

## CHAPTER V

### Results and Discussion

The purpose of this research was to determine whether or not poetry (i.e., poems, ballads, and songs) could be used as a source of knowledge on historic dress in a social, political, or economic context, using the dress of Scottish Highlanders from 1603 through 1830 as an example, and to triangulate the findings with other sources that portray dress through the written word or visual image. This research cross-referenced the items of dress with social, political, and economic events that occurred in the lives of the Scottish and Highland people. Poetry was a major source of expression for the Scottish and Highland people and represents a valuable resource for studying historic dress; therefore, the main source of documentation for this research was 3,501 literary documents written from 1603-1830 in the form of poetry (i.e. poems, ballads, and songs). The researcher examined these literary documents and identified 394 poems with male dress references and 245 poems with female dress references between 1603 and 1830. The researcher also examined the relationship between dress references, the social, political, and economic events, and the contents of the poetry. Finally, the researcher examined the impact of sumptuary laws (i.e., the banning of Highland dress due to The Act of Proscription) on the dress behavior of the Scottish Highlanders during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The study was completed in three phases. The first phase identified 3,501 poems by Scottish writers and documented whether or not dress references were present. The second phase involved further investigation into the poems with dress references. Each poem was read and dress information was recorded on either instrument A or B, depending on whether the reference referred to male dress or female dress. The dress references were recorded into an Excel<sup>TM</sup> database first and then imported into SPSS 10.1<sup>TM</sup> program for analysis. The data analysis was recorded as cross-tabulations and frequencies. The final phase of the study involved the investigation of travel accounts, in the form of letters, and portraits to triangulate with the information gained in the poetry portion of the study (i.e., phase II). Dress information in letters was recorded on Instruments C and D (gender-specific) and portrait information was recorded on Instrument E.

The findings for this study were divided into poetry, portraits, and letters and were arranged according to the research questions. The findings for the poetry section treated male dress references and female dress references separately. The poetry

section was organized according to each research question and was discussed in order of category placement within the instrument (e.g., upper body, lower body, fibers). The poetry section answered research questions 1 through 4. These questions were answered in a quantitative manner (i.e., frequencies and cross-tabulations). Dress references were divided into several different categories, including upper and lower body, shoes, accessories, headdress, fabric, and fibers. Each of the first four research questions pertained to adult dress. The fifth question was answered in a qualitative manner in the portrait and letters sections. The letters were divided into male and female letters, as well as location in the Highlands or Lowlands and time period. The portraits were divided into male and female portraits, as well as their location and time period. Both the letters and portraits had dress references for adults and children. The poetry section was analyzed statistically, while the portraits and letters were analyzed qualitatively. Poetry findings were introduced into both the portrait and letter sections, in order to triangulate the findings and deduce the relationship between the three sources.

#### Research Question 1

How many dress references appeared in Scottish poetry between 1603 and 1830?

Eighteen anthologies were examined that contained poems written by Scottish authors. Each poem was only considered once. There were poems that contained a similar name but different words, in which case each of those poems was considered separately. The total number of poems examined for this study was 3,501. Each poem was analyzed to determine whether an item of dress was mentioned. There were a total of 639 poems that contained references to specific items of dress. The poems that had dress references were further examined for the number of dress references overall. Male and female dress references were examined separately. Instruments A and/or B (i.e., gender specific) were completed for each poem with dress references. Each dress item mentioned was noted and determined to be either a male or female garment. There were 245 poems with female dress references and 394 poems with male dress references for a total of 639 poems with dress references. Approximately 18% of the poems examined had dress references. The percentage of poems with dress references appeared small; however, the number of specific dress references within those poems was large. Each poem had one or more references to dress items with a total of 1531 references to dress for both males and females (see Table 7). There were 741

Table 7

Dress References In Poetry

Dress Reference Categories	Number of Male Dress Items within Poems	Number of Poems with Male dress items	Percentage of specific male dress items within poems	Female Dress References within Poems	Number of Poems with Female dress items	Percentage of specific female dress items within poems
Accessories	108	394	27.4%	98	245	40.0%
Fabrics	56	394	14.2%	53	245	21.6%
Fibers	18	394	4.5%	51	245	20.8%
Footwear	70	394	17.8%	47	245	19.2%
General Dress References	174	394	44.2%	116	245	47.3%
Headdress	159	394	40.4%	50	245	20.4%
Lower Body Dress Items	124	394	31.2%	63	245	25.7%
Upper Body Dress Items	206	394	52.3%	148	245	60.4%
Total	915	394	≠100%	626	245	≠100%

references to specific dress items within male poems. Male upper body dress items were the most often mentioned items of dress overall, followed by headdress items, lower body dress items, and accessory items. Footwear, fabrics, and fibers were the least mentioned male dress items in poetry. In addition, there were 174 general references to dress (e.g., he was brawlie dressed) within the male poems. The most often mentioned garments appeared on the upper half of the male (i.e., upper body garments and headdress), which would be the most visible area when first looking at a man. There were 510 references to specific dress items within the female poems. Similar to male dress references, the female upper body dress items were the most often mentioned. Accessory items were the next most popular item mentioned by poets, followed by lower body dress items. Fabrics, fibers, headdress items, and footwear were discussed with similar frequency. In addition, there were 116 general references to dress (e.g., she was brawlie dressed) within the female poems. The most often mentioned items for women also appeared on the upper half of the female form (i.e., upper body garments and accessories), which would be the most visible area when first looking at a woman. While the actual number of poems and dress references were greater for poems with male

dress references, poems with female dress references often had a higher ratio of specific dress items within a poem with female dress references (e.g., upper body dress items for males 52.3%, upper body dress items for females 60.4%). This would indicate that poets discussed men in general more often but when discussing women the poets mentioned many items that completed a woman's appearance.

### Research Question 2a

What specific dress items were worn by the Scottish people, particularly the Highlanders, between 1603 and 1830?

Instruments A and B were used to identify specific dress items mentioned in Scottish poetry. The instruments had been created using specific dress terminology gained during the review of literature. In addition, some new dress terminology was discovered during the examination of the poetry, as most editors of the anthologies provided glossaries or footnotes about items of dress. Each time a new term was encountered it was added to the instrument and the previously examined poems were re-examined to investigate if the new term was initially missed. All dress terms were documented only once for each poem. In addition, any color adjective or other type of dress descriptor that accompanied a dress reference was recorded. The instruments were examined, the information was entered into a database, and frequencies and cross-tabulations were generated. A separate analysis was conducted on poems written in Gaelic to compare the dress references in poems written by authors of unspecified Scottish origin (i.e., Highlanders or Lowlanders) with authors of specified Scottish origin (i.e., Highlanders).

The dress references in poetry were then used to identify specific Scottish dress items, particularly Highland dress items, worn between 1603 and 1830. The poetry referred to specific dress items being worn by characters in each poem. Some references were accompanied by color adjectives and other descriptors. Unfortunately, the dress references were usually just a garment name and no style information could be associated with the name. The information on dress did add to the knowledge base on what was worn in Scotland in general, particularly the Highlands. Some information was gained on Lowland dress, but since that was not the focus of the study, any information gained was an additional benefit.

Poetry with male dress references was separated from poetry with female dress references. The dress items in the categories of upper body, lower body, fiber, fabric, footwear, accessories, and headdress were examined using frequencies to understand the amount and type of dress items worn during the time period under investigation.

#### Male dress reference frequencies

Male upper body dress items accounted for 52.3% of the specific male dress reference items. The upper body garments consisted of the belted plaid, the plaid, the sark (shirt), the coat, the robe, the gown, the mantle, and armour (see Table 8). The plaid and the coat were the most frequently mentioned items in male poetry, while the mantle was the least frequently mentioned item. The plaid was a distinctly Scottish item of male dress (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Dunbar, 1979) and was understandably the most frequently cited upper body item. Alexander MacDonald wrote the poem "The proud plaid," and stated, "...More I loved the proud plaid beneath my arms and round my shoulders than any coat I could get, though the finest cloth from England..." (Campbell, 1984, p. 155). This statement praises the plaid and disparages the coat, no matter the fineness of the English cloth.

Some authors used adjectives to describe the upper garments. Authors infrequently noted color in association with upper body dress. The colors were red (5.83%), black (5.83%), green (4.37%), blue (3.40%), and white (1.94%). Red and black were discussed equally as often, while green and blue were mentioned slightly less frequently. White was the least noted color, which could indicate that the Highlanders preferred to wear more colorful garments. In addition to color, some authors specifically stated that the dress item was a tartan (8.74%) or Highland garment (3.40%). Embroidery was mentioned only one time in relation to an upper body garment (0.49%).

Male lower body dress items accounted for 31.2% of the specific male dress reference items in poetry. The lower body garments were trows, kilt (philibeg), stockings, hose, breeches, and garters (see Table 9). The kilt, breeches, and hose were the most frequently mentioned lower body dress items. The kilt and hose were generally worn together; therefore, the high frequency of these items was understandable due to their connection in the Highlands. The breeches were frequently associated with lower body dress of the Lowlanders. The trows, stockings, and garters were all discussed to some degree, but much less often than the aforementioned items. The researcher had expected to find the trows mentioned more often in poetry because this garment was

Table 8

Male Upper Body Dress Items

Upper Body Dress Item	Frequency	Percentage of Upper Body Dress Items
Plaid	70	33.98%
Coat	51	24.76%
Sark	27	13.11%
Armour	17	8.25%
Robe	14	6.77%
Gown	13	6.31%
Belted Plaid	10	4.85%
Mantle	4	1.94%
Total Upper Body Dress Items	206	≈100.0%

Table 9

Male Lower Body Dress Items

Lower Body Dress Items	Frequency	Percentage of Lower Body Dress Items
Klit (philabeg)	35	28.23%
Breeches	29	23.39%
Hose	26	20.97%
Trews	15	13.0%
Stockings	10	8.06%
Garters	9	7.26%
Total Lower Body Dress Items	124	≈100.0%

associated only with the Highlanders; however, the trews were also associated with the upper classes and poetry was often written for or about the average person.

Once again, adjectives were observed in relation to dress items, specifically the lower body garments. The colors were gray (5.65%), blue (4.03%), red (0.80%), green (0.80%), and white (0.64%). Gray may be the highest color observed for the lower body garments because hoden gray was one fabric that was produced in Scottish households (Hamilton, 1991). Black was never noted as a lower body color. None of the colors were noted with high frequency. A few other adjectives were noted in relation to lower body garments, including tartan (11.29%) and Highland (3.23%). Adjectives did not appear to be the main concern of the poet when discussing lower body dress items.

Fibers only accounted for 4.5% of the specific male dress reference items. The only fibers discussed by poets were silk and wool. Silk has always been considered a luxury fiber (Kadolph & Langford, 1998) and was imported from an unknown trade source into Scotland. On the other hand, wool, cotton, and flax were all produced in Scotland (Freilinger, 1981; Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938). Wool was the only home produced fiber mentioned; however, wool was mentioned infrequently. Poets usually discussed silk as an item that the character longed for or associated the silk fiber with wealth.

The mention of fabric in poetry accounted for 14.2% of the specific male dress reference items. Fabrics were also observed as a category in this study and included tartan, hodden gray, and plain colored (see Table10). The tartan (91.07%) was overwhelmingly the choice of fabric mentioned by authors. An anonymous poet wrote “The Tartan” in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poem stated, “...belt on the tartan: nobler dress a man could never belt, worthy of even thee, a Prince...” (Meller, 1973, p. 32). The tartan fabric was associated with the Hgihlanders until the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, when all of Scotland adopted the tartan as a national symbol. The plain colored and hodden gray were rarely mentioned. Poets never mentioned paisley fabric, which was created in Paisley, Scotland and popular in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

Fabrics were occasionally discussed with color adjectives. Red (14.29%), blue (10.71%), black (7.14%), green (5.36%), and gray (1.79%) were the colors mentioned, while white was never mentioned. The plaid was mentioned in relation to the tartan fabric 25.00% of the time. Fine was another adjective used by authors to describe fabrics (3.57%), which may indicate that high quality in fabrics was not generally expected.

Table 10  
Male Fabrics

Fabrics	Frequency	Percentage of Fabrics
Tartan	51	91.07%
Plain Colored	4	7.14%
Hodden Gray	1	1.79%
Total Fabrics	56	≈100.0%

The footwear category accounted for 17.8% of the specific male dress reference items. Shoes, boots, and being barefoot were the footwear categories in this study. Poets frequently mentioned men wearing shoes, rather than going barefoot. Boots were also noted by poets, but no other information was associated with the wearing of boots, except in one case. The word jack-boots appeared in one poem; these boots made from rigid leather and worn in Europe in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Black was discussed as a shoe color (5.71%) more often than any other color; other colors mentioned were yellow and blue (2.86%). Twice shoes were mentioned to have been made from leather. The poets also discussed some shoes as having heels (8.57%), but not the size of the heel.

Accessory items accounted for 27.4% of the specific male dress reference items in poetry. The accessories consisted of brooches, belts, purses, rings, wigs, tassels, gloves, and cravats (see Table 11). The sporran was never mentioned, only the purse, which is essentially the same thing (Harrold, 1978; Thornburn, 1976; von Furstenberg, 1996). Accessories appear to have been an important part of dress, as all of the items were discussed with some frequency. The belt, tassels, and purse were the most frequently discussed items, while the brooch and the cravat were the least often mentioned accessories. The belt and purse were likely mentioned most often because of their utilitarian nature.

Table 11

Male Dress Accessory Items

Accessory Items	Frequency	Percentage of Accessory Items
Belt	20	18.52%
Tassels	18	16.67%
Purse	16	14.81%
Wigs	14	12.96%
Rings	13	12.04%
Gloves	13	12.04%
Brooch	7	6.48%
Cravat	7	6.48%
Total Accessory Items	108	≈100.0%



Once again, the poets did not mention color very often. Blue (0.5%), white (1.3%) red (0.3%), and green (0.3%) were infrequently mentioned. The precious metal colors of gold (2.5%) and silver (1.0%) were discussed with slightly more frequency than primary colors, although white was mentioned more often than silver. Since several of the accessories would likely have been made in whole or in part with metals, the higher frequencies of gold and silver were appropriate.

Headdress accounted for 40.4% of the specific male dress reference items in poetry. Headdress, including the bonnet, the hat, the cap, the crown, and the helmet, were all noted in poems about men (see Table 12). The bonnet (50.94%) was mentioned more often than any other headdress item. The bonnet was noted for being an item of all Scotsmen's wardrobe (Bain, 1954; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Hamilton, 1991) and therefore makes sense that authors mentioned the use of the bonnet in their poetry. The crown and hat were also mentioned quite often. The hat was used in a general sense rather than as a specific style it may have represented. Prince Charlie was considered the "rightful" king of Britain by many Scots (Brander, 1980; Rogers, 1886; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984) and was usually the man wearing the crown in poetry. The cap and the helmet were the least frequently discussed headdress items.

Authors discussed color in relation to headdress more often than any other male dress items. Red, blue, black, and white were the colors discussed; green was not discussed. Blue was discussed frequently (20.13%) in relation to the bonnet. The Highlanders were noted for wearing the blue bonnet (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991). Red (5.03%) and black (3.14%) were also mentioned but not with high frequency. White (10.06%) was noted in relation to the additional accoutrements, particularly the cockade, to the headdress. The cockade was worn along with the bonnet by men who supported Prince Charlie's bid for the British crown. The color of headdress may have been frequently mentioned because of the high visibility of such items on the body, the eye would be drawn to a colorful object on the head. In addition, the color of one's headdress often indicated allegiance with a political party or a clan (Dunbar, 1979).

Other adjectives (headdress accoutrements) mentioned in relation to headdress were feathers, tassels, and ribbons. Feathers (13.21%) were also worn with the bonnet. Ribbons (5.03%) and tassels (0.63%) were worn on headdresses, but mentioned infrequently. The poets did provide a clue as to the manner in which the bonnet was worn by describing the bonnet as being worn cocked (3.77%) to the side.

Table 12

Male Headdress Items

Male Headdress Items	Frequency	Percentage of Headdress Items
Bonnet	81	50.94%
Crown	30	18.87%
Hat	25	15.72%
Cap	15	9.43%
Helmet	8	5.03%
Total Headdress Items	159	≈100.0%

The poets described male dress from head to toe in only 57 poems (14.47%). The majority of the poems describe one or more male dress items but not the entire ensemble. The words “cloth,” “clothes,” and “dress” were used quite frequently in poems (44.2%). The mention of garments in general denotes the importance of dress to people, but is not specific enough to add to the knowledge base on Scottish dress.

Lastly, British garments (4.5%) were mentioned in 18 poems dealing with political situations. Often, the garments mentioned were the British redcoats of the soldiers when doing battle with the Highlanders and other Jacobites. Other British garments were not necessarily specifically noted, but rather stated as the “unmanly” or uncomfortable British clothes.

Tone had a small role in the poems as well, and was divided into happy, sad, and proud. The tone of the male centered poems was similar to each other; being happy (38.1%), sad (35.5%), and proud (26.4%). Authors tended to write about the characters’ role as the love interest (32.2%), soldiers (25.9%), or royalty (12.2%), rather than other types of roles (e.g., father or son).

Female dress reference frequencies

Upper body dress items accounted for 60.4% of the specific female dress reference items. The upper body garments consisted of the plaid, gown, robe, coat, rokelay, smock, mantle, sark, and bodice (see Table 13). The gown was notably the item most frequently mentioned by poets in relation to female dress. Women from all over Europe wore some variation of a gown or shirt and shirt at this time. Unfortunately no style information accompanied the description of the gown to aid in differentiating the Highland gown from other gowns worn in Europe. The coat was the next most frequently

mentioned item of upper body dress. The researcher was surprised that the coat was the second most frequently mentioned upper body garment, as the wearing of coats by women in Europe was unusual at this time. The least frequently mentioned upper body dress items were the robe, bodice, rokelay, which was a type of short cloak, and smock.

Table 13

Female Upper Body Dress Items

Female Upper Body Dress Items	Frequency	Percentage of Upper Body Dress Items
Gown	52	35.14%
Coat	23	15.54%
Mantle	16	10.81%
Sark	15	10.14%
Plaid	13	8.78%
Robe	11	7.43%
Bodice	7	4.73%
Rokelay	6	4.05%
Smock	5	3.38%
Total Upper Body Dress Items	148	≈100.0%

Poets did not mention color with a high degree of frequency. However, on occasion, green, brown, blue, gray, red, black, and white were noted in association with an upper body dress item. Green (10.81%) was the color most often mentioned, followed by brown (4.73%) and blue (4.05%). The mention of green and blue indicate that women may have preferred to dress in brighter colors. The colors least frequently mentioned were gray (3.38%), white (2.70%), red (2.03%), and black (1.35%). Poets occasionally attached other adjectives or descriptors to dress items. The words “kilted up” (5.41%) and “new” (5.41%) were noted with the most frequency. Kilted up was noted in conjunction with a female’s coat. An anonymous poet who wrote “The weel-tocher’d lass” stated, “...Then kilt up thy coats, my lassie, and gae thy ways hame with me...” (Chambers, 1829, p.139). Another anonymous poet who wrote “Will ye gang to the Highlands” stated, “...She has kilted her coats o’ green satin, she has kilted them up to the knee...” (Chambers, 1829, p.144). Another word mentioned by poets was “embroidery” (0.8%), but with little frequency. Embroidery would have been an

expensive detail to add to a garment and since most Highlanders were poor, embroidery would not have been a feasible addition to their garments.

Lower body dress items accounted for 25.7% of the specific female dress reference items. The lower body dress items consisted of the petticoat, stockings, hose, garters, girdle, kirtle (skirt), and apron (see Table 14). The hose and the kirtle were the lower body items most frequently mentioned. The kirtle would have been the most visible lower body dress item on a woman; whereas, the hose would only be visible near the ankle and foot. The girdle and petticoat were also mentioned frequently, which appeared usual since these items would generally not be seen when looking at a woman. The least frequent items noted were the garters and the stockings, also items not usually seen.

Table 14

Female Lower Body Dress Items

Female Lower Body Dress Items	Frequency	Percentage of Lower Body Dress Items
Hose	14	22.22%
Kirtle (skirt)	11	17.46%
Girdle	9	14.29%
Apron	9	14.29%
Petticoat	8	12.70%
Garters	7	11.11%
Stockings	5	7.94%
Total Lower Body Dress Items	63	≈100.0%

There were few adjectives mentioned in conjunction with the lower body dress items. Some poets mentioned color in association with a lower body garment. The colors gold (9.52%), red (7.94%), green (4.76%), and blue (1.59%) were mentioned, but not with a high degree of frequency. No other colors were mentioned. Gold was usually mentioned in connection with a girdle. Anna Gordon Brown wrote the poem “Twa sisters” and stated, “...O sister, sister, tak my middle, an yes get my goud [gold] and my gouden [golden] girdle...” (MacQueen & Scott, 1966, p.268). The only other adjectives mentioned were “new” (3.17%) and “embroidered” (3.17%), but with very little frequency.

Fibers accounted for 20.8% of the specific female dress reference items. Poets did not mention many fibers; however, they did mention silk, wool, and flax. Wool and flax were items produced in Scotland (Freilinger, 1981; Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary,

1938), while silk had to be imported from an unknown source. Silk (82.35%) was mentioned with a high degree of frequency, while wool and flax were hardly mentioned. Silk was usually mentioned as a wealth item that was wanted but not always owned by the character, as noted with men. Susan Blamire wrote, “And ye shall walk in silk attire and siller hae to spare, gin ye’ll consent to be his bride, nor think o’ Donald mair...” (Low, 1991, p. 249). Blamire’s poem indicated that silk was used as a wealth item (i.e., worth siller [silver]) to acquire a bride away from another suitor. The only colors mentioned in conjunction with fibers were red (1.96%) and green (1.96%). No other adjectives were mentioned.

Fabrics accounted for 21.6% of the specific female dress reference items. Poets mentioned fabrics slightly more often than the fibers from which they were created. The fabrics were tartan, paisley, hodden gray, pearlins (lace), satin, linen (Holland fine), and velvet (see Table 15). The most frequently mentioned fabrics were pearlins and linen. Satin was the next most frequently noted fabric, which was considered a luxury fabric. Pearlins, linen, and satin were all fabrics that would be worn on special occasions due to their expense. The fabrics mentioned the least were hodden gray and paisley, which were native to Scotland and perhaps the poets thought these fabrics were less glamorous when describing a woman.

Table 15  
Female Fabrics

Female Fabrics	Frequency	Percentage of Fabrics
Pearlins (lace)	18	33.96%
Linen (Holland fine)	13	24.53%
Satin	8	15.09%
Tartan	7	13.21%
Velvet	4	7.55%
Hodden Gray	2	3.77%
Paisley	1	1.89%
Total	53	≈100.0%

The only colors related to fabrics were red (5.66%), green (3.77%), and black (1.89%). Poets did not mention many color relationships with fabric. The only other

adjective that was attached to fabrics was the word “fine” (11.32%). Apparently, having fine quality fabric for women was important during the time period under investigation.

Footwear accounted for 19.2% of specific female dress reference items. Footwear items mentioned by poets referred to shoes or the lack of shoes. Poets mentioned the wearing of shoes (65.96%) with a high degree of frequency. Going barefoot was also mentioned with some degree of frequency (34.04%). Shoes were often mentioned as a wealth item, that is, something wanted or offered in exchange for marriage.

Most of the time poets did not mention any adjectives in conjunction with shoes. However, poets did occasionally mention satin, leather and heels in conjunction with shoes. Satin shoes (6.38%) were more often mentioned than leather shoes (2.13%). Satin shoes would have been a luxury item that may have been desirable to a woman and offered in exchange for marriage vows. The only other adjective was the word “heels” (8.51%). Unfortunately, no style or height information was mentioned in conjunction with the word “heels.”

Accessories accounted for 40.0% of the specific female dress reference items. Table 16 displays the many accessory items mentioned by poets in relation to females. The accessories were the brooch (pin), necklace, purse, ring, pearls, ribbons, gloves (mittens), cockade, and belt. Poets mentioned the ring as an accessory item more often than any other accessory item. Gloves and ribbons were also mentioned frequently. These items that appeared with a higher degree of frequency were items associated with love, courting, and/or marriage. Anna Gordon Brown wrote in her poem “Twa sisters” that, “... He courted the eldest wi glove an ring...” (MacQueen & Scott, 1966, p. 92). The items with the lowest frequencies were the belt, necklace, pearls, and cockade and were part of a general description of a woman’s ensemble.

Poets mentioned color in conjunction with accessory items more frequently than any other category. Red, blue, green, black, and white were the colors mentioned. Red (4.08%) and green (3.06%) were the most frequently mentioned colors. Black (2.04%), white (2.04%), and blue (1.02%) appeared less frequently. In addition to colors, poets mentioned metallic colors or metals of gold and silver. Gold (16.33%) appeared quite frequently and silver (4.08%) was mentioned much less often.

Headdress accounted for 20.4% of the specific female dress reference items. There were several headdress items mentioned by the poets. Headdress consisted of curches (kerchiefs), the snood, mutchcap, garland, crown, veil, pinner, and fillet (see

Table 17). The snood, curch, and mutchcap were the most frequently mentioned headdress items for females. The snood denoted maidenhood (as mentioned in various poems), while the curch was a sign of marriage (Dunbar, 1979). The garland, fillet, crown, veil, and pinner were the least frequently mentioned headdresses. The garland was mentioned in association with love and courting, since it was made entirely from flowers.

Table 16

Female Accessory Items

Female Accessory Items	Frequency	Percentage of Accessories
Ring	30	30.61%
Ribbons	16	16.33%
Brooch (Pin)	13	13.27%
Gloves (Mittens)	12	11.11%
Purse	10	10.20%
Belt	6	6.12%
Necklace	5	5.10%
Pearls	3	3.06%
Cockade	3	3.06%
Total Accessory Items	98	≈100.0%

Table 17

Female Headdress Items

Female Headdress Items	Frequency	Percentage of Headdress Items
Snood	17	34.0%
Curch	12	24.0%
Mutchcap	11	22.0%
Garland	5	10.0%
Fillet	2	4.0%
Crown	1	2.0%
Veil	1	2.0%
Pinner	1	2.0%
Total Headdress Items	50	100.0%

Color was not mentioned with a high degree of frequency. The only colors mentioned by the poets in conjunction with headdress were white (6.0%), blue (6.0%), green (2.0%), and red (2.0%). White was the color usually reserved for married women, while single women wore more colorful headdress. The colorful headdresses may have been a means for attracting the attention of a potential mate. Only a few adjectives were attached to headdress and then with little frequency. These adjectives were ribbons (2.0%), tassels (2.0%), and embroidery (2.0%).

An entire ensemble for a female was described in 35 of the 245 poems (14.1%). Most poems described one or more dress items without actually describing the entire ensemble a character was wearing.

Poets also wrote about cloth, clothes, and dress in general on 116 separate occasions. While the general mention of dress does not add specific information, it does indicate the importance of dress to poets. In addition to general dress notations, poets mentioned the word “brawlie” in 3.6% of the 116 general dress references to describe how someone was dressed. Brawlie was a term that one could equate with the modern words “cool” or “awesome.” No other terms were attached to the general dress terms. The tone of the poems was either happy (51.6%) or sad (43.1%), but rarely proud (5.2%).

#### Gaelic poems for control group

In addition to analyzing male and female dress items in poetry, twenty-eight Gaelic poems (4.4%) and their English translations were used as a control group to determine the clothing items mentioned in Gaelic Highland poetry. The geographic location of a poem was not concerned with whether a poet was a Highlander or a Lowlander; rather the concern was with a location mentioned within a poem. However, the control group was analyzed to confirm that Lowland poets were describing what they saw rather than working merely from literary tradition. The Lowlanders may have described Highland dress in poetry because Highland dress appeared unusual.

Gaelic poets rarely mentioned female dress and may indicate the patriarchal nature of Highland society. Only four of the poems mentioned female dress items, while twenty-six of the poems mentioned male dress item (two poems had both male and female dress items). Most of the items mentioned had been mentioned in the other poems in this study.



All of the female dress items mentioned in Gaelic poetry (see Table 18) appeared in the poetry by Scottish authors used in the study, with the exception of the handkerchief. In Gaelic poetry, the only female upper body garment mentioned was a bodice and the only female lower body garment mentioned was the girdle. Linen and satin were two types of fabric mentioned by Gaelic poets. Footwear (i.e., shoes) and several accessories were mentioned by Gaelic authors including gloves, belt, purse, ribbon, ring, and handkerchief. The fillet and the kertch (curch) were the only headdress items mentioned by Gaelic authors. Clothing as a general term also appeared in Gaelic poetry.

Table 18

Female Dress Items in Gaelic Poetry

Dress Items	Frequency
Belt	1
Bodice	1
Clothes (general)	2
Fillet	2
Girdle	1
Gloves	1
Handkerchief	1
Kertch (curch)	3
Linen	1
Purse	1
Ribbon	1
Ring	1
Satin	1
Shoes	1
Total	N=18

All of the male dress items mentioned in the Gaelic poems in this study (see Table 19) were also noted in the poems by Scottish authors in this study, with the exception of the cloak, frockcoat, and saddlecloth. The upper body male dress items mentioned in Gaelic poetry were armour, cloak, coat, frockcoat, gown, mantle, plaid, robe and shirt. Lower body male dress items mentioned by Gaelic authors were garters,

girdle, hose, kilt, stockings and trousers (i.e., breeches). Both fibers (i.e., silk and wool) and fabrics (i.e., linen, saddle cloth, tartan, and tweed) were mentioned in Gaelic poetry. Footwear, including shoes and boots, and accessories, including belts, brooches and tassels, were mentioned in Gaelic poetry. Several different headdress items were included in Gaelic poetry, particularly the bonnet, crown, hat, and helmet. In addition to the particular dress items, Gaelic poets frequently mentioned the word clothes or some derivative of the word cloth (e.g., raiment). Finally, Gaelic authors mentioned the British soldiers as being “red coats.”

Table 19

Male Dress Items in Gaelic Poetry

<b>Upper Body Dress Items</b>	Frequency	<b>Other Dress Items</b>	Frequency
Armour	1	Belt	4
Cloak	1	Bonnet	5
Coat	11	Boots	1
Frockcoat	1	Brooch	1
Gown	1	Clothes (general)	49
Mantle	1	Crown	4
Plaid	9	Hat	4
Robe	1	Helmet	2
Shirt	2	Linen	3
<b>Lower body Dress Items</b>	Frequency	Saddle cloth	1
Garter	2	Shoes	2
Girdle	1	Silk	1
Hose	2	Tartan	12
Kilt	3	Tassels	3
Stockings	1	Tweed	1
Trousers	5	Wool	1
Total	N=42	Total	N=94

Total N= 136

### Research Question 2b

What differences existed in Highland dress for males and females between 1603 and 1830?

Instruments A and B were used for this research question. The time period of each poem was determined by the authors' birth and death dates, an actual date on the poem, or by the editors' chronological placement of a poem in an anthology. The time period was noted on each instrument and categorized into five areas: early 17<sup>th</sup> century, late 17<sup>th</sup> century, early 18<sup>th</sup> century, late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Time period and terminology were placed in a database and were cross-tabulated to reveal differences in Highland dress over time. Male and female dress references and the time periods were analyzed separately.

Patterns of the use of dress terminology by poets was revealed during an examination of the dress item names in relation to the five time periods (i.e., early 17<sup>th</sup> century, late 17<sup>th</sup> century, early 18<sup>th</sup> century, late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and early 19<sup>th</sup> century). Poets regularly mentioned some garments, while other garments were mentioned with a steady rise, peak, and decline pattern. Another pattern of the use of dress terminology by poets revealed certain dress items being mentioned only in one century.

#### Male dress references over time

Poems from five time periods were researched in this study. The five time periods were the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (1603-1649), the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (1650-1699), the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (1700-1749), the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (1750-1799), and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (1800-1830). The frequencies of the 394 poems with male dress references within each time period were examined. The majority of the poems with male dress references were found in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (38.6%), with slightly fewer in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (37.1%) (see Table 20). The reason for the rise in poems with dress references in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is unclear; however, poets may have written more frequently about Highland lifestyle, including dress, when they felt an eminent threat to the Highland subculture. The smallest amount of poems with male dress references were written in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (16%) and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (8.4%). Trends in dress references in poetry were examined. Male dress overall was noted in all time periods; however, dress was mentioned more frequently in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than either the 17<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Table 20

Poems with Male Dress References by Century

Male Poems	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Number of Poems	31	32	152	146	33	394
Percentage of Poems	7.9%	8.1%	38.6%	37.1%	8.4%	100.0%

The upper body garments mentioned by poets in the time periods under investigation were the belted plaid, plaid, sark, coat, robe, gown, mantle, and armour (see Table 21). In general, specific upper body garments appeared in poetry more often during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The plaid was mentioned more frequently than any other dress item by poets. The plaid was mentioned with an equally high degree of frequency throughout the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=31) and the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=31). It was appropriate that the 18<sup>th</sup> century poets often mentioned the plaid, as it was a traditional Lowland and Highland garment (Dunbar, 1979; Wilson, 1990). The Highlanders fought many small skirmishes throughout the early 18<sup>th</sup> century as well as the Rising of 1715 and the Rising of 1745. Many poems about war also had descriptions of the garments of the soldiers fighting and often included the plaid. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the plaid was one of the items listed in the clothing ban in the Act of Proscription (Bennett, 1980; Dunbar, 1979). The coat, which was not mentioned in the literature reviewed, was mentioned with a high degree of frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and was rarely mentioned in the other time periods. The mantle was mentioned in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=1), but not in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and then throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=3), but not in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Armour appeared with higher frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=10), then fell in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=4) and continued into the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=1). The rise in the mention of armour in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century coincided with the many small wars and skirmishes that were taking place throughout the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and many poems were written about those wars (Brander, 1980; Devine, 1994; Pryde, 1962; Smout, 1969). Very few upper body dress items were mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The lack of dress references in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century may be due to the cultural freedom that the Highlanders were allowed following the repeal of the Act of Proscription in 1782. Another possibility for the lack of Highland dress references in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century may be that the clothing had become

Table 21

Number of Male Upper Dress Items Per Century

Number of Upper Body Dress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Plaid	0	2	31	31	6	70
Coat	2	6	29	11	3	51
Sark	1	4	7	13	2	27
Armour	2	0	10	4	1	17
Robe	2	2	5	4	1	14
Gown	2	1	3	5	2	13
Belted Plaid	0	0	4	5	1	10
Mantle	1	0	1	2	0	4
Total	10	15	90	75	16	206

less important to the poets when it was no longer deemed part of a threatened way of life.

Color adjectives were mentioned in association with upper body dress items (see Table 22). No colors were mentioned in conjunction with upper body dress items in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The colors red, blue, green, white, and black were mentioned more frequently in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century than any other time period. Black and red were the most frequently mentioned colors (N=9) in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The colors may be associated with the dark and turbulent times that took place during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century in Scotland. Only the color green was mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The colors red (N=12) and black (N=12) were the most frequently mentioned colors over time. White was often associated with the Jacobites in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991). Once Britain had won the war against the Jacobites in 1745, particularly the Highlanders, they imposed a dress ban that forced the wearing of English garments (Bennett, 1980; Dunbar, 1979). The English garments were referred to as the “black coats.” Therefore, it was appropriate that the color black appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition to color adjectives, poets used other descriptors in conjunction with upper body garments. Poets used the word “Highland” to describe some of the garments in the 18<sup>th</sup> (N=6) and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (N=1). Tartan was another word used by poets to describe garments. The word “tartan in conjunction with upper body dress was first observed in this study in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=1), but with little frequency. The highest frequency occurred in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=11) and then declined in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=6). The tartan was not mentioned in 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry examined in this study. The high frequency of the word tartan in poetry may relate to patriotic Scots,

Table 22

Colors in Conjunction with Male Upper Body Dress Items Per Century

Number of Colors of Upper Body Dress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Red	0	1	9	2	0	12
Black	0	0	9	3	0	12
Green	0	2	4	2	1	9
Blue	0	2	4	1	0	7
White	0	0	3	1	0	4
Total	0	5	29	9	1	44

both Highland and Lowland, regarding the tartan as a national symbol after the Union of 1707 (Innes of Leary, 1938; Stewart, 1974). The tartan was then banned due to the Act of Proscription in 1745, which was not lifted until 1783. However, according to Bain (1954), Grimble (1973), and Stewart (1979), the tartan was revitalized as a symbol of Scottish pride in 1822. The last descriptor, which was only mentioned twice, was “denied,” which was mentioned at the end of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The word “denied” was used to describe the garments that had been taken away from the Highlanders in the Act of Proscription.

The lower body garments that appeared in poetry were the trows, kilt (philabeg), stockings, hose, breeches, and garters (see Table 23). All of the lower body dress items were mentioned with the greatest frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The trows were mentioned with little frequency in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, increased in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and declined in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Trows were a combination of close fitting breeches and hose into one garment that were worn by male Highlanders (Dunbar, 1979; Cockburn, 85; Wilson, 1990). The trows were banned in 1745 with The Act of Proscription. The kilt was not mentioned in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which was surprising since the kilt was part of male Highland dress long before the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The kilt appeared in poetry in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and peaked in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, then declined sharply in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The kilt was a common lower body Highland garment (Grimble, 1978, 19; Cockburn, 1985; Wilson, 1990); however, it was also banned in The Act of Proscription (Dunbar, 1979; Cockburn, 85; Wilson, 1990). It is interesting to note that an increase in frequency occurred after the ban was in place. Poets used the term “breeches” throughout the five time periods, however, it was mentioned most often in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; the frequency declined sharply in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Breeches were

Table 23

Male Lower Body Dress Items Per Century

Lower Body Dress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Kilt	0	0	14	19	2	35
Breeches	3	3	11	9	3	29
Hose	2	2	9	12	1	26
Trews	0	4	7	4	0	15
Stockings	0	0	7	2	1	10
Garters	0	0	4	5	0	9
Total	5	9	52	51	7	124

one of the items that Highlanders were forced to wear instead of the trews and kilt during the mid-to-late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Color was associated with lower body garments on few occasions (see Table 24). These colors were red, blue, green, white, and gray. No colors were mentioned in conjunction with lower body dress items in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. All of the colors were mentioned with the greatest frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Red and green were mentioned only once each in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Blue was mentioned with higher frequency in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=4) than in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=1). The Highlanders typically wore brightly colored garments due to the natural dyes used (Greirson, Duff, & Sinclair, 1985). Gray, which was actually the natural color of cloth that had not been dyed, appeared in poetry throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2) and 18<sup>th</sup> (N=5) centuries. Black was not mentioned in any time period in conjunction with lower body dress.

Table 24

Colors in Conjunction with Male Lower Body Dress Items Per Century

Number of Colors of Lower Body Dress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Gray	1	1	2	3	0	7
Blue	0	0	1	4	0	5
White	0	0	2	1	0	3
Red	0	0	1	0	0	1
Green	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	1	1	7	8	0	17

Poets used the term “Highland” as an adjective to describe some lower body dress items in the late 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2) and early 18<sup>th</sup> (N=2) centuries. Tartan was another word used in conjunction with lower body items. Tartan was mentioned in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=2), the frequency increased in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=7), and decreased in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=5). No mention of the tartan in conjunction with lower body garments was found in this study for the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Several authors noted that the kilt and trews were typically made from tartan fabric (Innes of Leary, 1938; Grumble, 1978; Bennett, 1980; Wilson, 1990).

Only silk and wool were types of fibers mentioned by poets. Silk was a term poets used throughout the time period under investigation. The use pattern for silk by poets during the time period under investigation began in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=3), then experienced a slight decrease in frequency in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=2), and then the frequency increased steadily throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=9) before a sharp decline occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=1). Wool was mentioned much less frequently than silk. Wool was mentioned by poets only in the late 17<sup>th</sup> (N=1) and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (N=2). The only colors noted in conjunction with fibers were red and green. Red was noted once in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and green was noted once in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. No other adjectives were used to describe the fibers. Wool was the most common fiber used in the Highlands, but silk was also used to a lesser degree (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938).

Poets described fabric as either tartan, hodden gray, or plain colored and tartan was the most frequently noted (see Table 25). Fabrics were most frequently mentioned during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and tartan was mentioned with the highest degree of frequency. The tartan was a sign of being a Highlander (Innes of Leary, 1938; Stewart, 1974). During the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Highlanders were fighting to support the House of Stuart to rule Britain (Smout, 1969; Brander, 1980). Many of the poems were about these skirmishes and poets described the Highlanders’ garments and mentioned tartan fabrics. Also near the end of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and into the late 18<sup>th</sup> century the tartan was banned under the Act of Proscription (Dunbar, 1979; Trevor-Roper, 1984; Hamilton, 1991). Poets often bemoaned the loss of the tartan. The hodden gray and plain colored fabrics rarely appeared in poetry.

