so popular among Edinburgh women when they went to church, that he was prevented from passing judgement on the "Scottish beautyes" of the congregation.[92] Later in the century another English observer noted women of all social statuses wearing the plaid at church, further commenting that women lower down the social scale looked like a "set of lunaticks."[93] Other travellers interpreted the plaid as an item of "ordinary Dress"[94] – a useful garment to wear when going to the market and running errands. Burt described it as the "undress of the ladies",[95] indicating an informal use.

By the end of the eighteenth century, women's use of the plaid had decreased. As with the declining use of the bonnet this trend was particularly noticeable in the Lowland region and in urban centres. According to John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, nine out of ten ladies in Edinburgh had worn the plaid in the 1740s but by the 1750s plaids had been replaced by "silk or velvet cloaks".[96] The plaid, like the bonnet, was subject to changing notions of fashion. Beyond Edinburgh, however, the plaid remained in use. In 1773 older women in Oban were still wearing "gaudy coloured plaids"[97], indicating that fashions took longer to change in more remote areas.[98] The surviving example described above also shows that the plaid did not completely pass out of use in the latter half of the century.

Although the plaid was a national garment it was still subject to regional variations. In the Lowlands men wore it over breeches and jackets contrasting with the Highlands where it was either worn as belted plaid, or with a kilt. Tartan was used by both Highlanders and Lowlanders but a preference for black and white checked wool was apparent in the Lowland regions. This pattern was often associated with the Border shepherds, creating a specific cultural identity that lasted into the twentieth century.[99] The most prominent wearer of the shepherd's plaid was the Ettrick Shepherd, poet and novelist James Hogg. In a portrait of Hogg by Sir

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[92] Joseph Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1903), p.137.
[93] Mary Anne Hanway, *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland. With Occasional Remarks on Dr. Johnson's Tour,* (London, 1776), ECCO, accessed 15 October 2007, p.134.
[94] Morer, *Short Account of Scotland,* p.13.
[95] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.48.
[96] Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen,* vol. 2, pp.87-88.
[97] Anne Grant, *Letters from the Mountains; Being the Real Correspondence of a Lady, Between the Years 1773 and 1807,* (London, 1809), vol. 1, pp.54-55.
[98] Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.142.
[99] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.152; Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.142.

John Watson Gordon, Hogg wears the plaid over a dark suit (Fig.1.15). A bonnet can also be seen under his right hand. Hogg's use of the plaid can be interpreted in a number of ways. As a garment recognised in the Highlands and the Lowlands, the plaid represented the unity of Highlanders and the Lowlanders as Scots, a theme which appeared in Hogg's poetry.[100] More specifically, the black and white check alluded to his Border heritage and to his status as a shepherd, simultaneously asserting a Scottish and a Lowland identity that was intimately connected with the working man rather than the social elite.[101] As with the bonnet worn by Prince Charles in the mid-eighteenth century, Hogg's use of the plaid demonstrates the overlap that could occur when traditional garments with practical origins and qualities were used to purposefully promote a national identity.

Fig. 1.15: James Hogg (1770-1835), by Sir John Watson Gordon, 1830. © Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk

Conclusion

The relationship between Scottish national identity and dress has been influenced by many factors. Events such as the Jacobite rebellion and the visit of George IV to

[100] Pittock, *Invention of Scotland,* p.96.
[101] For discussion of the mixed loyalties Hogg demonstrated in his poetry to the Borders, to Scotland, and to Britain, see Valentina Bold, *James Hogg: A Bard of Nature's Making,* (Oxford, 2007), ch. 6.

Edinburgh have been central to the promotion of a Scottish national identity through clothing. As a result of the historical significance of these events, garments that could be associated with them were preserved - regardless of whether or not they were representative of the general population. These garments are important when considering the relationship between national identity and dress but they should also be studied alongside items of clothing which acquired cultural symbolism through their traditional and customary use.

The items of dress that have been discussed here are part of a wider national narrative which began when these garments were used for the first time. This narrative was continued, interpreted, and altered by subsequent generations who decided what could be used to represent the Scottish nation and what could not. Surviving objects have provided the foundation of this chapter but the limitations of these artefacts for historical study can be seen in the extensive use of other types of primary sources to supplement the discussion.[102] It is only through contextualisation that it can be ascertained how different people from different backgrounds employed clothing to express a national identity. Furthermore, contextualisation is vital when considering that surviving costume and textile collections represent only a fraction of the clothing and fabrics that were used in any given society. Surviving artefacts can indicate what style of clothing was worn when, or how the social life of a garment has changed over time. More information is needed, however, to determine what was being worn on a day-to-day basis, and what was in peoples' wardrobes. It is to this topic that the next chapter will turn.

[102] Prown, 'Mind in Matter', p.9.

Chapter 2:
Regional Wardrobes

Surviving clothing and textiles in museum collections are selective representations of a past clothing and textile culture. The information such objects provide, although valuable, does not produce a complete picture of what was being worn on an everyday basis in eighteenth-century Scotland. This type of information can be obtained from inventories of possessions taken at death, the main source for this chapter.

Inventories of possessions taken at death have contributed considerably to the study of social and economic history, proving popular for investigation into the history of consumption and material culture.[1] As with surviving objects, however, inventories have their limitations as a source for historical study. Although more representative of the population than eighteenth-century portraiture, for instance, inventories of possessions taken at death should not be considered a comprehensive source which covered the entire population. People who had little or no possessions in life would not have any need to record them in death.[2] Others may have had plenty of possessions that were disposed of before an inventory was created. Items may have been bequeathed and removed before the inventory was made, or items considered of negligible value may not have been included in the first place.[3] The varying level of detail from one inventory to another can also be problematic. Many of the inventories studied to obtain the sample for this chapter simply listed "No moveables entered." This was a stock phrase which did not necessarily mean that the deceased had no possessions in life, simply that no inventory of these possessions had been made. Other inventories recorded the deceased's possessions in minute detail, valuing every single item from napkins to stockings. This level of detail depended on who evaluated the items and who created the inventory.

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[1] Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own'; Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers'.
[2] M. Overton, J. Whittle, D. Dean and A. Hann, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600-1750,* (Abingdon, 2004), p.4.
[3] Margaret Spufford, 'The Limitations of the Probate Inventory', in John Chartres and David Hey (eds.), *English Rural Society 1500-1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk,* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.139-174, pp.144-146; Amy Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England,* (London, 1993), p.33.

Information about the deceased also varied from inventory to inventory. There was usually some indication of marital status or occupation but such information was not always consistent. Although the date of death was generally recorded with the inventory, the date of birth was not. The age of the person at their time of death could sometimes be estimated according to the amount of possessions they had and the condition these items were in. References to children who had grown up and married themselves could also hint at the age of the deceased. Accurate information of this nature would increase the potential use of the inventories as a source of historical study.

Despite these issues when compared with sources such as surviving artefacts, portraiture, and diaries - all of which are more representative of the middle to upper levels of society - inventories provide information on a wider proportion of a given population. As a legal and factual source they were not subject to the same moral and subjective overtones that can be detected in portraiture and personal documents. Inventories can be interpreted on both quantitative and qualitative levels, providing information about the garments owned and used in eighteenth-century society. They allow comparisons to be made between geographic areas, between gendered approaches to consumption, and between groups of different social statuses.

Inventories of possessions taken at death were selected at random from the records of four commissary courts in Scotland. These courts were responsible for administering the estates of those who died within their jurisdiction, which corresponded roughly to the pre-Reformation diocesan boundaries. The records of the commissary courts of Edinburgh, Inverness, the Isles, and Argyll were chosen to represent a mixture of urban and rural, and Lowland and Highland regions. As the capital city of Scotland, Edinburgh was a centre for markets and textile industries. The mixed population provided greater opportunity for social comparisons than some other areas of Scotland. The Inverness Commissary Court records were chosen to provide a Highland urban comparison with Lowland Edinburgh. Although not as developed as Edinburgh, Inverness was the main Highland urban centre in the eighteenth century and played a significant role in the dissemination and provision of

material culture for the Highland population.[4] The Isles was chosen to provide a rural contrast to these urbanised areas. With a more dispersed population than Edinburgh and Inverness, this area had a greater focus on domestic industry and agriculture. The priority given to livestock, farming equipment and crops in this region's inventories showed that such items were considered more important sources of moveable wealth than clothing or household textiles. The region of Argyll was chosen for its mixture of rural and urban communities, creating a link between the remote Isles and the more urbanised areas of Edinburgh and Inverness. With a similar geography to the western isles, Argyll also contained its own cosmopolitan centres such as Inverary,[5] and was in close proximity to the commercialised and mobile population of Glasgow.[6]

The chapter is based on a sample of 205 inventories which specifically referred to clothing, textiles, or textile manufacturing equipment.[7] Taken from the four commissary courts, these inventories represent men and women from a range of social ranks and occupations, covering the period 1700 to 1800. Of the 205 inventories, 151 were men's inventories and fifty four were women's.[8] One hundred and twenty eight of the inventories came from the Edinburgh Commissary Court; thirty five of the inventories came from the Inverness region; twenty six were from Argyll; and sixteen were from the Isles.[9] The inventories were studied to determine what type of garments were commonly owned by the Scottish population and what further information can be gleaned about clothing with regards to style and fabric. Comparisons are made between the regions and between people of differing social

[4] Stana Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-Century Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp.143-144.
[5] Ibid., p.155.
[6] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* pp. 67, 69.
[7] A random sample of 625 inventories was studied. From this number, 205 were selected for their references to clothing, textiles, or textile manufacturing equipment. 420 of the sample inventories were thus excluded from the study for not referring to these items. The fact that two thirds of these inventories did not refer to clothing or textiles should not be taken as a negative point. There were multiple reasons why these items were not included in the inventories and the absence of references to these items does not mean that none were owned. See Appendix for a list of the 205 inventories that were used.
[8] Similar gendered discrepancies have been noted in English studies. Weatherill's study of English inventories from 1675-1725 used 430 women's inventories and 2,472 men's inventories. Weatherill, 'A Possession of One's Own', p.139.
[9] The Edinburgh Commissary Court had a greater sample of inventories that could be examined compared with the other regions.

statuses. This creates a more general picture of what was being worn on a day-to-day basis throughout Scotland in the eighteenth century.

The quantitative data obtained from the inventories is supplemented with information extracted from travel accounts of the period. Travel accounts offer insights into the use of and relationships with clothing that were not always apparent in the inventories. The quality of information obtained from the travel accounts depends on many different factors. The personal background of the author, the author's motivation for travelling, whether they were writing for publication or for personal use, and their skill at accurately observing and relating their experiences, could all impact why and how information was recorded.[10] The themes of the travel accounts were also subject to the prevailing attitudes of the time in which they were written. Attitudes to travelling itself, as well as changing perceptions of other cultures and landscapes had a great impact on what the author expected and observed from the society they were visiting.[11] Whether in search of the sublime or a lost culture,[12] travellers tended to comment on things which were at odds (either positively or negatively) with their own society or culture. This could result in disproportionate impressions of the society the travellers were observing. The information and perspectives that can be extracted from the travel literature should be used with caution. These perspectives, however, provide a useful contrast to the factual nature of the inventories of possessions taken at death. The chapter also looks at the most distinctive aspects of dress that was highlighted by the travel literature – Highland dress and bare feet – and will examine to what extent the information in the travel literature corresponds with the data from the inventories.

Men's Dress

Of the men's inventories, sixty-three per cent listed items of clothing. Table 2.1 shows the percentage of inventories which listed clothing according to region and

[10] Finn, 'Men's Things', p.136; Stana Nenadic, 'Land, the Landed and Relationships with England: Literature and Perception 1760-1830', in S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston, and R.J. Morris (eds.), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600-1939,* (Preston, 1995), pp.148-160, pp.149-150.
[11] T.C. Smout, *Nature Contested: Environmental History in Scotland and Northern England Since 1600,* (Edinburgh, 2000), p.18.
[12] T.C. Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Centuries', *Northern Scotland,* 5 (1982-3), pp.99-121, p.105. Nenadic, 'Land, the Landed and Relationships with England', p.152.

gender. In the men's results, inventories from Argyll were most likely to have items of clothing recorded among the possessions. Men from Inverness were the least likely to have clothing listed in their inventory, although the result was still significant. Although the figures from each region are relatively high, it should be noted that the importance of clothing as a source of moveable wealth varied between the regions. In the inventories from the Isles, and to a lesser extent those from Inverness, priority was often given to livestock and farming equipment. If clothing was listed it was included at the end of the inventory. These inventories reflect the pastoral nature of the regions where crops and livestock were commonly used to pay for rent.[13] In comparison, the occupations of the men whose inventories were taken from the Argyll sample included postmaster, surgeon, cooper, bailie, and soldier (see Appendix) – men who relied less on the land than farmers. In the urban environs of Edinburgh, moreover, there was even less individual reliance on farming for subsistence which meant more opportunity for clothing to be seen as a source of moveable wealth.

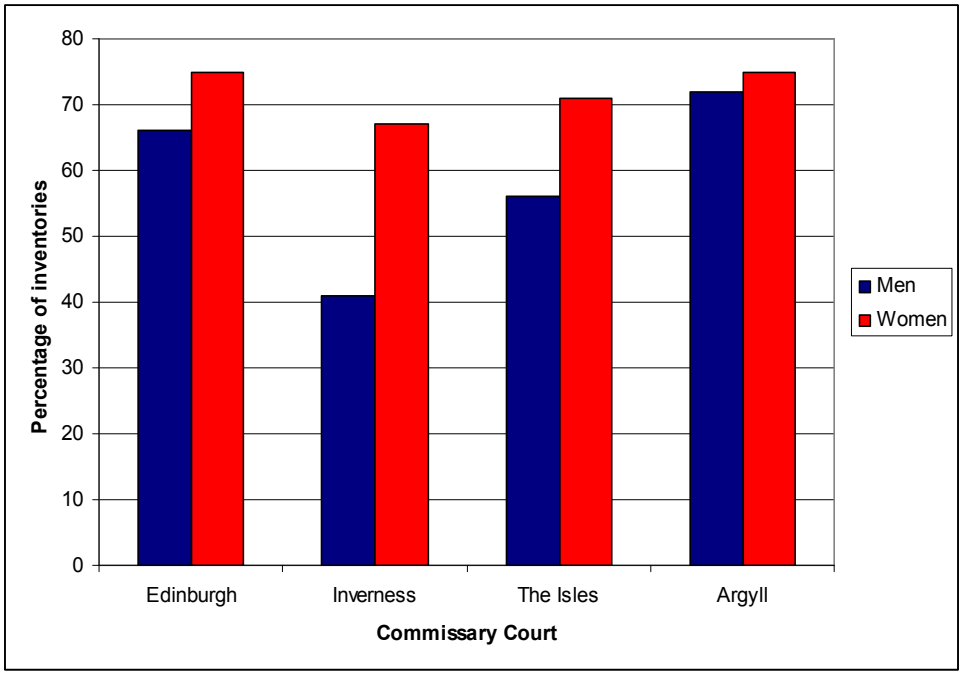

Table 2.1: Ownership of clothing, 1700-1800.

The foundation of the European man's wardrobe since the late seventeenth century had been the three piece suit which consisted of breeches, waistcoat, and coat

[13] Smout, *History of the Scottish People,* pp.316-317.

or jacket.[14] Despite the modern emphasis on Highland dress as the 'traditional' costume of Scotland, the dress of Scottish men in the eighteenth century was generally no different from that of their European counterparts. When clothing was listed in the inventories coats, breeches, and waistcoats were the most popular items. Fifty-one per cent of the men's inventories which listed clothing referred to coats or jackets; forty-eight per cent included breeches; and forty-six per cent referred to waistcoats. In some cases these items were part of a matching suit made of the same material and valued as one item. Generally, however, breeches, waistcoats, and jackets were valued and listed separately leaving the impression that they were non-matching items.[15]

Much cultural significance has been attached to the rise of linen, and the impact this fabric had on perceptions of hygiene and politeness in early modern society.[16] The display of clean linen through shirts and other undergarments was vital to the maintenance of a respectable image.[17] In a study of eighteenth-century French society the ownership of linen was considerable. In 1700, ninety-eight per cent of a sample of inventories of artisans and shopkeepers included linen shirts and in 1789 this figure was ninety-seven per cent.[18] In the sample of men's inventories from Scotland, thirty-five per cent of those which listed clothing included reference to shirts. This is not an insignificant figure but it nevertheless demonstrates the different levels of wealth between the two countries. As men of varying social status wore similar basic garments – breeches, waistcoat, and coat or jacket – social status was indicated through the quality and quantity of the garments owned. With the increased emphasis on linen as a sign of respectability and status, the more shirts a person owned the greater chance they had of maintaining that respectable image. Of those men who had shirts listed in their inventories, most had at least two. The moveable goods of William Borthwick, a weaver from Newington near Edinburgh, were valued at just £4 10s 7d Sterling when he died in 1742.[19] Included among his

[14] David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity: England, 1550-1850,* (London, 2002).
[15] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.131.
[16] Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*; Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* pp.151-183; Styles, *Dress of the People,* pp.78-82.
[17] Ibid., p.78. This is discussed further in Chapter 3.
[18] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* pp.164, 167.
[19] NAS CC8/8/106/127-129, inventory of William Borthwick, ECC 1742.

possessions, however, were three shirts. At the other extreme, George Preston, surgeon-major to his Majesty's forces in Scotland, owned fifty-seven linen shirts when he died in 1749.[20]

Old and worn shirts could be revived with the strategic use of ruffles, cravats, and new sleeves or cuffs. As well as helping to maintain a respectable image accessories such as these could also represent significant events in a person's life. When George Hardie, a baker in the Lawnmarket of Edinburgh, died in 1786 he owned twelve shirts, twelve stocks, a cravat, and a pair of weepers, which were pieces of muslin or linen attached to the cuffs of outer garments as a sign of mourning.[21] Accessories could alter a wardrobe without the need of a large financial commitment – it was cheaper to acquire ribbons, ruffles, and buckles to update a garment and ensure a fashionable appearance, than it was to purchase a whole new outfit.[22] Detachable shirt ruffles, stocks, and cravats were a means by which personal wealth, cleanliness, and respectability could be displayed.[23] These items were common in the inventories and appeared among the possessions of men from a variety of social backgrounds. James Braidwood, a candlemaker burgess of Edinburgh, owned a significant number of such items. Along with various suits, coats, wigs, and hats, Braidwood owned twenty-three "Linnen Necks", twenty pairs of linen sleeves, twenty-seven muslin stocks, and three cambric cravats when he died in 1742.[24] William Borthwick, noted above, had owned five cravats to go with his three shirts, demonstrating the ability of even "the working man to acquire petty clothing luxuries."[25] Similar items appeared in inventories from the Highland and rural regions, although to a lesser extent than those in the Edinburgh sample. A merchant from the Argyll region stocked silk napkins or handkerchiefs, as well as gold lace.[26] A merchant from Kildaton on Islay had nine stock buckles among his supplies when he died in 1755.[27]

Although the three piece suit dominated this sample of inventories, other garments were also popular. Hats, wigs, drawers, greatcoats, nightgowns, and

[20] NAS CC8/8/112/871-877, inventory of George Preston, ECC 1749.
[21] NAS CC8/8/127/669-673, inventory of George Hardie, ECC 1786.
[22] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.33.
[23] Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness,* p.69. See also Chapter 3.
[24] NAS CC8/8/106/456-473, inventory of James Braidwood, ECC 1742.
[25] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.40.
[26] NAS CC2/3/11/53-60, inventory of John Ramsay, ACC 1737.
[27] NAS CC12/3/5/16-22, inventory of Coll MacDugald, TICC 1755.

nightcaps made regular appearances in the inventories. Such items were most evident in the Edinburgh inventories, which can be taken as a further demonstration of the emphasis on different objects as sources of moveable wealth between the regions. Walter Anderson had a wardrobe befitting his status as a bookkeeper for a merchant in Edinburgh. In 1750 Anderson had owned ruffled and plain shirts, numerous and varied stockings, a brown velvet nightcap, a boar skin upper coat, a coat and breeches with metal buttons, two further suits of black, a hat, and some pairs of shoes.[28] Adam Baillie, a baker in Dalkeith, owned a significantly larger wardrobe. Baillie owned six coats, a greatcoat, nine vests or waistcoats, six pairs of breeches, four pairs of shoes, two pairs of boots, one pair of leather hose, twelve pairs of stockings (made of silk, thread, and worsted), shoe and knee buckles, two hats, three wigs, two pairs of gloves, forty-two shirts, eleven nightcaps, and seven stocks.[29]

When living in Edinburgh in the 1770s, Englishman Edward Topham was disappointed with the sartorial efforts of the male inhabitants of the city. He wrote that the men "neither take so much care of their persons or appearance; nor have they half the taste in their dress that the Ladies have", further noting that "you rarely see a Gentleman well-dressed."[30] Topham's observation was purely subjective - it was his response to what he saw in the clothing habits of the Edinburgh social elite. It would also appear to have been a harsh judgement as it was apparent from a number of the inventories which listed clothing that at least some Scottish men took a pride in their appearance. Walter Anderson's ruffled shirts and matching coat and breeches with metal buttons provide one such example. The wardrobe of John Gillan, late apprentice to a merchant in Edinburgh, also showed a concern over appearances. Gillan's wardrobe contained a matching coat, vest, and breeches, twelve holland shifts, four fustian waistcoats, three cambric stocks, one muslin cravat, fifteen pairs of stockings, a pair of linen drawers, another waistcoat, and two further pairs of breeches of black cloth.[31] The most intriguing element of this wardrobe was the suit

[28] NAS CC8/8/113/330-336, inventory of Walter Anderson, ECC 1750.
[29] NAS CC8/8/114/871-878, inventory of Adam Baillie, ECC 1753.
[30] Edward Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh; Written in the Years 1774 and 1775,* (Edinburgh, 2003), p.75.
[31] NAS CC8/8/111/198-205, inventory of John Gillan, ECC 1747.

which was "mounted with gold thread buttons of fine dark cloth".[32] Together with the fine linen shifts and muslin cravat, this would have produced a fine ensemble. Concern over presenting a fashionable and smart appearance was also evident in the inventories outside the Edinburgh area. Andrew Rose, officer of excise at Miltown, Culloden, owned an extensive wardrobe when he died in 1760. It included silver shoe and stock buckles, a "small parcell of Burnt Lace", a "flour'd black vest", black cotton breeches, a greatcoat, two wigs, and a "Cloath Brush" to help maintain all these garments.[33]

Although the terminology for eighteenth-century fabrics was transient and confusing,[34] it is possible to get an idea of what fabrics were most common in the Scottish wardrobes. This can be done by counting references in the inventories to the four main textile groups – wool, silk, linen, and cotton. The inventories were searched for terms known to relate to these fabrics, such as muslin for cotton, or drugget for wool. The lack of consistent and detailed information in the inventories meant that it was not always possible to determine what fabric had been used for a garment. Breeches, for instance, were often listed without any indication of fabric or colour. It can be assumed, therefore, that the following figures were in actual fact much higher.

Linen was the most common fabric recorded in this sample of men's inventories. Linen garments appeared in thirty-one per cent of the men's inventories which listed clothing. These garments consisted mainly of shirts or accessories such as stocks or ruffles. In the early eighteenth century the Scottish linen manufacture produced a coarse fabric, generally of a low quality.[35] In many cases this fabric was manufactured at least partly within the home.[36] Those who required or desired finer quality linen imported it from the Low Countries, evidenced in the inventories by reference to items such as "holland Shirts"[37] and "holland hose".[38] In some cases inventories included both types of linen, signalling the use of 'best' and working or

[32] Ibid.
[33] NAS CC11/1/6/41-45, inventory of Andrew Rose, ICC 1760.
[34] For discussion of the changing meanings of 'fustian' see Philip A Sykas, 'Fustians in Englishmen's Dress: From Cloth to Emblem', *Costume,* 43 (2009), pp.1-18.
[35] Alastair J. Durie, *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century,* (Edinburgh, 1979), p.1.
[36] Ian Donnachie, 'The Textile Industry in South West Scotland 1750-1914', in Butt and Ponting (eds.), *Scottish Textile History,* pp.19-36, p.20; Durie, *Scottish Linen Industry,* p.5.
[37] NAS CC8/8/107/594-601, inventory of John Borthwick of Crookstoun, ECC 1743.
[38] NAS CC8/8/119/274-279, inventory of Andrew Muat, city guard, ECC 1762.

informal wear: advocate John Borthwick, for instance, owned ten holland shirts and ten plain linen shirts when he died in 1743.[39]

Linen garments were most common in the Edinburgh portion of the sample. The capital city was well situated for the linen market. It was in close proximity to and had good connections with major weaving counties such as Fife and Forfar.[40] There were a number of bleach fields within the vicinity of the city,[41] and the area developed its own fine linen weaving industry throughout the eighteenth century.[42] The high figure was also a result of the large proportion of professional men in this sample who used linen as a status symbol.[43] In the other regions references to linen garments varied from the simple "Cloaths of Linnine and wooline" in the inventory of Colin Campbell, minister of Ellister on Islay who died in 1729,[44] to the detailed inventory of Captain Alexander McKenzie. McKenzie had been stationed with a regiment in the United Provinces and died in 1759. His inventory included fifteen ruffled shirts, three plain shirts, ten cambric stocks, six night shirts, and three pairs of Dresden ruffles.[45]

Of the inventories which listed clothing, woollen garments appeared in twenty-two per cent. As a suitable material for outer garments, particularly in a cool climate, woollen fabrics appeared most often in the form of coats and jackets. The "old black rugg Coat" owned by Robert Law was a practical choice for his occupation as a craftsman as it would have been a coarse and rough wool suitable for physical labour.[46] The coat was valued along with a "Fustian Westcoat", fustian being a material generally of cotton and linen mix that was a popular fabric for working men's clothing in the eighteenth century.[47] Law also owned a blue coat and breeches of indeterminate cloth, worth 15s Sterling compared with the 2s for the coat and waistcoat – a clear indication of 'best' and working dress.

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[39] NAS CC8/8/107/594-601, inventory of John Borthwick of Crookstoun, ECC 1743.
[40] Durie, *Scottish Linen Industry*, p.33.
[41] Ibid., p.57.
[42] Vanessa Habib and Helen Clark, 'The Linen Weavers of Drumsheugh and the Linen Damask Tablecloth Woven to Commemorate the Visit of George IV to Scotland in 1822', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 132 (2002), pp.529-553.
[43] See Chapter 3.
[44] NAS CC12/3/3/38-52, inventory of Colin Campbell, TICC 1729.
[45] NAS CC11/1/5/13-20, inventory of Alexander McKenzie, ICC 1790.
[46] NAS CC2/3/8/364-366, inventory of Robert Law, ACC 1734.
[47] Sykas, 'Fustians in Englishmen's Dress', p.4.

With the increased popularity of linen and the perceived health benefits this fabric offered to the wearer, woollen undergarments were viewed as unhealthy and old-fashioned by English commentators.[48] With Scotland's more northerly climate, however, there do not seem to have been the same concerns. Flannel garments were popular, providing warmth and comfort as both outer and under layers. James Bell, a smith in the Canongate of Edinburgh, owned a flannel jacket when he died in 1790.[49] The wardrobe of James Tate, a measurer of market goods for the city of Edinburgh, reflected the seasonal demands that could be made on clothing. It included flannel drawers, a red flannel nightcap, and flannel shirts, presumably for the winter months. He also owned linen shirts, perhaps kept for best dress and/or warmer weather.[50] Wool was also incorporated into fashionable garments: James Reid, comptroller of customs at Prestonpans, owned a "lemon Coloured Cassimer [kerseymere] Vest and Breeches" as well as numerous other items at his death in 1790.[51] Both wool and linen fabrics were part of the Scottish domestic manufacturing process. Ownership of textile manufacturing equipment is discussed further below but it is worth noting that twenty-four per cent of the 151 men's inventories included a form of textile manufacturing equipment among their possessions. This indicates that it is likely that at least some of the linen and woollen garments listed in these inventories were made from homespun materials.

The eighteenth century is generally considered the epoch for the rise of cotton in western society in general and in Britain in particular. Cotton was used for garments and accessories of all shapes and sizes, from stockings to full gowns.[52] Compared with fabrics such as silk, cotton was cheap, easy to care for, and could be produced according to the requirements of fashion and taste.[53] A recent analysis of the use of cotton in English society asserted that the influence of the fabric was "unmistakeable but not overwhelming".[54] This is an apt definition for the Scottish situation. Only thirteen per cent of the men's inventories which listed clothing specifically referred

[48] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.24.
[49] NAS CC8/8/128/1068-1072, inventory of James Bell, ECC 1790.
[50] NAS CC8/8/128/544-547, inventory of James Tate, ECC 1790.
[51] NAS CC8/8/128/943-1017, inventory of James Reid, ECC 1790. Kerseymere was a fine woollen cloth and had been patented in 1766. Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.88.
[52] Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite,* p.87.
[53] Ibid., p.93.
[54] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.88.

to cotton garments, and these references only appeared in the inventories of Inverness and Edinburgh. Smaller items such as handkerchiefs, stockings, and cravats were popular.[55] James Braidwood, mentioned above, died in possession of twenty-seven muslin stocks.[56] In 1790 James Bell, a smith also from Edinburgh, had owned numerous pairs of coloured cotton stockings.[57] Nankeen, a cotton fabric of a pale yellow colour, was a popular material for breeches. Alexander Ramage, a surgeon, owned a pair of nankeen breeches when he died in 1751.[58] Nankeen breeches also appeared in the lengthy inventory of James Reid, comptroller of customs; he owned seven pairs when he died in Edinburgh in 1790 along with twelve pairs of cotton and thread hose, and a cotton nightcap.[59] Cotton appeared in the form of waistcoats and nightgowns in the inventory of Captain Alexander McKenzie mentioned above.[60]

Silk was the least common fabric which was recorded in this sample of men's inventories. Silk garments appeared in only ten per cent of the inventories which listed clothing, coming mostly from the Edinburgh region. Silk was an expensive and high maintenance fabric easily damaged by water, sunlight, and dirt.[61] As such its use by the non-elite population in smaller items, such as stockings and neckerchiefs, rather than larger foundation garments, such as breeches, was not surprising. Smaller items were easier to maintain and could significantly alter an overall appearance with minimal effort. Among the goods of the merchant John Ramsay in 1737 were four pairs of men's silk hose and multiple silk napkins.[62] Captain Alexander McKenzie owned the most silk items in a single wardrobe. He had owned numerous pairs of silk stockings, seven silk handkerchiefs, a pair of silk breeches, and two white silk waistcoats, one mounted with silver.[63] These items suggest significant personal wealth but could also be a result of his military

[55] Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite,* p.87.
[56] NAS CC8/8/106/456-473, inventory of James Braidwood, ECC 1742.
[57] NAS CC8/8/128/1068-1072, inventory of James Bell, ECC 1790.
[58] NAS CC8/8/113/1086-1098, inventory of Alexander Ramage, ECC 1751.
[59] NAS CC8/8/128/943-1017, inventory of James Reid, ECC 1790.
[60] NAS CC11/1/6/13-20, inventory of Alexander McKenzie, ICC 1759.
[61] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.77.
[62] NAS CC2/3/11/53-60, inventory of John Ramsay, ACC 1737.
[63] NAS CC11/1/6/13-20, inventory of Alexander McKenzie, ICC 1759.

profession, which was one of the last vestiges of flamboyant and elaborate male dress in the eighteenth century.[64]

Women's Dress

Clothing was one of the few items considered part of a woman's paraphernalia, or her legal property. In the mid-eighteenth century a woman's paraphernalia was defined as "wearing apparel, and the ornaments proper to her person, as necklaces, ear-rings, breast or arm jewels, buckles etc."[65] Clothing was accordingly an important element of a woman's moveable wealth. Of the women's inventories, seventy-eight per cent listed items of clothing. In each region women's inventories were more likely to list clothing than men's inventories (Table 2.1), and the results were consistently higher across the regions. Women's inventories also contained more information regarding the colours and fabrics used for the garments.

The typical dress for eighteenth-century women of any social rank across Western Europe was a gown and petticoat.[66] These items would generally, but not always, be worn with a shift or chemise, stockings, and shoes. The gown was the most visible part of a woman's wardrobe with the material and style acting as important signifiers of wealth and status.[67] The eighteenth-century gown came in various styles. The open gown, such as that seen in the dress of Margaret Oliphant in Chapter 1, would be drawn back to reveal the petticoat underneath. The closed gown, as the name implies, hid the petticoat.[68] The mantua and sack-backed gowns were formal styles of dress and became popular in European courts over the eighteenth century.[69] Travellers noted that fashionable Scottish women dressed in a similar manner to women in England and France but no further detail as to the style of dress was given.[70] Fifty per cent of the women's inventories which referred to clothing included a gown or robe, but with little description as to the actual style of the garment.

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[64] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.224.
[65] John Erskine, *The Principles of the Law of Scotland: In the Order of Sir George Mackenzie's Institutions of that Law,* (Edinburgh, 1754), ECCO accessed 16 April 2009, vol. 1, p.66.
[66] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* pp.33-49.
[67] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.110.
[68] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.33.
[69] Ibid., pp.34-38.
[70] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.48; Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh,* p.75.

Distinctions were made, however, for bed gowns. The bed gown was a popular garment with working and labouring women, but it could also be worn as an informal outfit within the privacy of the home.[71] Bed gowns were shorter than other gowns and required less construction and less fabric. This meant they were cheaper and were less likely to hinder any physical activity (Fig. 2.2).[72] Katharine Kinloch, the wife of a merchant based in Bologne, had one of the largest wardrobes in this sample. Kinloch owned eight gowns when she died in 1750. Five of these gowns were evidently for her 'best' dress. They included a blue taffeta gown, a flowered robe with green around the edges, and a black silk robe. Kinloch also owned three bed gowns which would have been worn on more informal occasions or possibly for working.[73]

Differences in social statuses were made apparent in the fabrics used for the gowns. Elspet McPherson, who died in 1729 and was the widow of a smith, owned a simple "Stuff Gown", two petticoats and an apron.[74] Stuff was a type of worsted or woollen cloth that was often used in the clothing of working women.[75] At the other end of the social spectrum Jean Leslie, Countess of Leven, also a widow but with significant personal wealth, was in possession of an old satin damask gown and a black and white lutestring or silk gown, when she died in 1730.[76] Many women owned more than one gown of varying fabrics and qualities. At her death in 1710, Elizabeth Douglas from Edinburgh owned an old blue silk gown and a calico nightgown.[77] Silk, as noted, was an expensive fabric that was vulnerable to the elements and difficult to clean.[78] Even though described as an old gown, the blue silk would have been worn for more formal occasions and would have been an expression of status.[79] Although the nightgown was gradually introduced as formal wear later in the century, in the early 1700s it was worn within the privacy of the home and designated as informal dress.[80]

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[71] Styles, *Dress of the People,* pp.41-42; Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* p.123.
[72] Styles, *Dress of the People,* pp.41-42.
[73] NAS CC8/8/113/570-574, inventory of Katharine Kinloch, ECC 1750.
[74] NAS CC11/1/4/323, inventory of Elspet McPherson, ICC 1729.
[75] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* p.114.
[76] NAS CC8/8/93/44-52, inventory of Jean Leslie, Countess of Leven, ECC 1730.
[77] NAS CC8/8/84/587-588, inventory of Elizabeth Douglas, ECC 1710.
[78] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.79.
[79] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* pp.112-114.
[80] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.40.

Fig. 2.2: Scotch maid by David Allan, eighteenth century. The bed gown can be seen behind the checked apron.

The second most common garment in this sample was the petticoat. Forty percent of the women's inventories which listed clothing included reference to this item. These were sometimes listed along with a gown, implying that they were matching garments that were intended to be worn together. The majority, however, were listed separately and could thus have been worn with multiple outfits. The third most common items were outer garments such as plaids and cloaks, which appeared in thirty-eight per cent of the inventories which referred to clothing. The evidence from the inventories supported the impression that the popularity of plaids was ebbing in the latter part of the eighteenth century. There were no references to plaids in the Edinburgh inventories after 1750.[81] Only one reference to plaids was found in the Inverness sample: Elspeth Grant in Strathspey had owned seven plaids, five of which were specifically recorded as being "plaids for women" when she died in 1796.[82] The decrease in the number of plaids coincided with, and was perpetuated by, an increase in the variety of cloaks available. Janet Sym, a fashionable lady from Inverary owned a black silk hood and a black velvet hood when she died in 1735.[83]

[81] See Chapter 1.
[82] NAS CC11/1/6/401, inventory of Elspeth Grant, ICC 1796.
[83] NAS CC2/3/11/25-27, inventory of Janet Sym, ACC 1735.

Such items were more likely to have been worn to "cover the décolletage of everyday dress"[84] rather than being a robust outer garment. The well-dressed Katharine Kinloch owned two capuchins at her death in 1750.[85] More stylish than the full length cloaks, a capuchin was a shorter garment, often with a hood, and became popular in the second half of the eighteenth century.[86] Less stylish, but no doubt more practical, were the two cassocks in the inventory of Elspeth Grant who died at the end of the century.[87]

Shifts and shirts appeared in twenty-four per cent of the women's inventories – either they were not considered an integral item of clothing or, more likely, they were worn and used so regularly that there was little desire or need to sell them on.[88] The quality and quantity of shirts and shifts varied. Margaret Lamont, an apparently single woman from the parish of Kilmartin in Argyll, only had one shirt in her inventory when she died in 1770.[89] Katharine Kinloch, on the other hand, had twenty shirts as well as numerous ruffles and linen mutches.[90]

As with the ruffles and cravats of men's wardrobes, smaller items of clothing appeared regularly in the women's inventories. Garments such as aprons and various pieces of headgear were easier and cheaper to maintain and replace than foundation garments such as gowns. Aprons were listed in twenty-nine per cent of the women's inventories which mentioned clothing. Use of different fabrics for aprons signalled the apron's role as an item of working or decorative dress.[91] When Janet McIntyre nee Adam died in 1740, she owned a total of nine aprons, including six old linen ones, and one made of black flannel which was probably a mourning garment for her husband who had predeceased her.[92] At her death in 1796 Elspeth Grant owned three

[84] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.46.
[85] NAS CC8/8/113/570-574, inventory of Katharine Kinloch, ECC 1750.
[86] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.46.
[87] NAS CC11/1/6/401, inventory of Elspeth Grant, ICC 1796.
[88] The second hand market for household linen was particularly strong in eighteenth-century Scotland but the connection made between body linen and cleanliness would have necessitated frequent washing, maintenance, and replacement. See Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers', p.131; Styles, *Dress of the People,* pp.78-83.
[89] NAS CC2/3//11/373-375, inventory of Margaret Lamont, ACC 1770.
[90] NAS CC8/8/113/570-574, inventory of Katharine Kinloch, ECC 1750.
[91] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.122.
[92] NAS CC8/8/103/130-145, inventory of Janet McIntyre nee Adam, ECC 1740.

coarse aprons, no doubt used as protective garments, and three "fine good Aprons" more suitable to receive visitors.[93]

Various pieces of headgear were included in the women's inventories. Of the inventories which referred to items of dress, twenty-nine per cent of them included pieces of headgear. An item that was peculiar to Scotland was the mutch (also known as a kertch or toye),[94] a garment traditionally worn by married women and typically made of white linen (Fig. 2.3). Unmarried women, particularly in the Highlands, would wear a ribbon or snood.[95] One traveller described the mutch as: "a handkerchief crossed over their heads, with two ends pinned under their chin, and the third flying behind".[96] In the early nineteenth century Dorothy Wordsworth likened the mutch to the style of headgear worn by French women.[97] The mutch made regular appearances in the inventories throughout the century along with other unidentifiable pieces of "head Cloaths" which were listed along with body linens such as shirts or shifts.[98] Agnes Keelling, relict of James Houstoun a wright in Edinburgh, owned "two Coarse Linning Toys" and "two hed sutes for women" when she died in 1720.[99] The inventory of Mrs Major, a widow who died in Edinburgh in 1749, demonstrates that customary items of clothing such as the mutch did not preclude the use of more fashionable garments. Mrs Major owned "six day Mutches", "four night mutches", and "two French hoods", the latter no doubt intended for more fashionable occasions.[100] Mutches also appeared in Highland inventories: Elspet Steuart an apparently single woman from the parish of Abernethie owned six old linen mutches when she died in 1751;[101] Elspeth Grant, also single, owned twenty old mutches when she died in Strathspey in 1796.[102] Mutches could be owned in large quantities – Katharine Kinloch owned thirty at her death in

[93] NAS CC11/1/6/401-402, inventory of Elspeth Grant, ICC 1796.
[94] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* p.100.
[95] "The ordinary girls wear nothing upon their heads until they are married or have a child, except sometimes a fillet of red or blue coarse cloth, of which they are very proud; but often their hair hangs down over the forehead like that of a wild colt." Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.236. See also Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.125.
[96] Hanway, *Journey to the Highlands of Scotland*, p.133.
[97] Dorothy Wordsworth, *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland, AD 1803,* (Edinburgh, 1981), p.21.
[98] NAS CC8/8/103/72-75, inventory of Agnes Wilson, ECC 1739.
[99] NAS CC8/8/87/761-763, inventory of Agnes Keelling, ECC 1720.
[100] NAS CC8/8/113/432-436, inventory of Mrs Major, ECC 1750.
[101] NAS CC11/1/5/294-296, inventory of Elspet Steuart, ICC 1751.
[102] NAS CC11/1/6/401-402, inventory of Elspeth Grant, ICC 1796.

1750.[103] These quantities, and the fact they were generally made of linen, points to the multipurpose nature of the garment. Typically, but not always, worn by married women, mutches were signifiers of marital and cultural status. The use of linen also represented a means by which respectability and participation in "polite norms" were displayed.[104]

Fig. 2.3: *Women Waulking the Wool* produced for Thomas Pennant's voyage to the Hebrides in 1772. Examples of the mutch and the snood or ribbon can be seen denoting marital status. ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Linen garments appeared in fifty per cent of the women's inventories which listed items of clothing. The higher percentage compared with the men's inventories reflects the fact that women's inventories tended to be more detailed, and indicates that women's wardrobes in the eighteenth century often consisted of lighter materials.[105] As with the men's inventories a significant proportion of these linen garments were smaller items of clothing, such as aprons and mutches, as well as underwear including shirts and shifts. Some women also owned larger linen items. Janet McIntyre, a widow in Edinburgh, owned an "old Stripped Linen Gown", eight

[103] NAS CC8/8/113/570-574, inventory of Katharine Kinloch, ECC 1750.
[104] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.169.
[105] Similar patterns were observed in eighteenth-century France. Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.128.

linen aprons (including one stamped), ten shifts, five linen toyes, and two mutches.[106] The probability that some of these items were made from homespun linen is high. Textile manufacture was a central part of the domestic economy across Scottish society.[107] The hard-working nature of Scottish women was often observed by travellers. Burt noticed that "almost everywhere, but chiefly in the low country" women spun their own table linen.[108] Another observer referred to the women of Edinburgh as being "very industrious" in the 1740s, "having the most part of their clothes the product of their own working."[109] Thirty-five per cent of the total women's inventories included some form of textile manufacturing equipment, such as spinning wheels, reels, and un-spun lint (Table 2.4). Women were more likely to own this equipment than men, suggesting that textile manufacturing equipment was seen as an unofficial part of a woman's paraphernalia, reflecting the notion that activities such as spinning were seen as women's work.[110]

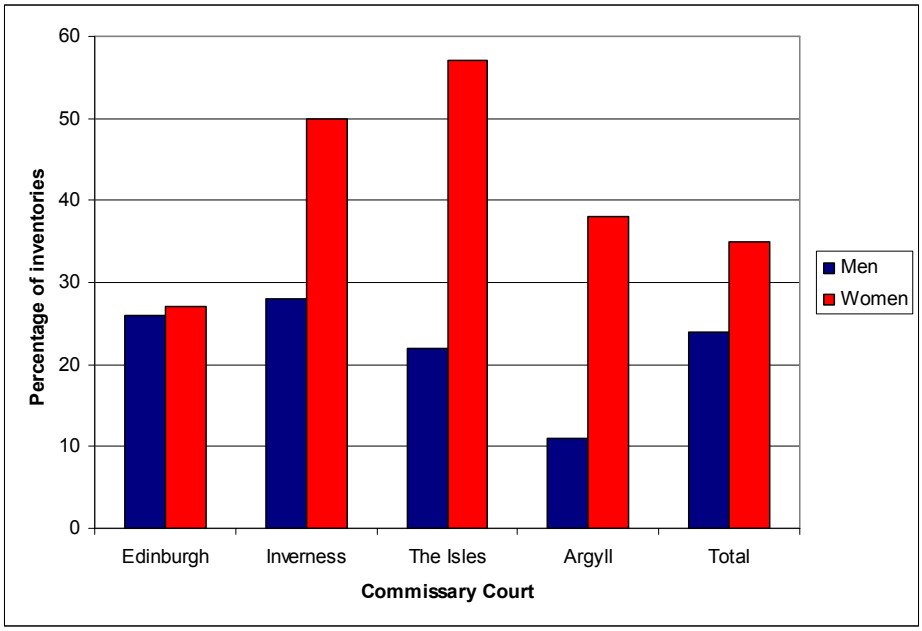

Table 2.4: Ownership of textile manufacturing equipment, 1700-1800.

Textile manufacturing equipment appeared in the inventories of women from across the social spectrum. Jean Hay, Dowager Countess of March, whose

[106] NAS CC8/8/103/130-145, inventory of Janet McIntyre nee Adam, ECC 1740.
[107] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.177.
[108] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.10; Durie, *Scottish Linen Industry,* p.38.
[109] *The Contrast: or, Scotland as it was in the Year 1745, and Scotland in the Year 1819,* (London, 1825), p.60.
[110] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p.78.

possessions were divided between a residence on the Canongate in Edinburgh and Neidpath Castle near Peebles, included two spinning wheels and a check reel, when she died in 1730.[111] At the other end of the social scale Elizabeth Robertson, the relict of a brewer in Edinburgh, had two spinning wheels, a check reel, and spindles of yarn among her possessions when she died in 1750.[112] Uncut pieces of fabric were also common in the inventories. In some cases it was clear that the fabric had been produced within the household. Elizabeth Ranken, a widow from Edinburgh, died in 1734 and her inventory included nineteen ells of "New Linning unbletched brought home by the Webster since the defuncts Death".[113] Ranken, or someone in her household, had spun the yarn and then taken it to a weaver to be made into cloth.[114] Whether the linen would then have been used within the household or sold on, is not clear.

Woollen garments appeared in twenty-nine per cent of the women's inventories which listed clothing. As with linen, it can be presumed that a high proportion of these fabrics were homespun.[115] The woollen fabrics included worsted, woollen stuff, drugget, and flannel. Woollen garments in the sample inventories ranged from the plaid gown of Margaret MacIlbride of Kilmichael Glassary who died in 1725,[116] to the flannel petticoats of Mrs Major who died in Edinburgh in 1750.[117] Inventories from the regions of Edinburgh, Inverness, and Argyll all referred to woollen fabrics. The only region where there was no mention of woollen clothing was the Isles. Although surprising, this result should not be interpreted as representing a complete lack of woollen cloth in this region. Visual and literary sources, as well as surviving artefacts such as plaids and arisaids, show that this was simply not the case.[118]

Silk garments – including gowns, aprons, and caps – also appeared in twenty-nine per cent of the women's inventories which listed clothing. This was a high result compared with the men's inventories. Unsurprisingly, most references came from

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[111] NAS CC8/8/92/591-598, inventory of Jean Hay, Dowager Countess of March, ECC 1730.
[112] NAS CC8/8/113/358-360, inventory of Elizabeth Robertson, ECC 1750.
[113] NAS CC8/8/96/333-353, inventory of Elizabeth Ranken, ECC 1734.
[114] Spinning was a common household activity but weaving was generally carried out by professionals. Graham, *Social Life of Scotland,* p.513.
[115] See Donnachie, 'Textile Industry in South West Scotland', pp.28-32; Graham, *Social Life of Scotland,* p.513.
[116] NAS CC2/3/8/255-257, inventory of Margaret MacIlbride, ACC 1725.
[117] NAS CC8/8/113/432-436, inventory of Mrs Major, ECC 1750.
[118] See Chapter 5.

the Edinburgh portion of the sample where silk items were recorded in inventories of women from a variety of backgrounds and financial situations. Larger silk items, such as gowns, appeared from an early point in the century.[119] Silk was also used for smaller garments, such as aprons. The use of an expensive fabric for a smaller item of clothing could help raise the profile of a wardrobe and its wearer. A silk apron and silk napkin were listed in the inventory of Hanna Thomson, along with jewellery and a pair of clogs, when she died in 1730.[120] No other clothing was listed in the inventory, emphasising the significance and value of these silk items. The only other region where silk items were recorded was Argyll in the inventory of Janet Sym. Sym was married to a baillie of Inverary and had one of the most elaborate and expensive wardrobes of this sample.[121] Sym owned a total of eight silk garments, including three silk gowns, silk hoods, and silk scarves. Such an extravagant wardrobe was likely the result of the social position of her husband. Sym would also have benefited from the relative proximity that Inverary had to the cosmopolitan society and economy of Glasgow, and to the silk industry of Paisley.[122] The lack of reference to silk in the inventories from the regions of the Isles and Inverness does not mean that these areas were devoid of more exotic fabrics. It is known from other sources that merchants in Inverness were recipients of a variety of fabrics from an early point in the century and that the spread of such goods was not unheard of in the more remote areas of Scotland.[123]

Cotton garments were listed in twenty-one per cent of the women's inventories which included items of clothing. Smaller items such as handkerchiefs played a major role in the dissemination of cotton throughout England in the eighteenth century.[124] As with the men's inventories, however, the lack of description of these items in this sample makes it impossible to verify whether or not Scottish women followed the same trends – items such as handkerchiefs were rarely described in detail. It is known from surviving household accounts, however, that this type of

[119] NAS CC8/8/84/587-588, inventory of Elizabeth Douglas, ECC 1710.
[120] NAS CC8/8/93/43, inventory of Hanna Thomson, ECC 1730.
[121] NAS CC2/3/11/25-27, inventory of Janet Sym, ACC 1735.
[122] Maureen Lochrie, 'The Paisley Shawl Industry', in Butt and Ponting (eds.), *Scottish Textile History,* pp.95-111, pp.98-99.
[123] William Mackay (ed.), *The Letter Book of Bailie John Steuart of Inverness, 1715-1752,* (Edinburgh, 1915), p.374.
[124] Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite,* pp.88-89.

item was being purchased. Lady Barbara Stuart, daughter of the fourth Earl of Traquair, regularly purchased cotton items in the 1730s, including a Barcelona napkin, lengths of blue and white check fabric, and muslin handkerchiefs.[125] What can be seen from the inventories is that women's wardrobes contained larger cotton items at a much earlier stage than men's. A calico nightgown was recorded in the inventory of Elizabeth Douglas in 1710,[126] and a calico gown and petticoat were owned by Agnes Keelling when she died in 1720.[127] In 1750, Mrs Major's purple and white calico gown hints at one of the main reasons behind the popularity of cotton – its ability to maintain bright colours and patterns.[128] Douglas, Keelling, and Major were all from Edinburgh which would have benefited from relatively close trade links with Glasgow which was the centre of the cotton import trade in the eighteenth century.[129] Cotton garments were also popular in the Inverness region. In 1751 Elspet Steuart from the parish of Abernethie died in possession of two cotton aprons.[130] By 1796 cotton had spread to full garments: Elspeth Grant from Riemore in Strathspey owned three "good Calicoe Gowns" worth 10s Sterling each, and a cotton coat worth 5s.[131]

The Highland / Lowland Dichotomy

The image of a nation is often created by the perceptions and observations of outsiders. This was especially true of the notion, dating from the fifteenth century,[132] that Scotland was unequivocally split between the Highlands and the Lowlands. Many outsiders observed differences in the culture and civility of the regions. Edmund Burt wrote that "the Highlanders differ from the people of the low country in almost every circumstance of life. Their language, customs, manners, dress etc., are unlike, and neither of them would be contented to be taken for the other."[133] In the early eighteenth century, the Highlands were perceived as a barbarous and wild

[125] Scottish Catholic Archives, FL4/1/3 Accounts of Lady Barbara Stuart, 10 February 1737, March 1738, July 21 1738.
[126] NAS CC8/8/84/587, inventory of Elizabeth Douglas, ECC 1710.
[127] NAS CC8/8/87/761-763, inventory of Agnes Keelling, ECC 1720.
[128] NAS CC8/8/113/432-435, inventory of Mrs Major, ECC 1750; Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite*, p.14; Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.110.
[129] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.228.
[130] NAS CC11/1/5/294-296, inventory of Elspet Steuart, ICC 1751.
[131] NAS CC11/1/6/401, inventory of Elspeth Grant, ICC 1796.
[132] Murray G.H. Pittock, *Scottish Nationality,* (Basingstoke, 2001), p.14.
[133] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.153.

country, inhabited by uncivilised and martial people. As the century progressed the region was seen more for its aesthetic qualities. With the growth of Romanticism and the search for the sublime, the Highland landscape and its people were idealised. This shift was evident in the changing tone of the travel accounts.[134] As a result of their proximity to England, in contrast, the Lowlands were generally viewed by travellers throughout the eighteenth century as more civilised and anglicised in their manners, habits, and dress.[135]

When it came to clothing, travellers' comments were mostly directed towards the male Highland dress which attracted attention as it was distinct from the majority of the travellers' own clothing cultures. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Highland dress was equated with the lawless nature of Highland society. Late in the seventeenth century chaplain Thomas Morer travelled round Scotland and was told by Lowlanders that Highlanders would use their voluminous dress to stow away stolen goods.[136] A hundred years later, and in line with the more romantic nineteenth-century sentiments, Dorothy Wordsworth saw the garb of the Highlander as aesthetically pleasing:

> …there was something uncommon and interesting in this man's appearance, which would have fixed our attention wherever we had met him. He was a complete Highlander in dress, figure and face, and a very fine looking man, hardy and vigorous, though past his prime. While he stood waiting for us in his bonnet and plaid, which never look more graceful than on horseback, I forgot our errand, and only felt glad that we were in the Highlands.[137]

In contrast, Wordsworth felt that the inhabitants of Glasgow had a "dullness in the dress" which was not nearly as visually exciting.[138] The attention that Highland dress attracted from the travel writers helped to perpetuate the notion that men of the Highlands and Lowlands dressed in distinctive manners. There were, of course, some differences between Highland and Lowland dress. Apart from the plaid which was often worn over suits of breeches, waistcoats and jackets, the dress of Lowland

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[134] Smout, 'Tours in the Scottish Highlands', pp.99-121; Smout, *Nature Contested,* p.18.
[135] There were some exceptions to this. Englishman Joseph Taylor travelled to Edinburgh in 1705 and saw Scotland in general as the "most barb'rous Country in the world" and feared for his life on his journey. Taylor, *Journey to Edenborough*, p.95.
[136] Morer, *Short Account of Scotland,* p.8. See also Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.234.
[137] Wordsworth, *Recollections,* p.87.
[138] Ibid., p.53.

