Women's dresses from eighteenth-century Scotland: fashion objects and identities

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Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution, except for elements of the original research for dress E.1940.47.c in Glasgow Museums collections, which formed the subject of an MLitt with the University of Glasgow, 2007, titled 'Consuming Cotton: A Study of An Eighteenth Century Dress' and is presented, critiqued and corrected in Chapter 2.

Emily Taylor 22nd August 2013

Abstract:

Identity and its different constructions - national, social and personal, for example - are increasingly recognised as fundamental to understanding current and historic cultures. The reflexive relationship of identity issues with sartorial expression is a key concept within dress, fashion and textile studies. This thesis contributes to that growing body of knowledge by developing an understanding of how specific eighteenth century Scotswomen and their families related to their garments, thus bringing together contemporary study methods and understandings of identity with historic manifestations.

This study of identity is embedded within an object-study methodology, following investigative practice and cataloguing methods currently used within the international museums community. This assists the secondary purpose of the thesis, which is to highlight a breadth of largely unpublished main garment objects within Scottish public and private collections. The intimate study of these objects has revealed stories of how daily life interacted with personal taste and style, purchase methods, garment use and international markets for individuals connected to Scotland. This has contributed material understanding to wider academic research areas, most importantly the everyday lives of eighteenth century Scotswomen, issues of identity within Scotland, and how European fashion trends were adopted or adapted by individuals outside of the major fashion centres of London and Paris. Study of the garments has involved stylistic analysis of their textiles and of their construction, connecting them to other extant and depicted garments from British and international collections. Thus providing material evidence of international styles in the eighteenth century, and matching two items in a rare example of extant main garments evidencing duplication in the eighteenth century handmade clothing industry.

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Introduction:

Clothing and body adornment, which can be summarised under the term 'dress', are primary tools of self-expression and communication between individuals and groups. The myriad ways in which dress 'speaks' has occupied scholars and social commentators internationally for centuries, with contemporary scholars still drawing on historic texts for their themes and ideas.[1] Late twentieth and early twenty-first century scholarship has worked to objectify opinions and clarify the subject areas. While this has been done in part to gain academic credibility, the consequence has been a refinement of theories and commentaries on dress into distinct approaches.[2] Broadly speaking, fashion theory and dress history have evolved as the main disciplines within the amalgamation of studies occupied by clothing and personal adornment. As relatively new academic disciplines fashion theory and dress history are not bound by the same interrogative structures as more established areas, such as social history. Consequently, the methods in which fashion and dress studies approach their expansive and inter-mingled subjects are continually evolving: it is no longer accepted that types of personal adornment present defined pieces of cultural knowledge,[3] rather a more flexible attitude is sought, in recognition of the close relationship that dress has with a spectrum of human qualities, intentions and expressions.[4]

Although modern studies are cautious about reaching absolute conclusions regarding dress there is substantial social value in understanding how people, past and present, have related to their clothing and external bodily expression. An important lesson provided by early studies of fashion and dress is the problem of attempting to generalise beyond the parameters of primary evidence; the reflexive nature of fashion and dress means any theory should allow for exception and contradiction outside of its evidentiary boundaries. The attempt to encompass too much within too simplistic a theory is a criticism that can be levelled at pioneers such as Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1899 (London: Dover Publications 1994); Georg Simmel, *Fashion*, 1957;[5] J. C. Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, 1930 (London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1971);

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[1] Harvey, John, 'Why can't we trust our clothes?' in *Clothes*, Stocksfield: Acumen Publishing Limited 2008, 3-19; Svendsen, Lars, *Fashion: A Philosophy*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd. 2006, 7

[2] Profiled in, for example, Taylor, Lou, *The Study of Dress History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2002; Cumming, Valerie, *Understanding Fashion History*, New York and Hollywood: Quite Specific Media Group, Costume and Fashion Press, 2004; Barnard, Malcolm, *Fashion as Communication*, London: Routledge 1996; Davis, Fred, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity*, London: University of Chicago Press 1992

[3] Barnard, 1996, see in particular 26-31; Sweetman, Paul, 'Shop-Window Dummies? Fashion, the Body,and Emergent Socialities', in Entwistle, Joanne and Wilson, Elizabeth (eds.), *Body Dressing, dress, body and culture*, Oxford: Berg 2001, for example 59, 74

[4] For summary of dress studies academic divisions and need for academic credibility see Breward, Christopher, 'Cultures, Identities, Histories: Fashioning A Cultural Approach to Dress' in *Fashion Theory*, volume 2, issue 4, 1998, 301-314

[5] *The American Journal of Sociology*, volume 62, number 6, May 1957, 541-558

Quentin Bell, *On Human Finery*, 1945 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1976); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 1979 (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press 1984);[6] Roland Barthes, *Système de la mode*, or *The Fashion System*, 1967 (London: University of California Press, 1990),[7] and Thomas Carlyle whose fictional biography *Sartor Resartus*, 1836 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) is often cited as one of the earliest publications to put forward the idea of a philosophy dedicated to clothing. These scholars approached fashion and dress from existing platforms of academic practice and consequently were not as flexible or multi-disciplinary as specialist studies of dress have become. For instance, none of these studies have any real focus on specific garment examples or the tactile relationship a consumer has with their dress. Instead they focus on conception of clothing and fashion in western society; sociological and psychological for Carlyle, Veblen, Simmel, Flugel and Bourdieu, art historical and personal for Bell and semiological for Barthes. Despite their limitations, however, these texts sign-post the development of approaches to sartorial studies.[8]

Interpreting the communicative messages and value of dress is a complex task because dress forms a point of interaction between cultural groups, immediate social environments and individuals.[9] It is the intricate relationships between a person's different senses of identity and their dress that have informed and driven the following thesis.

Project summary:

This thesis focuses on the identities of eighteenth century Scotswomen as read in their surviving fashionable garments. Using the objects as lynchpins, research has revolved around the probable influences at play in the creation and use of the garments, while attempting to understand personal attributes of the garment wearers. The project is intended to contribute a material basis to current debates on dress, identity and eighteenth century women, and to fill a gap in museums collections knowledge within Scotland. Research towards a MLitt in 2007 titled *Consuming Cotton: A Study of an Eighteenth-Century Dress* (University of Glasgow) and subsequent voluntary work with Glasgow Museums' European costume and textile collections highlighted the lack of existing knowledge surrounding eighteenth century women's wear in Scottish collections. The MLitt research and other projects begun by Glasgow Museums' curator, Rebecca Quinton, indicated the potential for further research.

[6] English translation by Richard Nice 1984, first published in French 1979
[7] First published in English 1983 (translated by Matthew Ward and Richard Howard)
[8] For more detailed criticisms see Davis, 1992, 110-115 on Veblen and Simmel; Barnard, 1996, 92-94 on Barthes, and Svendsen, 2006, 66-71 on Barthes and 41-56 on Veblen, Simmel and Bourdieu
[9] Svendsen, 2006, 9-11

While there are several publications which present garments within museum collections, most notably Nancy Bradfield's, *Costume in Detail: Women's Dress 1730-1930* (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1968); Janet Arnold's, *Pattern of Fashion I: English women's dresses & their construction c.1660-1860* (London: Macmillan, 1984) and Norah Waugh's two publications *The Cut of Women's Clothes 1600-1930* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1968) and *Corsets and Crinolines* (New York: Routledge 2004, first published 1954), these contain very marginal coverage of Scottish collections and none of these publications interrogate the provenance or social significance of the items; they are concerned with stylistic analysis and date. Other relevant publications more heavily involving Scottish collections have focussed on non-dress textiles, such as embroidery,[10] or the nineteenth century.[11]

The lack of documentation observed in association with garments acquired by public collections pre-late twentieth century, combined with the strong provenance able to be attached to some objects, suggested there was a need to make a cross-collection study; to give context to items without a known heritage by linking provenances. At the same time there has been an increased interest in understanding Scottish identity and distinguishing Scottish history from within existing 'English' histories that included Scottish concerns; redressing a lack of recognition of regional identities, which can strongly affect attitudes and behaviour.[12]

Part of this increased interest in specifically Scottish histories has included an evolving body of works on eighteenth century women's lives in Scotland, culminating in several recent publications including; Katie Barclay and Siobhan Talbott 'New Perspectives on Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Scottish History', (*Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, volume 1, issue 31, 2011); Katie Barclay *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); and, Jodi Campbell, Elizabeth Ewan and Heather Parker's, *Shaping Scottish Identity: Family, Nation and the Worlds Beyond* (Guelph Centre for Scottish Studies, 2011).[13] All of which are based upon establish historical practice, the sources largely documentary and archival.

[10] Quinton, Rebecca, *Patterns of Childhood Samplers from Glasgow Museums*, London: A&C Black Publishers Ltd., 2005

[11] Clark, Helen, *The Bride in her Time Wedding dresses from 1766 to 1945*, Exhibition Catalogue, The Royal Scottish Museum, Chambers Street, Edinburgh, 1980; Tarrant, Naomi A E, *Great Grandmother's Clothes Women's Fashion in the 1880s*, The National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1986 (including comment on the rarity of object provenance, 13)

[12] For example, Langford, Paul, *A Polite and Commercial People, England, 1727-1783*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989

[13] A critical summary of recent developments in eighteenth century women's and Scottish histories is provided in Glover, Katharine, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2011, 11-15

These projects and publications are situated within a broader scheme of studies looking at women's lives in the eighteenth century, such as Amanda Foreman, *The Duchess Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire* (London: Harper Collins, 1998); Caroline Weber, *The Queen of Fashion: what Marie Antoinette wore to the revolution* (London: Arumn Press Ltd., 2007); Derek Parker, *The Trampled Wife: The Scandalous Life of Mary Eleanor Bowes* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2006); Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London: Yale University Press, 2003);[14] and studies that have taken a deliberate gender or feminist stance for a more scholarly interrogation of specific aspects of female life: Deborah Simonton, *A History of European Women's Work 1700 to the Present* (London: Routledge, 2003);[15] Clare Haru Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675-1791* (Durham N.C: Duke University Press, 2001); Jennifer M. Jones, *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France* (Oxford: Berg, 2004); and, Rosalind Carr, *Gender, national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland* (PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008).

Together with regionally rather than gender specific studies, such as Stana Nenadic *Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007) and *Scots in London in the Eighteenth century*, (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010) edited by Nenadic, this spectrum of works is developing an increasingly rounded and complex view of the eighteenth century, rethinking generalisations to improve understanding of our recent cultural history, and an era generally regarded as laying the foundations of our current technological and social culture.

While some recent studies of women in Scotland deal with the material cultures of their subjects the focus has tended to be on documentary material, or on traditional craft practice. For example, the current PhD research of Roslyn Chapman at the University of Glasgow in association with Shetland Museum, *A History of Lace Knitting in Shetland*. Studies of women's dress in eighteenth century Scotland have largely focussed on traditional items, such as the Hugh Cheape and Anita Quye, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', (*Costume*, number 42, 2008, 1-20), or been concerned with women's dress as part of a wider system, such as Sally Tuckett's PhD Thesis *Weaving the Nation: Scottish Clothing and Textiles Cultures in the Long Eighteenth-Century* (University of Edinburgh, 2010).

The potential for and contribution which research into eighteenth century women's garments in Scottish collections presented, is therefore manifold. Eighteenth century garments can be situated within a growing field in which the cultural, increasingly female-focussed, landscape of early-modern Scotland is being explored. Moreover, by choosing a museums-led object-based approach research will

[14] First published 1998
[15] First published 1998

complement the above historical and theoretical studies which are largely document-based, thus filling knowledge gaps regarding material culture and assisting connection between existing social history and material culture disciplines. At the same time, study of garments and collections forms part of a developing school of dress histories that incorporate objects into wider thematic discussions.[16]

This study will juxtapose background understanding of social theory and context with the commentary and material cultures of contemporary eighteenth century society; seeking to repair the disconnection between objects, people and theory, while reinstating complexity of thought on dress to a historic social world. Thus, this study aims to assist a revelation of the broad compass of the cultural values of dress, forming part of the continuing 'interdisciplinary good practice' within dress history identified by Lou Taylor.[17]

The practical aims and intentions of this research project are therefore; to begin establishing a groundwork of object studies based on items of dress with a Scottish association, via cataloguing and interpretation; to provide case studies for future embellishment and comparative use against items from other regions or nations; to assist the development of Scottish cultural history, specifically the emerging women's histories by providing an essential profile of material culture; and, to complement existing and current research into Scotland's textile and dress history, forming part of a wider trend of studies attempting to understand the role of identity in dress and textiles, past and present.[18]

Dress, fashion and textiles studies:

The initial paragraphs of this introduction separated dress history and fashion theory, while including them in the same academic field. The juxtaposition was deliberate, because while dress history and fashion theory have distinct methodologies, they retain the same core concern; textiles and dress. This project cannot put aside these and other theoretical approaches, even while playing on the strength of dress history and object study. Sociological and behavioural theories explaining why people dress and behave as they do, why they make certain stylistic choices are fundamental parts of the creation of any style; arguably more so when dress was hand-made and commonly bespoke. Understanding the nature of the disciplinary divide between dress history and fashion theory, and the contribution of other theoretical approaches is, therefore, a necessary first step in developing a methodology.

Broadly speaking fashion theory is the sociological study of contemporary western dress, but the discipline has grown far beyond the parameters first laid out in studies such as Simmel's *Fashion* with

[16] Such as Tuckett, noted above
[17] Taylor, *The Study of Dress History*, 2002, 85
[18] For example, *If the Shoe Fits: Footwear, Identity and Transition*, 2010-2013, Department of Sociological Studies, University of Sheffield, Economic and Social Research Council funded

its attempt to summarise a particular system of dressing. Dress history might equally be generalised as the study of pre-mid twentieth century dress via methods traditionally associated with historical, art historical and material studies. Again, however, it can encompass much broader or narrower terms and within the field fundamental differences of approach are recognised. It is probably true to say that both theoretical and historical approaches to fashion and dress have evolved from a number of different disciplines which have tackled the subject area more or less successfully over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. As will be seen there is ambiguity in the use of the terms 'fashion' and 'dress', which relates to an author's understanding of their subject matter, rather than the disciplinary definitions suggested above. These definitions will however be retained here as a clear way to understand the distinctions in approaches to the genre of dress (fashion) and textiles.

Fashion theory is more immediately associable with early attempts to define fashion and the meaning of dress within western society, such as by Veblen and Simmel cited above. It often takes a more expansive and predominantly sociological or philosophical view, attempting to identify and critique trends visible in dress. While early publications engaged with the problem of how fashion manifested itself within society, subsequent studies attempted instead to establish the different functions of fashionable dress, such as Fred Davis's *Fashion, Culture, and Identity* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1992) which sought to identify the 'meaning' of fashion; and Malcolm Barnard's comprehensive survey of fashion studies *Fashion as Communication* (London: Routledge, 1996). Or, publications looked at fashion through a particular sociological lens such as body studies, like Elizabeth Wilson and Joanne Entwistle's *Body Dressing: dress, body and culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2001), or alternative dressing, such as Dick Hebdige's seminal *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Meuthen, 1979). Within these publications, however, there is a lack of engagement with the objects at the centre of fashion. This is perhaps most historically apparent in the periodical *Fashion Theory*, in which articles revolve around interrogative observation of society; extant objects are used to illustrate theoretical points on human behaviour, rather than being the focus.[19] Consequently object and subject are at risk of being represented with an over-simplified relationship, belying the complexities of physical and conceptual engagements with objects that often initiate interest in sartorial subjects.