Color was not mentioned in conjunction with fabrics to any great extent (see Table 26); however, red, blue, green, and black were mentioned. Red and black were in



Table 25

Male Fabric Per Century

Fabrics	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Tartan	0	2	32	17	0	51
Plain Colored	0	0	3	1	0	4
Hodden Gray	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	0	2	35	19	0	56

Table 26

Colors in Conjunction with Male Fabrics Per Century

Number of Colors of Fabrics	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Red	0	0	4	4	0	8
Black	0	0	4	4	0	8
Blue	0	0	1	5	0	6
Green	0	0	2	1	0	3
Total	0	0	11	14	0	25

poetry from the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=5). Green was mentioned equally throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=8). Blue was observed more frequently more often in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=2). Colors used in the Highland fabrics were related to their locale because they used locally available dyes, such as seaweed (green) (Greirson, Duff, & Sinclair, 1985). The only other adjective that was mentioned with fabric was the word “plaid.” Tartan fabric appeared in poetry in conjunction with the plaid. Plaid was observed only once in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, increased in frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=8), and then declined during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=5). The plaid was usually made out of tartan fabric. References increased in frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century during the uprisings and decreased once the Act of Proscription banned the tartan plaids from being worn by Highlanders (Bennett, 1980; Dunbar, 1979).

Poets mentioned footwear in three ways: a) shoes, b) barefoot, and c) boots. Poets first mentioned shoes in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=13) and the notations continued to increase until the frequency peaked in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=22) followed by a steady decline in the late 18<sup>th</sup> (N=13) and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (N=4). Poets only discussed their characters being barefoot 3 times, once in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, once in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, and once in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Boots followed a steady rise, peak, and

decline pattern in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Poets did not use the word boots in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The color black was associated with shoes on a few occasions in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=4). In addition to color, the descriptor word of “heels” was observed in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=1) and more frequently in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=5). No descriptors were mentioned in conjunction with barefeet or boots.

Male accessories consisted of the brooch, belt, purse, ring, wig, tassels, gloves, and cockade (see Table 27). The brooch and ring were frequently mentioned by poets from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Bain (1954) and Wilson (1990), the brooch was worn to fasten the plaid in place on the shoulder. The belt, tassels, and gloves were frequently noted accessories and had a steady increase, peak and decline pattern throughout the time period under investigation. The belt was mentioned as a part of the belted plaid but not as a separate accessory item in previous literature (Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990). The highest frequency occurred during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Poets used the word “purse” in a similar increase, peak, and decline pattern, except that the highest frequency occurred in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The wig was mentioned in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, skipped the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=0), then experienced an increase in frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century followed by a decline in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The wig was a popular item of dress in Europe and Scotland in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The cravat was not mentioned until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, increased in frequency in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and declined in use in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The cravat was an item of neckwear popular in Europe from approximately 1700 through 1780 (Tortora & Eubank, 1998); while the Scots continued to wear the cravat through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

Some colors were associated with the accessories. Previous literature (Dunbar, 1979; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958) discussed very few accessories for Highlanders and never mentioned color in conjunction with those items. As shown in Table 28, red was mentioned only once in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Blue was mentioned in both the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Green was only mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=1). White and gold appeared with the greatest frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Gold was mentioned most often in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=5) followed by a decline in the late 18<sup>th</sup> (N=4) and early 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=1). Silver was mentioned in the late 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2),

Table 27

## Male Accessory Items Per Century

Accessory Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Belt	2	2	10	4	2	20
Tassels	2	1	11	3	1	18
Purse	1	1	2	10	2	16
Wig	1	0	7	5	1	14
Ring	0	1	4	5	3	13
Gloves	1	1	8	2	1	13
Brooch	0	1	2	1	3	7
Cockade	0	0	2	4	1	7
Total	7	7	46	34	14	108

Table 28

## Colors in Conjunction with Male Accessory Items Per Century

Number of Colors of Accessories	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Gold	0	0	5	4	1	10
White	0	0	3	2	0	5
Silver	0	2	1	1	0	4
Blue	1	0	0	1	0	2
Red	0	0	1	0	0	1
Green	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	1	2	10	8	2	23

early 18<sup>th</sup> (N=1), and late 18<sup>th</sup> (N=1) centuries. No other adjectives were associated with accessories.

Poets discussed several different types of headdress, including the bonnet, hat, cap, crown, and helmet (see Table 29). Poets overwhelmingly chose to use the word “bonnet” when describing headdress. The word “bonnet” appeared regularly in poems throughout the time period under investigation. Poets in this investigation first mentioned the bonnet in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and the frequency increased in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Table 29

## Male Headdress Items Per Century

Headdress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Bonnet	3	5	31	34	8	81
Crown	6	4	13	5	2	30
Hat	4	3	13	5	0	25
Cap	4	0	5	6	0	15
Helmet	3	1	2	2	0	8
Total	20	13	64	52	10	159

By the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, an enormous increase in the frequency of the use of the word “bonnet” was noted by the researcher, which then peaked in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century followed by a steep decline in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The bonnet was a popular headdress item worn in both the Highlands and the Lowlands (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958;). One example of a late 18<sup>th</sup> century poem with reference to the bonnet was “Bauldy Fraiser” by Hogg, which stated, “...To trust the honest Highland lad; wi’ bonnet blue and beltit plaid, he’ll stand the last ‘ o’ three, man.” (Chambers, 1829, p.268). The use of the words hat and crown followed a similar pattern with the highest frequency (N=13) in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The cap and helmet were mentioned the least of any of the headdress items. Overall, headdress items were mentioned more often in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than any other time period.

In addition to the types of headdress, poets also mentioned colors to further describe the headdress (see Table 30). The color red was mentioned in the late 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2) century and throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=6). Blue was the color most frequently associated with headdress, specifically the bonnet. This finding supports Bain (1954) and Hamilton (1991) who contended that the color of the bonnet was most frequently blue. The highest frequency occurred in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=20). The bonnet was only mentioned with little frequency in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=3). An anonymous poet wrote “Bonny laddie, Highland laddie” in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and stated, “...on his a bonnet blue, bonny laddie, Highland laddie...” (Chambers, 1829, p.567). Black was mentioned throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=5), but with a low degree of frequency. The color white appeared in conjunction with the cockade that was added to the bonnet. The word white was mentioned most frequently in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=10) and steadily declined in use through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=1).

Table 30

Colors in Conjunction with Male Headdress Items Per Century

Number of Colors of Headdress	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Blue	1	1	20	13	3	38
White	0	0	10	5	1	16
Red	0	2	4	2	0	8
Black	0	0	2	3	0	5
Total	1	3	36	23	4	67

In addition to color adjectives, poets also mentioned accoutrements in conjunction with headdress including cockade, feathers, and ribbons, as well as the manner of wearing a bonnet cocked to one side (see Table 31). The cockade was the most frequently mentioned accoutrement to headdress, particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Feathers were mentioned as an additional accoutrement usually applied to the bonnet and appeared with the greatest frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=15). Ribbons were also added to Highland headdress. Ribbons were mentioned in conjunction with headdresses in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=2) and slightly more often in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=6). The last adjective noted in conjunction with headdress was the manner of wearing the bonnet cocked to one side of the head; this terminology was mentioned throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=6). The manner of wearing a bonnet cocked to one side during the 18<sup>th</sup> century is new information and added to the knowledge base on Highland dress habits.

Table 31

Accoutrements to Male Headdress Per Century

Headdress Accoutrements	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Cockade	0	0	18	11	1	30
Feathers	4	1	6	9	1	21
Ribbons	1	1	5	1	0	8
Cocked	0	0	3	3	0	6
Total	5	2	32	24	2	65

Entire male ensembles were noted 57 times by the researcher throughout the time period under investigation. The frequency of male garments mentioned as a complete outfit began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=8), increased dramatically in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=45), and declined in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=4). The use of general dress terms by poets, such as cloth, clothes, and dress, experienced a steady increase in

frequency beginning in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=18), peaked and remained high in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=103), and markedly declined in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (N=17). The rise, peak, and decline curve matches the number of poems written during those same time periods. The term “brawlie” was mentioned in conjunction with the general dress terms throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> (N=1), 18<sup>th</sup> (N=5), and early 19<sup>th</sup> (N=1) centuries, although with little frequency. Finally, British dress was mentioned with great frequency in 18<sup>th</sup> century but only occasionally in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> (N=1) centuries. An example of a British dress reference was “A New Song” by Alexander MacDonald in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. MacDonald stated, “...loyally, full of courage, mowing down the red coat horde as you would cut down the bracken...” (Campbell, 1984, p.69). The mention of British dress was appropriately high in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the skirmishes between the Highlanders and the British occurred, followed by the banning of Highland dress (Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1979; Hamilton, 1991; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984;). The Highlanders were then forced to wear British style garments.

The use of terminology related to male dress items were traced over the five time periods under investigated. The two most frequently mentioned upper body dress items were the plaid and the coat, with a particularly high frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The kilt and hose were the most frequently mentioned lower body items, with the highest frequency occurring during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Silk was mentioned more often than wool. The tartan fabric had an extremely high frequency during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The researcher observed that shoes were mentioned frequently throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The belt, tassels, and gloves were frequently mentioned accessories throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Many items, including the bonnet, were mentioned more often during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly those items associated with the Highlanders being at war, such as the kilt, plaid, and blue bonnet.

#### Female dress references over time

A total of 245 poems with female dress references were found in poetry from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century through the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Fewer references were made in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The 18<sup>th</sup> century had the vast majority (68.2%) of female dress references (see Table 32). Female dress reference categories which were examined across time periods were upper body dress items, lower body dress items, fibers, fabric, footwear, accessories, and headdress. Color and other adjectives were examined in relation to each of the broad categories.

Table 32

Poems with Female Dress References by Century

Female Poems	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total Poems
Number of Poems	22	17	98	88	20	245
Percentage of Poems	8.9%	6.9%	39.6%	36.7%	8.1%	100.0%

Female upper body dress items that appeared in poetry were the plaid, gown, robe, coat, rokelay, smock, mantle, sark, and bodice as female upper body garments in their poetry (see Table 33). The dress items most frequently mentioned across time periods by poets were the gown and the coat, which were also the most frequently mentioned upper body dress items. The least frequently mentioned dress items across time were the rokelay, smock, and bodice. The gown was noted with an especially high frequency during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The time period with the highest frequency of dress items in general was the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The time period with the lowest frequency was the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that Scottish women wore the gown, bodice, and plaid throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Table 33

Number of Female Upper Body Garments Per Century

Upper Body Garments	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Gown	5	10	17	14	6	52
Coat	1	1	13	7	1	23
Mantle	3	2	2	7	2	16
Sark	1	2	6	4	2	15
Plaid	2	1	6	3	1	13
Robe	1	2	2	3	3	11
Bodice	2	0	3	2	0	7
Rokelay	0	0	1	5	0	6
Smock	2	2	1	0	0	5
Total	17	20	51	45	15	148

Colors and other descriptive adjectives were not mentioned frequently in conjunction with female upper body garments. The colors mentioned were red, blue, green, brown, black, gray, and white, but with little frequency (see Table 34). Red, blue, and white appeared only in the early and late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Black was mentioned only in

Table 34

Colors in Conjunction with Female Upper Body Dress Items Per Century

Number of Colors of Upper Body Garments	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Green	0	0	7	5	4	16
Brown	0	0	5	1	1	7
Blue	0	0	2	4	0	6
Gray	0	0	1	3	1	5
White	0	0	3	1	0	4
Red	0	0	2	1	0	3
Black	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total	0	0	20	17	6	43

the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=2). Green (N=12), brown (N=6), and gray (N=4) appeared with higher frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than in the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. No colors were mentioned in conjunction with upper body dress items during the early and late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The descriptive adjective of “new” was mentioned in both the 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2) and 18<sup>th</sup> (N=6) centuries, but not in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Another descriptor was “kilted up,” which was mentioned in the late 17<sup>th</sup> (N=1) and throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (N=7).

The lower body female garments worn in Scotland during the 17<sup>th</sup> throughout early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were the petticoat, stockings, hose, garters, girdle, kirtle, and apron (see Table 35). The most frequently mentioned lower body garment was the hose, which appeared with greater frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The hose, while frequently noted in poetry, was not mentioned in other literature on Scottish women, particularly the Highlanders. The kirtle (or skirt) was also frequently mentioned with the highest frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. By the 19<sup>th</sup> century the kirtle was no longer mentioned in poetry. The only garments that appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were hose and garters. The time period when lower body dress items were mentioned least frequently was the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although the petticoat was popularly worn throughout Europe during this time period, the petticoat was not mentioned as a garment worn by Scottish women (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Stockings rather than hose were mentioned as a dress item for Scottish women (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The apron was unusual, as it was mentioned only in 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Garters and apron were not mentioned in previous literature on Scottish women’s dress (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).



Table 35

Number of Female Lower Body Garments Per Century

Lower Body Garments	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Hose	1	0	8	4	1	14
Kirtle (skirt)	1	1	7	2	0	11
Girdle	1	0	4	4	0	9
Apron	0	0	5	4	0	9
Petticoat	3	1	2	2	0	8
Garters	0	0	6	0	1	7
Stockings	1	2	2	0	0	5
Total	7	4	34	16	2	63

Colors were mentioned infrequently in conjunction with garment terminology. Those colors that were mentioned were red, blue, green, and gold (see Table 36). The colors mentioned most often were red (N=5) and gold (N=4). The time period when most of the colors were mentioned was the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Blue and green were mentioned with the lowest frequency. No other adjectives were mentioned in conjunction with lower body dress for females.

Table 36

Colors in Conjunction with Female Lower Body Dress Items Per Century

Number of Colors of Lower Body Garments	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Gold	1	0	1	3	1	6
Red	0	0	4	1	0	5
Green	1	0	2	0	0	3
Blue	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	2	0	8	4	1	15

Only three fibers were mentioned by poets, which were silk, wool, and flax (see Table 37). Silk was the most frequently mentioned fiber, and was mentioned more often in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), silk was mentioned as a fiber used by the upper classes. Poets in this study did not mention the word wool until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and it was only mentioned once in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Wool was the

Table 37

Number of Fibers Associated with Females Per Century

Female Fibers	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Silk	6	0	18	13	5	42
Wool	0	0	4	2	1	7
Flax	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total	6	0	22	17	6	51

most common fiber used in the Highlands (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938). Flax was only mentioned in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) indicated that flax fibers were used to create plain linen fabrics. Red and green were the only colors associated with fibers, although very infrequently. Green was mentioned in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=1), while red appeared in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry (N=1).

Poets discussed several fabrics, including the tartan, paisley, hodden gray, pearlins (lace), satin, linen (Holland fine), and velvet (see Table 38). The time period in which most of the fabrics were mentioned was in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The fabrics with the lowest frequency were paisley (N=1), hodden gray (N=2), and velvet (N=4). Paisley only appeared in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Pearlins and linen were the most frequently mentioned fabrics. Pearlins first appeared in poetry examined in this study in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and experienced a significant increase in frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Tartan, which was the most frequently mentioned fabric for men, appeared less frequently in poems with female dress references. Although poets mentioned the use of tartan fabric by women in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the frequency was consistently low across the time periods. Hodden gray and paisley were native fabrics (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938; Tortora & Eubank, 1998), but were mentioned with little frequency. The time period of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century is appropriate for the poet's use of the word paisley, as it became popular in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and continued in popularity for 100 years (Hamilton, 1991; Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

Red, green, and black were the only colors mentioned in conjunction with fabrics and then very infrequently. Red appeared in poetry throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=3), similar to the findings for men. Black only appeared in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=1) and green was mentioned only in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=2); both black and green also appeared in poetry with male dress references. The color blue was not mentioned in relation to fabric in poetry with female dress references; whereas, the findings for males revealed the use of blue with some degree of frequency. The word "fine" was the only

Table 38

Number of Female Fabrics Per Century

Female Fabrics	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Pearlins (lace)	0	3	9	5	1	18
Linen (Holland fine)	2	0	5	4	2	13
Satin	0	0	3	2	3	8
Tartan	1	0	2	2	2	7
Velvet	1	0	1	1	1	4
Hodden Gray	0	0	1	1	0	2
Paisley	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	4	3	21	16	9	53

adjective associated with fabric. Fine was mentioned in the early 17<sup>th</sup> (N=1), throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> (N=4) and into the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (N=1).

Consistent with other items of apparel, the category of footwear for women appeared with greater frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (see Table 39). Shoes (or shoon) were mentioned often (N=4) beginning in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, increased in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=21), and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were mentioned twice. The term barefoot was not mentioned by poets until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (N=1), the frequency increased in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=10), and was not mentioned at all in the 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry.

Table 39

Number of Footwear Items Per Century

Female Footwear	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Shoes	4	4	10	11	2	31
Barefoot	0	1	10	5	0	16
Total	4	5	20	16	2	47

According to Smout (1969), women rarely wore shoes until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century; therefore, the findings in the poetry might appear to conflict with his belief. However, the poetry often referred to the wearing of shoes for special occasions, such as when a man came to woo, or as an item that was desired. For example, in "A lay of the tambour frame," Janet Hamilton stated, "...tambours for fifteen hours a day – would have shoes on her feet, and dress for church..." (Kerrigan & Bateman, 1991, p.183). Shoes were not associated with any particular color; however, poets used the adjectives of heels and satin to further describe shoes, although with little frequency. Heels were mentioned in

the late 17<sup>th</sup> (N=1) and throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> (N=3) centuries. Satin was mentioned only one time each in the early 17<sup>th</sup>, early 18<sup>th</sup>, and late 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Female accessories that were mentioned in the poetry examined for this study included the brooch, necklace, purse, ring, pearls, ribbons, gloves, cockade, and belt (see Table 40). All of the time periods under investigation revealed some use of accessories, except for the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The early and late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry were the time periods in which accessories were mentioned with the greatest frequency. The ring was the most frequently mentioned accessory. The brooch, purse, and gloves all had a similar use pattern by poets, which was an appearance in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, an increase in frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and decline in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The necklace was mentioned only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. All of the accessories were mentioned with greater frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century except the cockade and pearls. The cockade had an unusual use pattern, as poets mentioned it one time each in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. There was no mention of any accessories in poetry of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, only a few accessory items were mentioned; these items included the brooch, purse, ring, gloves, and cockade.

Table 40

Number of Female Accessory Items Per Century

Female Accessory Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Ring	3	0	14	9	4	30
Ribbons	2	0	4	10	0	16
Brooch (Pin)	1	0	5	4	3	12
Gloves (Mittens)	1	0	4	5	2	12
Purse	1	0	4	4	1	10
Belt	1	0	4	1	0	6
Necklace	0	0	2	3	0	5
Pearls	2	0	0	1	0	3
Cockade	1	0	1	0	1	3
Total	12	0	38	37	11	98

Color was not frequently mentioned; however, the use of red, blue, green, black, white, gold, and silver were associated with some accessories, especially in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Red was mentioned in the early 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2) and throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (N=3). Green (N=3), black (N=3), white (N=2), and silver (N=2) appeared throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, while blue (N=1) was mentioned only in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Gold, which was the most frequently mentioned color, was mentioned in the early 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2), throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> (N=9) and the early 19<sup>th</sup> (N=5) centuries.

Female headdress that appeared in the poetry examined for this study included the curch, snood, mutchcap, garland, crown, veil, pinner, and fillet (see Table 41). The snood and curch were the most frequently mentioned headdress items. As a whole, headdress was mentioned with greater frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The least frequently mentioned headdresses were the crown, veil, pinner, and fillet. The word mutchcap was not mentioned until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and was the only item mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The crown was only mentioned once in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, while the pinner and veil were only mentioned in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The fillet was mentioned only once in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and only once in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Table 41  
Number of Female Headdress Items Per Century

Female Headdress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Snood	1	1	8	7	0	17
Curch	2	1	6	3	0	12
Mutchcap	0	0	6	3	2	11
Garland	1	0	3	1	0	5
Fillet	1	0	1	0	0	2
Crown	1	0	0	0	0	1
Veil	0	0	1	0	0	1
Pinner	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	6	2	26	14	2	50

Several colors were mentioned in conjunction with headdress, but with little frequency. Red (N=1), green (N=1), and blue (N=2) were each mentioned in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Blue was the only color mentioned in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. No color was mentioned in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. White was mentioned throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=3). According to Dunbar (1979), headdress color represented marital status. Red and blue

were colors for unmarried women's headdresses, while white was mentioned for married women's headdresses in previous literature (Dunbar, 1979). No other adjectives were mentioned by poets in conjunction with headdress.

Apart from the categorized information gathered on the instrument, the researcher recorded additional information while examining the poetry. The poetry was examined for references to female ensembles as a whole across the five time periods. Poets described female ensembles in their entirety in 35 of the 245 poems with female dress references throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> (N=6) and 18<sup>th</sup> (N=29) centuries. In addition to ensembles, the poetry was examined for general references to cloth, clothes, and dress throughout the total time under investigation. These general references had a much higher frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (N=76) than in the 17<sup>th</sup> (N=12) and early 19<sup>th</sup> (N=8) centuries. The only adjective mentioned in conjunction with general dress references was "brawlie," which was used to describe dress in the 17<sup>th</sup> (N=2) and 18<sup>th</sup> (N=7) centuries.

Question 2b was examined to determine whether or not differences in dress could be found over a specified period of time. Scottish poetry was examined to determine whether references to male and female dress would differ across time periods. In general, references to male and female dress items appeared with the greatest frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (1700-1749). The male dress items that appeared in poetry across time were the coat, sark, robe, gown, breeches, hose, shoes, belt, tassels, gloves, bonnet, and crown. However, these items did not necessarily have the greatest frequency but each item was mentioned at least once in each of the five time periods. The male dress items that only appeared during the 18<sup>th</sup> century were hodden gray and plain colored fabrics. No items appeared solely in the 17<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The female dress items that appeared in poetry across time were the gown, coat, mantle, sark, plaid, robe, and shoes. Again these items may not have had the greatest frequencies but each item was mentioned at least once in each of the five time periods. The only female dress item to appear solely in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was the crown. The female dress items that appeared only during the 18<sup>th</sup> century included rokelay, apron, flax, paisley, hodden gray, necklace, pinner, and veil. No items appeared solely in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Most items of male and female dress were mentioned with the greatest frequency during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and very few items were mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### Research Question 3

What impact did the social, political, and economic environment have on Highland dress in poetry between 1603 and 1830?

Instruments A and B were used to collect data and cross-tabulations were used to examine information related to this research question. The situation (i.e., social, political, or economic), setting (e.g., love, war, money), location (i.e., Highlands, Lowlands, Scotland in general), and dates were documented on the instrument. Dress items, along with situation, setting, location, and dates were entered into a database. Cross-tabulations were completed on situation and setting, situation and location, settings and location, setting and dates, dress items and situations, and dress items and location. Data related to males and females were analyzed separately.

This research question noted the differences in dress that were found due to the impact of social, political, and economic situations that were present during the time period under investigation. In addition to broad situations, individual settings (e.g., love, war, money) within the social, political, and economic situation were investigated. The situations and settings were examined in relation to dress items, locations, and date.

#### Impact of social, political, and economic situations on male dress references

The situation or events that occurred during the time periods under investigation were discernible. The 394 poems that discussed male dress focused almost equally on the social (N=195) and political (N=176) situations, while the economic situations were mentioned with little frequency (N=23). The specific social situations were love (N=109), life in general (N=31), death (N=28), festivals (drinking and dancing) (N=13), beauty and nature (N=7) and pregnancy (N=3). The political situations were war and battles (N=96), Prince Charlie or King James (N=37), the Act of Proscription (N=11), religion (N=10), the loss of the Highland lifestyle (N=8), mocking the English king (N=7), Jacobites (N=5), and justice (N=3). The few poems that were concerned with economic events related to money (N=16) and work (N=9).

The majority of the 394 poems examined were about the Scots in general followed by the Highlanders. Very few poems specifically mentioned the Lowlands. The Highland poems had direct references to Highland locations or the word Highland in the poem and Lowland poems had Lowland locations mentioned or the word Lowland in the poem. If the location could not be distinguished but the poem was known to be of Scottish origin, then the poem's location was simply recorded as a Scottish location.

The location mentioned in the poetry was the Highlands, the Lowlands, or Scotland in general. The particular setting of each situation was cross-tabulated with the locations to note any differences or influences which might be found. The first situation was the social situation since more poets used this situation as a theme for their poems (see Table 42). There were 195 of the 394 poems with a social setting. The social settings were love, festivals, life in general, death, beauty and nature, and pregnancy. Love was the most frequently mentioned social setting in both the Highlands and Scotland in general. Death and life in general were the next most frequently mentioned social setting in the Highlands and Scotland in general. Death was noted with a much higher frequency in Scotland in general than in the Highlands. Beauty and nature and pregnancy were categories that appeared less frequently. Only a few poems mentioned the Lowlands as their location.

Table 42

Location and Social Settings in Male Poetry

Social Settings per location	# of poems set in the Highlands	# of poems set in the Lowlands	# of poems set in the Scotland in General	Total
Love	26	4	81	111
Life in general	8	4	19	31
Death	5	0	23	28
Festivals	5	2	12	19
Beauty and Nature	0	1	6	7
Pregnancy	2	0	1	3
Total	46	11	142	199

The settings were examined in relation to the particular time period of the poem (see Table 43). The majority of the love poems were set in Scotland in general (N=81) or the Highlands (N=26) and appeared in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. An examination of the social settings by date revealed that the majority of all social settings appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poets created love poems with a steady rise in frequency, peak and decline pattern in the 17<sup>th</sup> (N=17), 18<sup>th</sup> (N=79), the 19<sup>th</sup> (N=15) centuries. The peak of the love poems was in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. There were 19 festival poems, the majority of which were set in Scotland in general (N=12), rather than the Highlands (N=5). Poems about festive situations only appeared twice in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and not at all in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Poets discussed life in general in 31 poems. The majority of these life



poems were set in Scotland in general (N=19). The poetry about life in general was mentioned with a greater frequency in the 18<sup>th</sup> century followed by a decline in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Death, including murder, was a subject discussed in poetry more often in Scotland in general (N=23) than the Highlands (N=5). The frequency of death settings was very similar to that of life in general. The death settings were more frequently observed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The least discussed subjects of social poems were beauty and nature and pregnancy; the majority were discussed in relation to Scotland in general and in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The subjects of beauty and nature were not noted in Highland poetry, and only infrequently in the Lowlands (N=1), while the subject of pregnancy was not mentioned at all in the Lowlands and was only mentioned in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. With the exception of love, life in general, and death poems, the other categories were not mentioned in 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Most of the social settings in poetry were not subjects previously mentioned in the literature, except pregnancy. However, the researcher expected to find a high frequency of poems with love settings. On the other hand, the researcher had expected to find more poems that dealt with infanticide since the literature indicated that unwanted pregnancies often resulted in infanticide because they could ruin one's reputation (Symonds, 1997). However, the poetry analysis did not reveal many poems with pregnancy as the subject.

Table 43

Setting and Date in Male Poetry

Social Settings	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Love	5	12	31	48	15	111
General Life	4	1	8	16	2	31
Festival	1	1	6	11	0	19
Death	5	2	8	10	3	28
Beauty and Nature	2	0	0	5	0	7
Pregnancy	0	0	0	3	0	3
Total	17	16	53	93	20	199

The political settings in the poems were war/battles, Prince Charlie/King James, mocking the English king, religion, loss of the Highland lifestyle, Jacobites, justice, and the Act of Proscription. Each of these settings was cross-tabulated with location (see Table 44). The subject of the majority of political poems related to war or battles and

Table 44

Location and Political Settings in Male Poetry

Political Settings per location	# of poems set in the Highlands	# of poems set in the Lowlands	# of poems set in the Scotland in General	Total
War/battles	76	1	19	96
Prince Charlie/King James	27	0	10	37
Act of Proscription	11	0	0	11
Religion	4	2	4	10
Loss of Highland lifestyle	4	0	4	8
Mocking English king	5	0	2	7
Jacobites	2	0	3	5
Justice	1	0	2	3
Total	130	3	44	177

Prince Charlie and were set in the Highlands. War was the most important setting in the Highlands, as it was the backdrop for 76 poems. War was the setting in only one Lowland poem and 19 Scottish poems. War was part of the nature of the Highland clans and they were known for being a warring people (Smout, 1969). Also, the Highland clans fought many skirmishes throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries for the freedom of Scotland and the right to have Prince Charlie made king of Britain. As the Highlanders believed that Prince Charlie was the rightful king of Britain, he became the subject of many political poems set in the Highlands (N=27). Only 10 poems about Prince Charlie were set in Scotland in general and never mentioned in Lowland poetry. Only seven poems mocked the English king, usually George. Five poems in the Highlands and two poems in Scotland in general chose to mock the king, while no Lowland poems chose this option. The authors of these poems that mocked the king usually remained anonymous, as it was a punishable offense to make fun of the king (Rogers, 1886). Religion was another infrequently discussed political setting. Highlanders tended to be Catholic, while the Lowlanders and English were usually Protestant; therefore, some bitter religious rivalries arose in the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969). Poems about the Highlanders (N=4), the Lowlanders (N=2), and the Scottish in general (N=4) did not frequently discuss religion. The loss of the Highland lifestyle was bitterly mentioned in a few political poems written about the Highlands

(N=4) and Scotland in general (N=4). The loss of the Highland lifestyle in poetry included the building of roadways by the British, political dealings of the clan chiefs with the British, and other matters which caused the Highlands to be changed from their traditional lifestyle. There were Jacobites (those who supported Prince Charlie for king of Britain) throughout Scotland; however, only a few poems mentioned the Jacobites. Justice in politics was the least frequently discussed subject; the location of which was the Highlands (N=1) and Scotland in general (N=2). Finally, it is interesting to note that 11 poems with male dress references centered on the Act of Proscription. All of these poems were specifically Highland poems. The Act of Proscription was a sumptuary law imposed on the Highland people; therefore, it makes sense that writers would discuss the Act in Highland poetry. One writer, Alexander MacDonald wrote the poem “The proud plaid,” which discussed the Act of Proscription, the loss of the traditional Highland garments, and the dislike of English style garments. MacDonald stated, “...tidy, pretty, handsome, for wedding or for mod the tartan; up the flowing plaid with shoulder pin to fasten it!...no king was he who thee forbade...hey the black cloth, ho the black cloth, hey the black cloth, the plaid was better...” (Campbell, 1984, p. 155). This statement denotes how the English ban on the traditional Highland garments affected the people.

The last situation dealt with the economics of money and work (see Table 45). Only 25 out of the 394 poems with male dress references dealt with economics and none were located in the Lowlands. The majority of these economic poems related to money (N=16) and were set in Scotland in general (N=18). Money was a subject discussed in the Highlands (N=4) with less frequency than in Scotland in general (N=12). Work was noted twice as much in Scotland in general (N=6) as it was in the Highlands (N=3). It appeared that economics was not a subject that many poets found as interesting to write about as social and political situations.

Table 45

Location and Economic Settings in Male Poetry

Economic Settings per location	# of poems set in the Highlands	# of poems set in the Lowlands	# of poems set in the Scotland in General	Total
Money	4	0	12	16
Work	3	0	6	9
Total	7	0	18	25

Male upper body dress items were observed in relation to the location in which the poem was set. There were 206 upper body dress items mentioned within the 394 poems with dress references. The plaid and coat were mentioned more often in the Highlands and Scotland in general than any other item. Upper body dress items were nearly equally mentioned in the Highlands and Scotland in general; however, very few upper body dress items were mentioned in the Lowlands (see Table 46). The plaid appeared most often in poetry about the Highlands, while the coat was frequently mentioned in relation to Scotland in general. The item most frequently mentioned in the Lowlands was the gown.

Table 46

Male Upper Body Dress Items and Location

Male upper body dress items per location	# of garments set in the Highlands	# of garments set in the Lowlands	# of garments set in the Scotland in General	Total
Plaid	46	2	22	70
Coat	22	1	28	51
Sark	11	0	16	27
Armour	6	0	11	17
Robe	2	1	11	14
Gown	3	4	6	13
Belted Plaid	7	0	3	10
Mantle	1	0	3	4
Total	98	8	100	206

As previously mentioned, color was not used to describe upper body garments with great frequency (N=44) (see Table 47). The colors that were mentioned in poems related to Highland men’s apparel were red, blue, green, black, and white. Red was the color mentioned most frequently and was the only color discussed in relation to the Lowlands. The majority of colors were mentioned in poems set in Scotland in general. According to Greirson, Duff, and Sinclair (1985), the Highlanders were known for their brightly colored garments due to the locally produced natural dyes. All of the colors except white were used in the Highlands as clothing descriptors. Black was used as a descriptor in Highland dress in a negative manner, as in “the black dress” to describe the English garments they were forced to wear after the Act of Proscription was in place.

Descriptors used in conjunction with male upper body dress were Highland, embroidery, tassels, and denied. “Highland” was used to describe 7 garments set in the

Table 47

Color in Conjunction with Male Upper Body Dress Items and Location

Color for male upper body dress items per location	# of colored garments set in the Highlands	# of colored garments set in the Lowlands	# of colored garments set in the Scotland in General	Total
Red	5	1	6	12
Green	1	0	8	9
Black	8	0	4	9
Blue	3	0	4	7
White	0	0	4	4
Total	17	1	26	44

Highlands, embroidery was mentioned in relation to one Lowland garment. Another popular adjective used to describe some Highland garments was tassels (N=17). Twice the word “denied” was used to describe the dress of male Highlanders.

Male upper body garments were also observed in relation to the situation (see Table 48). Overall, the plaid, coat, and sark were mentioned more often in social situations than any other item of male upper body dress. The plaid and the coat were mentioned in political situations more frequently than any other item of male upper body dress. Few items were mentioned in relation to economic situations. The belted plaid was noted more often in political situations than in social situations. The plaid was mentioned frequently in relation to both political and social situations, but less often in economic situations. The sark was noted mainly in social situations. The coat was mentioned almost equally in both the social and the political situation, but with much less frequency in the economic situations. The use of the robe and the gown by men was low for all situations. The robe, when mentioned, was almost equally a social or political occasion. The gown was also mentioned socially and politically. As expected, armour was mentioned most often in relation to political situations. The garment mentioned least was the mantle and was only mentioned for social occasions.

As shown in Table 49, male lower body dress items were described by poets in relation to the Highlands more often than the Lowlands or Scotland in general. The kilt appeared more frequently in poems associated with the Highlands than any other garment. Other items frequently mentioned in relation to the Highlands were the trows and hose. This finding supports the premise that the kilt was a specifically Highland garment. Breeches were also discussed in relation to both the Highlands and Scotland in general. Breeches were not always mentioned in a positive light when discussed in

Table 48

Male Upper Body Dress Items and Situation

Male upper body dress items per situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Plaid	29	36	5	70
Coat	27	21	3	51
Sark	20	3	4	27
Armour	5	12	0	17
Robe	8	6	0	14
Gown	7	5	1	13
Belted Plaid	3	7	0	10
Mantle	4	0	0	4
Total	103	90	13	206

Table 49

Male Lower Body Dress Items and Location

Male lower body dress items per location	# of garments set in the Highlands	# of garments set in the Lowlands	# of garments set in the Scotland in General	Total
Kilt/philabeg	30	0	5	35
Breeches	11	2	16	29
Hose	13	1	12	26
Trews	14	0	1	15
Stockings	4	0	6	10
Garters	6	0	3	9
Total	78	3	43	124

relation to the Highlands because they were often considered an item of English dress (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The dislike of the breeches by Highlanders was noted in a poem by Duncan Ban MacIntyre entitled "A song to the breeches." MacIntyre stated,

...trousers as my covering, which fit a man unhandsomely...Unlucky this new dress of ours, uglily it does sit on us, so tightly does it cling to us, we'd sooner see no more of it...and now the breeks are doubled close round the backside of every man...(Campbell, p.221-223).

Only breeches (N=2) and hose (N=1) were mentioned in relation to the Lowlands.

Color descriptors were not frequently used to describe the lower body items, regardless of location (see Table 50). Red and green were not frequently mentioned colors in relation to male lower body dress items. Blue and gray were the only colors

Table 50

Color of Male Lower Body Dress Items and Location

Color for male lower body dress items per location	# of garments set in the Highlands	# of garments set in the Lowlands	# of garments set in the Scotland in General	Total
Gray	4	0	3	7
Blue	1	1	3	5
White	0	0	3	3
Red	1	0	0	1
Green	0	0	1	1
Total	6	1	10	17

used with any frequency by poets. Gray was the color most frequently mentioned by poets in the Highlands, as well as in Scotland in general. As with upper body dress, the color gray was mentioned more frequently because the Scots were known to have created a fabric called hodden gray (Hamilton, 1991).

In addition to color adjectives, poets used the words “Highland” and “tartan” to further describe some male lower body dress items. The word Highland was used by poets to describe four lower body garments. The word tartan was used to describe 13 lower body garments in the Highlands and one garment from Scotland in general.

An examination of the frequencies for male lower body dress items with the situation revealed that the majority of the lower body garments were mentioned in relation to political situations (see Table 51). This finding is consistent with the literature because many of the garments were particular to the Highlanders who were known for their warring behavior and resistance toward the English government (Brander, 1980). The kilt (or philabeg) was the most frequently mentioned garment in relation to politics. The trows, which were pants worn specifically in the Highlands, appeared in political situations much more often than in social and economic situations. The kilt and trows were likely mentioned in relation to political poems because they were items specifically worn in the Highlands and often associated with the warring nature and political difficulties of the Highlanders. Stockings were almost equally mentioned in the social and political situations and were never mentioned in conjunction with economics. Breeches were mentioned equally in social and political occasions. Garters appeared mainly in political situations.

Shoes and boots were items of the Scottish ensemble that varied by location (see Table 52). Poets mentioned shoes in poems with Highland locations (N=22) almost

Table 51

Male Lower Body Dress Items and Situation

Male lower body dress items per situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Kilt/philabeg	3	29	3	35
Breeches	13	13	3	29
Hose	14	9	3	26
Trews	2	12	1	15
Stockings	6	4	0	10
Garters	2	5	2	9
Total	40	72	12	124

Table 52

Male Footwear and Location

Male footwear per location	# of footwear set in the Highlands	# of footwear set in the Lowlands	# of footwear set in the Scotland in general	Total
Shoes	22	1	29	52
Boots	4	0	11	15
Barefeet	2	0	1	3
Total	28	1	41	70

as often as poems with Scottish in general locations (N=29). Shoes were only mentioned in relation to the Lowlands once. This is not necessarily an indication that Lowlanders did not wear shoes; rather there were so few poems that directly related to the Lowlands that shoes were not a major subject of dress in those few poems. Several authors (Bain, 1954; Innes of Leary, 1938; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Stewart, 1974) noted that males throughout Scotland wore shoes. Boots were mentioned less frequently than shoes in both the Highlands (N=4) and in Scotland in general (N=11). Boots were not discussed in relation to the Lowlands; however, according to Bain (1954) and Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), males also wore boots throughout Scotland.

Shoes or the absence of shoes was also noted in relation to the situation (see Table 53). Shoes were frequently mentioned in relation to social (N=36) situations and less frequently in the political (N=14) and economic (N=2) situations. Since men generally wore shoes, the situation appears to be less important. Very few poems referred to men in barefeet. Boots were discussed much less frequently in the social (N=10), political (N=4), and economic (N=1) situations than shoes, even though they



Table 53

Male Footwear and Situation

Male footwear per situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Shoes	36	14	2	52
Boots	10	4	1	15
Barefeet	2	3	0	5
Total	48	21	3	73

were an ordinary item of dress for Scottish males (Bain, 1954; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

Poets mentioned many accessory items in relation to dress and location (see Table 54). The belt, purse, and tassels were mentioned in poetry more often, regardless of location. The brooch appeared infrequently in relation to the Highlands (N=5) and Scotland in general (N=2), but never was mentioned in relation to the Lowlands. The brooch was an item sometimes associated with the plaid as a means of fastening it to the shoulder; therefore, this study lends further evidence to the use of the brooch by Highland men. The belt and tassels were other accessory items used by Highlanders. The belted plaid obviously required a belt to secure the garment at the waist. The belt was also mentioned in poetry as an item that went across the shoulder and chest. The purse was rarely mentioned in relation to Highlanders, only to the Scots in general, as was the ring. Most Highlanders did not use a purse to hold personal items, rather they were noted for using a sporran (von Furstenberg, 1996). The ring was rarely mentioned in relation to the Highlands but was in poems about love and marriage. In a letter by Captain Burt (Jamieson, 1976), he noted that Highlanders did not use a ring to signify marriage or engagement as they did in England and the Lowlands. Gloves and mittens were mentioned in relation to Scots in general (N=11), as was the cravat (N=6). The only accessory item mentioned in all three locations was the wig. The Scots in general (N=9) and the Lowlanders (N=3) were mentioned wearing wigs in poetry more often than the Highlanders (N=2) (see Table 54).