Scottish males was not dissimilar from men across Europe - in style at least if not in quality.[139] Highland dress, on the other hand, came in a number of styles. The belted plaid attracted the most interest from travellers. One traveller at the turn of the nineteenth century described Highland dress as "much more picturesque and beautiful than the formal, tight, stiff habit of the English" and likened the garb to that of the ancient Romans.[140] In the early eighteenth century the belted plaid separated into two garments - the plaid and the little kilt, also known as the philabeg - frequently worn with shirt, waistcoat, and hose.[141] A further distinctive Highland garment was the trews, a tight fitting trouser made of tartan which covered the feet (Fig. 2.5). Trews were considered a gentleman's garment in the eighteenth century, rather than an item worn by those lower down the social scale.[142]

Fig. 2.5: Sir James MacDonald (1742-1766) and Sir Alexander MacDonald (1745-1795) as boys, attributed to William Mosman. James, on the right, wears the kilt with tartan waistcoat and coat. Alexander, on the left, wears trews. © Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

[139] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* pp.16-32.
[140] Thomas Garnett, *Observations on a Tour Through the Highlands and Part of the Western Isles of Scotland, Particularly Staff and Icolmkill,* 2 volumes, (London, 1800), ECCO, accessed 12 May 2010, vol. 2, p.10.
[141] Cheape, *Tartan,* p.29.
[142] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.231; Cheape, *Tartan,* p.22.

Although there were notable differences between Highland and Lowland dress, this dichotomy needs to be treated with caution. The two regions may have had distinct features but cultural exchange between them was also evident. Highland gentry, for instance, had been incorporating elements of Lowland culture into their everyday Highland life long before eighteenth-century travellers noted any differences or similarities between the regions.[143] What were considered by travellers to be 'Lowland 'elements of clothing such as the waistcoat and jacket,[144] had appeared in the wardrobes of the gentry from at least the early eighteenth century onwards.[145] Some of the more observant travellers picked up on these shared habits, noting that the blending of Highland and Lowland garb filtered down the social ranks. Burt wrote, for instance, that the "magistrates, merchants and shopkeepers" of the area around Inverness dressed "after the English manner."[146] This observation can be supported by the inventories. The wardrobe of Andrew Rose, an officer of excise at Miltown of Culloden who died in 1760, included silver buckles, hats, numerous coats of varying qualities and materials, velvet breeches, stockings, shoes, and wigs.[147] Use of clothing that was considered 'Lowland' also extended to tradesmen and craftsmen: Robert Law, a wright in Strachur in Argyll owned a black rug coat, a fustian waistcoat, and a blue coat and breeches when he died in 1734.[148] William Jack, a lister or dyer in Inverness, was in possession of a "big blew Coat" and two wigs when he died in 1756.[149] The impression given by the travel literature from the second half of the century was that the incorporation of Lowland clothes into the Highland setting was a direct result of the proscription act which banned tartan and Highland dress after the failure of the rebellion of 1745. The celebrated author, Samuel Johnson noted in the early 1770s that the philabeg was still common in the Hebrides but despite this usage, the proscription act had reduced the "dissimilitude of appearance between the Highlanders and the other inhabitants of

[143] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.42.
[144] Morer, *Short Account of Scotland,* p.13; Topham, *Letters from Edinburgh*, p.20.
[145] Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury,* p.42.
[146] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.48.
[147] NAS CC11/1/6/41-45, inventory of Andrew Rose, ICC 1760.
[148] NAS CC2/3/8/364-366, inventory of Robert Law, ACC 1734.
[149] NAS CC11/1/15/381-374, inventory of William Jack, ICC 1756.

Britain."[150] Burt's account and the inventories mentioned above, show that this trend had been occurring long before the proscription act had been introduced.

The travel accounts make it clear that Highland dress was worn, at least to some degree, throughout the eighteenth century. No reference was found, however, to the distinctive components of Highland dress in the sample of inventories. Neither the philabeg nor the trews were listed. The only items that could be considered part of Highland dress that did appear in the inventories were hose – a type of stocking which was often made of red and white check material (Fig. 2.5) – and the bonnet.[151] References to hose were also found in Lowland inventories,[152] however, and as seen in Chapter 1, the bonnet was not exclusively a Highland garment. There were multiple references to plaids but the problems of terminology make it hard to identify whether the plaids listed had been used for clothing or bedding.[153]

The lack of reference to Highland dress can be explained by considering the relationship between dress and social status. According to Burt, it was the "ordinary Highlanders" who wore the Highland dress, which he found "disagreeable to the eye" and likened it to the dress of poor women in London.[154] These "ordinary Highlanders" would have been tenant farmers and cottars whose farming equipment and stock were more important sources of moveable wealth than clothing. With less wealth than say the merchants, magistrates, and gentry, these men may have only owned one set of clothing. This one set of clothing could have been in too poor a condition to record and value, or it could have been buried with its owner. With the versatile use of plaids as clothing and bedding, its utilisation as a shroud would be the next logical step.

Taking into account the limitations of the inventories it should not be assumed that Highland dress was simply not worn. Too much evidence exists elsewhere to refute this, most notably the government's determined efforts to minimise its

[150] Samuel Johnson, *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland,* (London, 1775), ECCO, accessed 10 May 2010, p.114.
[151] Hose references: NAS CC2/3/11/53-60, inventory of John Ramsay, ACC 1737. Bonnet references: NAS CC11/1/5/364-368, inventory of James Grant alias McWillie, ICC 1755; CC12/3/5/16-22, inventory of Coll MacDugald, TICC 1755; CC11/1/6/412-456, inventory of David Dean, ICC 1799.
[152] NAS CC8/8/128/943-1017, inventory of James Reid, ECC 1790.
[153] Cheape, *Tartan,* p.24.
[154] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.232.

symbolic status as a rallying point after the 1745 rising.[155] What should be accepted, however, as evidenced by both the inventories and the early travel accounts, is that Lowland dress was incorporated into Highland society by men of differing social ranks and backgrounds, before the ban against Highland dress was imposed.

Footwear

Footwear in the long eighteenth century, as with other garments, was taken as a sign of wealth, prosperity, or social status. It has been argued that leather shoes in particular were a visual representation not only of the individual wearing them but of the wealth of the nation in general.[156] Eighteenth-century society was no stranger to this idea and travellers to England expressed surprise that the general population "wore wigs and leather shoes."[157] Travellers to Scotland, however, encountered an entirely different picture. Thomas Morer had been surprised to see that "some of the better sort, Lay and Clergy, made their Little Ones go in the same manner [without shoes], which I thought I piece of Cruelty in *them*, what I imputed to the *others* Poverty."[158] Edmund Burt came across lairds and Highland chiefs who did not wear shoes which he interpreted to be a result of impoverished conditions and an exaggerated concern for frugality.[159] Bare feet were even noticed in the capital, offending one observer's "English delicacy".[160] Shock was frequently expressed that it was generally women who went without shoes. Morer recorded that even in Edinburgh "Their Ordinary Women go *bare-foot,* especially in the Summer. Yet the Husbands have Shooes, and therein seem unkind in letting their Wives bear those hardships without partaking themselves."[161]

From the inventories of both men and women which referred to items of clothing, thirty-three per cent recorded some form of footwear - shoes, boots, or clogs (Table 2.6). Forty percent of the men's inventories recorded shoes, compared with nineteen per cent of women's. These figures would seem to support the travel literature in its

[155] Dunbar, *Highland Dress,* pp.51-81.
[156] Giorgio Riello, *A Foot in the Past: Consumers, Producers and Footwear in the Long Eighteenth Century,* (Oxford, 2006), p.30.
[157] Ibid., p.32.
[158] Morer, *Short Account of Scotland,* p.15.
[159] Burt, *Letters from the North,* pp.194, 235.
[160] Hanway, *Journey to the Highlands*, p.9.
[161] Morer, *Short Account of Scotland,* pp.14-15. See also Wordsworth, *Recollections,* pp.15, 36, 44, 71.

assertions that women were more likely to be barefoot than men. These figures are low compared with studies carried out on eighteenth-century French society. At the turn of the eighteenth century, thirty-two per cent of the artisans and shopkeepers studied in Paris were found to own shoes. Twenty per cent of women of a similar social status also listed footwear.[162] By 1789 these figures had increased to sixty-six per cent of the sample of inventories for both genders.[163] Although Scotland was a poorer country than France and shoes were an expensive item of clothing, the lack of reference to footwear in the Scottish inventories does not necessarily mean lack of ownership. As a valuable and useful article of clothing, it is likely that shoes were removed from the deceased's possessions before the inventory was made.[164]

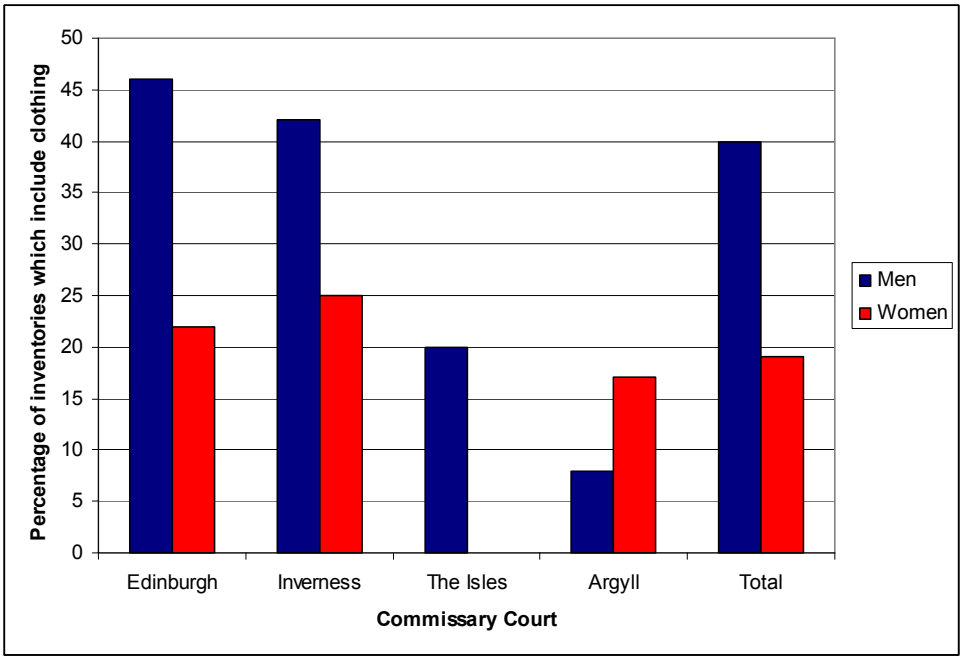

Table 2.6: Ownership of footwear, 1700-1800.

The majority of the women who had shoes among their possessions in this sample came from Edinburgh – reflecting the fact that the shoe-making trade was more accessible in urban areas.[165] The quality, condition, and style of footwear varied considerably, as did the social statuses of the women who owned them. Agnes

[162] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.121.
[163] Ibid., p.135.
[164] Ibid., p.125.
[165] There were 106 shoemakers, one paton maker and one heel maker in Edinburgh in 1780-1781. Peter Williamson, *Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh; Canongate, Leith and Suburbs from June 1780-June 1781,* ECCO, accessed 13 April 2009. Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.135.

Keelling had a "new pair of mens shoes" listed amongst her possessions when she died in 1720.[166] As a widow it is possible that the shoes had been her husband's and she had kept them for their practical and hard wearing qualities as men's shoes were more likely to be made of leather than women's.[167] It was also possible that a misidentification had been made; the lower ranks of women in English society "wore leather shoes of a form similar to men",[168] the same could easily be said for Scottish women. Two references to clogs were found in this sample: Hanna Thomson had a pair in her possession when she died in 1730, and Agnes Wilson had two pairs of shoes and three pairs of clogs when she died in 1739.[169] Both women were from Edinburgh and were married respectively to a craftsman and a tradesman so it is not unreasonable to assume that the clogs were a form of 'work shoe' used in their husbands' workshops. Although there were no servant's inventories in this sample it is known that shoes often formed part of the yearly wages throughout the eighteenth century, and as such footwear was available to a cross section of society.[170] Fashionable footwear was found in the inventory of Katharine Kinloch, who owned two pairs of pumps, a close fitting shoe with no fastening,[171] and a pair of silk shoes when she died in 1750.[172] Janet Sym, who died in 1735, also owned a pair of silk shoes.[173] Kinloch had been married to a merchant and Sym's husband was a bailie. Through their husbands' occupations these women had more call for silk shoes than the wives of the tradesmen and craftsmen.

Only one reference to women's shoes appeared in this sample after 1750. Elspet Steuart from the Inverness region, who died in 1751, owned a pair of woman's shoes that were "half worn".[174] The absence of references to shoes after this date could be

[166] NAS CC8/8/87/761-793, inventory of Agnes Keelling, ECC 1720.
[167] Riello, *Foot in the Past,* p.35.
[168] Peter McNeil and Giorgio Riello, 'The Art and Science of Walking: Gender, Space, and the Fashionable Body in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Fashion Theory,* 9:2 (2005), pp.175-204, p.180.
[169] NAS CC/8/8/93/43, inventory of Hanna Thomson, ECC 1730; CC8/8/103/72-75, inventory of Agnes Wilson, ECC 1740.
[170] Lady Grisell Baillie purchased shoes for her servants on a regular basis. Robert Scott-Moncrieff, *The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692-1733,* (Edinburgh, 1911), pp.117-118. Later in the century the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* reported that both male and female servants could expect to receive shoes as part of their wages, see Rev. John Mackinnon, 'Parish of Kilmadan', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-1799/Argyle/Kilmadan/4/340, accessed 16 April 2009.
[171] Riello, *Foot in the Past,* p.249.
[172] NAS CC8/8/113/570-574, inventory of Katharine Kinloch, ECC 1750.
[173] NAS CC2/3/11/25-27, inventory of Janet Sym, ACC 1735.
[174] NAS CC11/1/5/294-296, inventory Elspet Steuart, ICC 1751.

due to a number of factors. First, they could have been removed before the inventory was created. Secondly, it could be a result of a decline in the detail of inventories over the course of the eighteenth century - a pattern that has been identified in inventories from England.[175] This does not seem to be the case with the Scottish inventories, where the level of detail continued to depend on who had made the inventory. Thirdly, and most plausible, was developments in fashion. Lighter shoes, similar to the pumps owned by Kinloch, became fashionable at the end of the eighteenth century.[176] These shoes had a short shelf life, often less than a month, and thus had a high rate of turnover and would be less likely to be included in the inventories.[177]

For men's shoes the results from Edinburgh spanned a wide social spectrum. Alexander Campbell, an advocate and commissary of the artillery at Edinburgh Castle, owned numerous types of footwear according with his private and public images. At his death in 1725 he owned two pairs of shoes, a pair of slippers, and three pairs of boots.[178] The shoes would have been worn in his professional capacity as an advocate. The slippers were more suitable for being worn within the home, while the boots would have been appropriate for his military duties.[179] Walter Colvill, a baker from Edinburgh who died in 1768, owned three pairs of shoes and a pair of boots which were valued along with a saddle and a bridle.[180] In early eighteenth-century England boots were viewed as being "alien to any notion of 'gentility'".[181] In Edinburgh, however, boots were popular with a cross section of men suggesting that there was less snobbery regarding boots in Scotland than there was in England.

References to men's footwear from the Highland regions were rare with most occurring in the Inverness sample, highlighting the connection between footwear and urban living. Boots, traditionally considered footwear associated with the "country

[175] Overton et al., *Production and Consumption,* p.17.
[176] McNeil and Riello, 'Art and Science of Walking', p.192.
[177] The daughters of George II were allowed to purchase a new pair of shoes every week as they wore out so quickly. Riello, *Foot in the Past,* p.26.
[178] NAS CC8/8/90/387-397, inventory of Alexander Campbell, ECC 1726.
[179] Riello, *Foot in the Past,* p.39.
[180] NAS CC8/8/121/173-179, inventory of Walter Colvill, ECC 1768.
[181] Riello, *Foot in the Past,* pp.70-71.

environment",[182] were listed more than shoes. They appeared in the inventories of a tacksman, a military captain, and an officer of excise, all occupations which would have required a certain amount of travel, most probably on horseback.[183] Only one man from the Isles had listed footwear: Alexander Cunison, a minister on the island of Mull, owed "ane gude pair of boots" when he died in 1718.[184] In the case of the more remote and rural Highland regions the absence of footwear could come down to the type of footwear, the Highland 'brogue', as well as to the possibility that shoes were removed before the inventory was made. Burt described the brogue as being the footwear of the poorer inhabitants of Inverness: "a sort of pumps without heels, which keep them little more from the wet and dirt than if they had none, but they serve to defend their feet from the gravel and stones."[185] According to Martin Martin brogues were made out of various animal hides, such as deer, cow or horse, seal on Orkney, and goose necks on St Kilda.[186] Samuel Johnson furthermore, noted that when made of raw hides, brogues were said "not to last above two days" and that even when made with stronger tanned leather, they were still not particularly durable.[187] As with the later eighteenth-century fashionable pumps, the brogue did not last long enough to be passed on from person to person and would have been excluded from the inventories.

Bare feet, like Highland dress, were noticeable to travellers because they were out of the ordinary and thus, to them, worthy of comment. Joseph Mawman admitted as much in 1805, commenting that the "conspicuously active spring of the ball of the foot, and the powerful grasp of the toes" attracted his gaze.[188] It would take a number of imaginative travel writers to fabricate a complete lack of footwear - there is no doubt that some people were not well shod. However, the inventories demonstrate that both men and women, from a variety of social statuses, had access

[182] Ibid., p.70.
[183] NAS CC11/1/5/412-421, inventory of Duncan Shaw, tacksman, ICC 1759; CC11/1/5/13-20, inventory of Alexander McKenzie, captain, ICC 1759; CC11/1/6/41-45, inventory of Andrew Rose, officer of excise, ICC 1760.
[184] NAS CC12/3/2/44-6, inventory of Alexander Cunison, TICC 1718.
[185] Burt, *Letters from the North,* p.41.
[186] Martin, *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,* pp.246, 374, 455-456.
[187] Johnson, *Journey to the Western Islands*, p.110.
[188] Joseph Mawman, *Excursion to the Highlands of Scotland and the English Lakes, with Recollections, Descriptions, and References to Historical Facts,* (London, 1805), p.151.

to footwear. Furthermore, bearing the limitations of the inventories in mind, the numbers discussed here should be considered the minimum.

Conclusion

The quantitative data of the inventories of possessions taken at death provides valuable information that enables examination of Scottish clothing from an objective point of view. Inventories show what basic garments, fabrics, and accessories were used and owned by the Scottish population. They show that the staple items of clothing of Scottish men and women in the eighteenth century were similar to clothing worn elsewhere in Europe. Breeches, jackets, gowns, and petticoats were all common items of Scottish clothing in both Highland and Lowland areas, and in rural and urban environments. The division between the dress of the Highlands and Lowlands was therefore not as distinct as has been thought. The inventories have also shown that eighteenth-century Scottish clothing was subject to similar processes of chronological change that had occurred elsewhere. This includes the spread of cotton garments over different regions and the continuing predominance of wool and homespun fabrics throughout the eighteenth century.

By examining inventories in relation to the travel literature a more nuanced perspective has been obtained on aspects of Scottish dress that were viewed as a national stereotype by the end of the eighteenth century. Highland dress and bare feet were evident in Scottish society, but examination of the inventories helps to question the validity of these stereotypes, highlighting issues of location, gender, and status.

There are gaps, however, in the information that is provided by the inventories. The use of clothing for different purposes, such as private or public life, was hinted at in descriptions where items of clothing were described as best dress, or there were distinctions made between the fabrics of garments. But it cannot be said for certain what the owner actually used these items for. Inventories provide the basic information needed to ascertain what was being worn, where, and when. They do not, however, tell us how the eighteenth-century population used and perceived these items of clothing to project certain identities. Inventories alone cannot provide enough information on how people interacted with these garments, or even what the clothing looked like on the wearer.

Chapter 3:

Occupational Identities: Professional and Working Dress

Occupation was inextricably linked with status in the long eighteenth century. Both professionals and the working population used clothing to advertise and promote their occupation and by extension their status in society. In some cases the garments were formulaic and traditional, used to denote power and authority rather than having any practical purpose. In others, the garments were generic with other members of similar social status, regardless of the occupation, and yet as an ensemble they represented membership of a particular working group and a place in society. In both circumstances an awareness of the symbolism behind such clothing was apparent.

The clothing of two separate groups will be investigated. The first section will consider clothing habits of professionals, specifically the medical and legal professions in Edinburgh.[1] The second section will examine the dress of those loosely defined as 'workers' who fall under the categories of trades, crafts, and labour from both Edinburgh and further afield.[2] Traditionally the dress of crafts and trades workers has been viewed as having a practical rather than an aesthetic quality, contrasting with professional dress which had the potential to follow fashion over function.[3] It will be argued, however, that despite the differing social statuses of these groups, concern over image and appreciation for sartorial symbolism was recognised by both groups as a means to promote reputation, respectability, and a collective identity.[4]

Portraiture and more informal artworks, such as engravings and sketches, are the main source used here to access these collective and occupational identities. Works of art can be used to determine how clothing was worn, used, received, and perceived within a historical society:

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[1] 'Professionals' have been defined as those in skilled service occupations requiring a specialist knowledge or training, Penelope J. Corfield, *Power and the Professions in Britain 1700-1850,* (London, 1995), p.19.
[2] Diana de Marly, *Working Dress: A History of Occupational Clothing,* (London, 1986), p.1.
[3] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.45.
[4] A similar argument has been made regarding notions of reputation and respectability in eighteenth-century Edinburgh in general, where individuals across the social spectrum were anxious to emphasise comparable personal qualities such as a devout nature or hard work ethic. R.A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of the Enlightenment: Edinburgh, 1660-1760,* (Oxford, 1998), pp.23, 101.

> In a work of art, more of the whole picture of clothed humanity is literally revealed; we can see details of the clothes themselves, how they 'work' on the body, and what they signify with regard not just to sex, age and class, but to status and cultural aspirations.[5]

Visual sources such as portraiture are particularly complex, often containing multiple social and cultural meanings that are not always immediately apparent to the modern observer.[6] As with surviving objects and documentary sources, portraiture has to be read and interpreted in order to extract these social and cultural meanings.[7] An understanding of these meanings can be helped by considering the context within which the artwork was commissioned, created, and displayed[8] - all factors which had an impact on the original purpose and meaning of the piece.

Art is subjective and portraiture, in particular, can be affected not only by the aims of the artist but by the wishes of the sitter. Clothing and textiles, for instance, were deliberately selected to represent the virtues, characteristics, and accomplishments of the subject – a representation that could be based on reality or the aspirations of the sitter.[9] The clothing depicted in portraiture and other forms of artwork, does not necessarily represent the actual clothing that was worn on a day-to-day basis.[10] Clothing was often chosen for its "timeless qualities",[11] rather than for being the most fashionable style at the time. These artistic conventions need to be remembered when using portraiture as an historical source as an understanding of such conventions can help interpret the meanings behind the portraits and the use of clothing to convey social and cultural messages.

Portraits are examined along with more informal pieces of art work such as engravings by John Kay and sketches by David Allan. These works were not subject to same painterly conventions as portraiture, such as pandering to the demands of the sitter. This provides a valuable comparative element, useful for considering those lower down the social scale who were not typically represented in formal portraiture. Images from gravestones are also used. The carving of trade emblems and figures on

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[5] Aileen Ribeiro, 'Re-Fashioning Art: Some Visual Approaches to the Study of Dress History', *Fashion Theory,* 2:4 (1998), pp.315-326, p.320.
[6] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.115.
[7] Ribeiro, 'Re-Fashioning Art', p.323.
[8] Pointon, *Hanging the Head,* p.13.
[9] Ribeiro, 'Re-Fashioning Art', p.321; Ribeiro, *Art of Dress,* p.7.
[10] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* pp.19, 22.
[11] Ibid., p.19; Tarrant, *Collecting Costume,* p.33.

gravestones in Scotland had been established in the seventeenth century and like portraiture, these images provide an insight into how people viewed themselves and their position in society.[12] These images were created for the posterity of the individual concerned and they transcend the boundaries of the public and the private image. Bearing in mind the subjective nature of all these types of visual images, the information on clothing obtained from the images will be compared with that of the inventories of possessions taken at death studied for the previous chapter. This enables comparisons to be made between the often idealised clothing in visual sources, with the actual clothing of the inventories.

Professional Dress

The portraits from the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh are a rich resource. They show the chronological progression of the dress of surgeons from bright, rich colours in the early eighteenth century to darker and plainer dress at the end of the century. The earliest works relevant to this study are a collection of portraits of members of the Incorporation of Surgeon-Apothecaries by Sir John de Medina from the turn of the eighteenth century.[13] The majority of the subjects are shown wearing a wrap of a deep orange red colour. The use of a wrap was a common device used by portrait painters to prevent the depiction of clothing that might date quickly.[14] The amount of clothing shown under the wrap in these portraits varies. A coat of light blue/dove grey silk with small, round gold buttons and a white cravat is fully visible in the portrait of Henry Hamilton, for instance, while just a glimpse of a red coat and white cravat appears in James Hamilton's portrait (Fig. 3.1 and Fig. 3.2).

[12] Betty Willsher and Doreen Hunter, *Stones: A Guide to Some Remarkable Eighteenth-Century Gravestones,* (Edinburgh, 1978), p.62; Islay Donaldson, *Midlothian Gravestones,* (Midlothian, 1994), pp.5-14.
[13] Alastair H.B. Masson, *Portraits, Paintings and Busts in the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh,* (Edinburgh, 1995), p.xix.
[14] Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* p.19.

Fig. 3.1: Henry Hamilton by Sir John de Medina, c.1700. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

Fig. 3.2: James Hamilton by Sir John de Medina, c.1700. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

These portraits were commissioned by the College, most likely to commemorate the completion of the first purpose-built Surgeon's Hall in 1697, and they represent the earliest example of a collection of portraits for a professional institution.[15] They also represent the increased professionalisation of the medical profession which occurred over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, where members saw a "gradual clarification of their numbers, authority, knowledge, associations, and training."[16] The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had seen the rivalries between the various medical practitioners in Edinburgh take up much time and energy with each group trying to establish itself in an unregulated medical market.[17] The competition between surgeons and physicians in particular lasted well into the eighteenth century with the physicians frequently asserting their professional and social superiority.[18] This makes the Medina portraits of the surgeon-apothecaries

[15] Masson, *Portraits, Paintings and Busts,* p.xix; James Holloway, *Patrons and Painters: Art in Scotland 1650-1760,* (Edinburgh, 1989), p.39. See also, Stana Nenadic, 'The Enlightenment in Scotland and the Popular Passion for Portraits', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies,* 21 (1998), pp.175-192, p.176.
[16] Corfield, *Power and the Professions,* p.18; see also Helen Dingwall, *'A Famous and Flourishing Society': The History of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, 1505-2005,* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.6-7.
[17] Ibid., p.34.
[18] Helen Dingwall, *Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries: Medicine in Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh,* (East Linton, 1995), pp.213-214, 221.

even more remarkable as they represent a collective authority, a collective intelligence, and a collective professional and social identity. This was emphasised by installing the paintings within the surgeons' own institution, the very existence of the portraits issuing a statement to their professional competitors.[19] Individuality was still maintained, however, through the varying uses of the wrap and glimpses of individual clothing.

Portraits of the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century from the College's collection differ widely from those by Medina; dark colours predominate, as do duller fabrics. The increase in popularity of black and dark materials in men's clothing, which reached its peak in the late nineteenth century, has been traced to many sources, each of which have a connection with seriousness and/or morality. It can be argued that black was a "power colour", associated with death and used to inspire fear.[20] It was also connected with royalty through Philip the Good in Burgundy and Charles V in Spain, thus representing an assertion of power, patronage, and status.[21] In the case of eighteenth-century Scotland it is not unreasonable to assume a connection between black, sombre dress and the Calvinist influence as Calvin himself had worn black.[22] The popularity of black was also perpetuated by the adoption and dissemination of rational thinking and the common sense approach during the Enlightenment, which would have encouraged the move away from elaborate and superfluously decorated clothing.[23]

Three portraits depicting three generations of the same family show the transitions that were made in male dress during this period. The first is that of Alexander Monro primus, surgeon and professor of anatomy from 1720.[24] Monro is depicted wearing a dark green/brown coat with white cravat and white curled wig, as well as a black academic gown indicating his position as a scholar (Fig. 3.3). In a print based on the portrait, a copy of which hangs in the Royal College of Physicians in

[19] Ludmilla Jordanova, 'Medical Men 1780-1820', in Joanna Woodall (ed.), *Portraiture: Facing the Subject,* (Manchester 1997), pp.101-118, p.101; Woodruff Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability 1600-1800,* (London, 2002), p.216; Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p.13-14.
[20] John Harvey, *Men in Black,* (London, 1995), pp.41-55.
[21] Ibid., pp.77-78.
[22] Ibid., p.86.
[23] M.A. Stewart, 'Religion and Rational Theology', in Alexander Broadie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment,* (Cambridge, 2005), pp.31-59.
[24] Anita Guerrini, 'Monro, Alexander, primus (1697-1767)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18964, accessed 14 July 2010.

Edinburgh, the tassels on the gown were made more distinct than in the portrait, thus making the academic and professional position of Monro clearer to the popular audience.[25] The coloured coat represents Monro's individuality while the black academic gown on top of his clothes effaces his individual status and emphasises his role as a member of the medical and academic professions.[26]

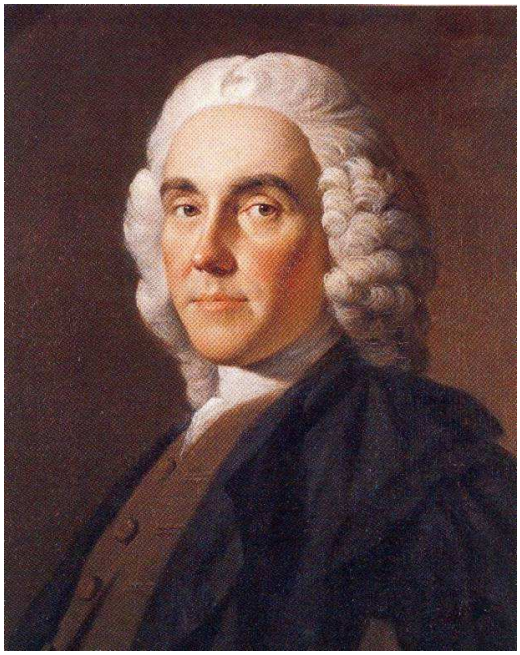

Fig. 3.3: Alexander Monro primus (1697-1767) attributed to Allan Ramsay. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

Monro primus was succeeded to the chair of anatomy by his son, Alexander Monro secundus in 1758.[27] In a portrait of Monro secundus by John T. Seton, black had pervaded the sartorial domain. Monro secundus is depicted in a white curled wig, smaller than that of his father and fitting with the style of the day, a black suit including black breeches with black buttons, and black stockings. A glimpse of linen can be seen at the cuffs of his sleeves and at his neck with a small cravat. As with his father, the outfit is completed with a black academic gown (Fig. 3.4). Monro secundus's pose is more relaxed than that of his father's, the portrait gives the

[25] Nenadic, 'Enlightenment in Scotland', p.185.
[26] Harvey, *Men in Black,* p.43.
[27] David Daiches, 'The Scottish Enlightenment', in David Daiches, Peter Jones and Jean Jones (eds.), *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-1790,* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp.1-41, p.26.

impression that he is in the middle of conversation, perhaps explaining the instrument in his left hand. Individuality in clothing is superseded in this case by the presence of medical equipment which, combined with the black ensemble, emphasises the specialised knowledge and professional identity of the sitter.[28] The pre-eminence of black was then confirmed in the portrait of Alexander Monro tertius, son of Monro secundus, from the nineteenth century. Monro tertius is depicted in a black coat, possibly of velvet, with white stock and cravat, and black academic gown. Wigs had gone out of fashion by this point and he is sporting his natural hair (Fig. 3.5). Each man used black as a representation of "learned gravity",[29] an appropriate colour for men who engaged in the serious work of the study of anatomy, and these three portraits show the reliance on black to represent a professional identity.

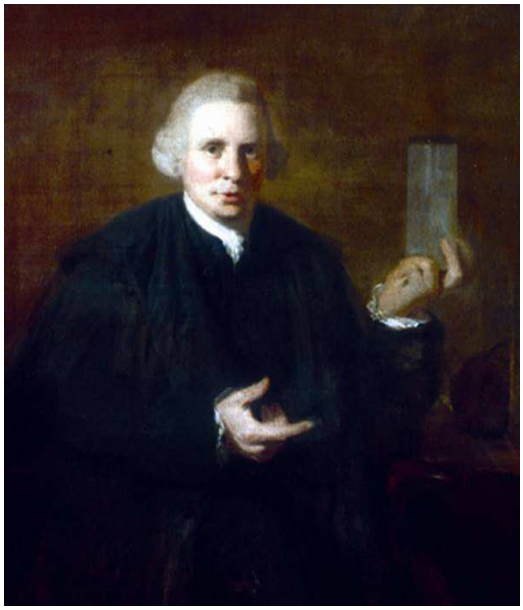

Fig. 3.4: Alexander Monro secundus (1733-1817) by John T. Seton. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

Fig. 3.5: Alexander Monro tertius (1753-1859) by Kenneth Macleay. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

The adoption of black and dark clothing by members of the medical community is clearly seen in the engravings of John Kay, the Edinburgh barber turned caricaturist. Kay's works provide a fascinating and perceptive insight into the social mores of

[28] Ludmilla Jordanova, *Defining Features: Scientific and Medical Portraits 1660-2000,* (London, 2000), p.40.
[29] Harvey, *Men in Black,* pp.141-142.

Edinburgh's political and social elite at the turn of the nineteenth century. Many of his engravings represented what he saw in his subjects. He would highlight quirks of their personalities resulting in many cases in images that his subjects would not have wished to display given the choice.[30] The surgeons and physicians were generally depicted in black clothing – black shoes, black stockings, black breeches, black coats, black waistcoats, and black hats of various styles. The only relief was the occasional glimpse of a white shirt at the neck and cuffs, the buckles on the shoes and breeches, and a wig. Kay's engraving of Alexander Wood from 1784 shows the eminent surgeon walking along North Bridge. Wood is shown wearing a black bi-corn hat, tie wig with curls at the side, a white stock and cravat, a long plain black coat with linen cuffs visible at his hands, black breeches, black stockings, black leather shoes with silver buckles, and an umbrella under his arm (Fig. 3.6). A portrait by George Watson in the collection of the Royal College of Surgeons is a more formal representation of this outfit with a noticeable difference between the materials of the waistcoat, which is of silk or satin, and the coat (Fig. 3.7).

Fig. 3.6: Alexander Wood (1726-1807) by John Kay, 1784. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

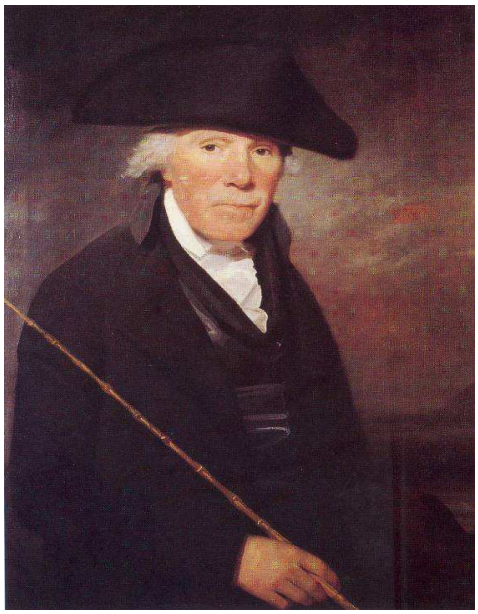

Fig. 3.7: Alexander Wood by George Watson Reproduced with the kind permission of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh.

[30] Stana Nenadic, 'Raeburn's Engraved Portraits and the Construction of 'Enlightened' Identities' in S. Lloyd and V. Coltman (eds.), *Henry Raeburn: Critical Reception and International Reputation* (forthcoming), p.7. Kay was sued over one of his images in 1792. He was also cudgelled in the street by someone who protested against his work. H. and M. Evans, *John Kay of Edinburgh: Barber, Miniaturist and Social Commentator,* (Edinburgh, 1973), p.21.

Physicians and surgeons were "less confined to professional premises than lawyers"[31] - even if they were attached to an institution, house calls and visits were still required. Subsequently most of Kay's depictions of the medical profession were in the street and in their "day clothes".[32] These clothes were the ones seen everyday by the general public which conformed to general expectations of sartorial decency as well as to expectations associated with the serious roles of the medical profession.[33] The similarities between Watson's portrait and Kay's engraving, furthermore, testify to Kay's abilities for accurate representation of dress as well as to the dominance of black in these men's public and professional personas.

The exceptions to the black dress code demonstrated by Kay's engravings were few and far between. The most notable is the depiction of the self-proclaimed Dr James Graham, famous for establishing the Temple of Health and Hymen in London. Like Wood, Graham is depicted walking on North Bridge in Edinburgh. He is wearing a black hat, bag wig, light coloured suit with elaborately ruffled shirt, dark stockings, and black shoes (Fig. 3.8). A further engraving by Kay, however, highlights the differences between work and social life (or public and private) and the corresponding dress for these situations. This second engraving shows Graham lecturing to a crowd of gentlemen, which no doubt included a number of doctors, again in Edinburgh. He is still wearing a tie wig but being indoors has no need for the hat. His suit is black with the usual glimpses of white at the neck and sleeves (Fig. 3.9). In the first engraving Graham was in a social situation, an opportunity for him to display his own taste and style. In the second engraving, however, Graham was at work among his peers and associates, most of whom were also wearing dark muted tones and so he, too, adopted the appropriate and expected clothing for such an occasion.[34]

[31] Harvey, *Men in Black,* p. 141.
[32] Nenadic, 'Raeburn's Engraved Portraits', p.8.
[33] Corfield, *Power and the Professions,* p.21.
[34] Ibid.

Fig. 3.8: James Graham (1745-1794) and Miss Dunbar by John Kay, 1785. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

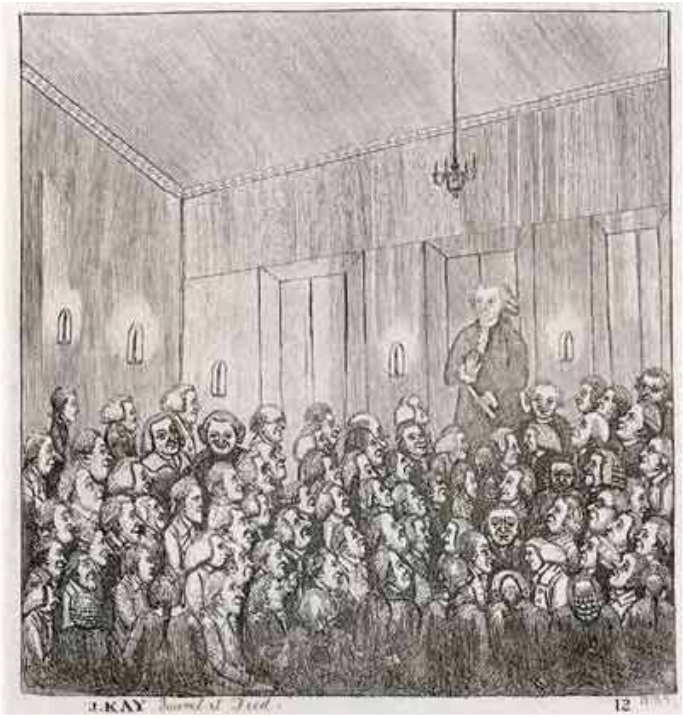

Fig. 3.9: James Graham lecturing in Edinburgh by John Kay, 1785. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The evidence from the inventories of possessions taken at death of men in the medical profession in Edinburgh supports the image given by the portraits and the engravings. All of the inventories of the Edinburgh medical professionals which appeared in the sample studied for Chapter 2 had items of clothing listed amongst their possessions.[35] Of these inventories, forty-four per cent included black garments, mainly breeches, waistcoats, and coats. In the inventory of Henry Cullen, a physician in Edinburgh, seven coats were listed.[36] Three were black, one was brown, and one was striped (the other two were not described). Of the eight pairs of breeches, three were listed as black the other five were not described. Some colour did enter the wardrobe in the waistcoats or vests, of which there were twenty-four. Cullen's waistcoats were not all described in detail: one was of black Florentine material and came with matching breeches; six were white vests which were apparently popular from the 1780s;[37] one was described simply as "coloured", and another was listed with the striped coat and was probably of the same material. It is not unreasonable to think that Cullen's more elaborate waistcoats, such as the striped and coloured ones, were worn at social occasions and the black or darker ones were reserved for professional purposes. The restriction of elaborate designs to waistcoats and vests rather than to breeches and coats was typical of the overall simplification of male dress in the eighteenth century.[38]

Comparisons can be made between the Edinburgh medical inventories and studies carried out on their Parisian counterparts. Doctors and lawyers in eighteenth-century Paris owned on average twenty-six shirts and ten pairs of stockings each.[39] The average number of shirts owned by the Edinburgh medical profession in this sample was twenty-seven and the average number of pairs of stockings was thirteen. Edinburgh medics were thus on a par with, if not better clothed than, their Parisian equivalents. The large number of shirts accords with the greater attention paid to

[35] Nine inventories of members of the medical profession appeared in the Edinburgh portion of the sample studied for Chapter 2 – see Appendix.
[36] NAS CC8/8/128/1542/1552, inventory of Henry Cullen, ECC 1790. Henry Cullen was the son of William Cullen, professor of medicine at Glasgow and professor of chemistry at Edinburgh. Both men died in 1790. William Cullen had died intestate before Henry who was given charge of his father's moveable property, thus Henry's inventory contains both his and his father's wardrobe.
[37] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.58.
[38] Ibid., pp.20-21. This trend also manifested among the lower sections of society, see Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.39.
[39] Ibid, p.177.

cleanliness, a trend which had developed since the sixteenth century where the ability to be clean depended on the amount of linen garments owned: "if you felt sweaty, you changed your linen…It was the linen which 'washed'".[40] This was a perception that persisted into the eighteenth century. The number of shirts in the Cullen inventory was below the average but numerous enough to wear two per day if necessary. Twelve ruffled shirts were listed ranging in value from 5s 2d Sterling to 12s, and four old plain shirts. The shirts represent two images – the old, plain shirts were more likely to be worn at home, in private; the ruffled shirts, as seen in the images above, represented a public image. The Cullen inventory also contained significant quantities of detachable items. Three lots "of breast and hand ruffles" worth 3s 10d in total were listed, as were numerous cravats, neckcloths and handkerchiefs. These detachable pieces were part of an elaborate "desire for illusion", and sought to deliberately "extend linen and increase its surface" as a sign of cleanliness and by extension, wealth and respectability.[41]

Wigs were an important item of the eighteenth-century wardrobe. Much has been written on the contemporary rhetoric and polemics about wigs from the eighteenth century, analysing the role wigs played in establishing a man's gendered, social, and political authority.[42] Although an expensive garment that required care and attention, the wig was considered an essential part of men's wardrobes across society.[43] Forty-four per cent of the medical inventories listed wigs or items which can be associated with wig wearing. Charles Lumisden, a surgeon-apothecary and burgess of Edinburgh, did not have an extensive wardrobe when he died in 1735; valued at just £1 1s Sterling, his wardrobe nevertheless contained a wig.[44] Thomas Boyd, a surgeon from Bathgate owned three wigs at his death in 1749.[45] No reference was made to wigs in Cullen's inventory but there was a powdering gown listed which was a garment used to protect clothing while powdering the wig or hair.[46] For those inventories that did not list wigs it is likely the items had been removed before the

[40] Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, pp.58-59.
[41] Ibid., p.69.
[42] Pointon, *Hanging the Head,* pp.107-139; Lynn Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Life,* 29:2 (2005), pp.47-90.
[43] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.129; Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.86.
[44] NAS CC8/8/97/474-509, inventory of Charles Lumisden, ECC 1735.
[45] NAS CC8/8/112/1036-1044, inventory of Thomas Boyd, ECC 1749.
[46] NAS CC8/8/128/1542-1552, inventory of Henry Cullen, ECC 1790.

inventories were made because of their intrinsic value. Apart from Alexander Monro tertius, all the visual representations of the surgeons and physicians examined here portrayed the subjects in wigs, indicating that the be-wigged surgeon and physician was a common sight up until the nineteenth century. Despite the lack of supporting evidence in the inventories, it seems unlikely that doctors and surgeons of Edinburgh would not have owned wigs.

The wig was used to create a public and professional image while the nightcaps and nightgowns in the inventories represented a more informal and private image used in the privacy and comfort of the home. Again forty-four per cent of the medical profession's inventories from this sample included nightgowns and fifty-six per cent listed nightcaps. Thomas Boyd, for instance, owned six nightcaps and an "old worsted Night Gown".[47] Such items were worn in the house once the "jacket, sword and wig worn abroad were removed."[48] Generally considered appropriate wear for receiving visitors, the nightgown was "the mark of a gentleman and a scholar", representative of a growing interest in private and night-time comfort.[49] These garments were important tools for the enlightened lifestyle where emphasis was placed on sociability both outside and within the home in order to develop "gently moral individuals".[50] The trend of wearing matching caps and gowns, which were often made of elaborately decorated and sumptuous material,[51] indicates that just as much effort and attention could be required for the private sartorial image as it was for the public one.

Legal professionals were of a higher social status than their medical counterparts, particularly the surgeons, and their dress codes were defined according to the dictates of their profession rather than by the social and cultural mores which influenced medical dress. A dress code in the Scottish legal profession was institutionalised at

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[47] NAS CC8/8/112/1036-1044, inventory of Thomas Boyd, ECC 1749.
[48] Swain, 'Nightgown', p.10; see also Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.24.
[49] Swain, 'Nightgown', p.13; Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* pp.175-177. Despite the fact that the night-gown was considered a garment suitable for receiving some people, there was still a sense that it was regarded as improper for certain occasions. The character of Sir Sampson in Susan Ferrier's novel *Marriage* was surprised in his home by the arrival of a group of female guests while he was "arrayed in a robe-de-chambre, and night cap." Feeling uncomfortable he immediately went to change and returned in a "suit of regimentals, and well powdered peruke". Susan Ferrier, *Marriage: A Novel,* (ed.) Herbert Foltinek, (Oxford, 1997), pp.103-104.
[50] John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp.99-100.
[51] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* pp.24-27.

an early stage. Fifteenth-century Scottish advocates were expected to wear a green gown in the style of a tunic and the red robes of judges had been in use from at least as early as 1455. By the late seventeenth century, the wearing of black gowns was compulsory for advocates while in court.[52] This is considered the foundation point of Scottish legal dress, elements of which still exist today.

This established dress code was followed not only in the environs of the courts but also in the street. In the 1750s it was the "custom for advocates and no less judges, to dress themselves in gown, wig, and cravat at their houses, and to walk in a sort of state, thus rigged out with their cocked hats in their hands, to Parliament House." [53] Lord Cockburn, looking back on his adolescence, remarked in surprise "at the figures with black gowns and white wigs walking about among the cutlery" in the shops of Parliament Close and the High Street (Fig. 3.10).[54] The close proximity of the different social groups in Edinburgh's Old Town necessitated the display of the legal robes as a sign of status.[55] The implication is that had they not worn their robes in this public space they would have looked like everybody else. Cockburn noted their appearance because it was remarkable and stood out. Similar to the public image of the medical profession, this visibility in professional garb enhanced a "collective image of continuity and trustworthiness".[56] By wearing their black gowns in public the legal profession raised themselves "above the vagaries of passing fashions and individual whim",[57] although ironically this appearance required as much thought and preparation as many of the fashions did.

[52] W.N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *A History of Legal Dress in Europe Until the End of the Eighteenth Century,* (Oxford, 1963), pp.94-96.
[53] Robert Chambers, *Traditions of Edinburgh,* (London, 1929) p.96.
[54] Henry Cockburn, *Memorials of His Time,* (Edinburgh, 1988), p.108.
[55] A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840,* (Edinburgh, 1975), p.236.
[56] Corfield, *Power and the Professions,* p.21.
[57] Ibid.

Fig. 3.10: Neil Fergusson and Count Joseph Boruwlaski by John Kay, 1802. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

James Boswell, who began his legal practice in Edinburgh in 1766, perceived a clear demarcation between his social dress and his professional dress. Returning from a social event in July 1769, he wrote: "I got to town just in time to throw off my laced coat and waistcoat, get on black clothes, and be ready at nine o'clock to attend some causes in the Parliament House."[58] The laced coat and waistcoat were suitable for a social occasion but not for the seriousness of the court room. A further important reference appeared in 1786. Boswell noted that he,

> Went into the Court of Session, and first walked in with my hat and stick as a gentleman…My brethren stared a good deal at me in the Inner House. Upon which I said, 'I must go and put on my wig and gown, not to be particular.'[59]

Boswell had made both a social and professional *faux pas*. By entering the Inner House in his gentleman's clothes he had drawn attention to the fact that he was not

[58] James Boswell, *Boswell's Edinburgh Journals, 1767-1786,* (ed.) Hugh Milne, (Edinburgh, 2003), p.83.
[59] Ibid., p.538.

entering as an advocate but as a gentleman and without the black gown he did not connect with the "self-effacing dutifulness" that the law required.[60]

Boswell's lack of professional dress demonstrated that not only the gown but the wig, too, was an important part of the legal image in the mid-eighteenth century, an item interpreted by some as the "visual embodiment of an historic and established exercise of power."[61] Like the gradual formalising of the advocate's gown, use of wigs in the legal profession went through transitions, following the fashions of the day until they passed out of general society but remained "embedded in the judicial uniform."[62] As with the surgeon-apothecaries in the early eighteenth century, full-bottomed wigs were popular with men of law at the same time, an example of which can be seen in the portrait of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord President of the Court of Session in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Fig. 3.11). By the 1730s the full-bottomed wig had been replaced by the multiple variations of the tie-wig, a smaller headpiece which remained in use throughout the century.[63] In December 1775 having spent all night gambling, Boswell came home and "washed, shifted, and put on my bar wig" and set out for work, where he "struggled through… [his] causes wonderfully."[64] It was the tie wig that Boswell referred to, a version of which can be seen in his portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds (Fig. 3.12). There were many forms of the tie wig, including the bag wig which tied the hair behind the head and collected it in a bag while the hair at the side was formed into curls over the ears. Other forms of the tie wig included the Ramillies wig which was a single plait at the back of the head, and the pigtail wig which had a queue woven with a black ribbon (Fig. 3.10).[65]

As a consequence of the French Revolution the wig, in all its forms, became heavily politicised and as such became less uniform among the advocates of Edinburgh. Two engravings by Kay dating from 1810 and 1811 show twelve advocates with wigs and twelve advocates without wigs (Figs. 3.13 and 3.14). This trend was not restricted to the legal profession as noted by Cockburn who wrote:

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[60] Harvey, *Men in Black,* p.140.
[61] Pointon, *Hanging the Head,* p.117.
[62] Buck, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England,* p.91.
[63] Janet Arnold, *Perukes and Periwigs,* (London, 1970), p.21.
[64] Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals,* p.218.
[65] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.128; Arnold, *Perukes and Periwigs,* p.19.

> In nothing was the monarchical principle more openly displayed or insulted, than in the adherence to, or contempt of, hair powder. The reason of this was, that this powder, and the consequent enlargement and complexity of the hair on which it was displayed, were not merely the long established badges of aristocracy, but that short and undressed caps had been adopted in France.[66]

By the early nineteenth century the decision whether or not to wear a wig had become both a personal and a political one, which shows a progression from Boswell's time when advocates were expected to wear wigs.

Fig. 3.11: Sir Hew Dalrymple (1652-1737), Lord President of the Court of Session, early eighteenth century. © East Lothian Museums Service. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

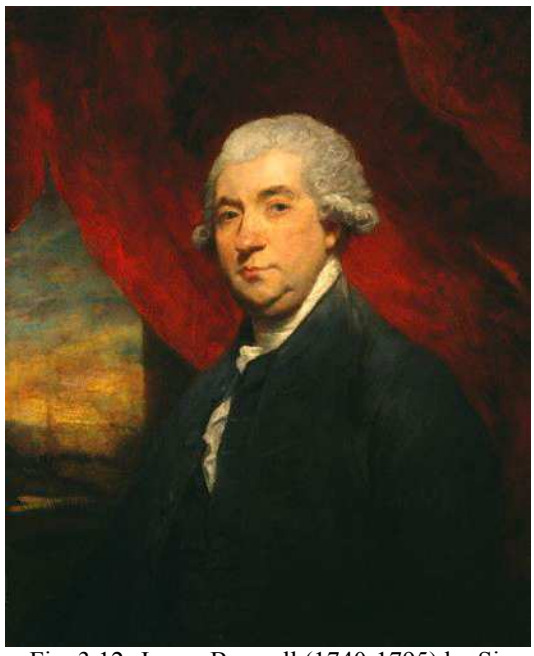

Fig. 3.12: James Boswell (1740-1795) by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1785. © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Only one advocate's inventory in the Edinburgh sample mentioned wigs.[67] Alexander Campbell, an advocate and commissary of the train of artillery at Edinburgh Castle, died in 1725 leaving among other things "some old Wiggs" which were not valued separately from his other items of clothing.[68] Two other advocates had items in their inventories which indicate that they had previously possessed wigs that for whatever reason were not included in their inventory at death. James Bruce

[66] Cockburn, *Memorials*, p.68.
[67] Twelve inventories of members of the legal profession in Edinburgh were found in the sample studied for Chapter 2 – see Appendix.
[68] NAS CC8/8/90/387-397, inventory of Alexander Campbell, ECC 1726.

from Edinburgh, who died in 1734 and whose inventory was not made until 1738, had owned two wig boxes and a "block for a wigg".[69] William Hamilton of Dalserfe, who died in 1732 and whose inventory was not made until 1737, had a "Block for Dressing Wiggs" specifically recorded as being in his kitchen.[70] The location of this wig block is not as strange as it sounds - in order to curl the hair in the wigs and to ensure that they kept their shape, the wigs would be put in the oven to set them.[71] As with the inventories of the medical profession, it is probable that the wigs themselves had been removed because of their value.