As noted, fashion theory works attempt classification, or definition of what fashion is. Distinguishing between fashion as opposed to other types of dress has led authors to sub-categorise dialogues of fashion.[20] Some of the most discussed of these categories are; fashion as communication, fashion and personal identity, fashion as social identity, fashion with body and gender studies, fashion and

[19] For example, McNeil, Peter and Riello, Giorgio, 'Science of Walking: Gender, Space and the Fashionable Body in the Long Eighteenth-Century', *Fashion Theory*, volume 9, issue 2, 2005, 175-204

[20] Such as Davis (1992) and Barnard (1996) noted above; categorisation is most evident in *The Fashion Reader* series, for example the ten contents categories in Welters, Linda and Lillethun, Abby (eds.), Oxford: Berg 2007

consumption, and fashion as art. Demonstrating fashionable dress as a point of interaction for a number of cultural concerns, such categories create branches to other academic disciplines engaged with sartorial themes. One of these which relates to this thesis is taste and consumer theory. These are long-standing intellectual concerns, engaged with in the eighteenth century and usefully summarised within a gendered context by Robert W. Jones in *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain The Analysis of Beauty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Eighteenth century debates mixed taste and consumption, perhaps most evidently regarding luxury. The social significance of having and obtaining luxury at a time when international goods and material culture were increasingly accessible was the focus of intellectual theorists and economists such as Adam Smith. He published the seminal text *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, widely regarded as the forefather of modern economic studies, it touched on wages, the use of money and commodities, including discussion of personal economy using clothing as an example of frivolous expenditure.[21] Whereas, Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, published in 1759, included discussion of taste, beauty and self-command, all of which can be seen reflected in modern discussions of dress.[22] This built on works such as Francis Hutcheson's *Of Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design* (1738) in which the body and dress are noted as part of a wide visual stimulus affecting people.[23]

More recent publications attempting to understand conditions surrounding taste include Bourdieu's *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (noted above) in which he provides a socio-political framework of education, income and aspiration. Luxury and expenditure have also remained concerns for contemporary theorists. Daniel Miller's *A Theory of Shopping* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998) is regularly cited as a primary text in understanding contemporary western consumer habits. It brings to light the complexity of reasons why people purchase goods and the methods they employ.[24] The emotional contexts Miller positions behind even mundane tasks are important when discussing material consumption.[25] The complex, reflexive processes Miller's and other research have uncovered can be seen to parallel the concerns of eighteenth century philosophers, such as public, private and gender roles. These similarities illustrate the value contemporary theories have for historical studies and vice versa. The social reasons why people dress, or have dressed, are a crucial part of any study

[21] 'An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations: Book II: Of the Accumulation of Capital, or of Productive and unproductive Labour', London, 1776, in Otteson, James R., *Adam Smith Selected Philosophical Writings*, Exeter: Imprint Academic 2004, 135-136
[22] Otteson 69-77 and 87
[23] From 'An Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue', in Broadie, Alexander (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology*, Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd. 1997, 203-223
[24] Miller, 1998, 27
[25] Miller, 1998, for example, family relationships, gender and love 4, 27-29 & 30

intending to undertake detailed object analysis; it is through socio-cultural and historical awareness of a garments' original situation that inferences can be drawn.

Returning to dress and fashion studies, in 2004 Valerie Cumming published *Understanding Fashion History* (New York: Costume and Fashion Press, Quite Specific Media Group Ltd.), which, like Lou Taylor's *The Study of Dress History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), intended to summarise to date approaches to the subject. Both of these texts defined and situated studies which, viewed *en masse* form an academic discipline, but might actually be the product of scholars from different areas, seeing themselves as dress and fashion historians secondarily. Whether deliberately or not, Cumming's title 'Fashion History' mixed the then quite divided approaches of fashion theory or studies and dress history, while presenting a third alternative; the study of fashion and its systems in the past. As apparent from the ways in which fashion theorists have categorised their subject, the use of the term 'fashion' is never straightforward. It can simply mean dress contemporaneous to its time, or something more specific, associated with particular users and makers. Studying fashion history requires an acceptance that fashion, in the sense it is understood today, existed in the past. However, Cumming's use of 'Fashion' may simply have been an editorial choice.

Cumming and Taylor's books have served the same purpose for dress history studies that anthologies such as *The Fashion Reader* (noted above) have done for fashion theory. By grouping approaches and methods used for the purpose of dress studies with calls for future moves, they have created a framework for understanding what the discipline constitutes. Taylor's 2002 publication was followed by *Establishing Dress History* in (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004). Both publications are key sources for understanding methodological approaches to dress studies, and while recognising the importance of a breadth of sources, emphasise the need for more and continued object study at the time of publication. Taylor in particular calls for continued communication between methodological approaches to dress history and object study.

Dress history, has arguably emerged from an interest in style. Early publications are generically referred to as 'hemline histories', such as C. Willet and Phyllis Cunnington's series summarising centuries and their *Dictionary of English Costume* (London, 1960), which provide descriptive and illustrated detail of fashions within a specific timeline.[26] The information has been pooled from a number of sources, often without critical understanding of the specific cultural and social surroundings of the individual garments. Instead, items of dress are viewed as part of a database of fashionable silhouettes, changing in detail seasonally, and in outline every five years or so. These early

[26] Cunnington, C. Willet and Phyllis, *Handbook of English Costume in the sixteenth century / seventeenth century / eighteenth century / nineteenth century*, London: Faber, 1970-1972 (revised editions)

publications present general factual information on style detail, with historical quotations for context but no real analysis. While they laid essential groundwork, the unspecified source citation makes them problematic, requiring further research to verify their assertions.

It is these studies which were most open to the criticism of Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold who are quoted by Lou Taylor summarising dress studies as "wholly descriptive 'catalogue' tradition of costume history".[27] This comment ex-communicates the variety of studies dealing with dress and fashion throughout the twentieth century; implying that Flugel's *The Psychology of Clothes* (1930) had nothing to do with Bradfield's *Costume in Detail* (1969) or Arnold's *A Handbook of Costume* (1973).[28] Or, the different audiences for which these and other commentaries by the Cunningtons and Doris Langley Moore were intended.[29] The cataloguing of minute details of dress, is not only essential for dating historic dress, but is arguably the essence of fashionable dress. A commenter might lament that "The cut of a coat, size of a buckle, the length of streamers, or the largeness of hips"[30] sends fashion connoisseurs into apogees of excitement, but it is still fashion; located in a specific time period, constructed in specific materials by a certain person and worn with reason, however trivial or profound. The chain of processes that creates fashionable dress in western society has widespread connotations; a crucial part of what keeps this chain driving are the subtle variations of cut and cloth which dress historians focus on.[31]

The interest of scholars like the Cunningtons in generating an accurate timeline naturally developed a multi-source approach as they plundered images, documents and objects. The next stage was to make more critical studies of garments, fashion plates and other related media. Thus, individuals such as Janet Arnold (noted above) and Anne Buck began more academically interrogative studies using objects and documents respectively.[32] Subsequently, Alieen Riberio is responsible for helping to

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[27] Fine, Ben and Leopold, Ellen, *The World of Consumption*, London: Routledge 1993, 94 in Taylor, *The Study of Dress History*, 2002, 3; for discussion of developments of dress and fashion history see also Taylor, *Establishing Dress History*, 2004, and Cumming, 2004

[28] Nancy Bradfield, *Costume in Detail: Women's Dress 1730-1930*, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd. 1968; Arnold, Janet, *A Handbook of Costume*, Macmillan, London 1973

[29] Abigail Cox discusses the 'presentism' and personalised opinions of these authors in her MLitt (see below); Cunnington, C. Willet and Phyllis, *Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century*, 1957; Moore, Doris Langley, *Fashion Through Fashion Plates, 1771-1970*, London: Ward Lock, 1971

[30] *To the Printer On Fashion*, The London Chronicle, Saturday January 11th-14th, 1777, issue 3137, 44, Gale Group British newspapers online

[31] For use of trimmings to summarise changes in fashion see Yarwood, Doreen, *English Costume From the Second Century, B.C.to 1967*, London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. 1967, 174, 180; Brooke, Iris and Laver, James, *English Costume of the Eighteenth Century*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1950 (first published 1931), 32; Jones, Jennifer M., *Sexing La Mode: Gender, Fashion and Commercial Culture in Old Regime France*, Oxford: Berg 2004, trimmings 21, fashion 'season' 33; Ribeiro, Aileen, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789*, London: Yale University Press, 2002 (first published 1984), 12

[32] Buck, Anne, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England*, London: Batsford, 1979

introduce a rigorous academic approach to early modern dress history. Her various publications have incorporated multiple sources, while playing to her strength of paintings analysis.[33]

The multi-source approach broadly speaking is encapsulated within dress history, much more than fashion theory.[34] However, both dress and fashion studies have remained to some extent divorced from textiles studies. Textiles, not yet mentioned in this discussion, are a fundamental part of dress history and fashion; the fabric without which there would be no object.[35] Textiles and garments have a deeply symbiotic relationship; it is unnatural that they should be studied disparately. Colin Gale and Jasbir Kaur's *Fashion and Textiles: an overview* (Oxford: Berg, 2004) is one of a few recent studies that have attempted to redress this scholarly separation. As they point out, "Fashion, ultimately is dependent upon and could not exist without textiles; the reverse is not true of the much more broadly focused textile industry, but together the two industries create a cultural phenomenon greater than either of them…"[36] Other studies which look at the relationship between materials and their product are often technical, such as Gail Marsh's publications on embroidery techniques,[37] and Debra Roberts's Masters study, which involved the mapping of stitch patterns on a dismantled eighteenth century dress, then eventual reconstruction culminating in an exhibition.[38]

Textiles and dress touch on so many aspects of life and industry that economic, industrial and design histories, for example, have been able to co-exist without much acknowledgement of one another.[39] Different methodologies of study have effectively generated a separation between aspects of this 'cultural phenomenon'; the separation is perhaps more easily digestible to human understanding but misrepresents the complexity of textiles, fashion and sartorial practices. The disciplinary divides within this subject field are usefully indicated and summarised by the major English-language periodicals.

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[33] Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth Century Europe 1715-1789*, 2002 (first published 1984); *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750-1820*, London: Yale University Press, 1995; *Dress and Morality*, Oxford: Berg, 2003

[34] Schoeser, Mary and Boydell, Christine, *Disentangling Textiles: Techniques for the study of designed objects*, London: Middlesex University Press, preface 1-2 and intro 10-11

[35] For the importance of materials in construction and design of material objects see Robert, 'Some Matters of Substance', in Lubar, Steven and Kingery, W. David (eds.), *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, London: Smithsonian Institution, 1993, 42

[36] Gale, Colin and Kaur, Jasbir, *Fashion and Textiles: an overview*, Oxford: Berg 2004, 29

[37] Marsh, Gail, *Eighteenth Century Embroidery Techniques*, Lewes: Guild of Master Craftsmen Publications Ltd., 2006; *Nineteenth Century Embroidery Techniques*, ditto, 2008

[38] Robert's thesis culminated in a study day with Leeds Museums 'Material Narratives A Textile Study Day to accompany the exhibition: 'Conversation Pieces' Reconstruction of an 18th Century Dress' at Lotherton Hall, 08.09.2009 (exhibition 03.09.2009-01.11.2009)

[39] For example, Pinchbeck, Ivy, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850*, London, 1969; Irwin, Francina, 'Scottish Eighteenth Century Chintz and Its Design – I', *The Burlington Magazine*, volume 107, number 750, September 1965, 452 & 454-458 and 'Scottish Eighteenth Century Chintz and Its Design – II', *The Burlington Magazine*, volume 107, number 751, October 1965, 510-515; Durie, Alastair, *The Scottish Linen Industry in the Eighteenth Century*, Edinburgh: Donald, 1979

Alongside *Fashion Theory*, noted above, are *Textile History* and *Text: Journal of the Textile Society*, which deal predominantly with the design and creation of flat textiles, whereas *Costume (Journal of the Costume Society)*, and *Dress: Journal of the Costume Society of America* focus on items of dress, garment styles and social context.

There is a need in historical studies for increased understanding of the interaction between raw material, makers of fabric and makers of clothing, designers and wearers; separating one aspect for intense review, risks not fully acknowledging the textile and fashion communities around the chosen subject. For example, Elizabeth Sanderson's, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh*, (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996) provides a unique insight into the textile and dress-based mercantile cultures in relation to women, but is based entirely on archival research. Analysis is focussed upon employment and the position of women in society, not on the relationship of these women with their product, or how the diverse products intervened in community relationships.

Another example is Polly Hamilton's PhD thesis *Haberdashery For Use In Dress 1550-1800* (University of Wolverhampton, 2007) which makes extensive use of documentary evidence. Her research involved sourcing related objects, but their presence in the thesis is largely as illustrative content to a discussion arranged by source-type, rather than the core of an exploration drawing sources and social significances together. A more recent published example is Anthony Coke's article 'The Scottish Cotton Masters' (*Textile History*, 4 (1), 29-50, May 2009), which sets out to analyse the political, religious and educational backgrounds of the primary cotton magnets in nineteenth century Glasgow. There is no intention to connect the 'Masters' with the industry, material or social geography that their manufactories created.

Moira Donald explains in her introduction to *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*,[40] the tendency of material culture or object study to be side-lined by historians as a natural result of documents being the main resource available. Donald suggests object and material culture has been the territory of archaeologists and art historians, with history academics remaining untrained in object-study. Donald calls for historians to look more at objects. While social-historical focus is a necessary result of sources used to make an enquiry, the document-only approach feels limiting when juxtaposed with dress historical and material culture studies that follow the multi-source approach profiled by Taylor and Cumming.

[40] Donald, Moira, 'Introduction' in Donald Moira and Hurbombe, Linda (eds.), *Gender and Material Culture in Historical Perspective*, London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd. 2000, xv

Such limitations of historical studies were addressed again in 2007 by Maria Hayward and Elizabeth Kramer (eds.) in *Textiles and Text: re-establishing the links between archival and object based research* (AHRC research centre for textile conservation and textile studies, Archetype publications Ltd.). This publication is perhaps evidence of the enclosed nature of some academic disciplines; sociology, archaeology and anthropology have engaged with inter-disciplinary problems relating to social-historical use of material culture via museums and collections communities since the 1990s, for example the previously cited Lubar and Kingery, *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (1993) and Susan M. Pearce (ed.), *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (London: Routledge, 1994).

These latter texts are key sources for methodological approaches used within the museums sector for object interpretation and are combined with a multi-source approach to form the methodological basis of this thesis, as will be discussed below. The problems faced by object study and making connections outward for wider cultural interpretation are an on-going concern for material and object studies, requiring regular review as new methodologies are trialled in different areas. The 2002 publication *Disentangling Textiles* edited by Schoeser and Boydell (cited above) specifically addressed the field of textiles, from a predominantly technical perspective; regarding issues raised through conservation and museum-based object research.

It is clear that historical, sociological and material culture or object studies are aware of what can be gained by increased engagement with one another. It might even be argued that as a recently developed academic discipline, which has continually engaged with a multi-source approach dress history is in a privileged position of advancement for drawing a more comprehensive picture of the cultural web surrounding its subjects. Object studies are one key way through which the material nature of textiles and clothing is explored. By placing material as the primary focus a particular drive is given to research and understanding, one that brings the historian and theorist closer to the essence of the subject.

The materiality of dress is fundamental to its human creation and engagement; dress is at once physically intimate and the manifestation of our chosen persona, subject to deliberate and unconscious communication.[41] Alongside calls for increased recognition of the symbiosis that exists between materials and the items they make, dress and fashion studies have more recently begun to address the even more abandoned subject relating to the sensory perception of textiles and dress. Some of these studies relate to the physical processes of making, such as that by Carolyn Dowdell who created an

[41] For physical consciousness and symbolism of dress see for example, Sweetman, Paul 'Shop-Window Dummies? Fashion, the Body,and Energent Socialities', in Entwistle, Joanne and Wilson, Elizabeth (eds.), *Body Dressing, dress, body and culture*, Oxford: Berg 2001, 59

exhibition of her eighteenth century reconstruction garments as part of an MA on the social history of English seamstresses,[42] and Hilary Davidson's recreation of a pelisse believed to belong to Jane Austen which functioned as a creative object investigation, evidencing how exact recreations of historic objects can reveal otherwise inaccessible information about the maker and figure of the garment's wearer.[43]

Other studies have begun to look at the sensory experience of an object's user. While most people would agree that shopping for clothing and making decisions about personal adornment involves extended consideration of the tactile qualities of objects and materials, this is an area little touched on by dress and fashion studies, even less by historical dress studies. One example is Abigail Cox's MLitt thesis *Fashion Before Ease? Stays and Comfort in the Eighteenth-Century* (University of Glasgow, 2009), which used her personal experience of wearing and making recreated eighteenth century dress to inform her academic perspective.[44] The recent *Dress Sense: Emotional and Sensory Experiences of the Body and Clothes* edited by Donald Clay Johnson and Helen Bradley Foster (Oxford: Berg, 2007) also took a first step in addressing the physical interaction of people and their garments with a developed approach.[45] More recently a three year project at the University of Sheffield has used footwear as the basis from which to study people's perceptions of and changes in identity.[46]

Johnson and Foster's text includes a section entitled 'Historical Perspectives' covering a range of nationalities and historic eras. Overall the essays in the text engage with international dress cultures, traditional and historic, pooled from anthropological and social-historical approaches. Undoubtedly dress histories and the academic methodologies behind these essays use objects in more traditionally anthropological ways, as cultural signifiers with quite specific meanings and physical understandings. This group of essays and their anthropological taint raises the question of why more dress studies have not engaged with the sensory intervention of their subject on its human contemporaries. It is an area that requires further study, and one dress histories are capable of engaging with; the feel, sight and general physical perception of clothing are a constant throughout human history.