Color was mentioned so rarely as to be unimportant, except for the appearance of gold and silver in poetic works. The word gold was mentioned in relation to the Highlands (N=4) and Scotland in general (N=6) more often than silver. Primary colors of red, blue, and green were mentioned in relation to accessories a total of four times, three of which were in Scotland in general. No other adjectives were used to describe the accessories.

Table 54

Male Accessories and Location

Male accessories per location	# of accessories set in the Highlands	# of accessories set in the Lowlands	# of accessories set in the Scotland in General	Total
Belt	14	0	6	20
Tassels	12	0	6	18
Purse	2	0	14	16
Wig	2	3	9	14
Ring	3	0	10	13
Gloves/mittens	2	0	11	13
Brooch	5	0	2	7
Cravat	1	0	6	7
Total	41	3	64	108

Accessories were discussed in relation to the situation (i.e, social, political, and economic) in which the poets presented them (see Table 55). The belt, purse, tassels, and wig were mentioned across all situations. The brooch was noted infrequently in both the political (N=4) and the social (N=3) situations. The belt was mentioned more frequently than any other accessory item and was mentioned in the political situation more than any other situation. For example, Cunningham noted the belt in his war poem "The Waes of Scotland." He stated, "...and buckled round him was the broider'd belt whilk my mither's hands did weave..." (Hogg, 1819, p. 132). The poet provided a new piece of knowledge by stating that the belt was woven. Previously, belts were thought to be made only from leather. Another example, "For A' That" written by an anonymous author, was a song about Prince Charlie, which stated, "...the Highland plaid, the shoulder belt, and a' that..." (Hopkins, 1869, p. 442). The purse was mentioned more frequently in the economic and social situations than in the political situation. The purse makes sense in association economic situation for holding money or in the social situation for decoration and holding personal belongings; whereas, in a political situation, which was often war, a purse might be in the way during battles. The ring was usually mentioned more often than any other accessory in relation to social situations. The mention of the ring in social settings was appropriate because the ring was often discussed in relation to marriage or as an exchange between lovers as a promise to return. The wig was mentioned more often in the social than any other situation. Tassels appeared more frequently in relation to political situations rather than social or economic situations. Gloves were only mentioned in social and political

situations. The cravat was mentioned in social and economic situation but not in political situations.

Table 55

Male Accessories and Situations

Male accessories per situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Belt	7	11	2	20
Tassels	5	12	1	18
Purse	6	3	7	16
Wig	8	4	2	14
Ring	11	2	0	13
Gloves/mittens	8	5	0	13
Brooch	3	4	0	7
Cravat	5	0	2	7
Total	53	41	14	108

The poets wrote about the fabrics from which garments were made (see Table 56). The most frequently mentioned fabric was the tartan in regards to the Highlands (N=48). This was appropriate because tartan fabrics were unique to the Highlands, until it became a symbol of Scottish nationalism (Dunbar, 1979; Innes of Leary, 1938; Stewart, 1974). The tartan was, and still is, associated with the Highlands (Dunbar, 1979; Stewart, 1974). The fact that poets discussed the tartan in relation to Highland dress in the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries lends evidence of its importance to the Highland people. The only other fabrics observed in poetry were the hodden gray once in Scotland in general and plain colored fabrics in relation to the Highlands (N=3) and Scotland in general (N=1). Hodden gray was wool fabric that had not been dyed (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938).

Table 56

Male Fabrics and Location

Male fabrics per location	# of accessories set in the Highlands	# of accessories set in the Lowlands	# of accessories set in the Scotland in General	Total
Tartan	48	0	3	51
Plain Colored	3	0	1	4
Hodden Gray	0	0	1	1
Total	51	0	5	56

Fabrics were also discussed by poets in relation to situation (see Table 57). The tartan was overwhelmingly mentioned in regards to political (N=41) situations, rather than social situations (N=10). Poets appropriately discussed tartan in relation to politics since the tartan was a Highland fabric and became a source of distress for the English, as they believed that was one tradition that was inhibiting assimilation. The English banned the tartan fabric and it later became a source of Scottish nationalism (Bennett, 1980). The hodden gray was only mentioned once in regards to a social situation. Plain colored fabrics were mentioned by poets in political (N=4) situations. No other fabrics were discussed.

Table 57

Male Fabrics and Situations

Male fabrics per situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Tartan	10	41	0	51
Plain Colored	0	4	0	4
Hodden Gray	1	0	0	1
Total	11	45	0	56

The last category of male dress was the headdress. The bonnet was an important male headdress item in the Highlands and in Scotland in general and was mentioned more often than any other headdress. The bonnet is an item of headdress that has long been associated with the Highlanders, as well as Scots in general (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). This finding further supports the presence of the bonnet throughout Scotland, but particularly in the Highlands. The bonnet was only mentioned in association with the Lowlands in three poems. The word hat frequently appeared in poetry in the Highlands (N=10) and Scotland in general (N=13). A positive determination in regards to the style of the hat could not be made from the poems, as no description was provided. Hat styles popular during this time period were the bicorne hat, tricorne hat, and top hat (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Some poets mentioned the use of the cap in the Highlands and Scotland in general, but to a lesser degree than the hat and the bonnet. Again, like the hat, it is possible that the poets were referring to the bonnet, but without further descriptors positive determination could not be made. The crown was mentioned with a high degree of frequency in the Highlands (N=17) and in Scotland in general (N=13),

which may be due to the many political discussions on Prince Charlie wearing the crown of Scotland. Alexander MacDonald's poem "Another Song to the Prince", stated, "...and thy friends be joyful if the crown were placed on thee..." (Campbell, 1984, p. 135). The helmet was discussed with the least amount of frequency, only five times in the Highlands and three times in Scotland in general (see Table 58).

Table 58

Male Headdress and Location

Male headdress per location	# of headdress set in the Highlands	# of headdress set in the Lowlands	# of headdress set in the Scotland in General	Total
Bonnet	44	3	34	80
Crown	17	0	13	30
Hat	10	2	13	25
Cap	8	1	6	15
Helmet	5	0	3	8
Total	84	6	69	159

Color in relation to male headdress was an important descriptor. Blue was often mentioned in relation to the bonnet in both the Highlands (N=23) and Scotland in general (N=15). According to Bain (1954), Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), and Hamilton (1991), the blue bonnet was worn throughout Scotland. Black (N=8) and red (N=5) also appeared in relation to headdress but to a lesser degree. Neither of these colors were mentioned with headdress in previous literature; rather the color russet was mentioned (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). It is possible that the poets mentioned black and red which are similar in tone to dark blue and russet. Other important adjectives in relation to Highland headdress were the white cockade (N=19) and feathers (N=11). The white cockade indicated allegiance to the Jacobite cause (i.e., to fight against the House of Hanover for the House of Stuart) (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991).

The relationship between male headdress and social, political, and economic situations as discussed in the poetry was also examined. As shown in Table 59, all styles of headdress were mentioned more often in the social and political situations than the economic situation. The bonnet was the most popular style of headdress and was discussed more often in relation to political and social situations. Sir Walter Scott wrote a poem entitled "The bonnets of Bonny Dundee." This poem noted the importance of the bonnet as an item of dress, as well as a symbol of pride for those going off to war. Scott

Table 59

Male Headdress and Situation

Male headdress per situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Bonnet	33	46	2	81
Crown	10	20	0	30
Hat	14	10	1	25
Cap	9	6	0	15
Helmet	3	5	0	8
Total	69	87	3	159

wrote, "...There's brass on the target of barken'd bull-hide; there's steel in the scabbard that dangles beside; the brass shall be burnish'd, the steel shall flash free, at a toss of the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.." (Dixon, 1973, p. 607). The hat was mentioned more often in social situations than in political. The cap, crown, and helmet were mentioned only in social and political situations. The crown was mentioned more often in political situations than in social situations. This was appropriate because the Highlanders were fighting to help Prince Charlie and often referred to the crown that should sit upon his head. In "A Song to Prince Charlie," Robb Donn MacKay stated, "...but now, O Prince Charles Stewart, if King George's crown were on thy head we'd have a numerous company of courtiers wearing gowns and robes..." (Campbell, 1984, p. 235). The helmet was also mentioned more in political situations than in social situations. The helmet was a headdress worn for battle and was appropriately noted in relation to politics.

In addition to the specific categories on the instrument, the researcher noted additional information. The researcher noted that poets mentioned British dress in poems with political situations, particularly war. All references to British dress items in poetry, particularly the redcoats, were made in regards to the Highlands. Poets discussed British dress in 18 of the 394 poems with male dress references in relation to the Highlands. The reason for this was clear, the British were the enemy of the Highlanders and their lifestyle (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984). The British dress items were mentioned in relation to political situations, which was appropriate since they were considered the enemy. Many of the Highlanders were at war with the British during much of the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969). Near the end of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the British defeated the Highlanders and banned their traditional garments, thereby forcing them to wear English dress. Duncan Ban MacIntyre's poem, "A song to the breeches," noted the sadness at the loss of their

clothing and disgust at having to wear English garments (Campbell, 1984). MacIntyre stated,

And since the light-grey breeches this year make us so sorrowful,  
such things were never seen on us, not do we care to keep them on...  
Ill is our fate, that the young Prince has met with many a misfortunate  
and that King George his dwelling makes where Charles should be now  
sojourning...(Campbell, 1984, p. 219).

This was just one example of the unhappiness the Highlanders experienced in relation to their dress and their political situation.

The majority of the poems related to male dress focused on social and political settings. Those that focused on social setting related to love, whereas the majority of political settings related to war and battles. The majority of the love poems were written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of the political poems related to war and battles in the Highlands. The plaid was the upper body dress item mentioned most often in relation to political and social situations. The plaid was also mentioned most often in regards to the Highlands. The kilt was the male lower body garment mentioned most often in relation to political situations. The tartan fabric and the bonnet were also mentioned most often in relation to political situations. Differences in male dress over time were found, as noted in Question 3 and the impact of social, political, and economic situations was determined in this question. Economic situations had virtually no impact on differences in male dress in poetry. Specifically male Highland garments, particularly the plaid, kilt, tartan fabric, and the bonnet, were mentioned in political situations in the Highland poetry. Most of the dress items were noted in relation to the political situation in the Highlands. When reading the political poems, the pride of the Highlanders was obvious. The people enjoyed wearing their “ancient garb” and felt pride in wearing garments that were associated with the area in which they lived. The plaid was also mentioned in social situations.

#### Impact of social, political, and economic situations on female dress references

The situations discussed in relation to the location of the situation can aid the researcher in understanding the significance of those situations on a particular culture. The social, political, and economic situations were observed in the 245 poems with female dress references to understand the context of those dress references. The majority of the poems that contained references to female dress related to a social setting (N=201) and focused on love (N=141). The other social settings were death (N=24), life in general (N=14), festivals (N=8), pregnancy (N=10), and beauty and nature

(N=4). Female dress was also discussed in reference to political (N=28) and economic (N=14) situations, but with much less frequency. The political settings were war/battles (N=16), Prince Charlie (N=5), loss of Highland lifestyle (N=2), the Act of Proscription (N=2), mocking the English king (N=1), religion (N=1), and the Jacobites (N=1). The economic settings were work (N=7) and money (N=7). The locations in this study were the Highlands, the Lowlands, and Scotland in general, just as in the male portion of the study. Poets discussed Scotland in general (N=171) more so than the Highlands (N=67) and the Lowlands (N=10).

Some authors of the poetry were very specific about mentioning the location of the Highland or Lowland town by name, while others were not specific. The social, political, and economic situations were further broken down into smaller categories.

The social settings that were observed were love, festivals, general life, death, nature and beauty, and pregnancy. As shown in Table 60, love was the most popular setting discussed, particularly in Scotland in general and the Highlands. Death was another popular subject of the poets, particularly in Scotland in general. Both festivals and general life were settings that poets used almost equally. Festivals were discussed in the Highlands and Scotland in general, but never in the Lowlands. The general life was similar with poets mentioning the Highlands and Scotland in general, but never the Lowlands. Pregnancy was a subject that was not discussed frequently by the poets; however, when pregnancy was the subject, the poems were set in either the Highlands or Scotland in general. The least frequent category of discussion was beauty and nature in conjunction with the Lowlands and Scotland in general.

Table 60

Social Settings and Locations in Poetry with Female Dress References

Social settings per location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in general	Total
Love	34	5	102	141
Death	3	2	19	24
General Life	4	0	10	14
Pregnancy	5	0	5	10
Festivals	1	0	7	8
Nature and Beauty	0	1	3	4
Total	47	8	146	201



These same social settings were cross-tabulated with the five time periods (see Table 61). The majority of the poems across all time periods focused on love; most of the poems were written during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and decline sharply in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Poems about general life and death appeared more often in the 19<sup>th</sup> century than in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Both types peaked in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of the poems related to festivals and beauty and nature appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and none appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Pregnancy was the focus of a few poems in each century with more written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Anna Gordon Brown’s poem “Willie o Douglas Dale” mentioned illegitimate pregnancy in the following lines: “ An the love that passd between this twa, it was like a paramour. O narrow, narrow’s my gown, Willy that wont to be sae wide; an short, short is my coats, Willy, that wont to be sae side; An gane is a’ my fair colour, an low laid is my pride...”(Buchan, 1973, p.70). Pregnancy with an illegitimate child could lead to a loss of reputation and therefore, prompted the increase of infanticide (Symonds, 1997).

Table 61

Social Settings and Dates in Poetry with Female Dress References

Social settings per date	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Love	8	14	59	48	12	141
Death	6	1	8	6	3	24
General Life	3	0	4	6	1	14
Pregnancy	2	0	0	6	2	10
Festivals	1	0	4	3	0	8
Nature and Beauty	0	0	0	4	0	4
Total	20	15	75	73	18	201

Fewer poems containing female dress references related to a political setting than poems with male dress references. The political settings that were discussed in conjunction with each location were war/battles, Prince Charlie/King James, mocking the British king (usually George), religion, the loss of the Highland lifestyle, Jacobites, and the Act of Proscription. As shown in Table 62, war was the major political setting in the Highlands (N=10) and Scotland in general (N=5), as well as the only political setting in the Lowlands (N=1). The Highlanders had many skirmishes with the British loyalists due

Table 62

Political Settings and Location

Political settings per location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in general	Total
War/battles	10	1	5	16
Prince Charlie/King James	3	0	2	5
Loss of Highland lifestyle	2	0	0	2
Act of Proscription	1	0	0	2
Mocking English king	0	0	1	1
Religion	0	0	1	1
Jacobite	0	0	1	1
Total	16	1	11	28

to the perceived threat to their way of life; however, the Highlanders were defeated in 1745 (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984). The other political settings appeared very infrequently in the poetry.

Politics was not a large category for female poetry (see Table 63). An examination of the categories under political settings compared with time periods revealed that most of the poems appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and focused on war and battles. This finding was consistent with the skirmishes that occurred between the Scottish, particularly the Highlanders, and the English during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984). Poems dealing with war were infrequent during the early and late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The peak in the number of war poems was in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century after many of the wars were over but the loss of the wars still were connected with painful or proud memories. James Hogg wrote a poem entitled “The lament of Flora MacDonald” in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Hogg (1819) stated, “...The bonny young Flora sat sighing her lane, the dew on her plaid, and the tear in her ee...fareweel to my hero, the gallant and young! Fareweel to the lad I shall ne’er see again! ...The conflict is past, and our name is no more: There’s nought left but sorrow for Scotland and me...(p.179). Very few poems related to politics were written prior to or after the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Poems with female dress references were also examined to determine the number of specific economic settings in the Highlands, Lowlands, and Scotland in general. The specific economic situation examined the settings of work and money. The majority of poems related to work and money were written in reference to Scotland in

Table 63

Female Political Settings and Date

Political settings per date	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
War/battles	1	1	9	4	1	16
Prince Charlie/King James	0	0	3	2	0	5
Loss of Highland lifestyle	0	0	1	1	0	2
Jacobite	0	0	2	0	0	2
Act of Proscription	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mocking English king	0	0	1	0	0	1
Religion	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	2	1	16	8	1	28

general (see Table 64). Economics was the least important and least mentioned situation, even though some major economic events occurred between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as the Clearances and the shift from traditionalism to capitalism (MacKinnon, 1960; Devine, 1988). The poets appeared to have been more interested in the political hardships and the social interests in the Highlands rather than the economic plight of the people.

Table 64

Female Economic Setting and Location

Economic settings per location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in general	Total
Money	0	0	7	7
Work	1	1	5	7
Total	1	1	12	14

An examination of the economic settings and the date revealed that most poems written about money appeared in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century; whereas the majority of poems written about work were written in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (see Table 65). Women began to work in factory jobs near the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Symonds, 1997; Whatley, 1988), which may explain the higher frequency of work related poems for women in the late 18<sup>th</sup>

Table 65

Female Economic Settings and Dates

Economic settings per date	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C.	Total
Money	0	1	5	1	0	7
Work	0	0	1	5	1	7
Total	0	1	6	6	1	14

century. It appears that money was more important in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century poems, while work was more important in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century poems.

Each female dress item was cross-tabulated with the social, political, and economic situation to determine the type of situation in which the garments were worn. The upper body dress items were mentioned most often for social situations (see Table 66). The gown and the coat were the most frequently mentioned items of dress for women in a social situation. Although the mantle was mentioned relatively frequently in social situations, it never appeared in relation to politics or economics, neither did the smock. All upper body dress items except the mantle and smock were mentioned in both social and political situations. The bodice, rokelay, smock, and mantle were the only items not mentioned in economic situations.

Table 66

Female Upper Body Dress Items and Situation

Upper Body Dress Items per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Gown	42	6	4	52
Coat	19	3	1	23
Mantle	16	0	0	16
Sark	12	2	1	15
Plaid	10	2	1	13
Robe	9	1	1	11
Bodice	6	1	0	7
Rokelay	3	3	0	6
Smock	5	0	0	5
Total	122	18	8	148

Poets mentioned adjectives to describe some upper body garments, but not to a great extent. Colors, such as red, blue, brown, black, green, and gray were used to describe garments (see Table 67). Most of the colors were discussed in relation to social

Table 67

Colors in Conjunction with Female Upper Body Dress Items and Situation

Number of Colors of Upper Body Dress Items per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Green	15	1	0	16
Brown	7	0	0	7
Blue	6	0	0	6
Gray	3	1	1	5
White	3	1	0	4
Red	3	0	0	3
Black	2	0	0	2
Total	39	3	1	43

situations. This was appropriate because the majority of upper body garments were also discussed in relation to social situations. Red, blue, brown, and black were only discussed in conjunction with social situations. Green was mentioned more often than other colors for social situations and was mentioned very little for political situations. White appeared with little frequency in both social and political situations. The only color that was mentioned in all three situations was gray and was the only color that poets mentioned in conjunction with economic situations.

Two other adjectives used by poets to describe the upper body garments provided new insight into the manner of wearing, as well as what the people found important in a garment. One adjective was the word “new,” which was mentioned with some frequency in social situations (N=8). The word “new” suggested that a new garment was an important part of the social life of a person. The other word, “kilted up,” was also mentioned with some frequency in relation to the social situations (N=7) but with very little frequency in political situations (N=1). Kilted up indicated a manner of wearing upper body garments.

In addition to observing upper body dress items in the social, political, and economic setting, the items were observed in relation to location (see Table 68). Most of the female upper body dress items discussed were located in Scotland in general. The

Table 68

Female Upper Body Dress Items and Location

Upper Body Dress Items per Location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in General	Total
Gown	12	1	39	52
Coat	10	0	13	23
Mantle	5	0	11	16
Sark	3	1	11	15
Plaid	3	0	10	13
Robe	1	0	10	11
Bodice	3	0	4	7
Rokelay	3	0	3	6
Smock	0	0	5	5
Total	40	2	106	148

female upper body dress item that was discussed most often was the gown and the location was Scotland in general. Other items mentioned often included the coat, sark, plaid, robe, and mantle. Surprisingly, the plaid was discussed more often in relation to Scotland in general than the Highlands or Lowlands. The researcher had expected to find more references to the plaid in regards to the Highlands, which indicates that the plaid was generally worn throughout Scotland. Only the gown and the sark were mentioned in relation to the Lowlands. The gown and coat were mentioned with greater frequency in the Highlands than any other dress items.

Female lower body dress items were also examined in relation to situations and location. As with upper body dress items, the social situation was the venue most often used to discuss lower body female dress items. The items mentioned most frequently overall and within a social situation were the hose and the kirtle (see Table 69). The apron was the only item mentioned in all three situations. Stockings, garters, and the kirtle were only mentioned in a social situation.

Poets only discussed four colors in conjunction with female lower body garments: red, blue, green, and gold (see Table 70). Although none of the colors were mentioned with a high degree of frequency, gold was mentioned more often than any other color. Red was mentioned in relation to a social situation, as well as in relation to economic situations. Blue and green were only mentioned in one economic situation. Gold was discussed in relation to social, political, and economic situations. No other colors, including black and white were mentioned. None of the colors were mentioned with high frequency. The

Table 69

Female Lower Body Dress Items and Situations

Lower Body Dress Items per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Hose	13	1	0	14
Kirtle	11	0	0	11
Girdle	8	1	0	9
Apron	7	1	1	9
Petticoat	6	2	0	8
Garters	7	0	0	7
Stockings	5	0	0	5
Total	57	4	1	63

Table 70

Colors in Conjunction with Female Lower Body Dress Items and Situation

Number of Colors of Lower Body Dress Items per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Gold	3	1	2	6
Red	2	0	3	5
Green	0	0	3	3
Blue	0	0	1	1
Total	5	1	9	15

highest frequency of color use was gold, which was discussed in conjunction with the girdle.

An examination of the poets' discussion of lower body items in relation to the location revealed that most items were discussed in the Highlands and Scotland in general and rarely in the Lowlands. As shown in Table 71, only the girdle and the kirtle were mentioned in regards to the Lowlands; whereas the hose, garter, kirtle, and apron were mentioned in relation to Scotland in general more often. The girdle, hose, and petticoat were mentioned more often than other items in the Highlands.

The types of fibers mentioned in poetry with female dress references were silk, wool, and flax. The frequency of the fibers mentioned in poetry with female dress references was examined in relation to social, political, and economic situations (see Table 72). Although silk, wool, and flax were discussed in each setting, silk was mentioned more frequently in situations overall and especially in social situations. Silk also appeared in poetry to some degree in relation to political (N=3) and economic (N=4)

Table 71

Female Lower Body Dress Items and Location

Lower Body Dress Items per Location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in General	Total
Hose	4	0	10	14
Kirtle	1	1	9	11
Girdle	5	1	3	9
Apron	1	0	8	9
Petticoat	4	0	4	8
Garters	0	0	7	7
Stockings	3	0	2	5
Total	18	2	43	63

Table 72

Female Fibers and Situation

Fibers per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Silk	35	3	4	42
Wool	5	0	2	7
Flax	1	1	0	2
Total	41	4	6	51

situations. When silk was discussed in relation to economics, it was usually to denote wealth. Male characters in poetry would claim that if a woman would marry him, he would dress her in silk clothing. This was especially noticed in Blamire's poem, "In silk attire", also known as "The siller croun." Susanna Blamire wrote in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, "And ye shall walk in silk attire, and siller hae to spare, gin ye'll consent to be his bride, nor think o' Donald mair" (Low, 1991, p.249). Wool was mentioned in both the social (N=5) and the economic (N=2) situations. Flax was the third fiber discussed by poets. Flax also appeared in poetry and was mentioned in both the social and political situations, but with little frequency. Surprisingly, cotton was never mentioned, even though near the end of the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Scotland was manufacturing and promoting cotton (Devine, 1988).

Red and green were the only two colors that were mentioned in poems with the fibers. Red (N=1) and green (N=1) were each mentioned once in conjunction with a social situation. No other colors were discussed.

Fibers were examined to determine a relationship with location. As shown in Table 73, the majority of poems that mentioned fibers related to Scotland in general as



Table 73

Female Fibers and Location

Fiber per Location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in General	Total
Silk	11	0	31	42
Wool	1	1	5	7
Flax	1	0	1	2
Total	13	1	37	51

the location. Silk was mentioned more frequently overall, but especially in reference to the Highlands and Scotland in general. As previously mentioned, silk was considered a luxury item which men used to court women. Flax was the least frequently mentioned fiber. Each of the three fibers (i.e., silk, wool, and flax) was mentioned in reference to the Highlands and Scotland in general.; however, only wool was mentioned in each location. Silk and flax were not mentioned in reference to the Lowlands.

Footwear was also examined with regard to situation (see Table 74). Although women were noted for being barefoot (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Smout, 1969), shoes appeared more often than anticipated. Shoes appeared more often in reference to social situations than political or economic situations. Shoes were mentioned much more frequently than being barefoot. Women appeared in poetry barefoot in social and economic situations. Women did not typically wear shoes until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Highlands (Smout, 1969).

Table 74

Female Footwear and Situation

Footwear per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Shoes	28	2	1	31
Barefeet	14	0	2	16
Total	42	2	3	47

Poets did not mention any shoe colors for women. In addition, only two adjectives were occasionally mentioned and they were heels and satin. Unfortunately, the poets mentioned heels but did not further describe the heel height or style. Heels were mentioned in both social (N=3) and political (N=1) situations. Satin shoes only appeared in poetry that related to social situations (N=3).

Shoes and being barefoot were mentioned by poets in relation to all three locations. Shoes appeared more frequently in poetry regarding the Highlands (N=10) and Scotland in general (N=20) than in the Lowlands (N=1). Women were mentioned being barefoot nearly equally in the Highlands (N=7) and Scotland in general (N=8); while poems related to the Lowlands less frequently mentioned women being barefoot (N=1).

The accessories were examined with regard to situation and included the brooch or pin, the necklace, the purse, the ring, pearls, ribbons, gloves or mittens, cockades, and belts. As shown in Table 75, accessories appeared in poetry depicting a social situation more often than the other two situations. Although all accessories were mentioned in poems depicting social situations, rings were mentioned more often than any other accessory overall and in a social situation. Brooches and ribbons were also mentioned in social situations with a relatively high degree of frequency. The belt, brooch, and pearls only appeared in poems with a social situation. Although it appeared with little frequency, the cockade was the only item that appeared more often in poems depicting a political situation rather than a social or economic situation. The political situation is appropriate for the cockade because it was a symbol of the Jacobites and freedom for Scotland. Gloves and mittens were also mentioned in social situations more often than in economic situations. Gloves were often mentioned as a gift to a woman during courting.

Table 75

Female Accessories and Situations

Accessories per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Ring	26	2	2	30
Ribbons	13	1	2	16
Brooch	13	0	0	13
Gloves/Mittens	11	0	1	12
Purse	8	1	1	10
Belt	6	0	0	6
Necklace	4	0	1	5
Pearls	3	0	0	3
Cockade	1	2	0	3
Total	85	6	7	98

A few poems used some adjectives to further describe accessories. The colors red (N=4), blue (N=1), green (N=3), and black (N=2) appeared in poetry about social

situations. White (N=2) was mentioned only in political situations in conjunction with the cockade. Gold and silver were also discussed in relation to social and political situations. Gold (N=15) was mentioned with much higher frequency in social situations than silver (N=3). Both gold and silver were only discussed one time each in the political situation. No other adjectives were mentioned with regard to accessories, nor were any adjectives mentioned in economic situations.

The locations in which the accessories were discussed varied (see Table 76). The majority of accessories were discussed in references to Scotland in general and in the Highlands more often than the Lowlands. The ring and ribbons were mentioned more frequently overall and in regards to Scotland in general and the Highlands. The brooch, ring, pearls, gloves/mittens, and the belt were mentioned in regards to each location. The cockade was one of the least frequently mentioned items and was mentioned only in regards to Scotland in general. The necklace and the purse were only mentioned in poems related to the Highlands and Scotland in general.

Table 76

Female Accessories and Location

Accessories per Location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in General	Total
Ring	8	2	20	30
Ribbons	4	0	12	16
Brooch	4	2	7	13
Gloves/Mittens	1	1	10	12
Purse	2	0	8	10
Belt	1	1	4	6
Necklace	3	0	2	5
Pearls	1	1	1	3
Cockade	0	0	3	3
Total	24	7	67	98

The frequency of fabrics as they were discussed by the situation depicted in the poems was examined. As shown in Table 77, fabrics appeared in more poems that depicted social situations rather than political or economic situations. The fabrics mentioned most often overall and in social situations were pearlins (lace) and linen (known as Holland fine). Pearlins was the only fabric mentioned in all three situations. Satin and hodden gray were mentioned only in social and political situations. Paisley was mentioned only in poems with social situations. Pearlins (lace) was mentioned

Table 77

Female Fabrics and Situations

Fabrics per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Pearlins	13	2	3	18
Linen	12	1	0	13
Satin	7	0	1	8
Tartan	6	1	0	7
Velvet	3	1	0	4
Hodden Gray	1	0	1	2
Paisley	1	0	0	1
Total	43	5	5	53

more frequently than any other fabric. Tartan was the fourth most frequently discussed fabric for women; it only appeared in poems depicting social and political situations. The researcher was surprised at the low frequency for tartan because this fabric was indigenous to the Highlands. In addition, the poetry analysis revealed a high frequency of tartan among poetry with male dress references and the researcher expected a similar finding for poetry with female dress references. Paisley and hodden gray were the least frequently mentioned fabrics. The traditionally Scottish fabrics, particularly the tartan, paisley, and hodden gray, were rarely mentioned in poetry. It appears that linen and pearlins were more desirable fabrics for garments worn in social situations.

Fabric color was not mentioned very often and then only in social situations. The colors that were mentioned included red (N=3), green (N=2), and black (N=1). The only other adjective associated with fabric was the word "fine," which denoted quality of the fabric when mentioned.

The frequency of fabrics was examined with regards to location depicted in the poetry. As shown in Table 78, the majority of the fabrics were mentioned in poems depicting Scotland in general as the location. The fabric mentioned most often was pearlins. All of the fabrics except paisley were mentioned in poems that depicted the Highlands. Linen and tartan were the only fabrics mentioned in each location. The tartan fabric appeared equally in poems related to the Highlands and Scotland in general. The tartan fabric was unique to the Highlanders until other Scots began wearing tartan as a symbol of Scottish pride (Bain, 1954; Grimble, 1973; Stewart, 1974). Pearlins (or lace)

Table 78

Fabrics and Location in Female Poetry

Fabrics per Location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in General	Total
Pearlins	2	0	16	18
Linen	3	1	9	13
Satin	3	0	5	8
Tartan	3	1	3	7
Velvet	1	0	3	4
Hodden Gray	2	0	0	2
Paisley	0	0	1	1
Total	14	2	37	53

was considered as an accoutrement to dress items in early 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Velvet and satin were only mentioned in poems set in the Highlands and Scotland in general, albeit less often in the Highlands. Both velvet and satin were luxury fabrics worn by the upper classes throughout Europe (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The fabrics mentioned less frequently than any of the others were hodden gray and paisley. This finding was surprising since both fabrics originated in Scotland and paisley became popular throughout Europe from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> through the mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Hodden gray was also expected to have a higher frequency since it was a typical fabric in Scotland, particularly in the Highlands (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938).

The last dress category that was examined in relation to situations was headdress (see Table 79). Several different types of headdress were mentioned in the poetry analyzed including the curch (kerchief), the snood, cap or mutch cap, garland, crown, veil, pinner, and fillet. The majority of the poems contained references to headdress depicted in social situations. The headdress mentioned more frequently overall and in poetry depicting social situations were the curch, snood, and mutch cap. The snood was a maiden's headdress that carried over in Scotland from the Middle Ages and remained popular (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). One poem, "The silken snooded lassie," addresses the popularity of the headdress among women. The anonymous poet stated, "Quoth she, I've lost my silken, and never mair can look sae cheerie. I said, ne'er mind the silken snood, nae langer mourn, nor look sae dreary; I'll buy you ane that's twice as good, If you'll consent to be my dearie" (Hopkins, 1869, p.178-179). The mutchcap was similar to the close cap discussed by

Table 79

Female Headdress and Situations

Headdress per Situation	Social	Political	Economic	Total
Snood	16	0	1	17
Curch	8	1	3	12
Mutch Cap	10	1	0	11
Garland	3	1	1	5
Fillet	2	0	0	2
Crown	0	1	0	1
Veil	1	0	0	1
Pinner	1	0	0	1
Total	41	4	5	50

Dunbar (1979) and Hamilton (1991). Married women wore the curch; whereas unmarried women wore the snood (Dunbar, 1979). Therefore the poems that mentioned the snood were referring to unmarried women. Garland was not mentioned frequently, but was mentioned in each of the situations. The garland was usually mentioned as part of wooing or courting.

Color was rarely mentioned to describe headdress. Blue (N=3), white (N=3), red (N=1), and green (N=1) were all mentioned in social situations, but with a small degree of frequency. According to Dunbar (1979), both married women and maidens wore white headdress, while only young unmarried women wore red and blue. No other adjectives were associated with headdresses.

The frequency of headdress was examined in regards to the location depicted in the poems (see Table 80). The majority of the poems that mentioned headdress also depicted Scotland in general as the location. The types of headdress that appeared with the most frequency overall and in Scotland in general were the snood, mutch cap, and curch. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), the snood was a headdress worn by Lowland women. The mutch cap only appeared in poetry related to Scotland in general and the Lowlands. The garland was the only headdress mentioned in poems more frequently related to the Highlands than the Lowlands and Scotland in general. The fillet was only mentioned in the Highlands. The crown, the veil, and the pinner were each mentioned only once and only in association with Scotland in general. No literature had previously mentioned headdress for Highland women; therefore, the poetry analysis revealed that the curch, snood, garland, and fillet were headdress associated with Highland women.

Table 80

Female Headdress and Location

Headdress per Location	Highlands	Lowlands	Scotland in General	Total
Snood	2	1	14	15
Curch	4	1	7	12
Mutch Cap	0	1	10	11
Garland	3	1	1	5
Fillet	2	0	0	2
Crown	0	0	1	1
Veil	0	0	1	1
Pinner	0	0	1	1
Total	11	4	35	50

In addition to actual dress items, poets often used the less descriptive terms of “dress,” “clothing,” and “cloth.” These words were not useful in adding to the knowledge base on Scottish, particularly Highland dress; however, the words did indicate that dress was important enough to everyday life to include in poetry. These words were referred to a total of 88 times in the 245 poems. The highest frequency of general dress words were in poems depicting Scotland in general (N=74), followed by the Highlands (N=10) and the Lowlands (N=4).

The full female ensemble was described in 35 of the 245 poems. The majority of the poems described one or a few dress items, but not the entire ensemble. The full ensembles were located more often in Scotland in general (N=26) or the Highlands (N=8) rather than the Lowlands (N=1).

The majority of poems with female dress references depicted Scotland in general as the location; however, more poems were located in the Highlands than in the Lowlands. The majority of poems with female dress references were related to social situations and focused on love. The majority of social situations were in poetry written during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The female upper body dress item mentioned most often and in a social setting was the gown. The plaid, sark, and coat were also mentioned with some degree of frequency with regards to a social setting. The lower body dress items mentioned most frequently in social situations were the hose and the kirtle. Both of these items were mentioned most often in relation to Scotland in general, but were also mentioned in the Highlands with some degree of frequency. The accessory most often mentioned in a social situation and located in Scotland in general was the ring. Female dress items overall appeared more often in social situations in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly love settings. The information on locations where dress items were worn was

ambiguous. The research focused on the Highlands; however, the multitude of poetry researched for this study was noted as Highland, Lowland, or Scotland in general. More poems were determined to be of Scottish origin without specific location. There were more poems with Highland origins than with Lowland origins. The poems with Scotland in general origins could be either Highland or Lowland.

The research question (#3) for this part of the study related to determining the impact of social, political, and economic situations on Highland dress between 1603 and 1830. The question was analyzed from the perspective of male Highland dress and female Highland dress. For male Highland dress, the results revealed that love poems were written more frequently in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of political poems with war settings were set in the Highlands in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The plaid was the most often mentioned upper body dress item for men and was related to both political and social situation. The plaid was mentioned most often in regards to the Highlands. The kilt was the most frequently mentioned male lower body dress item and was related to political situations. The tartan fabric and the bonnet were also mentioned most frequently in political situations. The impact of the political situation on male dress references was an increase in the mention of certain items of dress, particularly the plaid, kilt, tartan, and bonnet. The plaid was mentioned in both political and social situations, which indicates that it was likely worn on a daily basis for any occasion. Poems with female dress references focused more on social situations rather than political situations. The gown was the most frequently mentioned female upper body garment and was usually mentioned in a social situation, especially love. The hose and kirtle were the most frequent female lower body dress items mentioned in a social situation. The ring was the most frequently mentioned accessory item in relation to social situations. The poetry with the most frequently mentioned male dress items depicted political situations, particularly war settings; whereas the poetry with the most frequently mentioned female dress items depicted social situations, particularly love settings. This association indicates that men were the defenders of home and property while women were the homemakers. Economic situations were negligible in poetry with either male or female dress references. Highlanders were typically poor with little hope of acquiring wealth. It appears that the poets did not wish to delve into this aspect of Highland life. Both male and female dress references in poetry were predominantly set in Scotland in general, although the poems were also set in the Highlands with some degree of frequency.



#### Research Question 4

What references were made about the Act of Proscription in poetry from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century?

This question assessed the impact of sumptuary legislation on Highland dress using only poetry with male and female dress references dated between 1746 and 1782. The Act of Proscription was the legislation that was passed banning Highland dress in 1746. The act was not repealed until 1782. There were 639 poems with male and female dress references written between 1603 and 1830; however, only eleven poems with male dress references and two poems with female dress references referred to the Act of Proscription. However, the majority of poems containing references to Highland dress were written during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Impact of sumptuary legislation on male and female dress references in poetry

The analysis of the sumptuary legislation involved the use of frequencies to note the amount of poems that directly mentioned the Act of Proscription and the banning of specific items of dress. In addition to the frequencies, the impact was assessed on a qualitative basis, as the researcher noted the words used by poets to describe the loss of Highland garments and the disgust with which poets wrote about the English style garments that the Highlanders were forced to wear. The impact of sumptuary legislation was difficult to assess since only 11 poems with male dress references and 2 poems with female dress references directly noted the Act of Proscription. These poems were specific to the Highlands. The poets discussed their love for the plaid and their hatred toward trousers or breeches. Duncan Ban MacIntyre mentioned in “A Song to the Breeches” that “...since changed has our clothing been, each other we will not recognize...I never thought that I should have trousers, as my covering which fit a man unhandsomely...To the garb that comes unnaturally to the people to whom I belong...” (Campbell, 1983, p.221). Alexander MacDonald wrote in “A Call to Prince Charles” that, “...Art thou not saddened by the prospect...being of arms and plaid deprived...” (Campbell, 1983, p.123). All 11 poems demonstrated a sense of pride in the traditional Highland garments and a great sadness at its loss. It appeared that not all Highlanders were initially against the British government. One poem, “The Battle of Falkirk” by Duncan Ban MacIntyre, discussed the fact that the character was initially a Hanoverian Highlander (i.e., a supporter of the British government) until the dress ban was initiated. The Hanoverian Highlanders united with the Jacobite Highlanders in their hatred toward

the British. In this poem, MacIntyre stated, "...Now we'll wear but hat and black coats in the place of checkered tartans...When we've lost our arms and clothing how can we ever be happy?" (Campbell, 1983, p.211-213). The Highlanders refer to the English dress in drab colors, such as black and gray; whereas, Highland dress was typically colorful. The English garments as described in poetry appeared to be tight fitting and unhandsome. The poems indicated that Highland men believed that trousers were unmanly, unlike their kilts. The plaid and other Highland garb were referred to with words of pride. These poems did demonstrate that there was a sense of loss and mourning when the Highlanders were deprived of their traditional garments.

The impact of sumptuary legislation was particularly difficult to assess for females since only 2 poems with female dress references directly mentioned the Act of Proscription. The poets, regardless of their own origin, mourned the loss of the Highland dress due to the Act of Proscription; however, less information was provided about female dress in the poems that mentioned the Act of Proscription. For example, Robert Fergusson, a Lowlander, wrote "On the Death of Scots Music" and stated, "On Scotia's plains, in days of yore, when lads and lasses tartan wore, soft music rang on ilka shore, in hamely weed; but harmony is now no more, and music dead" (Fergusson, 1946, p. 207). In addition to banning Highland dress, the Act of Proscription also banned Highland music and weapons. The lack of poetry with female dress references in relation to the Act of Proscription is a deficit of the study and no assessment was made in this regard.

According to the data analysis, the sumptuary legislation did impact the Highlanders lifestyle. The people were no longer allowed to wear the traditional dress that they had worn for many centuries. Clothing is a part of a person's identity as well as being part of subcultural group identity. The ban sought to remove the Highland identity and assimilate the Highland subculture into British culture. The poetry analysis indicated that the Highlanders did not wish to give up their subculture. The poets described the loss of the traditional Highland dress in terms of mourning, which is an accurate depiction given the "death" of their subculture through the Act of Proscription.