Fig. 3.13: *Twelve Advocates with Wigs* by John Kay, 1810. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Fig. 3.14: *Twelve Advocates without Wigs* by John Kay, 1811. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Portraits of the legal profession fall into two main categories: those with robes of office and those without them. An example of the latter can be seen in the portrait of Adam Cockburn of Ormiston attributed to William Aikman. This early eighteenth-century portrait shows Cockburn as a gentleman (Fig. 3.15). He is dressed in an elaborate full-bottomed wig and a dark velvet coat, slit at the sleeves to reveal a voluminous linen shirt. The hilt of a sword is just visible under his left hand.

[69] NAS CC8/8/100/148-176, inventory of James Bruce, ECC 1738.
[70] NAS CC8/8/99/183-192, inventory of William Hamilton of Dalserfe, ECC 1737.
[71] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.129.

Cockburn was Lord Justice Clerk from 1692-1699 and again from 1705 to 1710.[72] The portrait acknowledges in writing his first term as justice clerk but not his second, which would explain the lack of official robes. Portraits of the legal profession in their legal robes were abundant, such as that of Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies by Allan Ramsay, dressed resplendently in red velvet robes of office and a fashionable wig (Fig. 3.16). It was not uncommon for more than one portrait to exist for the same person, with each portrait demonstrating a different sartorial focus and emphasising a different aspect of their identity. The portrait of Sir Hew Dalrymple (Fig. 3.11) in a russet wrap, white cravat and full-bottomed wig can be compared with a portrait by William Aikman which Dalrymple gave to Parliament Hall in Edinburgh in 1722. In the second portrait, Dalrymple was depicted in his red velvet robes of office and full-bottomed wig. This portrait was intended to be hung within the sitter's working environment emphasising his contribution and commitment to the legal profession.[73]

Fig. 3.15: Adam Cockburn of Ormiston (c.1656-1735), attributed to William Aikman, early eighteenth century. © National Galleries of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

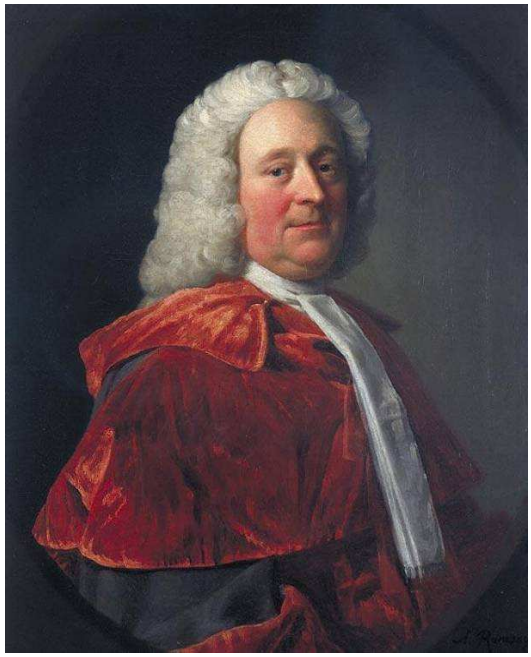

Fig 3.16: Patrick Grant, Lord Elchies (1690-1754) by Allan Ramsay. © National Galleries of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk

[72] D.J. Patrick, 'Cockburn, Adam of Ormiston, Lord Ormiston, (c.1656-1735)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxfroddnb.com/view/article/5764, accessed 21 August 2009.
[73] A.A. Grainger Stewart, *Portraits in the Hall of the Parliament House in Edinburgh,* (Edinburgh, 1907).

Portraits could also be adapted for a wider audience either in the form of copies or prints.[74] A portrait by Allan Ramsay of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Lord Drummore, son of the Hew Dalrymple mentioned above, shows the Lord Justiciary in the "dark garb of a man of the law".[75] His long black coat is simple and plain but of a high quality (Fig. 3.17). It is single breasted with no collar and has dark buttons and large cuffs which go halfway to the elbow. The waistcoat, breeches, and stockings are also black. He wears a white stock and cravat pulled through a button hole of his waistcoat which is revealed by the open coat - a casual, informal stance contrasting with the more formal portraits of his father. His hair is powdered and curled or he is wearing a wig. The fine linen cuffs of his shirt are clearly visible and almost cover his hands. The shirt cuffs and the large cuffs on the coat denote if not the occupation, then the status of this man. Such adornments to dress were not suitable for a man of a working or labouring occupation - the cuffs were impractical for work with machinery and would have become dirty. This was a man dressed in "indoor clothes" suitable for "the requirements of intellectual labour"[76] and for genteel activities of sociability.[77] Three years after Drummore died in 1757, a print was made of the portrait and adapted for the wider market.[78] The most noticeable difference was the addition of the robes of office in the print. The shoulder piece of white satin adorned with red rosettes, which had originally been used to fasten the robes but were by this point purely decorative, and the red gown replaced the ambiguous black coat. The Dalrymple portraits and prints show that although legal professional clothing did exist, it was not always called upon as an indicator of the personality or achievements of the person sitting for the portrait. When professional dress was incorporated into visual images it was often used for the purposes of popular interpretation or, in the case of the elder Sir Hew Dalrymple, to emphasise a professional commitment within a specific professional context.

[74] Stana Nenadic, 'Print Collecting and Popular Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *History,* 82:266 (1997), pp.203-222, p.205.
[75] Nenadic, 'Enlightenment in Scotland', p.181.
[76] Roche, *Culture of Clothing*, p.177.
[77] Nenadic, 'Enlightenment in Scotland', pp.179, 181-185.
[78] Ibid., p.185.

Fig. 3.17: Hew Dalrymple, Lord Drummore (1690-1755) by Allan Ramsay, 1754.

Little information was obtained from the advocates' inventories which appeared in the sample taken for Chapter 2.[79] Clothing was rarely described in detail, if mentioned at all. It could be argued that the relative lack of reference to clothing represented a greater investment by members of the legal profession into items such as offices and rent rather than clothing.[80] The clothing that was listed covered the basics of the three piece suit. Breeches, waistcoats, and coats were listed along with stockings, shirts, cravats, and stocks, but there was little reference to the colour or material used. References were made, however, to the private and the public requirements of clothing similar to the medical professionals. The inventory of Alexander Campbell from Edinburgh, which was created in 1726, listed

> Two Suites of Cloath and a Scarlet Cloak two Upper Coats two hatts some pairs of Stocking two dozen Suites of Linings some old Wiggs two pair Shoes a pair slippers and a Night Gown.[81]

Just as Boswell changed his clothes according to whether he was attending to work or pleasure, Campbell's wardrobe contained clothing for both public and private

[79] Thirteen inventories of Edinburgh advocates were in the sample from Chapter 2 – see Appendix.
[80] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.161.
[81] NAS CC8/8/90/387-397, inventory of Alexander Campbell, ECC 1726.

occasions – the hats and coats for going out of doors, the nightgown for staying within the home.

The use of legal gowns both in the law courts and their vicinity was evident in a number of the contemporary images and accounts. It is worth noting, therefore, that only one inventory mentioned such a garment, that of Adam Coult, an Edinburgh advocate, who died in 1718. His everyday clothes were not listed individually, they were recorded merely as "the abulziements of ye defuncts body" along with an old sword, and a pair of old boots amounting to the sum of £4 4s 10d Scots. Listed separately from his clothes, however, were his nightgown and "his gown as being an Advocat" valued together at £6 Scots.[82] The value of these garments being greater than the sum of the rest of Coult's wardrobe explains their separation from the other items. The juxtaposition of these private and public garments, however, is interesting. This single reference contrasts with a finding in eighteenth-century Paris that fifty-two per cent of the advocates studied in the *ancien régime* owned these professional gowns at their death.[83] As a relatively specialised garment the gown's re-saleability may have been hindered, hence its exclusion from the inventories. It is also possible that the gowns were simply passed on to other advocates, perhaps to members of the same family who were pursuing the profession.

Working Dress of Manual Workers

Working dress of manual workers needed to be functional and practical and thus existed in stark contrast to the dress of elites, which could incorporate multiple layers of lace, buttons, and numerous other superfluous adornments. The dress of manual workers also contrasted with professional dress, which did not necessarily serve any practical purpose for the occupation beyond meeting the basic human needs of covering and protecting the body from the elements. This being said, it was nevertheless apparent that there was an awareness of the connection between image and reputation, as well as a desire to meet those expectations through owning and maintaining certain items of clothing. Such attention in turn was used to assert and promote a place in society. Like professional dress, working dress contained

[82] NAS CC8/8/87/400-403, inventory of Adam Coult, ECC 1719.
[83] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.133.

elements of symbolism and cultural associations that took it beyond the practical and the functional.

Wardrobes of workers were smaller than those of the upper levels of society but they consisted of the same basic garments. A man's wardrobe comprised either trousers or breeches depending on his occupation and/or status, a shirt, a waistcoat and some form of overcoat (Fig. 3.18). This could be accompanied by various accessories such as a hat or bonnet, apron, neckerchief, and in many cases, a wig. The simplicity of this basic wardrobe, however, belies the importance that could be placed on the projection of a respectable and hardworking image.

Fig. 3.18: City porter in Edinburgh by David Allan, 1780s. Reproduced by courtesy of National Galleries of Scotland.

The weavers of Scotland were the "aristocrats among workers" in the late eighteenth century.[84] They had a relatively high standard of living compared with workers in other trades and were frequently politically active.[85] Their wardrobes, however, were not elaborate. The relative plainness of the weavers' outfits can be seen in the carved gravestones of two weavers in the churchyard of Monikie in Angus. The first dates from 1765 and shows a weaver at his loom wearing a stock, a

[84] Kenneth Logue, *Popular Disturbances in Scotland 1780-1815,* (Edinburgh, 1979), p.194.
[85] Smout, *History of the Scottish People,* p.393-402.

waistcoat buttoned down the middle, and a jacket without a collar but with detailed buttonholes and small cuffs (Fig. 3.19). An apron attached to the waistcoat is just visible. It is not entirely clear if he is wearing a wig, but as almost half the sample of inventories of weavers in Edinburgh listed a wig, it is not improbable that this weaver also owned one despite his rural location.[86] The second gravestone from the late 1770s is less detailed but shows a similar outfit (Fig. 3.20). The weaver is wearing a stock and a simple jacket without a collar and small cuffs. Again it is not clear whether he is wearing a wig. Only the small cuffs could be considered occupationally relevant in these outfits as larger ones could get caught in the loom (compare with the cuffs of Lord Drummore above). The loom is the only object on both gravestones which clearly signals the occupation. The overall appearance of both weavers is plain and simple, yet respectable in the sense that the clothing is smartly presented, and the addition of the loom implies a hard-working attitude. As with inscriptions on tombstones these images were meant to be complimentary, extolling the virtues of those they represented.[87] Such images were as important as portraits in determining how these people viewed themselves, and how they in turn wished to be perceived and remembered.

The inventories confirm that fewer items of clothing were owned by Edinburgh weavers than by the professionals, but it was still common to own at least one change of clothes comprising of a waistcoat, breeches, jacket or coat, and a shirt. John Sutherland, a weaver from Paisley who died in Edinburgh in 1761, owned a "Cloath coat and velvet vest" worth £1 6s Sterling, a pair of grey cloth breeches 5s, an old black vest 1s 6d, a pair of old breeches 3s, and a "washing vest and breeches" worth 1s 6d.[88] 'Washing' was a term applied to a garment or textile that will "admit of being washed without injury to colour or texture."[89] Sutherland's 'washing' clothes were suitable for work, able to stand up to vigorous washing and activity; his expensive cloth coat and velvet vest were for best, less likely to be worn every day. The average number of shirts among the weavers was four, compared with twenty-seven in the inventories of the professionals. None of the weavers had ruffles or

[86] Three of the seven weavers in this sample of inventories owned at least one wig.
[87] Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment,* pp.22-23.
[88] NAS CC8/8/118/956-957, inventory of John Sutherland, ECC 1761.
[89] *Oxford English Dictionary,* (1989), online edition, www.oed.com, accessed 14 August 2009.

cuffs although two did own cravats, stocks, and sleeves for their shirts, suggesting a similar desire to the professionals for an element of illusion.[90] It is probable, however, that limited finances as well as a desire to maintain a certain level of appearance necessitated the use of such items – only the visible items needed to be washed thus saving time and money. Descriptions of outer garments were scarce but there was still a clear preference for black and brown suits.

Fig. 3.19: Gravestone from Monikie Parish Church, Angus c.1765. The grave is for the children of weaver Edward Gibson. © Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Fig. 3.20: Gravestone of James Hog, weaver, d.1778, Monikie Parish Church, Angus. © Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The weavers discussed above were established craftsmen. At some point, however, they were required to learn their craft. Entering the world of work through apprenticeships was an important rite of passage that could be marked by the acquisition of new clothes and new tools. Records of apprenticeships can be used as part of the "clothing biographies" contributing to the narrative of how manual workers clothed themselves.[91] These records reflect social and cultural attitudes and demonstrate the importance of clothing and overall image to those who wished to

[90] Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness*, p.69.
[91] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.57.

enter the working world, again not wholly dissimilar to the objectives of the portraiture of the professionals. The responsibility of providing clothing to apprentices varied greatly and depended on the nature and the terms of the indenture, but in most cases an interest in clothing and presentation was apparent. The provision of clothing was symbolic because it should be the last time that such a sartorial donation was needed. Once the apprenticeship was over participants would be equipped with the means and the skill to clothe and look after themselves.

David Stanhouse was indentured to Robert Thomsone, a shoemaker in Abbotshall in Fife in 1721. Stanhouse's mother, Janet Rodger, promised to provide her son with two pairs of blankets, one pair of sheets as well as ensure that he was provided with regularly washed clothes.[92] The Earl of Breadalbane funded John Campbell's apprenticeship to masons who worked on the Earl's estate in 1774. The Earl paid for Campbell's entrance into the mason's lodge, his apprenticeship fee, and bought an apron, with money set aside for "Washing said Apron".[93] The emphasis on the washing of clothing in both conditions of apprenticeship highlights the importance of a decent, respectable appearance in the workplace. Having a decently and cleanly clothed apprentice would boost or maintain the image the master wanted to project. In comparison, John Myreton, who was indentured to be an officer in the Royal Navy in 1757, was provided with enough linen to provide him with twelve shirts - more than the average weaver but less than the average doctor.[94] Appearance, in this case, was still important but the emphasis had shifted from having to wash the clothes to having multiple changes of clothes.[95]

Although it is important to recognise that workers used clothing as a means of promoting and preserving a good character and reputation, it should not be forgotten that an element of function was required for much of the clothing worn by tradesmen, craftsmen, and labourers. Clothes provided not only protection from the elements, but also, if possible, were adapted to the particular occupation. Working men were more likely to wear a jacket than a coat like the professionals as jackets

[92] NAS RH1/2/785, Miscellaneous transcripts, apprentice indenture between David Stanhouse and Robert Thomsone, 1721.
[93] NAS GD112/48/1/7 Breadalbane Muniments, account due by the Earl of Breadalbane to McInnes and Picard, 7 November 1774.
[94] NAS GD237/20/19/3 Papers relating to Captain John Fergusson, account due to James McDowgall by John Myreton for clothes for his son, apprentice on board HMS Prince of Orange, 1 August 1757.
[95] Nenadic, 'Necessities', p.147.

were less physically inhibiting,[96] and neckties were more likely to be a colour other than white to hide the dirt (Fig. 3.18). A popular garment with working women was the bed gown which was about three quarters of the length of a normal gown and was thus cheaper and easier to maintain; petticoats also had a tendency to be shorter, stopping just above the ankles (Fig. 3.21).[97]

Fig. 3.21: Scotch maid wearing a bedgown by David Allan, eighteenth century. © National Galleries of Scotland.
Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

As in the rest of Britain, Scottish workers could be identified by single items of clothing or by their whole outfit. In Kay's engraving of baker James Donaldson from 1786, the combination of the colour of Donaldson's clothing and particular items in the outfit proclaimed Donaldson's occupation (Fig. 3.22). Donaldson is shown in a white shirt with rolled up sleeves, a white waistcoat, a dark coloured neckerchief, white breeches unbuckled at the knee, a white apron, woollen stockings, and black shoes with silver buckles. Unlike other working men, bakers would not normally wear a jacket or coat because of the heat involved in their work. White was a common colour for those in the baking or cooking trade as it would not show the flour clothes inevitably became covered in. It is also argued that white was worn for

[96] Styles, *Dress of the People*, p.45.
[97] Ibid., pp.41-42.

hygiene reasons as the clothing would need to be washed regularly.[98] The practical dictates of this occupation influenced the colouring of the clothing which, in turn, became a cultural norm that is still valid today. Donaldson's shirt would have been made of linen or harn which was similar to linen but coarser and more akin to sack cloth.[99] The waistcoat and the breeches would be made of a thicker material, perhaps fustian, a cotton linen mix popular for working men's clothing throughout the eighteenth century due to its hard-wearing and protective qualities.[100]

Fig. 3.22: James Donaldson, 1786
by John Kay. Courtesy of Edinburgh
University Library, Special Collections.

Aprons were considered "decorative as much as protective", particularly in women's clothing.[101] Both working and higher status women would have numerous aprons, often striped or checked for decoration (Fig. 3.21). For men, however, the apron was a working garment. In the case of Donaldson's apron the practicalities of the garment overrode any fashionable elements. It protected the body underneath from high temperatures and various ingredients, as well as serving as a cloth on

[98] P. Cunnington and C. Lucas, *Occupational Costume in England from the Eleventh Century to 1914,* (London, 1968), p.122.
[99] Alexander Warrack (ed.), *Chambers's Scottish Dictionary,* (Edinburgh, 1965), p.249.
[100] Sykas, 'Fustians in Englishmen's Dress', pp.2, 14.
[101] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.43; Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* pp.138, 226.

which to wipe hands and surfaces. Walter Smith, a baker in Edinburgh who died in 1771, had nine aprons in his possession.[102] Further examples of working aprons can be seen in David Allan's depiction of the Edinburgh city porter wearing not only items of working attire common in Britain and North America such as a blue neckerchief and white apron, but also Scottish elements such as the blue bonnet (Fig. 3.18).[103] An example of a leather apron can be seen in the illustration of an Edinburgh water carrier, also by David Allan (Fig. 3.23). Acting as a waterproof layer while lifting the barrels of water, the apron protected the clothes underneath. In this case it was a uniform of an infantryman consisting of a military style bonnet with red and white checks, red military jacket with yellow facings, buff trousers, white stockings tied with red ribbon, and black laced shoes. The apron was practical and yet also had a deeper significance, representing the change in the man's occupation and status by covering up his former military life.[104]

Fig. 3.23: Edinburgh water carrier, by David Allan, 1780s. Reproduced by courtesy of National Galleries of Scotland.

Fig. 3.24: *Wha'l O Caller Oysters* by John Kay. Courtesy of the Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections.

[102] NAS CC8/8/122/84-92, inventory of William Smith, ECC 1771.
[103] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* pp.154-159.
[104] Items of military clothing "seeped into civilian dress" when demobilised soldiers left the army with the uniform they had paid for out of their wages. Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.49; see also Cockburn, *Memorials,* p.355.

One of the most distinctive working outfits of Edinburgh in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was that of the Newhaven fishwives. Kay's etching of a fishwife from 1812 shows the outfit consisting of a spotted head scarf over a white cotton cap, a small checked shawl over the shoulders, a dark, short jacket, probably made of a woollen material, and a striped skirt of multiple layers. One of the skirts is bunched up at the back around the waist almost in imitation of the polonaise style and a popular practice with working women to avoid getting the gown or skirt dirty (Fig. 3.24).[105] The multiple layered, dense clothing and the stout laced shoes of these women were a testament to the conditions they worked in - outdoors and open to the elements both on the coast collecting the fish and in Edinburgh trying to sell them.[106] These outfits were practical and functional, but it is apparent that they also had a cultural value to them, demonstrated by the distinctive coloured striped skirts which were often contrasting colours such as black and yellow. Such garments helped to establish the presence and identity of the wearer in the locality where they lived and also the locality where they sold their goods.[107] The people of Newhaven were thought to have descended from Flemish immigrants, a history that was often used by nineteenth-century commentators to explain their rather unique style of dress.[108] What is important here, however, is that the distinctive skirts and overall appearance helped to create a collective occupational identity.

The dress of the fishwives retained the same basic elements described above well into the nineteenth century.[109] The light and airy outfits of the Edinburgh washerwomen from a tongue-in-cheek print of the early nineteenth century, however, demonstrate that working dress could follow fashionable trends while retaining practical elements (Fig. 3.25). The work required tramping on linen in tubs of water, so shorter skirts than normal were required. One English observer was shocked to see such women noting that

> …a truly modest Girl will make no greater Scruple of tucking her Petticoats up to her waist, in the Act of tramping Linen in the Brook,

[105] Cunnington and Lucas, *Occupational Costume,* p.203.
[106] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* pp.160-162.
[107] Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment,* p.154.
[108] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.160.
[109] Ibid., pp.160-165.

than of sitting down in her Chair without that Ceremony – I have been often tempted to bestow a Slap on their shining white Catastrophes.[110]

The women in the print all wear long aprons pinned to the chest to protect their garments underneath. The outfits consist of skirts with high waists, jackets with short capped sleeves, and hairstyles alluding to a classical past, all popular styles in the early nineteenth century. Two of the women wear ruffled linen collars which would have served no practical purpose and were mere decoration. Similar to the striped skirts of the fishwives, these collars emphasise that practicality did not always dictate the overall appearance of the entire outfit.

Fig. 3.25: *Airy nothings; or, Scraps and Naughts and Odd-cum-shorts; in a Circumbendibus, Hop, Step and Jump by Olio Rigmaroll*, London, 1825. © National Library of Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Conclusion

The role of sartorial symbolism in professional and working dress was apparent in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scottish society, with both groups displaying similar objectives of promoting individual and collective respectability.

[110] NLS MS/29492, Anonymous, *Observations on a Tour Through Part of Scotland,* 1793, 48b.

Professionals were concerned with maintaining a respectable image which would proclaim their hard working attitudes, their skill, their social status and their sociability. The importance of a collective identity to these professions is evident in the portrait collections in the various institutions, representing in varying degrees morality, seriousness, intellectualism, and professionalism. The preference for black and dark colours among the legal and medical professionals can be interpreted as a means to establish a connection with that particular profession, by distancing themselves from the frivolities and fripperies of fashionable dress.

By necessity working clothing for craftsmen, traders, and labourers had to have some element of practicality and function. However, these practical elements were not the only factor considered or aimed for in working dress. Practicality was frequently combined with fashionable elements such as fancy collars and cultural elements such as concern over cleanliness, helping to create and maintain a respectable working image. As with the professionals, collective occupational identities were conveyed through dress, often by single items such as aprons or in distinctively patterned garments such as the striped skirts of the fishwives. These images and identities were not recorded visually as much as those of the professionals but the examples which do exist show an affinity with the motives, objectives, and concerns behind formal portraiture.

On a basic level these images show how clothing was worn in eighteenth-century Scotland. They also show how clothing was used to promote an occupational identity. These artworks were purposefully created to send a message – whether an assertion of status and virtue such as in the formal portraiture and gravestones, or a simple observation of the labouring population as in the engravings and sketches. The interpretation of the messages these artworks conveyed, however, was dependent on the observer. To establish how people reacted to and interpreted the clothing of others requires further contextualisation with a range of documentary sources.

Chapter 4:

Seditious and Respectable Dress: Political Clothing

The eighteenth century was a period during which the use of clothing and decorations to "contest or legitimate the power of the state and the meanings of citizenship"[1] became fully established within the popular mindset. This development was heavily influenced by the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. The French Revolution was not the first circumstance to feature clothing and adornment as a political tool,[2] but the scale of the events ensured the notion of clothing as a powerful political device was firmly entrenched in western society. This chapter analyses the use of political clothing in Scotland during two main political circumstances, influenced directly and indirectly by the French Revolution. The use of clothing and adornment during the politically charged 1790s is discussed, followed by examination of the sartorial symbolism used by the reformers of the early nineteenth century. Each period is examined to demonstrate the approaches to, and the nature of, political dress in Scotland at the turn of the nineteenth century.

This chapter relies on documentary sources of a number of types. These sources are used to access the motivations, incentives, and repercussions which resulted from adopting forms of political dress and adornment. Newspaper articles are examined along with autobiographies, and official documents such as accounts of trials, court records, and reports sent to the Home Office in London. Each type of source used here was written with a specific purpose or purposes in mind, often with the intention of supporting or swaying the opinion of the intended audience. Consequently it cannot be assumed that all the details contained within the source are either accurate, or complete. The discussion of the white roses on the dress of Margaret Oliphant has demonstrated how subtle political symbolism in dress can be, and how it could be embedded within social and cultural sartorial practices. The creators of the sources

[1] Wendy Parkins, 'Introduction: (Ad)dressing Citizens', in Wendy Parkins (ed.) *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship,* (Oxford, 2002), pp.1-17, p.2.

[2] The Jacobite rebellion of 1745 is the foremost example of the use of dress as a political tool in Scottish history. Clothing and fashion also played a role within the American Revolution. See Kate Haulman, 'Fashion and the Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia', *The William and Mary Quarterly,* 62:4 (2005), pp.625-662; Linzy Brekke, ' "To Make a Figure": Clothing and the Politics of Male Identity in Eighteenth-Century America', in John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds.), *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830,* (London, 2006), pp.225-246.

used in this chapter cannot be expected to have observed and recorded, or even been aware of, all the subtleties of dress that were used across society to assert a political identity or political leanings. Although the sources used here are central to showing how people reacted to and interpreted forms of political dress, it is inevitable that some of the detail has been lost.

Newspaper reports, for instance, can be limited in their historical accuracy by the political or social motivations of the paper and its owners, resulting in a distortion of facts and information.[3] The political bias of newspapers which exists today was also evident in the eighteenth century. Likewise, accounts and records of trials were influenced by the atmosphere of the time in which the trial was held, and the time in which the account was written and published, which could be years after the actual event.[4] Witness accounts presented at trials should not be accepted uncritically. The reliability of witness statements is affected by many factors, including the shortcomings of human memory. Autobiographies are subject to similar problems. Aside from the political and social biases of the author, the passage of time can distort recollections, opening up the possibilities of exaggeration, and even falsification of the facts.[5] As with portraiture which could reflect reality or fantasy,[6] autobiographies are a personal interpretation of wider events. Like the travel literature of the period, the quality of the information obtained from an autobiography depends on the background of the author, his or her motivation for recording his or her life, and the social and political atmosphere in which he or she was writing.

The subjective nature of these sources is both a disadvantage and an advantage to this study. Such works should not be used uncritically, particularly when it is considered that these documentary sources were more likely to have been left by those in the middle and upper levels of society. However, the subjective nature of these sources is central to seeing how political clothing was understood and interpreted by Scottish society in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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[3] Katrina Navickas, '"That Sash Will Hang You": Political Clothing and Adornment in England, 1780-1840', *Journal of British Studies,* 49 (2010), pp.540-565, p.544.
[4] Lord Henry Cockburn's *An Examination of the Trials for Sedition in Scotland* which recounted the trials of the 1790s and the early nineteenth century was not published until 1888, see New York edition, 1970.
[5] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.90.
[6] Ribeiro, *Art of Dress,* p.7.

Styles of clothing, particular garments, and use of colour can mean different things to people of different social statuses and backgrounds.[7] The perspectives each source gives on individual and collective situations, enables the study of how clothing was used as a political tool and how different people reacted to and interpreted these actions. The descriptions and accounts extracted from the various documentary sources will be supplemented with information obtained from visual images of the period.

Dressed Like a "Puny Frenchman"[8]: Political Dress in the 1790s

The impact of the French Revolution on the political movements in other European countries is undeniable. In Scotland, as elsewhere, the political and social upheavals in France initially provided an example and inspiration for early reformers to follow. The Revolution encouraged the radicalisation of certain elements of reforming groups, while simultaneously ensuring that those of a moderate leaning were pushed into more conservative stances. The exact level of political awareness of those involved in the various events that took place in Scotland in the 1790s is debateable.[9] There is no doubt, however, that the French revolutionary era coloured Scottish perceptions, motives, and actions in at least some way. This included perceptions and attitudes towards the role of clothing and adornment as a political tool.

The most conspicuous sartorial impact on Scottish dress made by the French Revolution was in attitudes to wigs and hair. Wigs had come into popular use in the mid-seventeenth century, helped by the fashion among men for long hair from the 1620s onwards.[10] Men not blessed with their own flowing locks could achieve the desired look with the help of additional human or animal hair.[11] An item of dress which required significant financial and time investment, a wig was fundamental in proclaiming the social status of the wearer.[12] By the eighteenth century they had become a central part of the male wardrobe across all levels of society, particularly in

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[7] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity,* pp.8-9.
[8] Henry Cockburn, *An Examination of the Trials for Sedition in Scotland,* 1888, (New York, 1970), vol. 2, p.25.
[9] Bob Harris, 'Political Protests in the Year of Liberty, 1792', in Bob Harris (ed.), *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution,* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp.49-78, p.61.
[10] Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality,* p.78.
[11] Human hair was the most desirable for wigs, but horse hair was also common. Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.129.
[12] Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality,* p.90.

England.[13] In the 1790s the decision of whether or not to wear a wig, or powdered versus un-powdered hair, was imbued with political significance.[14] Lord Henry Cockburn, who in the early nineteenth century became a reforming advocate with Whig leanings, saw definite political loyalties in the presence or absence of a powdered head. The wearing of "short and undressed crops", such as the natural styles adopted in France, became associated with revolutionary principles and thus a source of consternation to those with loyalist leanings.[15] Cockburn noted that "Our loyal therefore, though beginning to tire of the greasy and dusty dirt, laid it on with profuse patriotism, while the discontented exhibited themselves ostentatiously in all the Jacobinism of clean natural locks."[16]

The distinction between Jacobin and loyalist sympathy was not always clear cut, however, for as with any garment, wigs were subject to changing fashions. In the first few decades of the eighteenth century both young and old men had worn "tie-wigs in dress", but towards the end of the century wigs were only worn by the "young and the gay" or "judges, lawyers and other grave characters."[17] In the early nineteenth century Sir Walter Scott chose to go bare-headed and was depicted as one of the wig-less advocates by John Kay, implying he was a man with reforming principles (see Fig. 3.14). A few years later, though, Scott wrote a series of letters published in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* arguing that sweeping reform would lead to anarchy.[18] A man without a wig was not necessarily a republican or even an ardent reformer; the dictates of fashion or even mere personal preference could be just as strong as politics.

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[13] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.86.
[14] Republican associations with un-powdered hair and the refusal to wear wigs had first appeared after the American colonies declared independence from Britain. Benjamin Franklin went to Paris at this time and did not wear a wig while there. The significance of this decision, contrasting as he did with "the Powder'd Heads of Paris!" did not escape him. Benjamin Franklin cited by Baumgarten, *What Clothes Reveal,* pp.99-100.
[15] Cockburn, *Memorials*, p.68.
[16] Shoe buckles were also seen as an emblem of aristocracy. Cockburn, *Memorials,* p.68. Thomas Jefferson, author of the American Declaration of Independence, often wore shoes with laces rather than buckles as a statement on his republican principles. Gaye Wilson, 'Recording History: The Thomas Sully Portrait of Thomas Jefferson', unpublished paper, 2008.
[17] Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen,* vol. 2, p.83; Festa, 'Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eighteenth Century', p.74.
[18] Stana Nenadic, 'Political Reform and the 'Ordering' of Middle-Class Protest', in T.M. Devine (ed.), *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, 1700-1850,* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp.65-82, p.72.

A further item of headgear associated with republican and then revolutionary symbolism was the cap of liberty. Used as a symbol of freedom from slavery in ancient Rome, the cap of liberty had been used in both the American and French revolutions.[19] It had first appeared in Britain as a revolutionary political symbol in a satirical print by William Hogarth of John Wilkes, who was shown with a cap of liberty on a staff representing his status as 'defender' of English liberty against the Scots.[20] The French Revolution, however, had ensured that the cap was imbued with violent connotations and it frequently appeared in satirical prints of the era (Fig. 4.1). The only reference to the cap of liberty in Scotland in this period appeared in an account of one of the more extreme events of the 1790s - the dubious foiling of an armed uprising planned by government informant turned conspirator, Robert Watt. Watt was executed for plotting to seize Edinburgh Castle, the post office, and banks of Edinburgh in 1794.[21] A witness at Watt's execution claimed to have seen a "portion of the red cap, the emblem of the revolutionists" under Watt's black hat.[22] Another nineteenth-century source interpreted this flash of red as simply being a nightcap.[23] This example shows the importance of perception in the interpretation of political clothing.

With the exception of the foiled Watt plot, the reform movement in Scotland in the 1790s was generally one of moderation. This was in part influenced by the nature of the burgh reform movement from the preceding decades. Burgh reform had been led by the respectable "middle ranks of life",[24] such as merchants and professionals, who were keen to gain ground in running urban government and to extend the franchise to the expanding propertied classes.[25] The emphasis was on reform but not radical reform.[26] Progress was slow, however, and rejections from the

[19] Yvonne Korshak, 'The Liberty Cap as a Revolutionary Symbol in America and France', *Smithsonian Studies in American Art,* 1:2 (1987), pp.53-69.
[20] Ibid., p.56; Colley, *Britons*, pp.105-116.
[21] Bob Harris, 'Watt, Robert, (1761X8-1794)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/63604, accessed 18 January 2010.
[22] Philo Scotus [Philip Barrington Ainslie], *Reminiscences of a Scottish Gentleman, Commencing in 1787,* (London, 1861), p.188.
[23] James Paterson (ed.), *A Series of Original Portraits and Character Etchings,* 2 volumes (Edinburgh, 2007), vol. 1, p.345n.
[24] Thomas McGrugar writing as 'Zeno', cited by W. Hamish Fraser, *Scottish Popular Politics: From Radicalism to Labour,* (Edinburgh, 2007), p.7; see also Nenadic, 'Political Reform'.
[25] Devine, *Scottish Nation,* pp.201-203.
[26] Ibid., p.202.

House of Commons in the early 1790s, along with the increasingly tense atmosphere caused by the French Revolution, meant that new tactics were explored.[27] It was the same growing professional and merchant classes that were to provide the foundation for the reform movement of the 1790s. The Scottish legal profession in particular gained a reputation for its liberal views. Advocates constituted the core membership of the Scottish opposition Whigs, with some projecting their affiliations by adopting the blue coat and buff coloured trousers which had come to be associated with Charles James Fox.[28] Many became involved in the Society of the Friends of the People which advocated parliamentary reform along moderate and constitutional lines.[29] In 1792 and 1793 British conventions of the Friends of the People were held in Edinburgh. Despite the moderate inclinations of these conventions, the fear generated by the French Revolution provoked a harsh response from the government and examples were made of those who were considered to be the ringleaders.[30]

Fig. 4.1: *French Liberty, British Slavery*, 1792. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

[27] John Brims, 'From Reformers to 'Jacobins': The Scottish Association of the Friends of the People', in Devine (ed.), *Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society,* pp.31-50, p.31.
[28] Emma Vincent Macleod, 'The Scottish Opposition Whigs and the French Revolution', in Harris (ed.) *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution,* pp.79-98, pp.81, 85.
[29] Devine, *Scottish Nation,* p.205.
[30] For an account of the proceedings see Logue, *Popular Disturbances,* pp.11-14.

The first of the Scottish Martyrs to experience the wrath of the government was the advocate, Thomas Muir of Huntershill. At the convention of the Friends of the People, Muir had read an address from the Society of United Irishmen. The government saw this as a seditious act and consequently tried and convicted Muir, sentencing him to be transported to Australia.[31] Like most of the leaders of the Friends of the People, Muir was "respectable and moderate in inclination",[32] and not necessarily the radical reformer his accusers made him out to be. John Kay produced an engraving of Muir, more reminiscent of miniature portraiture than the caricatures of the medical and legal profession (Fig. 4.2). Muir is shown facing the right, wearing a tie-wig, a dark suit, with white ruffled shirt and cravat. This was a sympathetic portrait of a "learned and accomplished gentleman",[33] and perhaps says more of Kay's own political leanings than anything else. A sketch by David Martin provides a similar image (Fig. 4.3), showing Muir as a fashionable young man, depicted in the 'romantic' idiom with a relaxed, informal stance. Muir wears breeches and a coat, with a large brimmed hat in his right hand. His hair is natural and curly. The absence of a wig in this sketch hints at Muir's political leanings but should not be interpreted as an explicit political statement. These sympathetic and flattering images, which emphasised Muir's status as a gentleman, point to the general sympathy that was felt for Muir over the harshness of his sentence.[34]

[31] Ibid., pp.13-14.
[32] Bob Harris, 'Scotland in the 1790s', in Harris (ed.), *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution,* pp.1-22, p.6.
[33] Sheila Szatkowski, *Capital Caricatures: A Selection of Etchings by John Kay,* (Edinburgh, 2007), p.168.
[34] Harris, 'Scotland in the 1790s', pp.7-8.

Fig. 4.2: Thomas Muir by John Kay, 1793. Courtesy of Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections

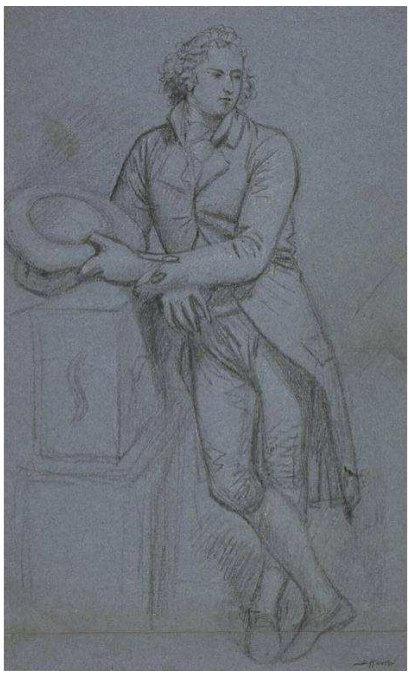

Fig. 4.3: Thomas Muir by David Martin. © Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Others of the Scottish Martyrs were treated less leniently by their contemporaries. When Joseph Gerrald, an English representative from the London Corresponding Society at the British Convention held in Edinburgh in 1793 was tried, he was described as appearing at the bar

> …with unpowdered hair, hanging loosely down behind – his neck nearly bare, and his shirt with a large collar, doubled over; so that on the whole he was not unlike one of Vandyke's portraits. This was the French costume of the day. His adopting it on this occasion gave great offence to the judicious, even of his own party, and has not been forgotten yet.[35]

The offence Gerrald's dress gave to his own party emphasises the moderate aim of reformers in the 1790s, the majority of whom wished to distance themselves from the radical events in France. A recent study described the dress worn by Gerrald at the trial as "cross-cultural",[36] as it included French elements of trousers and un-powdered hair, and the marks of an English gentleman in the form of a sword and a

[35] Cockburn, *Trials for Sedition,* vol. 2, pp.43-4.
[36] Nolan Marchand, 'Reading Dress, Reading Culture: The Trial of Joseph Gerrald, 1794', in Jessica Munns and Penny Richards (eds.), *The Clothes That Wear Us: Essays on Dressing and Transgressing in Eighteenth-Century Culture,* (London, 1999), pp.320-335, pp.321-323.

fine linen shirt. This mixing of sartorial "codes" has been interpreted as a deliberate attempt to "challenge and subvert" the conventional separation of the French revolutionary style and that of a British gentleman - a trend which failed to catch on.[37] The separation of the revolutionary style and the dress of a British gentleman should not be exaggerated, however. As seen, wigs had been passing out of fashion over the last quarter of the eighteenth century before the impact of events in France were felt, and fine linen garments were not uncommon in the wardrobes of people across the social spectrum.

Maurice Margarot, a fellow martyr of Gerrald's, was subjected to similar descriptions: "The popular idol in this scene was a little, dark creature, dressed in black, with silk stockings and white metal buttons, something like one's idea of a puny Frenchman, a most impudent and provoking body."[38] As with Gerrald, Margarot's dress has been analysed for the "codes" that it might have been portraying.[39] The adjectives in the description above were used to note that Margarot had used his dress "to make a conscious political statement or identification."[40] This, however, cannot be attributed solely to his clothes. Black, as seen, was an increasingly popular colour in men's dress towards the end of the eighteenth century and had no direct connections with 'puny Frenchmen'. The description of Margarot more likely had something to with his name and his demeanour rather than his clothing. The response to Margarot's appearance, therefore, needs to be considered more within the context of the general British antipathy towards the French. The effeminately dressed Frenchman was often the object of ridicule in British satirical prints and the image was often used to represent what was seen as the foppish, vain, and weak nature of the nation (Fig. 4.4). After the French Revolution, and particularly during the reign of terror, Frenchmen were depicted as starving, and often violent, rapacious beings (Fig. 4.1). Margarot as a dark little creature dressed in black, with his French sounding name, epitomised both stereotypes.[41]

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[37] Ibid., p.333.
[38] Cockburn, *Trials for Sedition,* vol. 2, p.25.
[39] Marchand, 'Reading Dress', p.327.
[40] Ibid.
[41] For a discussion of the British antipathy to the French see Colley, *Britons*, pp.24-25, 33-35.

Fig. 4.4: *French Man in London*, 1790. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

Muir, Gerrald, and Margarot were prominent participants in the reform movement, which ensured a description and record of their dress. Little contemporary reference was made, however, to the dress of the general populace involved in forms of political protest in this period. This implies that a widespread use of political sartorial symbolism had yet to establish itself in Scotland. This is not to say that there was a lack of political awareness or participation among the general population. The king's birthday riots in Edinburgh in the 1790s and the tree of liberty demonstrations in Perth and Dundee show that that Scottish population was more than capable of political protest and participation.[42]

The king's birthday became an important celebratory occasion in eighteenth-century Scotland. It was also a core event in the Scottish political calendar where the grievances of the population could be aired.[43] The riot on the king's birthday in 1792, for instance, was a reaction to the failure of the government to respond to

[42] Harris, 'Political Protests', pp.50-68; Christopher A. Whatley, 'Royal Day, People's Day: The Monarch's Birthday in Scotland, c.1660-1860', in Roger Mason and Norman Macdougall (eds.), *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of T.C. Smout,* (Edinburgh, 1992), pp.170-188.
[43] Bob Harris and Christopher A. Whatley, ''To Solemnize His Majesty's Birthday': New Perspectives on Loyalism in George II's Britain', *History,* 83 (1998), pp.397-419.

public demand for burgh reform.[44] At the numerous Edinburgh riots during the 1790s, the only sartorial references applied to those who were singled out from the crowd and brought before the authorities. John Bertram, a servant, was arrested for his participation in the riots in 1792. His outfit consisted of a coat of

> …a light Stone Colour with White Metal Buttons A light blue Cape & Cuffs and the Pocket holes bound with blue of the same Colour. That the waistcoat is of the same light blue Cloth with the Cuffs and at the time the Declarant wore a round laced Hat light coloured Corderoy Breeches & Striped blue & white stocking[s]…[45]

One interpretation for the reason behind Bertram's arrest was that he was "conspicuous in his master's livery".[46] This was no doubt at least part of the reason Bertram was singled out: servant's liveries were designed to be eye-catching outfits, proclaiming the employer's wealth and taste.[47] Bertram's livery represented not only the presence of the servant, but that of the master as well. As it was not unheard of for middle ranking, or even elite men, to encourage violent protests for their own ends,[48] it is possible that it was thought the instigators of the riot could be reached by arresting Bertram.

The lack of reference to the appearance of the mob in general leaves their dress open to interpretation. Most likely the crowd consisted of people of various backgrounds and statuses.[49] Their clothing would have been similar to that described in the working wardrobes in Chapter 3. Breeches or trousers, coats, and waistcoats would have been worn by the men, and gowns by the women - all made from a variety of fabrics. The mob would perhaps also have included people in their 'best' dress. Adam Mackay, who was arrested for participating in the king's birthday riot of 1796, stated that he had "put on his best Cloaths in honour of the day", and his advocate described the outfit as his "Sunday's Cloaths".[50] These clothes consisted of

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[44] Brims, 'From Reformers to Jacobins', p.32; Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.301.
[45] NAS JC26/265/3/14(3) His Majesty's Advocate against John Bertram and Alexander Lockie, 1792, declaration of John Bertram.
[46] Logue, *Popular Disturbances,* p.142.
[47] For a discussion of the various attitudes to liveries see Styles, *Dress of the People,* pp.295-301.
[48] Nenadic, 'Political Reform', p.68.
[49] Ibid., p.66.
[50] NAS JC3/48 Book of Adjournal, Bill of Suspension for Adam Mackay, 8 August 1796.

a black lapelled coat, a yellow waistcoat with white metal buttons, a pair of grey pantaloons, grey silk stockings, a white cravat, and a slouched hat.[51]

Despite the lack of descriptions of the clothing worn by the majority of the rioters, evidence indicates that there was an awareness of the power that clothing could have as a means of political protest. This can be seen in the subversion of traditional or customary clothing practices for the purposes of political protest. In November 1792, a report was sent to Home Secretary Henry Dundas that an unidentified effigy, thought to have been of Dundas himself, had been burned in a disturbance at Perth.[52] Before the burning the effigy was paraded through the town and the perpetrator carrying the effigy was identified as a "Journeyman Dyer…dressed in Womens Cloaths."[53] There was likely an element of disguise behind the outfit of the journeyman dyer - women were less likely to be prosecuted than men despite their prominent and consistent participation in various protests.[54] But this disguise was not wholly effective as the occupation and status of the journeyman were still identifiable. The incorporation of women's clothing into a political circumstance thus represents a desire to make an overtly political statement by subverting the social order and causing confusion. Similar occurrences have been noted in England. Men dressed in women's clothes during a Luddite attack in 1812 using "traditional symbols and rituals of community" usually associated with popular customs and festivals within a political context.[55]

One of the few visual sources available for the political dress of those lower down the social scale is Kay's engraving *A Political Set-To; or, 'Freedom of Election' Illustrated*, (Fig. 4.5). Dating from 1796 the engraving depicts a scuffle that broke out in the inn at Kinghorn in Fife. As a royal burgh, Kinghorn voted with other burghs in the district to send a representative to parliament. The process was prone to corruption as delegates were not democratically elected but chosen by the "self-

[51] NAS JC26/285/45 Bill of Suspension by Adam Mackay, 1796.
[52] Logue, *Popular Disturbances*, p.149.
[53] NAS RH2/4/65/86 David Smyth to Henry Dundas, 26 November 1792, Home Office Correspondence HO 102, Volume 6, 1792 Nov, Dec. Part 1.
[54] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.197.
[55] Navickas, 'That Sash Will Hang You', pp.560-564. See also Roger Young, 'George Walker's "Costume of Yorkshire" (1814): The Representation and Negotiation of Class Difference and Social Unrest', *Art History,* 19:3 (1996), pp.393-417, p.414.

perpetuating and non-accountable town councils of the burghs".[56] In the election of 1796 the electors of Dunfermline sought protection at the inn at Kinghorn, which had earned itself a reputation for protecting electors from intimidation and counteracting the growing Whig influence in the area.[57] Supporters of the presumably more liberal candidate, who were disadvantaged by this flight of electors, came to the inn and entered by force – as depicted by Kay. Most men can be seen in clothes befitting their status as town officials, ex-military men, and pub landlords, being attired in breeches, waistcoats, coats, hats, and wigs. A couple of figures are seen in trousers, including a man identified as Bruce, a postilion who was part of the invading, liberal group, shown at the foot of the stairs.[58] The depiction of trousers should not be read as an overtly political statement on a par with that of the *sans-culottes* in the French Revolution, as trousers were a common garment of the working man. The trousers can be read as part of a wider political narrative, however, when other symbolic elements in the image are considered. Sprawled at Bruce's feet is a defeated opponent, dressed in a wig, long coat with tails, breeches, and white stockings. The eye is drawn to Bruce, who was set slightly apart from the action. Dressed in the working clothing of an ordinary, non-elite man, Bruce is standing in front of and guarding an empty chair representing the parliamentary seat.

[56] Logue, *Popular Disturbances*, p.131.
[57] Paterson (ed.), *Series of Original Portraits,* vol. 2, pp.402-403.
[58] Ibid., vol. 2, p.406.

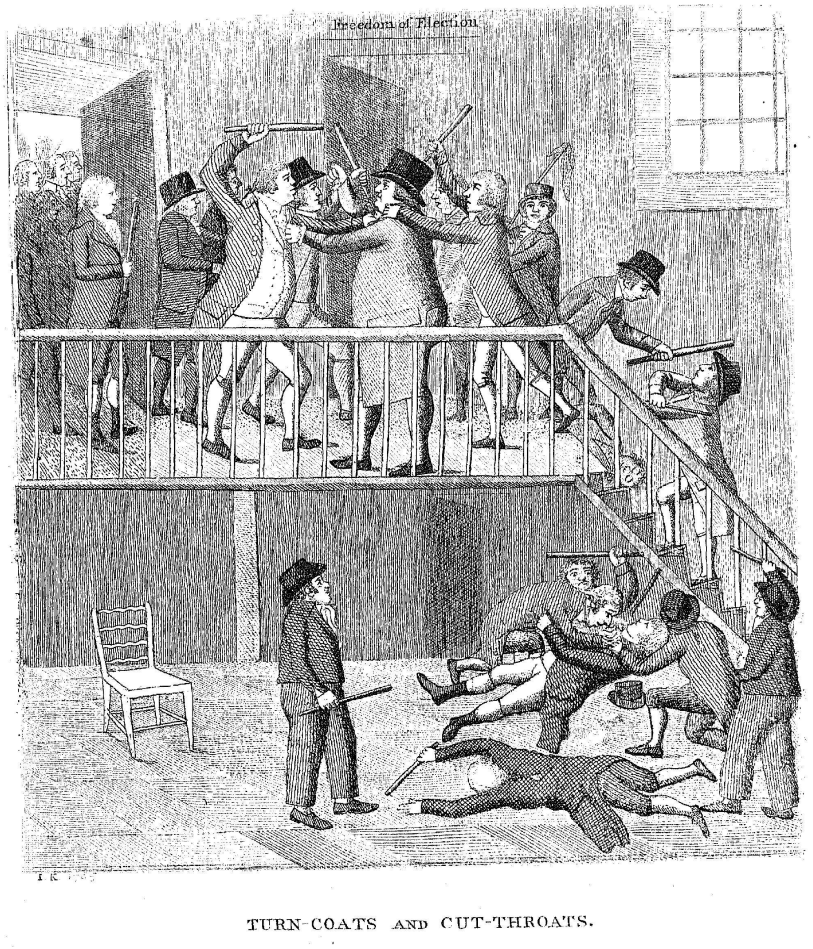

Fig. 4.5: *A Political Set-To; or, Freedom of Election Illustrated*, John Kay 1796.
Courtesy of Edinburgh University Library, Special Collections.

Radical Dress in the Early Nineteenth Century

The economic slump at the end of the Napoleonic Wars resulted in rising unemployment levels, rising food prices, and reductions in wages, particularly in the industrialising textile manufacturing areas in the west of Scotland.[59] These economic conditions provoked a desire to improve the working conditions of the labourers of Scotland, a cause which became inextricably linked to the notion of parliamentary reform.[60] Agitation for reform in this period was not necessarily a Scottish movement. Reformers in Scotland employed the language of a British political rhetoric, particularly that of the British constitution, into their arguments.[61] Similarities can also be seen between the English and Scottish reforming groups in

[59] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.313.
[60] Ibid., pp.263-282.
[61] Gordon Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity in Scotland, 1820-1833,* (Woodbridge, 2008), p.8.

terms of their organisation and activities – of which sartorial symbolism was to play an increasingly key role.

As a legacy from the political reform movements of the 1790s there was an increasing awareness in many circles of the need for a respectable movement, or at least a movement with the appearance of respectability. Maintaining such an image was essential to supporting the legitimacy of political claims and manifested in demonstrations of loyal feeling and the reiteration of the "ordered" nature of the radical meetings.[62] The report for the Rutherglen Radical Reform Meeting held in October 1819, for instance, stressed the quiet nature of the event with the meeting ending in a chorus of *Rule Britannia*, after which the "people dispersed in good order."[63]

At the English radical meetings in the early nineteenth century respectability was conveyed by the physical appearance of the participants. Samuel Bamford, the radical English weaver, wrote proudly of the marchers of his group noting that there was "not even one, who did not exhibit a white Sundays' shirt, a neck cloth, and other apparel in the same, though homely condition."[64] By using dress traditionally worn on Sundays and at festive events to make a political point, customary habits were being adapted for political purposes.[65] In the Scottish meetings such references were generally only made to the committee members who would have been the most prominent people at the meetings. Furthermore, most comments were made for the meetings which occurred after the Peterloo Massacre in Manchester in August 1819, where English reformers, including women, had been killed by cavalry. This event acted as a catalyst for collective sartorial symbolism in both English and Scottish reforming groups. Reformers could adopt clothing or adornments as a sign of mourning according to their means.[66] At their meeting in November 1819 the committee of the Dundee Radical Reform group "dressed in decent mourning"[67] out of respect for their fallen comrades in Manchester. The *Glasgow Courier* reported a few weeks after the massacre that at the meeting of the Paisley reformers, the

[62] Nenadic, 'Political Reform', pp.67, 73.
[63] *Scotsman,* 30 October, 1819, p.7.
[64] Robert Poole, 'The March to Peterloo: Politics and Festivity in Late Georgian England', *Past and Present,* 192 (2006), pp.109-154, p.117.
[65] Ibid., p.120; Navickas, 'That Sash Will Hang You', pp.556.
[66] Ibid., pp.557-558.
[67] *The Spirit of the Union,* 27 November 1819, 1:5, p.36.

"hustings were hung with black cloth, and all the speakers were dressed in mourning."[68]

The focus on the appearance of the committee members was an extension of the "ordering" of protest of the late eighteenth century.[69] Anonymous protest, for instance, was rejected in favour of means where the protagonists were openly identified, with the aim of contributing to the legitimacy and respectability of the movement.[70] The focus on the respectable committee members can also be seen as an attempt by reformers to distance themselves from the growing numbers of underground union societies in Scotland, which were more concerned with the use of physical force rather than peaceful deliberation and debate.[71] By describing the dress and demeanour of the committee members at the open air meetings, attention was called to the respectable nature and the legitimacy of the leadership and, in turn, the movement as a whole.