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[42] As profiled on Dowdell's blog alongside on-going work: http://brocadegoddess.wordpress.com/, accessed 31.08.2010

[43] As profiled in Davidson's paper 'Recreating Jane Austen's Pelisse-Coat' given at 'Desiring Fashion: The Consumption and Dissemination of Dress, 1750-1850' conference, Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies, University of York, 23.06.2012

[44] Cox, Abigail Elyn, *Fashion Before Ease? Stays and Comfort in the Eighteenth-Century*, MLitt Thesis, August 2009

[45] For affect of materials on body perception see Sweetman in Entwistle and Wilson 2001, 66 and Roche, Daniel, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Regime*, Cambridge: Past and Present Publications Cambridge University Press, 1996 (first published in French 1989), 33

[46] *If the Shoe Fits* (cited above)

While not the focus of this study, the sensory engagement of owners with their dress becomes apparent as a key element in both physical and social environment, for purposes of practicality and communication. Furthermore the tactility of fabrics could be a signifier of social identity as much in the past as it is now, when so much of contemporary western fashion is judged on the quality of materials in combination with garment style.[47]

Objects and provenance:

What is clear from these developments in the field of dress and textile studies is that extant objects tell very personal stories; recent changes in museums collections practices and policies recognise this, attempting to capture as much information as possible. A good example is the Yorkshire Fashion Archive at the University of Leeds, begun in 1999. The project was originally designed;

> "… to collect clothing from the 1950s to the year 2000; the objective being to build a dedicated resource of Yorkshire life as revealed through clothing during this period. However … it became apparent that there was scope to extend the study to include the entire twentieth century. Key to the study was the belief that a garment is more than just the threads of its construction… // The policy of the archive is to ensure that clothing and accessories are not amassed in isolation but as part of a deliberate attempt to discover the history of the clothes in relation to the wearer and in so doing tell us something about their lives."[48]

While contemporary items can be collected with extensive provenance and most museums currently focus on taking dress which has some provenance or is a unique example of its kind, a majority of museum garments collected prior to the rise in material studies in the 1980s have little information surrounding them. The information has either been disassociated after collection, or did not exist prior to accessioning. A good example of a past collections practice which led to the dispersal of provenance context until its scholarly recovery is profiled by David Wilcox in his article 'The clothing of a Georgian Banker, Thomas Coutts: A Story of a Museum Dispersal', which looks at the dispersal of Coutts' wardrobe between eleven other museums by the Victoria and Albert Museum at a time when they valued representative collecting of material and design over contextual or comprehensive social documentation.[49]

Recovery of a provenance and social-historical context is a key to the understanding of any museum object; it can be argued that without some provenance items cannot be used in the current culture of museum display and exhibition, which may regard a lack of information as an embarrassment, created by public expectation of information about what they view. Investigative research for this thesis, combined with working and voluntary experience found that in Scottish collections work on

[47] See section 'Fabrics and Prestige' in Gale and Kaur, 2004, 71-73
[48] Yorkshire Fashion Archive pamphlet, 2012; see also www.yorkshirefashionarchive.org
[49] In *Costume*, volume 46, number 1, 2012, 17-54

provenance of objects was limited by the time and resources provided to curators, as well as their research interests. Most collections have one curator (if any) dealing with European fashion and textiles. Over the period of this project a number of posts were cut and or reduced to part-time hours, meaning collections may not be cared for by curators with specialist knowledge. Consequently many items in dress and textile collections have not been related to their personal and specific cultural histories, even when these histories are relatively accessible.

Using extant objects and collections as a basis for research must involve awareness of the selectivity of those collections. Peter Vergo noted that "The very act of collecting has a political or ideological or aesthetic dimension which cannot be overlooked".[50] Beverley Lemire went into more detail suggesting;

> "Different sorts of problems are posed by looking at garments individually or in groups, rather than just by name, as aggregate statistics or collective descriptions or relying solely on written documents. First, one must consider how representative of the mass of clothing are the surviving artifacts in museum collections. In fact, variation in fabric, finish, and stitching were the norm before mechanical factory production and to be expected in surviving items from this period. Randomness in survival is also bound to be reflected in a collection. Few examples of most categories of clothing survived the second-hand market and fewer still of the cheapest goods - most collections will be top heavy with higher quality items. Just as important when considering representativeness is the choice of garment to be assessed."[51]

Accepting these limitations within any given collection, one way of gaining insight into which items are anomalies and which are representative of a basic norm is by surveying a number of collections, likely to have had different collecting policies historically. This gives a greater understanding of the material-types that most commonly survived and the objects that have retained value, and therefore been subject to special care or preservation. However, only by combining extant objects with understanding of their contemporary culture through other forms of evidence will a more truthful presentation of their original status be gained. Acknowledgement of this situation forms a premise for the following methodology.

Methodology:

> "Clothes always signify more than they appear to, like the words of a language which needs to be translated and explained. A reading of anthropologists and psychoanalysts is highly suggestive for the history of clothing practices, but too often confined within the framework of an analysis of dress presented as traditional and explicable in terms of functions. But clothing

[50] Vergo, Peter (ed.), *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd. 2006 (first published 1989), 2
[51] Lemire, Beverly, 'Redressing the History of the Clothing Trade in England: Ready-made Clothing, Guilds, and Women Workers,1650-1800', *Dress*, volume 21, 1994, 61-74, 64-65

> can never wholly be explained by custom or by a rather cursory sexual symbolism. The major difficulty is to grasp within the same movement stability and change in appearance…"[52]

Having reviewed some of the different approaches taken by studies of dress and textiles, how they merge and separate from one another as well as the overall intentions of this research project, the specific methodologies of this study can now be addressed. Bearing in mind this statement by Daniel Roche calling for flexibility and breadth when considering dress this project will attempt to do both, using extant objects as fixed points from which to explore wider issues.

As noted, this thesis will address knowledge-gaps in Scottish collections by building on existing curatorial research and undertaking object studies with no previous foundations. This will include wider historical and visual research, providing invaluable connections with social historical contexts. The object studies have been limited to women's main garments, partly as they are the most prominent items within museum collections, but also because they are a dominant part of an outfit, reflecting sizeable personal and financial investment, and probably the most visually dominant item when worn. The research focus is on the personal identities of the wearer's, so the project deliberately focussed away from garments whose form is to a greater extent dictated by external influences aside from 'fashion', such as court dress. When included court dress has therefore been subject to less specific interrogation, in acknowledgement of the reduced ability for personal expression through such garments.

When examining these objects this study must acknowledge that the meanings given to them are neither stable nor inherent, but socially constructed.[53] Extraneous research around the object will attempt to support a more flexible view, understanding the shifting parameters noted by Roche and responding to calls by Taylor and Kingery, for example, to employ a variety of approaches and avoid exclusory specialism.[54] While this means drawing fixed conclusions from objects is problematic, it arguably increases the importance of the objects as tangible evidence containing a limited number of certainties.

As Michael Owen Jones has written;

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[52] Roche, 1996, 43

[53] Haug, W., *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics: Appearance, Sexuality and Advertising in Capitalist Society*, London: Polity Press 1986, 107 quoted in Fine, Ben and Leopold, Ellen (eds.), *The World of Consumption*, London: Routledge 1993, 271

[54] Taylor as noted above; Kingery, W. David (ed.), *Learning From Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1996, 14-15

> "It is axiomatic nowadays that things do not exist in a vacuum. Made and used by people, artefacts relate to human values, needs, and concerns past and present. They may reflect the spirit of an age, the beliefs of a society or a subgroup, or the experiences of an individual… Their use may be instrumental and utilitarian, sensory and aesthetic, expressive and symbolic, or a combination of these. In sum, both the manufacture and use of artefacts are rooted in historical, sociocultural, and psychological conditions and processes."[55]

It is obvious, considering the profiles of dress studies noted above, how Jones's statement can relate to dress objects, and how his attitude has been reflected by developments in curatorial practice seeking to accumulate provenance knowledge of dress collections.

This study will begin with a premise matching Jones's; that a garment is expressive of social group as well as individual, that it combines utility, aesthetics, sensory and communicative experiences and that it is a historical, social, cultural and personal product. Further use of Jones's approach will be made through the points which he identified as requiring consideration "when trying to explain the traits of handmade objects". These are: 1 – technology, the tools, techniques and materials; 2 – the producer or maker, their self-concept, motivations, values, knowledge, skills and intentions; 3 – the consumer, their choices of form, materials and their comments that "infer values, attitudes, preferences and associations"; 4 – the producer-product interface, the requirements for a design, its precedents, the conceptualising of the object and its "craft identity" and function as a "vehicle of expression".[56]

These four points are a useful premise from which to consider how to study and position an object within its cultural context. Obviously, a historical study cannot involve interview or observation of the maker and client but it is important to bear in mind that these four elements are integral to hand-made objects. This study will only consider numbers one and three of Jones's groups in detail, having a general intention of enabling the objects profiled to be situated within a wider framework.

Accepting Jones's description of an object as embodying a cultural process and communication provides an initial attitude to the subject matter, but not a specific methodology. The methodology used within this thesis was arrived at primarily by working practice and received knowledge gained within museums environments. Approach to objects was made within generally accepted terms of review and care, aiming for clarity of language, consistency of approach, accountability and reversibility. The most useful way of categorising the methods of enquiry is via Jules Prown's approach outlined in 'Mind in matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method'.[57] Prown's method has been widely

[55] Jones, Michael Owen, 'Why Take a Behavioral Approach to Objects?' in Lubar and Kingery, 1993, 182
[56] Jones in Lubar and Kingery 1993, 193-194 referencing Jones, Michael Owen, and Verni Greenfield, 'Art Criticism and Aesthetic Philosophy' in Bronner, Simon J. (ed.), *American Folk Art: A Guide to Sources*, New York: Garland, 1984, 31-50
[57] Pearce, 1994, 134-138

influential in museums and object studies, while he perhaps summarised techniques already used by some, and the most logical way to study an object, his clear description of stages is a reliable point of reference. Prown lays out the major stages of study as: description, deduction and speculation.

Description involves what can be summarised as the basic cataloguing of an object; "Substantial analysis is a descriptive physical inventory of the object", this is followed by analysis of content, which is a description of subject matter or basic iconography, and finally formal analysis, "is analysis of the object's form or configuration, its visual character." The latter might involve, for example, analysis of the physical qualities of a fabric, structural as well as visual. The next stage of deduction "…involves the emphatic linking of the material (actual) or represented world of the object with the perceiver's world of existence and experience." Prown sub-heads this section into sensory and intellectual engagement, and emotional response, all of which can feed on a researcher's prior knowledge of their subject area as well as their human knowledge, in relation to dress it is at this stage that a researcher's knowledge of how certain textiles feel, or might feel when worn can come into play.

The final stage, speculation, involves the creation of theories and hypotheses regarding the wider original context of an object based upon the acquired knowledge of the object, which can then be investigated via a programme of research. While the material study element of this thesis will generally follow Prown's approach, the thesis diverges in having a previously identified theory for inclusion in the 'speculative' investigation: the relationship between identity and dress for eighteenth century Scotswomen. This thesis therefore has a dual core structure determining the questions and direction of research: object analysis and identity study.

Any object analysis is necessarily moulded by the object, by the limits of its descriptive powers and by the number of other examples available for type comparison.[58] In relation to the study of historic dress, the larger the survey of items covered the more each individual item can be understood, not only within a context but also within itself. There is no substitute for familiarity and knowledge of materials. Close study of women's dress from 1760-1815 shows a generational progression of techniques.[59] These are determined by the qualities of materials available and types of thread as well as stylistic changes. It is only through object study, and in some instances reconstruction that the practical material knowledge of eighteenth century makers can begin to be understood.[60] Where Jones (above) was able to observe

[58] For example Roche, 1994, 7-9; Schoeser and Boydell, 2002, 3-10
[59] For change in quality of construction example see Arnold, Janet, 'A Court mantua of c.1760-5', *Costume*, number 7, 1973, 42-46; see also Ginsburg, Madeleine, 'The Tailoring and Dressmaking Trades, 1700-1850', *Costume*, number 6, 1972, 64-71, see 68
[60] For importance of practical experience see Ginsburg, 1972, 66

his contemporary craftspeople, the dress historian must rely on observation of the end product and publications such as *A Taylor's Complete Guide* (1796).[61]

Therefore this thesis is founded on extensive primary research undertaken in collections throughout the United Kingdom, in France at the Musée Les Arts Décoratifs and Musée Galliera, Paris, and Musée des Tissus, Lyon, and internationally through publications, periodicals and online catalogues. Rarely do garments from the eighteenth century survive without alteration, sometimes not even in tact and it is only using knowledge acquired through experience of looking at other objects that the stories and 'fragments' of historic garments can become more complete.[62]

This completion knowledge, or context, has been developed through constant cross-reference between objects and with other pictorial and textual sources. Key resources used include the Harry Matthews collection of fashion plates, illustrations and publications held at the Museum of London; a private collection of fashion plates on long term loan to Glasgow Museums; and general research of eighteenth century portraits through publications, national and private collections, providing essential visual reference points in colour. Use of images for dress research necessitated awareness of problems surrounding copied images, altered images and, particularly in relation to portraits, the possible different agendas of client and maker.[63] Therefore portraits are generally assessed alongside other visual evidence, the different sources providing mutual support. Where possible, focus has been made on using artists known to have favoured accuracy when depicting dress, accepting that even if the garment did not belong to the sitter it's contemporaneity to the portrait date aids assessment of style.

Additionally, text or document sources provide an essential part of material culture studies, as noted by Lubar and Kingery;[64] this thesis incorporates and is founded on research of newspapers and eighteenth century periodicals including *The Edinburgh Advertiser* and *The Scots Weekly Magazine* as well as specific archival research relating to profiled garments, including published family papers. Again, these sources are used within the context of other evidence to assist assessing their accuracy and enable visual understanding of descriptions.

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[61] *A Taylor's Complete Guide…*, London, 1796 (sourced from Gale 18th century collections online)
[62] For use of 'mint' condition and altered garments in study of dress see Baumgarten, Linda, *What clothes reveal: the language of clothing in colonial and federal America: the Colonial Williamsburg Collection*, London: Yale University Press 2002, 182-184; for objects as primary evidence of mechanical processes see Prown, Jules David, 'The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?' in Lubar and Kingery 1993, 2-4
[63] Most usefully covered in Retford, Kate, *The Art of Domestic Life: Family Portraiture in Eighteenth-century England*, London: Yale University Press, 2006
[64] For importance of documents in material studies, and the use of material studies to cross disciplinary boundaries see Lubar and Kingery, 1993, introduction xvi

The examples of garments to be presented in the following chapters were selected as a result of this process of reflexive investigation. Initial research involved extensive collections visits, beginning with significant Scottish collections, and broadening to smaller Scottish collections, collections in England and France. Garments were sought for criteria of style and material identified in items from Scottish collections. Study revealed a larger number of garments within Scottish collections, or with a Scottish provenance than initially anticipated, so that after initial surveys the most productive way to continue investigation was to narrow focus upon items that had the strongest provenance, stylistic theme, or relation to other objects. This naturally focussed research onto items that covered a cross-section of genteel eighteenth century society from a variety of Scottish locations, providing a strong basis for the thesis structure.

Thesis structure:

The overarching theme of this thesis is the juxtaposition of social class against fashionable garments from the eighteenth century, seeking to understand the dialogue between identity and dress for eighteenth century Scotswomen. Object studies form the core of each chapter through which discussion attempts to address what was worn by individuals and why. Using the objects as a guide to addressing questions of identity in dress imposes useful limitations, maintaining tangible evidence throughout, forcing the historical study to understand and accept evident material culture. Each chapter will firstly analyse the objects using a Prown-based method to situate the garments within a visual and stylistic context, assessing their date and probable associations. The main themes presented by the garments will then form the basis of each subsequent discussion, bringing the various items together.

The thesis is presented in four chapters and a conclusion. The chapters address three main income levels of garment owners: Chapter 1 examines aristocratic garments, Chapters 2 and 3 upper gentry, and Chapter 4 lower gentry or genteel garments. For ease of studying the number of garments relevant to the upper gentry, the data and discussions were further split according to geographic location as the object origins were Perthshire, Fife and Forfar (eastern Scotland) and Renfrewshire and Ayrshire (western Scotland) accordingly. Determining the structure of the thesis via social class rather than material or style of the objects enables a more decisively socio-historic analysis by grouping items which have little provenance with those which have strong provenance. Each garment is also, therefore, situated within a group that naturally reflects the probable social setting it would have had when worn, and garments from different eras within the same class can be directly juxtaposed. As will be seen, it is only through such comparisons that the styles of some garments can be confidently dated.

Using social groups as the structural theme was further dictated by the objects as many of them are related via provenance and it is important to keep these garments within their group context. Groups of

garments of the same provenance have been rarely studied within museum collections, despite having an intrinsic value as evidence of one person's or familial taste; problematic to assess with only one garment. The survival of a number of garment groups in Scottish collections may be the result of collections policies placing more value on the social history of the object than design significance. Outside of Scottish collections only a few garment groups were found, the closest equivalent being a group of dresses that belonged to the Baskerville Family of Clyro held at Herefordshire Museum. As indicated above, David Wilcox's article on Thomas Coutts shows how museum policies can determine what survives and why, without reflecting the contemporary use or visual place of the object; garments that belonged to individual households tell a unique story through their association with one another.