Although only 13 of the 639 poems with male and female dress references specifically mentioned the Act of Proscription, most of the Highland dress references were made during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The upheaval in the Highlands began at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century with the uprisings and culminated in 1746 with the Act of Proscription, which banned Highland garments. There were more poems with dress

references in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than either the 17<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. It appears that garments were more important to the poets at this time and may indicate that they worried about the impending loss of the Highland lifestyle. In addition, the Highlanders were allowed to wear their traditional garments again after the ban on dress was lifted in 1783. It appears that once the Highland lifestyle was restored, poets no longer felt as strongly a need to include dress in their poems.

#### Research Question 5

What are the similarities in dress references found in Scottish poetry, other written documents (i.e., travel accounts in the form of letters), and visual documents (i.e., portraits) from 1603 through 1830?

This research question involved triangulation of other written and visual sources to validate the findings in the poetry. Travel accounts, in the form of letters, and portraits were the sources used for the triangulation portion of this study. The analysis was gathered from an examination of both written documents and visual documents. The analysis was qualitative and did not involve the creation of any databases. Instruments C and D were completed for each letter to examine dress references within each letter. Every completed instrument was analyzed individually; the results of these analyses are presented in this section. Instrument E was used to document visual dress references for each portrait. Each portrait instrument was first analyzed individually and then as a whole group; the results of these analyses are presented in this section following the analysis of the letters.

#### Travel accounts in the form of letters

There were 12 exact reprints of letters and travel accounts examined for the 1600s and 25 exact reprints of letters and travel accounts examined for the early 1700s; however, only 10 letters in the 1600s (Brown, 1978) and 19 letters in the 1700s (Jamieson, 1974) had dress references. The letters from the 1600s were individual letters written by foreigners traveling through Scotland. These foreigners recorded their experiences and personal observations on the Scottish people and their land. The letters were not always kind and often demonstrated biases against the Scottish people. Other letters demonstrated a fascination with the uniqueness of the people, their habits, and their land. During the 1700s, all of the letters were from one source, Captain Edward Burt. Captain Burt was an Englishman who orchestrated the building of roads

throughout Scotland. He wrote friends back in London about his observations of the people and their land, as he traveled.

Sir Anthony Weldon, who was an Englishman, wrote the earliest letter in 1617 containing dress references (Brown, 1978). Sir Weldon demonstrated a prominent bias against the Scottish Lowlanders. Upon his arrival in Edinburgh, he stated that, “the air might be wholesome but for the stinking people that inhabit it...” (Brown, 1978, p. 97) and later stated, “I do wonder that so brave a prince as King James, should be borne in so stinking a town as Edinburgh in lousy Scotland” (Brown, 1978, p.103). He only referred to female dress of the Lowlanders. His brief comment noted that the women did not wear stockings and alluded to the fact that they did not wear shoes, either. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), stockings were worn only by those who could afford them and shoes were not worn on a daily basis. Stockings were not noted for Lowland women in poetry; in addition, stockings were only noted once in Scottish poetry in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. This letter noted that women did not wear stockings, which could be the reason that little mention of stockings was found in poetry at this time. Being barefoot was noted in poetry about Lowland women in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The letter and poetry agree on the idea of Lowland women being barefoot, as well as women not wearing stockings.

Taylor, the Water-Poet, who was an Englishman, wrote many letters during his travels through Scotland in 1618 (Brown, 1978). He visited both the Highlands and the Lowlands. During a visit to the Highlands, Taylor noted many items of dress worn by the men. Men wore the plaid, a tartan jerkin, stockings, garters, shoes, necktie, and bonnet. Taylor noted,

Their habite is shooes with but one sole apiece; stockings (which they call short hose) made from warm stuffe of divers colours, which they call Tartane: as for breeches, many of them, not their forefathers, never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuffe that their hose is of, their garters being bands or wreathes of hay or straw, with a plead about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer and lighter stuffe than their hose, with blue flat caps on their heads, a handkerchiefe knit with two knots about their necke; and thus they are attyred (Brown, 1978, p.121).

This paragraph verbally described the dress worn by the men he encountered. Taylor’s statement about the shoes with one sole confirms the belief of many researchers (Bain, 1954; Innes of Leary, 1938; Stewart, 1974) that Highland men wore the single sole shoes. Poetry often mentioned the wearing of shoes by Highland men in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, little stylistic information was provided in the poems. The letter added

detail about the sole of their shoes. The stockings are generally referred to as hose in literature; however, Taylor noted that the Highlanders called them “short hose.” Both the words stockings and hose appear in poetry about Highland men; however, the word stocking does not appear until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, whereas the word hose appeared in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is possible that the words were used interchangeably by people of this time period or that foreigners, such as Taylor, applied their own country’s terminology to Highland garments. No literature has noted the type of fabric or method used to produce the stockings in Scotland during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Taylor has provided the researcher with some new information on this subject. “Warm stuffe” may refer to wool, which would have been the most common fiber used for warmth in the Highlands. Wool was not noted as a fiber in early 17<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Taylor also noted that the stockings were made of “divers colours,” and referred to the fabric as tartan. Dunbar (1951; 1979) noted the popularity of tartan among the Highlanders. Tartan was a commonly mentioned fabric in Highland poetry (N=48), but not in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. No further insight has been gained on construction method of stockings. Taylor stated that breeches were not worn; confirming this and other researchers’ (Bain, 1954; Cockburn, 1985; Dunbar, 1979; Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990) belief that breeches were not worn at this period of time in the Highlands. Breeches were mentioned, albeit infrequently, in Highland poetry in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Taylor noted that a tartan jerkin was worn in the Highlands. The jerkin was commonly worn in Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998); however, no previous research on Highland dress noted the use of the jerkin during this time period. Therefore, Taylor probably applied an English dress term to a Highland garment. The word jerkin was not found in any Scottish poetry during the time period under investigation. The use of the word jerkin in the letter indicates that the jerkin may have been worn and warrants further investigation at a later date.

Many researchers have noted the use of the plaid by Highlanders (Bain, 1954; Cockburn, 1985; Dunbar, 1979; Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990). Taylor confirms this use, but adds little new information on the manner in which the plaid was worn, other than around the shoulders. The plaid was frequently mentioned in poetry about Highland males, but not in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. He did note, however, that the tartan fabric was finer and lighter weight than that used to make their stockings. The statement about a blue flat cap confirms the use of what researchers term the blue “bonnet” (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991). The blue bonnet was noted in poetry containing references to male

Highland dress in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The cap was also mentioned in Highland poetry in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the color blue was not usually attached as a descriptor. The possibility exists that the words bonnet and cap were used interchangeably. There was no mention of the handkerchief knotted at the neck in the literature or poetry; therefore, this piece of information adds to the knowledge base on Highland dress in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In another section of this same letter, Taylor discussed the dress of a Highland gentleman he encountered. He noted that the gentleman wore a shirt made of flax. The sark was noted in early 17<sup>th</sup> century poetry that contained Highland dress references; however, flax was never mentioned as a fiber, except in female poetry. The Highland gentleman's wife created the shirt from flax grown on his land. Unfortunately no description of the shirt style was provided. Taylor also noted that the gentleman wore a jerkin, stockings, and hose made from wool grown by his own sheep and home spun. Again, the jerkin is a garment not previously mentioned in Highland dress literature or poetry, but was a common European garment in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). It is interesting to note that Taylor mentioned the wearing of both stockings and hose. Although stockings were not noted for Highland dress in poetry in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the hose were mentioned but with little frequency. Stockings were a common knee-length leg covering throughout 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe, while hose covered the entire leg (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Taylor's reference to the use of wool confirmed the notion that wool was a popular fiber used in the Highlands and spun in the home (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938). He also stated that the gentleman wore a blue bonnet. Because Taylor previously referred to a flat blue cap and now referred to a blue bonnet, the researcher believes cap and bonnet are used interchangeably by Taylor to refer to the same item of dress. Again the use of the blue bonnet confirmed Bain (1954) and Hamilton's (1991) notions that the blue bonnet was used at this time.

Sir William Bereton, who was an Englishman, wrote a letter in which he made several references to dress during his travels throughout Scotland in 1636 (Brown, 1978). He visited the Highlands briefly and spent the majority of his time in the Lowlands. He noted that Highland males wore the plaid, kilt, and blue caps. The analysis of Highland poetry revealed the use of the plaid and the cap in poetry. The kilt was also mentioned in Highland poetry, but not in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Bereton also observed that most Highlanders did not wear doublets, which was a typical English dress item

during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The word doublet did not appear in Highland poetry. The men that did wear doublets wore a unique version, which Bereton described as, “a kind of loose flap garment hanging loose about their breech, their knees bare” (Brown, 1978, p.142). This description sounds as if the men only wore the doublet and no lower body garments. Europeans typically wore a shirt underneath the doublet and breeches with hose as a lower body covering (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank). The plaid remained a staple item in Highland dress and further confirmed researchers (Bain, 1954; Dunbar, 1979; Cockburn, 1985; Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990) notions of the plaid being worn during this period. However, no descriptive information was provided about the manner in which the plaid was worn. Finally, my impression from the previous letter that cap and bonnet were used interchangeably gained strength from Bereton’s use of the term “blue cap”. Again, the blue cap/bonnet reference confirmed the belief of previous researchers that the blue bonnet was worn by Highlanders (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991). Poetry analyzed for this study also mentioned both the cap and bonnet in conjunction with male Highland dress of this period.

Bereton also wrote about dress items worn by Highland women in his 1638 letter (Brown, 1978). He scrutinized the Highland women at their daily chores. Bereton noted that he, “observed the sluttish women washing their clothes in a great tub with their feet, their coats, smocks and all, tucked up to their breech” (Brown, 1978, p. 135). Unfortunately, the women’s garments were not described in detail. According to Calasibetta (1998) and Payne (1965) a smock was a garment worn close to the skin during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, similar to a chemise. Both the term coat and smock appear in poetry in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The coat was noted in Highland poetry, but the smock was noted only in poetry from Scotland in general. The terms coat and smock were not found in the literature on Highland or Lowland dress during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. These terms add new knowledge about Highland women’s garments, but not any visual descriptions.

A visit to the Lowlands by Bereton during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century provided additional information on both male and female dress for this study. The information on male dress dealt with scholars. After visiting universities in both Glasgow and Edinburgh, Bereton noted that scholars were distinguished by the use of gowns in Glasgow and cloaks in Edinburgh. The gown was noted in poetry about Lowland males in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, no cloaks were mentioned in the poetry of any time

period under investigation. The cloaks and gowns in Bereton's letter were red and gray, as well as other colors. Colors were noted to be "personal choice," not a distinguishing characteristic of scholars. On the other hand, after a visit to the judicial court in Edinburgh, Bereton noted that the fifteen judges wore purple gowns with the sleeves turned up and lined with velvet. No literature discussed job specific garments or colors associated with a particular job; therefore, this information adds to the knowledge base on Lowland dress items associated with specific jobs.

Bereton also shared his observations on Lowland women's dress. He noted that on market days, six or seven different "habits" (i.e., garment ensembles) would be worn. These ensembles indicated the women's status as widows, wives, maids, as well as their own fancy. Most women in the letter wore a gown, but no description was provided. The gown was frequently mentioned in poetry related to in the Lowlands in early 17<sup>th</sup> century. He stated that women of "the meaner sort" wore plaids over their heads, covering most of the face. The plaid was mentioned in poetry in regards to the Highlands at this time, but not in regards to the Lowlands. Bereton noted in his letter that the plaid reached nearly to the ground and was thrown over one arm. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), all classes wore the plaid; however, Bereton indicated that only the lower classes wore the plaid. He also noted that the plaids were created "woollen stuff," much like the English used for saddle blankets. Homespun woolens were worn during this period of time, usually in bright colors (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Unfortunately, color information could not be confirmed through the examination of this letter. Ladies of higher status wore satin. The poetry did mention the use of satin garments, but not until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Bereton mentioned that some of the women wore a ruff that fell upon the shoulders, while others wore bands wired at the neck. His description of the ruff is consistent with the popular style of collar in Europe at this time that was a falling ruff (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Bereton noted that maidens went bareheaded to denote their marital status. The analysis of poetry noted unmarried women wore the snood for a headdress to indicate their marital status, rather than a barehead. Bereton had described older women separately from other women. He noted that the older women wore a straight-bodied satin gown, a short cloak with a large cape attached, and boun-grace (i.e., a shade in front of a bonnet for protection from the sun). Information on older women was not available in previous literature and therefore adds to the knowledge base on Lowland dress.



Finally, Bereton noted the Lowland women's daily chores, similar to the Highland women he discussed. He observed them washing their clothes and stated that they tucked their clothing up above their knees. Unfortunately, he did not state what type of clothing these women were wearing. However, this method of tucking up their clothes while laundering other garments appeared to be comparable in the Highlands and the Lowlands.

Another letter examined for this study was by James Howell, an Englishman, who wrote a letter in 1639 that had references to dress (Brown, 1978). The letter only refers to his visit to Edinburgh in the Lowlands. He briefly mentioned that the men wore calf-skin leather boots. Howell's letter confirmed the findings of the poetry analysis, which noted the use of boots in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, but not in regards to the Lowlands. There were no other references to dress. Both the poetry analysis and the letter by Howell confirmed Maxwell and Hutchison's (1958) notion that leather boots were worn, but does not add any stylistic information about boots.

Table 81 summarizes the male dress items noted by each of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century authors in their letters, while Table 82 summarized the female dress items noted by each of the authors in their early 17<sup>th</sup> century letters. The tables merely denote items of dress mentioned within the letters, not the frequency of mention.

Richard Franck, also an Englishman, wrote a letter in 1656 to an acquaintance while visiting both the Lowlands and the Highlands (Brown, 1978). He noted that the Highland men wore plaids, coats, and cloaks. Both the plaid and the coat were mentioned in Highland male poetry during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but not the cloak. Franck noted that few men wore the cloaks, but indicated that they were better than wearing a plaid. The cloak was a fashionable outerwear garment in the Lowlands and England at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The word cloak was not found in poetry that related to Lowland men of this time period. Franck also noted that many men wore gray coats and a few men wore black coats. Other than color, no further description on the style of the garments was provided. Franck also stated that the men wore knitted bonnets made of Scottish cloth. Previous research has noted the use of the bonnet among Highland men (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991); however, the method of construction had not previously been discussed. The reference to the bonnet was noted in poetry in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The reference to "Scottish cloth" is unclear, but may refer to tartan cloth or plain woolen cloth, as they were popular in the Highlands (Innes of Leary, 1938; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Hamilton, 1991).

Table 81

Male Dress Items in Early 17<sup>th</sup> Century Letters

Author	Upper Body Dress	Lower Body Dress	Fibers and Fabrics	Footwear, Accessories, and Headdress
Weldon - HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Weldon - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Taylor - HL	Jerkin Plaid Shirt	Garters Hose Stockings	Flax (fiber) Wool (fiber) Tartan (fabric)	Shoes (footwear) Necktie (accessory) Bonnet (headdress)
Taylor- LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Bereton - HL	Doublet Plaid	Kilt	∅	Cap (headdress)
Bereton - LL	Cloaks Gowns	∅	∅	∅
Howell – HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Howell - LL	∅	∅	∅	Boots (footwear)

∅ indicates that no items was found in a given category

HL indicates Highland; LL indicates Lowland

Table 82

Female Dress Items in Early 17<sup>th</sup> Century Letters

Author	Upper Body Dress	Lower Body Dress	Fibers and Fabrics	Footwear, Accessories, and Headdress
Weldon - HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Weldon - LL	∅	No stockings	∅	No shoes - barefoot
Taylor - HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Taylor- LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Bereton - HL	Coats	Smocks	∅	∅
Bereton - LL	Gown Plaid Ruff Short cloak w/ cape Wired Band	∅	Wool (fiber) Satin (fabric)	Bareheaded maiden Boun-grace
Howell – HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Howell - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅

∅ indicates that no items was found in a given category

HL indicates Highland; LL indicates Lowland

In his letter, Franck made few references to Highland women. He noted that the women, "were social comers...who pawn their petticoates to pay their reckoning" (Brown, 1978, p.191). He was referring to the drinking habits among the Highlanders, including the women, and that they pawned their clothing to pay for this habit. Again, there was no further description given for the petticoats; however, numerous petticoats were worn under gowns in England at this time (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980) and may indicate a similar fashion in the Highlands. The analysis of late 17<sup>th</sup> century poetry revealed the use of petticoats in relation to Highland dress.

The Lowland people held little fascination for Franck and he only commented briefly about them. He noted that, "the people were decently drest... [as]an emblem of England" (Brown, 1978, p.193). Previous researchers have discussed the difficulty in separating Lowland fashions from English fashions (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). This statement confirmed the similarities in dress of the Lowlanders and the English.

Franck noted that Lowlanders had drinking habits similar to the Highlanders. Lowlanders pawned their clothing to pay for drinking, as well. The difference was that Lowland women pawned their husband's clothes, namely his breeches, instead of her own. No descriptive information was given about the breeches. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that breeches were the main lower body covering for Lowland men. Breeches were also mentioned in poetry during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century for Lowland men. While visiting a university in the Lowlands, Franck observed scholars wearing gowns with slashed and stuffed sleeves. The poetry analysis also revealed Lowlanders wearing the gown in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, slashing and stuffing were not mentioned. The practice of slashing garments had faded out in much of Europe at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, except for Sweden where the practice of slashing was just beginning (Craig, 1973; Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The Lowlanders, at least scholarly males, appear to have continued the practice.

Jorevin de Rocheford, was a Frenchman, who visited the Lowlands in 1661 (Brown, 1978). He wrote about their manufacturing of cloth and clothes, rather than what the people wore. Rocheford discussed the manufacture of cloth and fine linen in both Glasgow and Edinburgh. He also stated that they created, "great quantities of stuffs and cloths of all sorts" (Brown, 1978, p.221). The poetry analysis revealed the use of linen by Highlanders and Lowlanders, but not any direct manufacturing information.

John Ray, an Englishman, traveled to the Highlands in 1662 and wrote letters containing his observations of the people (Brown, 1978). He observed the Highland

men wearing plaids and bonnets, which was also mentioned in poetry. He described the plaid as a “party coloured blanket” worn about the head and shoulders by the lower classes. The term parti-coloured in Europe during the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries referred to the combination of two or more colors worn in different areas of a singular garment (e.g., hose with each leg a different color); however, the practice faded out by the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). However, the idea of wearing multiple colors together in a fabric may have reminded the writer of the term “parti-coloured.” The statement about the plaid being party colored indicated that the plaid was created from tartan fabric, which was typical for Highlanders during the mid-to-late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The men’s bonnets were usually blue, but occasionally russet color. He stated that only the lower class men wore the bonnet; however, according to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), the bonnet was one of many headdresses worn by Lowlanders of all classes. Ray also noted that men do not wear a bonnet when traveling away from home, rather they cover their head with their plaid. No information on this use of the plaid as a headcovering was available in previous literature. In addition to the plaids, Ray noted the wearing of cloaks while plowing, traveling outside of their locale, and on Sundays; however, I believe that the author used the terms cloak and plaid interchangeably, as the cloak was worn by the upper classes in the Lowlands and Europe (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Ray observed that Highlanders appeared to spend most of their money on their clothes, rather than their meals or homes. According to Hamilton (1991), Highland men and women were known for their finely made garments. In an anonymous poem entitled “King William’s March,” the author stated that the character was leaving home “...wi’ a budget on his back...” (Hogg, 1819, p. 24).

Ray also observed Highland women’s dress habits. He discussed similarities among the men and women in the manner of fashioning their plaid. The women wore a plaid that resembled a party colored blanket, as did the men. The women’s headdress was described as a “white linnen, which hangs down their backs as if a napkin were pinned about them” (Brown, 1978, p. 231). The headdress described by Ray appears to be the pinner, which was popular among Lowlanders, but was not mentioned in the literature on Highlanders (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The pinner was mentioned in poetry, but not until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Ray noted that the women, like the men, did not wear headdresses when traveling outside their locale, rather, they put the plaid over

their head. In addition to the discussion on women's dress, Ray discussed women's chores. Like Bereton (Brown, 1978), Ray noticed that the women tucked up their coats (possibly petticoats) when washing their clothes. Again, the reference to coats is unclear, since no descriptive information was provided. Poets occasionally mentioned women "killing up" their coats, which may have the same meaning; however, the reference to coats still remains unclear but appears to be a shortened version of the "petticoat."

James Brome, an English reverend, visited the Lowlands in 1669 (Brown, 1978). He attended a ceremony for a nobleman being made High Commissioner. A procession through Edinburgh was held before the ceremony. All of the people in attendance at the procession were richly attired. He noted that the officers were "finely habited" and the servants were "clad in the richest liveries." Although not much information was gained on dress styles, the passage does provide evidence that clothing was an important part of upper class life and ceremonies.

Thomas Kirke, an Englishman, visited both the Highlands and Lowlands in 1679 (Brown, 1978). Upon a visit to the Highlands, Kirke observed the garments of the men. He stated,

The Highlanders wear slashed doublets, commonly without breeches, only a plad tyed about their wastes, &c., thrown over their shoulder, with short stockings to the gartering place, their knees and part of their thighs being naked, others have breeches and stockings all of a piece and are close to their thighs...(Brown, 1978, p. 260).

The paragraph illustrated the common dress items of a Highland male. The slashed doublet did not appear in literature on Highlanders; however, Franck in 1656 noted in his letter that Lowlanders slashed their garments. Craig (1973) and Tortora and Eubank (1998) noted that the popularity of slashing had waned early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. According to Kirke's letter, it appears the out-dated practice of slashing continued in the Highlands. The doublet was not a term that poets chose to use, but the doublet was a jacket style garment commonly worn in Europe during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The reference to the plaid being tied around the waist confirmed the practice of the belted plaid or kilt being worn by men (Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990). Neither the belted plaid nor the kilt was mentioned in poetry until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Short stockings refer to hose and garters worn by Highlanders. The use of the word "naked" indicated some discomfort at seeing bare areas of a man's legs. European men during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century wore breeches and hose that

completely covered the leg (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The breeches and stockings in one piece pertained to the trews, popularly worn among the upper class men (Cockburn, 1985; Wilson, 1990). The trews were mentioned in poetry in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The statement that this garment was worn close to the thighs provides insight into the fit of the trews.

In addition to the Highland men, Kirke briefly discussed Highland women. In his letter, he described the women washing their clothing. Like Ray and Bereton (Brown, 1978), Kirke noticed that the women tucked their garments up when washing clothes. He noted that they tucked their garments up to their waist, unlike the other letters that indicated above the knee. Kirke was alarmed that the women, “from the waste downward...readily expose to all the dangers of a naked rencounter” (Brown, 1978, p.255). The women apparently tucked their garments up so high that they exposed themselves, which suggested that the women wore no undergarments. Although the poetry analysis did not reveal any mention of undergarments for Highlanders, Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that Lowland women wore undergarments (i.e., the shift). The analysis of poetry did not reveal any information on undergarments; however, Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that Scots women did not wear undergarments.

Kirke observed the Lowland men while at church and was disturbed that the men wore their blue bonnets cocked on their heads while attending services. Most of the information on blue bonnets pertains to the Highlanders, rather than the Lowlanders. The bonnet was noted in poetry that pertained to Lowland men and the descriptor of wearing the bonnet cocked was also noted. However, Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) also indicated that the Lowlanders wore the bonnet. On another occasion, Kirke noted that the upper classes were well dressed, but the lower classes were nearly naked. He said that they wore only an old cloak or part of their bedclothes.

Kirke also attended a university while visiting the Lowlands. During this visit, he noted that some scholars wore gowns; however, there was often no distinguishing clothing to differentiate between the scholar and the common man. Kirke noted that the scholars wore clothing of any color that suited their fancy. Occasionally, the younger students were denoted by scarlet gowns. The poetry analysis revealed the wearing of a red gown by a Lowland male, but his occupation was not revealed.

Kirke observed Lowland and Highland women at church services. Much to his dismay, the women in both cases were barefoot. The poetry analysis revealed that both Highland and Lowland women went barefoot in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. They wore no

headcoverings to services, which conflicts with the findings in the poetry analysis. Women in poetry were usually mentioned wearing some type of headcovering. According to Kirke (Brown, 1978), all of the women wore a plaid, and Maxwell & Hutchison (1958) noted that the plaid was a popular garment among all classes. The poetry analysis, however, revealed the plaid was a garment worn by Highland women but not Lowland women. Kirke observed that many women wore hardly any clothes except the plaid. Kirke also noted in his letter that the upper class women wore silk garments but covered those garments with a plaid. Silk was not mentioned in poetry during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, according to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), silk was a popular fiber among the upper classes in the Lowlands at this time.

Kirke briefly discussed children's dress. He noted that both the Highland and Lowland children wore "nothing else on them but a little blanket" (Brown, 1978, p.260). Little research has been done on children's dress; however, Tortora and Eubank (1998) noted that children dressed in a manner similar to their same gender parent. Kirke's letter contradicts that notion, as the children appeared to wear very little other than what may have been the plaid. The poetry analysis did not reveal any references to children's dress.

Thomas Morer, an Englishman that visited the Highlands and Lowlands in 1689 (Brown, 1978), observed the dress of the Highlanders and wrote his observations in a letter to an acquaintance. He provided a complete description of the plaid and other items of dress for the men. He stated,

These pladds are about seven or eight yards long, differing in fineness according to the abilities or fancy of the wearers. They cover the whole body with 'em from the neck to the knees, excepting the right arm, which they keep mostly at liberty. Many of 'em have nothing under these garments besides waistcoats and shirts, which descend no lower than the knees, and they so gird 'em about the middle as to give 'em the same length as the linen under 'em, and thereby supply the defect of drawers and breeches (Brown, 1978, p. 270).

Morer aids the researcher in understanding the garments worn underneath the plaid. The length of the plaid, as well as the manner of wearing, is similar to descriptions in previous research (Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990). The wearing of a waistcoat is new information that has not been found in previous literature or poetry on the Highlands; however, the waistcoat (i.e., similar to a vest) was worn by Europeans during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The shirt has been noted as an item of dress that was worn before and during the 17<sup>th</sup>

through the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Bain, 1954; Stewart, 1973; Trevor-Roper, 1984; Wilson, 1990). The shirt, usually termed a “sark,” was mentioned in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century Scottish poetry. Morer concluded that by gathering the shirt, waistcoat, and plaid at the waist, these garments took the place of undergarments and pants. No research has shown any undergarments worn by the Highlanders, and this letter confirmed that undergarments were not worn. The shirt was the only known undergarment worn in Europe at this time; however, breeches were worn to cover the lower portion of the body (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Additionally, the analysis of poetry did not reveal the use of undergarments; however, the poetry occasionally mentioned a male being naked after being stripped of his plaid in battle. For example, an anonymous poem written in 1689 entitled “An Answer to Killychrankie” mentioned, “...to beat your bone, till o’re the stones, you ran with buttocks bare then...” (Laing, unknown , p. 4).

Morer provided evidence about the method of construction of Highlanders’ stockings or hose. He noted that the hose were created from the same fabric as their plaids. He also discussed the construction of the hose. The hose were not knitted or woven; rather they were cut and sewn together in the shape of the foot and leg (Brown, 1978). The garters were used to hold up the hose just below the knee. Poetry analysis did not reveal the use of garters until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. No previous research noted the method of construction of hose; therefore, this letter adds to the knowledge base on Highland dress. In addition to hose, Morer discussed the Highland men’s shoes. He wrote that Highlanders wore shoes called brocks; however, the term used in the Highlands was “brogues.” He described the brogues as pumps without the heels and a thin sole. Morer stated that the shoes afforded, “little security from the wet or stones, which is their main use and chiefly intended for” (Brown, 1978, p. 270). Shoes or brogues were revealed in the analysis of late 17<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Finally, Morer noted the use of the bonnet and the thrum-cap. The color of the bonnet varied between blue, grey, and “sad-colour’d.” Bain (1954), Hamilton (1991), and Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) also noted the use of the blue bonnet; however, the use of russet colored bonnet has also been noted. The poetry analysis also revealed the use of the blue bonnet. The mention of a gray bonnet is new information and the term “sad-colour’d” lacks reference to any particular hue. Thrum-caps is another term that has not been previously encountered in literature or poetry. Morer observed that the thrum-cap was a cap made out of coarse yarns. Both of the headcoverings were created from heavy fabrics to keep



the weather from penetrating whenever possible. He also noted that the people were consistent in their dress habits.

In reference to a visit to the Lowlands, Morer discussed the dress habits of the Lowland men. His observations regarding the wearing of English styled garments and the wearing of shoes were similar to those in Franck's letters (Brown, 1978). Although he noted that the lower classes wore the plaid instead of the cloak and a bonnet instead of a hat, Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) indicated that the upper classes wore the cloak, but that the plaid, the hat, and the bonnet were worn by all classes. The poetry analysis revealed the frequent use of the terms "plaid" and "bonnet," while "hat" was mentioned less frequently during the 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, the cloak was not noted in poetry.

Morer reported that the Lowland women also wore the plaid about their head and shoulders. He noted that the plaid acted as a scarf and hood. According to Morer (Brown, 1978), both the upper and lower classes were attired in this manner. Morer's notations about the plaid agree with both Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) and the findings from the poetry analysis. Women of all classes and their children were barefoot, which agreed with Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) but conflicts with the findings from the poetry analysis.

The dress items from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century were summarized in the following tables. Table 83 summarized male dress items, while Table 84 summarized female dress items mentioned in the letters. During the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, letter authors mentioned children's dress items, which have been summarized in Table 85.

A series of letters written during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century by Captain Edward Burt, and reprinted by Jamieson (1974) were analyzed for this study. Captain Edward Burt wrote all of the letters analyzed for the 18<sup>th</sup> century between the mid-1720s until the mid-1730s (Jamieson, 1974). Nineteen of his twenty-seven letters contained information about both the Highlanders and of his twenty-seven letters contained information about both the Highlanders and Lowlanders. The letters are undated but are organized in the chronological order that he wrote the letters, starting about 1726 and ending in the early 1730s. The first letter with dress references was Letter II written circa 1726, which made little reference to the dress of the Lowlanders. He mentioned that a "genteel" man was well dressed, but his wife's dress and appearance was unfit for her status. He did not elaborate any further or provide details on the items of dress being worn.

Table 83

Male Dress Items in Late 17<sup>th</sup> Century Letters

Author	Upper Body Dress	Lower Body Dress	Fibers and Fabrics	Footwear, Accessories, and Headdress
Franck - HL	Cloaks Coats Plaids	∅	Scottish cloth (fabric)	Bonnet (headdress)
Franck - LL	Gowns	Breeches	∅	∅
De Rocheford - HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
De Rocheford - LL	∅	∅	Fine linen (fabric)	∅
Ray - HL	Cloak Plaid	∅	Tartan (fabric)	Bonnet (headdress)
Ray - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Brome - HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Brome - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Kirke - HL	Belted plaid Doublets Plaid	Kilt No breeches Stockings Trews	∅	∅
Kirke - LL	Bedclothes Cloak Gowns	∅	∅	Bonnet (headdress)
Morer - HL	Plaid Shirts Waistcoats	Garters Hose No breeches No drawers	∅	Shoes (footwear) Bonnet (headdress) Thrum-cap (headdress)
Morer - LL	Plaid	∅	∅	Shoes (footwear) Bonnet (headdress)

∅ indicates that no items were found in a given category

HL indicates Highland; LL indicates Lowland

Table 84

Female Dress Items in Late 17<sup>th</sup> Century Letters

Author	Upper Body Dress	Lower Body Dress	Fibers and Fabrics	Footwear, Accessories, and Headdress
Franck - HL	∅	Petticoat	∅	∅
Franck - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
De Rocheford - HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
De Rocheford - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Ray - HL	Coats Plaid	∅	Tartan (fabric)	Pinner
Ray - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Brome - HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Brome - LL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Kirke - HL	Plaid	No undergarments	Silk	No shoes – barefoot No headdress
Kirke - LL	Plaid	∅	Silk	No shoes – barefoot No headdress
Morer- HL	∅	∅	∅	∅
Morer - LL	Plaid	∅	∅	No shoes - barefoot

∅ indicates that no items were found in a given category  
 HL indicates Highland; LL indicates Lowland

Table 85

Children's Dress in Letters

Authors	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C.	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C.
Weldon - HL	∅	-----	-----
Weldon - LL	∅	-----	-----
Taylor - HL	∅	-----	-----
Taylor- LL	∅	-----	-----
Bereton - HL	∅	-----	-----
Bereton - LL	∅	-----	-----
Howell – HL	∅	-----	-----
Howell - LL	∅	-----	-----
Franck - HL	-----	∅	-----
Franck - LL	-----	∅	-----
De Rocheford - HL	-----	∅	-----
De Rocheford - LL	-----	∅	-----
Ray - HL	-----	∅	-----
Ray - LL	-----	∅	-----
Brome - HL	-----	∅	-----
Brome - LL	-----	∅	-----
Kirke - HL	-----	Little blanket – plaid?	-----
Kirke - LL	-----	Little blanket – plaid?	-----
Morer- HL	-----	∅	-----
Morer - LL	-----	No shoes - barefoot	-----
Burt - HL	-----	-----	No stockings No shoes – barefoot Nearly naked
Burt - LL	-----	-----	Boys – coat Boys – vest Girls – little blanket Both - no stockings Both- no shoes Both - no headdress Both – nearly naked

---- indicates that an author did not write any letters during the specified time period

∅ indicates that no items were found in a given category

HL indicates Highland; LL indicates Lowland

Burt's next letter with dress information was Letter IV circa 1726. He wrote more in depth about the male and female dress of the Highlanders he encountered. He discussed Highland dress for men as being the plaid and brogues. The plaid was further described as fabric wrapped around the body and the excess thrown over the left shoulder. He thought the plaid was a cumbersome garment, as the wearer was constantly adjusting the shoulder portion. Again, the description of the plaid is similar to those given by Taylor, Brome, Kirke, and Morer (Brown, 1978), as well as other researchers (Dunbar, 1979; Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990). The plaid appears to have changed little over one hundred years. Similar to Morer's observation (Brown, 1978), Burt noted that the Highlanders wore brogues; a pump-like shoe without the heel that served little purpose. He also affirmed that men seldom went barefoot. Burt also confirmed the use of the blue bonnet by Highlanders. Both the plaid and brogues (shoes) for Highland males were revealed in the poetry analysis of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed the frequent use of the blue bonnet in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Another finding of the poetry analysis was the use of shoes, as well as going barefoot.

Burt provided a general description of the Highland women he met. The women wore a blanket to cover their bodies. No literature discussed the wearing of blankets by women; however, he may have intended the blanket to mean a plaid, which Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted was a commonly worn garment. He noted that the women and children mingling in the market place or town square did not wear shoes or stockings, regardless of the weather or road conditions. Poets often mentioned the women being barefoot in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and rarely mentioned the use of stockings. The headcoverings of the women were, "a piece of linen upon their heads, made up like a napkin-cap in an inn, only not tied at top, but hanging down behind" (Jamieson, 1974, p. 76). Burt's description of this linen headcovering was similar to a description of the pinner provided by Ray in 1662 (Brown, 1958); however, Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that the pinner was worn in the Lowlands, not the Highlands. According to the poetry analysis, the pinner was not mentioned until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In Letter V (no approximate date was given), Burt described his journey through the Highlands and his visit to a Highland Fair. He noted that both men and women were "half-naked." The gentlemen, magistrates, merchants, and shopkeepers that attended the fair were dressed in English-styled clothing. This remark may actually refer to Lowlanders who came to the fair to purchase cloths and raw fibers to take back to the

Lowlands for export (Brown, 1978). One of the activities at the fair was to buy a “suit of clothes.” According to Burt (Jamieson, 1974), Highlanders were leery of being cheated by a tailor; therefore, they would bring the cloth, thread, and any other necessary items to the tailor and had it weighed. Upon completion, the new garments and all scraps were again weighed with the expectation of being the same as the first weight. This letter provided new insight into information on tailoring, which had previously not been found in the literature. This adds to the knowledge base on the construction of Highland dress.

Burt also discussed the Highland women at the fair. He stated that there were “women of fashion” that were well dressed in English-styled garments. Burt went on to discuss how women of all classes wore the plaid. He stated that the plaid was

made of silk or fine worsted, chequered with various lively colours, two breadths wide, and three yards in length; it is brought over the head, and may hide or discover the face according to the wearer’s fancy or occasion; it reaches to the waist behind; one corner falls as low as the ankle on one side; and the other part, in folds, hangs down from the opposite arm (Jamieson, 1974, p. 88).

Silk fabric would only have been obtainable by the wealthiest of the upper classes; however, silk was frequently noted in poetry in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis revealed that silk was an item desired but not necessarily owned. Regardless of the fiber type, it appears that the women’s plaids were made of tartan fabric, as noted by the “chequered” colors, which supports the findings from the poetry analysis. Although tartan was the fabric of choice among the Highlanders (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958), the literature does not specify its use in women’s garments. The tartan was mentioned by poets in relation to Highland women’s garments. This letter indicated that the veil might actually be the plaid worn in a veiled manner. Burt also noted that the plaid was worn by Highland women in a manner to suggest which political party they supported as they traveled abroad; however, Burt did not elaborate on the manner. Therefore, Burt’s description of the use of tartan and the arrangement of the plaid by women adds to the knowledge base on Highland women’s dress. Burt added that “genteel” women adjusted the plaid to become a veil. The poetry analysis revealed the use of the veil in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Burt returned to the Lowlands after visiting the Highland Fair and discussed Lowland women’s dress habits. According to Burt, Lowland women wore a plaid when traveling abroad that served as an outdoor garment during the day and bedding at night. The poetry analysis did not find that the plaid was a garment worn by Lowland women.

Another Lowland dress item noted by Burt were shoes; however, he reported that shoes were not worn on a daily basis by women, only to church on Sundays. In addition, he reported that the women walked “awkwardly” in the shoes because they were not used to wearing them. The poetry analysis revealed that women wore shoes and also went barefoot. Burt also reported that servants were often given a pair of shoes along with their wages. He mentioned that servant girls generally wore the same apparel, although he did not state any specific item; however, when one servant girl had better clothing than the other girls, they thought she was “a whore.”

In observing women’s daily chores, Burt observed the practice for cleaning the floors. He noted that the women tucked up their coats and went barefoot. Unfortunately, the reference to coats is unclear, but may indicate a petticoat. The findings from the poetry analysis indicated that women “kilted up” their coats, which might be the same as tucking up their coats. In previous letters, this practice was observed for washing clothing.

According to Burt (Jamieson, 1974), the lower class children of the Lowlanders were not well dressed. Young boys wore a vest and a coat made from coarse fabric. The coat buttoned down the back, so that the boys could not remove their coat or other upper body garments. Otherwise, the boys would strip off their garments and go about naked. Kirke’s letter (Brown, 1978) noted that children wore little other than a plaid; however, Burt’s letter only mentioned young girls that wore a small blanket around their shoulders. Burt did not note the garments under the blanket. The blanket may refer to a plaid, as described by Bereton and Ray’s letters (Brown, 1978). Regardless of the season, both boys and girls did not wear stockings, shoes, or headcoverings. Burt noted that even the children of the upper classes did not wear stockings and shoes, except during the winter. The poetry analysis yielded no information on children’s dress.

Burt, in the late 1720s, traveled throughout Scotland and recorded his experiences. He stayed one night at a home in the Highlands with nine people and was surprised to find that the young women slept in the nude with only a blanket covering them. However, when they became too warm, the women simply threw off their blanket and lay exposed.

Upon his return to the Lowlands from the Highlands in the late 1720s, he observed some fisherwomen. These women tucked up their garments to an “indecent height” and waded out to the fishing vessels. Numerous letters from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Brown, 1978), as well as Burt’s earlier letters, noted women tucking up their lower body

garments to the point of exposing themselves. All of the authors of the letters appeared surprised at this practice, which suggests that English women did not tuck up their clothes to the point of exposure.

In Letter IX, Burt traveled to the outskirts of Edinburgh in the late 1720s and met a young woman. She wore a blanket that also served as her bedding. Her children were dressed in a similar manner. Burt reported that the unusual part of her appearance was the beauty patches worn on her face. Although she had little clothing, she followed the 18<sup>th</sup> century fashionable practice of wearing patches on the face (Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

As Burt traveled back and forth between the Highlands and a Lowlands, he made new observations about dress. On a stop in Edinburgh (Letter IX), Burt noted the Town Guard, which was made up of armed civilians. The men were armed and clothed in uniforms, but were not true soldiers. Burt also discussed ministers in Edinburgh. He observed that ministers were revered and respected by most people; however, they did not wear garments that distinguished their position in society, as in England. The ministers tended to wear black or dark gray garments, but so did many other Lowland men. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that Scottish fashions tended to be dark and somber in the 17<sup>th</sup> century but were more colorful in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Morer noted in his letter that bonnets were made of gray and “sad-colour,” which may refer to the black garments worn by ministers and other men in the Lowlands. Black and gray were both mentioned in conjunction with male upper body garments and headdress in the poetry. The men of Edinburgh that Burt encountered must have retained the somber look of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

In Letter X, Burt had returned to the Highlands in the late 1720s and discussed his need for a Highland guide to help him find his way, as the terrain was rough and dangerous. Burt was amazed that the guide went barefoot through even the roughest terrain. The poetry analysis revealed men going barefoot in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, although infrequently. While on his guided trip, he met a gentleman whose son was a soldier stationed in another country. Although this soldier was well paid and able to afford garments of his choosing; he wrote his father requesting Highland garb, including a kilt. Analysis of the poetry revealed the use of the kilt in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The letter indicated that Highlanders preferred their traditional garments, even when more fashionable items were at their disposal.