Legitimacy and respectability could also be enhanced through the presence of women at the reform meetings. Women were prominent at English meetings, often dressed in white. This has variously been interpreted as a reference to the purity of the reform movement,[72] as a link to the Festivals of Reason in revolutionary France,[73] and as a representation of support for Jacobitism.[74] The outfits of women at the Scottish meetings attracted less attention, suggesting that there was not the same level of sartorial coordination. As with descriptions of men's dress, one of the few references to women's dress at the radical meetings was of women who were prominently involved in the ceremonial aspects of the gathering. At the meeting at Ayr at the end of October 1819, two women were described as being "handsomely dressed for the occasion, in black silk gowns, with white scarfs, and highly decorated head dresses, white, studded with black knots, to represent the mourning of the people for the persons killed at Manchester."[75] These women were part of a group of

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[68] *Glasgow Courier,* 14 September 1819, no.4389, p.1.
[69] Nenadic, 'Political Reform', pp.73-74.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Devine, *Scottish Nation,* p.226; Navickas, 'That Sash Will Hang You', p.556.
[72] James Epstein, *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850,* (Oxford, 1994), p.83.
[73] M.L. Bush, 'The Women at Peterloo: The Impact of Female Reform on the Manchester Meeting of 16 August 1819', *History,* 89:294 (2004), pp.209-232, p.212.
[74] Poole, 'March to Peterloo', p.120.
[75] *Glasgow Courier,* 4 November 1819, issue 4411, p.3. See also Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.312.

thirty female reformers from Kilmarnock and were responsible for delivering flags and a cap of liberty to the president of the proceedings.

The newspapers' silence on the dress of the crowds in general implies that their appearance was nothing out of the ordinary. It can be assumed that the clothing of the participants was not significantly altered to warrant ascription to Sunday or best dress as it had been at the English meetings. The references to the crowd that do exist appeared in newspapers of a conservative rather than a radical persuasion, and as such were less than complimentary. A report of the Mauchline meeting near Ayr wrote that although the committee was "respectably dressed", the "contrast between them and the majority of the spectators, the dumb shew, &c. before the business commenced, gave the whole affair very much the appearance of an execution."[76] A letter to the editor of the *Glasgow Herald* reproduced in the *Morning Chronicle* in London, described a meeting which took place on Meikleriggs Muir in September 1819 and which had ended with riotous activities in Paisley. The writer had observed that the instigators of the trouble, who had tried to enter Paisley with banners carrying radical slogans, "were not Weavers, of character and respectability at least", a judgement based on the "the appearance of their exterior, and the impropriety of their conduct."[77]

Most radical activity took place in the west of Scotland, the area most affected by the downturn in fortunes of the textile industry at the beginning of the nineteenth century.[78] It follows that the lack of 'best' dress at the meetings was likely to have been a result of poverty. Coordinated political dress could simply have been beyond the means of those who wished to articulate their political grievances. It should also be considered, however, that by wearing their everyday and working clothes the participants were making a deliberate political statement as much as if they had worn their Sunday best. An account of radical meetings published in the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* in 1820 described the men involved as "generally [having] the appearance of factory men, such as spinners etc…"[79] These men were dressed in

[76] *Glasgow Courier,* 26 October 1819, issue 4407, p.1.
[77] *The Morning Chronicle,* 18 September 1819, issue 15721, p.3.
[78] Norman Murray, *The Scottish Hand Loom Weavers 1790-1850: A Social History,* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp.208-240.
[79] *The Edinburgh Weekly Journal,* Vol. 23, no.1165, 12 April 1820, cited in NAS RH2/4/132/392, Home Office Scotland Correspondence, HO102, Volume 32, 1820, part three.

their working clothes, which were likely to have been made of durable and cheap materials such as fustian, with minimal adornment. By appearing in their working clothes they were making a statement of collective identity and collective plight.[80] Wearing working clothes rather than 'Sunday best', emphasised their difficulties as workers and made a statement about their role in the wider economy. This indicates a different strategy, dictated by the economic circumstances of the Scottish reformers, to the emphasis on respectable appearances at the English meetings.

If the adoption of Sunday or best clothes was not a widespread practice in the Scottish meetings and processions, the use of ribbons and certain colours was more evident. Recent research into the clothing and vestimentary symbols used by the English radicals of the early nineteenth century has emphasised the significance in the use of ribbons and certain colours in popular protest. Such items often subverted loyalist and established practices for the radical cause.[81] As with altering clothes to keep up with fashionable appearances, the use of ribbons and cockades was a cheap means of political dressing which incorporated the typical "vestimentary symbolism usually seen at holidays and fairs."[82] Green ribbons were worn at a meeting in Glasgow in September 1819, attached to the buttonholes of the men.[83] At the Rutherglen Radical Reform Meeting a month later, the boys and young men "had decorations of red, green, and blue ribbons in their breasts."[84] Green was a prominent colour among English radicals, despite its simultaneous use by Irish Catholic immigrants, and was used in ribbons and laurels worn to represent victory and leadership.[85] Green was a colour of regeneration and renewal, an assertion that political reform would be the start of a new life – an idea also applicable to the planting of trees of liberty during the 1790s.[86]

Similarities with the English radicals can also be seen in the prominent use of the cap of liberty at the meetings. The association of the cap of liberty with the reign of terror in France was at fundamental odds with the notion of respectability. But the

[80] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.195; Navickas, 'That Sash Will Hang You', p.555.
[81] Ibid., p.551.
[82] Ibid., pp.540-541.
[83] Fraser, *Scottish Popular Politics,* p.37.
[84] *Glasgow Courier,* 26 October, 1819, issue 4407, p.1.
[85] Navickas, 'That Sash Will Hang You', pp.552-553.
[86] Henry W. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution,* (Glasgow, 1912), pp.96-98. Thank you to Dr. Alex Murdoch for bringing this aspect of the use of colour to my attention.

cap of liberty also represented the right of freedom of expression and the right to assembly, and this ambiguity of meaning was used to the advantage of the reformers.[87] As with revolutionary France, the cap of liberty had emblematic purposes at the Scottish meetings.[88] At the Rutherglen Radical Reform Meeting in October 1819 a "splendid cap of liberty was solemnly placed" on the head of the elected chairman, George Paterson.[89] At the Paisley Meeting in November 1819 the Female Reformers of Johnston, Millerston, Kilbarchan, and Elderslie presented caps of liberty to the committee members.[90] At this particular meeting, five caps of liberty were present on the hustings and one was worn by each speaker when he addressed the crowd.[91] Women at the English meetings played a similar part to the Scottish women - presenting often very ornate caps to the committees[92] - and their actions have been construed to represent their role within the household and the family, rather than as voters in their own right.[93]

A further piece of headgear adopted by both Scottish and English radicals was the white hat. Often worn with green ribbons the white hat entered common use from 1819 onwards as an homage to Henry Hunt, the English radical orator.[94] At the Paisley meeting of November 1819 both spectators and committee members wore white hats.[95] The white hat was a symbol singularly associated with the radicals, representing a reversal of the "gentlemanly overtones" of the black top hat, and transforming the garment into an "emblem of class conflict."[96] The use of such a garment can be interpreted as a form of power dressing.[97] It can also be argued that the adoption of a gentleman's hat in a different colour to the norm was a signal that, rather than wholly destroying the current system, the reformers wanted to be included within it. The autobiography of James Paterson, the writer responsible for a

[87] Epstein, *Radical Expression*, p.74. See also Nicholas Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain,* (Oxford, 2007), p.243.
[88] Wrigley, *Politics of Appearances*, p.158.
[89] *Scotsman,* 30 October 1819, p.7.
[90] *Scotsman,* 6 November 1819, p.7.
[91] Ibid.
[92] *Manchester Observer,* 10 July 1819, cited by Epstein, *Radical Expression,* p.87.
[93] Colley, *Britons,* p.276.
[94] James Epstein, 'Understanding the Cap of Liberty: Symbolic Practice and Social Conflict in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Past and Present,* 122 (1989), pp.75-118, p.107.
[95] *Scotsman,* 6 November 1819, p.7.
[96] Epstein, *Radical Expression,* p.95.
[97] Harvey, *Men in Black*, p.15.

large proportion of the biographical information on Kay's portraits published in the nineteenth century, provided a more simple explanation for the white hat. Paterson noted that men in Kilmarnock "of the most ultra views" who were "engaged in the perilous task of getting up a rebellion" would make "themselves prominent by wearing white hats, which became, about this time, the insignia of Radicalism."[98] Visually a white hat had impact and it attracted attention.

It has been persuasively argued that the Scottish reform movement was part of a wider British trend and not necessarily a Scottish nationalist one.[99] The form, content, and aims of the English and Scottish reforming groups were very similar – a similarity which also extended to the use of sartorial symbolism. There were, however, elements of a Scottish identity in the use of political sartorial symbols, supporting the notion that there was a "quasi-nationalist dimension" to the Scottish reform movement.[100] References to historical Scottish heroes such as William Wallace and Robert the Bruce were common at the Scottish meetings.[101] Scottish elements were also incorporated into the appearances of the participants. The band at the Rutherglen meeting wore not only green jackets and white trousers but also tartan plaids and Scots bonnets.[102] While at a meeting at Kilmarnock the procession of reformers was "preceded by a person bearing an immense Thistle, and many of the members bore this insignia in their breasts and hats".[103] Scottish radicals may have had much in common with their English counterparts but elements of Scottishness were still apparent.

Conclusion

The political awareness of the general Scottish population was evident before the French Revolution raised the level of political discussion and debate. This awareness developed over the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and often relied on the use of dress and adornment as a tool for displaying and interpreting

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[98] James Paterson, *Autobiographical Reminiscences; Including Recollections of the Radical Years, 1819-1820, in Kilmarnock,* (Glasgow, 1871), p.70.
[99] Bob Harris, *Scottish People and the French Revolution,* (London, 2008), p.7. This was an ongoing process which developed with Scottish radicalism after the 1820s, see Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity,* pp.128-140.
[100] Pittock, *Scottish Nationality,* p.91.
[101] Colley, *Britons,* pp.338-339; Pentland, *Radicalism, Reform and National Identity,* p.138.
[102] *Scotsman,* 30 October, 1819, p.7.
[103] *Glasgow Courier,* 21 September, 1819, issue 4392, p.2.

political leanings. The understanding and interpretation of this political dress, however, varied according to the views and intentions of the observer, views which were then reflected in their accounts of the events. Newspapers, official documents, and autobiographies provide essential personal and collective perspectives on these sartorial developments – although the partiality of these sources should always be kept in mind.

The examples raised here display similar patterns to those that have been identified in political protests and movements in England, particularly the use and/or subversion of customary and popular practices for political ends. There was also a clear indication that although the notion of respectability in appearances was filtering into the political agenda, this was occurring to a lesser extent among the Scottish radicals than with their English counterparts. This could be a result of the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion – many nineteenth-century commentators noted the brutality of the act[104] – which resulted in an awareness of the trouble that political sartorial symbolism could cause. This seems unlikely however as it could equally be argued that this experience would have heightened the appreciation of the power clothing and adornments could have in the political arena. A more probable explanation would be the dire economic circumstances of the early nineteenth century. There was just not the financial means among individual members to take full advantage of the power of political sartorial symbolism.

[104] "Had the whole race been decimated, more violent grief, indignation and shame, could not have been excited among them, than by being deprived of this long inherited costume." David Stewart of Garth, *Sketches of the Character, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland; With Details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments,* 2 volumes, (Edinburgh, 1825), vol. 1, p.121.

SECTION II:

TEXTILE CULTURES

Textiles are practical objects. They are produced as a commodity for exchange, to clothe the body, and to increase the comfort of domestic surroundings. They also play a symbolic role, acting as cultural signifiers of gendered, social, and national identities and concerns. The multivalent readings of the production and use of textiles means that they can be studied to shed light on wider social, cultural, and economic practices of Scotland in the eighteenth century. This section uses contemporary literature, economic tracts, and an expansive business archive of a woollen manufacturing firm, to examine the role of textiles in eighteenth-century Scotland from cultural, political, and economic perspectives.

As with the first section of the thesis, the theme of identity is prevalent. This manifests in a number of ways, from the construction of personal and gendered identities, to the articulation of national sentiment. The innate link between textile manufacture and the economy, and the eighteenth-century association of the economy with the morality of the nation, means that the theme of nationalism and textiles is particularly evident. The section will also expand on themes raised, but not fully explored, in the previous chapters - namely the cultural significance of wool to Scottish society. Much is known about the roles of linen and cotton in eighteenth-century Scottish society, but the role of woollen cloth has been overshadowed by the iconicity of tartan and, to an extent, tweed. This section seeks to remedy this by repositioning the economic and cultural role of all woollen fabrics, including tartan, within the long eighteenth-century context. It looks at the cultural significance of homespun cloth and the use of woollen fabric as a metaphor for the moral well-being of the nation. It also examines the perception of woollen cloth as an economic commodity in both theoretical and practical terms. Although woollen manufacture may not have been as economically significant as the production of linen or cotton, this section shows that culturally, its role in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish society was central.

Chapter 5:

Reading Cloth: Textiles in Scottish Poetry and Literature

The value of poetry and literature in illuminating the social and cultural attitudes and experiences of a historical society is high. Authors of poetry and literature engaged in contemporary contexts and topics and sought to interpret social patterns and cultural mores through their work.[1] Even works that were based in the past incorporated the predilections and prejudices of the author's time, providing a form of "'personal history' of the writer's time and place."[2] The literature and verse of eighteenth-century Scotland was no different in this respect. Clothing was used to represent and emphasise character traits, social relationships, and cultural trends,[3] and references to textiles and textile manufacture can be equally evocative.

This chapter uses references to textiles in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literature to examine social and cultural themes of Scottish society. It looks at the role of woollen cloth in society and its use as a metaphor for the moral and economic state of the nation. It also determines how references to cloth were used to highlight the social structures of eighteenth-century society. The chapter analyses how textiles could be used as literary devices to illustrate the economic, social, and cultural developments of the age of improvement in Scotland.[4] Studying the contemporary literature of this period allows us to view the reactions to and interpretations of these developments.

Much has been written of the value of novels in providing detail on the social and cultural practices particularly of the time in which the author was writing.[5] Novels offer insight into the relationships and practices of the everyday life of a past society, including its moral standards.[6] Novels in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, were limited to the middling and elite levels of society – the authors and their intended audiences generally came from these social ranks. The

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[1] Tom Dunne, 'A Polemical Introduction: Literature, Literary Theory and the Historian', in Tom Dunne (ed.), *The Writer as Witness: Literature as Historical Evidence,* (Cork, 1987), pp.1-9, p.5.
[2] Ibid., p. 3.
[3] Roche, *Culture of Clothing*, pp.399-434; Aileen Ribeiro, *Fashion and Fiction: Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England,* (London, 2005).
[4] Smout, *History of the Scottish People,* pp.271-281; Devine, *Scottish Nation,* pp.131-151.
[5] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* p.403.
[6] Ibid., p.406.

bulk of evidence used in this chapter, therefore, is taken from poetry and song. These forms of literature were embedded in the popular culture of Scottish society, providing insights into social and cultural expectations from a variety of perspectives. Work songs, for instance, were an important part of the oral tradition where song could act as a means of subversion as well as an aid to hard labour.[7] Ballads passed down orally through the generations, particularly in the Highland regions, acted as a form of entertainment and as a means of moral and social education. Fiction is not completely excluded, however. John Galt's *Annals of the Parish* is discussed at the end of the chapter, to show that there was a continuity of themes from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century in Scottish literature. Like the poetry from the early to mid-eighteenth century, Galt's *Annals* showed a tension between the desire for improvement and progress, and the fear of the impact such developments could have on society.

Information obtained from these sources is personal and subjective, whether it is interpreted as being the view of the authors themselves or of a character they created. The personal biases and interests of the author affected the tone and content of their work which, in turn, represents only a partial view of the world they were describing.[8] Similarly, the author's motivation for creating a piece of literature had a bearing on the information it conveyed.[9] Each reference to cloth, however, provides a perspective on how textiles and textile manufacturing were incorporated and used in a social and cultural environment.[10] These views and experiences may only be a partial representation of the society within which they were created, but they provide perspectives on specific aspects of eighteenth-century society, including the culture of cloth in Scotland.

[7] Emma Robertson, Michael Pickering, and Marek Korcynski, ''And Spinning so with Voices Meet, Like Nightingales They Sung Full Sweet': Unravelling Representations of Singing in Pre-Industrial Textile Production', *Cultural and Social History,* 5:1 (2008), pp.11-32.
[8] John Barrell, *Poetry, Language and Politics,* (Manchester, 1988), p.12.
[9] Dunne, 'Polemical Introduction', p.7.
[10] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.91.

Wool in Lowland Poetry and Song

It has recently been argued that the woollen cloth industry was central to the cultural and national identity of early modern England.[11] With the iconicity of tartan and tweed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a similar assertion can be made for Scotland. Examples of the cultural importance of wool in general, furthermore, can be found through the study of contemporary literature.

Wool and the processes required for the making of woollen cloth were useful literary devices used to emphasise the changing social patterns and processes of Scottish society. A particular example can be seen in the references to wool and woollen cloth which relate to the eighteenth-century luxury debates. These debates were an important part of eighteenth-century rhetoric and were commonly employed by those in the upper levels of society to comment on the actions and behaviour of their social inferiors. Bernard Mandeville, the philosopher and controversial commentator, argued early in the century that luxury goods such as food, furniture, and dress were stimuli to trade and invention.[12] Later in the century David Hume expanded on Mandeville's argument by saying that

> indulgences [in food, drink and clothes] are only vices, when they are pursued at the expence of some virtue, as liberality or charity; in like manner as they are follies, when for them a man ruins his fortune, and reduces himself to want and beggary. Where they entrench upon no virtue, but leave ample subject whence to provide for friends, family, and every proper object of generosity or compassion, they are entirely innocent…[13]

According to Hume, when people had the opportunity to obtain luxury items they were more likely to work harder: "where there is no demand for such superfluities, men sink into indolence."[14] Such opinions, however, did not go uncontested. Many felt that expenditure on and attention to frivolous and luxurious items, particularly those that were not domestically manufactured, distracted from more suitable activities such as care of the soul or of those less fortunate than one's self and were

[11] Hentschell, *Culture of Cloth*.
[12] Bernard Mandeville, 'The Grumbling Hive: or, Knaves turn'd Honest', in *The Fable of the Bees: Or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits,* 1724 (Indianapolis, 1988), pp.34-35.
[13] David Hume, 'On Luxury', *Essays and Treatises on Various Subjects,* (London, 1758), ECCO, accessed 9 September 2009, p.157.
[14] Ibid., p.159; Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure*, pp.21-45; Nenadic, 'Middle-Rank Consumers ', pp.122-156.

damaging to society as a whole.[15] Allan Ramsay, for instance, the most prolific representative of Scottish literary culture in the early eighteenth century, produced poetry which emphasised the importance of domestic products over the increasingly popular imported, luxury goods.

Influenced by the Enlightenment belief in the stadial growth of society, a pervading characteristic of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scottish writers was their use of past societies as a means of looking to the future.[16] Ramsay's disenchantment with the Union of 1707 motivated him to preserve and protect what he saw as the unique and important aspects of Scottish culture and tradition.[17] Wool and woollen cloth acted as a medium through which Ramsay could express these views. In 'Tartana: or, the Plaid' Ramsay described a society of an "Antique Date"[18] where people of all social levels wore the woollen plaid. He wrote:

> Our own bold NATIVE PRINCE then fill'd the Throne
> His plaid array'd, magnificently shone;
> Nor seem'd his Purple, or his Ermine less,
> Surmounted by the universal Dress.
> In this the THANES at COURT made their Parade;
> With this the Sheepherds [sic], and the Hinds were clad;
> In this the WARRIOR wrapt his brawny Arms,
> With this our Beauteous MOTHERS vail'd their Charms
> Each Quality, Age, Sex, each Youth, each Maid,
> Deem'd it a *Deshabille* to want their PLAID.[19]

Ramsay's contemporary society was under threat from "base Foreign Fashions"[20] which adversely impacted Scottish culture, Scottish industry, and Scottish masculinity.[21] He likened the use of foreign modes and foreign cloths to the wearing of "*chains*" and implied that using cottons from the East and West Indies was an effeminate practice that contrasted with the manly and noble use of the native

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[15] Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality,* pp.101-103. See also Roy Porter, 'Consumption: Disease of the Consumer Society?' in John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods,* (London, 1994), pp.58-81.
[16] Andrew Hook, 'Scotland and Romanticism: The International Scene', in Andrew Hook (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature. Volume 2: 1660-1800,* (Aberdeen, 1987), pp.307-322, p.311.
[17] Murray G.H. Pittock, 'Ramsay, Allan (1684-1758), poet', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23072, accessed 1 February 2010.
[18] Allan Ramsay, *Tartana: or, the Plaid,* (Edinburgh, [1718]), ECCO, accessed 1 February 2010, p.9.
[19] Ibid., pp.10-11.
[20] Ibid., p.10.
[21] Kenneth Simpson, 'Robert Burns: 'Heaven-taught Ploughman?'', in Kenneth Simpson (ed.), *Burns Now,* (Edinburgh, 1994), pp.70-91, p.75.

woollen plaid.[22] Ramsay pleaded with the Scottish women to protect their cultural heritage by wearing the traditional plaid.[23] The plaid had aesthetic advantages as it enabled the observer to admire both the "Gown in all its Shapes" and the "Straightness" of the wearer's waist.[24] The nature of the garment also had wider, economic benefits:

> Now say my Muse e'er thou forsak'st the Field,
> What profit does the PLAID to SCOTIA yield?
> Justly that claims our Love, Esteem, and Boast,
> Which is produc'd within our Native Coast.
> On our own Mountains grows the GOLDEN FLEECE,
> Richer than that which *Jason* brought to *Greece;*
> …
> Our Fair Ingenious Ladies' Hands prepare
> The equal Threeds [sic] and give the Dyes with Care
> Thousands of Artists sullen Hours decoy
> On rattling Looms, and view their Webs with Joy.[25]

As a native product that was made from a native raw material which could be produced in any Scottish home, the economic and aesthetic benefits of wearing the plaid were obvious to Ramsay. As the poem was a plea to the population to preserve this historic garment and not to get caught up in the vagaries of conspicuous consumption, it would seem that not all of Ramsay's contemporaries shared his views.

Similar language and sentiments appeared in the song 'On Our Ladies Being Dressed in Scots Manufactory at a Publick Assembly' published by Ramsay in his *Tea-Table Miscellany*. The song promoted the beauty of the Scottish ladies, particularly when they were dressed in "native weeds":[26]

> What *Caledonian* Ladies wear,
> Or from the Lint or woollen twine,
> Adorn'd by all their Sweets, appear
> Whate'er we can imagine fine.
> …
> T'adore *Myrtilla,* who can cease?
> Her *active charms* our Praise demand,

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[22] Ramsay, 'Tartana', p.11.
[23] Ibid., p.10.
[24] Ibid., p.14.
[25] Ibid., pp.28-29.
[26] Allan Ramsay, 'On Our Ladies Being Dressed in Scots Manufactory at Publick Assembly', in *The Tea-Table Miscellany: or, Allan Ramsay's Collection of Scots Songs,* (Edinburgh, 1729), ECCO, accessed 16 October 2009, vol. 2, p.190.

Clad in a Mantua, from the Fleece,
Spun by her own delighted Hand.[27]

As with 'Tartana' it was asserted that Scottish ladies appeared at their best in homespun fabrics, in this case both linen and woollen. By wearing these fabrics, furthermore, the ladies would contribute to the improvement of the Scottish economy and Scottish trade:

Then such first Beauties lead the Way,
The inferior Rank will follow soon;
Then Arts no longer shall decay,
But Trade encourag'd be in tune.[28]

This stanza shows that Ramsay felt the manufacture of cloth within Scotland was vital to the economic well-being of the country in general. Ramsay had also recognised the influence that the social and fashionable elite had on the habits of the lower levels of the population, and the impact this influence could have on Scottish industry.

The importance of linen to the cultural developments of early modern society has been much lauded.[29] In Scotland the pre-eminence of linen was perpetuated by the perceived economic importance of this product in the early eighteenth century.[30] The references in Ramsay's work, however, demonstrate that as much cultural significance was placed on the role of wool in Scottish society and the Scottish economy.

Millions of Fleeces shall be wove,
And Flax that on the Valeys [sic] blooms.
Shall make the naked Nations love
And bless the Labours of our Looms:
…
How happy's *Scotland* in her Fair!
Her amiable Daughters shall,
By acting thus with virtuous Care,
Again the Golden Age recal [sic]: [31]

Wool, as much as linen, could boost the Scottish economy and help the nation achieve greatness.

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., p.191.
[29] Vigarello, *Concepts of Cleanliness,* chs. 4, 5 and 6.; Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* ch. 7.
[30] See Chapter 6.
[31] Ramsay, 'On Our Ladies', p.191.

In both 'Tartana' and 'On Our Ladies', concern was evident that changing consumption and sartorial practices were having an adverse impact on wider social and economic well-being. In 'The Gentle Shepherd', a pastoral which was first published in the 1720s, Ramsay was more positive about the notion of change and improvement but wool was still a core cultural theme around which Scottish society was centred. 'The Gentle Shepherd' used a past rural society that was "attractive and appealing"[32] as an example for Ramsay's contemporary society to follow. Set in the late seventeenth century, the poem followed the courtship by two young shepherds of two local lasses. On the return of the exiled local laird the true identities of Patie and Peggy as members of the gentry were revealed.

The poem has been noted for its realistic depiction of the lives of Lowland peasants with the characters reflecting "near-contemporary customs and attitudes"[33] - a result of Ramsay spending his formative years in a rural community in Lanarkshire. Following the pastoral tradition, the lives of the characters in 'The Gentle Shepherd' were simple and unaffected. The biblical connotations associated with shepherds mean that this fictional rural community can be interpreted as representing the heart of Scottish moral society.[34] With further recourse to the luxury debates, prosperity was defined as comfort, which was gained from hard work within the community, rather than the excess of imported luxury goods.[35] When the shepherd Roger proposed to Jenny he stressed his ability to provide her with a comfortable home through diligence and hard work. Wool was central to this process:

> Five pack of woo I can at Lammas sell,
> Shorn frae my bob-tail'd bleeters on the fell:
> Good twenty pair of blankets for our bed,
> With meikle care, my thrifty mother made.
> Ilk thing that makes a heartsome house and tight,
> Was still her care, my father's great delight.[36]

Roger would not only sell wool to generate income, the implication was his future wife would transform wool into cloth to furnish their home, as Roger's mother had done before.

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[32] Hook, 'Scotland and Romanticism', p.311.
[33] Alexander M. Kinghorn and Alexander Law, 'Allan Ramsay and Literary Life in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century', in Hook (ed.), *History of Scottish Literature, Volume 2*, pp.65-79, p.72.
[34] Paul Alpers, *What is Pastoral?,* (London, 1996), p.27.
[35] Ibid., p.50.
[36] Ramsay, 'The Gentle Shepherd', p.75.

Woollen cloth was also used to highlight the differences between rural and urban society, a common trait of the pastoral genre.[37] The shepherd Patie, on discovering his heritage was more illustrious than he had thought, was told he would have to leave his shepherding life to learn the cultured manners required of an heir to a laird. This meant leaving

> …the green-swaird dance, when we gae milk,
> To rustle among the beauties clad in silk.
> But Meg, poor Meg! Maun with the shepherd stay,
> And tak what God will send, in hodden-gray.[38]

Unlike 'Tartana', the community in 'The Gentle Shepherd' had not yet been corrupted by conspicuous consumption and the demand for luxury goods. With Patie leaving for a more cosmopolitan lifestyle, change was imminent and the influence of urban society was looming. Ramsay wanted the reader to see and remember the virtuous and moral roots of the rural community, represented by the homespun, un-dyed woollen cloth of "hodden-gray".[39]

Ramsay was not the only Scottish poet to use the pastoral tradition to comment on Scottish society. Later in the century James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, frequently used his background as a Lowland shepherd to influence the content and form of his work. He subsequently epitomised the cultural significance of wool to Scottish society. From a humble farming background with as little as six months formal education, Hogg cultivated and exploited his social and occupational background throughout his literary career.[40] Once established as a poet and author his patrons included the eminent improver, the Duke of Buccleuch, who provided Hogg with a farm in Yarrow.[41] Numerous images survive of Hogg dressed in the shepherd's plaid, purposefully worn to comment on his status and his background (see Fig. 1.15).

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[37] Terry Gifford, *Pastoral,* (London, 1999), p.15.
[38] Ramsay, 'The Gentle Shepherd', p.96.
[39] Graham, *Social Life of Scotland,* p.513.
[40] Bold, *James Hogg*, pp.66-69.
[41] Douglas S. Mack, 'Hogg, James (bap.1770, d.1835)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13470, accessed 22 June 2010; Brian Dalgety Bonnyman, 'Agricultural Improvement in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Third Duke of Buccleuch, William Keir, and the Buccleuch Estates, 1751-1812', University of Edinburgh, PhD Thesis, 2004; for an economic perspective of Lowland sheep farming see Robert A. Dodgshon, 'The Economics of Sheep Farming in the Southern Uplands during the Age of Improvement, 1750-1833', *Economic History Review,* 29:4 (1976), pp.551-569.

Hogg produced a number of pastorals in his early career. As with Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd', rural and shepherding life was presented as an ideal state that was free from the vices of luxury and consumption. In a song first published in 1801, a laird's son attempted to woo a "hamely shepherd's daughter",[42] but was initially rejected. The girl had no wish to marry above her status, and asserted "Yet had ye been a shepherd lad, / Wi' a' my heart then I could love ye."[43] The young man's praise of the woman's qualities emphasised the simple pleasures of rural life by contrasting with his hectic round of "masquerades an' balls" and trips to London:

> My love can read, an' write, an' sing,
> An' shape an' sew as weel as ony;
> An' dance the round amid the ring,
> Wi' finer air an' grace than mony.[44]

The young man leaves the "masquerades an' balls" of his former life, for the "contentit" life of a shepherd.[45] Although there was no specific reference to woollen cloth the implication of the moral superiority of the rural life in general, and of the life of the shepherd in particular, was clear. Wool, by association, was representative of the moral state of Scottish society.

Gendered and Social Differences

Roger's assertion in 'The Gentle Shepherd' that his mother had provided him with all the household textiles that he needed, implied that Jenny was expected to contribute to this store once they were married, while he would be out tending the sheep. Similarly, in Robert Fergusson's 'The Farmer's Ingle' published in the 1770s – men were out working the farm while women were indoors spinning, working to provide cloth for the family and the household.[46] Spinning was considered women's work and had long had virtuous associations.[47] In an effort to appear righteous, for instance, aristocratic Roman women would carry out their own cloth work rather

[42] James Hogg, *Scottish Pastorals: Poems, Songs, &c. Mostly Written in the Dialect of the South,* (ed.) Elaine Petrie, (Stirling, 1988), p.33.
[43] Ibid., p.34.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Robert Fergusson, 'The Farmer's Ingle', in Kinghorn and Law (eds.), *Poems by Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson*, p.163.
[47] It was not always clear whether references to spinning in literature meant linen or woollen fabrics as both had high domestic production rates. Donnachie, 'Textile Industry in South West Scotland', pp.20, 28-29.

than relying on their slaves to do it for them.[48] In the medieval era, associations with spinning and the Virgin Mary were commonplace,[49] and in convents spinning was considered an activity conducive to prayer.[50]

References to spinning in Scottish literature acted as a metaphor for the virtue and purity of unmarried women. In Robert Burns's 'Duncan Davison', a traditional song adapted in the 1780s, spinning equipment represented the protection of a young woman's virtue. The 'heroine' Meg used her distaff to keep her suitor away.[51] While resting during a walk she placed her spinning wheel between them until he promised she would be a bride: "Then Meg took up her spinnin-graith [equipment], / And flang them a' out o'er the burn."[52] Similarly in 'O Leave Novels', again by Burns, young ladies were encouraged to keep at their spinning rather than read "witching books" such as *Tom Jones* which made "youthful fancies reel".[53]

Spinning was also a means by which a woman could provide for her family, both in the making of cloth for them to use domestically, and in the production of goods that could be sold elsewhere. The final stanza of 'Duncan Davison' stated that "Sae blythe and merry's we will be, / When ye set by the wheel at e'en."[54] Meg was obviously expected to continue spinning after they were married, presumably to contribute to the household economy. In Alexander Ross's 'Wooed and Married and A'' the woman was more concerned with her appearance than with learning practical skills such as spinning or baking, with potentially disastrous consequences. Once married her husband did not tolerate her requests for luxuries without any contribution to the household on her part:

> …she cried to her husband to gi'e her

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[48] Ruth Mazo Karras, ''This Skill in a Woman is by No Means to be Despised': Weaving and the Gender Division of Labour in the Middle Ages', in Burns (ed.), *Medieval Fabrications,* pp.89-104, p.92.
[49] Kathryn M. Rudy, 'Introduction: Miraculous Textiles', in K.M Rudy and Barbara Baert (eds.), *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages,* (Brepols, Belgium, 2007), pp.1-36, p.2.
[50] Hanneke van Asperen, 'Praying, Threading and Adorning', in Rudy and Baert (eds.), *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing,* pp.81-120, p.98.
[51] A distaff was a stick around which the combed fibres were wound. A weight attached to the distaff drew the fibres out from this bundle to make the yarn. This was a primitive method of spinning but it was also practical as the distaff could be carried around under the spinner's arm. Enid Gauldie, *Spinning and Weaving,* (Edinburgh, 1995), pp.7-8.
[52] Robert Burns, 'Duncan Davison', in Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg (eds.), *The Canongate Burns: The Complete Poems and Songs of Robert Burns,* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.304.
[53] Robert Burns, 'O Leave Novels', in Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.550.
[54] Burns, 'Duncan Davison', p.304.

An ell of red ribbons or twa.
He up and he down beside her
A reel and a wheelie to ca'…[55]

Unhappy with this response the young woman turned to her mother for advice who knew the value of such work the husband required:

…Hech lassie,
He's wisest, I fear of the twa;
Ye'll ha'e little to put in the bassie [meal dish],
Gin ye be backward to draw.
'Tis now ye should work like a tiger
And at it baith wallop and ca',
As lang's ye ha'e youthhead and vigour,
And little anes and debt are awa'.[56]

Ross was a contemporary of both Ramsay and Burns and he came from the north-east of Scotland.[57] His work shows that cultural expectations placed on women were similar across the country.

References to spinning to make cloth for use in the home were more common than references to the commercial production of cloth. In Fergusson's 'The Farmer's Ingle', the old woman from whose "russet lap the spindle plays", watched her grandson wearing clothes that she had spun. Fearing that death might soon come upon her, the emotional and economic relationships with spinning was made clear:

On some feast-day, the wee-things buskit braw
Shall heeze her heart up wi' a silent joy,
Fu' cadgie that her head was up and saw
Her ain spun cleething on a darling oy
Careless tho' death shou'd make the feast her foy.[58]

By spinning and producing cloth, the old woman had fulfilled her role as "nurturer and reproducer"[59] of the household. This poem was Fergusson's commentary on the destruction of traditional life in the rural Lowlands which he felt had been brought about by the progress in agricultural improvements introduced by the landed classes. The poem has been criticised for being unrealistic in its portrayal of rural life - a judgment made on Fergusson's determination to make the farming household seem

[55] Alexander Ross, 'Wooed and Married and A'', in George Eyre-Todd (ed.), *Scottish Poetry of the Eighteenth Century,* (Edinburgh, [1896]), vol. 1, pp.89-90.
[56] Ibid., p.90.
[57] Roger J. Robinson, 'Ross, Alexander, of Lochlee (1699-1784)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24112, accessed 11 February 2010.
[58] Fergusson, 'The Farmer's Ingle', p.163.
[59] Karras, ''This Skill in a Woman'', p.104.

clean, cosy, and comfortable.[60] Taking into account the strong sense of nostalgia, however, the making of yarn, cloth, and clothing within the home for the use by members of that household was common practice.[61]

Self-sufficiency was a common theme in eighteenth-century Scottish poetry. Just as shepherds' lives were held up as an ideal, self-sufficiency was often presented as a virtuous and happy state. This can be seen in Robert Burns's 'Bessy and Her Spinning Wheel', a song from 1792:

> O leeze me on my spinnin-wheel,
> And leeze me on my rock and reel;
> Frae tap to tae that cleeds me bien,
> And haps me fiel and warm at e'en![62]

As with the shepherds in the pastorals of Ramsay and Hogg, too much luxury and focus on material consumption was damaging to society. The uncomplicated existence based on and around homespun cloth was a preferable state of being:

> Wi' sma to sell, and less to buy,
> Aboon distress, below envy,
> O wha wad leave this humble state,
> For a' the pride of a' the Great?
> Amid their flairing, idle toys,
> Amid their cumbrous, dinsome joys,
> Can they the peace and pleasure feel
> Of Bessy at her spinnin-wheel![63]

Similar to Ramsay's fears that desire and greed for foreign luxuries were damaging to the welfare of the general population, Burns's message was that people should be content to have enough to be "Aboon distress" and "below envy". This was a reflection of his own class consciousness and his awareness of the gulf between rich and poor.[64] Once again, the comfort of homespun cloth was portrayed as superior to the excesses of more luxurious goods.

Not all cloth was produced for household consumption. The poems of Alexander Wilson, a weaver turned ornithologist, provides a more sinister perspective on the process of textile manufacture at the turn of the nineteenth century. In contrast to the

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[60] John MacQueen, *The Enlightenment and Literature Volume 1: Progress and Poetry,* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.117-119.
[61] Nenadic, 'Necessities', p. 140.
[62] Robert Burns, 'Bessy and her Spinning Wheel', in Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.383.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.xiii; David Daiches, *Robert Burns,* (London, 1966), p.48.

contented Bessy at her spinning wheel, the weavers described by Wilson "toiled in head and heart" and faced "constant deep inspection, / For years on years, to bring this art / So nearly to perfection".[65] Wilson wrote a number of poems in the tense atmosphere of the 1790s and his political views attracted the attention of the authorities. Having been arrested, convicted, and arrested again, he decided to emigrate to America.[66] Much of his work was a protest against the corrupt actions of the textile agents whose "hellish greed"[67] deprived the weavers of money. The agents described in Wilson's poems were responsible for the putting-out system where lint and yarn for linen were given to the weaver, on the proviso that the exact corresponding weight of cloth would be returned to be sold.[68] The agents were in control of the industry and dictated the profits the weavers could make. There was plenty of room for corruption:

> Cross his nose he lays the specks,
> And o'er the claith he glimmers;
> Ilk wee bit triflin' fau't detects,
> And cheeps, and to him yammers,
> "Dear man! – that wark 'ill never do;
> See that: ye'll no tak' tellin';"
> Syne knavish chirts his fingers through,
> And libels down a shilling
> For holes that day.[69]

Wilson also referred to the growth of industrialisation, seeing the increase in the number of mills as a threat to the weaver's livelihoods.[70] Wilson's intimate knowledge of the weaving industry influenced the tone and content of his poetry, providing a male perspective on a male aspect of the textile industry. The industrialisation and corruption of this sector of textile manufacturing was a stark contrast to the self-sufficient and contented existence of the women in Ramsay's and Burns's poems.

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[65] Alexander Wilson, 'The Shark, or Lang Mills Detected', in Alexander B. Grosart (ed.), *The Poems and Literary Prose of Alexander Wilson, the American Ornithologist,* (Paisley, 1876), vol. 2, p.58.
[66] David Craig, *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People, 1680-1830,* (London, 1961), pp.89-90; Frank N. Egerton, 'Wilson, Alexander (1766-1813)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view.article/29634, accessed 25 June 2010.
[67] Wilson, 'Shark', p.57.
[68] Murray, *Scottish Hand Loom Weavers,* pp.13-17.
[69] Alexander Wilson, 'Hollander, or Light Weight', in Grosart (ed.), *Poems and Literary Prose of Alexander Wilson*, vol. 2, p.63.
[70] Ibid., vol.2, p.61.

Alexander Wilson was not the only poet to comment on the social inequalities of Scottish society. Foremost in this field was the poetry and song of Robert Burns. Burns's empathy with the labouring Scottish population - an emotion influenced by his own experiences as a struggling farmer - was evident throughout his work. This empathy often manifested in a contrast of the lifestyles of the rich and poor, as can be seen in 'The Twa Dogs: A Tale' first published in 1786:

> A countra fellow at the pleugh,
> His *acre's* till'd, he's right enough;
> A countra girl at her wheel,
> Her *dizzen's* [dozens (yarn)] done, she's unco weel [very well];[71]

The productive and industrious nature of the farmer and the spinning country girl was contrasted with the attitude of the gentry:

> …Gentlemen, an' Ladies warst,
> Wi' ev'n down *want o' wark* they're curst:
> They loiter, lounging, lank an' lazy;
> Tho' deil-haet ails them, yet uneasy:
> Their days insipid, dull an' tasteless;
> Their nights unquiet, lang an' restless.[72]

Textiles were a common device used to highlight social discrepancies in literature – contrasts were often made between expensive silks and homespun cloth. Burns, with his own feelings on the social order often stated implicitly in his work, took such analogies to the next level. The relationship between social inequality and textiles was made particularly clear in 'A Man's a Man for a' That' which was published anonymously in 1795:

> What though on hamely fare we dine,
> Wear hoddin grey, an' a' that?
> Gie fools their silks, and knaves their wine,
> A Man's a Man for a' that.
> For a' that, an' a' that,
> Their tinsel show, an' a' that;
> The honest man, tho' e'er sae poor,
> Is king o' men for a' that.[73]

In an inversion of common social practices, it was the men in "hoddin grey" who Burns felt should be emulated as respectable and hard working Scots, not the "fools" in silks. Once again the theme of moderation rather than excess was evident. The

[71] Robert Burns, 'The Twa Dogs: A Tale', in Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.11.
[72] Ibid., p.11.
[73] Robert Burns, 'A Man's a Man for a' That', in Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.512.

extent to which the population followed such advice, however, is debateable. In another of Burns's poems, 'The Holy Fair', first published in 1786, the use of smart clothes and expensive textiles for social occasions was evident even among the non-gentry sections of the population:[74]

> Here farmers gash [smart], in ridin graith [gear],
> Gaed [went] hoddan [jogging] by their cotters;
> There swankies young, in braw braid-claith,
> Are springan owre the gutters.
> The lasses, skelpan barefit, thrang,
> In silks an' scarlets glitter…[75]

Textiles may have been an instantly recognisable metaphor for the demonstration of social inequality but in reality these lines were blurred. The use of silks and other fancy fabrics was not necessarily restricted to those of the higher levels of society. The general population could dress up as their means allowed, just as their social superiors did. Furthermore, as seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the mixing of homespun and imported goods in wardrobes was common practice. This sartorial amalgamation can also be seen in Burns's poem 'The Ronalds of the Bennals' where a suitor to the daughters of William Ronald assessed his appearance in contrast to his rivals:

> Though I canna ride in well-booted pride,
> …I can haud up my head wi' the best o'the breed,
> …
> My coat and my vest, they are Scotch o' the best;
> O' pairs o' guid breeks I hae twa, man;
> And stockings and pumps to put on my stumps,
> And ne'er a wrang steek [wrong stitch] in them a', man.
>
> My sarks they are few, but five o' them new,
> Twal-hundred, as white as the snaw, man,
> A ten-shillings hat, a Holland cravat;
> There are no monie Poets sae braw, man.[76]

It is thought that the feelings of the protagonist in the poem were based on those of Burns himself.[77] The amount of clothes was not excessive but it was enough to maintain a decent and respectable appearance. The reference to Scotch cloth

[74] John Strawhorn, 'Everyday Life in Burns's Ayrshire', in Simpson (ed.), *Burns Now,* pp.13-30, pp.24-26.
[75] Robert Burns, 'The Holy Fair', in Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.30.
[76] Robert Burns, 'The Ronalds of the Bennals', in Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.548.
[77] Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.548.

emphasises similar themes to those raised by Ramsay earlier in the century - mainly that domestically-produced cloth was just as good as products from elsewhere. However, this Scotch cloth was juxtaposed with an expensive Holland linen cravat, which would have been a superior quality to homespun linen. The cravat was a sign of social status, demonstrating perhaps the inner conflict of Burns (and his character) and his desire to be accepted by the social elite.[78] Despite the fact that the appearance presented was a tolerable and respectable one, the "uncrossable line of class" prevented any relationships with the young women from developing.[79]

Less serious in tone but no less serious in nature was Burns's 'To a Louse: On Seeing One on a Lady's Bonnet at Church' which was first printed in 1786:

> HA! whare ye gaun, ye crowlan ferlie!
> Your impudence protects you sairly:
> I canna say but ye strunt rarely
> Owre *gauze* and *lace,*
> Tho' faith, I fear ye dine but sparely
> On sic a place.[80]

This poem can be situated within the luxury debates mentioned above and the rise of conspicuous consumption in the eighteenth century, and particularly with the notion that social status could be enhanced through appearances.[81] The message in this poem was that gauze and lace might signal a higher social status, but in the fullness of time they would not be very satisfying. The louse would have done better to return to its usual abode of the coarser fabrics of the poorer members of society, an allusion which drew comparisons between the standards of living between the social ranks:

> I wad na been surpris'd to spy
> You on an auld wife's *flainen toy*; [old flannel cap]
> Or aiblins [perhaps] some bit duddie boy, [small, ragged]
> On's *wylecoat*; [flannel vest]
> But Miss's fine *Lunardi* [balloon shaped hat], fye!
> How daur y do't?[82]

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[78] "I have often, during this hard winter, wished myself a Great-man…" Robert Burns cited by Ian McIntyre, *Dirt and Deity: A Life of Robert Burns,* (London, 1995), p.235.
[79] Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.548.
[80] Robert Burns, 'To a Louse: On Seeing One on a Lady's Bonnet at Church', in Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.130.
[81] Noble and Hogg (eds.), *Canongate Burns,* p.132.
[82] Burns, 'To a Louse', p.131.

In contrast with Ramsay, whose work referred to the wider economic impacts that the use of certain types of cloth could have, Burns's concern was more focused on the social ramifications of these developments. Similar to the poetry from earlier in the century, however, there was an ever present threat of luxury and decadence, the antithesis of which was the virtuous, decent, and homespun Scottish cloth.

Wool in Gaelic Poetry and Song

The upheavals which afflicted eighteenth-century Highland society were commonly lamented in the poetry and song. The Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, the decline of the clan system, and the early efforts to introduce large scale sheep farming to the Highlands, all found expression in Gaelic verse.[83] As with Lowland poetry, wool and woollen cloth were common devices used to illustrate the central themes.

Cloth was often employed as a means to represent the 'fabric of society' that was under threat. The weaving of fabric offered "a simple model to the mind seeking ideas about the nature of social cohesion", a notion that can be traced back to the classical period.[84] 'The Proud Plaid' by Alexander MacDonald, who took part in the '45 Jacobite rising,[85] used woollen cloth as a metaphor for loyalty to Prince Charles Edward Stuart:

> To our souls he's woven,
> Firmly waulked, and tightly locked,
> Ne'er can be he loosened
> From us till he is cut away.[86]

Highland society and Highland culture was under severe threat following the rebellion of 1745 and fear of losing this culture was one of the most emotive themes of eighteenth-century Gaelic verse. The introduction of the proscription act in 1747, which banned tartan from being used in Highland dress, ensured that tartan became a

[83] Derick S. Thomson, 'Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century: the Breaking of the Mould', in Hook (ed.), *History of Scottish Literature, Volume 2,* pp.175-190, p.177.
[84] John Scheid and Jesper Svenbro, *The Craft of Zeus: Myths of Weaving and Fabric,* (London, 1996), p.9.
[85] Derick S. Thompson, 'MacDonald, Alexander (c.1695-c.1770)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17422, accessed 1 February 2010.
[86] Alexander MacDonald, 'The Proud Plaid', in John Lorne Campbell (ed.), *Highland Songs of the Forty Five,* (Edinburgh, 1984), p.161.

central "motif in the rhetorical code of Gaelic verse"[87] and had a lasting impact on subsequent poetry and literature.

Most references to the proscription act in the poetry were made to its impact on clothing in general. Many stressed the adverse effect of the act on the martial, valorous male Highland population. Duncan Ban Macintyre, for instance, equated the loss of the Highland plaid and the acquisition of breeches with a weakening of authority and the enslavement of the clans.[88] Others took an aesthetic stance, noting that the loss of Highland dress had left them with clothing that was ugly and uncomfortable.[89] In one particular example the threat to the sexual prowess of the Highland men was stressed:

> The properly-instructed youth,
> Since changing clothes,
> Will not be kissed by any girl –
> She'll just ignore him.
> …
> The women won't have time for them,
> They'll shun their presence.[90]

As with the poems from the Lowland areas, associations were made between textile manufacture and the economic situation of Scotland as a whole:

> The king will be the loser here
> In my opinion:
> If there's no demand for dyestuffs
> He forfeits customs,
> The merchants of the land complaining
> For lack of bread –
> And if the court were to consider it
> Change will come yet.[91]

This poem is one of the few examples which considered the widespread consequences of the proscription act, beyond the immediate impact on the male Highland population. It was also one of the few to have been written by a woman.

By the time the act was repealed in 1782, the attachment to tartan as a fabric and as a cultural symbol was firmly entrenched. Duncan Ban Macintyre celebrated the

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[87] Ronald Black (ed.), *An Lasair: Anthology of Eighteenth-Century Scottish Gaelic Verse,* (Edinburgh, 2001), p.457.
[88] Duncan Ban Macintyre, 'Song to the Highland Garb', in Angus MacLeod (ed.), *The Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre,* (Edinburgh, 1952), p.239.
[89] Duncan Ban Macintyre, 'A Song to the Breeches', in Campbell (ed.), *Highland Songs of the Forty Five,* pp.219-225.
[90] Margaret Campbell, 'The Highland Dress', in Black (ed.), *An Lasair,* p.189.
[91] Ibid., p.191.

repeal by writing that Scots had "gained freedom".[92] He wrote that there were "patriotic feelings all round" now that they could once again wear a "jacket of chequered homespun / in which crimson tints are massed."[93] In 'A Song to the Marquis of Graham and to the Highland Dress', William Ross drew together the themes of women, textiles, and courtship, along with the sense of national pride boosted by the recalling of the proscription:

> The tartans now rise again
> With many a dexterous noise;
> While skilful maidens weave and dye
> With gladness, and with pride.
> Each one to clothe her own true love
> As always is her joy.[94]

The notion that domestically made fabrics, and in particular woollen cloth, had economic, social, and cultural benefits was thus one that extended across the Lowland and Highland divide and persisted throughout the eighteenth century.

Gaelic poetry often had a basic, practical purpose and was frequently incorporated into the textile manufacturing process itself. Warping chants, collected in the nineteenth century but generally dating from much earlier, were used to keep track of the weaving process of woollen cloth:

> The black by the white,
> The white by the black,
> The green in the middle of the red,
> The red in the middle of the black.
>
> The black in the middle of the red,
> The red in the middle of the white,
> The white in the middle of the green,
> The green in the middle of the white.
> …
> Seven threads to five,
> Five to three,
> Three to two,
> Two to one,
> In each border.[95]

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[92] Macintyre, 'Song to the Highland Garb', p.243.
[93] Ibid.
[94] William Ross, 'A Song to the Marquis of Graham and to the Highland Dress', in Campbell (ed.), *Highland Songs of the Forty Five,* p.283.
[95] 'Setting the Iomairt', in Alexander Carmichael (ed.), *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations Collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in the Last Century,* (Edinburgh, 1994), p.114.

Songs were also used to help with the waulking of the cloth. Waulking, otherwise known as fulling, was one of the final processes of textile manufacture where the woven woollen cloth was shrunk.[96] The work was physical and rigorous, and generally carried out by women (see Fig. 2.3). Songs were sung either to help keep time, to keep minds from the rigorous nature of the work, as a memory game, or as a combination of all three.[97] Duncan Ban Macintyre's 'A Waulking Song', dating from the mid-eighteenth century, made associations between the work required for fulling and the use of song to help pass the time: "Let us raise a tune to waulk the tweed web; / we will have music and songs of merit."[98] The cloth was praised for its "varied tints, checked, handsome, / of stripy pattern, banded, radiant".[99] Showing an affinity with Lowland poetic culture, the diligence of the woman's work was noted: "A blessing on the hand that spun it: / hers was the act of the good housewife."[100] Poems of this nature also reflect the communal aspects of textile manufacture within Highland society. The process required a large group of women, making it a shared and sociable activity and it remained so into the nineteenth century.[101] In another waulking song by Macintyre, 'Song to a Ewe', the cooperation required among neighbours to complete these tasks was made apparent:

> Many a dame can make a sumptuous cloth
> but, without a quartet, cannot waulk it.
>
> I should want the damsels of Glen Etive,
> all to come into the township.[102]

This song described the lengths Macintyre had to go through to get cloth after his sheep had been killed by a fox. Similar to the idealisations of shepherds and rural society in the Lowland pastorals, Macintyre's sheep was venerated as an ideal

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[96] J.L. Campbell, 'Hebridean Waulking Songs', in J.L. Campbell (ed.), *Hebridean Folksongs: A Collection of Waulking Songs,* (Oxford, 1969), pp.3-16, p.3.
[97] Carmichael (ed.), *Carmina Gadelica,* p.353; Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.119.
[98] Duncan Ban Macintyre, 'A Waulking Song', in Macleod (ed.), *Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre,* p.147.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Thomas Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides 1772,* (ed.) Andrew Simmons, (Edinburgh, 1998), pp.284-285; Campbell, 'Hebridean Waulking Songs', pp.11-13.
[102] Duncan Ban Macintyre, 'Song to a Ewe', in MacLeod (ed.), *Songs of Duncan Ban Macintyre,* p. 139.

commodity.[103] The sheep had been a valuable gift, acting as a source for milk and clothing:

> Since now I have lost my ewe,
> My raiment is like to be threadbare.
>
> Wherewith shall a coat for me be made,
> When the white-faced ewe is not living?[104]

Macintyre compared the wool from the sheep with the best silk, linen, and cotton, demonstrating the cultural and economic importance of woollen cloth.[105] Macintyre was forced to travel round the area, relying on the good will and kindness of the local women to provide him with scraps of wool:

> I'll reach the dame of Kinlochetive,
> I'm in straits, and she would not wish it.
>
> I'll get from her a handful of thigging,
> and, because I am a friend, another.[106]

Having procured enough wool to last him a year, he once again called on the skill of the women he knew to spin it for him. Unusually, he also took the wool to a "weaver woman", an occupation traditionally associated with men.[107]

The sheep and the wool it produced were essential to Macintyre's wellbeing. The song shows the centrality of wool and woollen cloth to the eighteenth-century Scottish imagination[108] and, more particularly, how wool cloth production was embedded in Highland social and cultural practice.