Research questions:

As noted, the main intention of thesis is to examine the relationship between fashionable dress and identity through extant objects. Within this, key questions behind each object analysis are: what does the garment say about the wearer? What does the garment say about its origin and probable use? How does the garment sit within or test the framework of existing knowledge around women in eighteenth century Scotland, and more generally, knowledge around eighteenth century dress?

These object-based questions are further broken into themes. Determined in each chapter by the individual garments they include: taste, financial means, morality, social environment and access to goods, which encompasses geographic location and social position. More specific questions forming the background to each analysis and discussion are: how goods were acquired, where from, and how the style of the garment fits within a wider stylistic framework. The relationships between fashionable dress and the identity of the wearer are examined by asking how personal taste may have influenced the garments presented and how far can this be assessed. How social identity and position influenced their dress sense, and, whether there is evidence of nationality or personal origin influencing sartorial choices.

Chapter 1 looks at the relationships between fashionable dress and identity through a close study of garment and archival evidence relating to the Dukes of Atholl, Earls of Haddington and Cathcart families. Asking specifically how the sartorial decisions of individuals were influenced by personal taste, social responsibility and political position as well as fashionable trends.

Chapter 2 looks at female members of genteel society in Perthshire and the Lothians, specifically what relationships between fashionable dress and identity can be seen in the Guthrie, Wedderburn and Richardson of Pitfour households. Chapter 3 continues this line of enquiry but moves geographically, to the south west of Scotland, and includes analysis of the Houstoun of Johnstone and Blair of Blair

families. Issues raised in these discussions include how life events and source of income may have affected dress, and the connections between sources of wealth and social communities.

Finally, Chapter 4 investigates garments of women from lesser-gentry families, looking in particular at how their garments were adjusted and reused, asking what the reasons for reuse may have been and how this interacted with the wearer's personal sense of style. The chapter will focus on garments associated with Agnes Muter née Freeland of Kirkcudbright, the Kinloch family of Blairgowrie, Perthshire, and Isabella Fraser née MacTavish of Invernessshire.

Figure 1.1: Location map

Blair Castle, Perthshire = 1
Dunkeld, Perthshire = 2
Tyninghame House, East Lothian = 3
Mellerstain House, Berwickshire = 4

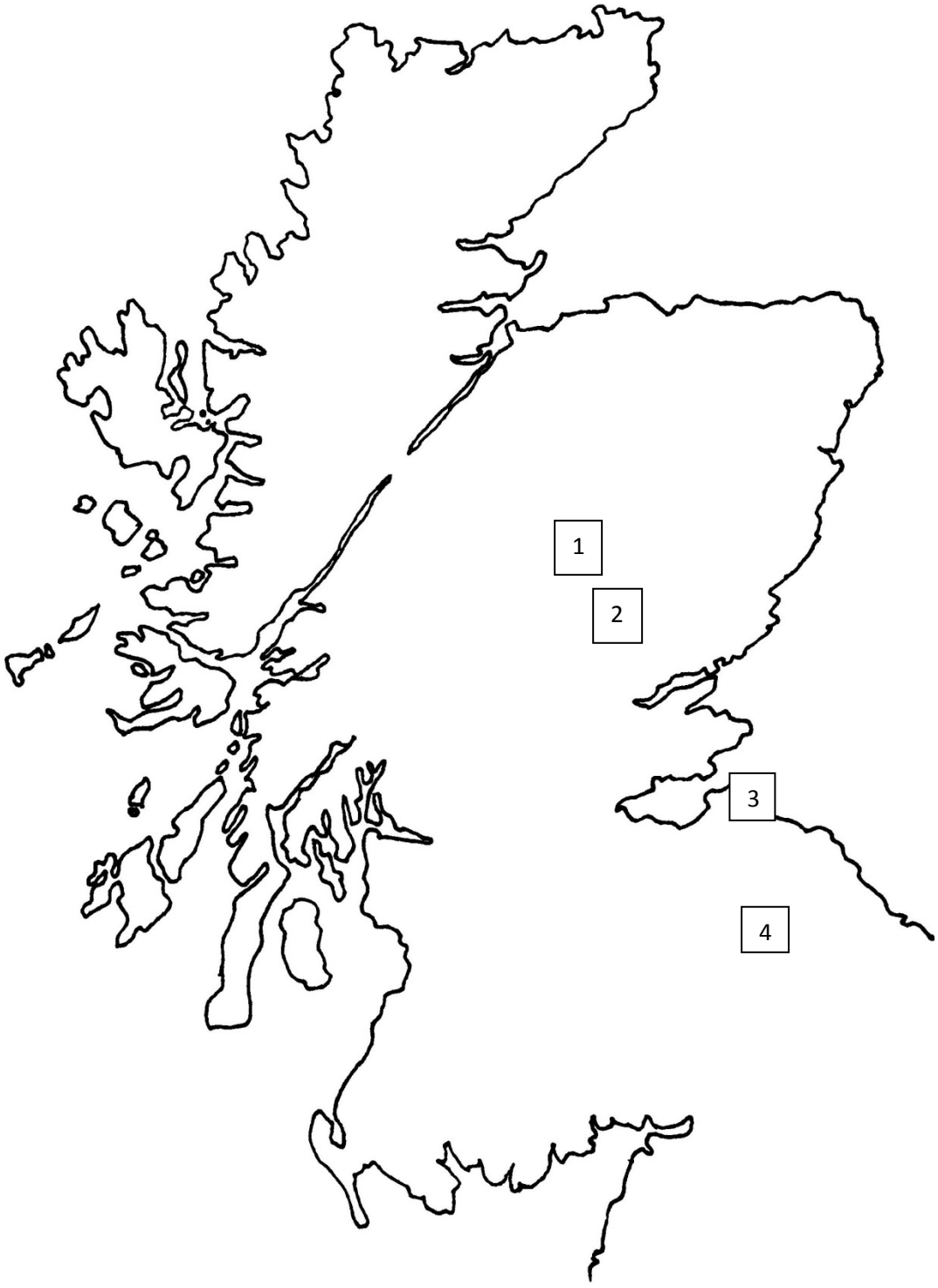


Figure 1.2: Dukes of Atholl family tree

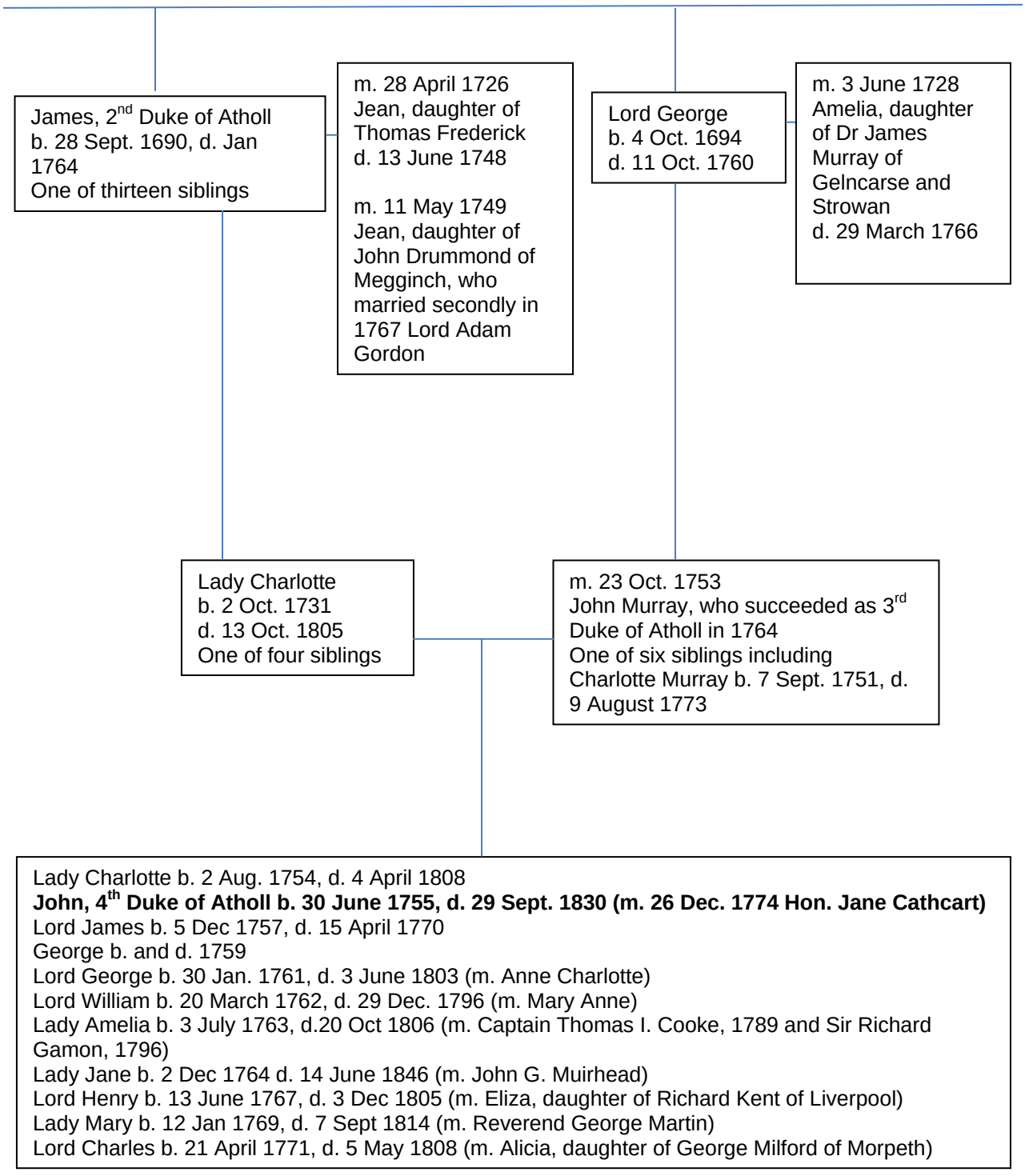
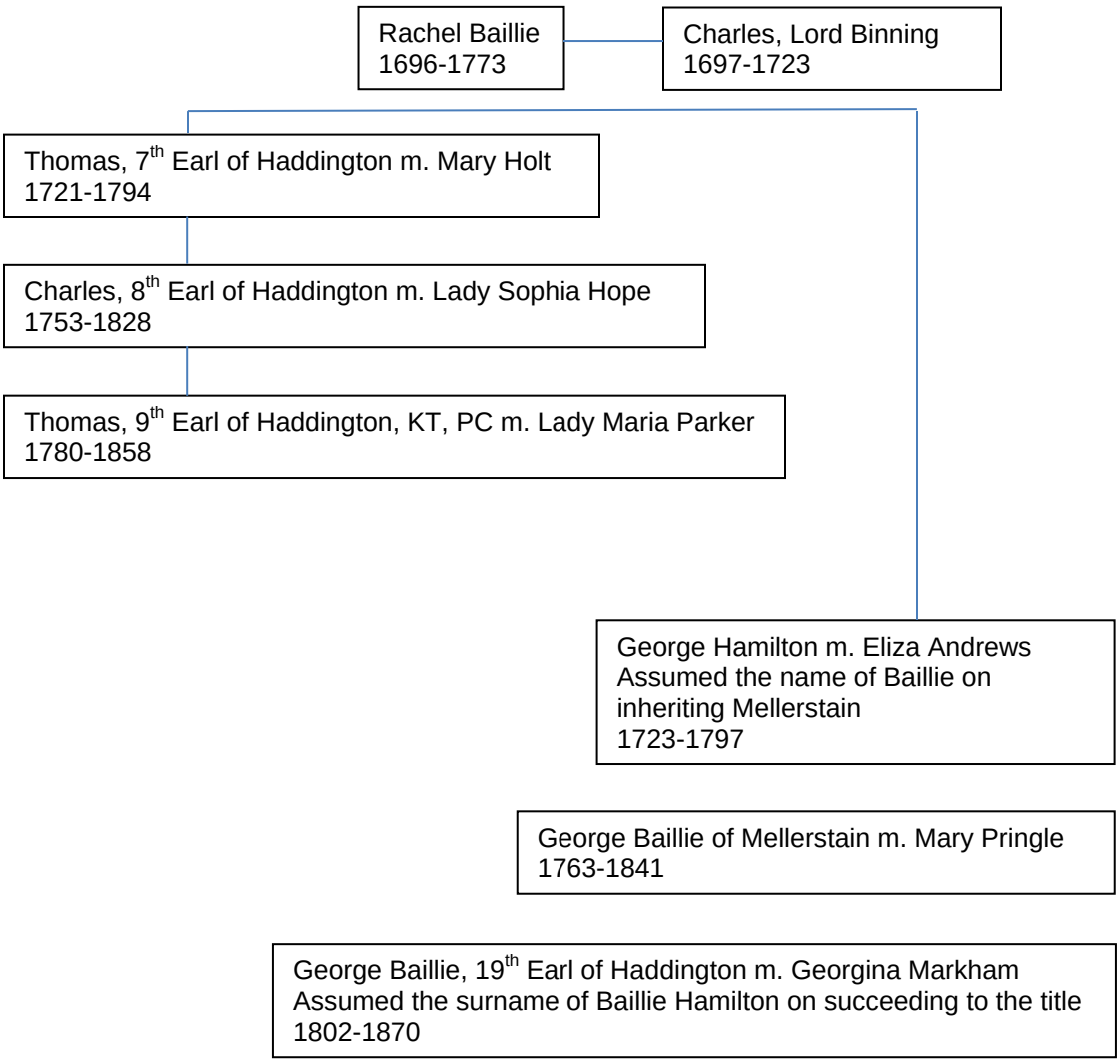
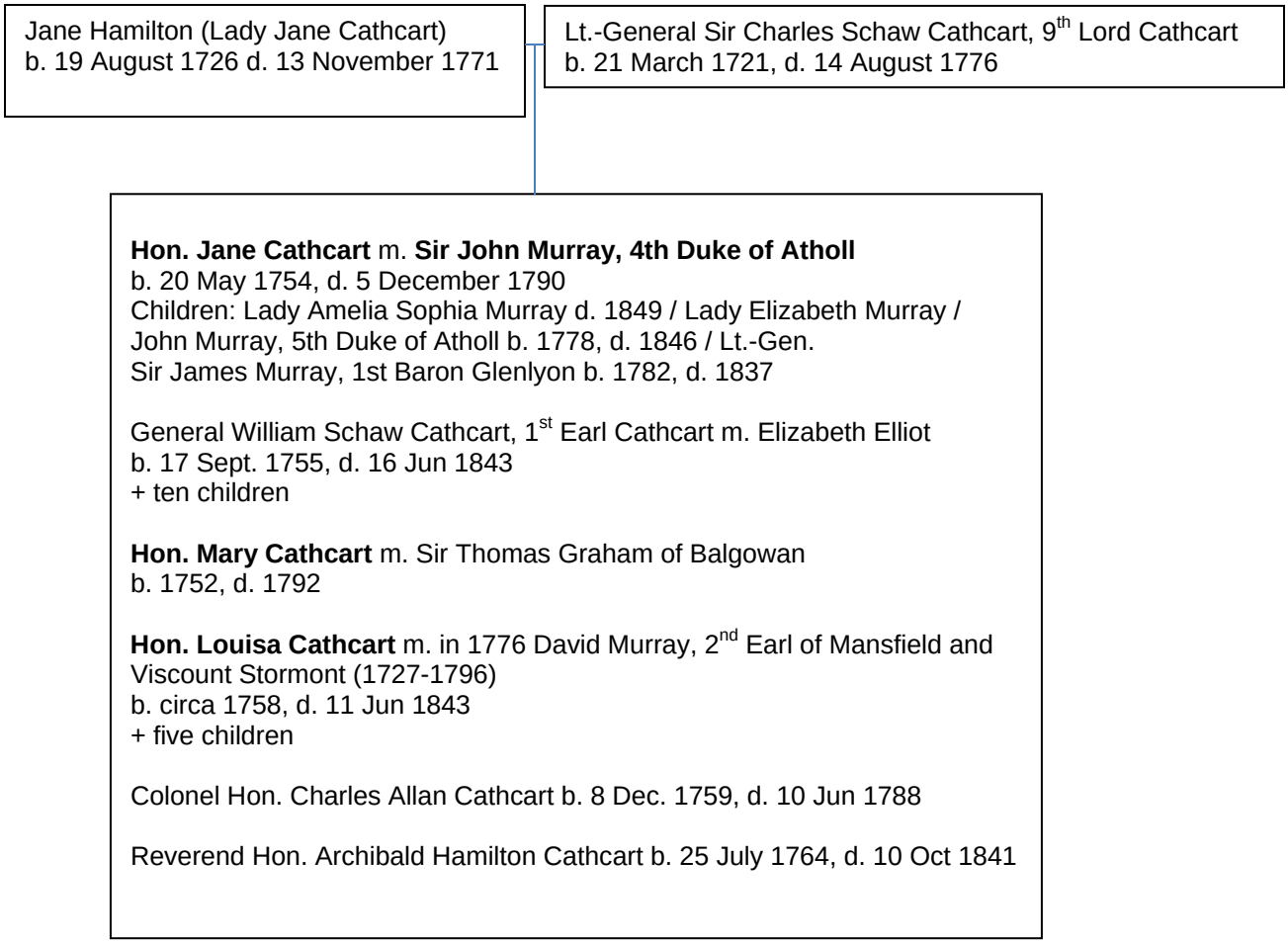


Figure 1.3: Earls of Haddington family tree[65]



[65] As taken from Lawson, Bob (text), *A Brief History ad guide to Mellerstain House Home of the Earl and Countess of Haddington*, Selkirk: Kelpie Books (date not given)

Figure 1.4: Cathcart family tree



Chapter 1: Aristocratic Scotswomen, their dress and sense of identity

Review and Introduction:

As noted in the introduction, collections of costume and textiles present a limited view of eighteenth century dress culture, and one that has been filtered and edited via the perceptions of subsequent generations. The groups most commonly represented in relevant collections are the upper and middle classes. Items often survive because they are desirable for reuse, or financially or emotionally valuable.[66] However, acceptance of these limitations should not prejudice against the historical value of the surviving objects, or the insights they can provide about their contemporary culture.