Burt mentioned that during this trip, the Highland children he encountered were nearly naked. Burt had previously noted boys wearing a coat and girls wearing only a plaid. On this trip, Burt recorded that the children appeared to have little clothing available to them and did not specify further. Kirke (Brown, 1978) mentioned a similar finding when he encountered children only wearing a plaid. Previous researchers have noted children were dressed like their same gender parent (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998); however, the Highland children seem to have worn much less clothing than their parents. Unfortunately, the poetry analysis did not reveal any dress references for children.

Letter XI centered on wedding and funeral services in the Highlands and Lowlands, which Burt attended. In his report of a Lowland wedding, he did not discuss their garments, but noted that the people did not exchange rings, which was a common practice in England. The findings from the poetry analysis indicated that rings also were worn in the Highlands and Lowlands by both men and women, usually in association with a love setting. The poetry analysis also revealed that rings were used as a promise for marriage or as actual wedding rings. In Burt's description of Highland and Lowland funeral services, he reported that both groups wore their usual garb and that a reception was held after the funeral services with food prepared by the family of the deceased. Burt noted that, at the reception, men placed food in their headcoverings and pockets as a compliment to the women who had prepared the food. Burt's letter is the first reference to pockets in relation to Highland or Lowland garments, which provides evidence that this design feature was on some garment(s) that they wore. According to Tortora and Eubank (1998), only European men's coats had pockets; however, no information was found on pockets related specifically to Scottish garments.

Burt attended the hanging of a Highland murderer some time in the late 1720s, which he discussed in Letter XIV. At the hanging, the murderer wore his bonnet pulled down low to cover his eyes. Taylor, Bereton, Franck, Ray, and Morer (Brown, 1978) all noted the bonnet, often a blue bonnet, but did not mention any manner of wearing. Similarly, Bain (1954), Hamilton (1991), and Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) also mentioned the use of the blue bonnet. The analysis of the poetry revealed the use of the blue bonnet, as well as the manner of wearing the bonnet cocked to one side. It would appear that the man pulled the bonnet down low to shield his eyes from the on-looking crowd rather than as a manner of wearing the bonnet. Even as the man prepared to die, he continued to wear this traditional item of Highland garb.

In Letter XVI, written in the late 1720s, Burt described shoes worn by a guide in the Highlands. The shoes were flat with a broad sole, which added an additional detail to the shoes described by Maxwell & Hutchison (1958) as a flat shoe with a single sole. The poetry analysis revealed the use of shoes in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century by Highland men.

As he continued on his journey through the Highlands, Burt wrote Letter XVII. He noted that a woman used her petticoat to fan the fire. As mentioned earlier, the term petticoat does not provide a clear definition of the dress item being worn.

In Letter XIX written between the late 1720s and early 1730s, Burt discussed the garments of the Highland men in more detail. He noted that one man wore a shirt and short coat. The shirt was not long and hung just to his thighs and the coat was slightly shorter. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed the use of the sark (shirt) and the coat in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. This letter provided more stylistic information than the poems on these garments. He wore no breeches, stockings, or shoes. The weather was cool and the man was barely covered by his sparse clothing. Burt also encountered several Highland men wearing plaids made of “stufte,” referring to wool. Both plaids and wool were found in the analysis of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century poems. Taylor, Bereton, Franck, Ray, Kirke, and Morer’s letters (Brown, 1978) also reported the use of the plaid, usually made from wool. The Highland men told Burt that they dipped the plaid in water, rolled themselves up, and laid down on the ground at night. This method created steam from their body heat and kept them warm. The Highland men Burt encountered also wore a flat bonnet, which they wet down for the same reasons previously discussed. The bonnet was also noted in early 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The last man he encountered during this trip wore a plaid and brogues. Again, Burt noted that the brogues aided the wearer in skipping over rocks in the rough terrain.

In Letter XX, written in the late 1720s, Burt was still in the Highlands. He wrote about the men and women he encountered. First, he saw a gentleman in full Highland dress watching his wife and mother-in-law reap their harvest. Burt did not elaborate on what items constituted full Highland dress. Next, he saw a man wearing a good pair of brogues followed by his wife who wore no shoes. The idea of a man having shoes and a woman going barefoot upset a Frenchman that accompanied Burt. The Frenchman told the Highlander he should give his wife the shoes. Again, this observation of males with shoes and females going barefoot was revealed in the poetry analysis. Finally, Burt passed by several women fulling cloth. They wore a plaid and “tucked up their coats” to work. All of the women were barefoot.

Late in the 1720s, Burt wrote Letter XXI to a friend back in England. He noted that the Highlanders always wore the plaid. He also had discovered that the plaid was used to conceal large weapons. Due to the voluminous nature of the plaid, men found it easy to hide their swords and other larger weapons. The plaid was frequently noted in poetry at this time.

Letter XXII was Burt's most in-depth letter on garments of the Highlanders and Lowlanders. Burt noted the items that make up Highland dress. These items were a waistcoat 5-6" longer than their short coat, short stockings, brogues or pumps without heels, a flat bonnet made of thrum and without a brim. The waistcoat and short coat were not found in literature or poetry, but were mentioned in a letter by Kirke (Brown, 1978). The short stockings likely referred to their hose, which were revealed in the poetry analysis with some frequency. The flat bonnet was the common headcovering in the Highlands (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991). However, Burt added new knowledge by stating that the bonnet was made of thrum, which were very coarse yarns. Brogues were the common shoe type in the Highlands, but Burt also noted that the men bore holes into their shoe soles to allow water to drain out. Men often had to wade through rivers and had to let the water out or their feet would "rot" according to Burt.

Also in Letter XXII, Burt described the dress of gentlemen (upper class men). He observed that they wore plaids made of tartan and "trowse that were breeches and stockings made in one piece". Burt's description of "trowse" was very similar to the description of trews by Bennett (1980), Cockburn (1985), Dunbar (1979), Grimble (1973), and Wilson (1990). Burt also noted that the "trowse" were worn when traveling by horseback to the Lowlands and abroad, which agreed with Cockburn (1985) and Wilson's (1990) research. The poetry analysis revealed that the trews were mentioned with a higher degree of frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century than any other time period.

In Letter XXII, Burt provided a detailed description of the Highland dress of the common men. He described the plaid as

Far from being acceptable to the eye...a small part of the plaid is set in folds and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half way down the thigh, and the rest is brought over the shoulders, and then fastened before, below the neck, often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin, or sharpened piece of stick (Jamieson, 1978, p.187).

Burt's description of the plaid actually was similar to that of the belted plaid described by Innes of Leary (1938) and Wilson (1990). The plaid was often the only item of dress worn by the men and he reiterated the constant adjusting of the plaid by the men. The

short petticoat is the kilt portion of the plaid, which according to Burt is a petticoat worn so short that stooping causes indecency (i.e., the lack of undergarments was easily revealed). The use of the term short petticoat provides a descriptive reference and also provides evidence that this English reference (i.e., petticoats) generally referred to the kilt worn by men or the skirt worn by women. Additionally, the brooch is often mentioned as a fastening device used to hold the plaid in place at the shoulder (Dunbar, 1979; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958); however, Burt noted many other unusual fasteners used in place of the brooch, including “forks and spoons.” Analysis of the poetry revealed that the brooch was used during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. In addition to the plaid and brooch, some Highland men wore “quarrants” (i.e., cuarans or boots), which Burt described as a kind of pump made of raw cowhide with the hair side turned outward that smelled offensive. Burt’s description coincides with Bain’s (1954) description of the cuaran as a boot that reached nearly to the knee and made from cowhide. Howell’s (Brown, 1978) letter mentioned calf-skin leather boots worn in the Lowlands. Burt’s description is more like that of the brogues, rather than the “quarrants.” Burt also noted that many Highland men went barefoot. The poetry analysis revealed that men were rarely described as being barefoot, but did note the cuarans (or boots) albeit with little frequency. Stockings were worn, according to Burt, with shoes or cuarans and reached the mid-calf level, which left a portion of the leg bare, due to the gap left between the bottom of the plaid and the top of the stockings. The use of stockings concurs with the findings of the poetry analysis and Morer’s letter (Brown, 1978). Burt commented on the cost of Highland and Lowland dress and indicated that most Highlanders could not afford a “Lowland suit of the coarsest cloth.”

Later in this same letter (Letter XXII), Burt discussed an encounter with an upper class Highland gentleman wearing a greatcoat. However, according to Burt, the Highland gentleman used this term to describe his coat and many around him berated him for “not being contented with the garb of his ancestors, but was degenerated into a Lowlander, and condescended to follow their unmanly fashions” (Jamieson, 1974, p. 192). The term greatcoat was not found in poetry. According to Calasibetta (1998) and Tortora and Eubank (1998) the term greatcoat was not used until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The greatcoat was not mentioned in literature on Lowland dress; however, this letter indicates that the greatcoat was a Lowland fashion. Since the greatcoat was not fashionable in England and the rest of Europe until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, this letter suggests that the fashion may have started in the Lowlands.

In Letter XXII, Burt made additional observations of Highlanders' preference for walking barefoot. In reference to an upper class gentleman's wife, Burt observed her walking to church barefoot, carrying her stockings and shoes, until she reached the church and put them on. After church, she removed the shoes and stockings and walked home barefoot. This demonstrated that even the wealthier women wore shoes only to church and preferred to go barefoot. Another wealthy husband and wife were seen walking about barefoot, when they thought no one would see them. This may indicate a preference for Highlanders to go barefoot. Kirke mentioned both Highland and Lowland women attending church barefoot, while Weldon only mentioned Lowland women going barefoot.

While in the Highlands, Burt noticed that young women wore either a fillet of red or blue or no headdress. Burt noted that this was the prevailing style among unmarried women. The fillet was mentioned only once in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry analysis. The poetry analysis revealed that the preferred headcovering for maidens was the snood, which concurred with Dunbar (1979) and Maxwell and Hutchison (1958). Burt noted that a single woman who had a child was not allowed to wear either of these styles. Headdress, therefore, played an important role in establishing marital or familial status.

Burt later attended a funeral in the Highlands, which he described in Letter XXIII. The women in attendance all covered their heads with a small piece of mostly green tartan cloth. The significance of the green tartan or the reason for covering their heads is unclear. The poetry analysis and the literature did not reveal any association between the green tartan and headcoverings.

In Letter XXIV, Burt noted that Highlanders allow strangers to stay on the floors of their homes. The strangers simply wrap themselves up in their plaids and go to sleep. This notion confirms the dual use of the plaid as both a garment and a bedcovering (Wilson, 1990) as noted by Kirke in another letter (Brown, 1978).

Burt traveled to the Hebrides and the westernmost islands of Scotland. In Letter XXV, Burt noted that these areas were considered part of the Highlands. The people followed the same customs, spoke the same language, and dressed in the same manner as the other Highlanders.

Burt remained in Scotland until the early 1730s working on the road project. His last letter (Letter XXVI) discussed the Highlanders and their feelings toward having roads built in their area. Both the men and the women complained because they either

went barefoot or wore shoes with thin soles and had to walk on the gravel roads. The gravel hurt their feet, so they had to find alternate routes. One poem by Dougald Graham (Chamber, 1829), entitled "Turnimspike" or "The Highland Complaint," echoed this sentiment. The poem did not specifically mention shoes or barefeet, rather it complained about the loss of the Highland liberty and the English government imposing its modern ideals, such as roads, upon Highlanders.

Both male and female dress items mentioned by Burt have been summarized in Tables 86 and 87. The children's dress items were summarized in Table 85. These tables distinguish between items worn in the Highlands and items worn in the Lowlands.

Analysis of the letters by Weldon, Taylor, Bereton, Howell, Franck, Ray, Brome, Kirke, Morer, and Burt provide new information on both Highland and Lowland dress of men, women, and children and also support information already known about Highland dress. Taylor (Brown, 1978) provided new information on early 17<sup>th</sup> century apparel by introducing the jerkin and a handkerchief tied at the neck as a male Highland garment. Taylor (Brown, 1978) mentioned that Highlanders called stockings "short hose," which provides evidence that the term "stockings" may be interchangeable with the term "hose." Both Bereton (Brown, 1978) and Taylor (Brown, 1978) provided evidence that the term "blue cap" was likely interchangeable with the term "blue bonnet." Taylor (Brown, 1978) provided evidence that wool was called "warm stuffe" and that flax was an additional fiber used to create fabrics for men's garments. Bereton (Brown, 1978) revealed new information on Lowland occupational dress, including gowns and cloaks worn by scholars and gowns worn by judges. Bereton (Brown, 1978) provided new information on women's garments in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. He mentioned that Lowland women of high status wore satin garments and ruffs, maidens went bareheaded, and some women wore a short cloak. Bereton (Brown, 1978) included a description of Highland and Lowland women "tucking up their coats" to the point of exposure to do their laundry. Ray and Kirke (Brown, 1978) provided additional confirmation that Highland women "tucked up their coats" while doing their laundry, but no garment details were provided. Burt also noted that the women "tucked up their coats" when they washed their floors. The coats were tucked up to the height of exposure, thereby providing information on the lack of undergarments worn by Highland women. The description was vague; however, this description led to information on the lack of undergarments worn by females.

Table 86

Male Dress Items in Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century Letters

Author	Upper Body Dress	Lower Body Dress	Fibers and Fabrics	Footwear, Accessories, and Headdress
Burt - HL	Belted plaid Coat Greatcoat Plaid Shirt Waistcoat	No breeches Kilt No stockings Short stockings Trews No undergarments	Wool (fibers) Tartan (fabric)	Boots (footwear) Shoes (footwear) No shoes – barefoot Fastener(accessory) Bodkin (accessory) Bonnet (headdress)
Burt - LL	∅	∅	∅	No wedding rings

∅ indicates that no items were found in a given category

HL indicates Highland; LL indicates Lowland

Table 87

Female Dress Items in Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century Letters

Author	Upper Body Dress	Lower Body Dress	Fibers and Fabrics	Footwear, Accessories, and Headdress
Burt - HL	Coat Plaid	No stockings Petticoat	Fine worsted (fibers) Silk (fibers) Tartan (fabric)	No shoes – barefoot Bareheaded maiden Headcloth (headdress) Fillet (headdress) Pinner (headdress)
Burt - LL	Coat Plaid	No undergarments	∅	Shoes No shoes – barefoot No wedding rings

∅ indicates that no items were found in a given category

HL indicates Highland; LL indicates Lowland

For the late 17<sup>th</sup> century apparel, Kirke added to the knowledge base on male Highland garments by noting that the slashed doublet was worn without breeches, leaving the thighs “naked.” Both Kirke and Morer (Brown, 1978) alluded to the lack of undergarments worn by Highland males. Franck (Brown, 1978) mentioned the cloak as a

dress item for Lowlanders, which was in literature (Calasibetta, 1998; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958) but not in the poetry analysis. Morer provided the most complete description of the manner of wearing a Highland plaid. Franck and Morer (Brown, 1978) also added to the knowledge on the construction of the bonnet. In addition to knowledge on construction, Ray (Brown, 1978) mentioned that only the lower classes wore the bonnet. A new type of headdress, the thrum cap, was mentioned by Morer (Brown, 1978). Kirke (Brown, 1978) noted that the lower classes often only had a cloak or old bedclothes for garments. Brome (Brown, 1978) noted that Lowland males were “richly attired” and that garments appeared to be an important part of upper class lifestyle and ceremonies. Franck and Kirke (Brown, 1978) also provided further evidence that Lowland scholars wore gowns and Franck added more knowledge about the garments when he mentioned that the sleeves were slashed and stuffed. Rocheford (Brown, 1978) provided evidence about the manufacture of cloth and fine linens in Scotland. Kirke (Brown, 1978) provided information on Highland and Lowland children’s garments, noting that children wore nothing but a “little blanket.”

For the early 18<sup>th</sup> century apparel items, Burt (Jamieson, 1974) provided new insight into the construction of a suit of clothes for male Highland garments. The coat was mentioned as a Highland garment for men, but had not previously been described in literature. Burt (Jamieson, 1974) mentioned that many men went barefoot, which is contrary to most literature that states that men usually wore shoes (Bain, 1954; Innes of Leary, 1938; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Stewart, 1974). Burt also noted that women and men in Scotland did not exchange rings as a sign of marriage. Burt (Jamieson, 1974) provided new information on children’s garments, noting that young boys wore a vest and coat made from coarse fabric and buttoned up the back. Young girls wore a small blanket.

Some of the letters reinforce the findings of the poetry analysis regarding Highland and Lowland dress items or the manner of wearing those items. Taylor mentioned that Highland men wore the plaid, tartan fabric, stockings, garters, one-soled shoes, and blue bonnet in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, which were mentioned in the poetry. Howell (Brown, 1978) confirmed the use of boots by Lowland males. Weldon (Brown, 1978) confirmed that Lowland females did not wear shoes or stockings in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Bereton (Brown, 1978) confirmed that Lowland females wore the plaid and the gown, while Highland women wore coats and smocks in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.



In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, Ray, Kirke, and Morer (Brown, 1978) noted that Highland men wore the plaid, tartan fabric, and the blue bonnet, as did the poetry. In addition to those items, Kirke mentioned that Highland men wore stockings and trews, while Morer noted the shirt, garters, and shoes, all of which were mentioned in the poetry. Franck (Brown, 1978) confirmed the use of the plaid, coat, and breeches by Lowland males. Ray and Kirke (Brown, 1978) provided confirmation of the poetry analysis that Highland females wore a plaid similar to the men, occasionally with a pinner headdress. Franck (Brown, 1978) mentioned that Highland females wore the petticoats. Kirke and Morer added further evidence that both Highland and Lowland women of all classes usually went barefoot.

Burt (Jamieson, 1974) provided confirmation of the poetry analysis that Highland men wore the plaid, kilt, trews, shirt, blue bonnet, and shoes in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The description of the plaid revealed that the style and manner of wearing had changed very little since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Burt (Jamieson, 1974) noted that women and children did not wear stockings and shoes in the Highlands. He noted that the pinner continued to be worn by Highland females and that the plaid was worn by all the classes. Weldon (Brown, 1978) confirmed that Lowland females did not wear shoes or stockings in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Bereton (Brown, 1978) confirmed that Lowland females wore the plaid and the gown, while Highland women wore coats and smocks in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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children did not wear stockings and shoes in the Highlands. He noted that the pinner continued to be worn by Highland females and that the plaid was worn by all the classes.

### Portraits

Data on Highland and Lowland dress were collected using portraits from costume and portraiture books (Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). These data were used to reflect visual dress references from the Highlands and the Lowlands during the 17<sup>th</sup> through the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The portraits were mostly black and white with very few color portraits. The portraits have been reprinted under the copyright fair use laws, as the portraits were used purely for research purposes and not for monetary gains. In addition, the copyright has expired on John Kay's (1837) work. All other portraits can be found in national galleries, which makes them part of public domain. Efforts were made to contact the publishers but two were no longer in business and the third did not respond to the letter sent out.

The portrait data were used to compare written dress references in poetry with visual dress references in portraits. The data were divided into three categories: adult male, adult female, and children. Each of these categories was further divided to reflect the five time periods (i.e., early 17<sup>th</sup> century, late 17<sup>th</sup> century, early 18<sup>th</sup> century, late 18<sup>th</sup> century, early 19<sup>th</sup> century) researched in this study. Finally, the category and time period were divided into Highland and Lowland dress. The researcher attempted to provide an example of individuals in portraits with many of the details discussed within each category, time period, and location; however, due to the fragility of some of the books, portraits were not duplicated for every section.

Dress data, in the form of portraiture, were collected on men, women, and children from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland during the 17<sup>th</sup> through the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (see Table 88). Information on adult dress of both men and women was limited in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and non-existent for children. Eleven men in portraits and three women in portraits were examined from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Portraits of upper class men were plentiful in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Thirty-five men in portraits were examined from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. An inordinate number of individuals in portraits were available for the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, as 187 men were examined in portraits. Few portraits, only three, were available for

Table 88

Portrait Data

Time Period	Number of Observations	Sources
<u>MALE</u>		
Early 17 <sup>th</sup> Century	2	Brander, 1980; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958
Late 17 <sup>th</sup> Century	9	Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958
Early 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	35	Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958
Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	187	Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837
Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	17	Kay, 1837
	N=250	
<u>FEMALE</u>		
Early 17 <sup>th</sup> Century	2	Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958
Late 17 <sup>th</sup> Century	1	Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958
Early 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	3	Dunbar, 1981
Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	63	Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958
Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	8	Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958
	N=77	
<u>CHILDREN</u>		
Early 17 <sup>th</sup> Century	0	-----
Late 17 <sup>th</sup> Century	0	-----
Early 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	0	-----
Late 18 <sup>th</sup> Century	5	Dunbar, 1981
Early 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	0	-----
	N=5	
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF PORTRAITS</b>	<b>N=332</b>	Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958

examination of women's dress in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, portraits of women were more plentiful in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; 63 women in portraits were examined. Male portraits were much less plentiful in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and only 17 were examined. There was a notable decline of portraiture from the previous time period. Female portraits also demonstrated a notable decline, as only nine portraits were available for examination. Portraits of children were rare, as no portraits were available except for the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, and then only five portraits were available for examination. All of these portraits were Scottish people; however, the majority of the portraits were of Scottish Lowlanders, rather than Scottish Highlanders. In the discussion that follows, the number of dress items observed in the portraits will be indicated in parentheses.

Dress in Adult Portraits. Information on adult dress using 327 individuals in portraits of both men and women was limited in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Portraits of well-to-do men were plentiful in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Portraits of women were also more plentiful in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The majority of the portraits were of Scottish Lowlanders, rather than Scottish Highlanders.

Early 17<sup>th</sup> century male dress. Only two individual portraits for the early 17<sup>th</sup> century were found for this study (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Brander, 1980). An unknown artist painted the upper portion of a Lowland gentleman in 1618 (Fig. 2). The man was wearing a doublet that had a high standing lace collar (starched ruff). The sleeves were tight to the wrist and had a lace cuff, as well as having "wings" or an extra layer at the armhole. The doublet was mostly waist length but dipped to a point at the center front. The fit was close except for a slightly flared peplum. The doublet was created from dark fabric and light colored lace. Twenty-four buttons down the center front were used to secure the garment. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) and Tortora and Eubank (1998), the starched ruff and doublet were popular among Lowland Scots, while most Europeans wore an unfitted doublet and falling lace collar (falling ruff). The only other dress item visible in the portrait was an embroidered belt with a buckle worn at the waistline. The word doublet was not found in poetry for the Highlands, Lowlands, or Scotland in general; nor was it found in letters until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, except for a reference to Highlanders wearing a unique style of doublet unlike those worn in England. The word belt did appear in poetry most often in relation to the Highlanders (N=14) and less often to Scotland in general (N=6). The belt was never noted specifically for a Lowland location.



**Figure 2.** Artist Unknown. Lowland gentleman. 1618. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

A Highland nobleman was painted by an unknown artist circa 1645 (Brander, 1980). Only the upper portion of his body was visible in this black and white painting. The upper portion of his body, including his arms, was covered by dark colored armor. Underneath the armor, the gentleman wore a white shirt with a high collar. Armour was noted most often in relation to poems about war. The poetry analysis indicated that men in both the Highlands (N=6) and Scotland in general (N=11) wore armour in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Analysis of the poetry revealed that men wore a shirt; however, the term used was “sark.” A reference to the shirt was found in Morer’s letter (Brown, 1978); however, the letter was written the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Color was rarely mentioned in conjunction with dress items. The sark was discussed in relation to men in both Highland (N=11) and Scotland in general (N=16). Many researchers noted that a saffron shirt was worn until the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century (Bain, 1954; Stewart, 1974; Trevor-Roper, 1984; and Wilson, 1990); however, this portrait is evidence that the change from the saffron shirt to a white shirt, at least for some Highlanders, was underway by 1645.

Late 17<sup>th</sup> century male dress. Nine men in nine individual portraits were examined from the latter 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, eight of the men were from the Highlands, while only one was from the Lowlands. The Highland portraits were painted

between 1660 and 1692. The Lowland portrait was painted in 1680.

Highland. Two individual portraits of Highland chiefs were painted in 1660 (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Dunbar, 1981). Both of the chiefs wore a white shirt that was waist length. A high standing collar covered the neck and long sleeves ending in ruffled cuffs covered the arms. The shirt fit close to the body. The shirt, or sark, was revealed as a late 17<sup>th</sup> century dress item in the analysis of poetry. The portrait adds stylistic details to support the terminology. One chief wore a doublet over his shirt (Fig. 3). This garment also had  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves and a high standing neckline that was shorter than the shirt neckline. This close fitting, gold colored garment was slightly shorter than waist length, exposing the shirt underneath. The garment was embellished with slashing. Europeans, in general, slashed their upper body garments in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but the practice had faded out by the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Craig, 1973; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The Highlanders appear to have continued the practice or were lagging behind the rest of Europe in fashion trends. The other chief wore a coat over his shirt. The close fitting coat had a plain round neckline and long sleeves with ruffled cuffs. The coat was created from a dark tartan fabric. These portraits added stylistic details to match with the term “coat.” According to Dunbar (1951, 1979), tartan was the fabric favored by the Highlanders, which was confirmed by the poetry analysis. Both chiefs wore a voluminous tartan plaid draped loosely about the body. Each of the chiefs wore a different lower body covering. One chief had on a loosely pleated tartan kilt belted at the waist that came just above the knee. This dress item was most likely a belted plaid. According to Innes of Leary (1938) and Wilson (1990), the belted plaid was a large piece of tartan fabric pleated into a kilt, belted at the waist, and the remaining fabric thrown over the arm or shoulder. The belted plaid was a typical item of Highland dress in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. This portrait is evidence of the belted plaid’s popularity in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Close fitting argyle hose were worn just below the knee with a garter near the top of the hose. This lower body ensemble left a portion of the leg bare. The other chief wore tartan trews, a combination of pants and hose that fit close to the body. The portrait of the chief wearing trews demonstrated the continued use of trews (i.e., a combination of breeches and hose made in one piece) by Highlanders, long after the rest of Europe had adopted breeches as the fashionable lower body covering



**Figure 3.** Artist unknown. Highland chief. 1660. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

(Bennett, 1980; Grimble, 1973; Wilcox, 1958). The use of trows by a Highland chief also added support to Cockburn (1985) and Wilson's (1990) argument that upper class Highlanders (such as chiefs) wore the trows. Both men wore low-heeled medium colored shoes. In one observation, one man's shoes had buckles, while in another observation a man's shoes had a flap over the shoe. One chief had on a belt that crossed the front of the body from shoulder to waist. Von Furstenberg (1996) described the sporran as a leather pouch worn at the waistline by Highland men; a dark colored sporran appeared to have been worn at the waist of one chief (Fig.3). Researchers had believed that the sporran was not worn until the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Dunbar, 1951; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958); however, the portrait indicates that the Highlanders wore the sporran as early as the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. This chief (Fig. 3) also wore a dark colored bonnet with a white feather, which Bain (1954) and Hamilton (1991) noted was the commonly used headdress among Highland men. The chief in another portrait examined did not wear any accessories or headdress.

The doublet was not noted in the study on poetry; however, the poetry analysis revealed that the coat was mentioned frequently in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Kirke's (Brown, 1978) letter in 1679 mentioned that Highland men wore slashed doublets. Tartan fabric (N=48) was mentioned by poets in relation to males in the Highlands more often than

any other fabric and Ray, Kirke, and Morer confirmed this notion in their letters that mentioned the use of tartan by Highland men. Both the plaid and tartan were mentioned in poetry in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but with little frequency. Ray, Kirke, and Morer's (Brown, 1978) letters also described the plaid as Highland men's garment in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of poetry did not reveal the belted plaid being worn until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Hose were frequently mentioned by poets in regards to the Highlands at this time; however, garters were not mentioned until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Kirke's letter (Brown, 1978) mentioned stocking rather than hose as a Highland garment, while Morer (Brown, 1978) discussed the garters in his letter. The trews were a lower body garment mentioned by poets in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century in relation to Highland men, but not as frequently as the kilt. Kirke's (Brown, 1978) letter also mentioned the trews. The findings from the poetry analysis demonstrated that Highland men wore shoes; heels were mentioned but not the height or style. Morer's (Brown, 1978) letter described the shoe as "a pump without a heel and a thin sole." Poets noted belts in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but with little frequency. Poets did not use the word sporran, rather they mentioned the purse or pouch being used by Highland males in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that the bonnet was frequently mentioned in regards to Highland men and was often associated with the color blue and feathers. Ray, Kirke, and Morer's (Brown, 1978) letters mentioned that Highland men wore the blue bonnet in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Three more observations were made by examining photographs of actual garments. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), the photographs were four Highland dress ensembles from 1690 unearthed by archaeologists. The garments belonged to peasant workers (Fig. 4). Two of the ensembles contained a waistcoat, as described by Payne (1965) and Tortora and Eubank (1998), which appeared to fit close to the body. One waistcoat had a standing collar that came up to the middle of the neck, while the other waistcoat had a low square neckline. Both waistcoats were dark colored, mid-thigh length, and secured with buttons at the center front. All four ensembles contained a dark colored coat that fit close to the waist and then flared slightly to the high hip or knee. The waistcoat and coat were similar to garments worn in Europe throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998); however, the Lowland Scots did not adopt this look until near the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). These ensembles from 1690 are evidence of the trend reaching Scotland. Three varieties of neckline were visible in the observations: a





Figure 4. Highland garments found in a bog. 1690s.  
(Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

standing collar that came up to the middle of the neck (N=1), a round neckline (N=1), and a small standing band (N=1). Various sleeves were noticed, including a long sleeve with a slit and three buttons (N=2) and an elbow length sleeve with a turned back cuff (N=1). Center front buttons were used to secure the coat in all four cases. One coat had a belt at the waist, while another coat had side pockets with buttons. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that one ensemble had an 8' x 5' plaid as an additional item of outerwear, which was the most common form of outerwear during this time period. Two of the ensembles contained dark colored pants that were loose fitting to the knee and then tied tight. The lower body coverings were similar to the practice by Lowland Scots of wearing breeches to the knee (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The breeches were usually discussed as a garment that Highland men disliked wearing. Only one pair of flat (no heel), dark, slipper-like shoes were examined in a portrait. Likewise, only one flat, dark bonnet was noted in the portrait that was examined. The four ensembles appear to be more similar to descriptions of Lowland garments, rather than Highland garments. Perhaps, these garments are an indication that the peasants dressed in a similar fashion throughout Scotland.

The waistcoat was not mentioned in the poetry as a garment for Highland men; however, Morer (Brown, 1978) mentioned that Highland men wore the waistcoat in his 1689 letter. These portraits provide additional stylistic details to match with the term "coat," which was found in the poetry analysis. The colors blue and green were noted in

the findings from the analysis of poetry in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, black was not mentioned until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The plaid, as previously discussed, was a garment that poets mentioned frequently in relation to Highland men, as well as the letters by Ray, Kirke, and Morer (Brown, 1978). Breeches worn in the Highlands were mentioned in poetry, but with little frequency until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century after the ban was in place. Shoes and bonnet were both mentioned in the poetry analysis for this time period, as well as in letters by Ray, Kirke, and Morer (Brown, 1978).

In addition to the photographs of actual garments, a portrait of a Highland military leader from 1692 was examined. The portrait showed the captain from the waist up in full black armor. The only other visible dress items were a white cravat and a black bow tie at the neck. The cravat was typically worn during this time period by Europeans, in general, and Lowland Scots, in particular (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The cravat has generally been associated with Highland dress; therefore, the portrait contains evidence that Highlanders followed some Lowland fashion trends. Armour was discussed by poets in relation to war in the Highlands, but not in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that the cravat was used, but not until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and the bow tie was never mentioned. These items were not mentioned in the letters from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Lowland. In addition to the Highland portraits, one individual Lowland portrait from 1680 (Fig.5) was examined (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The nobleman wore a loose fitting white shirt with a peplum. The shirt was mid-thigh length and had long sleeves that fit close to the arm and had lace ruffled cuffs. He also wore a light colored cravat at his neck, which was the typical neckwear in both Europe and Lowland Scotland at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The man wore a loose fitting coat over the shirt. The knee length coat had a round neckline, but no visible sleeves. The dark colored coat had several embellishments, including fringe, a buckle closure at center front, and a belt at the waistline. The man wore a robe over the top of the other two garments. The voluminous robe was floor length with wide  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves. Dark embroidered fabric was used to create the robe. Light colored knee breeches (i.e., upper stocks) and light colored stockings (i.e., nether stocks) covered his lower body. The close fitting breeches and stockings appear to be one piece held in place at the knee with a garter. Europeans also wore breeches and stockings; however, their breeches were loose fitting or padded for fullness. No portion



**Figure 5.** Artist unknown. Lowland nobleman. 1680. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

of the leg was bare. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) described this style of stockings and breeches for Lowlanders during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This nobleman wore light colored, medium-heeled shoes with rosettes on the tongues, which were similar to the popular shoe style being worn throughout Europe at this time (Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). In addition to shoes, the nobleman (Fig. 5) accessorized with a large brooch worn around the neck. No headdress was worn by the nobleman.

The Lowland nobleman was dressed much more elaborately than the Highlanders of the same time period. Information on Lowland dress in portraits was an additional benefit to the study, as the poetry analysis focused on the Highlands or Scotland in general and very little information was gained on Lowland dress. The poetry analysis did not find the shirt to be associated with Lowland males. The poetry analysis revealed that the cravat was not mentioned in association with Lowland males, but was mentioned during this time period. The poetry analysis did reveal Lowland males wearing coats during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but no stylistic details were provided. Franck's (Brown, 1978) letter also mentioned that Lowland men wore the coat. The robe was only mentioned in one poem in relation to Lowland males; however the analysis of poetry also indicated that the robe was worn in the Highlands (N=2) and Scotland in general (N=11). The poetry analysis did not reveal the stockings in relation to the Lowland males and breeches (pants) were only mentioned twice. Kirke's (Brown, 1978) letter also

mentioned that Lowland men wore breeches. Poets mentioned heeled shoes, but heel height was not specified. The brooch was never mentioned in poetry in relation to the Lowlands.

A summary of male dress items observed in portraits follows in Table 89. The table summarizes Highland dress items and Lowland dress items separately. The table also separated the 17<sup>th</sup> century into early and late time periods.

Table 89

Number of Male Dress Items in Portraits from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

Dress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Total
Armour	1	∅	1	∅	2
Belt	∅	1	1	1	3
Belted plaid	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Bonnet	∅	∅	2	∅	2
Bow tie	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Brooch	∅	∅	∅	1	1
Coat	∅	∅	5	1	6
Cravat	∅	∅	1	1	2
Doublet	∅	1	1	∅	2
Garters	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Knee breeches	∅	∅	2	1	3
Plaid	∅	∅	2	∅	2
Robe	∅	∅	∅	1	1
Shirt	1	∅	2	1	4
Shoes	∅	∅	3		4
Shoulder belt	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Sporran	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Starched ruff	∅	1	∅	∅	1
Stockings	∅	∅	1	1	2
Trews	∅	∅	1	∅	1
Waistcoat	∅	∅	2	∅	2
Total	2	3	30	9	44

∅ indicates that this item was not found in a location/time period

Early 18<sup>th</sup> century male dress. There was an increase in the number of portraits examined in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Thirty-five Highland men were examined in 24 portraits dating from 1700 through 1746 (Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). No Lowland portraits were available for examination.

There were 22 men in 17 portraits examined from 1700-1739. Figures 6 and 7 represent the majority of the details observed during this time period. A close fitting white

shirt was observed on 18 individuals in the portraits from the early 1700s. These portraits provided stylistic details on the sark. The shirt was waist length with long loose sleeves ending in a small, tight cuff (N=11) or a loose ruffled cuff (N=6). The neck of all the shirts had a high standing collar and a cravat. According to Maxwell & Hutchison (1958), the cravat remained popular in Scotland, while the rest of Europe began to wear stocks. A close fitting coat with a flared peplum (N=18) was worn over the shirt. These portraits provided greater detail on the actual appearance of the coat. The coat as observed in the portraits was usually collarless (N=13), but occasionally had a turned down flat collar (N=5). The coat had long sleeves that were slashed to just above the wrist. Additional slashing could be observed on the bodice portion of the coat. According to Craig (1973) and Tortora and Eubank (1998), Europeans had abandoned the practice of slashing late in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The portrait (Fig. 6) is evidence that the Highlanders continued the practice of slashing upper body garments into the 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, note that there was a lessening of the slashing when one compares Figure 3 from 1660 and Figure 6 from circa 1700. The coat was made out of either leather or a tartan fabric and secured with buttons down the center front. A belted tartan plaid (N=3) was sometimes worn in addition to the coat and was pleated around the waist to form a loose fitting kilt above the knee and then left hanging loose in front or draped over the shoulder (Fig. 6). In a few portraits, the plaid (N=14) was simply thrown over the shoulder without forming a kilt (Fig. 7). Close fitting argyle hose (N=15) and garters (N=12) below the knee completed the look for men in many of the portraits. Another lower body garment worn in portraits were trews (N=5), which continued to be worn by Highlanders. Figure 7 showed a Highland nobleman wearing trews, lending further evidence to support Cockburn (1985) and Wilson's (1990) argument that trews were an upper class garment in the Highlands. Only one man was shown wearing close fitting pants (breeches) that came just below the knee that were created from a tartan fabric and had buttons at knee level (Dunbar, 1981). Close fitting knee breeches were the typical lower body covering in the Lowlands, while most Europeans wore loose fitting knee breeches (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Most men (N=20) wore dark, flat (no heels) shoes (N=8), dark, low-heeled shoes (N=12), or dark, low-heeled boots (N=1). A brooch (N=2), waist belt (N=4), a shoulder belt (N=8), and a dark colored sporran with tassels (N=9) accessorized the ensembles examined in the portraits. Some men were shown without any headdress



Figure 6. Unknown artist. Highland gentleman. c.1700.(Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).



Figure 7. Hans Hysing – artist. The Duke of Leeds. 1726. (Dunbar, 1981).

(N=5); however, those wearing a headdress wore a dark colored, flat, round bonnet with a cockade (N=17).

The poetry analysis revealed that the sark (shirt) was worn as part of early 18<sup>th</sup> century Highland dress; however, the cravat was only mentioned once in conjunction with Highland dress in early 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Burt's (Jamieson, 1974) letters confirmed that Highland men wore a shirt in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century but did not mention the cravat. The analysis of poetry revealed the use of the term "coat" with a high degree of frequency in poems about the Highlands. Burt (Jamieson, 1974) also confirmed that Highland men wore a coat. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that tartan fabric was mentioned with a high degree of frequency, particularly in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis indicated that the belted plaid was mentioned in poems with war settings. Multiple social and political settings were revealed in the poetry analysis in association with the plaid. Both the plaid and the belted plaid were usually associated with Highland dress in the poetry analysis. The belted plaid was never discussed as a Lowland dress item in the poetry analysis; however, the plaid was mentioned twice in reference to Lowland dress in poetry. The trews were an item of dress associated with Highland dress in the poetry analysis; however, the trews were not discussed as often

as the kilt for a lower body covering. Breeches were mentioned in poetry, but not until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Burt's (Jamieson, 1974) letters noted that Highland men wore both the trews and the kilt, which was part of the belted plaid. Both shoes and boots were mentioned in poetry; however, shoes were noted more frequently than boots. Burt's (Jamieson, 1974) letters mentioned that Highland men wore both shoes and boots, as well as going barefoot. The bonnet with a cockade was a popular choice of headdress for characters in poetry. Burt's (Jamieson, 1974) letters mentioned that men wore a blue bonnet in the Highlands.

In the early 1740s, 13 male individuals in 13 portraits showed important clan members or Highland soldiers (Figure 8 and 9). The majority of garment details for individuals in the 1740s portraits were observed in Figures 8 and 9. Most of the men wore a white shirt with a high standing collar and long plain hemmed sleeves (N=9). One man was observed wearing an over-shirt or tunic with a v-neckline, long sleeves with turned-back cuffs, and slashes on the forearm. The close fitting tunic was created from a tartan fabric. Several individuals in portraits showed the men, particularly soldiers, wearing a close fitting waistcoat with a rounded neckline (N=7). The length of the waistcoat varied from waist length to low hip length. In the portraits, the fabric used to create the waistcoat was either a light colored plain fabric or a small check tartan.