John Galt's *Annals of the Parish*

Annals of the Parish was published in 1821. It recounts the economic and social impacts of improvement and industrialisation on a small rural community, seen through the eyes of the minister, Micah Balwhidder.[109] The *Annals* was set during the reign of George III, from 1760 to 1810 – a period of significant change in Scottish society. It encompassed, among other things, the American Revolution, the

[103] Hentschell, *Culture of Cloth,* p.22-24.
[104] Macintyre, 'Song to a Ewe', p.137.
[105] Ibid., p.133.
[106] Ibid., p.139.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Hentschell, *Culture of Cloth,* p.19.
[109] Ian Campbell, 'Introduction', *Annals of the Parish; The Ayrshire Legatee; The Provost,* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp.i-x, pp.i-ii.

French Revolution, and industrialisation. Unlike his contemporary, Sir Walter Scott, who used sanitised historical settings to emphasise the current order of Scottish society,[110] Galt's work reflected his own sometimes conflicting views of progress, improvement, and Enlightenment.[111] Although it can be argued that *Annals* cannot be used as a "valid primary source" except in the "very widest sense", the acknowledgement that it can instead be employed to ascertain "attitudes, concerns and bêtes noires" is most significant.[112]

References to textiles show a continuation of themes from the poems of the eighteenth century, particularly the association of spinning with the virtuous woman. Mrs Malcolm, a widow of the parish who was subjected to the unceasing admiration of Balwhidder because of her perseverance and saintly nature, was forced to spin yarn for linen to support herself and her children: "From morning to night she sat at her wheel, spinning the finest lint, which suited well with her pale hands."[113] Such work was acceptable in the eyes of Balwhidder because she was doing it out of necessity to support her family. Mrs Malcolm represented a wider group of women for whom spinning provided essential, if meagre, income, frequently working under the "giving out" system, similar to the weavers described by Alexander Wilson.[114] As soon as she was able, however, Mrs Malcolm stopped spinning for a living and enjoyed the comforts provided for her by her grown children and their various spouses.

In contrast, Balwhidder's second wife was constantly engaged in the manufacture of woollen textiles to supply her household. Upon her marriage to Balwhidder in 1765 she had

> …found the manse rookit and herrit, and there was such a supply of plenishing of all sort wanted, that I thought myself ruined and undone by her care and industry. There was such a buying of wool to make

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[110] Fiona Robertson, 'Walter Scott', in Susan Manning (ed.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume 2: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707-1918),* (Edinburgh, 2007), pp.183-190, p.185; David Daiches, 'Scott and Scotland', in Alan Bell (ed.), *Scott Bicentenary Essays: Selected Papers Read at the Sir Walter Scott Bicentenary Conference,* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp.38-60, p.40.
[111] John MacQueen, 'John Galt and the Analysis of Social History', in Bell (ed.), *Scott Bicentenary Essays*, pp.332-342, p.333.
[112] Christopher A. Whatley, ''Annals of the Parish' and History', in Christopher A. Whatley (ed.), *John Galt, 1779-1979,* (Edinburgh, 1979), pp.51-63, p.52.
[113] John Galt, *Annals of the Parish,* (Edinburgh, 2002), p.9.
[114] Durie, *Scottish Linen Industry,* pp.38-39; Michael Zell, *Industry in the Countryside: Wealden Society in the Sixteenth Century,* (Cambridge, 1994), p.168.

> blankets, with a booming of the meikle wheel to spin the same, and such birring of the little wheel for sheets and napery, that the manse was for many a day like an organ kist.[115]

Balwhidder felt harassed by this work and found the constant activity a mental burden.[116] He did, however, see some benefits in his wife's industriousness, primarily in the fact that she set a good example to the rest of the parish, acting as a motivator to industry within the home.[117] As with the poetry previously discussed, it was the responsibility of the wife, or widow, to provide the household with its various textiles. With the arrival of a cotton mill in the parish and the increased industrialisation which ensued, the weight of this responsibility was lessened.

The construction of a cotton mill in Dalmailing in 1788 is considered one of the major turning points for the small community.[118] The mill significantly altered the landscape of the community and swelled the population with an influx of women tambourers from Manchester and muslin weavers from Paisley.[119] Balwhidder's views on the cotton mill were mixed. In one way the development was seen as a positive one, inspiring the "minds of the men" to "new enterprises" and a "new genius" along with an "outlooking spirit abroad that was not to be satisfied with the taciturn regularity of ancient affairs."[120] Even the once-fashionable ex-resident of Glasgow, Miss Sabrina Hookie, took advantage of the changing interests by taking up tambouring as it was more profitable for her to teach young women that skill than spinning.[121] Other references to the cotton mill and the growth it was part of were more ambiguous, however. In 1791 Balwhidder travelled to Glasgow and noted the "long white faces" of the weavers in the city, prompting him to consider the effects of improvement and industrial growth:

> …the main effect of this was to make me do all in my power to keep my people contented with their lowly estate; for in that same spirit of improvement, which was so busy everywhere, I could discern

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[115] Galt, *Annals of the Parish,* p.28.
[116] John MacQueen, *The Enlightenment and Scottish Literature, Volume 2: The Rise of the Historical Novel,* (Edinburgh, 1989), p.125.
[117] Galt, *Annals of the Parish,* p.28.
[118] Keith M. Costain, 'Theoretical History and the Novel: The Scottish Fiction of John Galt', *ELH,* 43:3 (1976), pp.342-365, pp.360-361.
[119] Galt, *Annals of the Parish,* p.99. For a discussion of the typicality of these developments see Whatley, ''Annals of the Parish'', pp.51-63.
[120] Galt, *Annals of the Parish,* pp.99-100.
[121] Ibid., p.100.

> something like a shadow, that showed it was not altogether of pure advantages, which avarice led all so eagerly to believe.[122]

Unlike wool and linen, cotton was not a native product that could be produced domestically. In a similar vein to Ramsay's dislike of foreign fabrics, cotton as it was now being commercially produced within Britain, was a danger to society. Balwhidder went on to preach to his parishioners that they should not give in to the "evil and vanity of riches" or "sinful luxuries".[123] Balwhidder's response to the improvements, it has been argued, mirrored that of Galt himself - one of acceptance and welcome of the advantages that were offered, but also one that was aware of the "human consequences".[124] Despite being written after the events that were being described, Galt would have expected his readers to recognise the analogy and its continued pertinence to the increasing industrialisation of nineteenth-century society.

Conclusion

The poetry and literature discussed here demonstrates how central cloth was to eighteenth-century life beyond its practical uses. The use of cloth as a poetic or literary device enabled poets and authors to discuss and present their views on a number of wide-ranging issues. References to its manufacture and use acted as a commentary on the Scottish home, on gendered relationships, on social status, and on issues of virtue, morality, and goodness.

Cloth and cloth manufacture was central to the economy. In turn, the economic role of cloth had social and cultural relationships. Cloth manufacture occurred at domestic, local, and national levels. This manufacture, in turn, had domestic, local, regional, and national implications. The manufacture of native products such as wool and linen was central to the well-being of the nation. These fabrics could be manufactured within the home, creating a close personal link to the cloth, ensuring that the fabrics became embedded in the national psyche. Cotton, as a non-native, commercially produced fabric, could be a danger to society if not kept in check. Wool in particular, was a key to moral Scottishness, with its connotations of stability, virtue, and strength. It is apparent that wool and woollen cloth had a pervasive

[122] Ibid., p.106.
[123] Ibid., pp.106-107; Costain, 'Theoretical History and the Novel', p.351.
[124] MacQueen, *Rise of the Historical Novel,* p.124.

presence in the eighteenth-century Scottish cultural imagination. It remains now, to establish the economic perception of wool during the eighteenth century, and it is to this topic that the following chapter turns.

Chapter 6:

The Improvers and the Woollen Industry

Before the rise of tweed manufacture in the nineteenth century, the woollen industry was considered peripheral to the Scottish economy.[1] Of the three main Scottish textile industries of the long eighteenth century, linen and cotton have received the most attention. Viewed as the area in which Scotland was most competitive with England after the Union of 1707, linen dominated the economic and political thought of the first half of the eighteenth century. In the second half of the century the meteoric rise of cotton and its role in the industrialisation of Scotland ensured that it, in turn, took pride of place in both contemporary and subsequent historical discussion.[2] In contrast, Scottish woollen manufacture, the strength of which lay in coarse rather than fine cloth in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,[3] was sidelined.

The notion of improvement was a pervasive concept in eighteenth-century Scotland, with social, economic, and cultural implications.[4] Although linen and cotton were considered the best source of revenue for Scotland, the woollen industry was still of interest for the improvers from an early point in the century.[5] This chapter examines how improvers, both individually and collectively, approached the woollen industry over the course of the eighteenth century. The first section deals with improvers who were active in the first half of the eighteenth century, from 1700 to 1760. The second section looks at improvers from 1760 into the beginning of the nineteenth century. This division has been chosen as from around 1760 there was a recognised transformation in the rural economy,[6] as well as a notable increase in woollen manufacture.[7] This chapter is not concerned with the economic impact of these ideas but instead examines how the improvers saw the woollen industry, what problems they felt it had, and how they thought they could remedy these issues.

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[1] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers.*
[2] See, for example, Anthony Slaven, *The Development of the West of Scotland: 1750-1960,* (London, 1975).
[3] Whatley, *Scottish Society*, p.80.
[4] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp.1-3.
[5] Gulvin, 'Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry'; Gulvin, *Tweedmakers*.
[6] T.M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy, 1660-1815,* (Edinburgh, 1999), ch.3.
[7] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* p.40.

An examination of the treatises and records of individuals and societies of improvers provides the political and economic context to the popular concerns and opinions that were discussed in the preceding chapter. Themes seen in the contemporary literature found resonance in the works of the improvers, such as the notion of nationalism, and the correlation between economic fortune and the moral character of the country.[8] Reports and documents from government bodies, such as the Board of Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures, are examined here along with treatises written by individual improvers and the records of various improving societies. In examining these sources the different agendas of these groups and individuals should be taken into account. The treatises of individual improvers, for instance, reflect the backgrounds, principles, and aims of these men. James Anderson, an active commentator in the later eighteenth century had a farming background which gave him practical experience to apply to his theories and ideologies.[9] Anderson's contemporary, David Loch, had been a shipmaster and trader before turning his hand to economic polemics.[10] Furthermore, government bodies, such as the Board of Trustees, were not necessarily created with the woollen industry specifically in mind. Their records were not generally intended for public dissemination, and it can be assumed that they were "candid in their comments."[11] The records of improving societies, on the other hand, were often published for public consumption which can have an impact on how they are subsequently read and interpreted.

Early Improvers

Following the Union of 1707 linen was seen as the "Staple commodity"[12] of Scotland - a result of the widespread manufacture and export of coarse linen in this period.

[8] John Dwyer and Alexander Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics: Manners, Morals, and the Rise of Henry Dundas, 1770-1784', in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp.210-248, pp.223-224.
[9] Charles F. Mullet, 'A Village Aristotle and the Harmony of Interests: James Anderson (1739-1808) of Monks Hill', *Journal of British Studies,* 8:1 (1968), pp.94-118, p.98.
[10] Alastair J. Durie, 'Loch, David (d.1780)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16880, accessed 6 June 2009.
[11] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero,* p.22.
[12] Patrick Lindsay, *The Interest of Scotland Considered, with Regard to its Police in Imploying the Poor, its Agriculture, its Trade, its Manufactures and Fisheries,* (Edinburgh, 1733), ECCO, accessed 29 June 2008*,* p.iii.

Wool, in contrast, was England's domain: "Woollen Goods are the Staple-commodity of *England,* in which they have the natural Advantage of great Quantities of very good Wooll of their own."[13] Union with England meant that Scotland could no longer export wool to the extent that had occurred during the seventeenth century, and the strength of the English market meant that there was little chance that any Scottish raw wool that could be exported would actually sell.[14] The Union has thus traditionally been viewed as detrimental to the Scottish woollen industry, as efforts were made to be "complementary" with England, rather than competitive.[15]

Scottish woollen manufacture faced two main problems: the quality of wool as a raw material; and the lack of skill in preparing the wool for manufacture. The quality of Scottish wool, which produced coarse rather than fine cloth, was hampered further by the England's strong reputation in producing fine quality wool.[16] Such was the strength of the English wool industry that Scottish woollen manufactures relied heavily on English imports of the raw material well into the nineteenth century.[17] William Mackintosh of Borlum, an incarcerated Jacobite who had implemented improvements on his own estates before his imprisonment, directly addressed the source of the problem – the sheep. He believed that enclosing the land would benefit the sheep as it would provide more shelter and hay, resulting in better quality wool.[18] He disagreed with keeping sheep indoors at night as they became overheated and unprepared for the cold weather, resulting in "Coughs and Rheums".[19] Mackintosh was against the tarring of sheep, a traditional process where the sheep was covered with tar to protect against disease and the weather.[20] He felt that this practice was a "great loss to the Nation"[21] in a number of ways. Tarring the sheep put greater strain on the cleaning and sorting of the wool, processes that were

[13] Ibid., p.77.
[14] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* pp.29-30.
[15] Gulvin, 'Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry', p.132.
[16] See Daniel Defoe, *A Brief Deduction of the Original Process, and Immense Greatness of the British Woollen Manufacture: With an Enquiry Whether it be not at Present in a Very Declining Condition,* (London, 1727), ECCO, accessed 29 September 2008, p.21.
[17] See Chapter 7.
[18] William Mackintosh of Borlum, *An Essay on Ways and Means for Inclosing, Fallowing, Planting &c in Scotland; and that in Sixteen Years at Farthest,* (Edinburgh, 1729), ECCO, accessed 3 October 2008, p.257.
[19] Ibid., p.258.
[20] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* pp.14, 19.
[21] Mackintosh, *Essay on Ways and Means,* p.231.

necessary for the manufacture of cloth. The tar decreased the value of the wool which, in turn, reduced the value of the cloth. This had an adverse impact on both producers and manufacturers.[22]

Mackintosh was unusual in his recognition that attention to the sheep would benefit the woollen industry. Other improvers focused on the manufacturing of the wool itself. One of the most influential writers to address such problems was Patrick Lindsay. Previously a soldier and then upholsterer, Lindsay became involved in running the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in the 1720s, and eventually became a magistrate and lord provost of Edinburgh in the 1730s.[23] In 1733 he published *The Interest of Scotland Considered*, a tract which scrutinised the economic condition of Scotland and made numerous suggestions for its improvement. He highlighted the problems facing Scottish woollen manufacture that prevented Scotland from competing with English and other foreign markets. According to Lindsay, Scotland needed qualified sorters, spinners, and dyers:

> … we neither dye Wooll so well, nor so cheap as the *English* do; and we have but few Scriblers, who understand the close mixing of Wooll on the Cards for Medleys. Our Women are all bred to spin Linen yarn, and are not so fit to spin Woollen, especially carded Wooll for Cloth, which no one can do to Purpose, who is not constantly employed at it. We understand the picking of Cloth and the thickening of it at the Mill, pretty well; but we are not adroit at the tasselling it on the dubbing Boards, and are at a Loss that we have not Tassels of our own Growth fit for this Work, but are obliged to bring them from England…[24]

According to Lindsay, this lack of skill was particularly evident in the manufacturing of Scottish blankets. These items were so inferior that large numbers were needed to do the job of one English equivalent blanket: "before one is sufficiently warm, he is loaded by their Weight."[25] The English blanket did not last as long as a Scottish blanket but Lindsay did not see this as a disadvantage for, "the oftener the User goes to the Market, the greater is the Consumption of Wooll."[26] Subsequently, Lindsay felt that linen was the textile which Scotland should focus on. Even if Scotland did improve its processes of woollen manufacture Lindsay felt that the benefits of

[22] Ibid.
[23] Durie, *Scottish Linen Industry*, p.18.
[24] Lindsay, *Interest of Scotland,* p.109.
[25] Ibid., p.107.
[26] Ibid., p.108.

producing linen cloth were too great. Woollen goods were ten to fifteen per cent "*cheaper* in *England*, than we can make them at home".[27] By contrast, linen cloth made in Scotland and sold in England could raise a five to ten per cent.[28]

The only way to improve Scottish woollen manufacture was to bring in experienced workers from England.[29] As an advocate of the linen industry, it was not surprising that Lindsay warned against such an undertaking as it would be expensive and acquisition of the best workers was not guaranteed.[30] In some areas skilled labour was, however, imported. Daniel Defoe, the prolific English writer, noted on his tour of Great Britain that the wool manufacture at Haddington near Edinburgh made "broad cloths as they call'd English cloth."[31] He added that this cloth was "really made very good", but only because of the "English workmen employ'd" and the English wool they used.[32] In contrast, the woollen fabric produced at Musselburgh was "an ordinary kind of stuff for poor peoples wearing".[33] No reference was made to any English contribution to the Musselburgh manufacture, implying that the finished product was inferior to that of Haddington. England was seen simultaneously as a source of competition and as a source of knowledge.[34]

An overriding theme of the 'age of improvement' was that agricultural and economic progression would have positive repercussions for the moral state of society in general.[35] The moral connection with economic practice was evident in many of these works, particularly with regard to the importation of foreign, luxury goods which were seen as prohibitive to the Scottish industry and damaging to society. In terms that were reminiscent of the poetry of the period, Lindsay was one of many who considered the use of foreign goods as detrimental to the Scottish economy:

> Many and just complaints have been made of our Poverty, and the Decay of our Trade; and of the Decrease of our People for want of

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[27] Ibid., p.111.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid; Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* p.27.
[30] Lindsay, *Interest of Scotland,* p.111.
[31] Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain,* (London, 1974), p.291.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid., p.296.
[34] Bruce Lenman, *An Economic History of Modern Scotland 1660-1976,* (London, 1977), p.81; Whatley, *Scottish Society*, pp.116-117.
[35] C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World 1780-1830,* (London, 1989), p.78; Dwyer and Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics', pp.223-224.

> Business to imploy and subsist them. This is imputed, and justly, to the great Use of foreign Manufactures for wearing Apparel, Furniture &c. whereby the Poor of other Countries are partly imployed at our Expence. The manufactured Goods we export bear no Proportion in Value to those we bring in; we must therefore send out our Produce to purchase Clothing for the Rich, while the Poor must either starve at home, or go abroad to seek their Bread, where it is to be earned by Labour and Industry.[36]

Lindsay believed that "Idleness teems with Vice, and brings forth Distress and Misery", whilst the "Wealth and Happiness of a Nation" were created by industry. In contrast to the poetry of Allan Ramsay, however, which advocated the manufacture of both linen and woollen cloths, Lindsay did not see wool as being part of this process.[37] The perception that wool had little economic potential outweighed its cultural and social significance.

The economic policies and polemics of the early to mid-eighteenth century have been described as "patently patriotic".[38] The Union of 1707 had changed how economic development in Scotland was approached, resulting in "agrarian patriotism".[39] Consequently, as seen with Lindsay above, the works of the improvers often took on a nationalist tone – economic improvement was for the good of the nation. Foreign goods were viewed with suspicion and, in some cases, regret. Mackintosh wrote:

> …wherever I come, I see a considerable more expensive Family than I once knew it. Where I saw the Gentleman, Lady and Children dress'd clean and neat in home spun Stuffs, of her own Sheeps Growth and Womens Spinning, I now see the Ladies dress'd in *French* or *Italian* Silks and Brocades, and the Laird and his Sons in *English* Broadcloth. Where I saw the Table serv'd in *Scots* clean fine Linen, I see now *Flemish* and *Dutch* Diaper and Damask.[40]

Improvers of the 1720s responded to these concerns by endorsing 'wear Scottish' campaigns. The Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, founded in Edinburgh in 1723, was anxious that their fellow countrymen

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[36] Lindsay, *Interest of Scotland*, pp. i-ii.
[37] Ibid., p.2.
[38] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.117.
[39] Bayly, *Imperial Meridian*, pp.80-85.
[40] Mackintosh, *Essay on Ways and Means*, p.229. Mackintosh was opposed to the new trends of fashionable consumption not just in fabrics but also in food and hospitality. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment*, p.229.

wear clothes of material produced in Scotland – particularly those made from linen. The example was set by the Duke of Hamilton, who advocated that people "should buy no foreign Linen for Shirting, Bedlinen, or any other Household furniture".[41] The Society of Improvers noted that despite efforts to manufacture "Worsted-stuffs, such as Turk upon Turk, Camlets, Calimancoes, Damasks, and all sorts of fine fashionable Stuffs of the best Colours", people were still drawn "by a mistaken Notion and Conceit" to foreign fabrics.[42] As a result the same goods that were manufactured within Scotland had to be exported to find a market.[43]

Although linen was seen as the most profitable commodity of the Scottish textile industry in the early eighteenth century, some practical efforts were made at improving woollen manufacture. The Board of Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland was established in 1727, with the aim of examining and encouraging aspects of the Scottish economy, and the overall intention of contributing to the political stability of the country.[44] Although initially primarily concerned with linen manufacture, a study of the records of the Board show that wool was not neglected.[45]

As with the early improvers such as Mackintosh and Lindsay, concern was expressed over the quality of the raw wool before it was manufactured into cloth.[46] Lindsay had argued that Scotland was severely lacking in wool staplers who acted as middle men between the grower and the clothier. As such the clothiers were "under a Necessary to buy his Wooll in the Fleece; and unless he work up all the Sorts himself, (which no Clothier can do without great Loss) he must lose by those Sorts

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[41] Robert Maxwell, *Select Transactions of the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland. Directing the Husbandry of the Different Soils, for the Most Profitable Purposes, and Containing Other Directions, Receipts and Descriptions,* (Edinburgh, 1743), ECCO accessed 29 September 2009, pp. iv. Anecdotal evidence demonstrates that these movements did have some success. Elizabeth Mure of Caldwell recalled a ball in the early 1730s where "it was agreed that the company should be dressed in nothing but what was manufacture in the country". Elizabeth's sisters wore gowns of "striped linen" and "heads and ruffles" made of "Paisley muslins" along with "four penny edging from Hamilton" and were "as well dressed as any." Cited by Dorothy McMillan, *The Scotswoman at Home and Abroad: Non-Fictional Writing 1700-1900,* (Glasgow, 1999), p.34. Similar policies were encouraged in eighteenth-century Ireland where appeals were made to the middling sorts and gentry to lead the way in "patriotic purchasing". Martyn J. Powell, *The Politics of Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Ireland,* (Basingstoke, 2005), p.182.
[42] Maxwell, *Select Transactions,* p.375.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* pp.82, 106.
[45] Gulvin, 'Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry'.
[46] Ibid., p.124.

he does not use".[47] Wool that was not properly sorted adversely affected the processes of carding and combing which were vital for the production of an even, useable yarn.[48] The Trustees were aware of this problem and planned fourteen wool stations where the wool could be sorted and inspected before reaching the market.[49] These stations were to be placed in areas where wool production and manufacture was already established, such as the Border regions, which were also areas that would become the centre of the tweed industry in the nineteenth century.[50] Wool sorters were appointed to each station, which acted as a focal point for the wool producers of the surrounding area. Robert Boyd, for instance, was made sorter of Kilmarnock and its surrounding area, while James Chrystie was sorter in Stirling.[51] Other men were employed to disseminate the knowledge and skills required for woollen manufacture. James Wilson, a hosier in Edinburgh, for instance, was paid £10 a year to teach the "Jersey method of spinning Coarse Wooll with both hands" in the 1740s.[52] Efforts were also made to improve access to the necessary equipment. The early records of the Board show that prizes consisting of small pieces of equipment were granted as a further means of encouraging the industry. In 1732 the Board granted a pair of the "best sort of Combs" to those workers in Stirling where "the most considerable Quantities of yarn" were produced. They also ensured that an "Expert Tradesman" was on hand to show how to use the combs effectively.[53]

Following the success of stamp-masters for the linen industry it was thought this system would have benefits for wool too. James Chrystie was stamp-master, as well as sorter, in the Stirling region.[54] In 1733 he apprehended three merchants who had tried to sell unstamped serges, an action which earned him the accolade of the Board for his "Diligence & Success".[55] Others were not as vigilant, however, and the

[47] Lindsay, *Interest of Scotland,* p.109.
[48] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* p.31.
[49] Gulvin, 'Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry', p.126.
[50] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* pp.85-90.
[51] NAS NG1/3/1/162, Letter Book 1727-1745, Board of Trustees to Robert Boyd and James Chrystie, 1 October 1731.
[52] NAS NG1/24/5/2-5, Woollen fund precept book, 1745-1762.
[53] NAS NG1/3/1/179, Letter Book 1727-1745, Board of Trustees to the Clerk of the Justices of the Peace of Stirlingshire, 29 February 1732.
[54] NAS NG1/24/5/8, Woollen fund precept book, 1745-1762.
[55] NAS NG1/3/1/226, Board of Trustees to James Chrystie, Stirling, 12 June 1733. See also Gulvin, 'Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry', p.131.

woollen stamp-masters were not the success it was hoped they would be.[56] Part of the reason for their relative failure compared with the linen stamp-masters can be attributed to the amount of work these men were expected to carry out. When James Chrystie died in 1746 he was replaced by his brother, William. As well as being stamp-master William's duties included "Combing, Sorting, Stapling and Washing and Likewise for Carrying on a Manufacture of Coarse Tarred Wooll", and the supervision of the conduct of an itinerant comber.[57]

Overseeing all these works was the general inspector of wool. William Crookshanks was the first general inspector and was paid a salary of £80 a year to travel around Scotland and inspect the state of the woollen industry.[58] His instructions from the Board in 1730 show they were anxious to ascertain where aid would be most beneficial. Crookshanks was to report on the tarred wool that was washed and dressed by each of the sorters, and to relay back "what Improvements can be made to the benefit of the Country in the respective Stations & different places of the Country thro which you pass."[59] He was sent on yearly inspections of the wool stations - in April 1746 he was sent up to Aberdeen, a trip the Board hoped he would be able to make peacefully given the Jacobite activity at that time.[60] As the years progressed and interest in the industry increased, the instructions sent by the Board became more specific and demanding. Crookshanks was told to inquire into the wool manufacturer's accounts, ascertaining whether they could produce receipts for the wool they had purchased, and whether the correct amount had been claimed for the premiums the Board offered.[61] This concern over keeping track of its investments was a recurring theme throughout the Board's existence.

Later Improvers

Improvements in agriculture and the mechanisation of the linen and cotton industries meant that by the end of the century, wool's potential as a staple of the Scottish

[56] Gulvin, 'Union and the Scottish Woollen Industry', p.130.
[57] NAS NG1/24/5/13, Woollen fund precept book, 1745-1762.
[58] NAS NG1/24/5/1, Woollen fund precept book, 1745-1762.
[59] NAS NG1/3/1/119, Letter Book 1727-1745, Board of Trustees to William Crookshanks, 17 June 1730.
[60] NAS NG1/3/3C/7, Letter Book 1745-1762, Board of Trustees to William Crookshanks, 10 April 1746.
[61] NAS NG1/3/3C/1-4, Letter Book 1745-1762, Board of Trustees to William Crookshanks, 12 July 1745.

economy was more and more recognised.[62] This was further aided by the increased need to import flax to supply the linen trade, reducing its status as a wholly Scottish industry.[63] As a result there was a growth in the number of works and treatises that dealt specifically with woollen production and manufacturing. Greater attention was paid to the problems affecting different areas and finding practical solutions, rather than simply highlighting the faults of the Scottish system.

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards the Scottish woollen industry gained a number of champions. One of the greatest proponents of woollen manufacture was David Loch, merchant and shipmaster from Leith, who turned to economic writing in the 1770s. Unlike his earlier compatriot Lindsay, Loch felt that wool was the "natural staple of Scotland, and therefore ought to be encouraged by every true lover of his country, in all its various branches."[64] As far as he was concerned, there was "no country in the world" better suited for "carrying on the Woollen Manufacture to advantage, nor are we deficient in any one article requisite for that purpose".[65] Loch was passionate that Scottish woollen manufacture was not being realised to its full potential. In recognition of his work he was appointed to the position of chief inspector for the wool and fishing industries by the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures in 1766.[66]

A clear and different element of Loch's work was his absolute refusal to see linen as the economic foundation of the Scottish textile industry. Loch had traded extensively on the Continent during his years as a shipmaster and noted that:

> I have shirts by me, that have been in common use of my wearing these twenty six years past, which cost me a pair of stockings per yard, value 22d at Leith; and which any man of business might wear. They are now worn as thin as a cobweb. I have Scots linen, that I bought only seven years ago, which cost me 5s 3d per yard, that is now all to pieces, though no oftener worn than in the ordinary course with my Hamburghers.[67]

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[62] For agricultural developments see Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, pp.35-59; for progress in the textile industry see Donnachie, 'Textile Industry in South West Scotland', pp.19-36.
[63] Durie, *Scottish Linen Industry*, p.69.
[64] David Loch, *Essay on the Trade, Commerce and Manufactures of Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1775), ECCO, accessed 29 September 2008, p.25.
[65] Ibid., p.43.
[66] Durie, 'Loch, David (d.1780)'.
[67] Loch, *Essay,* p.44.

Loch raised this example, he said, to demonstrate "how very ridiculous it is to attempt to rival other countries in what is their natural manufacture".[68] As a result of his own trading experience, and in contrast with many other commentators, Loch felt that Scottish linen should not be competing with cloth from the Continent as the Scottish product was inferior.

The earlier improvers had tended to see the Scottish economic situation from a distinctly Scottish perspective – any improvement was for the good of the nation and its people. The tone of the 'agrarian patriotism' of Loch and his contemporaries, however, took on more of a British viewpoint.[69] James Anderson, for instance, whose farming background gave him a much broader experience in the practical elements of improving than many of his contemporaries,[70] wrote that

> Scotland is now a part of the British dominion as much as Northumberland and Wales, and as such ought to contribute her proportion towards the public burdens of state, and constitute a material part of the strength and importance of the realm.[71]

Loch, furthermore, did not think that expanding the Scottish woollen industry should "disoblige the English".[72] Instead he maintained that the English had more sense than to "refuse to deal with any country, because that country may attempt to supply themselves with what they formerly commissioned from England."[73] Loch felt that collaboration between the English and Scottish wool markets would drive out any other European competition and thus be of benefit to England and Scotland.[74] Ireland would also benefit by being able to focus on linen production without the threat of British competition.[75] The growth of the Scottish economy would benefit both Scotland and Britain as a whole and could cement Scotland's role within the Union.[76]

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[68] Ibid.
[69] An example the increasingly British identity can be seen in the Hanoverian street names of Edinburgh's New Town. Colley, *Britons*, p.123; Youngson, *Making of Classical Edinburgh*.
[70] Mullett, 'A Village Aristotle', p.98.
[71] James Anderson, *Observations on the Means of Exciting a Spirit of National Industry; Chiefly Intended to Promote the Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures and Fisheries of Scotland,* (Edinburgh, 1777), ECCO, accessed 30 September 2008, p.390.
[72] Loch, *Essay,* p.32.
[73] Ibid., p.35.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] This principle was applied to most improvement projects and not just those relating to textiles. Dwyer and Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics', p.219.

That being said, much of the improving ethos was still primarily concerned with the benefit of Scotland in particular. Patriotic language and patriotic sentiment were commonly employed by improvers to further their cause and gain support. Echoing his improver counterparts earlier in the century, David Loch wrote

> …it affords me a most sensible pleasure, as it must every lover of his country, to observe a number of noblemen and gentlemen of the first estimation in the kingdom, not only giving their aid, by purchasing the manufactures of Scotland, but, upon some public occasions, wearing nothing else.[77]

Loch was calling on the examples of eminent men such as the Duke of Buccleuch, the Earl of Dalhousie, and Henry Dundas, who had been reported to be wearing just such products.[78] Loch continued:

> One would think the examples of such distinguished personages would diffuse a general spirit of emulation through the whole kingdom, and that every individual would vie with his neighbour, in taking this method of promoting the happiness and prosperity of his country. This would indeed be public spirited: It would be real Patriotism…[79]

Although written in a different context, these terms echo the sentiments of Allan Ramsay a generation earlier, particularly the notion that the higher social ranks should set the example for their social inferiors. Concerns were also still apparent over the detrimental effect that the importation of foreign and luxury goods could have on the economy and society at large. Anderson, like Loch, advocated the use of domestically produced goods rather than foreign imports, but used a different rhetoric to argue his case. He contended that any manufacturers who relied on foreign materials were at the mercy of that supplier and threatened the "internal peace and happiness of the whole community."[80] Anderson was also concerned that Scottish manufacture was carried out in "separate detached houses in the country" and not in a centralised and organised manner.[81] This meant that any money made went directly "into the lower ranks of people" often "young women and children".[82] These people, according to Anderson, became "giddy and vain", spending the money

[77] Loch, *Essay,* p.36.
[78] Dwyer and Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics', p.237, n119.
[79] Loch, *Essay,* p.36.
[80] Anderson, *Observations,* p.24.
[81] Ibid., p.26.
[82] Ibid.

on "fine cloaths, and other gaudy gewgaws that catch their idle fancies".[83] Such goods were usually those that had been manufactured in other countries and so none of the profit was staying in Scotland.[84] In Anderson's view, this behaviour was damaging to the overall economy and to the moral welfare of the nation.

The close relationship between economic improvement and moral welfare was seen most clearly in the attitudes to the Highlands after the failed Jacobite rebellions. From the mid-eighteenth century onwards efforts were made to culturally and economically improve what was seen as an idle yet rebellious region.[85] Anderson argued that the Highlanders' reliance on cattle had left them indolent and lazy – sheep, he argued, would make them more industrious.[86] If Highlanders were encouraged to take part in the shearing and cleaning of the wool they would not be able to resist manufacturing it in some way, which would not only bring in money but also prevent emigration.[87]

By the latter half of the century it was thought that Highlanders did not want to be involved in any kind of manufacture. This theme appeared regularly in the reports written by the factors for the Commission of the Annexed Estates, founded in 1755 to administer and run the forfeited Jacobite lands. The factor to the estate of Monaltry wrote that the "generality of the common people are idely inclined and commerce, manufactures, spinning or industry are come no great length among them."[88] Along with religion and education, industry was considered a key means by which the population of the Highlands would become 'civilised'.[89] In some areas wool could play a part in this process, yet the reluctance of some inhabitants to take part in a new wool industry became apparent. In the area of Strathpeffer there was a "tolerable pasture for sheep, yet they keep few and don't seem to understand the benefit of them."[90] This observation ignored the fact that the methods of farming in the Highlands had adapted to specific landscapes, climates, and problems over the

[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero,* pp.22-23; Annette Smith, *Jacobite Estates of the Forty-Five,* (Edinburgh, 1982), p.1.
[86] Anderson, *Observations,* pp.47-48.
[87] Ibid., p.50.
[88] Report by James Mackdonald, *Reports on the Annexed Estates 1755-1769,* (ed.) Virginia Wills, (Edinburgh, 1973), p.55.
[89] Clyde, *Rebel to Hero,* p.32.
[90] Captain John Forbes, *Reports on the Annexed Estates,* p.38; Smith, *Jacobite Estates,* p.85.

centuries.[91] Sheep were already part of this landscape as Highlanders needed them for meat, milk, and for wool for their own clothing. Wool was ubiquitous but not on the scale or quality that the improvers wanted – sheep, the improvers felt, should be cultivated for commercial rather than domestic purposes.

A clear development in attitudes of the later eighteenth century was the recognition that Scotland was not homogenous. Anderson proposed, for instance, that Scotland be divided into districts and that each one would decide which breed of sheep would be most suitable to that area.[92] Loch, meanwhile, wanted skilled shearers to be sent to the Orkney and Shetland Isles, so that the islanders would stop pulling wool from the sheep with their bare hands, a practice thought to be detrimental to the quality of the wool.[93] The acknowledgement that different areas required different forms of encouragement and improvement was helped by an increase in the number of excursions from the 1760s onwards, to more remote parts of the country. The Reverend Doctor John Walker, a natural historian and minister of the Church of Scotland, undertook a survey of the Hebrides in the 1760s. He was working under the auspices of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the Commission for the Annexed Estates. Both of these groups saw economic and social improvement as a means to form a virtuous and moral society. Walker felt that the inhabitants of Lewis were being negligent of their own welfare by annually exporting too much un-manufactured wool.[94] The population on Jura followed similar practices and were too focused on linen manufacture. Walker felt that if the community focussed on woollen production, only exporting the material once it was dressed and spun, then it would employ everyone on the island and be of greater benefit to the population.[95]

Other groups, such as the Highland Society of Scotland, also expressed interest in remote areas. In 1790 the Highland Society produced a report on the Shetland Islands calling for greater care and attention to be paid to the wool there. It was considered that Shetland produced fine wool but the population was not realising the

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[91] Rosalind Mitchison, *Agricultural Sir John: The Life of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, 1754-1835,* (London, 1962), p.104.
[92] Anderson, *Observations,* p.215.
[93] Loch, *Essay,* p.40.
[94] Rev. Dr. John Walker, *The Reverend Doctor John Walker's Report on the Hebrides of 1764 and 1771,* (ed.) Margaret Mackay, (Edinburgh, 1980), p.46.
[95] Ibid., p.118.

full monetary potential of the commodity.[96] In contrast to Walker's fear that too much wool was being exported un-manufactured from the Western Isles, the Highland Society felt that the Shetland wool would be more profitable if exported as a raw material, rather than as the stockings which were its main product.[97]

The Board of Trustees continued its interest in the woollen industry in the second half of the eighteenth century but it struggled with similar problems to those from earlier in the century, particularly the lack of skilled labour. James Anderson, for instance, complained in 1777 that there was still an insufficient number of wool sorters, "without which, no woollen manufacture can be properly established."[98] In the 1770s the Board was still employing men to travel round the country and impart their knowledge and skill to others, and these efforts were still focused on the preparation of wool for manufacture. Mathew Lovell was employed as a wool comber by the Board. Lovell first appeared in the Trustees' records in January 1774 when he was advanced £2 11s to cover his travel costs to Selkirk and Peebles to "inform himself as to the state of the Woolen Manufacture in these places."[99] Over the next six years Lovell was sent to Edinburgh,[100] Gleneagles,[101] and Hawick,[102] earning an annual salary of £10. His wife was also employed by the Board, probably to teach spinning, earning £5 a year.[103]

Not only did the Board try to encourage the development of existing skills in woollen industry, they also committed resources to the training of apprentices. Among his many other duties, William Chrystie in Stirling was charged with the hiring of apprentices in 1763 and was given specific instructions by the Board of how to go about this. Chrystie was to inform the Trustees of the name, age, place of residence of the apprentice and his father, any previous employment or education, and what "likelihood of his parents or friends doing anything to help him to set up

[96] *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland to Whom the Subject of Shetland Wool was Referred,* (Edinburgh, 1790), ECCO, accessed 27 July 2008, p.8.
[97] Ibid., p.9.
[98] Anderson, *Observations,* p.127.
[99] NAS NG1/30/1/11, Board Secretary's Journals 1773-1784, 25 January 1774.
[100] NAS NG1/30/1/36, Board Secretary's Journals, 1773-1784, 29 September 1774.
[101] NAS NG1/30/1/48, Board Secretary's Journals, 1773-1784, 9 March 1775.
[102] NAS NG1/30/1/106, Board Secretary's Journals, 1773-1784, 21 November 1777.
[103] NAS NG1/30/1/65, Board Secretary's Journals, 1773-1784, 27 January 1776.

afterwards".[104] The Trustees were specific about what type of candidate they wanted:

> The Trustees are not for Boys to be these apprentices, but young men already begun to Business, and likely soon to become useful. They must be bound for two or more years and you'l [sic] propose how long you think each should be bound – also whether they might not be taught every Branch of your Business, as well as dying [sic].[105]

Apprentices to the French linen weavers in Picardy Place in Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century were bound for five years.[106] In Yorkshire, the main competitor of the Scottish woollen industry, apprenticeships ranged from five to thirteen years.[107] In requesting men who already had knowledge of the business, the Board was keen for a quick return on its investments. It was hoped that the newly skilled labour would reinvest their skill back into the local economy – this was not always the result. In 1780 Robert Campbell, an apprentice to a woollen manufacturer in Musselburgh, requested money from the Board so he could travel to England to further his knowledge of the industry.[108] He was given the money on condition he would return to Scotland to set up business, ensuring that the Board and Scottish industry would profit from his experience. Instead the Board received news that Campbell had left England for Jamaica, with no apparent intention to return. He was subsequently blacklisted.[109]

The Board continued to supply equipment and machinery to those working in the industry. Items such as combs were still provided but so too were larger pieces of machinery. By the 1770s machinery was being bought on a wide scale including wool wheels, stocking frames, and a mysterious "Wool Machine" worth £20.[110] These investments reflect the gradual mechanisation of the industry, which benefited from an increased interest in the manufacture and from the mechanisation of the

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[104] NAS NG1/3/8/110, Letter Book VIII 1761-1765, Board of Trustees to William Chrystie, Stirling, 30 November 1763.
[105] Ibid.
[106] John Mason, 'The Weavers of Picardy', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club,* 25 (1945), pp.1-33, pp.14-15.
[107] Herbert Heaton, *The Yorkshire Woollen and Worsted Industries, From the Earliest Times up to the Industrial Revolution,* (Oxford, 1965), pp.302-305.
[108] NAS NG1/44/1, Black Book 1779-1793.
[109] Ibid.
[110] NAS NG1/30/1/104, 112 and 115, Board Secretary's Journals 1773-1784.

other textile industries.[111] It is of interest to note the extent of the Board's investment into wool production by comparison to their investment in the linen industry. In the 1730s the Picardy weavers were established in Edinburgh at great expense. The French weavers were provided with land, houses, workrooms, and looms: the land alone cost the Board £2000.[112] The women were even provided with a "Goun, Plaid & some Linens" when they first arrived from France.[113] Eighty years later, when wool was perceived to be increasingly economically important, a similar amount was given in grants for wool machinery, but it was spread over a period of nearly ten years. Between the years 1814-1823 a total of £2620 was granted to woollen manufacturers across the counties of Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire, Wigtownshire, Lanarkshire, Peebles-shire, Selkirkshire, Roxburghshire, Berwickshire, and Edinburgh.[114] These grants never amounted to more than a third of the investment made by the manufacturer. In most cases the money provided by the Board accounted for just a tenth of the outgoing costs paid by the claimants.[115] One of the largest grants made in this period was to James Wright, a woollen manufacturer in Dalmellington, Ayrshire who in 1815 had spent £730 on expanding his mill to include a teasing machine, a washing mill, and a steam engine. For this investment Wright received a contribution from the Board of just £180.[116]

The Board was anxious to eradicate fraudulent and corrupt practices within the woollen industry. One manifestation of this concern has already been seen in the creation of stamp-masters who were employed to regulate the goods that were put on the market. By the 1770s continued concern over fraud and corruption can be seen in the creation of a separate ledger in 1779 to record "any frauds or misconduct [that] should appear upon the part of those encouraged by the Board or in their Service".[117] Although not intended exclusively for those involved in the woollen industry a couple of relevant entries were made. As noted above, Robert Campbell was

[111] Donnachie, 'Textile Industry in South West Scotland', p.29.
[112] Mason, 'Weavers of Picardy', pp.1-12.
[113] Ibid., p.7.
[114] NAS NG1/45, Register of persons granted aid for erection of machinery for woollen manufacture, 1814-1823.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid.
[117] NAS NG1/44/1, Black Book, 1779-1793.

included for absconding to Jamaica, and in 1780 the reason for the disappearance of the wool comber Mathew Lovell from the Board's records was also made clear:

> Mathew Lovell Wooll Comber Hawick received encouragement from the Board annually for several years to the amount of £100 and upwards But he having presented two Letters with a view to deceive the Board, both suspected of being forged, he was upon the 20 Dec[embe]r 1780 dismissed from the Boards service…[118]

The ledger ended in 1793 but the Board's anxiety to protect its interests did not. Manufacturers who had received money from the Board were regularly inspected. James Wright, who was granted £180 in 1815, was inspected by a secretary of the Board later in the year. The secretary reported:

> The Grant in this case was much larger than from the appearance and extent of the Machinery & Work, it should have been, or than has been given in smaller cases. I could not help telling Mr Wight [sic] that had I seen his premises before the Grant was made or paid, it w[oul]d have been far less.[119]

Although it cannot be said that the same level of attention was paid to wool as was to linen, examination of the Trustees' records shows that the Board by no means neglected the woollen industry in the eighteenth century. The activities of the Board of Trustees, however, were not a sufficient explanation for the growth of the woollen industry at the turn of the nineteenth century. This growth could only be achieved "by fundamental changes in sheep breeding and farm management"[120] which, in turn, could only be attained through changing attitudes to Scottish agriculture.

Such changing attitudes were stimulated and encouraged by the aristocrats and landowners who were responsible for the drive in agricultural improvement from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[121] William Mackintosh of Borlum was an example of an improving landowner from the early eighteenth century. Before his incarceration in Edinburgh Castle for his role in the 1715 Jacobite rebellion, Mackintosh had introduced afforestation to his lands.[122] Later in the century, the

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[118] Ibid.
[119] NAS NG1/45, Register of persons granted aid for erection of machinery for woollen manufacture, 1814-1823.
[120] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* p.31.
[121] Devine, *Transformation of Rural Scotland*, ch. 4.
[122] Davie Horsburgh, 'Mackintosh, William, of Borlum, [called Uilleam Dearg] (c.1657-1743)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17621, accessed 25 June 2010.

third Duke of Buccleuch was active in promoting Scottish manufactures, as well as endeavouring to improve the Scottish economy through projects such as the Forth-Clyde canal.[123] His vast estates covered parts of Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, and Dumfriesshire - areas which had been cultivated for sheep farming from an early point in the century.[124]

One of the most prominent and colourful aristocratic landowners who showed an interest in the economic potential of sheep farming was Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. Sinclair was a man of many and varied interests which ranged from the health and comfort of soldiers to the improvement of the British revenue system. In the last decade of the eighteenth century, a period which also saw his compilation of the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland,* Sinclair took an active part in the promotion of the Scottish woollen industry. Like his contemporary improvers, his interests took a decidedly British slant – the improvement of Scotland would benefit Britain as a whole – and like his predecessors in the improving world, he encouraged Scottish manufactures as a means of achieving this.

Sinclair had estates in Caithness and was keen to improve them following an inspiring tour of Europe and Russia in the 1780s. He carried out numerous agricultural experiments including enclosure and attempts to convert moorland into pasture.[125] Sinclair did not want to turn over the whole of his land to sheep at the expense of his tenants. He deplored the introduction of full-scale sheep farms which drove away the inhabitants of the area to be replaced by sheep cared for by a single shepherd.[126] He agreed with the principle of sheep farms in that they could significantly increase the income of an estate, but he felt that a compromise should be reached between the care of the sheep and the care of the tenants. Furthermore, he felt that the current system could be improved so that the quality of wool would increase and yield an even higher profit.[127]

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[123] Alexander Murdoch, 'Scott, Henry, third duke of Buccleuch and fifth duke of Queensberry (1746-1812)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24875, accessed 25 June 2010; Dwyer and Murdoch, 'Paradigms and Politics', p.237.
[124] Bonnyman, 'Agricultural Improvement in the Scottish Enlightenment', pp.144-145; Dodgshon, 'Economics of Sheep Farming', p.568.
[125] Rosalind Mitchison, 'Sinclair, Sir John, first baronet (1754-1835)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25627, accessed 24 January 2007.
[126] Sir John Sinclair, *Address to the Society for the Improvement of British Wool: Constituted at Edinburgh on Monday, January 31, 1791,* (London, 1791), ECCO, accessed 27 September 2008, p.11.
[127] Ibid., p.10.

In 1791 Sinclair founded the British Wool Society in Edinburgh, which, as the name suggested, he hoped would be of use to the whole of Britain. In an address to the Society Sinclair cited its two main purposes: to "raise a sufficient supply of fine Wool at home" and to "produce within our own territories the Naval Stores necessary for our fleet."[128] Until the country achieved these goals, "Great Britain cannot be justly accounted either an Independent, Manufacturing, or Maritime Nation."[129] Sinclair's rhetoric reflected his own isolationist policy, which disliked the "dependence of the British cloth industry on imported wool".[130] It also represented the wider trend of agrarian patriotism, linking the security of the nation with native industry.[131] In comparison to the Board of Trustees which offered premiums for the best products, the Society for the Improvement of British Wool instead offered premiums for any information "concerning sheep in general".[132] This information would then be passed onto the rest of the country. As with his other projects, such as the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, Sinclair was keen to gather as much information as possible and had various reports on the industry compiled.[133]

A main problem which concerned Sinclair, and the Society, was the lack of suitable breeds of sheep in Scotland that could be used for fine woollen manufacture. It was suggested that if Scotland had no suitable native breeds then English or other foreign breeds should be introduced.[134] Sinclair optimistically stated that he had "no doubt, that if a good breed of sheep is procured, and if they are put under a proper system of management, that we may grow in this Island as much fine wool as the extent of the country will admit."[135] As with many of Sinclair's projects, the results of these suggestions were haphazard. On Sinclair's own estates the introduction of Cheviot sheep proved relatively successful, as they had in some of the Border

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[128] Ibid., pp.iii-iv.
[129] Ibid., p.iv.
[130] Mitchison, *Agricultural Sir John,* p.109.
[131] Daniel Samson, '"The Yoke of Improvement": Sir John Sinclair, John Young, and the Improvement of Scotland, New and Old', in Thomas Summerhill and James C. Scott (eds.), *Transatlantic Rebels: Agrarian Radicalism in Comparative Context,* (East Lansing, Michigan, 2004), pp.87-116, p.91.
[132] Sinclair, *Address,* p.17.
[133] See for example, Andrew Kerr, *Report to Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart. Chairman of the Society for the Improvement of British Wool, of the State of Sheep Farming Along the Eastern Coast of Scotland, and the Interior Part of the Highlands,* (Edinburgh, 1791), ECCO, accessed 26 February 2010.
[134] Sinclair, *Address,* pp.13-15.
[135] Ibid., p.4.

regions in the latter decades of the eighteenth century.[136] His enthusiasm for the project, however, did not take into account the fact that his land was better suited for sheep farming than some other areas of the Highlands.[137] Although the Society procured a flock of 800 sheep the success of experiments, such as twice yearly shearing, were debatable and were doubted by those Sinclair sought to impress.[138]

The British Wool Society did not have a great impact on woollen manufacture in Scotland, and its activity ceased after just three years. As with the improvers in general, however, the lasting influence of the Society and of Sinclair himself should be judged "not in apparent achievements but in the atmosphere of experiment and exchange it [and he] created."[139]

Conclusion

The woollen industry may not have been considered the most effective means of boosting the Scottish economy by the majority of eighteenth-century improvers, yet it is clear that it was not ignored. Methods and approaches may have varied over the course of the century but the early and later improvers showed a continuity of themes. These included agrarian patriotism and concern over the moral character of the nation – themes which also found cultural resonance in the contemporary poetry and literature discussed in the previous chapter.

The improvers' reluctance to give woollen manufacture precedence over other textile industries should not be interpreted as a sign that the production of woollen cloth remained a backwards or underused industry. The ubiquitous nature of woollen cloth in eighteenth-century Scotland, as suggested in the preceding chapters, shows that it had a central role in the Scottish textile culture. The motivation of the improvers was to advance the Scottish economy and the nation as a whole. While they might not have considered wool as important as other textile industries, as the

[136] Dodgshon, 'Economics of Sheep Farming', pp.555-556. Sinclair was not the only aristocratic landowner to experiment with the introduction of foreign breeds of sheep. John Southey, fifteenth Lord Somerville was the largest breeder and owner of merino sheep after the king. See Stana Nenadic, 'Writing Medical Lives, Creating Posthumous Reputations: Dr Matthew Baillie and his Family in the Nineteenth Century', *Social History of Medicine,* advanced publication online, (April 2010), pp.1-19, p.9; Ernest Clarke 'Somerville, John Southey (1765-1819)', rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, *ODNB,* http://www/oxforddnb.com/view/article/26023, accessed 25 June 2010.
[137] Mitchison, *Agricultural Sir John,* p.110.
[138] Ibid., pp.116-117.
[139] Ibid., p.119.

next chapter will show, others profited from woollen manufacture to a considerable degree.

Chapter 7:

"The Tartan Way"[1]: William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn

The tartan manufacturing firm of William Wilson and Son is often referred to in the literature on both tartan and Scottish dress. From the village of Bannockburn near Stirling, an area prominent in woollen manufacturing,[2] they produced tartan and a variety of other woollen cloths for over 150 years. This family-run firm supplied civilian and military customers, and was responsible for much of the "tartan taxonomy"[3] of the nineteenth century which is still in use today. As a firm that grew to develop trade links with customers across the globe, the history of William Wilson and Son is significant in highlighting previously understudied aspects of the Scottish woollen industry.

A number of articles have been published about this iconic firm in recent years, some from a genealogical perspective while others focused on specific aspects of the firm such as dyeing processes and the contracts with Highland regiments.[4] Reference is nearly always made to the fact that Wilson and Son were responsible for many of the 'clan' tartans of the nineteenth century both in terms of pattern and in terms of names.[5] Although important, this particular role of the firm is not under investigation here. Rather this chapter will examine the workings of the firm – how it traded, what fabrics it produced, and what uses these fabrics had. A study of William Wilson and Son offers quantitative and qualitative information on Scottish woollen manufacture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in general, and on tartan manufacture in particular.

This chapter is based on the surviving business archive of the firm which is one of the most complete for Scottish woollen manufacturers in this period. The archive has survived as a result of chance and from the enthusiasm of early twentieth-century

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[1] NMS 1953.1312, Charles Blair Junior, Dunkeld, to William Wilson and Son, Bannockburn (hereafter Wilson and Son), 14 October 1829.
[2] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* p.144; Bremner, *Industries of Scotland,* pp.150-152.
[3] Faiers, *Tartan,* p.196.
[4] Marion Wilson, 'The Wilsons of Bannockburn: A Line of Weavers, Chapmen and Tartan Manufacturers', *The Scottish Genealogist,* 34:2 (1987), pp.315-320; Rawson et al., 'Import of Textile Dyes to Scotland'; N.J. Mills and A. Carswell, 'Wilson of Bannockburn and the Clothing of the Scottish Regiments', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* 76:307 (1998), pp.177-193.
[5] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* pp.145-154; Scarlett, *Tartan*, pp.39, 43; Faiers, *Tartan,* pp.195-198.

tartan historians,[6] and is currently dispersed through public and private collections. It includes business correspondence from both civilian and military customers from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, which often have samples of tartan attached (Fig. 7.1). It also contains miscellaneous account books, letter books, ledgers, and receipts. These records are extensive but they are not complete, with significant gaps for the early years of the firm. The account books and ledgers generally date from the late eighteenth century while the later period of the firm is primarily covered by the business correspondence. This correspondence, although valuable, is limited. It mostly comprises letters written to the firm rather than by the firm. Some correspondence written by members of the firm has survived in the form of copies and drafts of letters, as well as notes written on the backs of orders they received. Such information, however, is rare and can be difficult to interpret.