The following chapter will examine evidence presented by members of the most wealthy social class of the late eighteenth century; the aristocratic families of the 2nd–4th Dukes of Atholl and 9th Earl of Cathcart, with reference to items owned by the Earls of Haddington and archives of the Dukes of Gordon. The discussion will focus on the Dukes of Atholl, who are represented by a number of surviving garments, detailed accounts, correspondence and a privately published book recounting the history of the family; *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families.*[67] Their situation is then given further context by surviving garments from Tyninghame House, which belonged to the Earls of Haddington and correspondence of the 9th Earl of Cathcart's daughters; Charlotte, Duchess of Atholl, Mary Graham and Lousia, Lady Stormont, whose letters and biographies have been published in *The Cathcart Circle*.

The study of the Atholl, Cathcart, Gordon and Haddington families, as distinguished public figures, will illustrate how politics and international affairs could influence dress. Like anyone, their clothing was a reflection of living circumstances, financial means, personal tastes and how they desired to be seen by others. The preservation of some garments from these families is a direct result of their value and situation, so that their having survived offers some clue to use during the eighteenth century. Furthermore, as material evidence of personalities who were at once private individuals, public figures and socially influential, these garments present a unique interface from which to glean interpretation of their era.

The public visibility and privileged status of aristocrats such as the 3rd Duke of Atholl only served to heighten such attributes. Where most people's clothes communicate with their immediate community,

[66] For discussion of self in objects and nostalgia see Russell W. Belk, 'Possessions and the Extended Self' from, *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15 (1988), 139-168 in Miller, *Consumption: Critical concepts in the social sciences*, 2004

[67] John, Seventh Duke of Atholl, K.T. (ed.), volumes I-V, Edinburgh: Privately Printed at the Ballantyne Press 1908

the 3rd Duke and his family lived between Dunkeld and London. In Dunkeld their social peers were some miles distant from them, making localised travel necessary. The family would have been conspicuous in their migrations, recognisable and subject to judgement by those they passed and interacted with. For the Cathcarts this social exposure extended beyond London and Scotland; two of the 9th Earl of Cathcart's daughters lived in Europe during adult years and the whole family had been at the Russian court during the Earl's Ambassadorial appointment there, 1768-1772.

Representative and expressive, aristocratic dress therefore presents a complex and socially specific group of concerns. In a sense an aristocrat was an ambassador in daily life, of their social class, their family and their nation by being a visibly distinctive member of society. The question remains as to what exerted the most influence on the dress-related choices of aristocratic women; more specifically - what do the extant garments and documents of the Atholl, Cathcart, Gordon and Haddington women say about the intersection of personal taste, social responsibility, political position and cultural loyalty in their dress?

Methodology and layout:

The method of research for this area has been based on first locating extant women's wear with a Scottish provenance, which uncovered the Atholl and Haddington items. The objects were then studied closely and compared with other known items to establish basic questions for further research. As the items were attached to specific households a combination of object research and family history or social historical study then began to expand context. This was most successful in relation to the Dukes of Atholl who have kept an extensive accessible archive. Increased knowledge of the 4th Duke of Atholl then led to further research into his wives and daughters, his first wife being Jane Cathcart, eldest daughter of the 9th Earl of Cathcart. A social picture was able to be drawn of the relations between some of the aristocratic families in Scotland. For example, the Dukes of Atholl were found to be connected to the Dukes of Gordon; Jean Drummond, aunt to the 3rd Earl and mother to his wife (and cousin) Charlotte married Lord Adam Gordon in 1767, three years after the death of her first husband.

The object studies have been condensed and are presented in the following part of this and each subsequent chapter as 'Data'. Broadly following the Prown approach as detailed in the thesis introduction, each object study begins with a physical description of the object, presented as a catalogue entry in a table format. This is then followed by a 'Comparative analysis' in which the primary stylistic features of the textile and overall object are contextualised. Each analysis involved extensive visual investigation and evidence; primary images have been collated into a supporting document and are referenced throughout the 'Comparative analysis' discussions.

The object descriptions draw on the researcher's knowledge of current practice in the museums sector for their format and content, deliberately avoiding over-burden of detail and using subject-specific terminology only where necessary for clarity. The following comparative discussion is bias towards visual sources, following art-historical and archaeological traditions of quantitative analysis to understand the place of each object within the crafted media of its contemporary culture. The catalogue and comparison will be undertaken first for five garments which belonged to the Dukes of Atholl, then four items that belonged to the Earls of Haddington followed by one garment said to have been worn by the Countess of Home, connecting to the Haddington households.

The final section of this chapter, titled 'Discussion' will relate the object studies to one another and a wider social context, discussing how the garments may have been created and used under three themes; opportunity and availability, decision making, production and manifestation.

Data:

Dukes of Atholl

Object name /number	Blair 1: a painted silk dress with gilt lace trimming
Date	None given by collection; research suggests circa 1768-1774[68]
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 29 inches / 740mm
Provenance	3rd Duke of Atholl
Collection	Blair Castle, Blair Atholl, Perthshire
Description	Woman's dress in three parts; (a) dress, (b) stomacher, and (c) petticoat, each made from cream silk hand-painted in green, pink, blue, purple and yellow with a floral design of trailing stems and bouquets. The stems are single lines of dark green with long, generally pointed leaves, and emanate from the bouquets. The bouquets include, among others, larger flowers resembling wild roses or camellias. The stems have smaller star and bell-shaped flowers resembling modern clematis or jasmine. (a) Dress, with low squared neckline trimmed with box-pleated self-material edged with gilt lace. Back of neckline with two double-sided box-pleats in the *sacque* style, dress front open with

[68] Where research differs from or has provided more accurate dating this is noted alongside any date ascribed by the relevant collection, when research agrees with the collection date only the latter is noted.

	the self-material trimmings extending down each side to skirt hem, broadening and becoming padded from waist level. Bodice fully lined with bleached linen and cotton. The bodice lining appears to have been adjusted or replaced. Sleeves to elbow length, straight, gathered slightly into the neckline, with double-layer self-material flounce-style cuffs gathered onto sleeve end; cuffs have a broadly scalloped edge with gilt lace. The inside of each elbow has a self-material bow, trimmed with gilt lace. There is some evidence of repair under the arms. Both sleeves are lined with bleached linen. Open-fronted skirt, cut for panniers with pleats and tucks at each hip, and a slightly shaped hem, at back skirt extends in one piece from shoulder pleats. Hem is lined with plain cream silk, approximately 4 inches deep, the top edge has been trimmed and machine-stitched at a later date. Skirt has pocket slits just below waist at each side; openings are edged with box-pleated self-material, trimmed with gilt lace as at neckline, with a bow at the bottom; trimming extends in a straight line from the pocket to the skirt hem. Skirt is constructed in five panels, using three full selvedge widths of fabric. (b) Stomacher, attached at one side of bodice front with seam, and seven hook and eye fastenings at opposite opening (probably later alterations). Stomacher is flat across top, with rounded v-shaped waistline, trimmed with narrow band of box-pleated self-material with gilt lace edging and down centre of stomacher. Centre top with self-material bow of four loops and two tails edged with gilt lace. Stomacher unlined except for narrow strip of linen, probably added later for boning, which is now removed. (c) Petticoat, or under-skirt, with flat front and irregular pleating at sides showing signs of alteration onto a later cotton waistband, probably a nineteenth century replacement. Some stitch holes at upper centre front where stomacher has been attached. Lower front has trimming of a waving band of gathered and padded self-material, surmounting a deep flounce (approx 17 inches, 440mm) with padded lozenges across the top. Beneath the flounce, at the petticoat hem is a further band of padded self-material trim. All trimmings are edged with gilt lace. Petticoat is constructed from four panels, again with three full selvedge widths.

Comparative analysis:

The painted silk of Blair 1 (images numbered 1.1)[69] was compared with other eighteenth century painted silk items in British collections. Examples of painted silks were found to be uncommon, but most large collections have one relevant item. None of the key examples found use the same pattern (1.2-1.12, 1.34). The group evidences the longevity of floral painted silk production and use, while hinting at the extensive variety of designs available to eighteenth-century consumers.

[69] Images hereafter referred to numerically; some images are used for more than one chapter, to avoid repetition they are referred to by their original reference number, where images depict different views of the same object as relevant to different chapters they are cross referenced.

The example most closely resembling Blair 1 in pattern distribution is the V&A item (1.5). Those with similar colours and flora (1.4, 1.8, 1.9), suggest a similar production date or place. The textile of 1.5 is thought to have been produced specifically for export from China to Europe and dates to the 1760s.[70] If so, then the Blair textile may have similarly been made for export; both textiles have yellow stripes in the selvedge. This was significant in establishing a probable origin for the Blair item. The Hereford item (1.2) has a yellow selvedge and measures 29 inches (740mm) wide, exactly as with Blair 1. The Museum of London textile (1.4), identified as Chinese, has a yellow selvedge and measures 28 inches (710mm) wide. The Manchester silk (1.8), identified as Chinese, measures 32 6/8 inches (833mm) wide with red stripes in the selvedge. The Countess of Home's garment in National Museums Scotland (profiled below) has red stripes in the selvedge, is 28 ½ inches (724mm) wide and is thought to be Chinese.

The textile width and selvedge colour were not available for each item sampled, but the evidence found was supported by the conclusions of Maruta Skelton and Leanna Lee-Whitman whose comparison of Chinese and European painted silks identified characteristics typical of Chinese painted textiles.[71] These included a selvedge width of around 28-31 inches (710-790mm), whereas comparable European silks were around 19-23 inches (480-585mm). Another feature identified, and observable in the above examples, is a contrasting colour of the selvedge - such as yellow or red. Other characteristics found in the Chinese textiles study were regular holes in the selvedge, a soft sheen and finish, calligraphic brush strokes, a white base layer beneath the coloured design and the use of silver out-lines.[72]

The article published by Skelton and Lee-Whitman advises that the white base layer and silver highlights are problematic to discern by the naked eye. Yet, a dual layer can be observed in the flaking and damaged areas of Blair 1 and the milky tone of the flowers suggests use of a white base layer (see detail images). Moreover, there are two outlines visible on some areas of the Blair 1 pattern, particularly the large flowers. The paler line, apparently beneath the painted layer, is probably the drawn pattern; the more visible outline could be a silver outline, now appearing as a dull graphite colour. Without chemical analysis positive identification is not possible, however Blair 1 can be positively identified as a painted Chinese silk.

[70] http://www.vam.ac.uk/images/image/59317-popup.html viewed 30.11.2010
[71] Skelton, Maruta and Lee-Whitman, Leanna, 'A Systematic Method for Differentiating Between 18th Century Painted-Printed Chinese and Western Silks', 131-151, in Needles, Howard L., and Zeronan, S. Haig eds., *Historic Textile and Paper Materials Conservation and Charaterization*, Advances in Chemistry Series 212, Washington: American Chemical Society, 1986
[72] Ibid., see tables I and II, 133 and 136

Analysis of the construction of Blair 1 was undertaken in stages, looking firstly at the bodice and sleeves, then skirt and finally trimmings, leading to the conclusion that the garment dated to around 1770. Initially British fashion plates provided clear evidence of styles directly comparable to Blair 1 between 1771 and 1773 (1.13-1.16), with some evidence of the bodice form continuing as fashionable in 1774 (1.17), whereas a French illustration extended the date of comparative trimmings to 1776 (1.17).

The circa 1770 date was supported by portraits, extending the probable date of Blair 1 back to 1769, both with bodice trimming (1.19) and general form of skirt trimming (1.22). Yet these different areas of trimming could also be associated with images dating to 1773 (1.20, 1.21). While most of the imagery accessed was of British origin and usefully provided probable dates for Blair 1, extant garments suggested mixed Anglo-French associations, the most similar trimmings having predominantly French influence. This was with trimming shape and placement as well as origin of the garment textile (1.23-1.27). However, evidence of similarly elaborate trimmings and style could be found on garments in English collections, (1.28-1.30). The bows on the décolletage of 1.29 have probably been transplanted from an original position on the sleeve.

Finally, the quality of the trimming and silk was assessed, some of the nearest comparisons being formal Royal court mantuas with English provenance (1.31-1.33). The probability of Blair 1 being used for full court wear was tempered by its being a *sacque* rather than a mantua. Overall, the most comparable garments found were a dress said to have been worn by Eva Garrick, wife of celebrity actor David Garrick (1.34) - a *sacque* with wider panniers than Blair 1 (suggestive of the earlier date) and no gilt trimming, and a dress in the Musée Galliera collection (1.23), with no provenance and a generalised date bracket, it is possible that this garment dates to the late 1760s or early 1770s.

Object name /number	Blair 2: a purple silk dress with green silk trimming
Date	None given by collection; research suggests circa 1767–1774
Materials	Silk
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 inches / 740mm Silk pattern repeat height: 15 inches / 380mm
Provenance	3rd Duke of Atholl
Collection	Blair Castle, Blair Atholl, Perthshire

Description	Woman's dress made from purple and green shot silk figured in off-white with a design of trailing lace ribbon and garlands of roses, interspersed with groups of small round-headed flowers brocaded in red, orange or pink, brown and green silk. Dress has an open front and squared back neckline with box-pleats forming the *sacque* style, outside edges of pleats have additional two folds, some stitch-holes suggesting adjustment. Each side of open front has wide single pleat extending from neckline forming the robing. Neckline and robings are trimmed with a narrow band of satin silk green ribbon, box-pleated at wide intervals, with narrow green silk cord running down the centre. Sleeves are cut straight to just above the elbow, roughly gathered into the shoulder seam and trimmed on lower half with green ribbon as before, with a tuck at cuff area. Sleeves have loose threads, indicating removal of trimmings or cuffs. Sleeves and bodice are lined in green silk; the centre back of the bodice lining is open to the external material and stitched down. Centre back of the waist lining has binding of green ribbon, extended by corded green tape, probably a later addition. Full-length skirt with open front shaped at the hips for panniers; pocket slits just below waist at each hip, the openings trimmed with pleated green silk ribbon as before, a bow at the bottom. Skirt fronts are trimmed with a wide band of pleated green silk and narrow cord similar to the robings, silk is cut with a scalloped edge; trimming extends in a meandering line from the waist to skirt hem. Stitch holes on inside edges of skirt fronts suggest skirt previously had further trimming. Skirt is constructed from six panels and is unlined; the hem has been shortened and tacked, stitch holes suggest the lower skirt was originally lined.

Comparative analysis:

The properties of Chinese silks identified by Skelton and Lee-Whitman contrast with those of the Blair 2 silk, which is stiff and nineteen inches wide; combined with the pattern design it is identifiably European. Natalie Rothstein described the characteristic French pattern of the 1760s as "an elaborately textured meander of 'lace' or 'fur'" citing a Galy Gallien of Lyon swatch book at the V&A (T.373-1972 p.52) and the Warner Archive (T.399 - T.430-1972).[73] Relevant examples (1.36-1.39) with meandering lace and floral patterns make clear the general similarity between Blair 2 and French textiles of circa 1762-1771. The V&A item 1.36, provides an example of a shot silk with a similar colour tone to Blair 2. On the V&A catalogue card the design is dated February 1762 and "The curvaceous pattern is typical of this decade in French silk production, and… would have been woven in a monochrome or cameo effect and contained metal threads."[74] A dress in the Museum of London

[73] Rothstein, Natalie (ed.), *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics*, London: Thames and Hudson 1987, 31; for discussion of pattern density see also Browne, Clare (ed.), *Silk Designs of the Eighteenth Century From the Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, London: Thames and Hudson 1996, 8

[74] http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/0120928/textile-design/ accessed 07.01.2010

(1.47) uses a similar coloured ground. The fabric has been dated 1762-1765 and is thought to be French. Both of these examples are generally more elaborate than Blair 2.