Center front buttons secured the waistcoat. Men in the portraits used a coat (N=12) and/or a plaid (N=7) as outerwear. All of the coats fit close, had a round neckline and long sleeves with a turned-back cuff. The coat was waist length and created from light to medium colored plain fabric or tartan fabric. The plaid was a voluminous piece of tartan fabric draped about the body in a variety of ways, including around the waist, over the arm and shoulder, and hanging down the back. In some cases, the plaid was actually a belted plaid (N=3); however, many researchers noted that the kilt and plaid had become separate garments in 1730 (Cockburn, 1985; Grimble, 1973; Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990). The portraits provide evidence that some Highlanders continued to wear the belted plaid after 1730. The plaid was pleated about the waist to create a kilt that hung just above the knee and the rest of the plaid was draped over the shoulder. In addition to the plaid, argyle hose (N=9) were worn just below the knee. Garters (N=6) were worn at the top of the hose to keep the hose from falling down. Men wore trews (N=2), another lower body garment, in the 1740s portraits. According to Maxwell and



**Figure 8.** Unknown artist. Important clansmen. c. 1740s. (Brander, 1980).



**Figure 9.** Unknown artist. Battle of Culloden. 1745. (Brander, 1980).

Hutchison (1958), important clansmen, not soldiers, wore the tartan trews, which continues to add support to the argument that trews were an upper class Highland garment (Cockburn, 1985; Wilson, 1990). The men observed in the portraits all wore low-heeled shoes, usually with buckles. This shoe style was similar to the style worn by Lowlanders (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The shoes were either light colored or dark colored leather. Many different accessories were worn by the men in portraits, including a belt worn at the waist (N=1), a belt worn across the body from the shoulder (N=9), a sash worn at the waist (N=2), and a small, light colored sporran with long hanging tassels (N=6). The last item of dress worn by men in the 1740s portraits was a flat, round, dark colored bonnet with feathers (N=7), which was the typical headdress among Highlanders (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991). The bonnet was sometimes cocked to one side near the front of the face (N=3).

The poetry analysis revealed the use of the term “sark” during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century in relation to Highland dress, as previously mentioned, but the findings did not reveal an over-shirt or tunic. The findings from the analysis of poetry revealed the use of tartan fabric with a high degree of frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. As previously noted, the waistcoat was not mentioned in poetry related to Highland dress. Both the coat and the plaid were mentioned with a high degree of frequency in early 18<sup>th</sup> century



poetry that related to Highland dress. The analysis of poetry revealed the use of the belted plaid in early the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Hose and garters were mentioned in early 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed the use of trews in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that Highland men frequently wore shoes, but did not mention heels with any degree of frequency. The belt was mentioned in poetry with the highest frequency during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Analysis of the poetry revealed the use of the word “bonnet” with a high degree of frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and was frequently blue with feathers and cocked to one side.

There were ten men examined in 2 portraits (Dunbar, 1981; Brander, 1980) for this study that depicted soldiers fighting in the Battle of Culloden in 1745 (Figure 9). Five thousand Highland men had formed an army to fight for the Stuart monarchy, but they were soundly defeated by the Duke of Cumberland’s army fighting for the Hanoverian monarchy (Smout, 1969; Brander, 1980; Trevor-Roper, 1984). The loss of this battle by the Highlanders became the basis for the English passing the Act of Proscription (Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1979; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984). The clothing in the two portraits was the same as those previously described for the early 1740s (i.e., shirt, waistcoat, coat, plaid, various accessories, shoes, and bonnet).

There were two portraits (Dunbar, 1981) examined for this study that were painted in 1746, after the Act of Proscription was enacted (Figure 10 and 11). The plaid, trews, and tartan fabric were all banned, however, both of the noblemen (i.e., one an earl and the other a duke) were depicted wearing each of these items. These portraits lend supporting evidence to arguments made by Hamilton (1991), Maxwell (1976), and Wilson (1990), who noted that Highlanders continued to wear their native garb despite the risk of imprisonment due to the Act of Proscription. The men in portraits were upper class Highlanders. They both wore a white shirt with a high standing neck, a cravat, and long sleeves with ruffled cuffs. Their tartan coats fit close to the body and ended at mid-thigh length. Two different style necklines were observed: a flat, turned down collar and a rounded neckline. The sleeves on the coats had turned back cuffs; however, one coat had long sleeves, while the other coat had  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves. The coat, in both cases, was worn open at the center front. Both men wore a voluminous tartan plaid draped around low-heeled shoes with buckles, which was the typical Lowland style (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). One man wore a belt across his body from shoulder to waist and the



Figure 10. Allan Ramsay - artist. The 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Weyss and his wife. c.1745. (Dunbar,1981).



Figure 11. F de Tray – artist. James, Duke of Perth. 1746. (Dunbar, 1981).

other man wore a dark colored sporran at his waist. Neither man wore a bonnet or any other headdress.

Eleven poems with male dress references were written that specifically refer to the ban on Highland dress. Poets bemoaned the loss of the Highland garments and discussed the English garments that Highlanders were forced to wear. Poets had a different perspective on the ban than is observable in the portraits. The poets represented the opinions and views of the lay people, who were not able to wear the Highland dress because they could not afford to defy the government.

Late 18<sup>th</sup> century male dress. During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Highland men (N=46) in 28 portraits and Lowland men (N=141) in 64 portraits were examined for this study (Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837). Because of the vast number of individuals in portraits, they were divided into general portraits and occupational portraits, including reverends, judges, doctors, and professors.

Highland. One portrait (Dunbar, 1981) was examined for 1759 of a Highland nobleman (Figure 12). He wore a white shirt with a high standing collar, center front ruffles, and long sleeves with ruffled cuffs. High standing collars were popular in the Lowlands, but there was no mention of ruffles in the literature (Maxwell & Hutchison,



Figure 12. Unknown artist. Sir Robert Murray Keith. 1759. (Dunbar, 1981).

1958). The Highland nobleman wore a close fitting waistcoat with a v-neck that was created from a medium colored plain fabric. A semi-close fitting coat covered the majority of the waistcoat. The medium colored coat had a lapel collar, long sleeves with a cuff and slit, and epaulets on the shoulders. A tartan plaid was pulled through flaps on either shoulder and draped down the sides and back. A tartan kilt was loosely pleated about the waist and fell to just above the knee. Argyle hose and garters were barely visible just below the knee, leaving part of the leg exposed. No accessories or headdress was worn. It appears that the plaid, kilt, and tartan fabric were still being worn, even though the Act of Proscription had specifically banned them, lending further support to the argument that many Highland men continued to wear their native garb despite the ban (Hamilton, 1991; Maxwell, 1976; Wilson, 1990).

As previously mentioned, the poetry analysis noted the Highlanders wearing the sark (shirt). Poets did not discuss the waistcoat in any period under investigation. The poetry analysis continued to reveal the use of the coat in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but with less frequency than in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The use of the word “plaid” remained steady in poetry throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while the use of “tartan” began to decline in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The poetry analysis revealed an increase in frequency of the

word “kilt” in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. There was a rise in references to hose and garters in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry.

There were two portraits examined for the 1770s, which showed two men wearing plaids, kilts, and tartan; the Act of Proscription banned all of these items in 1746 (Dunbar, 1981). These two portraits are evidence that not all Highlanders followed the rules of the Act and conflicts with the poetry findings that revealed complaints about the Act of Proscription because Highlanders were no longer able to wear their traditional garb and the people were saddened at being forced to wear English garments. These portraits contradict the poets’ claims; however, the portraits were usually of upper class people (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998), not the lower classes or the artists’ interpretation of the way Highlanders were supposed to appear. One man in an individual portrait wore a dark colored waistcoat with a round neckline and long turned back cuffs. The waist length garment fit close to the body. The man in the other portrait wore a semi-close fitting coat created from a tartan fabric placed on the bias (i.e., a 45° angle to the selvage) (Figure 13). A plaid obscured the neckline. The coat was low hip length and had long sleeves with a turned back cuff. The two men in both portraits wore a voluminous tartan plaid draped across the front of the body and hanging down in the back. A tartan kilt was worn above the knee and what appears to be the folds of the plaid pleated about the waist. The kilt was a separate garment from the plaid (Cockburn, 1985; Grimble, 1973; Wilson, 1990). Argyle hose were worn below the knee with garters in both portraits. The men in both portraits wore dark, low-heeled shoes; buckles were on one pair of shoes. One man in an individual portrait wore a waist belt and a sporran. Each of the men wore a dark colored, flat, round bonnet, which continued to be the typical headdress of the Highlanders in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

Poets did not mention waistcoats in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, waistcoats were typical European and Lowland garments during this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The coat was still mentioned in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry as part of Highland dress, but with less frequency than in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The word plaid remained an item of Highland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The poetry analysis demonstrated the continued use of the plaid and kilt in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The word tartan declined in use by poets in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The frequency of the word “kilt” increased in use in Highland poetry in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis indicated an increase in the frequency of both hose and garters in relation to Highland



**Figure 13.** Unknown artist. Overseer of women waulking cloth. c.1770. (Dunbar, 1981).

dress; however, shoes were mentioned with less frequency in relation to Highlanders in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The belt was mentioned less frequently while the purse (i.e., sporrán) was noted with more frequency in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Poets mentioned the bonnet with the highest frequency in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Twenty-three Highland men were observed in 14 portraits painted during the 1780s (Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837). A white shirt with a high standing neck was visible in most of the portraits (N=17). According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), Lowlanders wore the high standing collar throughout the 1770s, but changed to a turned down collar by 1780. The Highlanders lagged behind on this collar trend. The long sleeves had either a ruffled cuff (N=7) or a plain hem (N=9). Some of the shirts had ruffles down the center front (N=5), ranging in size from small to large. Many of the men wore a black ribbon tied at the neck (N=10), with or without the addition of center front ruffles. Fit could not be determined as several other items of dress covered much of the shirt. A close fitting waistcoat was worn over the top of the shirt (N=15); however, the neckline was only visible on eight of the waistcoats. Three different necklines were observed on the waist length waistcoat: a round neckline (N=2), a v-neck (N=3), a wide wing collar (N=2), and a small lapel (N=1). The waistcoat was created from different colors of plain

fabric (N=11), tartan fabric (N=1), or a horizontal striped fabric (N=2). Small buttons at the center front secured the waistcoat. A small angle (∟) was also observed at the center front. The waistcoat was similar to Lowland dress at the time; however, the Highland coat was more similar to Lowland coats of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

A semi-close or loose fitting coat was worn by all but one of the twenty-three men in the 1780s portraits (N=22). Three different necklines were observed, including a lapel collar (N=6), a wide turned down collar (N=7), and a round neckline (N=7); the neckline on the other coats were obscured by additional outerwear. The Highland coat was created from light, medium, or dark colored plain fabric and had buttons at the center front. The long sleeves on the coat had a plain hem (N=7), a turned back cuff (N=10), or a slit and buttons (N=5). The length of the coat varied between high hip and mid-calf. The typical Highland coat noted in the portraits differed from the tailcoat style that was worn at the end of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). In addition to the coat, one man in a portrait wore an outer coat and two men in other portraits wore plaids. The semi-close fitting outer coat had a wide turned down collar and no sleeves. The mid-calf length outer coat was created using white striped fabric and center front buttons. Two of the twenty-three men wearing light colored tartan plaids draped them around the front of their bodies and over their shoulders to hang loosely down their backs.

Two styles of lower body garments were worn in the portraits of the 23 Highland men: a kilt and pants. Six of the twenty-three men in portraits men wore a kilt (separated from the plaid) that was pleated at the waist and hung loosely to just above the knee. The kilt in portraits was usually created using a dark colored tartan or a medium colored plain fabric. Argyle hose and garters were worn with the kilt just below the knee, leaving the knee exposed. Sixteen of the twenty-three men observed in portraits wore close fitting breeches that came just below the knee and buttoned on the side of the knee. The breeches were most often observed in light colored plain fabric (N=12); however, dark colored plain fabric (N=2), vertical striped fabric (N=1), and tartan fabric (N=1) were also used. Light colored stockings were worn to fit up under the breeches at the knee, so no part of the leg showed; however, in two cases, the men wore argyle hose and garters at mid-calf and exposed part of the lower leg. The breeches were the typical lower body covering of Lowland men (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), Lowland men wore woolen, silk, or cotton stockings, while the literature did not discuss Highland stocking fibers. In addition, the fiber could not be

distinguished in the portraits. The lower portion of the other three men was not painted and therefore could not be examined for lower body dress references.

Most of the 23 Highland men observed in portraits wore dark colored, low-heeled shoes (N=14) with either buckles or laces. Five of the men wore dark colored, low-heeled boots with a contrasting turned down cuff. Breeches were mentioned more frequently in 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry than in the 17<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Highlanders appear to have followed Lowland shoe trends, as Lowlanders typically wore low heels until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the heels became higher (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Only three of the men wore accessories other than footwear. Two men had a light colored sash across his front from shoulder to waist, while two of the men wore a dark colored sporran with long hanging tassels. Also, it is interesting to note that nine of the men in the portraits carried a cane. All but five of the twenty-three men wore some type of headdress. There were three different styles of bonnet: a dark colored, flat, round bonnet (N=3), a dark colored, flat, round bonnet with a check ribbon (N=6), and a dark colored, tall bonnet with a check ribbon, pompom, and feather (N=1). Two men wore a dark colored hat that was similar to the modern-day cowboy hat and four of the men wore a dark colored bicorne. The bonnet remained a popular dress item among both Highlanders and Lowlanders (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). There is no description of a cowboy style hat worn in Europe or the Lowlands, but the bicorne had gained popularity in the Lowlands near the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The tricorne was more popular among Europeans.

The Act of Proscription was lifted in 1783 (Dunbar, 1981); however, the plaid, kilt, and tartan fabric were observed throughout the 1780s, including the years when the ban was still in place (Figure 14). The researcher must conclude, based on the observations of portraits throughout the 1780s, that while many Highlanders may have observed the Act, there were also Highlanders that ignored the ban.

Poets mentioned the sark (shirt) with a higher frequency in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century than any other time period, but did not mention a black ribbon or tie. As previously noted, poets did not mention the waistcoat. Poets did still mention the coat in late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but there was a definite decline in frequency. Poets mentioned dark colors in conjunction with upper body garments at this time. The poetry analysis revealed a consistent use of plaid as a term used in poetry to describe Highland dress while the word tartan declined in use by poets during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis revealed an increase in the use of the word "kilt" by poets describing Highland dress



Figure 14. David Allan – artist. Highland Dance. 1780. (Dunbar, 1981).

in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the poetry analysis indicated that the hose and garters increased in frequency during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis revealed that breeches were mentioned more frequently in 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry than in the 17<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Breeches were mentioned more frequently in 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry than in the 17<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Boots were mentioned in poetry of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but with little frequency. Analysis of the poetry noted a continued reference to the bonnet.

Eighteen Highland men were observed in portraits that were painted during the 1790s (Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837). Figures 15 and 16 represent the majority of dress details from the 1790s in the Highlands. Sixteen of the men had on a white shirt with a high standing collar (N=5), a turned down collar (N=1), or a round neckline (N=1); all other necklines were obscured by other garments. The turned down collar was fashionable in the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Most of the shirts had ruffles at the center front (N=11). Two of the men wore a piece of fabric tied at the neck with long ends hanging loose. This neckwear is likely a form of the cravat, although the cravat is not generally associated with Highland dress; however, the Lowlanders continued to wear the cravat even after most of Europe shifted to wearing stocks (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The long sleeves of the shirt had





Figure 15. John Kay – artist. Highland soldier. 1795. (Kay, 1837).



Figure 16. Sir Henry Raeburn- artist. Sir John Sinclair. 1794. (Dunbar, 1981).

either a ruffled cuff (N=5) or a plain hem (N=2). The majority of the men in the portraits wore a close fitting, waist-length waistcoat (N=12). The waistcoat had either a v-neck (N=1), round neckline (N=1), or a triple wing collar (N=2); all other waistcoat necklines were obscured by outerwear. The waistcoat was usually created from a light colored plain fabric (N=9); however, dark colored plain fabric (N=2) and a vertical striped fabric (N=1) were also used. Small buttons were used to secure the waistcoat and a small angle was observed at the center front waistline. Most of the men wore a coat (N=16) that ranged in length from waist length to mid-calf length. The fit of the coat also varied from tight to loose. Two styles of collars were observed: a wide turned down collar (N=7) and a high standing collar (N=9). The coat had long sleeves in all cases; however, some had a plain hem (N=2), some had a slit with buttons (N=1), and some had a turned back cuff (N=13). Three styles of fabric were used to create the coat: a tartan fabric (N=3), a dark colored plain fabric (N=11), and a medium colored patterned fabric (N=2). All of the coats were secured at center front with buttons. Several coats were embellished with tassels at the shoulders (N=9) and one had an emblem center over one side of the chest. Some of the coats were slightly cut away at the front and narrowed toward the back (N=4). Three men in the portraits wore a voluminous tartan

plaid draped about his upper and lower body. These portraits indicate that the tartan plaid was used before, during, and after the ban.

The lower body dress items could be observed on fifteen men in the portraits. Six of the men wore a loosely pleated tartan kilt above the knee. Three of those men wore Argyle hose with garters below the knee, while one (a servant) wore no hose. Two men wore tartan trews and seven men wore close fitting breeches that were knee length. The breeches were secured at the knee by a tie, a buckle, or a row of buttons in a manner similar to the Lowland style (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The breeches were created from either a light colored (N=6) or dark colored plain fabric (N=1). In all cases, the man wore a pair of matching stockings that went up under the hem of the breeches. The only man who did not wear any hose was barefoot, while the others wore either low-heeled, dark colored shoes with buckles or laces (N=9), low-heeled, dark colored boots with a contrasting turned down cuff (N=3), or low-heeled, dark colored boots with an angle at the back (N=1). Many men wore accessories, including a waist belt (N=4), a shoulder belt across the body (N=8), a sporran with hanging tassels (N=5), and a short tassel at the waistline (N=1). Again, it is interesting to note that three of the men carried canes. Two men did not have on any type of headdress; however, the other men wore a variety of headdress styles, including a flat, round, dark bonnet (N=2), a flat, round, dark bonnet with feathers (N=2), a flat, round, dark bonnet with a check ribbon and feathers (N=5), a dark bicorne with feathers and rosettes (N=3) and a dark hat with a medium crown and medium brim curved upward (N=4). Lowlanders were wearing different types of headdresses, as well as the popular European tricorne (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Again tartan and Highland garb were worn immediately after the ban was lifted.

Highland judge. Among the Highland portraits was a portrait of a judge from 1794 (Kay, 1837). Lord Gardenstone (Fig. 17) wore a white shirt with a white tie at the neck and long sleeves with ruffled cuffs. He also wore a semi-close fitting coat with a lapel collar and long plain hemmed sleeves. The coat was knee length and dark in color. His lower body was covered by close fitting breeches that came just above the knee. Poets noted the use of breeches as part of Highland dress in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The breeches were dark in color, while the stockings he wore were light colored. The stockings came up over the knee and under the hem of the breeches. He wore dark, flat (no heel) shoes. The analysis of poetry found the use of shoes among Highland men. No accessories were worn, except for a dark colored bicorne. The bicorne was never



**Figure 17.** John Kay – artist. Lord Gardenstone. 1794. (Kay, 1837).

mentioned by poets. The judge's dress items were similar to male dress typically worn in the Lowlands, except for his shoes, which were typical only for Highlanders.

Highland reverend. There was also a portrait of a Highland reverend from 1795 (Kay, 1837); however, the portrait only showed the man from the waist up. The reverend wore a white shirt with long, plain hemmed sleeves. He wore a dark colored, loose fitting coat with a high turned down collar. The coat also had long sleeves with a turned back cuff and slit. Over the top of the coat the reverend wore a voluminous dark colored robe. A light colored minister's collar was worn on the outside of the robe at the neck. The minister's collar and robe are not mentioned in the literature, which may be due to their occupational nature. No accessories or headdress was worn by the reverend.

The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that the sark (shirt) and the coat were typical Highland garment in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The robe was mentioned more often by poets in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century than any other time in this investigation.

Lowland. No Lowland male portraits were examined for the 1750s and 1760s; however, one portrait was examined for the 1770s (Kay, 1837). John Kay painted a portrait of John Campbell in 1775. He wore a white shirt with a high standing collar and long sleeves with ruffled cuffs. The shirt also had ruffles down the center front. Lowlanders typically wore a high standing collar in the 1770s, but there was no mention of ruffles in the literature (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). A coat was worn over the shirt. The semi-close fitting coat was created from medium colored plain fabric and secured by buttons at the center front. A lapel collar and long sleeves with turned back cuffs

completed this coat. Unfortunately, this portrait was painted from the waist up, leaving no details of the lower body dress items. Mr. Campbell did not wear any type of headdress. The poetry analysis did not reveal the shirt in conjunction with Lowlanders; however, the coat, although infrequently, was an upper body dress item worn in the Lowlands.

Forty-six males in 34 portraits from the 1780s were examined for this portion of the study (Kay, 1837; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Most of the portraits were illustrated by John Kay. Figure 18 demonstrates the norm in Lowland dress. Most of the men wore a white shirt (N=38) with a high standing collar, long sleeves with ruffled cuffs, and ruffles at the center front. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), Lowlanders abandoned the high standing collar in favor of the turned down collar in 1780; however, these portraits indicate that the high standing collar retained its popularity. Occasionally, a piece of fabric was tied at the neck (N=7). About half of the men wore a waistcoat (N=25) over their shirt. The close fitting waistcoat had three different neckline styles: a v-neck (N=3), a round neckline (N=4), or a wing collar (N=11); all other necklines were obscured by another garment. The length varied between the waistline and the high hip level. The most popular fabric used for the waistcoat was a light colored plain fabric (N=8); however medium (N=6) and dark (N=7) colored plain fabrics, striped fabrics (N=3), and black and white check fabric (N=1) were also used. Center front buttons were used to secure the waistcoat.

Every man in the portraits from the 1780s wore a coat; however, there was a lot of variety among the coats. A turned down collar (N=25) or a lapel collar (N=11) were the most popular styles of neckline; however, a round neckline (N=3) and a high standing band (N=3) were also observed. The coat most often had long sleeves with a turned back cuff (N=26). Some coats had long sleeves with buttoned slits (N=4) or a plain hem (N=11). The coat was created from dark colored, plain fabric (N=33), medium colored fabric (N=6), light colored fabric (N=5), or tartan fabric (N=2) and was secured with buttons down the center front. In the portraits, the knee length coat usually fit semi-close to the body but was occasionally close fitting or loose fitting. Two men wore a voluminous tartan plaid draped about the shoulders (Figure 19). According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), Lowlanders wore the plaid as an outdoor garment at this time; however, tartan fabric was not mentioned as a typical fabric.



**Figure 18.** Unknown artist. Lowland gentleman. 1780. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).



**Figure 19.** John Kay – artist. Graham and Buchan. 1784. (Kay, 1837).

Breeches (N=45) covered the lower body of all the individuals in portraits, except for one man who wore a kilt. The breeches fit close to the body and came to just below the knee. The Lowland breeches differed from European breeches, which were loose fitting during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Buttons, buckles, or a combination of both were used as a closure on the side of the pants at the knee. The breeches were paired with stockings that came up under the hem of the breeches. In the portraits, light breeches were paired with dark stockings or dark breeches were paired with light stockings. Two men had on a tartan kilt that was pleated loosely at the waist and fell to above the knee. Argyle hose were worn with garters just below the knee. According to Kay (1837), the man wanted to appear in the “garb of auld Gaul [Highland dress]” (p.284). Twenty-three men wore dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles and five men wore dark colored, low-heeled boots with a contrasting turned down cuff. The majority of the men (N=34) did not wear any accessories; however, some men wore a belt worn across the body from the shoulder to the waist (N=3), a long piece of light colored fabric tied at the neck with the ends left long (i.e., a cravat) (N=5), a dark piece of cloth wrapped around the neck (N=3), and/or a tassel worn at the waist (N=1). In addition to the previously mentioned accessories, nineteen men were carrying a cane. All but five men wore some type of headdress. The

headdress worn by most of the men in portraits was a dark colored bicorne hat (N=25); however, other forms of headdress observed included a dark colored tricorne (N=6), a dark colored cowboy style hat (N=4), a dark colored hat with a short crown and a wide brim (N=4), and a dark colored bonnet with a checked ribbon and feathers. The bicorne and tricorne were popular headdresses in Europe and the Lowlands; however, many Europeans had abandoned headdresses in favor of wigs (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

The waistcoat was not mentioned at any time in the poems examined. The poetry analysis revealed the plaid as part of Lowland dress, albeit infrequently, but never mentioned tartan as a specifically Lowland fabric. The analysis of poetry revealed that the breeches were more frequently mentioned as a Lowland garment than a Highland garment, but that the kilt was strictly noted as a Highland garment. The poetry analysis revealed only one mention of the hose as a Lowland garment and garters were never mentioned as a Lowland garment. The poetry analysis revealed no accessories as typical Lowland dress items, except for the wig. The poetry analysis revealed that the bonnet was worn by Lowlanders; however, there was no mention of the bicorne or tricorne. Poets mentioned general terms of hat and cap in conjunction with Lowland headdress.

For the 1790s, twenty-nine men in 25 portraits were examined, again mainly due to the work of artist John Kay. The dress items in the 1790s were nearly identical to the dress items in the 1780s. The shirt (N=28) and waistcoat (N=11) had the same variations as the 1780s. The details of the coat (N=28) were similar with one change, the coat began to cutaway from the front narrowing toward the back (N=5). According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), coats became tailcoats in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, which is evidenced in the portraits. The portraits also showed that the breeches (N=18) and stockings (N=18) remained similar to those in the 1780s. The shoes (N=15) and boots (N=4) were the same, but had the added accessory of buttoned-up spats (N=2). The accessories were similar with the addition of gloves (N=3). Also, there appeared to be an increase in the use of the tassels worn at the waist (N=3). The cane remained an accessory used by men (N=5). The headdresses remained the same, although the bicorne (N=12) was observed much more frequently than the tricorne (N=1), cowboy styled hat (N=5), and the bonnet (N=1), which could be due to the popularity of the bicorne and tricorne late in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

Lowland judges. There were thirteen portraits of fifteen judges examined for the 1780s and 1790s. Figures 20 and 21 represent many of the garment details for judges in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The judges wore a white shirt with a high standing collar and sometimes center front ruffles (N=2) were worn with the shirt. Long sleeves with ruffled cuffs were also on the shirt. Only three judges were visibly wearing a dark waistcoat with center front buttons, waist length, and a small angle at the center front. All but two of the judges wore a coat, which was created using dark and/or patterned fabric. There were two different style necklines, including a round neckline (N=10) and a turn down collar (N=2). The coat, in all cases, had long sleeves with turned back cuffs. Sometimes the cuffs were created using a contrasting fabric. The fit of the coat, when visible, varied between close (N=3), semi-close (N=1), and loose (N=1). The length could not be determined because the majority of the portraits were only painted from the waist up. Center front buttons were used to secure the coat. Ten of the judges were pictured wearing their judicial robes, which differed dramatically from the reverend's robes. The neckline on the robe was either a round neckline (N=7) or a v-neck (N=3). The robe was usually created using two fabrics: a dark colored fabric for the main body of the garment and either a light colored or patterned fabric for the cape and cuffs. The long sleeves had a matched or contrasting cuff. The robe was a loose fitting garment with a double cape at the shoulders. The robe was further adorned with four large ribbon flowers, two on either side of the center front. No closures were observed. The robes were elaborate and demonstrated the elevated position judge's held in Lowland society. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed the robe as a Lowland garment, although with little frequency and not in association with an occupation. Only two judges were separately painted in full-length portraits. In both cases, the men wore dark close fitting breeches that came just below the knee and dark stockings that came up under the hem of the breeches. Both men in the full-length portraits wore dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles. Every judge observed in the portraits wore a tie knotted at the neck with the ends left hanging long on the outside of the robe. The tie may be an occupational garment, like the judicial robe. Four of the judges wore a dark colored bicorne and carried a cane. There was no mention of the cane revealed in the poetry analysis. The poetry analysis demonstrated that breeches were a Lowland male dress item in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but breeches were not specifically associated with judges.



Figure 20. John Kay – artist. Lord Justice-Robert M'Queen. 1793. (Kay, 1837).

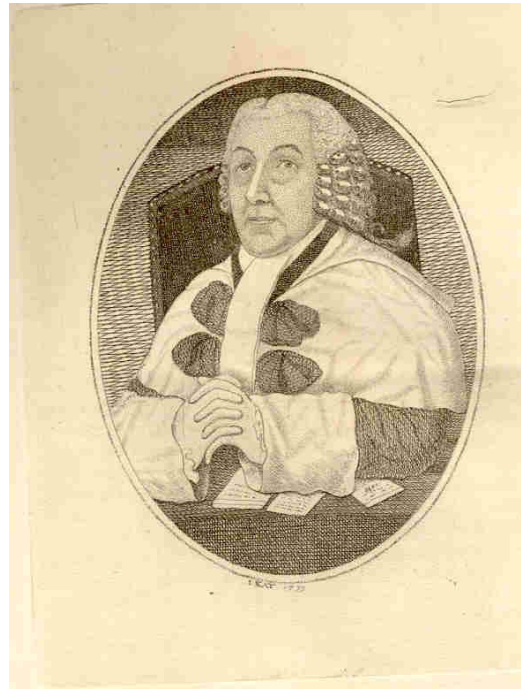
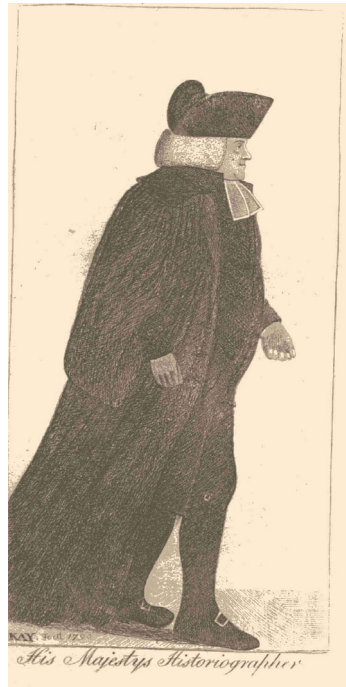


Figure 21. John Kay – artist. Sir William Nairne. 1799. (Kay, 1837).

Lowland reverends. There were twenty-four individual portraits of reverends illustrated by John Kay (Kay, 1837) that were examined for the time periods of the 1780s and 1790s. Figure 22 represents the majority of garment details for Lowland reverends during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Many reverends wore a white shirt with a high standing collar (N=13) and long sleeves with either plain hems (N=4), ruffled cuffs (N=2), or turned back cuffs (N=1) when the sleeves were visible. Again, note that the high standing collar continued to be the typical collar, not the turned down collar as noted by Maxwell and Hutchison (1958). Occasionally, the shirt in the portraits had center front ruffles (N=2). Only five of the twenty-four reverends visibly wore a close fitting waistcoat that was created using dark colored plain fabric and buttons at the center front. Two styles of neckline were observed on the waistcoat: a round neckline (N=1) and a wing collar (N=1); all other necklines were not visible. The majority of the reverends wore a dark colored coat (N=19) with a variety of necklines, including a round neckline (N=6), a turned down collar (N=7), a high standing band (N=3), and a lapel collar (N=2); one neckline was not visible. The fit of the coat varied from close to loose and the length varied from high hip length to knee length. All of the coats had long sleeves with either a





**Figure 22.** John Kay – artist.  
Rev. Dr. William Robertson.  
1790. (Kay, 1837).

plain hem (N=8), a turned back matched cuff (N=6), or a turned back contrasting cuff (N=1); the other coats did not have visible cuffs. The coat was secured at the center front with buttons. Some reverends wore a dark colored robe (N=9) with either a high standing band (N=2) or a round neckline (N=2); however, not all necklines were visible on the robes. The voluminous robe had very wide plain sleeves, occasionally with a contrasting cuff. Sleeve lengths varied from  $\frac{3}{4}$  to long. Some robes had capes attached at the shoulders (N=2) and other robes had vertical pleating at the shoulders (N=6). The robe was similar to that of the Highland reverend previously discussed, but more elaborate. Only five portraits were full length and the robe was worn open to show the pants with stockings. The dark colored pants fit close and buckled just below the knee. The stockings were dark colored, except one reverend wore light colored stockings. Four of the men wore dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles and one man wore dark colored, low-heeled boots with a turned down cuff and spurs. All of the reverends wore a minister's collar at the neck, a white, two-part square tie at the neck, which was similar to the Highland reverend.

The Highland and Lowland reverends wore similar minister's collars and robes, which might indicate some uniformity in occupational dress. Five reverends wore dark

colored gloves without the thumb and first two fingers; the reason for this is unclear. Two reverends carried a cane. The majority of the reverends did not wear any type of headdress (N=18); however, some wore a dark colored bicorne (N=2), a dark colored tricorne (N=1), a dark colored cowboy style hat (N=1), or a dark colored hat with a tall crown and small brim (N=1). The poetry analysis revealed that headdress was mentioned in general terms like the bonnet, hat, or cap rather than specific descriptions of the headdress.

Analysis of the poetry revealed that the robe was noted in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry, but not specifically for Lowland males or occupation. The findings from the analysis of the poetry revealed that stockings were not mentioned in relation to Lowland males. The poetry analysis found that boots were mentioned, but with little frequency.

Lowland doctors and surgeons. Seventeen doctors and surgeons in 15 portraits were examined for this study (Kay, 1837). All of the portraits were painted between 1784 and 1797. Doctors and surgeons wore the same styles of clothing as other Lowland males. Figure 23 represents the typical dress of a Lowland doctor or surgeon. The shirt, waistcoat, and coat were all similar in style and detail to those of the same time period in the Lowlands. Most of the doctors and surgeons wore dark colored breeches (N=15) with dark (N=13) or light (N=2) colored stockings and dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles (N=15). Many of these men carried a cane (N=8) and three of the men wore dark colored gloves. Most of the doctors and surgeons wore a dark colored bicorne (N=14). Lowlanders typically wore all of these dress items (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). None of the items worn indicated occupational dress.

Lowland professors. Ten individual portraits of male university professors from the 1780s and 1790s were examined. Observations for male professors were similar to dress of other Lowland males from the same time period. They wore a white shirt (N=9) with a high collar (N=4), center front ruffles (N=8), and long sleeves with ruffled cuffs (N=9). Six professors wore a close fitting waistcoat with either a wing collar (N=2), v-neckline (N=1), or a round neckline (N=3). All ten professors wore dark colored coats. There were three neckline variations: a lapel (N=5), a turned down collar (N=4), or a round neckline (N=1). The majority of the coats had long sleeves with turned back cuffs (N=8). Most of the men wore dark colored breeches (N=7) with dark colored stockings (N=7). Shoes were observed on eight of the professors. The cane was carried by three professors. The bicorne (N=4) and cowboy style hat (N=4) were observed



Figure 23. John Kay – artist. Mr. James Rae (surgeon), Dr. William Laing, and Dr. James Hay. 1786. (Kay, 1837).

equally. Professors in the portraits did not wear any dress items, as denoted by the portraits, which distinguished their profession.

Lowland career and volunteer soldiers. Twelve soldiers in eight portraits were examined for the 1780s (Kay, 1837). All of the men were career military men (Fig. 24 and 25), several with the Edinburgh Guard. All of the men wore a white shirt with long sleeves, ruffled cuffs, and center front ruffles up to the neck. Two of the men wore a piece of black fabric tied around the neck that resembled a band with no bow. The analysis of poetry did not reveal any type of ties at the neck other than the cravat. A standard waistcoat was also worn by all of the soldiers. The waist length waistcoat had a wing collar and center front buttons. The only variety observed was in fabric choice: a light colored plain fabric (N=8) or a light colored vertical striped fabric (N=4). The men wore a coat over the top of their waistcoat. The semi-close fitting coat was knee length. The coat had four styles of neckline: a lapel collar (N=5), a turned down collar (N=2), a high standing collar (N=1), or a round neckline (N=4). The long sleeves usually had a turned back cuff; however, in one case, the coat had a plain hemmed sleeve. The fabric choice varied between a light colored (N=2), medium colored (N=6), or dark colored (N=3) plain fabric. Many of the coats had a contrasting colored trim. Large center front buttons secured the coat. Additional embellishments included epaulets (N=5) and large side pockets (N=8). Eight of the coats were slightly cutaway at the front and slit at the



Figure 24. John Kay – artist. Col. Lennox. 1789. (Kay, 1837). 1837).



Figure 25. John Kay – artist. Capt. Page and Capt. Vicars. 1786. (Kay, 1837).

back, then the bottom edge of the front and back of the coat were pulled to the side and tacked together with a decorative clip. All of the men in the portraits wore close fitting light colored breeches that buttoned on the side of the knee. White stockings were paired with breeches. The men usually wore dark colored, low-heeled boots (N=7) that were mid-calf length. The boots in the portraits usually had either a turned down cuff (N=4) or were angled into a “v” shape at the back (N=2). Five men wore dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles. The only accessory that the men wore was a light colored belt across the body from shoulder to waist. The cane (N=8) was a popular item carried by the majority of the men. Most of the men in the portraits wore a dark colored bicorne (N=10), often adorned with feathers and rosettes. The dress items of soldiers examined in the portraits were similar to each other.

Eighteen portraits of sixteen career and volunteer soldiers from the 1790s were examined (Kay, 1837). Nine of the portraits showed career military men and spans the entire decade. Figure 26 represent the majority of garment details for career soldiers in the 1790s. These men wore shirts, waistcoats, coats, breeches, stockings, shoes, boots, shoulder belts, and bicornes similar to those of soldiers in the 1780s. Of the 18 portraits, there were eight portraits of volunteer soldiers wearing the uniform of Royal



**Figure 26.** John Kay –  
artist. Capt. James. 1790.  
(Kay, 1837).

Edinburgh Volunteers. This volunteer army was raised in 1794 (Kay, 1837). In 1795, these soldiers paraded around town in a show of unity whenever there was the threat of foreign invasion. Kay (1837) noted that the people of Edinburgh believed that every citizen was a soldier and needed to support the cause in some manner. These men wore the standard white shirt with a high standing collar, center front ruffles, and long sleeves with ruffled cuffs. Most of the men (N=17) wore a close fitting waist length waistcoat that was light in color, and had center front buttons. The only variety was in the neckline, which included a standing band (N=2), a v-neck (N=1), a round neckline (N=2), and a wing collar (N=2); not all necklines were visible.

The volunteers all wore a semi-close fitting coat with a high standing band and long sleeves with a contrasting cuff. The knee length coat was made of a dark colored plain fabric and had a center front button closure. The coats were slightly cutaway at the front near the waist toward the back of the coat; several were tacked at the side in the manner previously described. The cutaway coats appeared to gain popularity in the Lowlands near the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The coats were embellished with epaulets at the shoulders and trim in various places. The poetry

analysis revealed that coats were mentioned with less frequency in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, the coat was only mentioned once in relation to the Lowlands. All of the volunteers wore white knee length breeches that fit close to the body. The breeches were secured with a row of buttons and a buckle at the knee. Light colored stockings were always worn with the breeches. Dark colored, low-heeled boots with an angle in the back were worn at mid-calf length by all of the men in the portraits. All of the men wore a white belt across the front of their bodies from shoulder to waist. The belt had a large oval shaped emblem at mid-chest height. Three of the men carried a cane. Two styles of headdress were observed: a dark colored bicorne (N=12) or a dark colored, short crowned top hat with rosettes and feathers (N=5); one man did not wear a hat. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that the breeches were mentioned with a frequency nearly equal to that of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, the breeches were not mentioned very often in relation to the Lowlands. The poetry analysis revealed that boots were not frequently mentioned in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis did not reveal any findings with headdresses similar to those observed in the portraits.

The findings for the 18<sup>th</sup> century were summarized in Table 90. The table separated the results into Highland and Lowland dress items observed in portraits. Also, the frequency of the dress items per half century were denoted in the table.

#### Early 19<sup>th</sup> century male dress

Highland. Twelve portraits of 15 Highland men from 1801 through 1830 were examined. Figures 27 and 28 represent typical Highland dress details during this time period. Most of the men (N=12) wore a light or dark colored shirt with a high standing collar, which was the typical style in the Lowlands during the 1770s. The Highlanders appeared to lag behind the Lowlanders on fashion trends. The twelve men wearing the shirt had long sleeves with ruffled cuffs and ruffles down the center front. Several of the men wore a black piece of fabric tied at the center front of the neck (N=5). Three men wore a close fitting waistcoat that was waist length. The waistcoat was buttoned up the center front. Each of the waistcoats had a different neckline: a v-neck (N=1), a round neckline (N=1), and a high standing band (N=1). Three different fabrics were also used, including a light colored plain fabric (N=1), a medium colored plain fabric (N=1), and a bias tartan fabric (N=1).