Fig. 7.1: Letter from Thomas Fisken, Perth to William Wilson and Son, Bannockburn, 9 July 1794, complete with sample of tartan. © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Although not complete, the records of William Wilson and Son are substantial enough to provide a practical, rather than a literary or theoretical, perspective on the Scottish manufacture of woollen fabrics. A deeper knowledge of the firm's history

[6] John Telfer Dunbar came into possession of a significant portion of the archives through the widow of William Skeoch Cumming (an artist and avid collector) who had amassed the collection and kept them in tea-chests. Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.19.

also has important implications for understanding the manufacture, retail, and consumption of woollen cloth in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland.

William Wilson and Son

Founder of the firm, William Wilson, was born in 1727 in Craigforth in the parish of St Ninian's, Stirlingshire. In the early 1750s he married Janet Paterson, daughter of a weaver, William Paterson, and they had their first son, John, in 1754. Of their nine children, three sons took an active part in the firm: John, who died in 1789; James, born in 1766; and Alexander, born in 1771. Upon William Wilson's death, Alexander took over the firm and ran it with the help of his own sons and his nephews into the nineteenth century.[7]

In 1759 William Wilson became a member of the Incorporation of Chapmen in Bannockburn. Listed as a weaver, this membership gave him the right to buy and sell goods, including those of his own manufacture. Although tartan had been banned in Scotland after the crushing of the Jacobite rebellion in 1746, Wilson and Son manufactured considerable quantities of the fabric during the period of proscription, supplying both military and civilian customers.[8] A daybook from the 1770s shows that tartan was the primary product of the business, manufactured in a variety of patterns ranging from a "Hyland Tartan" to the "Janet Wilson Sett", named after William Wilson's wife.[9] Other woollen fabrics included serge which was a twilled woollen cloth,[10] shalloon which was another type of twilled cloth often used for undergarments,[11] and camblet or camlet. This latter fabric, which could be made from a combination of silk and worsted yarn, came in a variety of colours including blue, green, garnet, and copper.[12]

In 1787 the firm owned twelve looms which accounted for a fifth of the total looms in Bannockburn and was the largest number owned by one person or business

[7] Ibid., p.109; Marion Wilson, 'Early Weavers: with Particular Reference to William Wilson of Bannockburn', *The Proceedings of the Scottish Tartans Society,* 3:1 (1984), pp.27-31. William Wilson is thought to have died sometime around 1797 – he was still paying window tax up until this point but there is a gap in the records after this date preventing further investigation. NAS E326/1/117-119 Window tax records, Stirlingshire.
[8] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.109.
[9] NLS MS9672, Day book of William Wilson and Son; Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* p.149.
[10] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* p.193.
[11] Ibid.
[12] NLS MS9672, Day book of William Wilson and Son. Similar colours of camlet were also produced in England. Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.118.

in the village.[13] Wilson and Son also employed other local weavers who provided them with tartan and camlet in return for cash and goods in kind.[14] By the end of the eighteenth century Wilson and Son relied less on out-workers and more on those they employed directly, many of whom were housed in purpose-built accommodation which was constructed in the 1780s.[15]

Although William Wilson and his son John were both listed as weavers in the Incorporation of Chapmen,[16] from an early stage they involved themselves in many aspects of the woollen manufacture, not just weaving. They purchased yarn that was ready-spun as well as raw wool that they would spin themselves. Raw wool and spun yarn were obtained from the Borders,[17] considered one of the few strongholds of the Scottish woollen industry at the turn of the nineteenth century.[18] The firm also purchased considerable amounts of wool from Edward Pease and Son, wool merchants from Darlington in the north of England. This wool was spun by Wilson and Son themselves despite it often being "exceedingly course in Quality & not comb'd".[19] As Scottish wool merchants could make a greater profit by exporting their raw wool than selling it domestically, the use of English wool in Scottish woollen manufacture was common practice.[20] Wilson and Son continued to import large amounts of wool from various branches of the Pease family for over fifty years.[21]

Wilson and Son were also active in the dyeing process. In 1787 they acquired a dye house, although they were dyeing yarn and cloth prior to this.[22] They used both native and imported dyes, relying on a number of merchants to provide them with the required amounts and ingredients.[23] As well as producing the dyed yarn which

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[13] NLS MS6660, List of looms in Bannockburn, 4 January, 1787.
[14] Wilson and Son had a long running business relationship with Robert Watson, a weaver in Bannockburn who owned two looms and worked sporadically for Wilson and Son in the last two decades of the eighteenth century. NMS 1953.918, Wilson and Son notebook.
[15] NLS MS9677/58 Building estimate and plans; NLS MS9677/78 Plan of works, 1835.
[16] John Wilson joined the Incorporation of Chapmen in 1769. Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.109.
[17] NLS MS6662/133, Invoice from Matthew Hope, Hawick, to William Wilson and Son, 30 April 1792.
[18] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers*, pp.38-46.
[19] NLS MS9670/21, Letter book, William Wilson to Edward Pease, Darlington, 29 August 1779.
[20] Gulvin, *Tweedmakers,* pp. 28, 31.
[21] NLS MS 9670/16 Letter book; NLS MS6661-6888.
[22] Wilson, 'The Wilsons of Bannockburn', p.316; Rawson et al, 'Import of Textile Dyes to Scotland', p.20.
[23] Ibid., p.24.

would clothe entire regiments, they were not averse to carrying out small, personal commissions. In 1792, for instance, Mrs Thomson from Auchtermuchty sent a cloak to Wilson and Son to get it dyed a "Brown Colour".[24]

William Wilson had founded the firm and oversaw its expanding workforce. His son, Alexander Wilson, who took over the business at the turn of the nineteenth century, was responsible for the technological expansion of the firm, which benefited from improvements in the spinning processes for linen and cotton.[25] In 1806 Alexander Wilson acquired a "scribbling machine" which ensured regularity in the wool thread by removing any entanglements, a "finisher", a "teasing machine", and a "roving Billie", all powered by a water wheel with a fall of seven feet.[26] To house this extra machinery the firm had acquired a farm at Skeoch on a twenty-one year lease along with a spinning mill that was sixty feet long by twenty feet wide.[27] These developments had cost the business £314 7s, which Alexander Wilson hoped to recoup from the Board of Trustees.[28] As with other grants to the woollen industry in this period, Wilson and Son only received a small proportion of their outgoings from the Board. The Board granted £50 on condition that Wilson and Son prove they had spent at least £298 on these improvements and that the money was not put towards the cost of the buildings as such matters did "not at all enter into the Boards view".[29]

By 1820 Wilson and Son had access to two teasing machines, six scribbling machines, six carding machines, six roving billies, eight spinning jennies, four reeling and twining machines, 132 looms, one waulk mill, and one dye house. Although this machinery was apparently shared with the firm of J. & W. Wilson, established in Bannockburn by grandsons of the original William Wilson, the equipment demonstrates a significant growth from the twelve looms of 1787. It also shows how Wilson and Son were fully involved in the majority of processes required for the manufacture of woollen fabric – from the preparation of the wool for

[24] NLS MS6661/42, Thomas and James Thomson, Aucthermuchty, to Wilson and Son, Bannockburn, 30 March 1792.
[25] Bremner, *Industries of Scotland,* p.159; Henry Hamilton, *An Economic History of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,* (Oxford, 1963), pp.133-134.
[26] NLS MS9676/64, Legal papers and miscellaneous documents, Alexander Wilson, Bannockburn, to the Board of Trustees, Edinburgh, 14 December 1806.
[27] *Stirlingshire: An Inventory of the Ancient Monuments,* (Edinburgh, 1963), vol. 2, p.316.
[28] NLS MS9676/64, Legal papers and miscellaneous documents, Alexander Wilson, Bannockburn to the Board of Trustees, Edinburgh, 14 December 1806.
[29] NAS NG1/3/19/462, Letter book 1802-1807, Board of Trustees to William Wilson and Son, 26 December 1806.

spinning, to the waulking of the cloth once it had been woven. Two years later in 1822 the firm expanded even further with the building of the Royal George Mill (Fig. 7.2). Still standing in Bannockburn today, this three-storey building had a waterwheel at one end and space for both spinning and handloom weaving. The long, narrow design of the building accommodated the mechanised spinning process which required a "linear layout" for the machines and their operatives.[30] The structure also represented an era of textile manufactory before the development of power looms would require rows of single-storey weaving sheds.[31]

Fig. 7.2: The Royal George Mill at Bannockburn, built by William Wilson and Son in the 1820s to cope with the demand created by the visit of George IV to Edinburgh. © Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland; SC769760. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The firm continued to manufacture tartan and other woollen cloths, supplying civilian and military customers, throughout the nineteenth century – including providing cloth to the Highland regiments during the Crimean War.[32] In 1867 the firm amalgamated with J. & W. Wilson. In the latter years of the nineteenth century the combined firm concentrated on the manufacturing of carpets, hitherto a minor line of the business. It eventually went into liquidation in 1924.[33]

[30] Geoffrey D. Hay and Geoffrey P. Stell, *Monuments of Industry: An Illustrated Historical Record,* (Glasgow, 1986), p.68.
[31] Ibid.
[32] See NMS 1953.1307, Letters from the 79th Cameron Highlanders, 1st and 2nd Battalions, 1831-1871.
[33] Wilson, 'The Wilsons of Bannockburn', p.317.

Trade Contacts 1772-1822

William Wilson and Son traded both within Scotland and beyond it. The surviving correspondence can be used to create a more accurate picture of their trading networks within Scotland by mapping the location of their correspondents at twenty year intervals from 1772 to 1812. This period spans the repeal of the proscription act and the Napoleonic Wars - both of which had an important impact on the tartan trade. A further year of 1822 was also mapped, showing the significance of George IV's visit to Edinburgh on the tartan industry.[34] These findings are based mainly on the civilian contacts of the period, including those who ordered goods from the firm and those who provided items such as wool or dye stuffs.[35]

The first trade network was mapped for 1772, one of the earliest dates for which reliable and consistent information on the firm has survived (Fig.7.3). This date shows the reaches of the firm during the period of proscription against tartan before the repeal in 1782. Despite the ban, tartan was the primary product of the firm at this time. Trade was localised, however, in the area around Bannockburn. Transactions of manufacturers and merchants of this period were often based on pre-existing personal and local ties in the early stages of business – ties that were often predicated on marriage.[36] William and his son, John, had both married daughters of other weaving families in the area.[37] In 1787 family connections were used to buy a dye house and carpet house from George Arthur, John Wilson's brother-in-law, who had gone bankrupt.[38] There were no doubt other unrecorded benefits of business from the extended kinship networks formed by these marriages. The cluster of contacts around the Bannockburn and Stirling area represent these early familial and local trading connections.

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[34] These networks have been constructed from information taken from surviving ledger and letter books, and correspondence, NLS MS0671, MS6661-3, and MS6810-6824.

[35] Direct correspondence from the regiments has been excluded from this particular section as the mobility of the regiments during this period would create a false image of the extent of the firm's networks. Merchants and clothiers that acted as middlemen for the regiments have been included in this sample as it was not always clear whether the goods were intended for military or civilian purposes.

[36] David Hancock, *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of American Trade and Taste,* (London, 2009), p.145; T.M. Devine, *The Tobacco Lords: A Study of the Tobacco Merchants of Glasgow and their Trading Activities c.1740-90,* (Edinburgh, 1990), p.3.

[37] Wilson, 'The Wilsons of Bannockburn', p.316.

[38] Ibid.

The firm's networks in 1772 extended to the east coast of Scotland, primarily in Midlothian and Fife and along the main communication routes. There was no trade west of the Highland line. This could reflect the impact of the proscription act, which was enforced in the Highland regions more than anywhere else in Scotland. However, it is generally accepted that the prosecution of those contravening the act had abated by 1760.[39] The lack of trade in the west of Scotland should therefore be interpreted as an indicator of the domestic nature of textile manufacture in the Highlands and Islands, rather than as a reflection of the proscription act. The furthest point of contact from Bannockburn at this time was Aberdeen. Significantly there were no contacts outside Scotland.

In 1792, ten years after the repeal of the tartan proscription act, business was still concentrated in the Lothians and Fife but contact with the west of Scotland was gradually developing (Fig. 7.4). Contacts in the coastal areas reflect the growth of the shipping industry in the latter part of the eighteenth century.[40] The most northerly contact was in Shetland, and the most westerly was on the Isle of Rum. There were four contacts outside Scotland: Darlington, Newcastle, Kendal, and London.[41] The contact in Darlington was the Pease family - a relationship which began at least as early as 1778 and continued until 1824. The other contacts from outside Scotland were customers of rather than suppliers to, the Bannockburn firm.

By 1812 there was a wider distribution of contacts across Scotland, reflecting a gradual increase in inland communications and trade (Fig. 7.5). Trade had increased with the west of the country, particularly in the area around Glasgow. Fourteen locations were identified outside Scotland, in England, Ireland, and Wales. Coinciding with the height of the Napoleonic Wars where the Highland regiments played a prominent role,[42] this increase in trade in 1812 was to be expected.

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[39] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland,* p.53.
[40] S.G.E. Lythe and J. Butt, *An Economic History of Scotland 1100-1939,* (Glasgow, 1975), pp.144-145.
[41] In the early 1780s Wilson and Son also had contacts with merchants in Grenada and Jamaica which appear to have drifted away by the 1790s. NLS MS9671 Ledger book. In 1793 Wilson and Son were fulfilling orders to Norway, NMS 1953.1316 David Ouchterlory, Dundee, to Wilson and Son, 2 July 1793.
[42] Faiers, *Tartan,* p.115; Stuart Allan and Allan Carswell, *The Thin Red Line: War, Empire And Visions of Scotland,* (Edinburgh [2004]), pp.22-23; Austin Gee, *The British Volunteer Movement, 1794-1814,* (Oxford, 2003). The impact of military styles on fashionable dress is discussed further in Chapter 9.

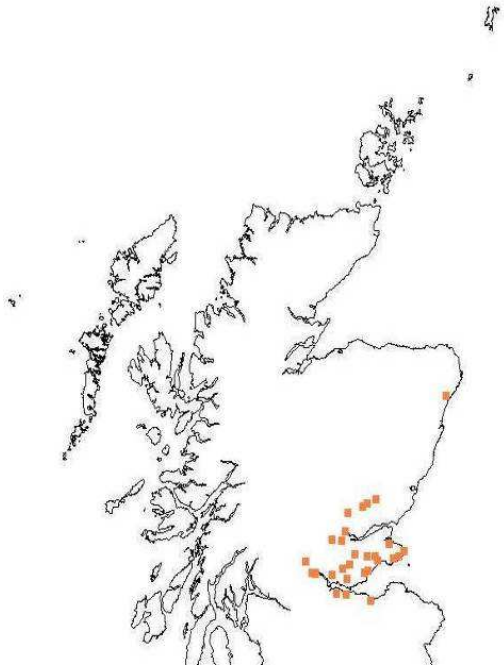

Fig. 7.3: Trade contacts of Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, 1772. Source: NLS MS0671, MS6661-3, MS6810-6824. Map: © Crown copyright/EDINA 2010, an Ordnance Survey/ EDINA service.

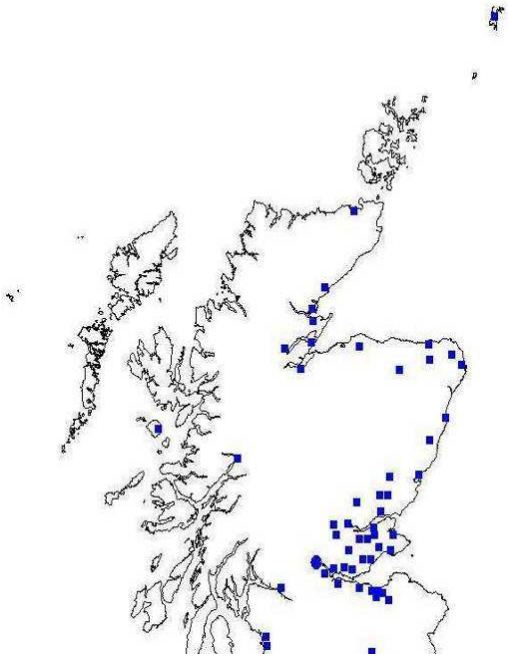

Fig. 7.4: Trade contacts of Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, 1792. Source: NLS MS0671, MS6661-3, MS6810-6824. Map: © Crown copyright/EDINA 2010, an Ordnance Survey/ EDINA service.

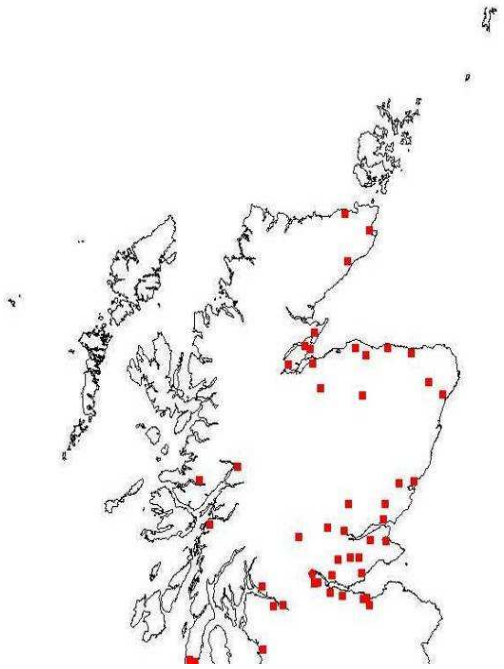

Fig. 7.5: Trade contacts of Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, 1812. Source: NLS MS0671, MS6661-3, MS6810-6824. Map: © Crown copyright/EDINA 2010, an Ordnance Survey/ EDINA service.

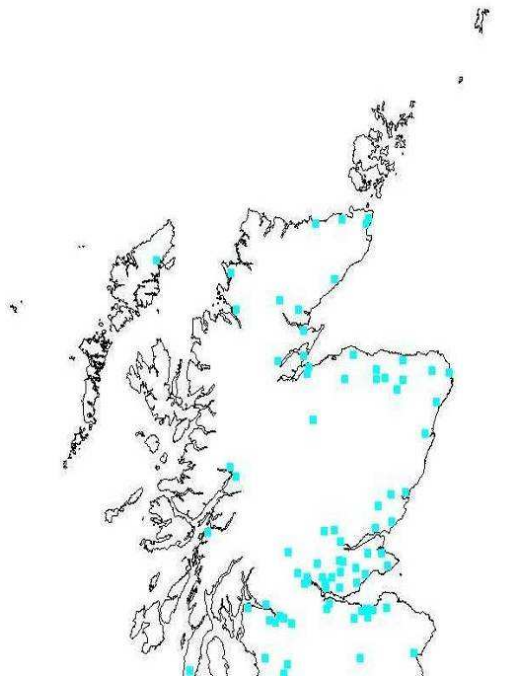

Fig. 7.6: Trade contacts of Wilson and Son of Bannockburn, 1822. Source: NLS MS0671, MS6661-3, MS6810-6824. Map: © Crown copyright/EDINA 2010, an Ordnance Survey/ EDINA service.

By 1822 the geographical reach of the firm was much more extensive (Fig. 7.6). This can be attributed to the rise of tartan as a fashionable material, an ongoing process that was encouraged by the visit of George IV to Edinburgh. The bulk of correspondence in this year still came from the eastern Lowland area of Scotland – a result of the immediate demand created by the royal visit. The network had spread further into the central belt and further north and inland to places such as Grantown and Kingussie. There was marginally less contact with coastal areas in this year, reflecting the improved inland communications by road and canal.[43] The most significant trend to emerge from the 1822 data was the increase in contacts from outside Scotland. Correspondence from fifty-one locations outside the country came to the firm in 1822, including from the south of England, Ireland, and America. Contacts on the west coast of Scotland in places such as Oban, Fort William, and Glasgow would have served as points of departure for connections abroad, the ultimate destination obscured through the correspondence of merchants and middlemen.

Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century trade was fraught with risks. Poor communication networks and long distances, as well as little access to cash resources, meant that trust and knowledge were crucial.[44] Correspondence between merchants and traders was vital for the circulation of information, as well as for the exchange of money and services. [45] In 1793, for instance, Joseph Pease wrote from Darlington explaining that the demand for wool created by the war had meant they could not fulfil Wilson and Son's order.[46] In 1800 the prices of wool were the highest the Pease family had seen in seventy years.[47] Such information was vital to Wilson and Son - knowing that wool from the north of England was liable to delays or being charged at a higher price gave the Scottish firm a chance to try suppliers from other areas, such as the Borders.

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[43] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.252.
[44] David Hancock, *Citizens of the World: London Merchants and the Integration of the British Atlantic Community, 1735-1785,* (Cambridge, 1997); Nuala Zahedieh, 'Making Mercantilism Work: London Merchants and Atlantic Trade in the Seventeenth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 9 (1999), pp.143-158; J. Smail, 'Credit, Risk, and Honour in Eighteenth-Century Commerce', *Journal of British Studies,* 44:3 (2005), pp.439-456.
[45] Toby L. Ditz, 'Formative Ventures: Eighteenth-Century Commercial Letters and the Articulation of Experience', in Rebecca Earle (ed.), *Epistolary Selves: Letters and Letter Writers 1600-1945,* (Aldershot, 1999), pp.59-78, p.61.
[46] NLS MS6664/74, Joseph Pease and Son, Darlington, to Wilson and Son, 6 February 1793.
[47] NLS MS6685/67, Joseph Pease and Son, Darlington, to Wilson and Son, 23 October 1800.

The contacts mapped out above were not just maintained through written correspondence, however. To offset some of the risks associated with trade, as well as continuing the chapman roots of the business, successive generations of the Wilson family were sent on reconnaissance missions throughout mainland Scotland.[48] They informed customers of new products, collected further orders, dealt with complaints, and assessed the general economic climate.[49] In 1817 James Wilson, grandson of William Wilson, wrote from Forfar that "serges does not take at all & plaidens we can't make to come equal to the Archibalds..."[50] On the same trip he noted that in Aberdeen trade was a "good deal better" but "our things does not seem to be in much demand".[51] His uncle Alexander, to whom the letters were addressed, had made similar trips in the 1790s, reporting back to his father and sending bills of exchange to settle accounts.[52]

Travelling to meet the customers was a useful way to learn the business and was an important rite of passage for those who were to have a hand in running the firm. They had to deal with irate customers and protect the reputation of the business. Alexander Wilson reported to his father that he thought William Alexander of Banff had "not used us well" by reducing the amount he owed Wilson and Son by five per cent. This was a particular affront, according to Alexander, who felt that the goods had been "charged [at] the lowest" in the first place. He assured his father, however, that he would get the bill settled once he got to Banff.[53] The use of family members established a reliable stream of information in an otherwise potentially unstable environment prone to exaggeration, false information, and breaks in communication.[54] It was also a means of protecting themselves from competitors in the market. Writing from Kinross in 1795, Alexander Wilson asked his father to keep a large commission from the Earl of Elgin a secret as Alexander feared they

[48] Mary B. Rose, *Firms, Networks and Business Values: The British and American Cotton Industries since 1750,* (Cambridge, 2000), p.58-60.
[49] Dunbar, *Highland Dress,* p.145.
[50] NMS 1953.1313, James Wilson, Forfar, to Alexander Wilson, Bannockburn, 25 September 1817.
[51] NMS 1953.1313, James Wilson, Aberdeen, to Alexander Wilson, Bannockburn, 30 September 1817.
[52] NMS [unnumbered] Alexander Wilson, Aberdeen, to William Wilson, Bannockburn, 26 September 1797.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Rose, *Firms, Networks and Business Values,* p.60; David Hancock, 'The Trouble with Networks: Managing the Scots' Early Modern Madeira Trade', *Business History Review,* 79 (2005), pp.467-491.

could be undercut.[55] Sending out trusted members of the family/firm sent a signal to the customer, promoting the idea that business could be conducted and entrusted to that person as he was literally part of the firm. This served to reinforce the sense of importance and ensure loyalty among individual customers.[56]

Customer Service

A cursory examination of the extant letters of the Wilson and Son's archives would give the impression that the firm was not very skilled at woollen manufacture. Letters of complaint were a regular occurrence in the everyday business of William Wilson and Son. Many complaints were aimed at the quality of the product, which would support the notion that Scottish woollen manufacture was inferior to that of other countries even at the end of the eighteenth century. Other issues concerned late delivery, delivery of the wrong goods, or high prices. Letters of this nature would state the problem and suggest a remedy which, more often than not, was a refund or reduction in price. In 1793, James Thomson from Dundee complained that the "Red Sarge [sic]" Wilson and Son had sent was only suitable for lining and not as an outer fabric. Thomson wanted to "know what Discount you'l [sic] give as I do not wish to return goods."[57] Thomas Heriot managed to sell some of the blanket that Wilson and Son sent him, only to have it returned to him by a customer for being too thin. Heriot asked for a reduction in price or he would have to return it, he also asked Wilson and Son to "acquaint the stamper, that it wants two Ells."[58]

Most complaints were followed up with another order – indicating that complaints were an accepted part of the textile trade rhetoric. Alexander Cheyne, a merchant in Aberdeen, did business with Wilson and Son from at least as early as 1771, ordering tartan and other woollen stuffs for a mixture of military and civilian clients. Every order appears to have had a fault, whether it was late delivery, lack of a receipt, or a problem with the goods themselves. Yet in each case Cheyne placed further orders and continued to do so until his retirement in 1804.[59] Some customers kept the unsatisfactory product but made sure that Wilson and Son knew they were doing so,

[55] NMS 1953.1304, Alexander Wilson, Kinross, to William Wilson, Bannockburn, 17 March 1795.
[56] Zahedieh, 'Making Mercantilism Work', p.153.
[57] NLS MS6664/107, James Thomson, Dundee, to Wilson and Son, 2 May 1793.
[58] NMS MS6660/73, Thomas Heriot, Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 26 January 1791.
[59] NLS MS9671/3 Ledger book; NLS MS6696/4 Peter Cheyne, Aberdeen, to Wilson and Son, 19 April 1804.

giving the impression of martyring themselves for the sake of maintaining the trading relationship.[60] The grievances customers expressed show what they had expected from the product in the first place. This could be a durable and hardwearing fabric or a bright and colourful fabric, but above all it needed to be a fabric which accorded with the consumers' own perception of what it was worth.[61]

The responses of Wilson and Son to these complaints varied – but generally they seemed to have placated the customer, who as noted, often came back for more. Responses to irate customers, as well as to customers in general, mainly used a reassuring and polite tone necessary to ensure returning custom. A letter to Alexander Cheyne asserted that they "allways [sic] pick the very best of our [stock?] for you, the pice Blanket you need not be a feared of its pleasing your Customer."[62] As Cheyne continued to order from Wilson and Son despite his apparent misgivings, it can be assumed that the firm worked hard to allay his fears through their correspondence and through their trips north. With other customers they were slightly more resolute, such as with George Boyd, who had received less tartan than he was expecting in 1778. Wilson and Son responded with:

> …all the officers plaids that we cutt [sic] was at 13 yds length except one plaid thro mistake was cut at 12 yds length which…you will observe you are advised of in your invoice – you are charged 51 yds and had it been four thirteen yds it wou'd been 52 yds…we never cut Tartan in 12 ½ 10 & 9 yds and if you have a piece cut in this manner we can assure you that it was not done by us nor did it come from us…[63]

The ledger book from the 1770s, which details accounts of individual customers, shows that Wilson and Son were not averse to accepting returned goods.[64]

Courtesy was the key in this correspondence, particularly when dealing with a social superior who had the ability to bring in a lot of business. In the early nineteenth century confusion arose over who was responsible for settling Wilson and Son's bill for supplying the newly raised Glengarry regiment. Whether it was the quartermaster, the officers of the regiment, or Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell of

[60] NLS MS6660/79, Thomas Miles, London, to Wilson and Son, 29 June 1791.
[61] For discussion of the complaints made by military customers see Mills and Carswell, 'Wilson of Bannockburn'.
[62] NLS MS9670 Letter book, William Wilson to Alexander Cheyne, Aberdeen, 16 July 1778.
[63] NLS MS9670/5 Letter book, William Wilson to George Boyd, Edinburgh, 28 July 1778.
[64] NLS MS9671 Ledger book.

Glengarry himself, the firm had been left out of pocket to the tune of £609. Numerous letters and drafts of the firm's response have survived from this circumstance – some of which were to Glengarry, others to his quartermaster. To Glengarry, the first surviving letter requesting payment was, as might be expected, polite and full of platitudes:

> …being much in want of money at present, we beg you will have the Goodness to send us Bill for the Am[oun]t of your Acc[oun]t in course…You will no dout [sic] recollect our Terms were Bill at three months from Delivery of the Goods & its now more than 2 Mo[nth]s since the last of Tartans was sent off. In expectation of hearing from you in course – We Remain very Respectfully
>
> Sir
>
> Your most Ob[edien]t Serv[an]t.[65]

Several letters followed this one, one reminding Glengarry that they were willing to draw on any house in London that was convenient to him. Although some money was received, there was still an outstanding balance a year later. On the 10 July 1811, Wilson and Son sent a note to Glengarry which informed him that if no reply was made to their previous letters they would be "under the necessity of putting it into…[the] course of law."[66] This was a bold move - Glengarry was an important military and social figure with many connections, as well as being notoriously difficult and headstrong.[67] The threat did not work entirely as two months later they were still waiting for the complete payment, meanwhile charging interest which only offended Glengarry further.[68] Despite these differences the business relationship was once again established a few years later in 1821.[69]

The early records of the firm show that payments in kind were common in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In the period 1770-1771, at least eleven per cent of the merchants and chapmen who purchased goods from Wilson and Son paid for those goods in kind, using items such as tea or dyestuffs.[70] Payments in kind continued in the 1780s. In 1781, Thomas Logan, a chapman from Inverness paid for

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[65] NMS [unnumbered] Wilson and Son to Colonel Macdonell of Glengarry, 11 July 1810.
[66] NMS 1953.1304, Wilsons note, 10 July 1811.
[67] Prebble, *King's Jaunt,* p.112.
[68] NMS 1953.1304, Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell of Glengarry to Wilson and Son, 5 September 1811.
[69] NMS 1953.304, Letter on behalf of Alexander Ranaldson Macdonnell to Wilson and Son, 17 February 1821.
[70] NLS MS9671 Ledger book.

an order of tartan with whisky.[71] In 1782, John and James Christie, merchants from Montego Bay in Jamaica, paid for Wilsons' goods with 408 gallons of rum and a large quantity of sugar.[72] By the turn of the nineteenth century, however, although there are no equivalent ledger books for this period, the language and tone of the letters that have survived make it clear that only cash or bills of exchange were accepted.

Wilson and Son were relatively consistent in extending credit to their military and civilian customers, generally providing three months from the day of delivery.[73] In some cases these terms of credit were shortened. In 1820 Thomas Stanton wrote from Dublin requesting information about the prices of forage caps, an undress piece of headgear worn by a number of regiments, which the firm procured from bonnet makers in Kilmarnock. Wilson and Son replied saying it would cost Stanton 17/6 per dozen caps and that he could pay with a "Bank Bill on London @ 2 months." They also wrote that they would require a reference.[74] Evidently they needed to know more about Stanton if they were going to fulfil his order.[75] Extensions were occasionally granted to longer standing customers, or under exceptional circumstances. Duncan McGrigor from Fort William lost a sloop and its cargo in a "reall hurican" in 1807, forcing him to seek extended terms of credit.[76]

Payment could be delayed if it was stuck in a chain of credit and just like all other traders Wilson and Son were prone to set-backs. As seen in the Glenngarry example above, confusion and a lack of reliable information contributed to delayed payments. Some merchants and consumers cited wider economic circumstances that prevented them from rescinding their debt. Thomas Leisk of Burravoeyell in Shetland wrote in 1791:

> …I am sorry to say it will be out of my power to remit this sum [£17 13s 5 1/2d] at present owing in part to a general want of meal among fishermen, but particularly to an extraordinary failure in our fishing, & a loss of Men & Boats which distresses the whole Country, & makes the sales of all kind of Sheep goods to stagnate for which

[71] NLS MS9671 Ledger book.
[72] Ibid.
[73] NMS 1953.1305, Draft letter from Wilson and Son to John Gloag, Edinburgh, 4 February 1797; NMS 1953.1312, Draft letter from Wilson and Son to Donald Currie, London, 21 February 1810.
[74] NMS 1953.1312, Thomas Stanton, Dublin, to Wilson and Son, 17 February 1820.
[75] Zahedieh, 'Making Mercantilism Work', p.153.
[76] NMS 1953.1312, Duncan McGrigor, Fort William, to Wilson and Son, 7 July 1807.

> causes we whose returns depends mostly on the produce of the weavers, must wait patiently for the return of a belles Season.[77]

Such excuses appeared regularly throughout the first few decades of the nineteenth century. True to human nature, some blamed other people for their misfortunes and inability to pay their debts. Before the loss of his sloop Duncan McGrigor blamed the population around him for his own late payments: "its not Easy to Deall in this highland as all or Most of our trade is Credit which makes one longer in paying than they could wish". He went on to say "the Very Best people heir [sic] are the worst payers…they Never think upon paying in Less time than 18 Months and that is hurtfull [sic] to the Merch[an]t."[78]

As the example of the Glengarry affair showed, Wilson and Son were not afraid to chase money that was owed to them. Although it seems that those with legitimate reasons were treated more leniently, in other cases the debt was chased whatever the amount. In 1816 a letter was received from William Ferguson in Glasgow which complained of the high prices he had been charged for striped material. A note written on the back of this letter, presumably by Alexander Wilson, suggested a weariness of further negotiation: "14[October] Wrote to send the money and no more words ab[ou]t it."[79] This response to Ferguson was sent immediately as by the 15 October, Ferguson had written again:

> You really seem in such Starvation for Money (which I know is not the case) or else you have heard some report injurious to my Credit (which I think is not probable) that I cannot stand for a single Moment your <u>thrice repeated demand</u> for £5 6s 6d and no words about it – So I have sent it with the thrice named Carrier, and you will be so good as to return a receipt with the same Wordie [worthy?] Gentleman – I am sorry however that I cannot comply with your Lordlike injunction to make no more words about it – permit me to tell you that your <u>ill-timed Vehemence</u> although it has induced me to send your money in full; yet has not convinced me; But I do not chuse to disturb the peace of your own passions and mine By maintaining <u>such</u> a fiery correspondence – I know that as you are a <u>man</u> you of course won't make Bairns Bargains; But as I am not so very remotely removed from the state of Bairnship as you, there is no saying but I may deal in that sort of Traffic very much!! I shall conclude with stating that if I were to send such <u>animated</u> letters to my Customers

[77] NLS MS6660/66 Thomas Leisk, Burravoeyell, to Wilson and Son, 9 July 1791.
[78] NMS 1953.1312, Duncan McGrigor, Fort William, to Wilson and Son, 16 March 1805.
[79] NMS 1953.1312, William Ferguson, Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 11 October 1816.

> upon supposed wrongs I would ever after give up explanation of being much benefited by their Custom.
>
> With Much Olidge.
> Their Obed. Servt.
> William Ferguson[80]

This is one of the most passionate letters to have survived in these collections and its contents are telling on numerous levels. Wilson and Son were not afraid to seek out payment of what seemed like a comparatively small amounts of money, although this may be due to the fact that Ferguson was in Glasgow and so was easy to pester. It is possible Ferguson did indeed have bad credit or that as he suspected, Wilson and Son had heard reports of bad credit. The reputation of a trader was so integral to the business network that such reports could quickly be damaging and the response to Stanton above shows they were cautious of such matters.[81] The wider context should also be considered, however. When McGrigor's sloop sank in 1807 and he was given extended terms of credit, Britain was still at war and the firm was profiting from the demand for woollen goods from the Highland regiments. By 1816, when Ferguson was being chased for his money, the war was over and, although Wilson and Son were still significant manufacturers, the decrease in demand from the Highland regiments must have been felt. Despite his adamant misgivings, however, Ferguson knew when he was onto a good thing. A postscript to the letter completely undermined his passionate invective:

> All this however will not prevent me from giving you a Call, first time I am at Bannockburn I am never such a fool as to refrain Buying from a Man (if his goods be fully as good or as cheap as other people) although I did conceive that I was formerly wronged By him.[82]

Once again the complaint was followed up by the promise of further custom.

The Consumption of Tartan

Although Wilson and Son produced large quantities of camlet, serge, and other woollen fabrics into the nineteenth century, it was their tartan manufacture that secured their reputation. Supplying both civilian and military customers the firm were quick to adapt to market demand, creating new patterns and adjusting old ones

[80] NMS 1953.1312, William Ferguson, Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 15 October 1816.
[81] Smail, 'Credit, Risk, and Honour', p.449.
[82] NMS 1953.1312, William Ferguson, Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 15 October 1816.

to suit the customer's wishes.[83] They produced tartan in a range of qualities, from coarse fabrics used for the privates in the regiments to merino wool for finer garments which was in use by 1819.[84] Tartans were created and named after popular figures and events, keeping an essentially traditional fabric within the up-to-date fashionable consciousness. One example was the Waterloo tartan, a pattern with a small check that became popular in clothing in the years after the battle in 1815.[85] Other named tartans included the Prince Charles tartan, after Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Wellington tartan,[86] and the Rob Roy tartan.[87]

Military custom was central to the success of the firm. The wars with France at the turn of the nineteenth century ensured that regular and fencible regiments were kept in almost constant employment. Wilson and Son developed longstanding relationships with these regiments,[88] whose movements across the globe can be traced through the shipments of tartan. The importance of the uniform to the military had begun in the seventeenth century and was to develop continuously into the nineteenth,[89] with individual regiments becoming increasingly attentive to their appearance. The focus on style and smartness not only increased demand, as worn out uniforms would need replacing, but also made the regiments more distinctive to the public eye.[90] In 1796 John Chisholm from Dingwall was trying to procure the uniforms for the Dingwall Volunteers. He wanted the men to be "neat and well dress But note [sic] Extravagant". He then added "I trust you shall pay proper attention to your men when at work, and They must all be the very same pattern and quality as the men must be uniform."[91] The appearance of a regiment was used to reflect its

[83] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* pp.144-150.
[84] Ibid., p.148.
[85] Peter MacDonald, *The 1819 Key Pattern Book: One Hundred Original Tartans,* (Crieff, 1995), pp.54-55; NMS 1953.1312, Messrs Scott and Deuchar, Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 14 November 1818; Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* p.147. Other fabrics were also named after significant events. Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus was unimpressed with the cloth known as "Waterloo bleu, copied from the dye used in Flanders for the calico of which the peasantry make their smock frocks or blouses." Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady,* vol. 2, p.147.
[86] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* pp.147-148.
[87] MacDonald, *1819 Key Pattern Book,* p.50.
[88] Mills and Carswell, 'Wilson of Bannockburn'.
[89] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* pp.221-256.
[90] For discussion of the English preoccupation with uniforms in the volunteer regiments see Gee, *British Volunteer Movement,* pp.162-163, 193-196.
[91] NMS 1953.1304, John Chisholm, Dingwall, to Wilson and Son, 27 October 1796.

reputation – this in turn was an extension to the reputation of the chain of manufacturers and merchants that supplied that regiment.

By providing tartan to the Highland regiments Wilson and Son were central to the nineteenth-century creation of a Scottish national image.[92] There was no indication in the records, however, that they were supplying such goods for the love of their country; it was a business opportunity and one which was exploited to the full.[93] This did not stop customers, particularly those with military associations, from using nationalist sentiment as a means to encourage Wilson and Son to take the contract. In April 1794, while negotiating the contract for providing the 92nd Gordon Highlanders with Highland dress, John Gloag wrote to the Bannockburn firm stating that "I find all the Colonels much in favors of the Collours [sic] of the English Tartan [the Black Watch tartan?] to which for your own and our Countrys Credit I hope you will pay every possible attention in your power".[94] Similar sentiments were expressed during the negotiation of the first contract to supply the Glengarry fencibles in 1794. Wilson and Son were informed by Ranald Macdonell, agent for Glengarry, that they and their neighbours in Bannockburn had been approached for providing the regiment with fabric. Macdonell also wrote:

> …the Col. [Alexander Ranaldson Macdonell of Glengarry] saw Specimens of their Manufacters [sic] at England which I am Sorry is some cheaper & better Quality than ours, but Col. McDonell is so much attach'd to his Country that he wishes to give a preference, therefore wishes to put Estimets [sic] of the Prices & I hope you will as quick as possible get these plaids made.[95]

Macdonell was appealing to the Wilsons' sense of patriotic duty by emphasising his patron's wish to support his own country's manufacture. He was also appealing to their pockets: business was business and Macdonell could go elsewhere if needs be. Tartan, as well as the overall appearance of the regiment, was a means by which national industry and national reputation could be promoted. National identity was often used by merchants and traders to create links in otherwise complex or disparate communication networks. It was also part of the trend where "merchants and manufacturers stressed either their own honourable intentions toward others or their

[92] Allan and Carswell, *Thin Red Line,* p.20.
[93] Scarlett, *Tartan*, pp.36-37.
[94] NMS 1953.1310, John Gloag, Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 8 April 1794.
[95] NMS 1953.1304, Ranald Macdonell, Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 30 August 1794.

expectation that others should act in an honourable fashion toward them."[96] The difference here, however, was the use of the reputation of the country in general as well as the reputation of a specific national group of manufacturers and traders.

There is evidence that Wilson and Son made up items of clothing from the fabrics they manufactured on both a bespoke and a ready-made basis. Such garments were generally those which required little or no skill once the fabric had been woven. Women's plaids or "mauds", for instance, were popular with Aberdeen merchants and their customers in the 1790s.[97] Reference was also made to men's cloaks. In 1819 a cloak of the 42nd tartan was ordered for a six foot tall man, with the section covering the arms to be longer than normal in order to accommodate the height of the wearer.[98] Bulk orders of ready-made cloaks do not seem to have been made according to a particular sizing system and many merchants appear to have been happy to leave it in Wilson and Son's hands.[99] John Sommers, a merchant from Mid Calder, requested a variety of tartan cloaks in 1818, and noted that "I need not say that you will of course make them of different sizes."[100] This order shows the extent to which Wilson and Son infiltrated the global market as these cloaks were intended for consumption in Brazil, a market with particular tastes in tartan: "The Tartan cannot be too shewey [sic] and splendid & the greater the proportion of bright colours such as red and yellow with a little light blue & green so much the better. The Brazilians are not fond of the dark colours."[101]

Wilson and Son also produced coats, both of tartan and of other woollen fabrics. Merchant Robert Dorret from Montrose ordered a number of coats in 1793, which were to be striped in a variety of colours.[102] This line continued into the nineteenth century but it does not seem to have been a significant contributor to the business. In 1801 Thomas Heriot wrote to the firm apologising for being unable to sell "two fine Woollen Coats". Heriot had "respectfully proffered them to customers" but as they

[96] Smail, 'Credit, Risk, and Honour', pp.446-447.
[97] NLS MS6661/12-13, Alexander Duncan, Aberdeen, to Wilson and Son, 1792; NMS 1953.1312, John Donald, Oldmeldrum, to Wilson and Son, 8 October 1799.
[98] NMS 1953.1312, M. Duncan, Falkirk, to Wilson and Son, 23 January 1819.
[99] Cf Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.177.
[100] NMS 1953.1316, John Sommers, Mid Calder, to Wilson and Son, 9 March 1818.
[101] Ibid.
[102] NMS 1953.1312 Robert Dorret, Montrose, to Wilson and Son, 14 November 1793.

were not of the same quality as those of another supplier, they had not sold.[103] In 1821 there was still little success with the coats as James Wilson reported that "I am afraid the Coats will not sell as well as they have done as they say the season is over".[104]

Any reference to the making up of garments in the business correspondence was far outnumbered by those that simply referred to the fabric that was required. In some cases the order for cloth was accompanied with a description of what it was intended for but with no indication that Wilson and Son were expected to do anything more than produce the material. William Christie of Stirling wrote to Wilson and Son in 1789 specifically outlining his demands. He wanted six yards of superfine tartan to make a coat, the colours were to be "good & Clear" and the fabric was to be "repeatedly scourd & Cleaned with strong soap graths". The cloth was to be made with clean equipment so that "it may not afterwards Dirty a white Handkerchieff."[105] Christie was obviously knowledgeable of the wool manufacturing process and it would not be unreasonable to presume that he was the same William Christie or Chrystie who was employed by the Board of Trustees as sorter and stamp-master of Stirling.[106] Despite these detailed instructions there was no hint that Christie expected Wilson and Son to make the coat up themselves. Similarly, tartan sent to the regiments was generally made up into clothes once it had been delivered, inspected, and approved by the quartermasters and the commanding officers.[107] In 1810, the quartermaster of the Glengarry militia asked Wilson and Son to send the plaids as soon as they were ready so the tailors could start making them up and requested that enough thread also be sent for the job.[108] Not all regiments made up their own clothes, however, and partnerships between textile manufacturers and agents supplying the regiments with clothing were not uncommon.[109]

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[103] NLS MS6691/132, Thomas Heriot, Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 5 January 1801.
[104] NMS 1953.1313, James Wilson, Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 20 January 1821.
[105] NMS 1953.1312, William Christie, Stirling, to Wilson and Son, 15 June 1789.
[106] NAS NG1/3/8/110, Letter book VIII 1761-1765, Board of Trustees to William Chrystie, Stirling, 30 November 1763.
[107] Mills and Carswell, 'Wilson of Bannockburn', p.180.
[108] NMS, Glengarry Letters 1794-1827, Donald MacPherson, Quartermaster Inverness-shire Militia, Fort William, to Wilson and Son, 26 March 1810.
[109] Stana Nenadic, 'The Impact of the Military Profession on Highland Gentry Families, c. 1730-1830', *Scottish Historical Review,* 85:219 (2006), pp.75-99, p.83; NMS [unnumbered] Robert Bryn, Quartermaster Gordon Highlanders, 92nd Regiment, to Wilson and Son, 10 September 1817.

The early correspondence of the firm was not always detailed in explaining what the tartan was required for. Letters from the early nineteenth century, however, were more concerned with explaining their demands. Tartan was ordered for women's gowns, as well as for women's plaids and shawls, both in Scotland and abroad. A merchant from Sleat on the Isle of Skye informed Wilson and Son that "the young Ladies in this Country are so fond of it [tartan] that I expect to see the whole of them rigged in it for winter".[110] In 1816 a variety of tartans were requested for ladies' dresses in the "Mediterranean market".[111] Orders were also made for tartan for children's clothing: six pieces of "Cheap and Neat Plaids" of small patterns were ordered for children's dresses by the paymaster of the 79th Regiment in 1811 (Fig. 7.7).[112] Such outfits were the precursors to the popular children's outfits of the Victorian era.[113] The use of tartan in the outfits of non-military men was also popular. The manufacture of tartan cloaks has already been referred to. Tartan was also a popular choice for men's morning and nightgowns, the loose fitting robes worn within the home and suitable for a gentleman of sociability.[114] In 1796 Wilson and Son received an order for the "finest Plaid or tartan for [a] Gentlemens morning Gown".[115]

Aside from these more conventional uses for tartan, the variable colour schemes and versatile nature of tartan made it suitable for a variety of purposes. Orders were placed for tartan to clothe charity scholars. The Archduke of Austria wanted tartan in 1818 to clothe "Charity children".[116] Four years later the Duchess of Argyle made a similar request for her own "Charity Schollars".[117] Most intriguingly in 1817 a letter was received from Wilson, Stow & Co. of Glasgow ordering a bale of tartan which was intended for the slave market in Charleston.[118]

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[110] NMS 1953.1312, H. McKenzie, Sleat, to Wilson and Son, 4 December 1813.
[111] NMS 1953.1316, W. Brown Jnr., Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 13 August 1816.
[112] NMS 1953.1307, Rd. Brittain, Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 8 December 1811.
[113] Faiers, *Tartan,* p.117.
[114] Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals,* p.349; Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.24; Nenadic, 'Enlightenment in Scotland', p.179.
[115] NMS 1953.1312, Thomas Heriot, Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 23 June 1796.
[116] NMS 1953.1316, James Cleland, Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 28 November 1818.
[117] NMS 1953.1312, Archibald Campbell, Inverary, to Wilson and Son, 4 March 1822; Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress,* p.151.
[118] NMS 1953.1316, Wilson, Stow & Co., Glasgow, to Wilson and Son, 5 June 1817. For a discussion of tartan as a symbol of oppression see Faiers, *Tartan,* pp.255-276.

Fig. 7.7: Boy's dress of Royal Stuart tartan thought to have been made from tartan of Wilson and Son of Bannockburn c.1820. © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

William Wilson and Son's business profited greatly from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century interest in the romanticised history of Scotland. The Highland Society of London, the Highland Society of Edinburgh, and other multiple societies that appeared in the period, were central to the development of and belief in the antiquity of clan tartans – which Wilson and Son were only too willing to provide. These societies were significant customers of the firm. The Glasgow Highland Society ordered a variety of regimental tartans in 1813, including the 42nd, the 79th and the 71st regiments. As only small pieces were ordered they were probably intended as prizes.[119] Other societies did not want a 'second-hand' tartan as it were, but wanted Wilson and Son to create one for them. The Caithness and Sutherlandshire Friendly Highland Society asked for swatches of various tartans but admitted that "probably you may make a new Pattern to please; somewhat like the Cobourn Pattern, or with red near the Macdonalds, or with a White or Yellow

[119] NMS 1953.1316, Glasgow Highland Society to Wilson and Son, 1813.

stripe."[120] With the foundation of a Highland society in the area of Dunkeld, merchant Charles Blair predicted in 1822 that Highland dress would become "very attractive to the young chaps who in nineteen cases out of twenty are attracted more by the fun than the utility of the thing."[121] Two years later Blair reported that those who had purchased tartan from him for kilts were "now converting them into Clokes" and that he suspected this would raise demand further.[122]

The greatest stage for Wilsons' tartan after the end of the Napoleonic Wars was the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822. This visit has been described as the "defining moment" in tartan's transition from "Highland habit into fashionable fabric."[123] Another historian has identified the royal visit as the moment when Highland dress became a "tartan costume" with "little regard for function."[124] Tartan of Wilson manufacture was prominent at this event. The piper's uniform discussed in Chapter 1 is just one example of the use of their products. The demand for tartan created by the visit was evident in the building of the Royal George Mill, and was also apparent in the amounts of wool that the firm needed to acquire. Orders for wool from the Pease firm in Darlington prior to this date had been sent out on average once a month, each order generally asking for around 600lb of wool.[125] In 1822 the frequency of these orders, for similar amounts, increased to once a week.[126]

The martial nature of the events organised for the royal visit, such as the parades, drills, and emphasis on Highland dress, provided a spectacle and helped to sustain the public interest in and predilection for tartan. Robert MacKay wrote to Wilsons requesting a "Complete dress of the true Mackay or Lord Reay Tartan" and wanted the sufficient amount of material to be sent to him to wear in the parade as a member of the Celtic Society.[127] Given the demand created by the royal visit and the fact that Wilson and Son were not always prompt with their delivery anyway, it was not surprising that MacKay was left disgruntled. The fabric failed to turn up on time, which meant McKay was not be able to drill every morning in full dress as was

[120] NMS 1953.1316, Alexander Sinclair, Caithness and Sutherland-shire Friendly Highland Society, Thurso, to Wilson and Son, 16 March 1821.
[121] NMS 1953.1312, Charles Blair Junior, Dunkeld, to Wilson and Son, 16 December 1822.
[122] NMS 1953.1312, Charles Blair Junior, Dunkeld, to Wilson and Son, 4 February 1824.
[123] Faiers, *Tartan,* p.153.
[124] Cheape, *Tartan,* pp.67-68.
[125] NLS MS6774, Edward Pease, Darlington, to Wilson and Son, 1819.
[126] NLS MS6831/16, Edward, John and Joseph Pease, Darlington, to Wilson and Son, 1822.
[127] NMS 1953.1312, Robert MacKay, Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 30 July 1822.

required to practice escorting the king. The letter soon conformed to the usual pattern, however, by requesting a further length of tartan to make a pair of trews.[128]

Conclusion

From individual commissions to the supply of entire regiments, William Wilson and Son provided tartan across the country and abroad, for whoever wanted it and for whatever reason. They altered existing patterns and created new ones, exploiting patriotic and popular feelings according to demand, and contributed to the use of tartan as part of a personal, military, and national identity.

The question remains, however, of how representative of the tartan industry William Wilson and Son was. The survival of their extensive archives is both a blessing and a curse. It provides an insight into the workings of the firm, showing a practical element to the literary and political rhetoric regarding woollen manufacture that was evident in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The records can be used to show the extent of their business networks and how these networks were maintained, and yet over-reliance on this archive can make the role of Wilson and Son in the tartan industry seem disproportionate. Wilson and Son were not the only tartan manufacturers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they had competitors in Scotland, England, and Ireland,[129] and they did not always get the contracts they were after. There is not enough surviving information on this competition, however, at least that is currently known about, to permit comparisons with the Bannockburn firm.

William Wilson and Son will always be remembered and acknowledged for their role in the dissemination of one of the world's most distinctive and recognisable fabrics. Additionally, their development from a proto-industrial, family-run business, to a small scale industry which dominated the local area, serves as an illuminating case study on Scottish woollen manufacture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[128] NMS 1953.1312, Robert MacKay, Edinburgh, to Wilson and Son, 1 August 1822.

[129] In 1820 Wilson and Son were told that the Highland regiments stationed in Ireland were getting their tartan from local manufacturers as it was not liable to extra charges of freight, insurance or land carriage. NMS 1953.1307, Alan Cameron, Lieut. General, 79th Cameron Highlanders, London, to Wilson and Son, 9 August 1820.

SECTION III:

SCOTLAND AND FASHION

It has been established what was being worn in eighteenth-century Scotland, and under what circumstances. The centrality of wool to Scottish culture and society has also been examined. A study of Scottish clothing and textile cultures would be remiss, however, if it did not consider the relationship between Scottish society and fashionable dress and textiles.

Fashionable items of clothing and fashionable fabrics have appeared fleetingly in the previous chapters. As a constantly evolving process, fashion can be seen in the reaction of the visit of George IV, in the adoption of accessories to adorn working dress, and in the use of clothing to make a political statement. The following section takes the topic of fashionable dress a step further by examining the marketing and promotion of fashionable dress in Scotland and, in turn, Scotland's influence on wider fashionable trends. Using newspapers and the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* the dissemination and reception of fashionable dress is explored. The study of fashionable dress enables greater discussion of the luxury debates of the eighteenth century, mentioned in previous chapters. The final chapter will discuss Scotland's primary contribution to the wider fashionable world. Tartan has become an integral part of modern Scottish identity but it can be difficult to separate the fabric from its historical, and often romanticised, connotations. This chapter will look at the rise of tartan as a fashionable commodity from the perspective of its aesthetic and practical qualities.