Investigation of the daisy-like flower on Blair 2 revealed that flowers of this kind were a regular long-term motif in French textiles. In articles in the *Dossier de l'Art*, 2010, several examples of early nineteenth century textiles are shown using a daisy flower (1.40-1.42).[75] Research into a combination of flower form and general pattern identified a number of broadly comparable extant garments and textiles in British and international collections (1.43-1.48). They all tended to have been dated with the textile as circa 1750s-1760s, but the garment styles (where appropriate) were dated around the late 1760s-early 1770s.

Catalogue information relating to the V&A item (1.45) states that the meandering style of pattern came from France, but in this instance shows a 'delicacy' resonant with English design, further stating that the fashion for meandering designs 'in dress fabrics lasted for several years'.[76] The longevity of such a pattern is illustrated by an earlier design in the V&A collection (1.46).

Therefore several features of the Blair 2 textile pointed towards it being in a French style, if not a French production; the ground colours, the meandering lace design and the size of the pattern, the regularity of the pattern and stylisation of the small flowers. However, the migration and copying of textile designs within Europe, between France and Britain at this period, makes it difficult to deduct unquestionable origin.[77]

Examination of Blair 2's style began with comparison to Blair 1, identifying the similarities and the distinctions between these two garments which are both *sacque* dresses. Some of the construction detail has been lost in Blair 2 due to adjustments, but after close examination the trimmings were thought to be original; their form provided the basis for most of the style analysis. The pleated trimming down the open front compares to the 1769 portrait of the *Marquis and Marquise de Marigny* (1.22), pleated and fixed at the centre with a narrow cord. This style of trimming is seen in Jean-Baptiste Perroneau's *Madame Sorquainville*, 1749 (1.49), although Sorquainville's trimming is of self-material, wider, gathered and creating a softer line than the Blair 2 pleats.

[75] Coural, Chantal, 'Le Consulat et L'Empire Un Âge D'Or Inégalé', 42-60 and 'La Restauration et La Monarchie Juillet D'Une Empire A L'Autre', 62-81 in *Dossier de l'Art*, number 92, 2010
[76] http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/0117741/dress-fabric/ accessed 07.02.2011
[77] Miller, Lesley Ellis, 'Innovation and Industrial Espionage in Eighteenth-Century France: An Investigation of the selling of Silks through Samples', *Journal of Design History*, 1999, volume 12, issue 3, 271-292

The comparative rigidity of Blair 2 helps to date it as later than *Madame Sorquainville*. While not to be over-emphasised, fashion plates of the 1760s into the early 1770s did show a tightening of structure in informal dress towards the latter end of the 1760's and early 1770's (1.13, 1.50-1.52). The same change is noted in relation to textile designs, from the large bouquets and trails of the rococo period to placing designs within and around stripes.[78] These fashion plates, among others, were also used to study the trimmings of Blair 2, concluding that by 1774 and 1775 most dresses were depicted as having a narrow trim following the open edge of their skirt, with or instead of a more definite zig-zag pattern of narrow poufs between rosettes,[79] but no return to the meandering trimmings of the late 1760s.

Other examples of pleated trimmings were identified in British portraits and garments (1.53-1.65), all dated within the 1750s to 1770s; the strongest comparisons being with Allan Ramsay's *Augusta, Princess of Wales*, circa 1760-1768 and Francis Cotes' portrait of *Princess Louisa and Princess Caroline*, providing strong evidence for 1767 (1.57, 1.60).

Finally, a similarity between Blair 1 and 2 is the trimming around the pocket area. Not often found on the pocket openings of extant garments, when such trimming is found the garments are similarly ornately trimmed for a more formal use (1.30/1.187). The similarity of the pockets slits and other features on Blair 1 and 2 suggests that they were created within a few years of one another. A combination of their styles can be seen on a Benjamin Wilson painting (1.61). Individuals may share style features on their dresses but both modern couture practice[80] and other surviving eighteenth century garments evidence the individualising of details on bespoke garments. Therefore, finding two items with the same details and provenance would suggest their having been made or commissioned by one person.

Object name /number	Blair 3: a bodice and length of cream fabric with metal thread
Date	None given by collection; research suggests circa 1770s
Materials	Silk

[78] For example, Rothstein, Natalie, *The Victoria and Albert Museum's Textile Collection, Woven Textile Design in Britain from 1750 to 1850*, London: Victoria and Albert Museum 1994, 9-11; on furnishing fabric design and post-1760 diminishing French influence on British design, Schoeser, Mary and Dejardin, Kathleen, *French Textiles from 1760 to the present*, Laurence King Ltd 1991, 19 and 24

[79] Museum of London, Harry Matthews Collection, 2002.139.492, 'Ladies in the Dress of 1774'

[80] Schaeffer, Claire B., *Couture Sewing Techniques*, Newtown: The Taunton Press Inc., 2007 first published 1993, for example 8, 14-16

Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 inches / 740mm Silk pattern repeat height: 15 inches / 380mm
Provenance	3rd Duke of Atholl
Collection	Blair Castle, Blair Atholl, Perthshire
Description	a) Length of fabric in cream silk woven vertically with satin ribbed stripes at approximately 1 ½ inches (38mm) distance flanking a trailing floral design. The stripe blocks are 4 2/8 inches wide (108mm), between them is a regular pattern of brocaded flowers in shades of pink, green, yellow and black, at a repeat of 11 inches (280mm); each block of flowers is mirrored in the horizontal repeat, every two widths approximating a repeat of 9 inches. Some of the yellow is twisted with metal thread, originally appearing as gilt. The fabric is woven across the weft (horizontally) with thin strips of silver, now fragmented. b) Woman's bodice in the above textile with a low square neckline, closed with centre front opening. Front in two panels with slightly rounded v-shape hem. Sleeveless with self-material shoulder straps at front, extended with pink ribbon at back. Back is in four panels with shallow v-point to *fourreau*.[81] Bodice is lined in linen, with stitch lines flanking centre back seams suggesting original garment was boned. Wearer's left front side has panel of silk missing.

Comparative analysis:

Research for this pair of items focussed on the textile. The V&A was found to have examples of Spitalfields silks from the 1750s, which treat the floral motifs in a similar way - in colour with a tromp de oil effect highlighted in silver or gold (1.67, 1.68). Additionally, their brocaded flowers are of a similar size to Blair 3 and on a cream ground with floral tracery and dots in cream and silver. The ground pattern on T.282.1971 (1.68) is like a silk design of 1713 by James Leman (1.69); the similarity lies in the shape of the floral motifs.

A dress in Norfolk Museums' collection, dated circa 1775 has a similar pattern of flowers to Blair 3 (1.70). Both textiles have rows of single larger flowers with small flowers inbetween and coloured flowers on cream grounds, woven with gilt flower heads. The metal thread on the Norfolk garment is wrapped around a yellow silk in the same way as on Blair 3. However, Blair 3 has more figurative detail in the stripes and a denser pattern overall, with silver strands running through the weft. A dress in Glasgow Museums' collection was found with a broadly comparable textile (1.71), dated circa 1770, the dress altered circa 1795-1800. The fabric has no metal threads but a selvedge of twenty inches, closely matching the Norwich selvedge at twenty and a half inches.

[81] The term *fourreau* or *en fourreau* is used here and throughout this study to refer to a distinct v-shape in a garment bdice back. No distinction is inferred between how this shape is constructed (pleats or seaming) or whether there is a waistline seam. This is to assist simplification of terminology and quick referencing to the garment shape.

Hereford Museums was found to have a dress with a textile more closely comparable to the quality of Blair 3, but different in design detail; a cream silk with silver or a metal thread running in narrow stripes across the weft (1.72). The selvedge width is 20 2/8 inches (515mm). This dress has a Herefordshire provenance and thus, alongside the other examples, locates the Blair 3 textile as probably British and possibly a Spitalfields, London, silk. The date is less certain on appraisal of the textile alone.

Analysis of the style and shaping of the bodice suggested it was made in the 1770s. The evidence from the preceding two Blair items is that an open front with a stomacher and robings folded back at each side was most common in the 1760s and earlier. No contemporary fashion plates were found showing a fully closed front until 1776.[82] The Hereford Museum dress has a closed front, a fitted bodice and tapering elbow length sleeves, the skirt is open at the front and pleated into the waistline, as creases on parts of Blair 3 suggest it would have been. The centre back of the Hereford dress bodice is shaped *en fourreau* with pleats, which extend into the skirt at the waistline. This is a feature found, on dresses that have been converted from a *sacque* into a fitted form, such as (1.73). Other features of the Hereford dress, such as flounce-style cuffs and trimming of cream silk cord with pink and black tufted fly-braid suggested a more specific date for the garment as 1770-1775.

By comparison, the remains of the dress structure of Blair 3, pointed to an early or mid-1770s date, but Blair 3's bodice is constructed in a style that looks forward to the tight fitting forms of the late 1770s and 1780s. In light of the garment shape, the Blair 3 textile further confirms an early to mid-1770s date. The treatment of the individual flowers on Blair 3 can be compared to earlier designs, but their inter-line structure is more like other designs of the 1770s, as noted in relation to the Galy Gallien patterns and Blair 2.

Object name /number	Blair 4: a skirt and length of cotton printed in colour and gold
Date	None given by collection; research suggests circa 1775 -1790
Materials	cotton
Dimensions	selvedge width: 44 ½ inches / 1130mm pattern repeat height: 16 ½ inches / 420mm pattern repeat width: 17 3/8 / 440mm

[82] For example Museum of London, Harry Matthews Collection, 2002.139.523 'Lady Barrymore'

Provenance	4th Duke of Atholl
Collection	Blair Castle, Blair Atholl, Perthshire
Description	a) A length of white cotton with printed or dyed selvedge in blue, block-printed with a sparse design of trailing floral stems and floral sprigs in purple, red or pink, blue, green and yellow. The main pattern has been printed with extensive highlights in gold. The leaf shapes are pointed, in fern and star-like patterns; the main pattern is formed on thicker stems, around which are thin twisting tentacles. One edge of the material has red lines suggesting it was the end of the cloth bolt. There is an East India Company stamp situated on one edge. The material has never been used. b): A full length skirt, with high waistline. Flat, self-material waistband, approximately two inches (50mm) deep, opening at centre back. Skirt is flat at waist front and pleated at side and back. Lower skirt is trimmed with three horizontal bands of gold lamella embroidered onto white net. The skirt is unlined and has little sign of wear except degradation of the embroidered areas.

Comparative analysis:

It is likely that Blair 4 dates from 1775 onwards. The textile compares closely with an overdress in the V&A collections, dated circa 1780: IS.3-1948 (1.75).[83] This date presumably refers to the textile rather than the garment, as the dress style is circa 1790; evidenced by fashion plates wider hips and a lower waistline were the standard style in the 1780s (1.76, 1.77), waistlines rose in comparison to the V&A example after 1790 (1.78).

The Blair 4 chintz pattern can be compared to several garments in the 1790s style, additional to the above. For example, dress T.121-1992 in the V&A (1.79) dated to 1795-1800, said to be English in Indian painted cotton. The motif construction is simpler than Blair 4, and there is no gold embellishment. An example of a round gown, pleated at the back like T.121-1992, was published by Linda Baumgarten as having been made in Albany, New York around 1810, G1991.465 (1.80). The design on this chintz follows a fine single stem with small floral motifs. Baumgarten described it as a British textile.

Dress LEEAG 1949.0008.0025 at Leeds City Museums (1.81, 2.194), dated circa 1800, uses self-striped cotton muslin and just below the collar it is possible to see the textile manufacturers stamp, showing through from the reverse. Only the ends of two words are visible below a monogram, reading ‘sh’ and ‘ory’, which fits with ‘British Manufactory’. This chintz is again of flowers on single trailing

[83] Published in Crill, Rosemary, *Chintz Indian Textiles for the West*, London: V&A Publishing 2008, 133

stems in a regular c curve, with floral sprays. The fine pattern detail suggests it was printed using an engraved metal roller, synonymous with European printed cotton production.[84]

These examples show the change from the bolder design on Blair 4 towards the simpler, more closely repeating motif used on later dresses. Although conclusions regarding differences in style should take into account the quality of the fabrics. Blair 4 and IS.3-1948 are obviously more expensive fabrics than these later examples, printed with gold highlights. Dress T.217-1992 at the V&A has a comparable richness of material (1.82). It is dated circa 1780 and said to be Dutch. The fabric is chintz in a spray design interspersed with bouquets similar to Blair 4, with red, blue and purple flowers, over-printed with a dense gold dot pattern. The gold adds lustre like that on Blair 4, but without highlighting the pattern in the same way.[85]

Few examples of fabrics of a similar richness have been found, while *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashion* provides a guide to changes in fashionable chintz design over several decades. There are three examples from the 1740s in which the floral motifs crowd the swatches[86] whereas later examples from 1778-1781 more closely resemble Blair 4, the floral motifs being large enough to show details and several colours but the white ground of the fabric is equally present (1.83-1.86). From 1787 Johnson buys dark ground printed cottons and the designs are smaller, increasingly dense, with a more restricted colour palate and less floral detail (1.87-1.90).[87] While providing a guide these choices reflect Johnson's personal taste, so should not be generalised too far.

A petticoat in the V&A dated 1750-1775 (1.91), published alongside IS.3-1948, displays a density of design like that of Blair 4, but the palate is more restricted. As with IS.3-1948 the petticoat is thought to be a Coromandel Coast production. Since Blair 4 retains the East India Company stamp it too is probably of Indian manufacture.

Another example relating to Blair 4 in the Colonial Williamsburg collection is dress G1991.467 (1.92). This garment supports the dating of Blair 4 to circa 1780 both in textile pattern and style of dress. It is cotton embroidered with silk. The dress is designated as British and has been embroidered with stripes bordering chintz panels, the stripes containing a miniature floral trail. The design is sparse with the long pointed leafs that feature in Blair 4. The colour palate is also similar in its use of blue, yellow, red

[84] Sykas, Philip A., *Identifying Printed Textiles in Dress 1740-1890*, Dress and Textiles Specialists information pack in association with Arts Council England, 2007, for example 10-11
[85] Published in Hart, Avril and North, Susan, *Historical Fashion in Detail, the 17th and 18th Centuries*, London: V&A Publications 2007, 42-43 and Crill, 2008, 140-141
[86] Page 1 of album 1746-1748, page 19, 21 25 of album 1778, 1779 and 1781
[87] 27 [1787], 29 [1789], 35 [1792], 41 [1796]

and green. The colours on Blair 4 are remarkable for not being found on many surviving examples of chintz from the same period; giving strength to the comparison between Blair 4 and IS.3-1948. The style of the Williamsburg dress reinforces the dating of the textile to circa 1780 and thereafter; resembling the dress of *Lady Augusta Campbell* as painted by John Opie, circa 1784 (1.93).[88]

Object name /number	Blair 5: two silk dresses with gold embroidery and trimming
Date	None given by collection; research suggests circa 1800-1810
Materials	Silk
Dimensions	
Provenance	4th Duke of Atholl
Collection	Blair Castle, Blair Atholl, Perthshire
Description	a) Woman's over-dress in white silk muslin taffeta. Dress in rectangular shape, with narrow straps of white silk ribbon, fully open at centre back. Each side of front embroidered with gold lamella in vertical bands of ferns and cones with two gold cord bows at each side of lower skirt; vertical design connected by four horizontal bands of cones or roses. Garment is unlined. b) Woman's over-dress in plain white silk muslin taffeta, in rectangular shape with narrow straps of white silk ribbon at top, fully open at centre back fastening with white silk ribbon ties and metal press studs, hem with trimming of box-pleated self-material surmounted by gold cord. Garment is unlined.

Comparative analysis:

No other garments matching the materials and style of Blair 5a&b were found in the collections surveyed. On existing garments of around the same date gold or silver trimmings are usually found applied to cotton muslin; nor do any of the examples found have the same density of gold embroidery as 5a. Investigation into the style of Blair 5a&b involved extensive study of contemporary fashion journals, images and other extant garments, looking firstly at the simple shape of the Blair items and secondly the embroidery.