Table 90

Number of Male Dress Items in Portraits from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

Dress Items	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Total
Argyle hose	24	-----	14	2	40
Belt	5	-----	5	∅	10
Belted plaid	6	-----	∅	∅	6
Bicorné	∅	-----	8	83	91
Bonnet	24	-----	21	2	47
Boots	1	-----	10	27	38
Bow tie	∅	-----	10	∅	10
Brooch	N=2	-----	∅	∅	2
Cane	∅	-----	12	50	62
Coat	32	-----	41	162	235
Cravat	2	-----	3	17	22
Garters	18	-----	14	∅	32
Gloves	∅	-----	∅	10	10
Hat	∅	-----	6	26	32
Judicial tie	∅	-----	∅	13	13
Kilt	∅	-----	15	2	17
Knee breeches	1	-----	24	122	147
Minister's tie	∅	-----	1	24	25
Outercoat	∅	-----	1	∅	1
Overtunic	1	-----	∅	∅	1
Plaid	23	-----	8	2	33
Robe	∅	-----	1	19	20
Sash	2	-----	2	∅	4
Shirt	29	-----	36	149	214
Shoes	35	-----	26	82	143
Shoulder belt	18	-----	8	3	29
Spats	∅	-----	∅	2	2
Sporran	16	-----	8	∅	24
Stockings	∅	-----	22	121	143
Trews	7	-----	2	∅	9
Tricorné	∅	-----	∅	8	8
Waist tassel	∅	-----	1	4	5
Waistcoat	7	-----	19	96	122
Total	253	-----	318	1026	1597

---- indicates that there were no portraits found in this location/time period

∅ indicates that this item was not found in a location/time period



Figure 27. Henry Raeburn - artist. MacDonnell of Glengarry. 1822. (Brander, 1980).



Figure 28. John Kay –artist. Sir Ralph Abercrombie. 1801. (Kay, 1837).

All of the men wore a coat and a variety of necklines were observed: a high standing collar (N=6), a turned down collar (N=4), a lapel collar (N=2), a round neckline (N=2), and a v-neck (N=1). The long sleeves usually had a turned back cuff, although occasionally the sleeve had a plain hem. The coat fit either close or loose and buttoned up the center front. The length varied from waist length to knee length. The coat was created from medium colored plain fabric (N=6), dark colored plain fabric (N=4), or a bias tartan fabric (N=5). Many of the coats were embellished with epaulets on the shoulders (N=8). The Europeans and Lowlanders wore the cutaway and tail coats at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Once again, the Highlanders appeared to lag behind on fashion trends. Three men wore a voluminous tartan plaid draped about their shoulders.

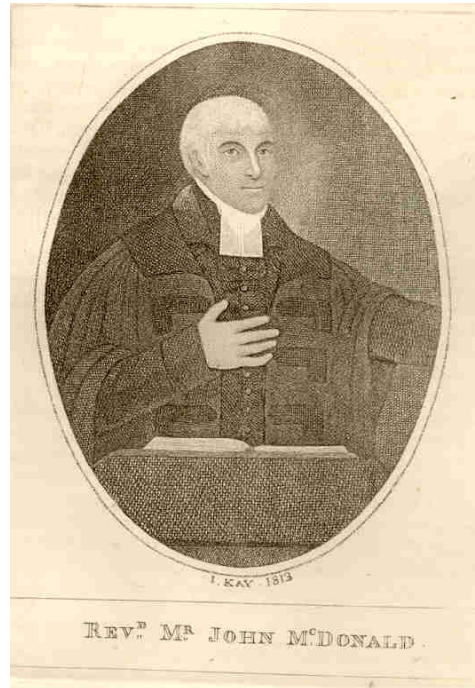
Kilts (N=5) or breeches (N=8) covered the lower body but not the trows. The loosely pleated kilt hung just above the knee. Argyle hose (N=9) and garters(N=7) were worn just below the knee, leaving part of the leg bare when worn with the kilt. The breeches had a flat front and a semi-close fit to the ankle. The breeches were created using tartan fabric (N=4), light colored (N=2) or dark colored (N=2) plain fabric. Two men had on loose fitting breeches that ended just below the knee. Breeches were the



typical lower body covering in Europe and the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The dark colored breeches in the portraits had a row of buttons at the knee and were paired with dark colored stockings. Most of the men in the portraits wore dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles or laces (N=12). Two men wore dark colored, low-heeled boots that came up just below the knee and had spurs. Most of the men in the portraits wore a variety of accessories, including a belt at the waist (N=4), a belt across the front from shoulder to waist (N=7), a sporran with hanging tassels (N=4), a tassel at the waist (N=3), and light colored gloves (N=3). Many of the men in the portraits wore a tall, dark bonnet with a checked ribbon and plumes (N=9); however, men also wore bicornes (N=2), tricornes (N=1), and dark colored hats with short crown and small brim (N=2). According to Maxwell & Hutchison (1958), the Lowlanders had abandoned most of these forms of headdress in favor of the top hat, which was never mentioned in the poetry.

The analysis of poetry found that the sark (shirt) was mentioned with little frequency in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of poetry revealed no findings for the waistcoat in any time period, nor were tartan fabrics mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the analysis of poetry revealed the use of the coat, but with less frequency than in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis revealed a sharp decline in the use of the plaid during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of poetry revealed that the kilt and breeches were noted with less frequency in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Another finding from the analysis of poetry was that the hose were mentioned only once and garters were no longer mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The poetry analysis revealed that boots were no longer mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The belt, tassels, and gloves were revealed in the analysis of poetry in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but with a very low frequency. The poetry analysis found that the bonnet was mentioned by poets during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but with less frequency than in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Highland reverend. Only one job specific portrait was examined for the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. John Kay painted a portrait of the Reverend Mr. John MacDonald in 1813 (Fig. 29). The reverend wore a dark colored waistcoat with a high standing collar. His black coat had a turned down collar and buttons at the center front. The main garment seen in the portrait was a voluminous dark colored robe with a wide turned down collar. The robe was open at the center front with no closures. The robe was only mentioned once in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The sleeves were  $\frac{3}{4}$  length with a plain hem. Some decorative trim was observed on either side of the center front opening. A white



**Figure 29.** John Kay – artist. Rev. John McDonald. 1812. (Kay, 1837).

minister's tie was worn on the outside of the robe. Again, the robe and minister's collar were job specific dress items worn by both Highland and Lowland reverends. These items appeared to change very little from the previous century. The portrait was painted from the waist up; therefore, no lower body garments or shoes were observed. The reverend did not wear any type of headdress.

Lowland. There were fourteen Lowland male in 13 portraits examined for the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Figure 30 represents the majority of garment details for Lowland men during the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The shirt (N=12) remained white with a high standing collar, long sleeves with ruffled cuffs, and ruffles at the center front. Several of the men wore a white piece of fabric tied at the neck with the ends left hanging in front (N=4). A close fitting dark waistcoat was worn at waist length with three styles of neckline: a wing collar (N=2), a v-neck (N=3), or a turned down collar (N=1). Center front buttons secured the waistcoat, which was an item never mentioned in poetry. All of the men wore a semi-close fitting coat made from medium colored (N=4) or dark colored (N=10) plain fabric and center front buttons. A lapel collar (N=3), a turned down collar (N=4), a high standing collar (N=3), and a round neckline (N=3) were the four styles of necklines observed on the coat. The knee length coat had long sleeves

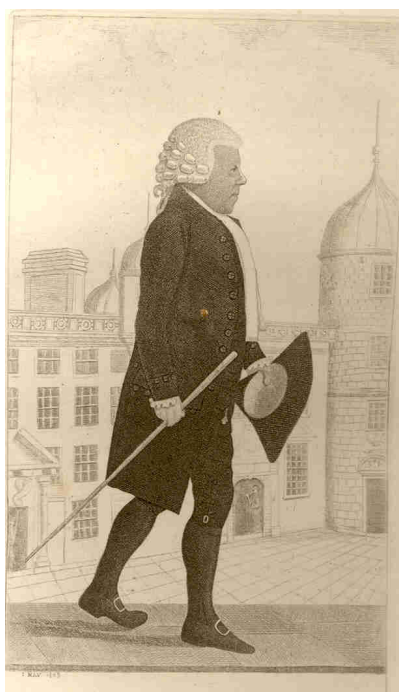


Figure 30. John Kay – artist.  
Sir James Stirling. 1800. (Kay, 1837).

with a plain hem, although occasionally a turned back cuff (N=6) was observed. One of the coats had a small cape attached at the shoulders (N=1). The cutaway or tailcoat was observed in the portraits in the very earliest stage of development, although Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted its overwhelming popularity in the Lowlands late in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Eight men wore dark colored breeches that fit close to the body. The knee length breeches were buttoned, tied, and/or buckled at the side of the knee. Dark colored stockings and dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles accompanied the breeches. One man wore close fitting dark trousers that reached the ankle. Trousers were the typical lower body covering in Europe in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and were gaining popularity in the Lowlands at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Accessories were limited to a tassel at the waist (N=2) and a piece of tartan fabric draped about the neck (N=1). Five men carried canes. Several styles of headdress were observed including a dark colored short top hat (N=3); a large, flat, round, dark colored bonnet (N=2); a dark colored tricorne (N=2); a dark colored bicorne (N=1); and a dark colored cowboy style hat (N=1). Three of the seventeen men examined in portraits wore no headdress. According to Maxwell and

Hutchison (1958), the bicorne was worn only during the first few years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at which time men of all classes began wearing a top hat.

The poetry analysis revealed that the shirt was not mentioned as a dress item for Lowland males in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The analysis of the poetry found that the coat was only mentioned once in regards to Lowland males during early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The analysis of poetry revealed that the breeches were part of Lowland dress, although infrequently mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Neither the tassel nor the tartan fabric at the neck was mentioned as accessories in Lowland dress in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The poetry analysis found that the bonnet was the only headdress mentioned by poets in relation to the Lowlands.

The next two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had few changes in men's dress. There were 21 Lowland men examined in 19 portraits (Kay, 1837; Brander, 1980). The shirt (N=21) and waistcoat (N=15) were unchanged. The coat was styled in a manner similar to the previous decade; however, two new details emerged. The coat developed a new cutaway style (Fig.31). The coat was cut away in a straight line at the front waist to nearly the side and then was cut at an angle to the mid-back at knee length. This change was typical in the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The other change was that the buttons were no longer at the center front, but rather at a slight angle toward each side. The breeches and stockings were visible on twelve men and remained unchanged, except that the color for breeches changed to a dark patterned fabric. Also, there was a rise in the number of ankle length trousers being worn (N=4). The most popular style of shoe being worn was a dark colored, low-heeled shoe (N=13). The shoe was often plain, but occasionally had either buckles or laces. A man in one of the portraits wore a pair of dark colored, low-heeled boots that came to the knee. The analysis of poetry revealed that shoes were part of Lowland dress in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, boots were not mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The men in these nineteen portraits only wore a few accessories, which included a tassel at the waist (N=5), a belt at the waist (N=1), and a coin purse (N=1). Five men in the portraits examined carried a cane. The overwhelming choice of headdress in the 1810s appeared to be a medium to dark colored top hat (N=8). Throughout 1810 to 1832, the headdress varied among the men. The dark colored bicorne (N=4), the dark colored tricorne (N=1), and the dark colored, flat bonnet (N=4) remained popular choices; however, some men chose not to wear a headdress (N=5). The bonnet, but not the bicorne or tricorne, was noted by poets.



Figure 31. John Kay – artist. Mr. Cauvin, Mr. Kay, and Mr. Scott. 1817. (Kay, 1837).



Figure 32. Williams – artist. Reeling. 1822. (Dunbar, 1981).

In addition to the previously mentioned portraits there was one interesting portrait (Fig.32), Reeling by Williams in 1822 (Dunbar, 1981), that demonstrated the impact of King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in Highland dress. According to Stewart (1974), King George's appearance fully clothed wearing tartan Highland garb started a fashion craze. The portrait showed a Lowland man wearing a tartan plaid draped about his body and a tartan kilt with argyle hose. Highland dress became incorporated into Lowland dress for a short time (Stewart, 1974; Dunbar, 1979). The poetry analysis revealed that the kilt and plaid were part of early 19<sup>th</sup> century Scottish dress; however, the tartan was no longer mentioned in poetry at this time.

Lowland reverends. There were twelve individual portraits of Lowland reverends from 1800-1832 examined for this study (Kay, 1837). Figure 33 represents the majority of the dress details for reverends during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The dress for reverends changed very little from the previous decades. The shirt (N=8), waistcoat (N=4), and coat (N=12) retained their previous details; however, the robe (N=7) experienced some

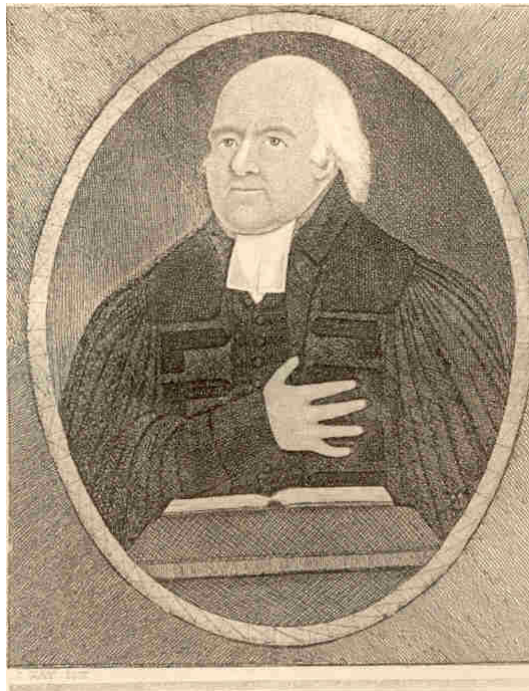


Figure 33. John Kay – artist. Rev. George Baird. 1817. (Kay, 1837).

changes. The robe remained dark colored and loose fitting. The sleeves were now  $\frac{3}{4}$  length with a plain hem. All of the robes were left open at center front and did not have any visible closures. The robes were heavily pleated and had decorative trim on either side of the center front opening. A minister's tie (N=10) was still worn at the neck over the top of the robe or on the outside of a coat. The robe and minister's collar appeared to be occupational dress items. Black gloves (N=3) and handkerchiefs (N=3) were the typical accessory item. The lower body garments in the portraits remained similar as dark colored breeches that buckled at the knee (N=2) were worn with dark colored stockings (N=2). Dark colored, low-heeled shoes with buckles (N=2) were still the shoe style worn in the Lowlands. No headdresses were worn by the reverends in the portraits.

The robe was mentioned only once in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The poetry analysis revealed that gloves were an accessory item in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but not for Lowland males. The analysis of poetry indicated that stockings were no longer mentioned by poets in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, while breeches were mentioned in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of poetry revealed that shoes were part of Lowland dress during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry.

Lowland judges. Four judges in three portraits from 1813 through 1815 were examined for this study (Kay, 1837). Figure 34 demonstrates the majority of the details of a judges' dress from this time period. Again the shirt (N=3), waistcoat (N=2), and coat



Figure 34. John Kay – artist. Sir John Marjoribanks. 1815. (Kay, 1837).

(N=4) retained the details from portraits examined in the previous decades, while the judges' robe (N=4) appeared to change. The floor length robe had a rounded neckline. The robe was dark in color and fit loosely about the body. The sleeves were  $\frac{3}{4}$  length with a plain hem (N=3), except for one case where the sleeve had a turned back cuff. A cape was attached at the shoulders of the robe. Only one robe still retained the ribbon flowers at center front that had been a standard in the previous decades. One of the robes was embellished with embroidery and another robe was embellished with fur (Fig.34). Each of the judges wore a white piece of fabric tied at the neck with the ends left hanging down in front of the robe. The robe and tie appeared to be occupational dress items. Only two of the judges were painted in full-length portraits. Both men wore the standard dark colored breeches and dark colored stockings with dark colored, low-heeled shoes, and a small tassel at his waist. The judges did not wear any type of headdress (N=3), with the exception of one judge wearing a dark colored bicorne.

Lowland soldiers. Only two portraits of Lowland military men from 1801 and 1814 were examined for the earliest part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kay, 1837). One man wore a white loose fitting shirt with a high standing collar. The shirt had long, plain hemmed sleeves and was knee length. Both men wore a knee length coat with a turned down collar. The sleeves were long with turned back cuffs and center front buttons. One coat

was created from medium colored plain fabric and the other coat was created from a multi-colored fabric. Both men wore knee length breeches; however, one pair was white and fit close to the body and the other pair was dark and fit loosely to the body. The man with the white breeches also wore white stockings with dark colored, low-heeled shoes and spats (i.e., a piece of cloth covering the ankle), while the man with dark breeches wore knee high, dark, low-heeled boots with laces. Both men had on a belt that crossed the body from shoulder to waist. Both men also wore a dark colored bicorne hat. The analysis of poetry revealed that the sark (shirt) and coat were infrequently mentioned during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The coat was mentioned in association with the Lowland males in poetry, while the sark (shirt) was not mentioned for Lowland males in poetry. The breeches were part of Lowland male dress in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, however the poetry infrequently mentioned the breeches.

The findings for dress items in male portraits for the early 19<sup>th</sup> century was summarized in Table 91. The table noted the frequency of dress items in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Highland and Lowland portrait results were compiled into this table but were tabulated separately.

Summary of Highland and Lowland male dress items across time. The findings for Highland male dress items in portraits across time indicated that several traditional items remained in the Highlanders wardrobe (see Table 92). These items included the bonnet, garters, plaid, shoulder belt, and sporran. The researcher was surprised that the kilt and trews were not found in portraits across time (i.e., the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> century). The kilt and trews were two male dress items associated with traditional Highland dress. Therefore, this may indicate the assimilation of Highlanders into the British culture.

The findings for Lowland male dress items in portraits across time had very few items worn throughout the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (see Table 93). The items that carried through were a Lowland man's basic item, including a shirt, cravat, coat, breeches, stockings, and shoes. These items were similar to the wardrobe of today's man (i.e., suit and tie).

There were many more Highland male dress items that followed across time, while very few Lowland male dress items carried over from one century to the next. The findings indicate that the Highlanders were beginning to be assimilated into British culture, while trying to retain some elements of their traditional dress. Lowlanders appear to have kept only the most basic male dress items in their wardrobes over time.



Table 91

Number of Male Dress Items in Portraits from the Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Dress Items	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Total
Argyle hose	9	1	10
Belt	4	1	5
Bicorne	2	8	10
Bonnet	9	2	11
Boots	2	2	4
Cane	∅	10	10
Coat	16	51	67
Cravat	5	5	10
Garters	7	∅	7
Gloves	3	3	6
Hat	2	1	3
Handkerchief	∅	3	3
Judicial tie	∅	4	4
Kilt	5	1	6
Knee breeches	8	26	34
Minister's tie	1	10	11
Plaid	3	1	4
Purse	∅	1	1
Robe	1	11	12
Shirt	12	45	57
Shoes	12	25	37
Shoulder belt	7	∅	7
Spats	∅	1	1
Sporran	4	∅	4
Stockings	∅	26	26
Tophat	∅	11	11
Tricorne	1	2	3
Trousers	∅	5	5
Waist tassel	3	9	12
Waistcoat	4	27	31
Total	120	292	412

∅ indicates that this item was not found in a location/time period

Table 92

Number of Highland Male Dress Items Across Time in Portraits

Dress Items	17 <sup>th</sup> Century	18 <sup>th</sup> Century	19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Total
Belt	1	10	4	15
Bonnet	2	45	9	56
Coat	5	73	16	94
Cravat	1	5	5	11
Garters	1	32	7	40
Knee breeches	2	25	8	35
Plaid	2	31	3	36
Shirt	3	65	12	80
Shoes	3	61	12	76
Shoulder belt	1	26	7	34
Sporran	1	24	4	29
Waistcoat	2	26	4	32
Total	24	423	91	538

Table 93

Number of Lowland Male Dress Items Across Time in Portraits

Dress Items	17 <sup>th</sup> Century	18 <sup>th</sup> Century	19 <sup>th</sup> Century	Total
Coat	1	162	51	214
Cravat	1	17	5	23
Knee breeches	1	122	26	149
Robe	1	19	11	31
Shirt	1	149	45	195
Shoes	1	82	25	108
Stockings	1	121	26	148
Total	7	672	189	868

Early 17<sup>th</sup> century female dress. Two black and white portraits of upper class Lowland women from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century were examined for this study (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The first portrait, painted in 1625, had a full frontal view of the elaborately dressed woman (Figure 35). She wore a tight fitting, dark embroidered bodice with a two-part neckline, consisting of both a v-neck and a fallen lace ruff that came just below the chin. The fallen lace ruff was typically worn in Europe, while in the Lowlands women were still wearing the ruff wired or starched to stand away from the neck (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The sleeves were full to the wrist with an elaborate ruffled cuff. According to Craig (1973) and Tortora and Eubank (1998), the practice of slashing had been abandoned in most of Europe by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; however, Lowland women (like Lowland men) appear to have continued the practice of slashing. The sleeve was slashed and tied at the elbow. A white shift or chemise was



**Figure 35.** Unknown artist. Lowland Lady and child. 1625. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

visible through the slashes in the sleeves. The bodice was waist length, except for the hip level point at center front that formed a stomacher. European women wore a true stomacher, while Lowland women wore a bodice that dipped in center front and center back but was not a true stomacher (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). A cape was attached at the shoulders of the back bodice and fell loosely to the floor. The lower portion of the dress ensemble was a very full skirt that fell in soft folds to the floor. Both European and Lowland women were noted for wearing skirts that opened at the center front to reveal an underskirt (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980); however, the lady in Figure 35 did not have that style of skirt. The dark skirt was embellished with embroidery, which was an important detail feature of Lowland women's garments (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). She wore several accessories, including a brooch, earrings, and a headband. The brooch was placed at the center front of the v-neckline and her long earrings hung low. Her headband was plain except for a feather. The headband appears to be a preference of the wearer, as the cavalier hat and small caps were typically worn in Europe and the snood was worn in all of Scotland at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Her skirt covered her feet; therefore no examination of her footwear was possible.

The analysis of the poetry revealed that the bodice and pearlins (i.e., lace) were not part of Lowland female dress, nor were these items mentioned frequently in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century when associated with Scotland in general. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that poets never mentioned undergarments in relation to Lowland female dress; however, the chemise or shift was the main undergarment worn throughout Europe and the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The poetry analysis found that the skirt (or kirtle) was mentioned as part of Lowland female dress in early 17<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The brooch was also noted as part of Lowland dress in early 17<sup>th</sup> century poetry.

The second portrait, painted in 1630, only showed the upper portion of the woman (Fig.36). The bodice had features similar to the woman in 1625, the only difference being the bodice was light colored rather than dark colored. The sleeves appeared to have been slashed and stuffed. The bodice also had a v-neckline and a lace-edged standing collar rather than a layered falling lace ruff covering the center front of the bodice as in Figure 35. In addition to the bodice, the woman in the 1630 portrait wore a dark colored surcoat (i.e., a sleeveless gown) that fit close to the body and tied at the waist. The surcoat was typically worn with a gown in the Lowlands in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The woman in Figure 36 wore accessories including a brooch, necklace, and earrings. This woman also wore her brooch at the center front of the v-neckline. Her headdress consisted of a hairpin with an attached feather. Again, the headdress appears to be the preference of the wearer rather than a convention of the time. The analysis of the poetry found that the necklace and brooch were not mentioned in poetry during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and earrings were never mentioned. The analysis of poetry did not reveal the use of the word “surcoat” as part of female dress.

While the letter analysis revealed a few items worn by women in the Lowlands, none of those garments appeared in the portraits. The plaid was not observed in any portraits during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The other garments mentioned in letters were undergarments concealed by the outergarments and footwear, also concealed by the long length of the gowns.

Late 17<sup>th</sup> century female dress. Only one portrait of a female from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century was examined for this study (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). An unknown artist painted the portrait of Lowland widow in 1669 (Fig. 37). The woman is shown from the waist up in this black and white portrait. Her dark colored, close fitting bodice had a low,



Figure 36. Unknown artist. Lowland lady. 1630. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).



Figure 37. Unknown Artist. Lowland widow. 1669. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

wide, rounded neckline with lace trim. The  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves of the bodice were full and a white lining showed below hem of the sleeve. The sleeves were not slashed, as in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 34). Most of the bodice was waist length, except for the center front, which came down to hip level at center front forming a stomacher. Lowlanders had adopted the true stomacher late in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The widow had on several accessories. She wore a flower brooch at the center front neckline of her bodice, as well as a choker style necklace. In addition, the woman in Figure 37 wore a black veil as her headdress, apparently to denote her status as a widow. According to the poetry analysis, the brooch, necklace, and veil were not mentioned until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century and none of these items were mentioned in the letter analysis.

The findings from the 17<sup>th</sup> century female portraits were summarized in Table 94. There were no Highland portraits analyzed for the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The frequency of Lowland female dress items was noted in the table by half century.

#### Early 18<sup>th</sup> century female dress

Three women in individual portraits were examined for the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. One portrait was from the earliest part of the century (1706) and the other two portraits

Table 94

Number of Female Dress Items in Portraits from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

Dress Items	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Early 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Late 17 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Total
Bodice	----	2	----	1	3
Brooch	----	2	----	1	3
Cape	----	1	----	∅	1
Chemise	----	1	----	∅	1
Earrings	----	2	----	∅	2
Fallen ruff	----	1	----	∅	1
Hairpin	----	1	----	∅	1
Headband	----	1	----	∅	1
Necklace	----	1	----	1	2
Skirt	----	1	----	∅	1
Stomacher	----	∅	----	1	1
Surcoat	----	1	----	∅	1
Veil	----	∅	----	1	1
Total	----	14	----	5	19

---- indicates that there were no portraits found in this location/time period

∅ indicates that this item was not found in a location/time period

were from the middle part of the century (1745). All of the portraits show women from the Highlands.

The first portrait was Richard Waitt's 1706 painting, The hen wife, Castle Grant (Dunbar, 1981). Only the upper portion of this woman is visible in the black and white portrait (Fig. 38). She wore a close fitting dark bodice with a white overlay and long sleeves. The bodice is similar to those worn by Lowlanders at this same time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The poetry analysis revealed that the bodice was part of female Highland dress in early 18<sup>th</sup> century. A medium colored apron tied at the waist could be seen in the portrait. The woman in Figure 38 wore a large round brooch at her breast, which was a typical Highland item (Dunbar, 1981). Her headdress consisted of two items, a white close cap to her forehead and a kerchief (curch) over her cap with the points reaching past the front waist. According to Dunbar (1979) and Hamilton (1991), women often wore a close cap under their headdress, and the kerchief denoted a woman's status as a wife.

The apron was mentioned in the poetry analysis with a higher frequency in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century than any other time period. Dunbar (1981) stated that she wore a, "long sleeve red gown with a blue apron" (p.129). The findings from the analysis of poetry revealed that the apron was part of Highland dress in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The



Figure 38. Richard Waite – artist.  
The hen wife, Castle Grant. 1706.  
(Dunbar, 1981).

poetry analysis also indicated the importance of the brooch as part of Highland dress in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the analysis of poetry revealed that the curch was part of Highland dress, but the cap was not part of Highland dress.

The two individual portraits that were painted in 1745 had some similarities. The women held different status positions in life; Figure 10 (p.223) shows an upper class female and Figure 39 showed a lower-to-middle class female. Figure 10 was a color portrait, while Figure 39 was a black and white portrait.

The upper class woman was shown wearing a light colored chemise under her bodice, which continued to be the favored undergarment of women throughout Europe and the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). No mention of the chemise or shift has been found in literature on Highland dress; therefore, this portrait adds evidence that Highland women wore the chemise undergarments. In Figure 39, the chemise had a ruffled neckline and  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves with very large ruffled cuffs. Over the top of the chemise the upper class woman wore a tight fitting bodice with a deep, curved neckline to the bosom. She had  $\frac{3}{4}$  length bell sleeves. The woman in Figure 10 wore slate blue satin with jewels attached. Satin



Figure 39: James Basire – artist.  
A town woman. 1745. (Dunbar, 1981).

was a popular fabric among Lowland women (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958), but no literature mentioned satin fabrics for Highland garments. The woman in Figure 10 also had a train attached at the back shoulders, which fell loosely to the floor and had a loose fitting, floor length skirt. The train appears to be similar to the train worn as part of the sacque dress popular in Europe and the Lowlands at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1980; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The upper class woman did not wear any accessories or headdress. Her feet could not be observed; therefore footwear could not be established. The analysis of poetry revealed that the bodice was part of Highland dress in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century; however undergarments were never mentioned. The poetry analysis found that satin fabric was mentioned in relation to Highland dress in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The portrait of the lower-to-middle class female from 1745 (Fig. 39) was James Basire's painting, A town woman (Dunbar, 1981). This young woman was wearing plaid that obscured most of her dress. Her dark and light small check tartan plaid was elaborately draped over her head, crossed at center front, hung over one arm, and fell loosely to the ankle. According to Hamilton (1991), the plaid was often draped over the head. The woman in Figure 39 wore a bell shaped skirt that fell to the ankle and was visible beneath the plaid, as were light colored shoes with a very pointed toe. According



to Smout (1969), Highland women usually did not wear shoes. Another point to note is that the shoes were similar to European style rather than the Lowland style of shoes at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Therefore, it is likely that the shoe style was created by the artist rather than actually being a shoe worn in the Highlands at his time. No headdress was visible under the plaid.

The analysis of poetry revealed that Highland women wore the plaid and tartan fabric during the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of poetry found that the skirt was part of female Highland dress in early 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Poets noted both shoes and being barefoot as common practices of Highland women.

#### Late 18<sup>th</sup> century female dress

The researcher was able to find more female portraits for this time period. There were 24 Highland women in 9 portraits and 39 Lowland women in 18 portraits examined. The Highland portraits cover most of the decades within the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, with the exception of the 1760s. The Lowland portraits also cover most of the decades within the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, except the 1750s.

Highland. In 1750, an unknown artist sketched a black and white portrait of a young Highland woman (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The portrait showed a full frontal view of the dress, as well as an inset of the upper back of the woman's gown (Fig.40). The first layer she wore was a white chemise with a square ruffled neckline and ruffled cuffs. The chemise was still worn as the predominant undergarment throughout Europe and the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). A light colored tartan gown was worn over the top of the chemise. The bodice was fitted to the waist, fell loosely to the ankle, had a square neckline, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves with a turned back cuff. The bodice was secured at center front with hidden closures and a tie at the waist. The upper back of the gown consisted of stitched down pleats that formed a chevron. Again, this portrait adds further evidence that Highland women were wearing chemise undergarments. A short plaid or small shawl in the same tartan hung just over the shoulders, which could be a tonnag. According to von Furstenberg (1996), the tonnag was a small tartan shawl worn about the shoulders. No pictorial evidence of a tonnag was available. This portrait may be pictorial evidence of a tonnag. The poetry analysis revealed the use of the word "plaid" rather than "tonnag" or "shawl" in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The lower portion of the ensemble was a full, light colored skirt that went to the ankle. The skirt appears to be joined to the bodice by a waist seam. The bodice and skirt style are unlike any previously described for Europe, the Lowland, or the Highlands,



**Figure 40.** Unknown artist. Highland woman. c.1750. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

although information on Highland dress for women is very limited. This portrait may be evidence of another gown style worn in the Highlands. The woman in Figure 40 wore no shoes or headdress. According to Smout (1969), Highland women rarely wore shoes and this portrait supports his premise.

The poetry analysis revealed that the gown was mentioned with high frequency in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; however undergarments were not mentioned at any time. The findings from the analysis of poetry revealed tartan fabrics in relation to Highland women. The analysis of the poetry revealed that Highland women frequently went barefoot in late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

A portrait from circa 1770 showed eleven Highland women working outdoors (Dunbar, 1981). These women were wauking (fulling) a web of cloth. The women were dressed in a similar manner, with only slight variations in their dress (Fig.13, p.226). The women all wore a close fitting bodice with a v-neck. There were two varieties of sleeves, either a plain  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeve or an elbow length sleeve with a turned back cuff. The length of the bodice could only be observed on one of the women, due to their seated positions. Her bodice was waist length with a ruffled peplum. This bodice style may be unique to the Highlands, as it is unlike the Lowland and European bodice styles. The bodices were created from a medium and dark tartan with a large check or a plain

medium colored fabric. The portraits are evidence that Highland women did wear tartan fabrics. Nine of the women had a small tartan shawl attached to the bodice, which just covered the shoulders. Again, the shawl may actually be evidence of a tonnag. The other two women wore a white scarf that crossed at center front, covered the shoulders, and hung down the back. All of the women wore an ankle length, full skirt created from the same tartan or plain fabric as the bodice. Five of the women were shown wearing a full plain colored underskirt with their tartan skirt. The underskirt may actually be a petticoat, as the skirt was not opened to reveal an underskirt. The prevailing styles of Europe and the Lowlands had the underskirt revealed or had an enormous understructure worn to hold the skirt away from the body (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The Highland women in these portraits appear to have worn no understructures other than underskirts.

Accessories worn by the women in Figure 13 included brooches and headdresses. Nine of the women wore a round brooch at the center front of their bodice. Five of the women wore a white ribbon headband, indicating that they were still single (Dunbar, 1981). The six married women wore a white bonnet tied under the chin with ruffles in the front framing the face and ruffles at the back of head. All of the women were barefoot, which poets often mentioned. Smout (1969) noted that Highland women lacked shoes. This portrait of the eleven women (Figure 13) adds further evidence to support his premise.

The analysis of the poetry revealed the use of the words “bodice” and “tartan” in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, the word “shawl” never appeared in poetry. The word “underskirt” never appeared in poetry. The poetry analysis revealed that female characters in Highland poetry wore the brooch during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The headband was not mentioned in poetry; rather the findings from the analysis of poetry indicated that the snood was worn as a sign of maidenhood. The poetry analysis found that the curch was an indicator of marriage, rather than the bonnet. The letter analysis provided very little information on female dress for the Highlands, except regarding underwear.

There were ten Highland women from the 1780s examined in seven black and white portraits. Figures 41 and 42 represent the majority of garment details for the 1780s. In Figure 15, two women were pictured wearing a white chemise with just the neckline and the sleeve hem showing under the bodice. All of the women wore a close fitting bodice in a variety of different colors ranging from light to dark, but only one tartan.

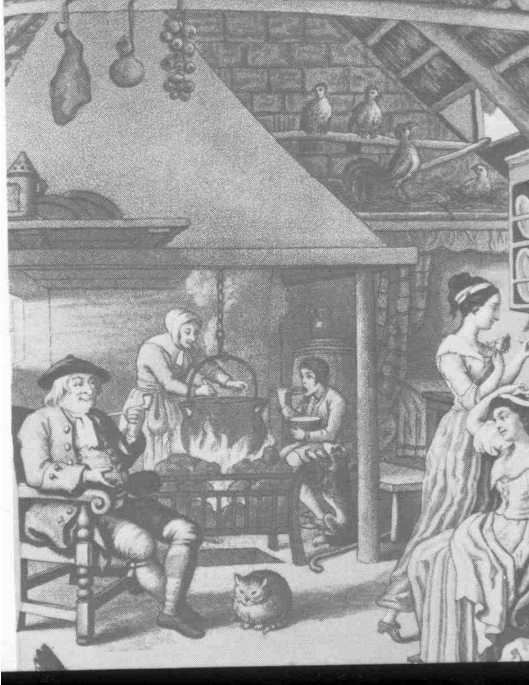


Figure 41. David Allan – artist. The Family home. 1786. (Dunbar, 1981)



Figure 42. John Kay – artist. A natural. 1784. (Kay, 1837).

A deep v-neck and waist length were the prevailing trends for the bodice. The sleeves in the portrait were of many varieties, including elbow length (N=7), long (N=5), and  $\frac{3}{4}$  length (N=3). Some sleeves had plain hems (N=7), while other had turned back cuffs (N=6) or ruffled cuffs (N=2). The bodice continued to be fitted in Europe and the Lowlands in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

Three of the women in the portraits wore a lace overlay at their shoulders and four women wore a scarf over their shoulders. Most of the women did not wear any outer garments; however, two women wore plaids and one woman wore a shawl in the portraits. The plaids were created using a dark tartan fabric draped around the waist and hanging loosely in front to the ankles, similar to the manner in which Highland men wore the plaid. The shawl was created from white lace draped about the shoulders, crossed in front to form a v-neckline, and hanging to the waist. The lower portion of the ensemble was a full, ankle length skirt. The skirts in the portraits were made from a variety of fabrics; vertical striped fabric (N=3), dark plain fabric (N=3), tartan fabric (N=2), and light patterned fabric (N=2). Embellishments to the skirt included a bustle (N=1), a long, full train (N=1), an apron (N=2), or an overlay (N=4). The train was attached at the back shoulders similar to the train worn as part of the sacque dress that was popular

during this period (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The bustle was noted in a 1780s Highland portrait, while Europeans did not record the use of the bustle until the mid-1800s (Peltz, 1980; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The overlay was either a light layer of fabric over the top of the skirt or a matching layer of fabric over the skirt, split at center front, and draped into folds secured at the back of the skirt.

Only two of the women wore accessories other than shoes and headdresses. These accessories included brooches, necklaces, gloves, and a purse. Women wore two varieties of shoes, either low-heeled (N=4) or medium heeled (N=6) dark shoes. Occasionally, the medium-heeled shoes were embellished with a buckle (N=1) or rosette (N=2). Although little information exists on Highland footwear, previous literature mentioned that low heeled shoes prevailed in the Lowlands, while higher heels were worn in Europe (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Finally, women in these portraits wore a variety of headdresses, including a white ribbon headband (N=3), a white close cap with a kerchief (curch) draped over the head and shoulders (N=3), a cap with ruffles around the face and hanging ribbons (N=2), and a hat with a tall crown and narrow brim adorned with ribbons and plumes (N=2). The whiteribbon band was a sign of an unmarried woman, while the close cap and the curch combination signified a married women (Dunbar, 1951; Hamilton, 1991). The close cap with ribbons was another typical Highland headdress, but did not represent marital status (Hamilton, 1991). The hat with the tall crown and narrow brim shown in portraits was not mentioned in literature on Highland dress and may be evidence of another hat style that was prevalent in the Highlands.

The findings from the analysis of poetry revealed that the plaid was mentioned in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, while the shawl was never mentioned. The letter analysis did mention that Highland women wore the plaid. The analysis of poetry indicated that the skirt and apron were part of Highland dress during the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but not the bustle, train, or overlay. The poetry analysis revealed all of these accessory items were part of Highland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of poetry indicated that shoes were mentioned by poets, but usually as a desired item rather than an owned item. The letter analysis revealed that Highland women generally went barefoot. The analysis of poetry revealed that the curch was part of female Highland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The last portrait of a Highland woman from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century was sketched in 1799. This woman wore a loose fitting coat with the neckline obscured by a dark hood. The dark coat was waist length and had long sleeves with a cuff and a slit. This garment

may be similar to the cloak worn throughout Europe and the Lowlands at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The woman in the portrait also wore a dark, loose fitting, ankle length skirt. The woman in the portrait from 1799 wore accessories including footwear and headdress. She wore medium-heeled dark boots with laces and the boots were an unusual feature of the ensemble, as women rarely used footwear (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Smout, 1969). Her only headdress was a dark hood.

The analysis of poetry revealed that the coat was part of Highland dress in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century but with less frequency than in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the analysis of poetry revealed that the skirt was part of Highland dress but with little frequency in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The poetry analysis did not reveal the boots or the hood as part of female dress. The letter analysis did not reveal any information on the garments observed in the portraits.

Lowland. No 1750s portraits of Lowland women were available for examination; however, two women in one color portrait were examined for circa 1760 (Fig.43). According to Maxwell & Hutchison (1958), both women wore a white chemise under a sack-back dress. Neither the chemise nor the sack-back dress was ever mentioned in poetry. One chemise had a scooped back neckline and the other chemise had a square front ruffled neckline, both had  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves with ruffles that extended beyond the hem of the bodice sleeve. One of the sack-back dresses was shown with front view and the other was shown with a back view. The sack-back dress of the Lowlands was similar to the sacque dress of Europe (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The sacque dress was replaced by the robe a' la Française and the robe a' l'Anglaise in Europe in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). This suggests that the Lowlanders lagged behind most of Europe on this fashion trend. The front neckline was square and the back neckline was scooped. Both of the dresses had  $\frac{3}{4}$  length bell sleeves with a fitted bodice and a full skirt to the floor. The front bodice had revers on either side of the buttoned-up center front, while the back bodice had a full train hanging loosely from the shoulders. Both dresses were created from a light colored patterned fabric. No accessories were worn. The feet were not visible due to the length of the skirt. One woman wore a garland of flowers in her hair and the other woman wore a white feather in her hair. The analysis of poetry revealed that the garland was part of female Lowland dress in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The letter analysis did not provide any information related to the garments observed in the portraits.