Chapter 8:
Fashionable Dress in Scotland

The definition of fashion has been one of the primary topics of debate among dress historians and fashion theorists. Its associations with novelty, change, and luxury have led many to assume that fashion, including fashionable dress, was the preserve of the social elite. Early twentieth-century opinion was that fashion was driven by imitation – that the lower social ranks sought to imitate the styles and habits of their social superiors.[1] Fashionable dress in this chapter has been defined as "self-conscious, avant-garde innovation in dress pursued by a social or cultural elite".[2] This definition must be used, however, along with the understanding that fashionable dress can also be seen in "the annual or seasonal manipulation of normative appearance" among both the elite and non-elite populations.[3] Combining these two definitions allows examination of how fashionable dress was promoted, advocated, and received among the Scottish population from the perspective of elite and non-elite populations.

The following chapter is divided into two sections, assessing how fashionable dress was marketed and promoted and how it was received in Scotland at the end of the eighteenth century. The first section uses newspaper advertisements and articles to determine how fashionable dress was promoted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, looking particularly at the influence of London. The importance of newspapers and advertisements in the rise of conspicuous consumption in the eighteenth century has long been recognised.[4] Edinburgh was the centre for the publishing of Scottish newspapers most of which were founded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, corresponding with the rise in newspaper production across Britain in general.[5] With the rise in newspapers came a rise in marketing and advertisement. The report for Edinburgh in the *Statistical*

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[1] Simmel, 'Fashion', p.541.
[2] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.12.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Neil McKendrick, 'George Packwood and the Commercialisation of Shaving: the Art of Eighteenth-Century Advertising', in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England,* (London, 1982), pp.146-194.
[5] Hoh-Cheung Mui and Lorna H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England,* (London, 1989), p.234; G.A. Cranfield, *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700-1760,* (Oxford, 1962).

Accounts of Scotland estimated that in 1760 there were approximately ten to twenty advertisements in the two newspapers that were circulated in the city. By 1792 the number of advertisements had grown to sixty to 100 in each of the six established papers.[6] Advertisements of merchants, clothiers, and retailers are examined from Edinburgh and provincial newspapers, highlighting the relationship between the centre and periphery in the dissemination of fashion.[7]

Newspapers, as well as other contemporary publications, are useful tools for historical study because of their apparent reflection of current social trends. However, these opinions and perspectives should not be accepted unquestioningly as accurate representations of social practices.[8] Newspapers, like many other written sources, were liable to exaggeration, distortion, and sensationalism.[9] Advertisements, in turn, represent blatant attempts at the manipulation of consumers.[10] Such attempts at manipulation, however, demonstrate what was considered the best way to attract customers, and what retailers and consumers considered to be important aspects in the acquisition of fashionable goods. These factors are central in understanding how the acquisition and use of fashionable dress was viewed and understood in eighteenth-century Scotland.

The second section looks at the reaction to fashionable dress using reports from the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, written and collated in the 1790s. The *Statistical Accounts* were the brainchild of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster. As part of his improving impulses, and his desire to collect "useful knowledge", Sinclair wanted to create a comprehensive account of the state of Scotland based on reports from the 936 parishes of the country.[11] Sinclair sent out questionnaires to the ministers of each parish, asking for information on population size, landscape, industry, agriculture, communications, and living standards. The reports were conditioned by the guidelines and questions set out by Sinclair, and the level of detail varied according to the interests of the minister who wrote each report. Having been

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[6] 'Account of 1791-1799', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Appendix/6/592, accessed 4 March 2010.
[7] The Edinburgh newspapers were the *Caledonian Mercury, The Scots Magazine,* and *Ruddiman's Weekly Mercury.* The provincial newspaper was the *Aberdeen Journal.*
[8] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.95.
[9] Ibid.
[10] McKendrick, 'George Packwood', p.148.
[11] Mitchison, 'Sinclair, Sir John'.

written by the parish ministers, these reports represent the partial and restricted view of an educated minority in Scottish society. Nevertheless, the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* provides a comprehensive insight into the lower levels of Scottish society and economy at the end of the eighteenth century. These reports will be used to determine the responses to the adoption and use of fashionable dress at a parochial level.

Fashionable Dress and Scotland

In eighteenth-century British society, urban centres were the dominant social, cultural, and economic hubs of their regional hinterlands.[12] The extent of a town's influence depended on its size – the more goods and services it could offer, the more attractive it was to a wider area.[13] Until 1821, Edinburgh was the largest urban centre in Scotland.[14] It was the centre of Scottish law and medicine and throughout the eighteenth century it was considered the focal point for Scottish fashionable trends. One contemporary even described the city as the "seat of fashion".[15] From a practical perspective, furthermore, its strong sea and land trade links ensured that it was able to receive goods and information regarding fashionable developments from elsewhere. By the end of the eighteenth century the physical improvements to the city contributed to its fashionable status. The building of the New Town attracted the social, cultural, and political elite of Scotland. Families of noble and gentle descent, as well as aspiring socialites, would buy or rent houses on the fashionably elegant squares and streets.[16] Where the elite went, merchants followed: Princes Street, originally designed as a residential street, was gradually taken over by merchants, traders, and shopkeepers.[17] North Bridge, South Bridge, and George Street,[18] along with the fashionable parks and gardens, became sites for fashionable display where

[12] Jon Stobart, Andrew Hann and Victoria Morgan, *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c.1630-1830,* (Abingdon, 2007), pp.2-4.
[13] Ibid., p.49.
[14] Whatley, *Scottish Society,* p.2.
[15] Robert Heron, *Observations Made in a Journey Through the Western Counties of Scotland; in the Autumn of 1792,* (Perth, 1793), ECCO, accessed 2 March 2010, vol. 2, p.488.
[16] Notable residents included Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Lord Henry Cockburn, Sir Walter Scott and the Grants of Rothiemurchus.
[17] W.H. Marwick, 'Shops in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club,* 30 (1959), pp.119-141, p.127.
[18] Ibid., p.128.

the social and fashionable elite promenaded to exhibit their superior sartorial taste (Fig. 8.1).

Fig. 8.1: Portrait of Robert Johnston and Miss Sibilla Hutton, a fashionable milliner, by John Kay, 1786. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Despite the riches and potential trends offered by the Edinburgh clothing and textile trade, it was London that was the undisputed fashionable centre, and the "shop window"[19] of Britain at large throughout the eighteenth century. London was the home of the court and the parliament, the centre for the elite social life, and acted as a magnet for traders, merchants, designers, and consumers.[20] Scots who went to London used the opportunity to add to their wardrobes either to take back to Scotland or to use in London society itself. Lady Grisell Baillie frequently went to London at the beginning of the eighteenth century due to her husband's post as Lord of the

[19] Neil McKendrick, 'The Consumer Revolution of Eighteenth-Century England', in McKendrick et al, *Birth of a Consumer Society,* pp.9-33, p.21.
[20] Bridget Clarke, 'Clothing the Family of an MP in the 1690s: An Analysis of the Day Book of Edward Clarke of Chipley, Somerset', *Costume,* 43 (2009), pp.38-54; Styles, *Dress of the People*, pp.167-178; McKendrick, 'George Packwood', p.153.

Treasury.[21] On these visits she regularly purchased fabrics and clothing for herself and for her relatives back in Scotland.[22] Later in the century James Boswell, conscious of the need to be well-dressed, added to his wardrobe to satisfy the social requirements of his stay in London.[23]

This perceived centrality of London was reflected in the advertisements placed in the Scottish newspapers. In 1771, Messrs William Stirling and Co., linen and cotton printers near Glasgow, advertised that their associate, Robert Moubray in the Lawnmarket in Edinburgh, was in possession of a book containing a "large collection of the most fashionable London patterns" which they could copy for their customers.[24] James Dewar, a draper in Edinburgh, announced his return from London in 1785 with an advertisement which promoted "A large and fashionable assortment of WOOLEN DRAPERY and MEN'S MERCERY GOODS, particularly adapted for the season."[25] In 1808, Miss Barron in Aberdeen informed her customers that she was in London where she was "selecting fashionable MILLINERY for the SUMMER" and two weeks later she announced her return to Scotland.[26] Contact or connection with London and its fashionable circles was an important selling point of these businesses. By promoting these connections the merchants and retailers were giving their customers the opportunity to be part of a complex network of fashionable trends which emanated from London. The emphasis was also on products that were up-to-date and new - central components of fashionable dress.

The importance of London as a fashionable centre can also be seen in the offers made by retailers to act as proxy shoppers for their customers. Shopping by proxy was a common practice in an age where travel over long distances was not always feasible or convenient. Family members, friends, and business acquaintances were

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[21] Barbara C. Munison, 'Baillie, Lady Grisell (1665-1746)', *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1061, accessed 4 March 2010.
[22] In June 1717 Lady Baillie purchased "a piece flowrd Indian Callico" for her sister, as well as cloth for a petticoat, ribbons, and garters. Scott-Moncreiff (ed.), *Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie,* p.53. See also Swain, 'Nightgown into Dressing Gown', p.15.
[23] Boswell wanted to get "rich laced clothes" to wear in the presence of the Duchess of Northumberland but had to settle for a "plain suit of pink colour, with a gold button." He also calculated what he would need to spend on his clothes to maintain a respectable appearance for London society. James Boswell, *Boswell's London Journal 1762-1763,* (London, 1950), pp.65, p.336.
[24] *Caledonian Mercury,* 22 May 1771, issue 7669, p.1.
[25] *Caledonian Mercury,* 8 January 1785, issue 9879, p.1.
[26] *Aberdeen Journal,* 1 June 1808, issue 3151, p.4.

called upon to procure items that were not available in the fashionable periphery. Highland gentry women in the early eighteenth century were particularly reliant on this method of acquiring goods as they rarely left the family estates.[27] As the century progressed and travel and communication became easier it has been argued that certain elements of the population relied less on proxy shopping.[28] Advertisements demonstrate, however, that even at the turn of the nineteenth century there was still an expectation that merchants and shopkeepers would act as intermediaries for the acquisition and introduction of fashionable goods from London. In 1806, for instance, hairdresser and perfumer Mr Gray of Aberdeen placed an advert announcing his intention to go to London "in order he may select a large assortment of the best *London made* WIGS".[29] Gray exhorted his customers to "favour him with their orders" with all the correct measurements necessary.[30]

Although it is now acknowledged that emulation of social superiors was not the only factor in the dissemination of fashionable dress,[31] merchants and retailers were not averse to using the prospect of emulation to attract custom. By associating a particular style or service with an elite or royal person it was expected that this style would then be widely adopted by those who could afford it, and adapted by those who could not. Although the effectiveness of these advertisements in circulating information about fashion throughout the general population is debateable,[32] the frequency with which such advertisements appeared merits attention. A forthcoming or recently passed royal event was often worked into an advertisement, implying that the merchandise on offer had been inspired by the tastes and fashions of high or royal society.[33] In 1800, Forbes and Chalmers of South Bridge in Edinburgh announced that they were expanding their mantua-making business to include millinery. M. Forbes had just returned from London where "She went recommended to Ladies of

[27] Nenadic, 'Consuming at a Distance', p.222.
[28] Ibid., pp.224-225. See also Nenadic, *Lairds and Luxury*, p.132.
[29] *Aberdeen Journal,* 2 July 1806, issue 3051, p.4.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Styles, 'Custom or Consumption?', pp.103-118.
[32] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.304. Amanda Vickery's study of gentlewomen in the north of England found that these women were not always susceptible to the latest court fashions and that many wanted to avoid looking "ridiculous for the sake of fashion." Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England,* (London, 1998), p.172.
[33] For English examples see E. Robinson, 'Eighteenth-Century Commerce and Fashion: Matthew Boulton's Marketing Techniques', *Economic History Review,* 16:1 (1963), pp.39-60; Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite,* p.168.

the First Distinction, and by their interest procured admission to the First Houses of Business who favoured her with their Newest Patterns".[34] In July 1807, the proprietor of the 'Repository of Fashion' in Aberdeen announced he was

> …returning from LONDON, with an Assortment of the most FASHIONABLE ARTICLES in his line, having had an opportunity of seeing the prevailing FASHIONS at the Opera and Theatre, and having also been present to see the Court Dresses on the Birthday.[35]

Others were keen to assert a more direct connection with royal patronage: Chalmers Izett, "HAT MAKER to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales", advertised hats for ladies, gentlemen and children "of the newest fashions" in 1795.[36] In 1808 Mrs Watkins & Co., milliners and dress makers to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, announced to "the Nobility and Gentry of Aberdeen, and its vicinity" that Mrs Watkins would be in Aberdeen in September. Once there she would produce a "variety of MILLINERY, DRESSES & CORSETS, with every other article of Fashion suitable for the OCTOBER MEETING."[37] The October Meeting was an important social event in northern Scotland supported by aristocratic patrons such as the Duchess of Gordon.[38] The week-long round of balls and assemblies in Inverness were obviously seen as a suitable setting for fashions that were fit for royalty. Mrs Watkins's advertisement raises the issue of the seasonal movements of the Scottish elite, a process which greatly aided the dissemination of fashionable styles. The Scottish elite were not static – the demands of court, society, and land meant that they would often divide their time between Edinburgh, London, and their country estates. The family of Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus moved between the Highlands, Edinburgh, and London, with each location requiring a different mode of dress. At Rothiemurchus extra clothes could be made out of the wool and lint produced on the estate,[39] while social engagements in Edinburgh generally required dresses from London.[40]

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[34] *Caledonian Mercury,* 9 January 1800, issue 12217, p.1.
[35] *Aberdeen Journal,* 1 July 1807, issue 3103, p.1.
[36] *Caledonian Mercury,* 22 January 1795, issue 11453, p.1.
[37] *Aberdeen Journal,* August 31 1808, issue 3164, p.3.
[38] Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady,* vol. 1. pp.334-349.
[39] Ibid., vol. 1, p.235.
[40] Ibid., vol. 2, p.10.

Although London was the most popular destination for the acquisition of fashionable items, not everybody could afford the stylish metropolitan goods.[41] Clothing and fabrics could be brought in from other centres, however, ensuring that there was still an element of novelty which was crucial to the fashion cycles. John Leighton, a woollen draper from Edinburgh, went to the "principle manufacturing towns in England" in 1779, to procure "an assortment of the most fashionable goods for the spring trade".[42] The term 'manufacturing towns' likely referred to centres such as Manchester and Leeds rather than London, but the emphasis was still on the fact that he had obtained the newest styles. Just as Edinburgh was the fashionable centre for the rest of Scotland, regions and parishes within Scotland relied on their own centres to act as disseminators of fashion.[43] In 1809 haberdasher and draper Charles Roy placed the following advert in the *Aberdeen Journal*:

> CHARLES ROY Most respectfully intimates to his Customers in HUNTLY and KEITH, that he is just returned from Aberdeen, where he selected a complete assortment of HABERDASHERY, LINEN and WOOLLEN DRAPERY Goods, of the very best Qualities and newest Fashion…C. Roy continues going to Keith the first Friday and Saturday of every month; where an assortment of the above Goods may be had, at the same prices as his shop in Huntly.[44]

It is likely that the goods Roy acquired from Aberdeen had, in turn, been obtained from larger centres of urban production and consumption such as Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, or even London. To his customers in Huntly and Keith, however, Aberdeen was the largest urban centre and subsequently the focal point for fashionable goods. If the customer could not reach these goods, Roy ensured that the goods could reach the customer.

Aside from the clothes and fabrics themselves, knowledge of fashionable trends was spread through articles, often taken from London newspapers, which detailed the current modes.[45] For those who could not afford to purchase goods directly from London, access to information on the current trends could be essential in maintaining

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[41] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* pp.53-54.
[42] *Ruddiman's Weekly Mercury,* 13 January 1779, vol. 4, p.23.
[43] Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption,* p.33.
[44] *Aberdeen Journal,* 12 July 1809, issue 3209, p.4.
[45] These articles were the precursors to the fashion magazines of the later eighteenth century, discussed further in the following chapter.

the semblance of a fashionable appearance.[46] In an early example, a report written to the *Scots Magazine* in 1740 described the London fashions in intricate detail:

> The cut of our sleeves varies not much from last year in general; though some Gentlemen strive to introduce a *small dog's ear,* which I do not think genteel. Our *hat brim's increase*, and the *crowns deepen* a little; to suit a camp, I believe; for we fall most amazingly into warlike apparel, a cockade being become as essential a part of dress as a periwig.[47]

The military references were a precursor to the adoption of military styles later in the century – a trend which was influenced by the prominent presence of men in uniform.[48] According to this report, fashions were less settled for women but the general advice that sack dresses were appropriate for "hiding ANY imperfection of the shape" was one that would have had resonance with many women.[49] As the publications of newspapers increased these reports were published monthly rather than by season. These articles were not accompanied with any images, but the information was still important, providing examples of what type of outfit should be worn under what circumstances. In 1777, the *Caledonian Mercury* reported that women's fashions for January had been based on a closed gown with a train coming from the waist, worn over a French hoop shaped like a bell.[50] Similar details appeared in newspapers nearly fifty years later, in 1822 a report in July related what styles were in vogue in London for morning and evening dresses, as well as "General Observations on Fashion and Dress".[51]

Information on fashionable dress could also be gleaned from the satirical and social commentary articles in newspapers.[52] As with the fashion reports these commentaries were often recycled from English newspapers. In February 1740, a satirical letter was published in the *Scots Magazine* giving advice to a young lady about to enter society. In order to become "settled in the world" (married) the lady's "first and principal care then, must be your dress. I don't mean always to be clean and neat; this an exact and active temper would naturally lend you to; but that you

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[46] Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter*, p.180.
[47] *Scots Magazine,* May 1740, vol. 2, p.211.
[48] Colley, *Britons,* pp.184, 288; Powell, *Politics of Consumption,* p.74.
[49] *Scots Magazine,* May 1740, vol. 2, p.211.
[50] *Caledonian Mercury,* 8 February 1777, issue 8644, p.2.
[51] *Caledonian Mercury,* 15 July 1822, issue 15737, p.4.
[52] Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite,* p.172.

always dress to the height of fashion." If tippets were to be worn they should be "as large as your neck will hold", patches and gum-flowers were essential, as well as a hoop "of exceeding large size". Above all, stays should be worn so tight that half a yard of material will go round the waist, and to reach this ideal size, "be sure to have a strict guard upon your eating, allowing yourself no more in four and twenty hours than what you calculate to the bulk of an egg."[53] Men's relationship to fashion was also commented on:

> A coat is to be but a foot from his waist,
> And fix'd there as tight as if it was lac'd.
> In his pocket a housewife and pincushion place,
> Not forgetting a glass to admire his fine face.[54]

Most significantly, mockery was made of the fact that the adoption of extreme fashions was a recognised requirement for being part of high society and that the overall effect could border on the ridiculous: "Let your talk, like your dress, be fantastic and odd, / And you'll shine in the Mall; 'tis Taste a la mode."[55] Through mocking these trends, the satirical commentaries contributed to the reader's knowledge of fashion.[56] For the satire to have its intended effect it needed to have an element of truth or, at the very least, a point of recognition. As such it can be assumed that even if Scots were not wearing the most fashionable clothes, a section of the population was aware of the foibles of fashionable styles that existed elsewhere.

The influence of London and its fashion was inescapable in the Scottish press in the late eighteenth century. These multiple references to London and its fashionable characteristics were merely a new manifestation, however, of what had been a continuous process of fashionable exchange between the two capital cities. This had been occurring since at least the early seventeenth century with the removal of the Scottish court following the union of the crowns. Although eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scottish dress did have its own distinct elements,[57] the newspaper advertisements show that these elements were not considered necessary or suitable to

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[53] *Scots Magazine,* February 1740, vol. 2, p.72; For discussion of other reactions to the extreme hoop sizes and shapes see Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality,* p.99.
[54] *Scots Magazine,* September 1753, vol. 15, p.459.
[55] *Scots Magazine,* July 1754, vol. 16, p.337. A similar poem was published a year earlier in the *Scots Magazine,* September 1753, vol. 15, p.458.
[56] Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite,* p.172.
[57] See Chapters 1 and 2.

the display of fashionable dress. To be 'in fashion' required information from, contacts with, and preferably goods from, areas beyond the Scottish border, in particular from London.

Reactions to Fashionable Dress in *The Statistical Accounts*

Attitudes to fashionable dress in the eighteenth century were intertwined with the luxury debates of the period.[58] There was a noticeable tension between the perceived economic benefits of increased consumption and demand which fashionable dress contributed to, versus a fear for the moral state of a population which desired such items.[59] The reports written for the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland* in the last decade of the eighteenth century represent a microcosm of this rhetoric, particularly with regards to opinions on fashionable dress.

A corollary of the luxury debates was based on the prevailing notion that dress was essential in marking social disparity, one of the main foundations of early modern society. Status and character were judged on the outer appearance of the individual in question. Those that purposefully subverted these standards risked upsetting the social order.[60] Subsequently concern was expressed when non-elites were seen in fashionable dress – a concern that was not original to the eighteenth century, and was not to be the last time such fears were articulated.[61] Daniel Defoe commented on English women in the 1720s that it was hard "sometimes to know the Chamber-Maid from her Mistress; or my Lady's Chief –Woman from one of my Lady's daughters".[62] Scottish servants were subjected to similar criticism seventy years later. According to the minister of Garunnock "It gives general disgust…when the dress is unsuitable to the station. There is sometimes a contention for pre-eminence in gaudy shew, which is severely censured, especially when the maid servant cannot be distinguished from the mistress."[63]

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[58] See Chapter 5.
[59] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure,* p.19.
[60] Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality,* pp.95-96.
[61] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* pp.94-95.
[62] Daniel Defoe, *The Behaviour of Servants in England Inquired Into. With a Proposal Containing Such Heads or Constitutions as Would Effectually Answer This Great End, and Bring Servants of Every Class to a Just Regulation,* (London, [1726]), ECCO, accessed 11 September 2009, p.15; Styles, *Dress of the People*, pp.19-20.
[63] Rev. James Robertson, 'Parish of Garunnock', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link.1791-99/Stirling/Garunnock/18/121/, accessed 10 September 2009.

Some of the ministers who wrote the reports for the *Statistical Accounts* were sympathetic to these trends noting that the "general desire to promote external decorations" served to "humanize the passions, soften the features, and to add ease and sprightliness to the whole form". This particular report continued, however:

> …the danger is, that if this is extended in any degree beyond the proper line, it will introduce arrogance, dissimulation and covetousness, and a settled attempt for all the ties of subordination (wisely appointed by providence) which must ever be preserved; but when broken, will prove no less fatal to the peace and happiness of society, than any other distemper, that could possibly be named…[64]

The detrimental social impacts of these trends were of great concern to the ministers. The minister of Kirknewton near Edinburgh was worried that as people were so concerned with "finery", they would "enter into a married state, with their whole substance upon their back". If they had the misfortune to fall sick or lose work without any financial security, they immediately sank "into the depth of poverty."[65] This contrasts with the idea that clothing could act as a form of currency in dire financial circumstances, a common practice in eighteenth-century England.[66] Other ministers expressed more unusual concerns over the use of fashionable dress. The minister of the parish of Cluny in Aberdeen felt that the increased attention that young men and women were paying to dress resulted in delayed marriages. As they were more interested in obtaining "English broad cloth" or "Manchester cotton" and "poplins, muslins, lawns and ribbons", little was being put aside for the future marital home.[67] In a suggestion that no doubt pleased Sir John Sinclair, the minister wanted the British Wool Society to encourage the breeding of sheep and the manufacturing of wool within the parish. This would keep money in the area and ensure that the "human species also be multiplied."[68]

In eighteenth-century England, the dissemination of fashionable dress down the social hierarchy was not always a direct copy of the fashion seen among the social elite. Instead, a "process of substitution" was adopted whereby adornments and

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[64] Rev. John Brymer, 'Parish of Marykirk', Kincardine, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Kincardine/Marykirk/18/637-638, accessed 2 September 2009.
[65] Rev. William Cameron, 'Parish of Kirknewton', Edinburgh, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Kirknewton/9/415, accessed 3 July 2010.
[66] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.59.
[67] Rev. Robert Michie, 'Parish of Cluny', Aberdeen, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Aberdeen/Cluny/10/245, accessed 2 September 2009.
[68] Ibid.

ornaments were changed to keep up with the trends, rather than changing the whole outfit.[69] Just as ruffles and cravats were a cheap way to maintain a respectable working image, this was a cheaper and more economical process for those of limited financial means to engage in fashionable dress. The initial outlay for the item was less than purchasing a foundation garment such as a jacket or gown, and it required less effort and means for maintaining a clean and respectable appearance.[70] From the descriptions in the *Statistical Accounts* it is apparent that the working and poorer elements of the Scottish population were following similar practices. The female servants in the parishes of Glenorchy and Inishail in Argyle were berated by their minister for spending their earnings on "gewgaws of vanity and fashion".[71] The term 'gewgaw' referred to a "gaudy trifle, plaything, or ornament"[72] and implied that the foundation garments were not fashionable, but that the accessories gave the overall appearance a fashionable air. In a further example, the minister of Crieff specifically dated the appearance of ribbons on female servants to around 1780 and expressed concern that as a result less money was available for the needy in the parish.[73] Frequent references were made to the fact that caps and cloaks were replacing the traditional kerchiefs and plaids.[74]

Men's dress was also under scrutiny. The minister of Symington in Ayrshire expressed concern for the bonnet manufacturers of Kilmarnock, who were losing business due to the increased preference among "men and boys of all ranks" for hats worn at church rather than the traditional bonnets.[75] Considerably more working men were also in possession of watches at the end of the eighteenth century compared with previous generations. The minister of Whithorn, in the county of

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[69] Lemire, *Dress, Culture and Commerce,* p.124.
[70] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.82; Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.79.
[71] Rev. Joseph MacIntyre, 'United Parishes of Glenorchy and Inishail', Argyle, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Argyle/Glenorchy%20and%20Inishail/13/350, accessed 2 September 2009.
[72] *Oxford English Dictionary,* (1989), online edition, www.oed.com.
[73] Rev. Robert Stirling, 'Parish of Crieff', Perth, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/Crieff/9/600, accessed 2 September 2009. The views expressed by the Scottish ministers were not as extreme as other religious groups in Britain, particularly the Quakers and Methodists. Ribeiro, *Dress and Morality,* p.103.
[74] Rev. William Auld, 'Parish of Machlin [Mauchline]', Ayrshire, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/linl/1791-99/Ayshire/Mauchline/2/114, accessed 4 March 2010.
[75] Rev. William Logan, 'Parish of Symington', Ayrshire, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Symington/5/403-404, accessed 2 September 2009. Compare with Mandeville, 'Remark L', *Fable of the Bees,* pp.107-123.

Wigton on the west coast of Scotland, noted that by the end of the eighteenth century watches were "near as common as breeches."[76] According to several reports, servants, labourers, and farmers were acquiring watches. These occupations did not necessarily require a precise sense of time and it is likely that the acquisition and wearing of watches was an assertion of status and position rather than a response to a pressing demand for accurate time keeping.[77] The ownership of a watch was an opportunity for sartorial display. The relative prominence of this item at the end of the eighteenth century also shows the increase in disposable income among the labouring population.

Opinions on changing fashions referred to fabrics as well. According to the ministers, new and different fabrics were replacing the domestically produced woollens and linens,[78] a trend that was particularly noticeable in the Lowland parishes. In Mid-Calder near Edinburgh the women were wearing "printed or other cotton gowns" along with cotton stockings and handkerchiefs made of muslin and the men were wearing "coats of English broad cloth, [and] striped or white waistcoats".[79] The inhabitants of Symington in Ayrshire had abandoned clothing made "of their mother's spinning" and instead dressed in "English broad cloths, fashionable cotton stripes, and fine linen."[80] On the remote Hebridean island of Harris, in contrast, the lower ranks of the population were still manufacturing coarse, "but decent", woollen cloth for their own clothes.[81] The economic and industrial developments in textile manufacturing meant that alternatives to the expensive decorated silks of the elites were increasingly available.[82] The relative ease with which cotton garments could be cared for compared with expensive silks, and even compared with woollen garments, contributed to their popularity.[83] Cotton textiles represented part of the "new luxury" of the eighteenth century, where the focus was

[76] Isaac Davidson, 'Parish of Whithorn', Wigton, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Wigton/Whithorn/16/296, accessed 4 March 2010.
[77] Styles, *Dress of the People,* pp.101-107.
[78] This was a recognised trend in England. Lemire, *Fashion's Favourite*.
[79] Rev. James Wilson, 'Parish of Mid-Calder', Edinburgh, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Calder%20Mid/14/364, accessed 2 September 2009.
[80] Logan, 'Symington', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Symington/5/404, accessed 2 September 2009.
[81] Rev. John MacLeod, 'Parish of Harris', Inverness, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/linl/1791-99/Inverness/Harris/10/358, accessed 3 July 2010.
[82] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.109.
[83] Ibid., p.77.

on "convenience and enjoyment", rather than the excesses of "old luxury" associated with the social elites earlier in the century.[84] Silks, however, were also making an appearance in Scottish dress, particularly in the use of bonnets and cloaks. The minister of Symington in Ayrshire wrote eloquently: "*O tempore! O mores!* the silk worms of the East must be pillaged, to deck the heads and shoulders of our milk maids."[85] Cotton may have been viewed as a convenient luxury but there was still a demand for 'old luxury' and its associations of status and wealth.

Most reports described the changes and developments to dress with a strong sense of nostalgia, lamenting a golden age where a man wore his wife's handiwork with pride and young women saved their earnings for their future family. These themes, as seen, were common in eighteenth-century poetry, such as in Alexander Ross's 'Wooed and Married and A''.[86] Although in the minority, some ministers did see the changes in a positive light. The report from Dron in Perth stated:

> A great change has of late taken with respect to dress. The coarse garb of the lower class of the people, which satisfied their plain and homely predecessors, is exchanged for showy and expensive garments. On every public occasion they exhibit an appearance of neatness and elegance, which a few years ago would have been considered as highly extravagant. As this is an agreeable object in itself, when kept within proper bounds; so it affords a proof of the increased riches of the country, and the growing taste of the people.[87]

Although this is one of the more positive reports, a number of tensions were still evident in the warning against excessive indulgence versus the desire for the country to improve its wealth and general prosperity. Even fewer were the parishes which purposefully rejected the new and improved textiles and their fashionable associations. With a note of pride creeping into the report, the minister of Barrie in Forfar wrote:

> Leeds, Manchester, Spitalfields, unite to furnish the apparel of those who were formerly contented with clothing wholly manufactured on the north side of the Tweed. The persons, however, of this description are not numerous. The bulk of the people are easily distinguished from those of the surrounding parishes, by a rejection of

[84] Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure,* p.44.
[85] Logan, 'Symington', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Symington/5/404.
[86] See Chapter 5.
[87] Rev. David Dow, 'Parish of Dron', Perth, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Perth/Dron/9/478, accessed 5 March 2007.

> the fopperies of dress, and a becoming attachment to articles made in their own families.[88]

The overall tone of the *Statistical Accounts* was that, for good or for bad, the Scottish population were incorporating elements of fashionable dress into their wardrobes and adapting their normative appearance.[89] This does not mean to say, however, that the entire labouring population was wearing these fashionable clothes in everyday situations. As with eighteenth-century England, patterns of customary consumption need to be taken into consideration, where the use of fashionable items of clothing among non-elites was dictated by the customary and festive calendar.[90] It was usual for the working and labouring English population of the eighteenth century to own at least two sets of clothing – one for everyday working, the other for Sundays, fairs, and holidays.[91] The inventories examined in Chapters 2 and 3 showed that similar patterns of ownership occurred in Scotland, and the *Statistical Accounts* indicate that these outfits served comparable purposes. Smart, fashionable dress was reserved for special occasions such as fairs, weddings, and church attendance. The minister for Wick in Caithness noted that his parishioners were not sartorially satisfied unless they had "good English cloth, muslin gowns, white stockings, silk ribbands, etc. particularly at fairs, weddings, and other public appearances."[92] Women of the parishes of Houston and Killallan appeared "like an assembly of well dressed and fashionable ladies" when they went to church on Sundays.[93] The minister of Marytown in Forfar noted that the "country lass makes her appearance at church, or a wedding, dressed in the manufactures of Manchester, Glasgow and Paisley."[94] Some women went even further and to the chagrin of the observer, saved to "purchase a silk gown to be married in".[95]

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[88] Rev. David Sim, 'Parish of Barrie', Forfar, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Forfar/Barrie/4/246, accessed 5 March 2007.
[89] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.12.
[90] Styles, 'Custom or Consumption?' pp.103-118.
[91] Styles, *Dress of the People,* pp.305-315.
[92] Rev. William Sutherland, 'Parish of Wick', Caithness, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Caithness/Wick/10/29, accessed 5 March 2007.
[93] Rev. John Monteath, 'United Parishes of Houston and Killallan', Renfrew, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Renfrew/Houston%20and%20Killallan/1/326, accessed 5 March 2007.
[94] Rev. James Wilson, 'Parish of Marytown', Forfar, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Forfar/Marytown/9/404, accessed 5 March 2007.
[95] Anon., 'Parish of Dunoon', Argyle, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Argyle/Dunoon%20and%20Kilmun/2/390, accessed 5 March 2007.

When not in church or on holiday, clothing was more likely to be similar to those of previous generations and comparable with the working dress – made of durable and cheap material and adapted for a labouring lifestyle. The population of Mid-Calder near Edinburgh wore practical, hardwearing clothing on their "days of labour" but were "in dress" for special occasions.[96] This parish would not have been unusual in this matter. Fashionable clothes and accessories were employed for social and customary, rather than everyday, occasions and would have helped maintain a respectable image and/or assert social status. This use of fashionable dress played a similar role to the objectives of fashionable trends worn by the social elite.[97]

Fashionable dress in the form of accessories, garments, and textiles was part of eighteenth-century Scottish society, and its use was evident in parishes both Highland and Lowland, rural and urban. The reports of the *Statistical Accounts* also indicate how and why, in the opinion of the ministers, these styles were introduced into the different parishes. The minister of Calder near Inverness, for instance, attributed the increased luxury in dress to the high wages at the end of the century.[98] For the majority of the population information on fashionable dress would have been obtained from contact with or observation of other people. Travelling salesmen and chapmen brought fabrics, accessories, and information to remote areas, while the local elite and more fashion forward members of the general population set examples to follow.[99] The report on the parish of Mid-Calder near Edinburgh noted that the social elite of the area brought the fashions of London to the parish.[100] The spread of fashionable dress through the movement of people could not have occurred without an improvement in transport and communication. The parish of Dunlop in Ayrshire was well served by roads by the time the *Statistical Accounts* were created. These roads provided "easy access to every part of the parish, and likewise to the country and town around it." Resulting from this, according to the minister, was a "polish

[96] Wilson, 'Mid-Calder', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Calder%20Mid/14/364.
[97] Stobart et al, *Spaces of Consumption,* p.162.
[98] Rev. Alexander Grant, 'Parish of Calder', Inverness, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/Calder/4/355, accessed 10 March 2007.
[99] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.304.
[100] Wilson, 'Mid-Calder', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Calder%20Mid/14/364.

and urbanity" and a "fondness for dress" on public occasions.[101] Men on the islands of Eigg, Rum, and Canna had shown an increased preference for hats, short jackets, and long trousers rather than the bonnets, short coats, and philabegs. These changes were attributed to the contact made with the "seafaring people, who frequented these isles", and to the Highlanders who had "served in the last American War."[102] The dress of the women on these islands was affected by their seasonal migration for work. During the harvest season they would travel to the Lowlands. With the money they earned they would "dress themselves after the low country fashion" which, according to the report, was their only motivation to go in the first place. These imported fashions raised the demand within the communities of the isles so that the merchants "were encouraged to import like articles."[103]

Changes to fashion can also be attributed to political influences and in this Scotland had a unique circumstance - the banning of tartan and Highland dress following the failure of the 1745 Jacobite rebellion. Although arrests were made in the first decade or so after the ban was passed, enforcement was piecemeal and not wholly effective. According to some reports, however, the proscription appears to have had a comprehensive effect. The minister of Kincardine in Ross and Cromarty felt the act prevented the women from manufacturing "fine, beautiful and durable tartan" and so they resorted to manufacturing woollen cloth of the "coarsest and clumsiest manner" in an effort to appear "like the neighbouring Lowlanders".[104] The parishes of Moy and Dalarossie, however, in the county of Inverness had been unaffected, with the "tartan plaid and kilt, and the other parts of dress peculiar to the Highlanders" still being in general use at the time of writing of the report.[105] Other parishes noted social distinctions between the use of Highland dress and 'fashionable' clothing. In Kilmuir, again in the county of Inverness, it was recorded that:

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[101] Rev. Thomas Brisbane, 'Parish of Dunlop', Ayrshire, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ayrshire/Dunlop/9/535, accessed 5 March 2007.
[102] Rev. Donald McLean, 'Parish of Small Isles', Inverness, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/Small%20Isles/17/293, accessed 5 March 2007.
[103] McLean, 'Small Isles', OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/Small%20Isles/17/294.
[104] Rev. Andrew Gallie, 'Parish of Kincardine', Ross and Cromarty, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Ross%20an%20Cromarty/Kincardine/3/510, accessed 5 March 2007.
[105] Rev. William McBean, 'United Parishes of Moy and Dalarossie', Inverness, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/Moy%20and%20Dalarossie/8/510, accessed 5 March 2007.

> Fifty years ago, the old Highland dress universally prevailed. – Hats, longcoats, boots, spurs, watches etc. were rare. Now, every gentleman wears them; and persons of substance, of both sexes, dress as fashionably, and live in a stile as elegant, as those of the same rank in the southern parts of Scotland. The common people, in general, still wear the Highland garb, and adhere more closely to ancient customs and manners than their superiors.[106]

The ability to conform to both legal restrictions and to the requirements of fashionable dress depended on the social and financial circumstances of the wearer. Unlike the parishes discussed above a clear distinction was made between fashionable dress and customary dress. Most intriguing, however, is the report from the minister of Portree on the Isle of Skye. There, the minister wrote, "the philibeg is rarely wore, except in summer and on Sundays".[107] In contrast with the inhabitants of Kilmuir, in Portree Highland dress crossed the boundaries between custom and fashion. As a traditional form of dress the Highland garb was being worn on customary occasions, which were seen by other parishes as opportunities for fashionable display.

Conclusion

The advertisements and articles of the Scottish press show that the methods of disseminating fashion in Scotland were very similar to those that were employed elsewhere in both England and in Europe.[108] When it comes to the reception of fashionable dress among the general population, however, Scotland was subject to particular nuances. Regional disparities between the Highlands and Lowlands and rural and urban areas affected the accessibility, procurement, and reception of fashionable dress by the general population. The reports of the *Statistical Accounts*, however, show that even with these disparities, the social elite of Scotland still viewed the adoption of fashionable dress among the non-elites with a sense of trepidation and wariness.

The influence of London on Scottish fashionable dress was evident. Although regional hierarchies meant the nearest urban centre could provide varying degrees of

[106] Rev. Donald Martin, 'Parish of Kilmuir', Inverness, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/Kilmuir/2/557, accessed 5 March 2007.
[107] Alexander Campbell, 'Parish of Portree', Inverness, OSA, http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Inverness/Porttree/16/161, accessed 5 March 2007.
[108] McKendrick, 'George Packwood'.

fashionable goods, ultimately it was the trends and items from London that were the most desirable. The dissemination of fashionable dress was not entirely a one-way exchange, however, and the following chapter examines Scotland's pre-eminent contribution to fashionable dress – tartan.

Chapter 9:

Tartan as a Fashionable Material c.1790-1830

Tartan is an iconic symbol of modern Scottish identity. Its history has not been simple, however. As a result of the turbulent events of the eighteenth century - its association with Jacobitism, the proscription, and its subsequent romanticisation - it has been subject to many varied interpretations. The ambiguity of tartan has been perpetuated by visual, literary, and historical representations of the material. The use of tartan in portraiture, for instance, can be either an intentional or accidental motif dependent on the background and whims of the sitter, and on the skill and interpretation of the artist.[1] This issue is particularly pertinent when considering tartan portraits created after the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, when tartan was associated with both revolution and loyalty. In the nineteenth century, furthermore, tartan was often used in literature as an allusion to an idealised, romanticised Scotland, juxtaposed with an image of a primitive, and sometimes backward, society. An old Highlander in Walter Scott's *Waverley* was described as a "relic of primitive simplicity", wearing "no dress but what his estate afforded" made of tartan dyed "from the herbs and lichens of the hills around him."[2] This romanticisation was also evident in the efforts of antiquarians who collected tartan fragments, amongst other things, with the aim, as they saw it, of preserving a fading culture and heritage.

These connotations and associations are important to the history of tartan as a cultural symbol, and as will be shown below, they cannot be completely ignored. Nevertheless, too much focus on these associations can obscure the role of tartan as a basic commodity which became an important element of fashionable dress in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Tartan can be understood as both a fabric and as pattern. As a fabric it is a traditional woollen material associated with early modern Scottish society and particularly the Highlands. The tightly woven woollen fabric offered protection and warmth to the wearer.[3] As a pattern it can appear in different types of materials, such as silk, and can be incorporated into different styles

[1] Nicholson, 'From Ramsay's *Flora MacDonald'*, p.147.
[2] Walter Scott, *Waverley,* (Edinburgh, 1901), p.234.
[3] James Scarlett, 'Tartan: the Highland Cloth and Highland Art Form', in Butt and Ponting (eds.), *Scottish Textile History,* pp.65-77, p.71.

of dress other than the traditional uses associated with it.[4] This distinction is important as it highlights the fact that tartan does not have to be studied as a relic of a romanticised or idealised past. Its adoption and use could be for simple practical and aesthetic purposes.[5] This is a straightforward point that is often ignored in studies of tartan. Contemplated from this perspective, the turn of the nineteenth century marks a watershed in the use of tartan. At this point it moved from being a fabric with inherent practical qualities, to being a pattern incorporated into a variety of different fabrics and a variety of uses. It was during this period that the lines between the function and fashion of tartan were irrevocably blurred.[6]

The rise of tartan as a fashionable material will be assessed from two different perspectives using two types of sources: fashion manuals and newspaper advertisements, both of which increased in number in the period under discussion. In the first section, London fashion manuals are used to examine when and how tartan became a component of fashionable dress, assessing its rise in popularity within the context of other fashion trends outside Scotland. In the second section, advertisements from Scottish newspapers are used to show how tartan was marketed as a fashionable item, from a practical and an aesthetic point of view. Each section provides examples of the types of garments that tartan was being used for, and an idea of the circumstances in which these garments were being worn.

Fashion manuals have been an important source for dress historians since the early twentieth century.[7] They were published regularly from the 1770s onwards, providing detailed information about changing fashions.[8] Their illustrations and descriptions of dress have even been used to study the history of manners, looking at the use of garments and furnishings in the wider social, cultural, and ideological context.[9] They provided readers with information on the current fashions which could be copied or adapted according to means and taste. Initially fashion manuals were primarily produced in England and France and so an examination of the fashions they recommended provides an excellent opportunity for determining how

[4] Cheape, *Tartan*, p.17; Faiers, *Tartan*, p.75.
[5] Scarlett, 'Tartan: the Highland Cloth', p.66.
[6] Ibid., pp.67-68.
[7] Cumming, *Understanding Fashion History,* p.63.
[8] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.12.
[9] Roche, *Culture of Clothing,* pp.15-16.

tartan was received outside Scotland. One significant note of caution to be observed, however, when using fashion manuals to examine historical dress is the fact that they were intended to be a form of "commercial propaganda".[10] The images and descriptions of these outfits were idealised depictions, designed to appeal and to attract consumers, rather than being actual fashions.[11] The outfits, accessories, and patterns that were illustrated and described, furthermore, were often the creation of dressmakers and retailers who would benefit from an increased popularity of a certain style that they could provide. The fashions described in *La Belle Assemblee*, for instance, were created by Mary Bell of Upper King Street in London, from whom the discerning reader could conveniently obtain these current trends.[12]

A further issue that needs to be considered when studying fashion manuals is their accessibility to the general population. The manuals were aimed at people with disposable income, and those whose social life required multiple changes of clothes within a single day. Equally, however, it can be argued that with the rising literacy rates of the eighteenth century and the increased interest in consumption and fashion, that the audience of the fashion manuals was not limited to the elite.[13] What is important here is not the level of readership or even whether the fashions described were popular or not. Rather, it is the perception and ideas of fashionable dress, which these images and descriptions represented, that is significant. The fact that tartan did appear in various forms in these publications demonstrates that attempts were made to incorporate it into the dress of the fashionable elite.

The second section of the chapter looks at how tartan was marketed within Scotland. This is done using newspaper advertisements which show how tartan as a fabric and as a pattern was promoted, and used, at the turn of the nineteenth century. As with the fashion manuals, these advertisements were designed to catch the eye and appeal to the customer. Unlike the fashion manuals, however, they also had to be informative and factual, providing information about the goods and services available. This section will show the kinds of garments tartan was being used for, enabling comparisons to be drawn with the idealised images of the fashion manuals.

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[10] Neil McKendrick, 'The Commercialization of Fashion', in McKendrick et al, *Birth of a Consumer Society,* pp.34-99, p.48; Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.136.
[11] Vickery, *Gentleman's Daughter,* p.172.
[12] McKendrick, 'Commercialization of Fashion', p.48.
[13] Roche, *Culture of Clothing*, p.486.

Tartan in Fashion Manuals

Two fashion manuals are discussed here: *A Gallery of Fashion*, and *La Belle Assemblee,* both of which were published in London. *A Gallery of Fashion* ran from 1794 until 1802, with illustrations created by Niklaus Heideloff, a German engraver. This publication was only available by subscription at a price of three guineas a year, effectively excluding itself from a significant proportion of the population.[14] It was a high quality publication that claimed to promote real and existing outfits that had been seen on fashionable women, endorsing the "most fashionable and elegant Dresses in vogue".[15] *La Belle Assemblee*, which was first published in 1806 and cost only half a crown per monthly edition, had a wider readership.[16] This publication suggested outfits to readers that were sometimes based on actual garments but, as noted, were more often the product of the imagination of publishers, retailers, and dressmakers.[17] Although both manuals were published in London they can each be connected to the Scottish market. The list of subscribers to the *Gallery of Fashion* contained names of people from Edinburgh and Dundee,[18] while *La Belle Assemblee* was advertised in Scottish newspapers from 1806 onwards.[19]

The incorporation of tartan into fashionable circles was encouraged by two main factors. Firstly, the banning of tartan after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 ensured that its status was enhanced and it was given greater semiotic meaning than it had been earlier in the century. This was reflected in the popularity of tartan and Highland dress as a masquerade outfit from the late 1740s onwards.[20] Second, and contingent on the first point, was the rise of the Highland regiments in the later eighteenth century. Until 1782 these regiments were the only places a Scotsman was legally allowed to wear Highland dress and tartan. The visibility of these regiments at the turn of the nineteenth century ensured that both tartan and Highland dress remained in the public consciousness.

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[14] McKendrick, 'Commercialization of Fashion', p.48.
[15] *A Gallery of Fashion,* (London, 1794-1795), vol. 1, p.1.
[16] *Aberdeen Journal,* 12 March 1806, issue 3035, p.2; McKendrick, 'Commercialization of Fashion', p.48.
[17] Ibid.
[18] *Gallery of Fashion,* (1795, 1796), vols. 2 and 3.
[19] *Caledonian Mercury,* 22 February 1806, issue 13124, p.1; *Aberdeen Journal,* 12 March 1806, issue 3035, p.2.
[20] Aileen Ribeiro, *The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730-1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture,* (London, 1984), p.295.

The influence of the Highland regiments on fashionable dress can be seen in a bonnet of "Duncan velvet", illustrated in *A Gallery of Fashion* in 1797 (Fig. 9.1 – left figure). This was closely modelled on the shape of the bonnet later known as the Glengarry bonnet worn by many of the Highland regiments.[21] Duncan velvet was also used as trimming round the hem and belt of a white muslin gown.[22] There was also a nautical connection with this outfit. The Duncan velvet was a reference to Viscount Adam Duncan, originally from Dundee, who had distinguished himself as commander of the fleet against the Dutch at the Battle of Camperdown in October 1797. Duncan was a national hero after the victory and among the accolades he received was having a tartan named after him.[23] As the ensemble promoted by the *Gallery of Fashion* appeared just two months after the battle, it is not unreasonable to assume that the Duncan chintz and velvet was the same Duncan tartan.

Fig. 9.1: Morning dresses with Duncan velvet and Duncan chintz, *A Gallery of Fashion,* December 1797. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

[21] *Gallery of Fashion,* December 1797, vol. 4.
[22] Ibid.
[23] P.K. Crimmin, 'Duncan, Adam, Viscount Duncan (1731-1804)', *ODNB,* http:://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8211, accessed 6 July 2010.

The influence of the uniforms of Highland regiments on women's fashionable dress was part of a wider sartorial trend. The adoption of military styles, such as epaulettes and braids, into women's fashions was seen as both a patriotic and stylish gesture while Britain was at war with France (Fig. 9.2).[24] Prior to the Battle of Camperdown in 1797, the *Gallery of Fashion* had paid tribute to other naval victories of the 1790s, by recommending dresses which were accessorised with gold anchors on blue ribbons.[25] In October 1798, furthermore, a promenade outfit in *Gallery of Fashion* included a black beaver hat *a la militaire* (Fig. 9.3). This "Military habit" was made of scarlet cloth with blue facings, gilt buttons, and gold epaulettes – all of which could be seen on various contemporary regiments.[26] In a specifically Scottish example, Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus recalled an outfit worn by her mother at an inspection of a volunteer regiment raised by Elizabeth's father. The tartan petticoat, laced red jacket, and feathered bonnet worn by Lady Grant, was modelled on the uniform of the regiment.[27]

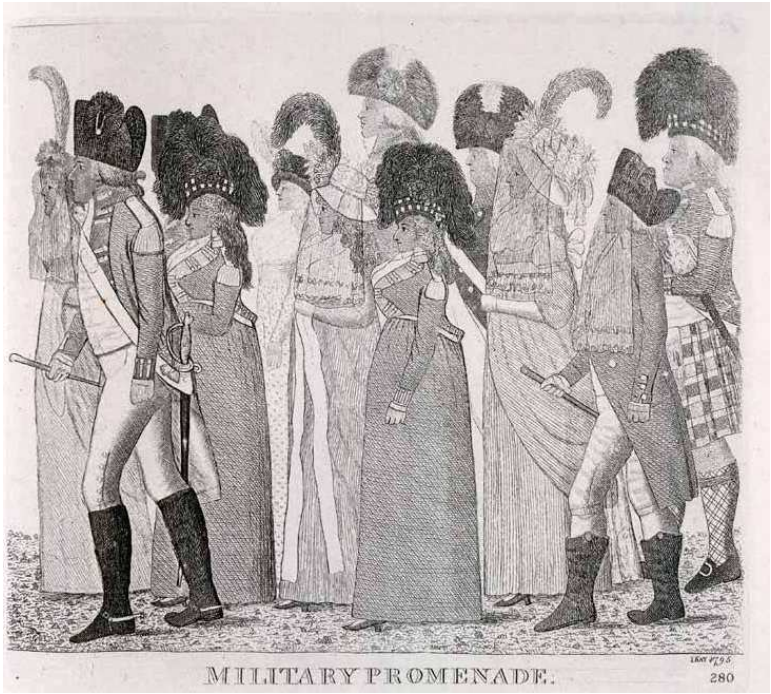

Fig. 9.2: *Military Promenade*, by John Kay, 1795. © Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

[24] Paterson (ed.), *Series of Original Portraits*, vol. 2, p.330; Colley, *Britons*, pp.183-188.
[25] *Gallery of Fashion,* July 1795, vol. 1.
[26] *Gallery of Fashion,* October 1798, vol. 5.
[27] Grant, *Memoirs of a Highland Lady,* vol. 1, p.108.

Fig. 9.3: "Military habit of superfine scarlet cloth" with "Black beaver hat, trimmed a la militaire", *Gallery of Fashion,* October 1798. Courtesy of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland.

Accompanying the morning dress which featured the Duncan velvet bonnet was an image and description of the first outfit in *A Gallery of Fashion* to include significant amounts of tartan. This was another morning dress, which was made of "Duncan chintz", a material derived from cotton and again probably a tribute to Adam Duncan (Fig. 9.2 – right figure). The pattern consisted of a lilac and green colouring, accompanied by a turban cap "made of a large plaid silk handkerchief", and a shawl trimmed with plaid ribbon.[28] As with the use of tartan and military styles, the combination of tartan with a turban cap shows its inclusion with other fashionable trends, specifically the adoption and adaptation of exotic styles. Turkish dress, including turbans, was adopted by the social elite from the mid-eighteenth century onwards. It often appeared as a form of masquerade dress and gradually entered more mainstream fashions.[29] A surviving example of a tartan turban in the collections of the V&A, dating from 1820-1835, shows the enduring popularity of these combined exotic and British elements of style (Fig. 9.4). Both of the Duncan outfits were designated as morning dress. This was one of the more informal components of a lady's wardrobe, suitable for receiving visitors or promenading, as

[28] *Gallery of Fashion,* December 1797, vol. 4.
[29] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, pp.265-266.

shown in the images. Although not considered part of "full dress" which was worn at events such as the opera and the theatre,[30] the use of tartan in promenading or walking dress was a testament to its increasing fashionable status. The elite habit of walking in parks, gardens or, in the case of Edinburgh, along elegantly designed streets, was seen as an opportunity to display the latest styles.[31] Just as much effort was put into an outfit to be worn outdoors as it was for outfits that were intended for the balls and assemblies.

Fig. 9.4: Silk and velvet turban, 1820-1825. V&A T.847-1994. Photo © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

The morning dress of Duncan chintz was conspicuous among the illustrations of *A Gallery of Fashion* for being the only ensemble to incorporate large amounts of tartan. It seems that tartan could not compete with the popularity of white as the preferred colour for women's gowns – a long standing trend dating from the 1780s which would continue into the nineteenth century.[32] The fashions of 1808 had seen an increase in the number of coloured gowns, which prompted the writers of *La Belle Assemblee* to issue the following statement:

[30] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.181.
[31] Ibid., p.176.
[32] Ibid., p.234.