Two-piece dresses offered a probable pattern of fastening for the Blair items as originally accompanied by a matching bodice (1.95-1.97) dated circa 1800-1808. Fashion plates showed considerable variation

[88] Oil on canvas, Duke of Argyll, Inverary Castle collection

in use of layers and trimming in the early 1800s (1.98-1.107). Accompanying text further provided sources for comparison and understanding of how Blair 5a&b were probably worn. In 1800 the 'Walking Dress' for July as described in *The Lady's Magazine* was "…Dress of white muslin, made and worn very low in the neck and bosom, and fastened down the front with rows of ribband. The sleeves loose."[89]

Dresses in later images showed use of flat panel fronts (1.105-1.107), extending over the bust and held in place by a various methods; October 1806 fashionable dress included "A dress of plain or worked muslin; the front made quite straight over the bosom, and confined with medallions, or broaches; the sleeves made full on the top, and the bottom looped up with a slider…".[90] The vogue for dresses made 'quite straight over the bosom', in *Fashions for London and Paris* peaked in 1808 and 1809.

A description and image for full dress in 1807 comes close to the form of the Blair 5 items:

> "Plate 1. Two Full Dresses. Fig.1. – A robe of embroidered muslin over an under-dress of white satin; the robe made loose from the shoulders, and embroidered down the sides; the front quite straight across the bosom; the sleeves very short, embroidered to correspond with the dress…
> Fig.2. – A dress of white satin with a train of fine muslin, richly embroidered down the front and round the bottom; the sleeves short and very full; the front formed to the bosom…"[91]

This description could refer to a variety of dress forms, including 1.108; use of extant garments was necessary to understand the translation of illustrations. Overall the fashion publications suggested a date of circa 1807 for Blair 5a&b. The embroidery on 5a shows signs of wear near to the top hem, probable wear from arm movement. It is unknown whether the garments were worn over or under the bust, but they would have been accompanied by a bodice and under-layer.

Fashion plates and dresses indicated gold trimming as popular from 1800 until after 1810 (1.98, 1.103-1.104, 1.108-1.124, 1.121-1.126). In April 1800 *The Lady's Magazine* described London fashions as involving "The aërial dress, made of white muslin, the body plain…The drapery goes over the left shoulder, and fastens in different parts with gold or silver sliders or diamonds, gold or silver trimmings around the bottom"; the 'General Observations' noted;

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[89] *The Lady's Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, appropriated solely to their Use and Amusement*, London: Printed for G. Robinson, volume XXXI, 1800, 370 [Manchester City Art Gallery and Museums, Platt Hall]
[90] Plate 1 'London Dresses' 107.2, October 1806 in *Fashions of London and Paris during the Years 1804, 1805 & 1806* London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 6 New Bridge Street, Blackfriars [Museum of London, 62.153.7]
[91] Evening Dresses, plate 112.2, April 1807 in *Fashions of London and Paris* [Museum of London, 62.153.8]

> "Silver and gold flowers, and ornaments of all kinds, are universally worn. Crape or velvet netting, plain, spangles, beaded, and bugled, are much introduced into cap and bonnets… For the use of milliners, the netting may be had separate, in small squares. To match the spangled nets, a very beautiful flower, the lily of the valley, with corresponding wreaths, has been made.
>
> Gold and spotted tiffanies are much used in turbans."[92]

The combination of silk muslin and the gilt embroidery seen on Blair 5(a) was found to be unusual for extant garments. Some found in British collections used gold or silver embroidered onto net, rather than directly onto the silk (1.113, 1.114). Fashion plates and extant garments were compared to estimate an approximate date for these latter items (1.115-1.118). This fed into further investigation of embroidery forms, mostly cotton garments showing a trend for wide bands of gold and yellow detail in centre front panels and around the skirt hem (1.119, 1.120). This was opposed to earlier examples using lighter embroidery, mimicking printed textiles or woven *á disposition* and through the garment (1.109, 1.111, 1.112). An example of silver being woven into a silk garment (1.121) evidenced that the embroidered motifs of Blair 5a resulted from specific style and production choices rather than material limitations.

The closest examples of extant embroidered garments found were related to Empress Joséphine (1804-1809) (1.122, 1.123, 1.125), and a Portuguese dress said to be of circa 1825 (1.126). The resemblance between these items and their disparity in date required further investigation, revealing that high waistlines and square necklines remained fashionable until the early 1820s before gradually dropping (1.127, 1.128). In British fashion plates there was a temporary slight drop in waistline around 1810.[93]

Dress T.196-1975 in the V&A was the closest British match to these French examples, dated circa 1820 (1.124). Mounted for the online catalogue card this dress appears to have the bell shape commonly associated with the 1820s and 1830s but the mannequin figure has a small bust and the weight of the dress is evidently pulling the waist down at the back, the garment itself suggests a neoclassical line with the skirt front intended to fall flat and straight.[94]

Finally, continuing the French connections, Julie Clary Bonaparte was depicted in 1808 wearing a red and white layered dress with gold detail at the hem (1.129). The red overdress is the Imperial court robe, as seen on other members of the Bonaparte family (1.130). The embroidered detail and layering

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[92] *The Lady's Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex, appropriated solely to their Use and Amusement*, London: Printed for G. Robinson, volume XXXI, 1800, 185 [Manchester City Art Gallery and Museums, Platt Hall]

[93] Observation made through surveying items from 1757 to 1820 in the private collection of fashion plates on loan to Glasgow Museums E.58.1988.L

[94] http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/0110585/ball-gown-evening/ accessed 25.02.2011, with thanks to Daniel Milford Cottam for assisting my search and alerting me to this item in the V&A collections

compare to Blair 5a&b, the robe is further supported by two very narrow straps over the shoulders. The connections between high French style and Blair 5a&b are clear, as well as in fashion plates via form and gold detail.

Earls of Haddington

Object name /number	A.1977.241
Date	Collection date: garment circa 1760-1765; silk circa 1752-1765
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 inches / 483mm
Provenance	Earl of Haddington, Tyninghame House, East Lothian, Dunbar
Collection	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
Description	Woman's mantua or formal dress in satin silk damask with pale grey and blue trailing floral design, silk said to be French or English. Comprising: a) Skirt, shaped to fit panniers with pleating at sides, waistline bound in linen with centre back tie fastening. Skirt constructed with ten selvedge widths of fabric with centre front, back and side seams. Centre back seam partly unpicked. Sides trimmed with gathered self-material with very narrow lace edge, trimming runs around pocket openings on top of each side of skirt, snaking down each side to hem. Unlined. b) Overdress or bodice, open at front with pleated robing at each side of front, neckline and robings trimmed with gathered self-material with narrow lace edge. Back of bodice pleated *en fourreau* and extending into a train formed by three fabric widths folded to show opening at centre back. Back of waistline trimmed with puffed and gathered self material with narrow lace edge. Sleeves fitted to just above elbow, three-layer flounce-style cuffs gathered onto end, all edged with narrow lace. Bodice lined with linen and with tie at inside centre back waist, sleeves lined with silk. c) Stomacher with bands of blue material gathered in scallop, between plain white bands, each edged with narrow lace, mounted on board by conservation for display. Matching garter, not listed on catalogue record, with centre band of blue gathered tightly by chain stitch, edged in gathered and pinked white material, a rosette in blue at one end and matching bow at centre, both trimmed with a single pearl.

Comparative analysis:

Research for the Haddington dresses overlapped with that of the Blair Castle items because of their respective dates, so that some of the sources noted above were of dual relevance. Formal court dress,

such as A.1977.241 (1.131), was governed by tradition and etiquette; while the materials and trimmings were subject to changes and personal taste, fashion in court was set apart from general wear and so falls outside of the everyday identities of primary concern to this thesis.[95] However, this garment is relevant as part of a group belonging to the Earls of Haddington; it contextualises other garments from that family and provides evidence of the diversity of dress worn by aristocrats; a foil against which to view the other garments.

The materials of the Haddington dress are not as rich as most of the other formal *sacque* and mantua examples found (Blair 1, 1.31, 132, 1.111, 1.132-137), possibly indicating its use as day-time wear or during a period when precious materials were less fashionable for court dress. The Haddington silk compares to a damask designed by Anna Maria Garthwaite, dated 1752 (1.138).

Research into blue damask fabrics revealed several other extant garments and a number of portraits with Scottish and English associations, dating from between 1740-1780; evidencing the popularity of this colour and fabric style, as well as the inherent values of style and quality that allowed later reuse (1.139-1.148). The use of blue in portraits also suggests the colour was regarded as flattering and appropriate for long-term public display, suggesting blue was perceived as having longevity, not overtly attached to a specific fashion season.

Blue, with a similar scale of pattern to the Haddington dress and wide skirts was also found in earlier French and British depictions of less formal situations (1.149-1.151). Such images provided evidence of the earlier fashionable use of wide panniers, which persisted in formal court wear to the early nineteenth century.[96] The stability of the style, subtle variations in pannier and decoration on formal and court dress was found in fashion plates predominantly circa 1770s (1.152-1.163). As noted in the catalogue description for T.592:1-7-1993 (1.132) the Haddington style of pannier dress was peculiar to the English court; "Although considered stylish daywear in the early 18th century, the mantua had become very old-fashioned by the 1750s and was worn only for court dress";[97] Queen Charlotte's maintenance of this style at court is illustrated in her portrait (1.64). French and European court dress differed with a longer bodice and more rounded skirt (1.137, 1.165-1.168). Image 1.169 illustrates a less formal dress in materials similarly rich to Isabella, Countess of Hertford's depiction and items in the Blair Castle group. The illustrations of the Royal court at St. James's provides context for how the Haddington dress would have been worn.

[95] Buck, Anne, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century England*, London: Batsford 1979, 13-24
[96] For example fashion plate 'Court Dress', published in *The British Lady's Magazine, No. 10 New Series*, March 1818; Private collection on loan to Glasgow Museums, E.58.1988.L.821
[97] http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O137678/mantua-unknown/ accessed 17.09.2012

From the survival of this garment it is clear a female of the Earls of Haddington attended English royal court around 1750, in a relatively modest but high quality textile.

Object name /number	A.1977.242
Date	Collection date: circa 1770s / research date: circa 1776-1780
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	
Provenance	Earl of Haddington, Tyninghame House, East Lothian, Dunbar
Collection	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
Description	Woman's dress, in *sacque* style, in cream silk satin, selvedge in dark green with gold threads. Bodice with a low, wide neckline trimmed with ruche of slightly darker cream satin silk edged with a matching cord fringe. Bodice front with centre opening and squared v-shaped waistline, back with two wide box pleats extending from neckline. Elbow-length sleeves, with tucks into shoulder and two-layer flounce-style cuffs gathered onto sleeve, cuffs with broadly scalloped edge, trimmed with matching silk fringe. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen, cuffs lined with silk, body lining with copper bones each side of centre back, metal disc weights inserted into sleeve lining at rear elbow. Note handwritten in ink on inside of upper sleeve and bust front lining pieces appearing to say 'Miss Raechell'. Body side seams and one front waist seam unpicked. Skirt with open front, pleats at hips for panniers, hem cut slightly longer at back, open front trimmed at each side with a wide vertical panel of ruche cream silk satin as at neckline, loosely stitched onto main garment. Ruche panels and edge of centre front opening trimmed with cream silk braid fringe with further trimming of fly-braid tassels (passementerie). Skirt constructed from seven selvedge width panels. Pocket slits at each side around twelve inches long. Inside waistline has long ribbon ties, lower skirt lined with plain cream silk, around twelve inches deep.

Comparative analysis:

Again, study of this item overlapped with other items in the project. Firstly research into cream silk textiles identified several distinct trends, most easily summarised as; plain silk satin, floral damask and cream silk brocaded with coloured flora. Women's dresses that have a cream ground colour are common in British collections (as will be seen in following chapters), suggesting that they were

popular upper-class wear in the eighteenth century, and possibly surviving through having less heavy wear than their coloured counterparts.

Plain satin silks such as A.1977.242 were found to be particularly popular in the 1780s (1.172). Their use in France was associated with Britain, as part of the wider *Anglomanie* trend, focussing on simplicity. The following of this trend and use of plain silks within the French court resulted in criticism of Marie-Antoinette and others as unpatriotic.[98]

However, plain satin silks were found to have a long history of use; including two examples with a similar date to the Haddington dress in the Museum of London, Kyoto Costume Institute, V&A collections (1.62, 1.173, 1.174). Whereas dress depicted in portraiture made much earlier use of satin silk; the preference of artists for this material suggests that it was flattering as well as more timeless than patterned materials (1.175-1.177). George Romney is known to have demanded his clients wore plain white dresses, which provides a pictorial trend in his work, but does not necessarily mean that most women already had white garments.[99] Alex Kidston quoted Lady Newdegate's thoughts on George Romney: "he insists upon my having a rich white sattin with a long train made by Tuesday & to have it left with him all summer. It is ye oddest thing I ever knew […]"[100]

The V&A, Museum of London and Haddington dresses show that plain silk satin was used for more formal occasions, being fully trimmed with passementerie. This is reinforced by a formal garment in the Royal Ontario Museum collection (1.178) trimmed with embroidery.

The style of the Haddington dress has strong associations with items in French collections and the French publication *Monument du Costume* circa 1777 via the wide ruche panel on the skirt front (1.179-1.185). Moreover, passementerie is generally associated with French styling in British collections (1.181). The form of trimming and closed bodice front, combine with the narrow width of the *sacque* pleats to assist dating the Haddington dress to around 1776-1780 (1.174, 1.186 - see comparison with 1932.51.n, Chapter 3 for alternate dating).

[98] Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly, 'French Connections: Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and the Anglo-French Fashion Exchange', *Dress* (Journal of the Costume Society of America), volume 31, 2004, pp7-9
[99] On Allan Ramsay's use of white satin and a drapery painter see Smart, Alastair and Ingamells, John (eds.), *Allan Ramsay A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings*, London: Yale University Press 1999, 8
[100] Kidson, Alex, *George Romney 1734-1802*, London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 2002, 101 quoting *Lady Newdigate-Newdegate: The Cheverels of Cheverel Manor*, 1898, 101

Object name /number	A.1977.250
Date	Collection date: circa 1760-1770 / research date: circa 1776-1780
Materials	Silk
Dimensions	Height: 370mm, Width: 220mm diminishing to 60mm
Provenance	Earl of Haddington, Tyninghame House, East Lothian, Dunbar
Collection	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
Description	Stomacher for a woman's *sacque* dress in blue silk, hand-painted in colour with a small floral design, said to be Chinese silk, probably designed for export to European market with British garment construction. One of eleven parts of a dress and matching petticoat. Constructed from four sections with vertical centre seam and horizontal seams towards lower edge; appears to have been cut from a square, the diagonal cut edges as outside edges. Stomacher has stitch or pin holes along all outside edges and below horizontal seams at bottom. Edges are hemmed with a running stitch.

Comparative analysis:

Due to storage conditions and the condition of the object this item has not been available for viewing in entirety. Conclusions can therefore only be drawn from the stomacher and catalogue description provided by the museum, as follows:

> "EUROPEAN COSTUME. FEMALE DRESS. MAIN DRESS. COVERING BODY ABOVE & BELOW WAIST 1.1. DRESS. 1750. [One of the] PARTS OF A SACK BACK AND PETTICOAT, for a woman, of bright blue silk painted in colours with two sprays of flowers which twine together down the length forming circles ... The material probably CHINESE; the dress made up in BRITAIN; about 1760 - 70. Stomacher."

This garment appears to be a rare example of a coloured painted silk *sacque* dress, possibly European manufacture given the scale and flora of the painted pattern. The date and pattern of the silk suggest that the dress is of a similar style and production date as A.1977.242 (above), and therefore probably belonged to the same owner.

Object name /number	K.2002.510
Date	Collection date: circa 1760 / research date: silk circa 1720-1732; garment circa 1730-1740
Materials	Silk
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width 21 inches / 534mm
Provenance	Earl of Haddington, associated with Tyninghame and Mellerstain houses, belonged to the Ballie or Haddington families
Collection	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
Description	Woman's *sacque* or *volante* dress in red silk figured in silver and multi-colours with a bold floral pattern, with mirror repeat. Neckline open at front in deep v-shape to around waist level where centre front seam of skirt has been slightly unpicked. Front and back of shoulders with wide double pleats. Sleeves extending to just below elbow with wide turn-back style cuffs, pleated at inside of elbow. Bodice and sleeves are unlined except for some patches of silk. Cuffs are weighted with three double sets of metal discs; some possibly added or repaired later. Skirt pleated into waist sides to accommodate panniers with openings for pockets at each side. Skirt hem slightly longer at back and lined with green silk, constructed from eight selvedge widths of fabric.

Comparative analysis:

This is the final garment to be profiled which was collected from the Earls of Haddington. Analysis of this dress was undertaken subsequent to a majority of research. Due to analysis carried out on a garment in Perth Museum and Art Gallery (see Chapter 4),[101] the textile could quickly be identified as a mirror (or point) repeat design.