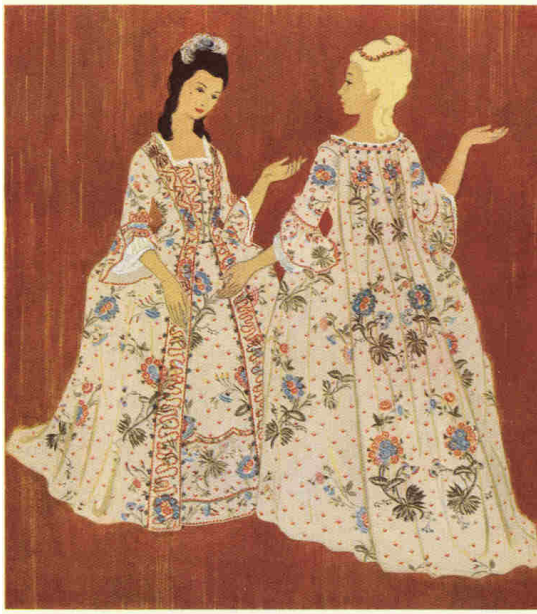


Figure 43. Unknown artist. Lowland women. c. 1760. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).



Figure 44. Unknown artist. Older Lowland woman. 1774. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

Only one black and white portrait of a Lowland woman was examined during the 1770s (Fig.44). An unknown artist painted the upper portion of an older woman in 1774 wearing a white bodice with a high standing collar close to the neck (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The bodice was not mentioned as part of Lowland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. Over the top of the bodice, the woman was wearing either a black coat or a black overdress, which had a curved neckline that was open at center. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), the overdress was a popularly worn garment in the Lowlands. The sleeves on the garment in Figure 44 were  $\frac{3}{4}$  length, tight fitting, had ribbon embellishments, and exposed a three-layer chemise ruffled cuff. This garment fit close to the body and was tied with a large bow just below the bust. Ribbon trim was used to embellish the garment, along with a shawl attached to the shoulders of the garment. The shawl was typically worn as an outdoor garment throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The older woman in the portrait was also wearing a lace cap with pieces of fabric that hung down on the cheeks and tied under the chin. The cap was mentioned as part of female Lowland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to Maxwell & Hutchison (1958), this cap was known as a pinner and was the typical headcovering of Lowlanders of all classes throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>

centuries. The coat was not mentioned as part of Lowland dress in poetry and the overdress was never mentioned. The analysis of the poetry revealed that the pinner was part of Highland dress only in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Eighteen Lowland women in thirteen portraits from the 1780s were examined (Dunbar, 1981; Kay, 1837; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The dress characteristics of the eighteen women were similar. While a variety of prevailing styles were evident, Figures 45 and 46 represent many of the prevailing characteristics from the 1780s. The typical shirt (sark) (N=6) was a close fitting white garment that consisted of a high standing collar, center front ruffles, and long sleeves ending in a ruffled cuff. No literature was found on women's shirts in Europe or the Lowlands. A white lace overlay at the shoulders, falling to the center front bust level could be observed on five of the women. Two women in the portraits showed a black ribbon tied at the neck. Figure 45 showed the shirt very full in the style known as "the powder pigeon look" (Payne, 1965). The artist noted that this particular woman was given to wearing "fantastical" dress (Kay, 1837). Many of the women wore a bodice (N=11) over their shirt. The close fitting, waist length bodices had a variety of necklines, including a v-neck (N=1), a high close collar (N=4), a wide collar with wings at the points (N=1), and a high curved neckline (N=1). The long sleeve with a plain hem (N=6) and a slit with two buttons (N=2) prevailed. The fabric varied from a plain light colored fabric (N=9) to a light patterned (N=2) or striped (N=1) fabric. Another upper body garment, the waistcoat, was shown in one portrait. Men typically wore the waistcoat and no literature mentions a woman's waistcoat (i.e., canezou) until the 1840s (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The white, close fitting waistcoat had a notched lapel collar, long fitted sleeves with two buttons near the wrist, 3 buttons at the center front, and fell to hip level. The outerwear for the upper body in portraits was a coat (N=6), a shawl (N=2), or a plaid (N=2), which were typically worn by Lowlanders (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The coat in the portraits had either a curved neckline (N=2), a turned down flat collar (N=1) or a v-neckline (N=1). The fit of the coat varied from fitting close to the body to fitting loosely away from the body. The coat also varied in color, ranging from light (N=2) to medium (N=1) to dark (N=3). The length of the coat varied from waist length to knee length. The sleeves of the coat were long and had either a plain hem or a cuff with buttons. Two of the knee length, loose coats only had slits for the arms. The shawl (N=2) was a simple garment worn loosely over the shoulders, crossed at center front,





Figure 45. John Kay – artist. Miss belles Crawford of Edinburgh. 1784. (Kay, 1837).

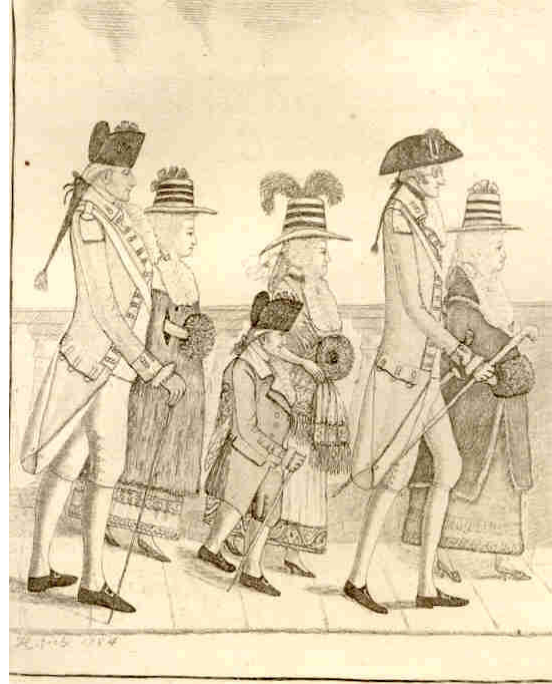


Figure 46. John Kay –artist. Celebrated of Edinburgh. 1784. (Kay, 1837).

and hanging to the waistline. The shawl was either light or dark in color and was embellished with trim. Two women in one sitting portrait from the Lowland countryside showed the plaid being worn. The plaid (N=2) was created from light colored fabric and was worn draped around the body and laying in the lap.

Usually an ensemble consisted of a separate bodice and skirt; however, one portrait (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958) showed three women wearing a gown with no visible waistline (N=3). The light colored gown fit close to the body and had a low, round neckline, long sleeves with a plain hem, and was floor length. The majority of the portraits showed women wearing a separate skirt (N=13) that was fit close at the waist and became full as it fell to the ankle. The skirts were created using light (N=8), dark (N=2), or striped (N=3) fabric. Two of the skirts examined in the portraits had an overlay of fabric that was pulled away from the center front toward the sides and back. Another portrait showed a white apron with ruffled trim being worn over the top of the skirt.

The majority of women in the portraits (N=9) were shown wearing black medium-heeled shoes, which was the prevalent style throughout Europe (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). One woman had on black low-heeled shoes, the typical style worn by Lowlanders and two women from the countryside were barefoot, also typical of Scottish

women in general (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Smout, 1969). The rest of the women's feet were not shown in the portraits. Jewelry included black ribbons tied at the waist and left hanging to the mid-calf level (N=3), muffs (N=3), a brooch (N=1), a handkerchief (N=1), and a cravat (N=1).

A variety of headdresses were observed in the portraits including the bonnet, cap, and hat. The black fabric bonnet (N=1) fit loosely to the head and was adorned with many feathers. The cap (N=2) was a close fitting piece of light colored fabric adorned with ruffles, ribbons, and bows. The hat was shown in four different styles. Five women were shown wearing an enormous hat that was shaped like a lampshade. This style hat in the portraits was usually white and was trimmed with ribbons, flowers, and/or feathers. Three of the women wore white hats with a tall black and white striped crown and a small, flat, white brim. Rosettes and feathers adorned this style of hat. Finally, the last two styles of hat were similar, one had hat had a tall crown and a large brim (N=3) and the other hat had a short crown and a large, turned up brim (N=1). The tall crowned, large brimmed hat was light in color and adorned with ribbons and feathers. All of the hats obscured part of the women's faces.

The analysis of poetry revealed that the sark (shirt) was part of female Lowland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The findings from the poetry analysis revealed that ribbons were mentioned in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry, but not in conjunction with Lowland females. The analysis of poetry found that the waistcoat was not mentioned for females (or males) in poetry at any time period under investigation. The analysis of poetry indicated that the coat and plaid were part of Highland dress, while the shawl was never mentioned. The analysis of poetry indicated that the gown and the skirt were part of female Lowland dress in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century; however, the apron was no longer mentioned as part of Lowland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The poetry analysis revealed that the brooch was the only accessory associated with Lowland dress. The hats appear to be evidence of additional styles being worn in the Lowlands, but not found in the literature; however, the analysis of the poetry revealed that the cap was part of Lowland headdress.

The prevailing style of Lowland dress in the early 1790s was observed in three black and white portraits showing seven women, one of which is Fig. 47. Either a white shirt was worn with large ruffles down the center front (N=3) or a close fitting white bodice (N=3) was worn as the upper body garment. The shirts observed in these portraits added further evidence that women did wear shirts in the Lowlands. The



Figure 47. John Kay – artist. Wife of Capt. Bellair. 1792. (Kay, 1837).

bodice in the portraits had long plain-hemmed sleeves and a v-neckline. A coat (N=3) or a shawl (N=1) was worn over the shirt or bodice, which were the typical outdoor garments in the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Two styles of coat were observed. The first style of coat had curved neckline, long plain-hemmed sleeves, and center front buttons. The medium colored coat was mid-calf length and fit close to the body. The second coat also had a curved neckline but was trimmed with fur. The dark colored coat had short sleeves and crossed at center front. The second style of coat also fit close to the body, but was knee length rather than calf length. A third style of outer garment was a dark colored shawl worn draped about the shoulders. The shawl was not mentioned in poetry. An ankle length skirt (N=6) that was flat in the front and full in the back covered the lower body. The color varied from a light pattern (N=3) to a plain medium colored (N=3) fabric. One woman also wore an overlay that was split down the center front and gathered at the sides and back, similar to an overdress, but only done on the skirt portion. Accessories included long dark ribbons tied at the waist (N=2) left hanging to the mid-calf, and a muff (N=1), both of which were observed in the 1780s. The popular shoe style continued to be a medium-heeled black shoe (N=6). The shoe style is similar to that worn in Europe, rather than the style worn in the Lowlands

(Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998); therefore, these women appeared to follow the fashion trends in Europe. Findings from the analysis of poetry indicated that shoes were part of Lowland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The headdress styles were similar to those noted in the 1780s: a white cap (N=1), a white bonnet (N=3), and a dark hat with a tall crown and small brim with flowers (N=3).

One interesting portrait from 1795 was examined separately for this study (Kay, 1837). The portrait showed a woman elaborately dressed (Fig. 48) and Kay (1837) noted that she was, “dressed in the somewhat ridiculous fashion prevailing towards the close of the last century [17<sup>th</sup>]” (p.425). She had on a white bodice with an empire waistline (i.e., the waistline was just below the bustline) and a high standing collared neckline. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) noted that the empire waist became fashionable in the Lowlands in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century; however, this portrait provide evidence that the trend began much earlier or that Luckie Smith was a fashion innovator. The long plain-hemmed sleeves were close fitting while the rest of the bodice was full from the bust to the neck. A ruffled trim was added across the bustline and over the upper portion of the arm. The skirt was attached with gathers at the empire waistline and cascaded loosely to the floor. A train was attached at the back of the empire waistline and the bottom portion of the skirt was further adorned with a patterned trim. The train may have been an adaptation of the sack-back dress (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). She also carried a fan. Her shoes could not be seen. She wore a white hat with a medium crown and a small turned down brim. The hat was embellished with flowers and one tall feather.

Another portrait from the 1790s was examined separately that showed five women wearing military style garments similar to men’s dress. This military style for women was not noted in poetry, even in those poems that dealt with politics and war. According to Devine (1994), the Napoleonic Wars were taking place in France, as well as Spain and Portugal, at this time and Britain was financing the armies that opposed Napoleon. Throughout Scotland volunteer armies and fencible regiments were formed to defend the country if foreigners invaded. Kay (1837) noted that the people of Edinburgh were worried about an invasion from France in 1795 and the people began to raise volunteer armies. The Lowlanders believed that every citizen was a soldier and needed to support that cause in some manner; therefore military dress was one means of support and it became fashionable for women to wear the uniform of relatives in military service. This appears to have been a fashion only in Edinburgh (Kay, 1837) and was



Figure 48. John Kay –artist. Mrs. Luckie Smith. 1795. (Kay, 1837).

not found in other literature on costume. Women in the portraits wore a shirt, a bodice, or both. The white shirt in the portraits fit close to the body and had a turned down collar and long plain-hemmed sleeves. Three women in the portrait wore a close fitting bodice that had a v-neck and was light colored. The length varied between being waist length (N=2) and being empire length (N=1). The sleeves represented two styles: a long sleeve with a plain hem (N=2) or a  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeve with a plain hem (N=1). An ankle length skirt covered the lower portion of the body of all of the women. The color of the skirt varied from a light colored fabric (N=3) to a medium colored fabric (N=2). There were two styles of fit: hanging loose to the ankle (N=2) or flat in the front and full in the back (N=3). The flat front style also had an overlay that was split in center front and gathered to the back (N=3). All five of the women wore medium-heeled dark shoes and a hat. The women wore two styles of headdress. One style of hat had a light colored short crown with a wide turned-down brim. A veil was attached at the front of the brim and cascaded to the waist (N=1). The other style of headdress was a dark colored bonnet with a black and white checked ribbon, rosettes, and many large black plumes (N=4) – a style similar to the male bonnet worn by the Highland regiments.

By the end of the 1790s, the women were no longer wearing the military style, but had adopted a more feminine look that was observed in three portraits of four



Figure 49. Unknown artist. Three Lowland women. 1798. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

women. The light colored gown was the prevailing style in 1798 (N=3) and 1799 (N=1). Figure 49 represents the garment details from 1798. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), women were no longer wearing a separate bodice and skirt, instead they wore a joined bodice and skirt with an empire waistline. The neckline in the portraits varied from a v-neck (N=1) or square-neck with ruffles (N=2) to a lapel or shawl collar (N=1). The sleeves tended to be full to the elbow, which ended with a tight fitting cuff (N=4). Occasionally, a black ribbon was tied at the bicep, creating two small puffs (N=3). A black ribbon tied into a bow at the back raised waist often emphasized the empire waistline (N=2). The skirt portion of the white gown hung loosely to the ankle. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) described a similar style of gown for Lowland women in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but these portraits are evidence that the trend began at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The analysis of poetry revealed that the gown was part of female Lowland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Light colored low-heeled shoes were also worn with the gown. Low heels were the prevailing shoe style in the Lowlands throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Either black (N=1) or white (N=1) gloves extending to the elbow were used to accessorize the gown, along with a choker style necklace. Poets did note gloves as part of female Lowland dress; however, the necklace

was never mentioned as part of Lowland garb. A white bonnet adorned with ribbons was worn close to the head (N=3).

The dress items from the 18<sup>th</sup> century were summarized in Table 95. This table denotes the frequency of items worn in the Highlands and the Lowlands. In addition, the table has been divided into half centuries.

Early 19<sup>th</sup> century female dress. Fewer portraits of early 19<sup>th</sup> century women were available for examination (i.e., one Highland and eight Lowland). The reason for the lack of available portraits is unknown. There appears to have been a rise in the popularity of portraiture in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, particularly the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and then a decline in the trend in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Highland. In 1800, an unknown artist painted a black and white portrait of an old widow woman from the Highlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The portrait only showed the upper half of the woman's body (Fig. 50). A white bodice with a high standing collar was worn underneath a black coat. The analysis of poetry revealed that the coat was part of female Highland dress in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, but not in conjunction with the color black.

The shirt was not mentioned in literature; however, the Lowland portraits of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century showed many women wearing a similarly styled shirt. Both the bodice and the coat fit loosely about the woman's body. The neckline on the coat was a plain curve and the center front was secured with three bars of fabric that appear to connect the center front of the coat. The only other item of dress visible in the portrait was a black bonnet with a tall crown and narrow brim adorned with bows and ribbons that was worn over a white linen cap that was visible at the forehead and tied under the chin. The linen cap worn with another headdress was typical for Highland women (Hamilton, 1991).

The poetry analysis revealed that the shirt was mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The coat was mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry but with little frequency. The cap was not mentioned in poetry about Highland females.

Lowland. Four women in four portraits from the first two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kay, 1837; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958) were examined for this study. The style of dress for most Lowland women in the early 1800s was a bodice and skirt; however, the researcher could not discern whether or not a waistline was present due to the way the women were positioned in each portrait. Figures 51 and 52 represent the majority of

Table 95

Number of Female Dress Items in Portraits from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

Dress Items	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Early 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Total
Apron	1		2	Ø	3
Barefoot	Ø	----	1	2	3
Bodice	1	----	10	19	30
Bodice overlay	1	----	3	5	9
Bonnet	Ø	----	Ø	12	12
Boots	Ø	----	1	Ø	1
Brooch	1	----	2	1	4
Cap	1		5	3	9
Chemise	Ø	----	3	3	6
Coat	Ø	----	1	10	11
Cravat	Ø	----	Ø	1	1
Curch	1	----	3	Ø	4
Fan	Ø	----	Ø	1	1
Feather hairpin	Ø	----	Ø	1	1
Garland	Ø	----	Ø	1	1
Gloves	Ø	----	2	2	4
Gown	Ø	----	1	8	9
Handkerchief	Ø	----	Ø	1	1
Hat	Ø	----	2	10	12
Headband	Ø	----	3	Ø	3
Muff	Ø	----	Ø	4	4
Necklace	Ø	----	2	1	3
Pinner	Ø	----	Ø	1	1
Plaid	Ø	----	3	2	5
Purse	Ø	----	1	Ø	1
Ribbon necktie	Ø	----	Ø	2	2
Sack-back dress	Ø	----	Ø	2	2
Scarf	Ø	----	4	Ø	4
Shawl	Ø	----	1	4	5
Shirt	Ø	----	Ø	14	14
Shoes	Ø	----	10	20	30
Skirt	Ø	----	11	18	29
Skirt overlay	Ø	----	4	1	5
Waist tie	Ø	----	Ø	5	5
Waistcoat	Ø	----	Ø	1	1
Total	6	----	75	155	236

---- indicates that there were no portraits found in this location/time period

Ø indicates that this item was not found in a location/time period





**Figure 50.** Unknown artist. Older Highland widow. 1800. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).



**Figure 51.** Unknown artist. Lowland country woman and family. c.1800. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).



**Figure 52.** John Kay – artist. Lowland fisherwoman. 1812. (Kay, 1837). (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

garment details for this time period. The close fitting bodice had long sleeves with a plain hem and was waist to hip length (N=2). The color varied from medium (N=1) to dark (N=1). Unfortunately, the neckline was not visible because a shawl (N=3), the main piece of outerwear, obscured it. The shawl was a large piece of patterned fabric draped about the shoulders crossing at center front. Shawls were commonly worn at this time; often created from paisley fabric.

Another piece of outerwear worn was a dark, loose fitting coat with elbow length sleeves and turned back cuffs (N=1). The coat was knee length. The analysis of poetry revealed that neither the bodice nor the shawl were mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the coat was mentioned only one time. A loose, ankle length skirt (N=4) covered the lower portion of the body, as seen in Figures 51 and 52. The fabric used to create the skirt varied from medium (N=1) and dark plain fabrics (N=2) to vertically striped fabrics (N=1). One woman in a portrait was shown wearing a dark checked apron reaching almost to the ankles, while another woman in a different portrait wore an overlay pulled up and gathered at various points around the waist. The apron was not mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry. No accessories were worn by the women in these portraits other than shoes and headdresses. The shoes were dark with low heels and laces (N=3), which had been the prevailing style in Lowlands during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). One woman had on shoes with very pointed toes that were the trend in Europe in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Although the poetry analysis revealed that shoes were mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century poetry, the style was not evident. Three different styles of headdress were worn by the Lowland women in the four different portraits: a white close cap with ruffles around the face (N=2), a white bonnet tied under the chin (N=1), and a white patterned kerchief (curch) tied under the chin (N=1). The findings from the analysis of poetry found that the curch was not mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A change in dress was visible after King George IV visited Scotland in 1822. Williams painted a portrait, known as Reeling, shortly after the king's visit. According to Stewart (1979), King George wore tartan Highland garb and started a fashion craze. The portrait shows a Lowland man and woman dancing in Highland style dress (Fig. 32, p. 257). The portrait demonstrated the importance of the King wearing Highland garb in a show of unity with the people of Scotland, particularly the Highlanders. The woman in the painting wore a white empire waist gown with a low neckline and puffy cap sleeves, which was the prevailing Lowland gown style (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The bodice

portion of the gown fit close to the body while the skirt fell loosely to mid-calf. The basic style of a white empire waist gown is similar to the prevalent Lowland style, but the neckline and length differ. The analysis of poetry indicated that the gown was part of Lowland dress in early 19<sup>th</sup> century. A long, narrow tartan plaid was worn draped loosely around the woman's body. Plaids were worn throughout Scotland, but tartan fabric was predominantly used in the Highlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Stewart, 1974; Dunbar, 1979). The findings from the poetry revealed that the plaid was not part of Lowland dress in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The woman in Figure 32 also wore light colored, low-heeled shoes and a tartan bonnet with white feathers.

Three women were the subject of two portraits from 1830, the last part of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century covered by this study. Figure 53 represents two of the women and the majority of the garment details from this time period. The gown (N=3) continued to be the predominant garment for women; however, the waistline moved from the empire waist to a more natural waistline that was emphasized with a belt (N=2). The gown of the Lowland women returned to a natural waistline in the 1820s, whereas the Europeans did not start to change their styles until the 1840s (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The poetry analysis indicated that the belt was no longer mentioned in early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1830s portraits, the feminine looking gown was created from either dark (N=2) or light (N=1) colored fabrics. The sweetheart neckline (N=2) was worn, but the v-neck (N=1) continued to be used. Short puffed sleeves were worn by two of the woman in the portraits, while one woman continued to wear  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves with the chemise ruffle extending beyond the sleeve hem. The bodice continued to fit close to the body with a loose fitting skirt. Both the ankle length skirt (N=2) and the mid-calf length skirt (N=1) were observed in the portraits. A low-heeled black shoe (N=1) was worn in the 1830s. A white cap with ribbons continued to be worn (N=1); however, two women did not wear any type of headdress. Linen caps were the popular form of headdress at this time (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

The findings for early 19<sup>th</sup> century portraits were summarized in Table 96. The frequency of dress items for both Highland and Lowland females were recorded in the table.

Summary of Highland and Lowland female dress items across time. The findings for Highland women did not go across time (i.e., the 17<sup>th</sup> through the 19<sup>th</sup> century) because there were no 17<sup>th</sup> century portraits of Highland women for this study.



Figure 53. Unknown artist. Two Lowland women. 1830. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

Table 96

Number of Female Dress Items in Portraits from the Early 19<sup>th</sup>

Century

Dress Items	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C. Highland	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> C. Lowland	Total
Apron	∅	1	1
Belt	∅	2	2
Bodice	1	2	3
Bonnet	1	2	3
Cap	1	3	4
Coat	1	∅	1
Coat	∅	1	1
Curch	∅	1	1
Gown	∅	4	4
Plaid	∅	1	1
Shawl	∅	3	3
Shoes	∅	5	5
Skirt	∅	4	4
Total	4	29	33

∅ indicates that this item was not found in a location/time period

Only two Lowland female dress items were noted across time, which were the bodice and skirt. There were many more garments for both Highland and Lowland women during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Dress in Children's Portraits. Information on dress for children is very limited. Only two portraits with five children were found within the time frame of 1603-1830. No information on children's garments was examined in poetry; therefore, all of the information gained in the analyses of garments in children's portraits was an additional benefit for this study. The children's dress, with the exception of the infant, appears to follow fashions similar to their adult counterparts; however, some differences do exist in the dress of different aged children. The portraits were painted of wealthy children in the Highlands, as their fathers' were dukes.

Infants. One black and white portrait of a Highland infant (approximately 6 months old) was found in David Allan's 1780 painting, John, 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athol, with his wife and family (Fig.54). The gender of the infant was difficult to discern because boys and girls were often dressed alike in infancy (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The infant wore an extremely long (well past the feet) white gown with short sleeves. The upper portion of the gown fit close, while the lower skirt portion hung loose. A dark sash was tied at the waist. The head was covered by a white cap worn close to the head and covering all of the hair.

Young Boys. A black and white portrait of two young boys from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century affirm that boys were dressed in a manner similar to grown men (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Dunbar, 1979; Dunbar, 1981). The portrait was the MacDonald boys from the Highlands (Fig. 55). Both of the boys wore a white shirt with a high, standing collar and ruffles down the center front. The sark (shirt) was noted as part of adult male Highland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century poetry. The shirts had long sleeves with ruffled cuffs. Both boys also had a black ribbon tied at the neck of their shirts. The findings from the poetry analysis indicated that the ribbon was not part of dress for men. The older boy (Sir James), in his early teens, also wore a waistcoat, coat, kilt, hose, garters, belt, sporran, shoes, and a bonnet. The analysis of poetry revealed that all of these items were part of adult Highland male dress, except for the waistcoat and sporran. The length of the waistcoat was high hip and longer than the coat with a close fit to the waist and

then slight fullness to the hip. The waistcoat was styled in a manner comparable to the Lowlanders (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). A dark, small checked tartan fabric was used



Figure 54. David Allan's John, 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athol, with his wife and family. 1780. (Dunbar, 1981).



Figure 55. Artist Unknown. The MacDonald boys: Sir Alexander (left) and Sir James (right). Late 18<sup>th</sup> century. (Dunbar, 1981).

to create the waistcoat and center front buttons were used as a form of closure. The coat, created from the same fabric as the waistcoat, had a round, flat collar and long sleeves with wide turned-back cuffs. The coat was slightly longer than waist length and fit close to the body. The boy's coat resembled the adult Highland men's coat from the same time period. Buttons down the center front secured the coat and pockets were the finishing touch. The kilt was pleated around the waist. The fabric was the same as the waistcoat and coat, except that it was cut on the bias. The kilt hung down loosely just above the knee as a single garment. According to Cockburn (1985), Grimble (1973), and Wilson (1990), the kilt became a single garment separated from the plaid in 1730; however, several portraits of adult Highlanders showed a continued use of the joined kilt and plaid well after 1730. Hose with a light and dark checked pattern began just below the knee. Garters with a bow were used to hold the hose up. Note that the boys' garments were created using tartan fabric and the kilt and hose were worn at a time when these items were banned due to the Act of Proscription (Dunbar, 1979). The ensemble was accessorized with a dark belt at the waist, a sporran, shoes, and a bonnet. The sporran was a small pouch with tassels worn hanging from the waist and barely visible below the waistcoat. The sporran was an accessory commonly used by adult Highland men (Thornburn, 1976; von Furstenberg, 1996). The findings from the analysis of poetry indicated that all of these items were part of adult Highland male dress, except the sporran; however, the term purse or pouch was used in place of sporran. Sir James wore low-heeled dark shoes with buckles. The analysis of poetry revealed that shoes were an item of adult male Highland dress. Finally, Sir James was shown holding in one hand a flat, round, dark bonnet with a ribbon and a long gun in the other hand. The analysis of poetry revealed that the bonnet was the prevailing Highland headdress in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The younger boy (Sir Alexander), about 6 years old, wore a coat, trews, sporran, and shoes. Again, the analysis of poetry revealed that all of these items were part of adult Highland male dress, except for the sporran. Sir Alexander's coat differed from Sir James' coat in many respects. The neckline was plain and rounded, rather than having a collar. Sir Alexander's coat had  $\frac{3}{4}$  length sleeves instead of long sleeves with cuffs and came down to the high hip level. The fit of the coat was similar to Sir James' coat with a close fit to the waist and then slight fullness to the hip. A dark tartan with a small check was used to create the coat and center front buttons were used as the closure, similar to the older boy's coat. The findings from the analysis of poetry indicated that the

tartan was the prevailing fabric in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Trews, a pants and hose combination, were created from a light and dark tartan with a small check cut on the bias. The trews fit close to the body. This portrait contributes further evidence to support the argument that the upper class, rather than the lower class, wore the trews (Cockburn, 1985; Wilson 1990). The trews and the tartan worn in the portrait were specifically banned at this time due to the Act of Proscription (Dunbar, 1979). The ensemble was accessorized with a sporran and shoes, similar to Sir James' accessories. No bonnet or other headdress was worn; however a bonnet was lying on the ground near Sir Alexander.

### Young girls

A black and white portrait of two young girls from the Highlands was analyzed from David Allan's 1780 painting, John, 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athol, with his wife and family (Figure 54, p. 290). The girls are dressed in gowns similar to their mother's gown. The analysis of poetry revealed that the gown was the most frequently mentioned adult female garment in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Both girls were wearing white gowns, but each gown is distinctly different. The older girl (on the far right), about 10 years old, wore a close fitting, waist length bodice with a low rounded neckline and short sleeves. The slightly full skirt was ankle length with a long overlay. The back of the skirt had either a small bustle or a large bow. She also wore light colored stockings with low-heeled, slipper-like, dark shoes. In addition, women and children rarely wore shoes (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958; Smout, 1969); however, this was an upper class family that had their portrait painted and could explain the use of shoes. The poetry analysis found that shoes were part of Highland dress; however, more often shoes were noted as a desired item rather than an owned item. These shoes are similar to a style popular in the Lowlands (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). A small dark cap with flowers and ribbons was also worn. The poetry analysis indicated that the cap was not mentioned as part of adult Highland dress during any of the time periods studied.

The younger girl (in the middle), about 5 years old, also wore a close fitting bodice with short sleeves, but the neckline was low and square, rather than low and rounded. The bodice was knee length instead of waist length. The skirt portion of the gown was similar to the older girl's gown; an ankle length skirt with a long overlay that fit close in the front and had a small bustle in the back. The younger girl had a wide dark sash tied around her waist. Light colored stockings were worn with dark, low-heeled shoes with a strap. The poetry analysis indicated that stockings were not mentioned as



part of adult female Highland dress in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The younger girl also wore a big white hat with flowers.

The children's dress items were recorded in Table 97. All of the children's portraits and dress items were found in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The table was separated into infant dress, young boys' dress, and young girls' dress.

Table 97

Number of Highland Children's Dress Items in Portraits from the Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century

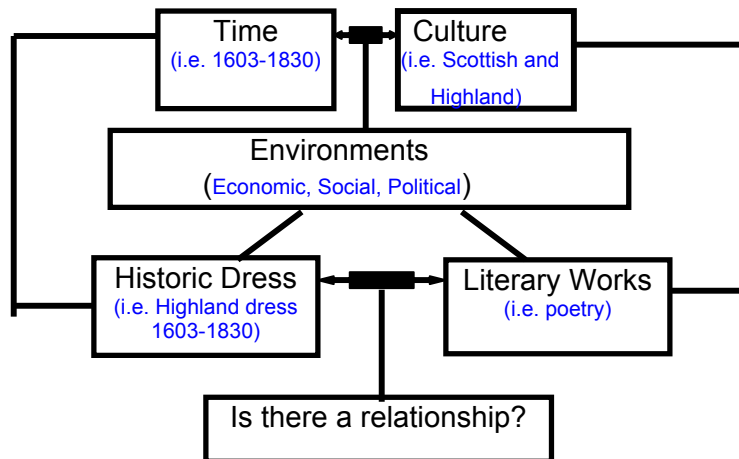
Dress Items	Infant	Young Boys	Young Girls	Total
Argyle hose	∅	1	∅	1
Belt	∅	1	∅	1
Bonnet	∅	2	∅	2
Cap	1	∅	1	2
Coat	∅	2	∅	2
Garters	∅	1	∅	1
Gown	1	∅	2	3
Hat	∅	∅	1	1
Kilt	∅	1	∅	1
Ribbon necktie	∅	2	∅	2
Sash	1	∅	∅	1
Shirt	∅	2	∅	2
Shoes	∅	2	2	4
Skirt overlay	∅	∅	1	1
Sporran	∅	2	∅	2
Stockings	∅	∅	2	2
Trews	∅	1	∅	1
Waistcoat	∅	1	∅	1
Total	3	17	9	29

∅ indicates that this item was not found in a location/time period

### Discussion of Model and Summary of Findings

The conceptual framework model (Figure 56) proposed for this study represents the findings of this research. The conceptual framework linked time, economic, social, and political environments, historic dress, and literary works. The results revealed a definite relationship between dress worn during the time period and the content of the poetry. Six research questions guided the analysis. The first question examined the number of dress references made in Scottish poetry between 1603 and 1830. Both parts of the second question looked at documenting what Highlanders wore between

Figure 56. Proposed Model for Conceptual Framework



1603-1830, as depicted in poetry and if changes over time could be determined for men and women. Time and culture were dependent upon one another in the study of dress in poetry. The third question was presented to gain knowledge about how changes in dress were attributed to the social, political, and economic environment. The time period that was the focus of this study was from 1603 and 1830, which was a time of social, political, and economic upheaval for the Scots in general and the Highlanders in particular. Time (i.e., the birth and death date of an author or an editor's chronology) and culture (i.e., Highland, Lowland, or Scotland in general) were noted for each of the poems. The analysis demonstrated that time and culture were dependent upon one another because cultures are not static and they change over time. The fourth question dealt with the significance of sumptuary laws imposed on the Highlanders from 1746-1782. Finally, the fifth question determined whether or not triangulation of various historic sources (i.e., letters and portraits) provided similar depictions of Highland dress between 1603-1830. The environment was another component of the model that dealt with social, political, and economic situations, as well as the specific settings within those situations. The environmental component was dependent upon the time and culture, as well. The situation (i.e., social, political, or economic) and setting (e.g., love, war, money) were noted for each poem and then the environmental components were cross-tabulated with time and culture. For example, political situations, particularly war, had a higher frequency in relation to the Highlands in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. All three components (i.e., time, culture, and environments) were analyzed in relation to historic dress as noted in poetry. The use of poetry as a source of information on dress was validated through triangulation with the examination of letters and portraits, as well as

the review of literature. The multiple sources had agreement on several, but not all, items of dress. The poetry contained more garment terminology than the letters. The letters, however, provided additional descriptive information on construction methods and the manner of wearing garments. The portraits provided visual descriptions of garments. Information from three sources provided a much more complete picture of dress in the Highlands during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The findings of this study support the notion that there is a viable relationship between all of the components in the model. The model is further supported through triangulation with additional sources.

An additional benefit of the study was that poems were found with dress references to Scotland in general and to the Lowlands. Poetry was examined and analyzed in order to answer the first five research questions. The questions were answered for males and females separately rather than as a whole. The first four questions were answered thoroughly. The poetry analysis for Question 1 revealed that there were a total of 1531 dress references for males and females within the 639 poems. The overall number of poems with dress references was approximately 18%, which is somewhat small. However, within those poems there was a large number of dress references, which indicated that dress was important enough to many poets to incorporate into a reflection of life during his or her time period. Male dress items appeared more frequently than female dress items, which may be an indication of the patriarchal societies that existed in Great Britain and much of Europe during this period of time. Upper body male and female dress items were more frequently mentioned than lower body dress items, accessory items, footwear, fabrics, or fibers. The findings for Question 2a indicated that the plaid, coat, kilt, breeches, hose, tartan, shoes, belt, tassels, shoes, and bonnet were the most frequently mentioned male dress items. The most frequently mentioned female dress items were the gown, coat, skirt, hose, pearlins, linen, shoes, ring, ribbons, curch, and snood. The findings also indicated that general dress terms, such as cloth, clothes, and dress, for both males and females were frequently mentioned in poetry, which also indicated the importance of dress to the poets during this time period. The analysis of poetry for Question 2b revealed that differences occur in the frequency of dress terms during the five specific time periods under investigation. The majority of dress references were found in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (male – 75.7%; female – 76.3%), with slightly more references during the early part of the century. The 18<sup>th</sup> century in Scotland was a time of political upheaval, particularly for the Highlanders. There were significant uprisings in 1715 and 1745 by the Jacobites in favor

of the House of Stuart, which resulted in the Act of Proscription in 1746. One reason so many poems with dress references may have been written during the 18<sup>th</sup> century was to preserve the Highland way of life when it was threatened. All of the garments with the highest frequencies, as noted in the findings for Question 2a, had an increase, peak, and decline pattern (i.e., a bell curve) of use over time. The bell curve is the normal fashion curve for all items; however, it is important to note that poets chose to mention clothing items more often in the 18<sup>th</sup> century than in the 17<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Highland way of life was threatened, particularly with the Act of Proscription. Poets appear to have written poetry with more references to dress only when the traditional way of life was being threatened. The analysis of the findings for Question 3 indicated that more male and female garments were associated with the Highland or Scotland in general. Very few garments were specifically associated with the Lowlands. One reason that few garments may have been associated with the Lowlands was that they were considered ordinary, whereas the Highland garments were unusual. In addition to location, the findings related to Question 3 revealed that poems with male dress references focused on social and political situations, specifically love and war settings, more than economic situation. The political strife that was encountered in Scotland during this time period likely gave rise to poets' political poems. The poems with female dress references revealed an overwhelming tendency toward social situations, particularly love settings. Women dealt very little with war, other than perhaps longing for a lover gone off to war. Women often did not work during this time period, other than for subsistence on their farms. A major preoccupation for women during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries was to find a husband to care for her; therefore, it makes sense that poets would associate women characters with love settings. The fifth question could not be answered as completely as I had hoped due to a lack of poems that made reference to the dress ban; however, as previously indicated, the time period when the ban was imposed had more poems with dress references than any other period. The findings for Question 4 indicated a preference for traditional Highland garb over English styled garments.

The fifth question used triangulation to determine the validity of poetry as a source for historic costume research. Additional written and visual documents from the same time period were used to triangulate with the poetry. Travel accounts from letters and portraits were triangulated with the findings of the poetry. The letters generally agreed with the poetry findings; however, the letters provided additional stylistic details,

construction details, and manner of wearing garments. The letters had some agreement with the portraits of males. The findings from the letter analysis indicated agreement with the poetry on the plaid, kilt, trews, shirt, tartan fabric, stockings, garters, shoes, and bonnet for Highland males. Agreement was found between the letters and poetry on boots, plaid, coat, and breeches for Lowland males. Agreement was found between letters and poetry for Highland female garments including the plaid, coat, smock, and petticoats. The letters had very little information that coincided with the information revealed by the portrait analysis. The information on children's dress found in the letters, although limited, added to the knowledge base since no information on children was found in poetry. The portraits also supported the findings in the poetry since there was some degree of agreement between poetry and portraits. Male garment information that was similar included the plaid, kilt, trews, coat, hose, garters, tartan fabric, bonnet, and shoes were visible in the portraits, as well as being mentioned in poetry. Female garment agreement included the gown, plaid, tartan fabric, and shoes. Children's garments appeared similar to their parents' garments, which contradicts the information about children in the letters, there was no information on children in the poetry. The portraits provided visual documentation (and sometimes written documentation accompanied the portraits) to match up with terminology examined in poetry.

Not all of the information agreed. Time periods of use did not always agree between poetry and letters. Letters often mentioned women going barefoot; whereas, poetry noted the word shoes more often than barefoot. However, shoes were not always mentioned as being worn, rather shoes were noted as an item women wanted. Letters also noted the lack of undergarments worn by Highlanders of both genders. Occasionally, poetry noted the lack of undergarments for men, but women's undergarments were never mentioned. The letters were written by visitors to the Highlands who often used dress terminology related to their native land. The portraits may represent liberties taken by the artist to portray garments that the subjects did not wear but may have existed elsewhere at the time.

The poetry and portraits did not always agree. For example, portraits illustrated the use of the waistcoat, which was never mentioned in Scottish poetry. The waistcoat appeared throughout the time period under investigation for both Highlanders and Lowlanders in portraits. Fewer accessories were identified in portraits than in the poetry. The mantle, an upper body garment found in poetry, was never identified in portraits. Not all of the headdresses examined in poetry were mentioned in portraits; however,

portraits often showed several types of headdresses that were not described in poetry. Together the poetry and portraits fill in the gaps in the knowledge base on Highland dress.

Poetry never mentioned dress for children. Portraits and letters did describe or show some Highland and Lowland children's dress, but to a limited extent. These sources did add some additional information to the knowledge base on Highland and Lowland children's dress. However, it appears that children were not considered an important part of society, likely because they were too young to fight political battle, work for money, or pursue a lover.