> …we can never give our suffrage to what must ever be considered a coarse or incorrect taste, even though functioned by fashion. The chaste, neat and simple elegance of the white robe can never be exchanged to advantage in that style of costume…and with what can the coloured mantle, coat, or cardinal appear to such advantage as with a simple morning robe of cambric or muslin?[33]

The controllers and influencers of fashionable dress saw tartan, with its innumerable colour combinations, as being well suited to the purpose of a coloured coat or mantle, serving as an accent against plainer fabrics. This attitude was to continue into the early nineteenth century, which saw a proliferation of tartan accessories in the fashion manuals but not tartan gowns. In the November 1801 edition of *La Belle Assemblee*, the reader was told that "Plaid scarfs, fancifully disposed…have a very animated and pleasing effect".[34] In 1810 a plaid parasol was recommended as part of a promenade outfit,[35] and in 1818 the Scotch cap was endorsed as suitable for the "curricle, or friendly dinner parties". This cap was made of "twisted or curled silk, finished with the real Tartan band, and a profuse plume of black feathers."[36] The cap was a further example of the military influence on fashionable dress in the period.

Satirical prints of the period show similar trends to those represented in the fashion manuals. Taking into account the exaggerated nature of these illustrations it would be thought that if tartan was a fashionable item, it would be the perfect fodder for artists wishing to make a satirical comment on fashionable society. The foibles of the fashionable elite in general had provided ample material for the satirists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a print entitled *Tartan Belle* from 1792, tartan was very much evident, but as with the styles in the fashion manuals, it was restricted to accessories and outer garments and was not used in the gown itself (Fig. 9.5). The print was supposedly based on Jane, the Duchess of Gordon, who was credited with introducing tartan into the London court.[37] Tartan, it seems, was destined to remain as a pattern suitable for outerwear garments.

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[33] *La Belle Assemblee,* March 1808, vol. 4, p.95.
[34] *La Belle Assemblee,* November 1808, vol. 5, p.188.
[35] *La Belle Assemblee,* August, 1810, vol. 9, p.41.
[36] *La Belle Assemblee*, July 1818, vol. 17, p.277.
[37] Dunbar, *History of Highland Dress*, p.102.

Fig. 9.5: *A Tartan Belle*, 1792. Courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University.

If London was the fashionable hub of Britain, France and Paris in particular, were viewed as the fashionable epicentre of Europe.[38] Despite the hostilities between France and Britain, interest was still expressed in the changing fashionable trends of each country. French fashions were regularly described in the British publications, often in as much detail as the London styles. As with the British fashions tartan was popularly used for ribbons and accessories in French fashionable circles, rather than in full outfits of gowns and jackets. In 1815 Parisian women adorned themselves with "ribands and handkerchiefs of Scotch Plaid" when Napoleon arrived in the city.[39] This has recently been interpreted as an expression of support for the Auld Alliance between France and Scotland and a rejection of "the English as conquerors of Napoleon."[40] The satirical prints of the period, however, indicate that it was more likely a combination of an attachment to the Scottish soldiers and an appreciation for the 'intricacies' of Highland dress (Fig. 9.6).

[38] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe,* p.51.
[39] *La Belle Assemblee,* April 1815, vol. 11, p.181.
[40] Faiers, *Tartan*, pp.111-112.

Fig. 9.6: *Le Répas du Chat*, Paris 1815. © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The first example of tartan used as the main feature of a 'full dress' or formal dress in France was at an opera in Paris in 1815. Named the "Caledonian costume" it consisted of a petticoat "very near as short as the Highland kilt" made of tartan silk, worn with a scarlet satin jacket, and scarlet silk stockings with white checks, black satin sandals laced around the leg, and a Scotch bonnet complete with black ostrich feathers.[41] Although the English commentator acknowledged that the overall effect was "extremely becoming", it was felt that the outfit would have been "much more appropriate for walking."[42] Unfortunately no illustration of this particular outfit was provided.

From 1820 onwards the romantic and historical associations of tartan were becoming more apparent and helped to elevate its fashionable status within British circles. In this year:

> A beautiful spencer for the carriage costume, has lately been finished there for a lady of high rank. It is of satin, of the real tartan plaid; the sleeves finished at the wrists by a cuff of white satin, turned back, and terminating in points *a la Marie Stuart;* the points edged with fine narrow blond, the top of the sleeves ornamented with rich silk fringed net of a fine garter blue: with this dress the Highland cap is an indispensable appendage.[43]

[41] *La Belle Assemblee,* September 1815, vol. 12, p.86.
[42] Ibid.
[43] *La Belle Assemblee,* January 1820, vol. 19, p.275.

This fashionable spencer, or close-fitting jacket, reflects how fashionable dress can act as a "symbol of social mood."[44] The nineteenth-century interest in romanticised historical figures, such as Mary Queen of Scots, found an articulation in dress through the use of "points *a la Marie Stuart*" and Mary Queen of Scots bonnets, which appeared from an early point in the century.[45] Similar trends can be observed in the increased interest in 'clan' tartans, discussed further below.[46]

It was not until the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 that the presence of tartan in fashionable dress became more conspicuous. In September 1822, the month following the royal visit, two dresses described in *La Belle Assemblee* prominently used tartan. The first was a walking dress made of plaid silk, complete with "fillagree buttons representing the base of the Scottish thistle", a Scotch bonnet with "superb Highland plume of white feathers" and a "parasol of thistle purple."[47] The second dress marked the entry of the tartan pattern into British formal wear: the "Caledonian Ball Dress" was decorated with roses, thistles, had a corsage of tartan plaid, and was topped with a "Turban of white Chinese gauze, diversified with plaid and silver lama gauze, with a plume of white feathers." Earrings were recommended in the shape of the St Andrew's cross.[48] Once again tartan was amalgamated with other trends, resulting in an exotic blend of British and Eastern styles. It should be remembered, however, that these outfits were just suggestions and that the descriptions and visual sources relating to the royal visit, did not indicate that tartan was popular among the women who were present. At the events involving the social elite, in particular, women chose to remain with the tried and tested, fashionable white gowns.[49]

Tartan was a Scottish export and yet when it came to introducing fashionable dress, London was still dominant. Even though the royal visit of 1822 was a Scottish event, and even though tartan was recommended by those in the know, when it came to the supply of these garments, Scottish dressmakers were sidelined. As part of the 'General Observations on Fashions and Dress' in *La Belle Assemblee,* it was noted

[44] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* p.98.
[45] *La Belle Assemblee,* May 1806, vol.1, p.225.
[46] *La Belle Assemblee,* February 1820, vol. 21, p.38; Cheape, *Tartan,* p.63.
[47] *La Belle Assemblee,* September 1822, vol. 26, p.371.
[48] Ibid.
[49] See Chapter 1.

that garments had been purchased and sent up from London to Edinburgh for the royal visit. This included a Caledonian cap and Scotch bonnet which was described as

> of a silky kind of gauze, with rich satin stripes of the Athol tartan colours; a cornette quilting of blond, underneath the brim, falls on the hair; and at the extremity of the edge, under the lining, on one side, is placed a beautiful full blown rose, with its bud; a superb plume of white feathers, half drooping in the true Scottish style…[50]

A similar hat was worn by the Duchess of Argyle at the Peers Ball held during the visit,[51] although calling it the "true Scottish style" would be an exaggeration.

In the years following 1822, tartan was every much evident in the recommended fashions. In 1826, in particular, *La Belle Assemblee* promoted a large number of tartan accessories, such as scarves, and tartan mantles, which were apparently popular with both English and French fashions.[52] Tartan was still generally excluded, however, from formal ball gowns and evening wear.

Advertising Tartan

References to tartan appeared at an early point in the eighteenth-century Scottish press. It was advertised both as an item for sale on the domestic market and in announcements which recorded the amount of tartan that was being exported.[53] It was not until the later eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, however, that advertisements from retailers selling tartan for clothing appeared with any regularity, coinciding with the rise of advertising in general in this period.[54]

Advertisements from the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Aberdeen Journal* were studied. Advertisements from *The Times* of London were also counted to provide an English comparison of tartan marketing. The papers were searched from the years 1800-1830 for advertisements of retailers, merchants, and dressmakers who included tartan among their wares (Graph 9.7). This was to see if there were any noticeable

[50] *La Belle Assemblee*, 1822, vol. 26, p.372.
[51] Letter from Mary and Jane Grant to Elizabeth Grant, August 1822 'A Contemporary Account of the Royal Visit to Edinburgh', p.143.
[52] *La Belle Assemblee,* New Series, 1826, vol.3.
[53] See 'Domestic History' reports of the *Scots Magazine,* 1740, vol.2.
[54] McKendrick, 'George Packwood', p.188.

patterns in tartan advertising in the early nineteenth century.[55] The first significant peak in the number of tartan newspaper advertisements occurred in 1815, coinciding with the Battle of Waterloo, the general visibility of the Highland regiments during the Napoleonic Wars, and the stationing of Scottish troops in Paris. The steady rise in advertisements in the years following 1815 can be attributed at least in part to the sale of army surplus goods which included large quantities of tartan and hundreds of pairs of tartan hose.[56] The second, most significant peak of tartan advertising occurred in 1822, the year of George IV's visit to Edinburgh. As the *Caledonian Mercury* was printed in Edinburgh it was to be expected that this paper would have the most advertisements, reflecting the retailers and merchants response to the increased demand in the city. A smaller peak occurred in the mid-1820s, corresponding with the popularity of tartan accessories as seen in the fashion manuals mentioned above. The advertisements for tartan in the English press remained relatively consistent throughout the period.

In its traditional woollen form, tartan was a practical material, being a warm and relatively waterproof fabric.[57] It is hardly surprising then, that the earlier advertisements for tartan made it clear that as a woollen fabric, it was suitable for winter clothing. A 'tartan season' was apparent in the newspapers running from October to March each year, and it was during these months that the advertisements were most frequent. Of the 209 newspaper advertisements used in this study, 130 were printed between these months. Adam Luke, a draper on the High Street in Edinburgh, included in his "WINTER ARTICLES" in 1818 some "Scarfs and Plaids" of superfine tartan, which was a high quality form of woollen cloth.[58] As a pattern, tartan was also considered suitable for the winter months, the dark and often vibrant colours being both practical and aesthetically pleasing. In 1800 Archibald Gibson, a milliner in Edinburgh, promoted the sale of tartan silks, among other things, under the heading "NEW WINTER FASHIONS".[59]

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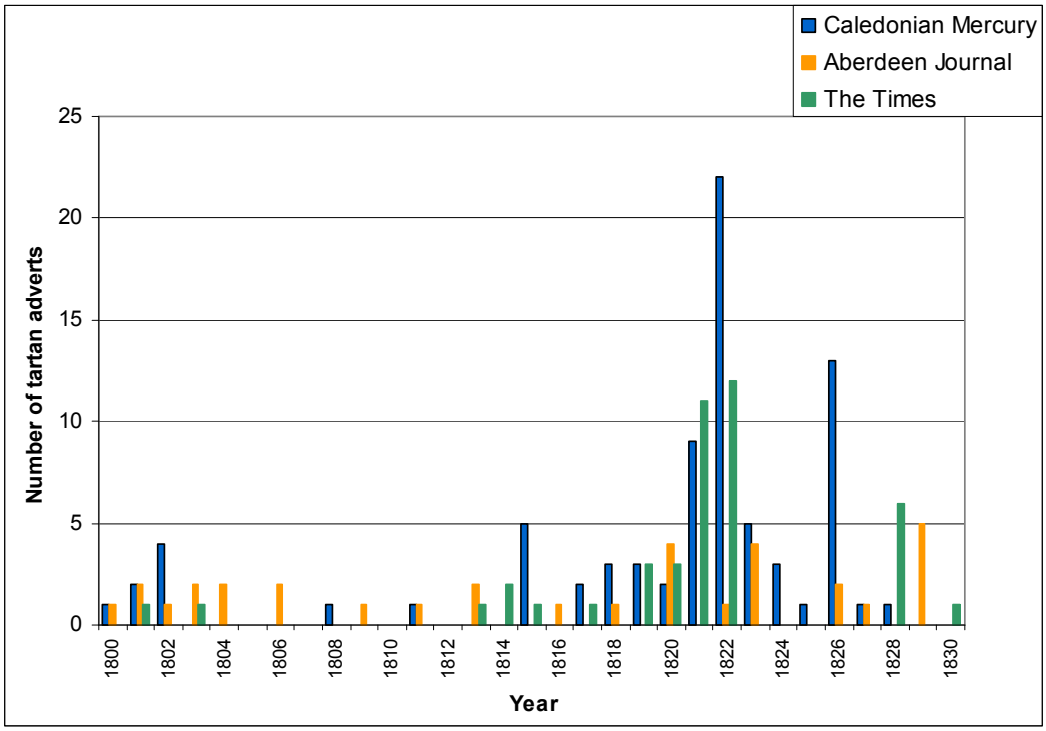
[55] Advertisements printed in *Scotsman* are also discussed later in the chapter but this paper was not established until 1817 and so was excluded from the data in Graph 9.7.
[56] *Caledonian Mercury,* 24 July 1817, issue 14953, p.1; *Aberdeen Journal,* 30 July 1817, issue 3629, p.1.
[57] Scarlett, 'Tartan: the Highland Cloth', p.21.
[58] *Caledonian Mercury,* 12 November 1818, issue 15163, p.3.
[59] *Caledonian Mercury,* 8 November 1800, issue 12349, p.3.



Graph 9.7: Tartan Advertisements in the *Caledonian Mercury, Aberdeen Journal* and *The Times,* 1800-1830.

Only one firm placed regular advertisements for tartan goods during the summer months. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Romanes and Paterson placed advertisements during the months of May and June, including for the sale of "Tartan satins & sarsnets" from their store in Edinburgh.[60] Both of these fabrics were silk based and so were lighter and more expensive than the wool used in the scarves and plaids above. The satin and sarsnets were more likely to have been used in women's gowns, men's waistcoats or nightgowns.[61] Romanes and Paterson were not alone in their promotion of tartan outside the established 'tartan season', but they were one of the few to do so consistently.

Just as *La Belle Assemblee* promoted the use of colourful fabrics for mantles and cloaks, the advertisements from the Scottish press regularly mentioned such items, often made of tartan. In March 1820, an Edinburgh merchant on the High Street was selling off his stock, which included tartan cloaks for gentlemen's dress.[62] William Steven & Co., hosiers, hat sellers, and drapers of Waterloo Place in Edinburgh,

[60] *Caledonian Mercury,* 19 May 1817, issue 14897, p.1.
[61] Silk tartan dressing gowns and nightgowns were in use throughout the eighteenth century. NMS collections contain a man's dressing gown from c.1760 made of a red, blue, green, and yellow tartan. NMS K.2002.1033.
[62] *Caledonian Mercury,* 18 March 1820, issue 15373, p.1.

advertised the selling of "hussar cloaks in cloths, camblet and tartan" in October 1821.[63] The advertisement placed by Archibald Torry, a clothier on Parliament Close in Edinburgh, who specialised in clothing for hunting and outdoor activities, included "Highland plaids" among his wares of "curricle and boat coats and cloaks, fishing and shooting frocks".[64] These advertisements in particular help show the versatile nature of tartan. Not only was it used in a stylish hussar cloak, but the practical nature of the fabric also suited the active outdoor life of the Scottish gentleman. These garments were thus likely to have been made from wool rather than silk or satin. Other merchants catered to the female market, promoting the sale of ladies' mantles (Fig. 9.8).[65] George MacKenzie, a draper of Broad Street in Aberdeen, advertised the sale of tartan cloaks for ladies and gentlemen in 1811.[66] It is known from the records of William Wilson and Son of Bannockburn that such garments, for both men and women, were in popular demand.[67]

Fig. 9.8: Lady's woollen cloak made of Buchanan tartan, c.1800-1810. © National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

[63] *Caledonian Mercury,* 20 October 1821, issue 15621, p.3.
[64] *Caledonian Mercury,* 22 April 1815, issue 14566, p.1.
[65] *Caledonian Mercury,* 26 September 1822, issue 15768, p.1.
[66] *Aberdeen Journal,* 18 December 1811, issue 3336, p.4.
[67] See Chapter 7.

Many of the mantles and cloaks were marketed as ready-made rather than bespoke items. These types of garments could be easily made and adapted for the customer, particularly compared with more complex items such as jackets.[68] George Inglis, a linen and woollen draper from Edinburgh, included "ready made Mantles, in Tartan" among his goods in 1823, promising that they were "well assorted in sizes and colours".[69] His assertion that these mantles were also very cheap shows the versatility of tartan as a fabric and pattern that could be made to accommodate customers of a range of financial means. There were also examples of more complex garments, showing the growth of the ready-made clothing industry in the early nineteenth century. In 1822, William Steven & Co., suppliers of fashionable dress coats for gentlemen, stocked tartan dresses "and every Article in the line" in their new premises on North Bridge in Edinburgh.[70] Despite the increase in ready-made clothing throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century it was usual, particularly outside London, for the cloth to be bought by the customer then taken to a professional tailor or mantua maker to be made into a garment.[71] In 1802 Gilchrist & Co., who ran the 'Gallery of Fashion' in Edinburgh, announced their procurement of tartan cambric (linen) which they declared was "so much the rage for Ladies Dresses".[72] No specific reference was made to the making up of the garment - their customers were expected to purchase the length of fabric required and then take it away. Similarly, in 1808 a draper on the Edinburgh High Street advertised tartan cloth, among other fabrics, that he suggested was suitable for pelisses, mantles, and gowns once purchased from him.[73]

The growth in popularity of tartan as a fabric and as a pattern can be seen in the establishment of retailers who specialised in the material. Early advertisements for Romanes and Paterson, which became a partnership in 1815, show that it did not consider itself a tartan retailer. In an advertisement announcing the partnership and the relocation of the business to the fashionable South Bridge in Edinburgh, their products were listed as cambrics, chintzes, velvets, satins, sarsnets, poplins, and

[68] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.164.
[69] *Scotsman,* 22 November 1823, p.4.
[70] *Caledonian Mercury,* 27 July 1822, issue 15742, p.1.
[71] Styles, *Dress of the People,* p.165.
[72] *Caledonian Mercury,* 11 January 1802, issue 12533, p.1.
[73] *Caledonian Mercury,* 28 November, 1808, issue 13566, p.1.

bombazeens – there was no specific reference to tartan.[74] Two years later they advertised the tartan satins and sarsnets mentioned above.[75] Although tartan was listed here, it was not featured any more prominently than the numerous other materials, suggesting that it was not the partnership's most profitable commodity. By 1821, however, Romanes and Paterson had become much more involved in the tartan trade. In this year the firm offered worsted tartan as well as the tartan sarsnets and satins. They also listed the items made from tartan which were available to their customers, including tartan scarves, tartan cloaks and shawls, and tartan handkerchiefs.[76] By June 1822 the partnership distinguished itself as a "TARTAN AND SHAWL WAREHOUSE", pre-empting the tartan mania that was to result from the visit of George IV in the same year.[77] Romanes and Paterson stocked tartan in a variety of forms, including silks, satins and tabbinets (most likely a form of taffeta), as well as the traditional woollen fabric. The increased range of fabrics demonstrated a widening appeal and use of tartan, which can also be seen in Romanes and Paterson's announcement that they stocked a variety of smaller patterns suitable for children's dress.[78] This corresponds with the increased variety of goods and diverse custom identified in the records of William Wilson and Son, tartan manufacturers of Bannockburn.[79] Tartan was increasingly seen as less of a functional, practical material suitable for the winter months, and more as an aesthetically pleasing and versatile pattern.

The popularity of tartan in the early nineteenth century was fostered by the interest in the supposed antiquity of clan tartans. Gairdner and Taylor, drapers in Edinburgh selling wholesale and retail in 1745, simply told their customers that they had a "great choice of Tartans" on sale.[80] By the early nineteenth century, however, the concept of clan tartans had taken hold and become a lucrative marketing scheme for tartan retailers. One of the earliest references to clan tartans appeared in 1800. Archibald Gibson, a milliner and clothier presumably of Edinburgh, announced that

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[74] *Caledonian Mercury,* 18 November 1815, issue 14660, p.1.
[75] *Caledonian Mercury,* 19 May 1817, issue 14897, p.1.
[76] *Caledonian Mercury,* 26 May 1821, issue 15558, p.1.
[77] *Caledonian Mercury,* 24 June 1822, issue 15728, p.1.
[78] *Caledonian Mercury,* 8 August 1822, issue 15747, p.1.
[79] See Chapter 7.
[80] Cited by Walter Biggar Blaikie, 'Edinburgh at the Time of the Occupation of Prince Charles', *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club,* 2 (1909), pp.1-60, p.44.

he was in possession of "Tartan Silks, of mostly the whole of the Clans of Scotland."[81] The proliferation of the various Highland societies from the late eighteenth century onwards, encouraged this interest in clan tartans. In Sir John Sinclair's account of the Highland Society of London, written in 1813, he asserted that the tartan plaid had been "made of the peculiar *set* or pattern of tartan belonging to the Clan of the individual who wore it".[82] Two years later, the Highland Society of London worked to create a comprehensive list of the clan tartans, authenticated by the respective clan chiefs.[83] The events and meetings organised by the multiple Highland societies provided opportunities for the display of these clan tartans. In 1819 the Edinburgh Highland Society's anniversary ball was

> ….attended by about forty gentlemen in the full Highland garb, and in the tartan of their respective clans. Upwards of fifty ladies were present, who, in compliment, appeared each with some emblem of the country whose language, dress and prosperity it is the chief object of this society to preserve and promote.[84]

These societies were important customers of the tartan retailers who, in turn, appear to have been quite happy to accommodate the demands for authentic and ancient setts. W. & A. McDonald, silk mercers and milliners, for instance, described their tartan silks as being "warranted, original sets, and [with] ingrained colours" in 1821.[85] By the 1820s more retailers were promoting their ability to provide clan tartans, with similar advertisements appearing in London newspapers. In 1820, George Fox advertised "real Highland tartan plaids of all the clans", claiming to be the only such retailer for women in all of London.[86]

Conclusion

Tartan was a diverse and versatile addition to fashionable dress. As a fabric its traditional qualities of warmth and protection from the elements were increasingly adapted into mainstream fashionable dress in various forms – particularly outer garments such as cloaks. As a pattern it could be incorporated into virtually any type

[81] *Caledonian Mercury,* 8 November 1800, issue 12349, p.3.
[82] Sinclair, *Account of the Highland Society of London,* p.10.
[83] Cheape, *Tartan,* p.63.
[84] *Scotsman,* 27 March 1819, p.102.
[85] *Caledonian Mercury,* 7 April 1821, issue 15539, p.3.
[86] *The Times,* 8 January 1820, issue 10823, p.1.

of material, thanks to its basis as a simple check. The pattern could be varied with any colour or size, suitable for accessories, larger items of clothing, and even children's dress. The fashion manuals show that those who hoped to influence the fashionable elite initially limited tartan's role to trimmings and accessories. The newspaper advertisements of retailers and merchants, however, demonstrate that as a fabric and as a pattern, tartan was used beyond these purposes on a regular and wide ranging basis.

Although the history of tartan and the subsequent interpretations of it will always be present and need to be considered, it can be seen that tartan as a fabric and as a pattern was incorporated into fashionable dress for reasons other than its historical associations. Ultimately, its versatility in colours, patterns, size, and purpose should not be forgotten.

Conclusion

As a Christmas present to himself in 1776, James Boswell bought a new green cloth waistcoat adorned with silver lace. Being pleased with his purchase "more than any body would believe", he noted in his diary that "Dress affects my feelings as irresistibly as music."[1] Not everyone was as verbose or as expressive of their emotions as Boswell, and his response to the waistcoat highlights how difficult it can be to access people's engagement and interaction with their possessions. Conversely, Boswell's reaction also demonstrates the importance that knowledge of the clothing and textile cultures can have to understanding a past society. If Boswell's identity had not been known, for instance, the description of the green cloth and silver lace waistcoat could be used, along with other sources, to make deductions about the owner, his lifestyle, and the society in which he lived.

The study of clothing and textile cultures opens up an understanding of social mechanisms and cultural practices. These can be discussed by examining the manufacture, retail, consumption, and use of dress and fabrics. By combining different bodies of knowledge and multiple methodologies appropriate to these themes of production and consumption, this thesis has provided a more complete picture of the Scottish clothing and textile cultures in the eighteenth century than has previously been achieved.

Clothing, and the fabrics from which garments were made, were intensely personal and private. They lay close to the body and were an intimate part of every day life for all levels of society. These items were also, however, public. They were constantly on display and were used both consciously and sub-consciously to portray moods, status, and identities. The theme of identity has been consistent throughout the thesis, playing a significant role in interpreting and identifying the relationships the eighteenth-century Scottish population had with clothing and textiles. The articulation of a national identity through clothing and textiles has been particularly evident from a number of perspectives. To name just two instances, national identity and nationalist sentiment has been seen in the use of the plaid by all levels of society as a practical and fashionable garment. It has also manifested in the consistent

[1] Boswell, *Edinburgh Journals*, pp.280-281.

connections made between textiles and the economic and moral welfare of the nation. National identity and clothing, therefore, does not always have to mean the deliberate creation of a national costume such as the Highland dress of the early nineteenth century.[2]

Regional relationships and particularly the exchange of clothing and textile cultures between regions and localities has been a further constant theme of the thesis. The Highland/Lowland dichotomy has been questioned, and it has been asserted that divisions existed within these regions as well as between them. These regions were in a constant state of cultural, social, and economic exchange which was carried out on regional, parochial, and personal levels. The networks of exchange were influenced by innumerable factors. These included local geography, communications, the presence of urban centres, the social make-up of the population, and the all important, but often inaccessible, issues of personal preference and taste. Exchange also occurred on national and international levels. Fashions were brought in from London and Paris to Edinburgh, and then disseminated throughout the peripheral regions. Members of the Scottish population throughout the social hierarchy were consumers of fashionable dress. People had access to fashionable trends and chose what they wanted to incorporate into their wardrobes. The demands of the fashionable trends were then adapted according to the individual means of the wearer or owner. These garments were not necessarily worn on an everyday basis but they nevertheless existed, with their meaning and significance dependant on the wearer and the context.[3] The public nature of clothing meant that these actions and choices left the wearer open to the interpretation and judgement of others. The observations and commentaries made by contemporary members of society on such topics have provided fundamental evidence for this study.

Scotland was not a dormant partner in the fashion exchange. Tartan was a considerable fashionable export during this period, preceding the popularity of tweed in the mid- to late nineteenth century. The history of tartan has an enduring and undeniable relevance to the modern Scottish identity, and the romanticisation of the material is still very much evident today. By studying tartan from the perspectives of commercial production and fashionable dress, however, the conventional wisdom

[2] Taylor, *Study of Dress History,* pp.213-228.
[3] Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity,* pp.8-10.

regarding tartan and its place in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century society has been challenged. In the eighteenth century, tartan was not always considered in the terms of a sartorial national identity that was based on the "mists of antiquity".[4] Instead it can be seen that the practical and aesthetic qualities of tartan as a woollen fabric and as a pattern, were just as important to the eighteenth-century Scottish clothing and textile culture as its historical associations with romance and rebellion. Significantly, tartan was also just one part of a clothing and textile culture in which woollen cloth in general played an important role.

Woollen cloth was a ubiquitous product of eighteenth-century Scottish society, as evidenced by its appearance in every chapter and in varied and disparate sources. A fabric that was inherently practical and functional, woollen cloth could also be adapted according to fashionable tastes. Furthermore, as a native Scottish product that could be manufactured within the home, the various references to woollen cloth have social and economic connotations. This can be particularly seen in the work of Allan Ramsay in the early eighteenth century, where domestically produced cloth was presented as an antithesis to luxurious, superfluous and, by implication, socially damaging items from outside Scotland. The variety of sources in which woollen cloth is referred to, from inventories of possessions taken at death to eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literature, demonstrates that this ultimately useful and practical fabric had a wide-ranging cultural significance to eighteenth-century Scottish society.

The introduction and discussion of these themes was aided by the separation of the topics of clothing, textiles, and fashion into different sections. This approach enabled a broader discussion of eighteenth-century Scottish dress and textiles which incorporated a wide range of often disparate sources. Some of the sources used here are familiar to the field of dress and textile history, but they have not been systematically applied to the Scottish context. Others are more usually employed in economic studies rather than in dress and textile history, such as the treatises of the improvers or the records of the Board of Trustees for Improving Fisheries and Manufactures. The strength of each source used varied according to what was asked of it, and how well it could be placed within the wider context. In modern society,

[4] Dunbar, *Costume of Scotland*, p.11.

people's choice of clothing can have innumerable meanings ranging from the assertion of a particular cultural or political identity, to simple comfort and convenience. Understanding and interpreting these meanings ultimately depends on the wearer, the observer, and the context. The same is true for eighteenth-century society, and it is inevitable that some of the more subtle and ambiguous cultural meanings will have been lost. It is also possible that such detail was simply not recorded as it was not considered pertinent to the source that was being created. The records of the riots in the 1790s, which did not describe the appearance of the mobs in detail, are an example of this.

Nevertheless, each source has added something to the wider meta-narrative of Scottish dress and textile history and to the history of Scotland in general. The use of these multiple sources has allowed the re-examination of pre-existing notions of Scottish clothing and textiles in the eighteenth century, particularly with regards to tartan and Highland dress. The exploitation of various source types has also permitted the introduction of new aspects of the Scottish clothing and textile cultures, significantly adding to existing knowledge. The quantifiable nature of the inventories of possessions taken at death, for instance, has provided insights into the fabrics and garments that were owned and used. The inventories have allowed important comparisons to be made between different regions and between the various levels of the social hierarchy. By highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of these diverse sources, it has been shown that no single source should be used in isolation to study a clothing and textile culture. A reliance on surviving objects, for instance, would not have allowed the breadth of investigation that has been achieved, particularly in relation to the discussions on working and everyday dress. The exploitation of varied sources is vital to understanding historic clothing and textile cultures.

Contingent on the use of multiple sources, however, is the continued development of collaborative relationships between individual researchers and museums. The research conducted for this thesis benefited in many ways from the relationship with NMS. Access to the NMS collections, for instance, has been central to the project. Not all projects have such access, however, and it is no coincidence that the major object based studies on dress and textile history, are those written by museum

curators who have constant access to museum collections. Continued collaboration, between universities and museums in particular, is vital to the future of dress and textile history. Within the Scottish context, this collaboration will be enhanced by the relocation of the Textile Conservation Centre from Winchester and the University of Southampton to the University of Glasgow. Due to open in September 2010, this facility will offer Masters courses in textile conservation and dress and textile history. It will also provide resources for doctoral research and collaborative opportunities with Scottish museums and institutions from further afield.[5] Promising a plethora of multi-disciplinary, object-based approaches and teaching, this new centre has important implications for future research in the field of dress and textile history in general, and for the field of Scottish dress and textile history in particular.

The study of historical dress and textiles is not a finite topic. The interpretation of the manufacture, use, and dissemination of clothing and textiles in a past society is constantly evolving as new resources become available, and as the perceptions and opinions of the researchers themselves alter and adapt. What has been made apparent throughout this study, however, is the need for contextualisation. Whether surviving objects, works of art, or textual sources are used, an awareness and understanding of the social, political, and economic context in which the garment or textile was made and used is, and should remain, irrefutably important.

[5] http://www.gla.ac.uk/news/archive/2010/march/headline_144812_en.html, 'New Conservation Centre Preserves the Fabric of the Nation', 18 March 2010.

Appendix:

Inventories Used in Chapter 2

ARGYLL

Men:

Reference	Name	Date of inventory	Occupation/other information
CC2/3/5/82	Robert Hamilton	24/03/1709	Sir, of Silvertownhill, late Major General in Maitland's regiment in Fort William
CC2/3/5/85-90	Robert Murray	27/09/1709	Merchant in Inverary
CC2/3/8/144	John Davies	30/01/1718	Surgeon in Kilmichael Glassary
CC2/3/8/154-158	Lauchlan MacLauchlan	01/10/1719	Of that Ilk, parish of Stralachlen
CC2/3/8/191-193	Robert Scott	26/06/1722	Merchant in Maryburgh, parish of Kilmalie
CC2/3/8/206-212	Duncan Campbell	24/04/1723	Merchant in Kilmichael Glassary
CC2/3/8/237	John Forrester	16/03/1724	Merchant in Campbeltown
CC2/3/8/259-261	Neill Duncanson	07/12/1725	Late postmaster of Inverary
CC2/3/8/364-366	Robert Law	16/01/1734	Wright in Strachur
CC2/3/11/16-17	John Campbell	18/02/1735	Surgeon in Inverary
CC2/3/11/22-23	Donald Campbell	05/05/1735	In Arinachten, parish of Kilmartin
CC2/3/11/24-25	James Kelly	26/09/1735	Cooper in Campbeltown
CC2/3/11/53-60	John Ramsay	25/06/1737	Merchant in Edinburgh, late one of the clerks to the lead mines at Strontian
CC2/3/11/118-121	James Raside	07/02/1739	In Polwulling, and Niccolas McEachie his spouse, parish of Kilblaan
CC2/3/11/138-139	Archibald Brown	27/08/1740	Late bailie of Inverary
CC2/3/11/300-301	Archibald McTavish	01/03/1758	Late in Auchinbreck
CC2/3/11/313-316	William Stewart	28/03/1760	Merchant in Maryburgh
CC2/3/1/223	Samuel McDougall	01/11/1792	Of Soroba

Women:

Reference	Name	Date of inventory	Occupation/other information
CC2/3/8/170-173	Katherine MacPhune	05/11/1720	Lawful daughter of Archibald MacPhun in Succoth in Strachur
CC2/3/8/255-257	Margaret MacIlbride	31/08/1725	Alias MacDonald in Kilmichael Glassary, later residenter in Edinburgh and Glasgow
CC2/3/11/3-8	Jean Douglass	21/03/1733	Relict of Captain John Stevenson of Hermanshields, parish of Glassary
CC2/3/11/25-27	Janet Sym	29/09/1735	Spouse to Archibald Brown, maltster, late bailie in Inverary
CC2/3/11/38-39	Effie McNiven	02/01/1736	Spouse to Donald McIntyre, ditcher in Kilchrenan
CC2/3/11/145-147	Isabel Stewart	11/08/1742	Relict of Archibald McArthur of Milntown, and Alexander Campbell of Kirnan, parish of Dunoon

CC2/3/11/373-375	Margaret Lamont	29/04/1770	Late in Auchinellan, parish of Kilmartin
CC2/3/11/478	Mary Chambers	30/01/1775	Residenter at the Laigh Miln of Campbeltown

EDINBURGH

Men:

Reference	Name	Date of inventory	Occupation or other information
CC8/8/84/442-444	Andrew Rule	29/06/1709	Advocate, left a widow
CC8/8/87/289/296	Thomas Boyd	05/02/1719	Advocate
CC8/8/87/400-403	Adam Coult	02/06/1719	Advocate, son to [blank] Coult and Dame Elizabeth Syme, left a widow
CC8/8/87/556-575	Robert Bannerman	06/01/1720	Minister
CC8/8/87/632-641	William Baine	15/03/1720	Captain
CC8/8/87/663-670	Mungo Galloway	14/04/1720	Clerk to the Kirk Session of Canongate, left a widow
CC8/8/87/709-714	John Craig	01/06/1720	Farmer, Wester Duddingston
CC8/8/87/723-727	James Meek	24/06/1720	Candlemaker, burgess of Edinburgh, indweller in South Leith, left a wife and children
CC8/8/87/734-738	Alexander Blair	06/07/1720	Of Nether Keith, left a daughter
CC8/8/87/682-691	Thomas Lockhart	24/07/1720	Land surveyor at Leith, sometime writer in Edinburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/87/759-761	John Hamilton	27/07/1720	Porter of the abbey at Holyroodhouse
CC8/8/87/774-776	Henry Krumbien	22/08/1720	Music master
CC8/8/87/807-814	William Douglas	06/10/1720	Tenant at Dalhousie
CC8/8/87/909-910	Alexander Harper	27/12/1720	Coalgrieve at Foffatt, parish of Newbotle
CC8/8/90/387-397	Alexander Campbell	18/03/1726	Advocate and Commissary of the Train of Artillery in Edinburgh Castle, left a widow
CC8/8/90/453-457	Andrew Johnston	06/05/1726	Captain in the city guard, left a widow
CC8/8/93/452-453	Robert Nicolson	19/04/1731	Advocate, son to deceased Thomas Nicolson
CC8/8/95/382-385	Henry or Hendry Cowpar	02/07/1733	Maltman in the Canongate, left a widow
CC8/8/97/474-509	Charles Lumisden	17/10/1735	Surgeon-apothecary, burgess of Edinburgh
CC8/8/99/183-192	William Hamilton	22/03/1737	Of Dalserfe, advocate, left a widow who had remarried by 1737
CC8/8/100/148-176	James Bruce	05/01/1738	Advocate, sometime Master of his Majesty's Mint in Scotland, left a widow, son of Brigadier General James Bruce
CC8/8/101/315-326	Alexander Falconer	11/10/1738	Of Hillhead, advocate, widower
CC8/8/102/370-379	William Kerr	18/08/1739	Candlemaker burgess of Canongate, left a widow
CC8/8/105/388-406	William Scott	05/02/1742	Of Bravelaw, advocate
CC8/8/106/127-129	William Borthwick	22/05/1742	Weaver in Newington

CC8/8/106/280-288	Francis Curry	11/08/1742	Candlemaker in the Canongate, brother of John Curry, merchant in Kirkcaldy
CC8/8/106/456-473	James Braidwood	30/11/1742	Elder, candlemaker burgess of Edinburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/107/594-601	John Borthwick	01/09/1743	Of Crookstoun, advocate, widower
CC8/8/108/33-53	Charles Cockburn	09/12/1743	Advocate, died in Haddington, left a widow
CC8/8/109/538-563	George Smollet	25/01/1745	Of Inglistoune, advocate, late one of the commissaries of Edinburgh
CC8/8/110/81-95	William Aikman	21/03/1745	Shoemaker, St Mary's Wynd, Edinburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/111/198-205	John Gillan	17/03/1747	Apprentice to Thomas Gardner, merchant in Edinburgh
CC8/8/112/871-877	George Preston	08/06/1749	Surgeon major to His Majesty's Forces in Scotland, widower
CC8/8/112/1036-1044	Thomas Boyd	15/07/1749	Surgeon in Bathgate
CC8/8/113/15-20	James Fairweather	16/01/1750	Left a widow
CC8/8/113/27-29	Thomas Leslie	17/01/1750	Bailie, writer in Linlithgow, left a daughter
CC8/8/113/231-233	William Bain	03/02/1750	Miner, left a widow
CC8/8/113/66-71	John Hunter	06/02/1750	Chairmaster, left a widow
CC8/8/113/151-154	James Laurie	30/03/1750	Mealmaker in Leith, left a widow
CC8/8/113/256-268	John Sloss	21/05/1750	Vintner in Edinburgh, sometime servitor to Marquess of Annandale
CC8/8/113/268-274	Alexander Maitland	24/05/1750	Merchant and ex-captain in the city guard, left a widow
CC8/8/113/330-336	Walter Anderson	07/07/1750	Bookkeeper to John Hope & Co., merchants in Edinburgh, brother german to William Anderson, minister at Manner
CC8/8/113/387-389	John Gibb	27/07/1750	Vintner at Wright's House
CC8/8/113/431-432	William Nicoll	30/08/1750	Carpenter in North Leith, left a daughter
CC8/8/113/442-453	James Steuart	17/09/1750	Keeper of His Majesty's Wardrobe in Scotland, left a widow
CC8/8/113/474-476	William Rhind	02/10/1750	Two daughters
CC8/8/113/543-548	John Fyfe	21/11/1750	Residenter in Gray's Close, south side of the High Street, left a widow
CC8/8/113/856-864	John Dempster	22/06/1751	Captain of the city guards, left a widow
CC8/8/113/1086-1098	Alexander Ramage	15/11/1751	Sometime surgeon in Old Deer, lawful son of deceased John Ramage, surgeon in Cruden, Aberdeenshire
CC8/8/114/8-13	William Keith	02/12/1751	Weaver in Portsburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/114/871-878	Adam Baillie	28/02/1753	Baker in Dalkeith, left a widow
CC8/8/114/1012-1016	George Sutherland	04/05/1753	Surgeon in Edinburgh
CC8/8/114/997-1002	John Allan	19/04/1753	Baker and burgess of Edinburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/15/1074-1076	Allan Bruce	15/10/1755	Weaver in Leith, left a widow
CC8/8/116/442-446	Andrew Pearson	18/01/1757	Sometime baker in Perth, thereafter in London
CC8/8/117/126-127	David Wishart	28/03/1758	Weaver in North Leith
CC8/8/117/268-271	Andrew Foord	19/07/1758	City guard, left a widow
CC8/8/118/894-898	Patrick	19/05/1761	Surgeon-apothecary in Dalkeith

	Carmichael		
CC8/8/118/956-957	John Sutherland	17/06/1761	Weaver, late in Paisley
CC8/8/119/274-279	Andrew Muat	05/08/1762	Captain in the city guard, left a widow
CC8/8/119/290-293	John Stewart	09/08/1762	Chairman
CC8/8/120/810-816	Walter Goodale	15/05/1767	Keeper of Advocate's Library
CC8/8/121/173-179	Walter Colvill	23/03/1768	Baker in Edinburgh, widower
CC8/8/122/84-92	William Smith	13/02/1771	Baker in Edinburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/122/72-73	Peter Izat	31/01/1771	Baker at Abbeyhill, left a widow
CC8/8/123/133-136	Duncan Campbell	19/04/1774	City guard, left a widow
CC8/8/124/752-755	George Shaw	29/04/1778	Baker in Bo'ness, left a widow
CC8/8/124/924/928	James Wilson	05/08/1778	Weaver in Lugton, left a widow
CC8/8/124/1354-1359	George Fortune	29/07/1779	Baker in Nicolson Street, Edinburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/125/1004-1009	Patrick Murray	11/05/1781	Esquire of Cherrytrees, advocate and late sheriff depute of Roxburgh-shire
CC8/8/126/386-392	John Stewart	03/09/1783	Chairman, left a widow
CC8/8/126/959-972	Robert Primrose	13/12/1784	Surgeon in Edinburgh
CC8/8/127/5-22	Murdoch MacKenzie	11/01/1786	Sergeant in the city guard, left a widow and children
CC8/8/127/88-90	James Kinnaird	23/03/1786	Weaver in Dalkeith, left a widow
CC8/8/127/669-673	George Hardie	28/04/1786	Baker in Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, left a widow
CC8/8/127/1632-1638	John McCoul	05/12/1788	Candlemaker
CC8/8/128/530-534	Henry Melvill	09/01/1790	Schoolmaster in Leith, left a widow
CC8/8/128/544-547	James Tate	13/01/1790	Ordained measurer for the City of Edinburgh
CC8/8/128/554-562	Charles Elliot	28/01/1790	Bookseller in Edinburgh
CC8/8/128/616-656	Alexander McKay	24/04/1790	Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces in Scotland, two farms in Selkirk
CC8/8/128/673-684	George Dougal	12/05/1790	Shoemaker in Canonmills
CC8/8/128/697-704	Francis Cowan	21/05/1790	Minister at Gladsmuir, left a widow
CC8/8/128/705-708	Robert Manson Sinclair	21/05/1790	Of Bridgend, late residenter in Edinburgh
CC8/8/128/778-829	Duncan Aire	07/07/1790	Commander of 'Royal Charlotte', married twice, inventory contested by daughter of first marriage
CC8/8/128/829-833	James Smart	07/07/1790	Shipbuilder in Barrow, left four daughters
CC8/8/128/848-870	James Haldane	04/08/1790	Vintner at the Golf House, Links of Leith, left a widow
CC8/8/128/909-915	John Wardrop	18/08/1790	Preacher and schoolmaster in Midcalder
CC8/8/128/1542-1552	Henry Cullen	08/09/1790	Physician in Edinburgh
CC8/8/128/943-1017	James Reid	15/09/1790	Comptroller of customs, Prestonpans
CC8/8/128/1057-1060	Alexander Orr	08/12/1790	Feuar in Nicolson Street, left a widow
CC8/8/128/1068-1072	James Bell	15/12/1790	Smith in Canongate
CC8/8/129/20-22	Charles Dowie	18/01/1792	Baker at the head of the Pleasance, left a widow
CC8/8/129/494-501	Robert Craig	23/01/1793	Baker in Edinburgh, left a widow

CC8/8/129/574-579	Robert Fleming	11/04/1793	Surgeon-apothecary in Edinburgh
CC8/8/129/1076-1078	William Bairnsfather	20/02/1794	Sometime apprentice to a baker in Edinburgh, died in Jamaica

Women:

Reference	Name	Date of inventory	Occupation or other information
CC8/8/84/587	Elizabeth Douglas	03/01/1710	Daughter to the deceased Robert Douglas, merchant in Edinburgh
CC8/8/84/618-620	Elizabeth Rigg	27/01/1710	Indweller in Edinburgh
CC8/8/85/59-60	Katherine Wood	12/03/1711	Relict of William Hamilton, brother of Sir John Hamilton of Halcraig
CC8/8/87/624-626	Mary Cuthbertson	11/02/1720	Relict of Thomas Baxter, baxter in North Leith
CC8/8/87/749-751	Katharine Angus	12/07/1720	Relict of Robert Lithgow, gardener at Cross Caby near Edinburgh
CC8/8/87/761-763	Agnes Keelling	28/07/1720	Relict of James Houstoun, wright in Edinburgh
CC8/8/92/591-598	Jean Hay, Dowager Countess of March	23/01/1730	Second daughter of John Hay, Marquess of Tweeddale, relict of William Douglas, earl of March
CC8/8/92/608-611	Margaret Campbell	29/01/1730	Resident in Mint Close, Edinburgh, daughter of deceased Captain James Campbell
CC8/8/93/43	Hanna Thomson	17/03/1730	Spouse to John Spense, cordiner in Linlithgow, sister german to Robert Thomson, cooper
CC8/8/93/44-52	Jean Leslie, Countess of Leven	18/03/1730	Relict of David Leslie, formerly Melville, Earl of Leven, residenter in South Leith
CC8/8/93/99-104	Jean Ogilvie	22/04/1730	Merchant
CC8/8/96/333-352	Elizabeth Ranken	08/08/1734	Relict of Alexander Henryson, writer to the signet, then relict of Captain Charles Dumbreck of the Edinburgh City Guard
CC8/8/103/33-38	Christian Davidson	07/01/1740	Relict of Alexander Marshel, tailor in Edinburgh
CC8/8/103/72-75	Agnes Wilson	24/01/1740	Relict of Andrew Mathison, flesher in Canongate
CC8/8/103-145	Janet McIntyre, nee Adam	03/03/1740	Relict of Colin McIntyre, merchant in Edinburgh
CC8/8/103/232-234	Agnes McDougall	05/04/1740	Relict of John Elliot, brewer in Edinburgh, parish of St. Cuthberts
CC8/8/103/280-283	Barbara Chiesly	07/05/1740	Lawful daughter to deceased William Chiesly of Cockburn
CC8/8/103/386-391	Jean Oliphant, alias Adair	03/07/1740	Relict of John Adair, residenter in Canongate and sometime geographer for Scotland
CC8/8/110/75-79	Mary Lee	15/03/1745	Relict of Thomas Lockhart, land surveyor at Leith, sometime writer in Edinburgh, left a son
CC8/8/113/108-122	Christian Jean Ross	02/05/1748	Daughter of Colonel James Ross of Portuvo, residing at Brucehill, Costorphine
CC8/8/113/207-211	Marianna Campbell	20/04/1749	Relict of Walter Campbell, receiver general of the customs of North Britain, two daughters
CC8/8/113/29-	Eupham Robertson	18/01/1750	Relict of William Rolland, gardener at

32			Silvermills, formerly relict of William Howden
CC8/8/113/242-247	Marion Gilchrist	10/05/1750	Tenant in the West End of Humbie Dykes, relict of John Muir
CC8/8/113/277-285	Margaret May	30/05/1750	Relict of David Foulter, carpenter in North Leith
CC8/8/113/342-343	Elizabeth Williamson	13/07/1750	Relict of Robert Robertson, blockmaker (trader or broker) in Leith
CC8/8/113/358-360	Elizabeth Robertson	27/07/1750	Relict of Walter Ritchie, brewer in Fisherrow
CC8/8/113/395-405	Margaret Smith	07/08/1750	Daughter of deceased James Smith, merchant in Haddington
CC8/8/113/432-436	Mrs Major	06/09/1750	Married to [??] Major, attorney at law, Leicester, one daughter
CC8/8/113/570-574	Katharine Kinloch	04/12/1750	Relict of Alexander Gordon, merchant in Bologne, sister german to Captain Francis Kinloch, residenter in Canongate
CC8/8/113/592-598	Dame Louisa Aitchison	17/12/1750	Relict of Sir John Rochead, bart.
CC8/8/128/581-589	Margaret Black	10/03/1790	Relict of John Ford, shipmaster in Leith
CC8/8/128/712-716	Sarah Rankine	28/05/1790	Relict of Dugald Clerk of Braelochan
CC8/8/128/886-891	Jane Ker	16/08/1790	Dowager Marchioness of Lothian

INVERNESS

Men:

Reference	Name	Date of inventory	Occupation or other information
CC11/1/4/123-140	George Forbes	18/05/1722	Writer in Inverness
CC11/1/4/188-190	John Cuming	19/08/1724	In Duthill
CC11/1/4/208-213	Robert Grant	17/03/1725	Of Kinchurdy
CC11/1/4/219-226	James Dunbar	07/12/1725	Bailie and merchant of Inverness
CC11/1/4/231-233	Donald McPherson	23/02/1726	Of Flichity
CC11/1/4/234-238	Malcom McPhersone	23/02/1726	Of Breckachy
CC11/1/4/299-300	James Fraser	21/02/1728	In Drumtemple of Stratherrick
CC11/1/4/311-314	Donald McLeod	26/02/1729	Of Sandig
CC11/1/4/315-316	William McQueen	05/03/1729	Late of Clune at Killiechuiman
CC11/1/4/317-318	George Stark	04/06/1729	Weaver, burgess of Inverness
CC11/1/4/322-33	David Grant	09/07/1729	Sometime in Milntown of Abernethy
CC11/1/4/327-329	John Grant	28/10/1729	Of Corrimony
CC11/1/4/330	James Tolme	17/12/1729	Merchant in Inverness

CC11/1/5/280-282	Finlay McNabb	09/05/1750	Late soldier of Lord John Murray's Highland regiment
CC11/1/5/300-306	Duncan McIntosh	15/11/1751	Of Essich
CC11/1/5/335-337	Donald Bain Kennedy	07/03/1754	Tenant in Glendoebegg
CC11/1/5/369-372	James Grant alias McWillie	31/05/1755	In Belnahaun of Clury
CC11/1/5/381-384	William Jack	17/11/1756	Lister (dyer) in Inverness
CC11/1/5/386-393	John Grant	08/02/1757	Of Coingess
CC11/1/5/400-402	William McIntosh	12/10/1757	Merchant in Maryburgh
CC11/1/5/408-410	James Cuming	25/12/1758	Tenant in Arradow of Clury
CC11/1/5/412-421	Duncan Shaw	16/01/1759	Tacksman of Brin
CC11/5/13-20	Alexander McKenzie	01/07/1759	Captain of regiment commanded by General Marjorybanks in the service of the States General of the United Provinces
CC11/1/4/24-31	Grigor Grant	10/09/1759	Of Tobiray
CC11/1/5/34-40	Hugh Fraser	08/10/1759	Younger of Ardochie
CC11/1/6/41-45	Andrew Rose	05/03/1760	Officer of excise at Milntown of Culloden
CC11/1/6/395-397	Sir Robert Sinclair of Murkle	07/03/796	Baronet
CC11/1/6/402-406	Alexander Trapaud	21/04/1797	Lieutenant Governor of Fort Augustus
CC11/1/6/412-456	David Dean	21/01/1799	Merchant

Women:

Reference	**Name**	**Date of inventory**	**Occupation/other information**
CC11/4/286-288	Magdalen Fraser	09/11/1727	Spouse of Robert Cuming of Relugas
CC11/1/4/323	Elspet McPherson	23/07/1729	Relict of Phinlay McKay, son of Patrick McKay, smith in Invernglas
CC11/1/4/377-378	Marjory Grant	25/02/1730	Lawful daughter to deceased John Grant in Achnihanat
CC11/1/4/340-341	Elizabeth McIntosh	17/06/1730	Relict of Duncan McIntosh, son to William McIntosh of Borlum
CC11/1/5/294-296	Elspet Steuart	14/08/1751	Daughter of deceased John Steuart, late kirk officer from the parish of Abernethie
CC11/1/6/401-402	Elspeth Grant	13/10/1796	Only daughter of deceased Robert Grant of Riemore in Strathspey

THE ISLES

Men:

Reference	Name	Date of inventory	Occupation or other information
CC12/3/2/44-46	Alexander Cunison	05/07/1718	Minister at Ross, Mull
CC12/3/3/38-52	Colin Campbell	29/12/1729	Minister of Ellister, parish of Kilchoman, Islay
CC12/3/2/117-122	Roderick McLeod	22/06/1745	Of Ulinish
CC12/3/5/6-7	Duncan MacIntyre	09/09/1754	Late servitor in Cultoun, Islay, son of Donald MacIntyre in Leribun
CC12/3/5/11-15	Neill MacLagan	21/01/1755	Late change keeper in Machry-Coul, left a wife and children
CC12/3/5/16-22	Coll MacDugald	31/05/1755	Late merchant in Tighindrom, parish of Kildatane
CC12/3/6/366-368	Lachlan Ross	27/08/1795	Late merchant in Portree, Skye
CC12/3/6/403-405	William Reid	28/01/1798	Sometime hawker of books, late a teacher of a country school at Lubas, parish of Kingarth, Bute
CC12/3/6/409-426	John Muir	21/05/1798	Vintner in Rothesay

Women:

Reference	Name	Date of inventory	Occupation or other information
CC12/3/2/54-55	Margaret Maclean	30/06/1726	Spouse of Angus Maclean of Kinlochaline
CC12/3/4/160	Mary McInlister	27/03/1750	Spouse of Donal Mackey, late in Kilneave, Islay
CC12/3/5/30-34	Catharine McLane	11/08/1756	Spouse to John Robertson, physician in Octovulin, parish of Killarow
CC12/3/5/35-40	Elizabeth MacLane	30/11/1756	Spouse to John Campbell, tacksman of Ardneave, left young children
CC12/3/6/393-394	Susanna Ritchie	16/05/1798	Spouse to John McKay, cooper in Rothesay, left one daughter
CC12/3/6/395-397	Jean Currie	21/09/1798	Resided at Roundhay, parish of Kilbryde, Arran
CC12/3/6/397-399	Margaret MacLean	18/10/1798	Relict of Alexander MacDonald, sometime tacksman of Kirkibost, South Uist

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MS9676 Legal papers and miscellaneous documents
MS9677 Miscellaneous documents

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