Mirror repeat silk is identified as belonging to a specific era of design, circa 1720-1732 and no later than 1732 when, according to Clare Browne "…a revolution in silk design in France brought totally new inspiration…".[102] In Browne's publication she describes this style of textile design as comprising,

> "…a more or less elaborate framework with a point (mirror) repeat, which gave an air of formality even to very light and delicate patterns. The most characteristic designs from these years had a lace-like pattern in the ground, or heavily diapered scrolls, interwoven with leaves and flowers which grew large and more naturalistic towards the end of the 1720s".[103]

[101] Perth dress textile identified via e-mail correspondence with Clare Browne (Curator of European Textiles 1500-1800, V&A), who further consulted Dr. Lesley Miller (Senior Curator, Textiles, V&A), 11.05.2011
[102] Browne, 1996, 8
[103] Browne, 1996, 8

The *robe volante* style of K.2002.510 is synonymous with the same period of circa 1720-1740, as can been seen from the comparative visual material (1.189-1.193). The dress shows no sign of adjustment and its details are closely comparable to those of other surviving garments of this type, such as the sleeves on the Kyoto Costume Institute example (1.192). Overall, both the textile and garment style of K.2002.510 are identifiable with a specific fashion in eighteenth century women's dress. Through artworks the style is further connected to French fashions (1.193-1.195) whose dominance at this time was part of a general fashion for Rococo decorative arts.[104]

Individual features of the garment can be related to other styles of garment, such as the serving woman's jacket in 1.192. While 1.196 gives some indication of how this type of loose dress could be worn in a more fitted style, probably through internal ties and pinning to the wearer's stays. All of these paintings provide evidence of the contexts in which this style of dress was probably worn, mostly informally indoors, excepting this latter portrait by Hayman, whose British sitters suggest that the informality that was predominantly depicted as interior wear in France could translate into domestic exterior settings in Britian.

These group images add further detail to the portrait of *Mary, Countess of Haddington* by Allan Ramsay, 1.197, which shows a dress matching the NMS garment in style, although the textile design does not appear to be the same in the black and white illustration available for study. The Countess is depicted in a blank interior setting, her fur stole suggesting her likeness was taken in winter. The date of this portrait does, however, throw into question the solidity of the dating provided by the other sources; ultimately suggesting that the longevity of use of such garments extended beyond their height of fashionable use in the 1730s.

Object name /number	A.1993.109
Date	Collection date: circa 1760 / research date circa 1750
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width 28 ½ inches / 724mm
Provenance	Abigail, Countess of Home (thought to have belonged to)

[104] Snodin, Michael and Styles, John, *Design & the Decorative Arts, Britain 1500-1900*, London: V&A Publications 2001, 162, 192-193

Collection	National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh
Description	Woman's *sacque* style dress in Chinese cream silk figured with scrolling floral design. Square neckline, with double pleats at the front and back shoulders. Front closed across bodice but open below, closed via attached panel or stomacher, fastening centre front with nine self-material buttons. Neckline and robings trimmed with gathered self-material, extending to and widening towards the front skirt hem. Straight sleeves, gathered into shoulder and extending to around three-quarter length with deep turn-back cuffs. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen; cuffs, skirt front and hem lined with cream silk. Skirt with straight hem, slightly shaped for panniers at sides with pocket openings at each side, constructed with four selvedge widths of fabric, plus two smaller sections and two gores (estimated by NMS to total five full widths of silk). Selvedge has two red stripes.

Comparative analysis:

This garment was introduced to the project as dated circa 1760 by National Museums Scotland. However, most of the relevant sources for dress style comparison and some of the textile comparison point towards the garment having an earlier date. This might also throw into question exactly which ancestor of the donor the garment belonged to. Currently the garment is believed to have belonged to Abigail, Countess of Home.

Despite these doubts study of the Home dress's textile supported the designation made by NMS that it is of Chinese origin. The silk meets some of the criteria laid out in the article by Skelton and Lee-Whitman (discussed above), in being supple and having a selvedge width of around twenty-eight inches. The floral design is distinctively Chinese, closely comparing to a dress in a yellow silk at the Museum of London (1.199). Similarities can further be seen in Chinese textiles with different construction (1.200). Wider research revealed cream silk to be an enduring colour, as mentioned in relation to the Haddington dress above, examples spanning several decades in the mid-century (1.201-1.205), of both East Asian and European manufacture. Notably most of these examples are of what can be considered formal or semi-formal wear, designed for public or semi-public wear.

Research into the style of garment revealed a different story. Although described as a *sacque* dress by NMS, this garment shares features with the *robe volante*, discussed above. The main difference between the Home dress and *volante* style is that it has an open skirt and button-fastening stomacher. Although an example in the Musée du Tissus does not fasten at the front it has undergone some reconstruction, which creates doubt regarding style comparison (1.206).

The *volante* dress was found to be generally earlier than the circa 1760 ascribed to the Home garment, as well as less formal, as noted above. Two further examples of less formal ensembles still form part of the collections at Mellerstain house and create a group of garments in this style related to the Baillie-Hamilton family and Earls of Haddington, the most relevant is 1.207, further emphasised by Allan Ramsay's portrait of Mary, Countess of Haddington (1.197). Ramsay's depiction of Ann, Countess of Balcarres, provides a clearer picture of how the Home dress may have looked, and a further example of the style worn by a Scotswoman (1.208).

The style of trimming on the Home dress compares to items of a later date (for example 1.49, 1.53, 1.54, 1.173, 1.176, 1.202), explaining the reasoning behind the NMS date of circa 1760 and questioning an early dating of circa 1730, suggested by the *volante* association. It is likely this garment falls between these dates to around 1750, contemporary to Mary, Countess of Haddington. The only other example found in this study of a trimming with a hemmed edge such as on the Home dress is in Inverness Museum and Art Gallery collection (1.209).

Discussion:

From the above garments some themes immediately emerge in relation to fashion, identity and social position within eighteenth century society; precious metals, exoticism in design, and the use of garments for specific social occasions, possibly one-off events. While the good condition in which they have survived suggests less heavy use and undisturbed storage. It is clear these garments fit within a European dialogue, being broadly comparable to both English and French sources as well as Scottish counterparts. The following discussion will look in more depth at the reasons for these trends; how these and other items like them came to be chosen, created and used within their Scottish aristocratic society.

Using the above garments as a basis of evidence the discussion will look at how Scottish aristocrats manifested their personal and public identities in dress and the multiple reasons, pertaining to how and why. Firstly, by addressing individual access to goods; how fashion was identified and obtained, under the sub-heading 'Opportunity and Availability'. Secondly, how personal taste was generated under the influence of politics, social morality and familial persona in the section sub-headed 'Decision Making'. Finally, 'Production and Manifestation' will introduce a discussion of how factors involved in opportunity, availability and decision making played out in the final product, before reaching the chapter conclusion.

Opportunity and availability:

Study of European aristocracy is a unique field as high quality objects are sometimes preserved alongside paper archives. While this is the case with the publicly accessible collections of the Dukes of Atholl, it is nevertheless a rare situation in Britain. Many aristocratic families have broken up their possessions, selling or submitting items such as dress to museums; related papers going to national archives. Moreover, the creation of archival material relies on the character of individuals. This is evident in the collections of the Dukes of Atholl; the 3rd Duke kept a detailed log of household and personal accounts, but few records of the 4th Duke's expenditures survive.

The wealth of material available in the Atholl archive provides several methods for understanding the family, including correspondence, accounts and notebooks. The focus here is upon accounts and receipts, much of the correspondence having been published in the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families.*[105] The account books of the 3rd Duke of Atholl provide evidence of annual expenditure of the family and household between 1764 and 1774. Analysis of the accounts focussed on women's wear and main garments, exempting dress and textiles for household, servants and nursery. The number of transactions and their locations were compiled and the resulting tables (appendices 1.1 and 1.2) reveal that the Duke's expenditure on dress for the women in his family was generally spread throughout the year, peaking slightly in January, March and May in different years. This generally coincides with time in London. Shopping habits seem to have focussed on events, such as preparation for reception at court, the London social season and buying items prior to travelling back to Scotland.

For the Duchess clothes shopping probably worked around the births of her ten children,[106] however the consistency of account payments on behalf of the Duchess suggests she remained publicly active close to term.[107] Due to the time required for production of the bespoke and sometimes highly elaborate dress worn by the Duke of Atholl and family, purchases of materials could be made a month or more in advance of the garment construction. Although regular in his accounts the 3rd Duke also used the eighteenth century credit system; bills for King and Padget, mercers in London, were paid annually for the two years prior to the Duke's death.[108] Other accounts state clearly the time-lapse: "to Mr. Venables for hats for Self Sons & Servants for two Years 36.4.10".[109] Therefore entries are not necessarily an accurate reflection of when items were acquired.

[105] John, Seventh Duke of Atholl, 1908
[106] See family tree in John, Seventh Duke of Atholl, K.T. (ed.), *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families* , volume I, Edinburgh: Privately Printed at the Ballantyne Press 1908
[107] Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[108] September 1773 and August 1774, Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[109] October 1773, Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139

Regarding women's dress the accounts only reflect part of what was purchased. In January 1770 the Duke gave his eldest daughter, Lady Charlotte (b.1754), and his youngest sister, Miss Murray (b.1751, also Charlotte) a £10 quarterly allowance each, "for providing themselves cloaths &c".[110] The allowance is a signal that the young women were regarded as old enough to manage their own finances and shop independently. It shows the Duke trusted them to manage their own expenditures on general activities and small luxuries. While no personal accounts for Lady Charlotte and Miss Murray survive, those of their social peer Lady Madalina Gordon, from 1789, give an example of the small daily expenses young upper class women might incur:

"Feb 1st	To two sashes	-.16.6
-	To the Play	2.2.-
-	To an apron	-.15.-
6th	To the opera	-.10.6
10th	To finding the dog	-.2.6
12th	To the Play	1.1.0
-	To Flowers	2.2.0
26th	To mending a ring	-.10.6
22	To the opera	-.10.6
24th	To the Play	-.10.6
		9.1.-

M Gordon"[111]

The relationship between Lady Charlotte and her Aunt displayed in the 3rd Duke's accounts is of particular interest. It is clear that the women shopped together and were often regarded as a duo by the Duke. For example, in February 1768 he notes a payment of £16.3.0 "to Marriol Mercer for 22 yards Blue & White Satten for the Duchess at 8s Pr Yard - £8.16.0 and for 24 Yards ¾ Ell Wide of Change [Colourd] Silk for the young Ladies £7-7-0". In December the same year the Duke paid £20.0.0 "for two India Flourd Silk Gowns for the Young Ladies". Whereas in December 1771 he makes the distinction; "Mrs Dobson for Spangles & other things bought for L. Charlotte & the Duchess - £9.3.0".[112]

As young women, close in age, with the same Christian name, who shared dress materials, it is easy to imagine a close friendship existed between Lady Charlotte and Miss Murray. The Duke of Atholl's income would certainly have supported separate choices of dress material if they had wanted them. The bond did not last beyond teen years for Lady Charlotte, as Miss Murray died on August 9th 1773, after eight months of illness.[113] She is said to have died of consumption.[114]

[110] Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[111] Lady Madalina's accounts, Scottish National Archives, GD44/51/325/11/2
[112] Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[113] Duke of Atholl to Captain George Murray, August 9th 1773, Atholl correspondence 54/4/185
[114] John, Seventh Duke of Atholl, volume IV, 1908, 52

Miss Murray had preceded the rest of the family back to Dunkeld from London that summer, due to her failing health. The migration of the family between London and Dunkeld, via Edinburgh was at least a bi-annual occurrence between 1765 and 1774, in line with Parliamentary sessions. The location of their dress purchases reflects these removals (appendix 1.2), and seems to indicate a relatively even spread of transactions on main garments between Scotland and London, although the inaccuracies of the account books have already been mentioned.

The accounts evidence that materials and skills for making items required by the Duke and Duchess were available to them in Scotland. In August 1774 the Duke noted £4.4.10 "for a Striped Silk Gown for the Duchess at the Perth manufacture". Yet they did occasionally import goods from London, suggesting mercers there held goods unobtainable in Scotland. For example, in November 1772 the Duke paid £47.7.0 to "King & Padget Mercers for silk sent to Scotland for the Duchess & Ladies". In comparison, during March 1765 the Duke noted "To Messrs Harris King & Thomson for 18 ½ Yards of Rich Gold Ground Brocade 48 s Pr Yard for the Duchess 44.8.0", suggesting the latter purchase was either a substantial quantity, or contained precious metal, such as Blair 3a&b.[115] Silks purchased by the Duke of Atholl in Scotland are never noted as involving metal, other purchases that do are generally made in London. It is likely that gilt and silver brocades had to be imported from Spitalfields, London, or abroad.

Regarding the balance of expenditure between Scotland and London the 3rd Duke's accounts cannot be taken as an accurate guide to how many items the ladies purchased. Bills from King and Padget evidently summarise a number of purchases, while other London expenditures are equally vague, for example;

> "to Wall Hosier for Gloves & Stockings for the Duchess & Children 20.3.0
> Staymakers account for the Duchess & Young Ladies 6.6.6
> To Graham Milliner for the Duchess & Y. Ladies 49.9.2
> To Mrs Grey Mantua maker to the Duchess & Young Ladies 15.5.0"[116]

Once again surviving bills from Madalina Gordon give an indication of what these entries may have summarised:

> "The Right Honorable Lady Madalina Gordon to S. Lacey
> 1789
> Feby 12 To a fine Muslin Cap 1.4.6

[115] Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[116] March 1768, Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139

14	Making Tucker and frills trimmed with Edging		0.5.0
	To 7 ½ Yards fine Edging	at 4/3	1.11.10
18	To a fine Muslin Cap		1.4.6
	Making Tucker and frills trimmed with Lace		0.5.0
	To 7 ½ Yards fine Lace	@ 6/9	2.10.7
	To a fine Muslin Cap		1.4.6
			£8.5.11

NB this is supplied on stamp"[117]

So far discussion has focussed on the 3rd Duke of Atholl, whose shopping habits were split between Scotland and London. However, both Blair 1 and the Haddington dress, A.1977.250, are evidence of more exotic influences in the wardrobes of aristocratic Scotswomen. It is probable that an entry made by the 2nd Duke of Atholl relates to the silk seen in Blair 1. On March 7th 1758, the Duke wrote, "Payed for a Pice Chineos flowred gaze silk 03.03.00".[118] There are no other entries in the accounts of the 2nd and 3rd Dukes that suit the painted silk and both men distinguished exotic fabrics in their accounts. The use of the term 'gaze' does raise questions. If the Duke meant 'gauze' and did refer to Blair 1, then this would be an unusual (but not completely improbable) use of the term. *A New Dictionary of Trade…* of 1761 defined "Gaze" as "A small copper coin current in Persia", confirming the 2nd Duke probably meant gauze, the entry for which is as follows:

> "GAUZE, in commerce, a very thin, slight, transparent kind of stuff, wove sometimes of silk, and sometimes only of thread: but there are also figured gauzes; and some of them with flowers of gold and silver, on a silk ground, which are principally brought from China, and several parts of the East Indies. The pieces are usually 19 or 20 ells long; and those from China sometimes 11 ells long and 2/3 broad: their chief use being for women's ornaments." [119]

The measurement of the Chinese pieces would approximate 12 metres in length, if the ell referred to is 45 inches.[120] The width would then be around 30 inches, matching Blair 1 and this amount of fabric is approximately the quantity needed to make Blair 1.

The sum paid by the Duke could fit with this quantity of material. Eleven ells at forty-five inches equal just over thirteen yards at thirty-seven inches each.[121] Dividing £3.3.0 by thirteen gives an approximate cost of £0.5.3 per yard, for a piece of Chinese gauze as described above with the total cost matching

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[117] Lady Madalina's accounts, Scottish National Archives, GD44/51/325/11/6
[118] Blair Castle, II.D.4.(4); thank you to Jane Anderson, archivist at Blair Castle for pointing out this entry
[119] See section GAU-GEM in Rolt, Richard, *A new dictionary of trade and commerce,[...]* London, 1761, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, accessed 02.02.2011
[120] The accepted width of an ell as stated in Rothstein, *Barbara Johnson's Album*, 1987, glossary. There were differing widths of ell for different materials, see Swinton, Lord John, *A proposal for uniformity of weights and measures in Scotland...*, Edinburgh, 1779, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, accessed 02.02.2011; and Hayes, Richard, *The negociator's magazine: Or The most authentic account yet published, of the monies, weights, and measures, ...*, London, 1777, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, accessed 02.02.2011
[121] As per description of 'Measures', under MEA in Rolt, 1761

the 2nd Duke's payment. As cost comparison the 3rd Duke buys silk made in Perth for 4s 3d per yard in October 1767, and purchases a satin silk at 8s per yard in February 1768. Satin uses a large amount of silk, so the price may be proportionately higher. Another source for cloth prices is *Barbara Johnson's Album of Fashions and Fabrics*. In 1758 she records "a brown figur'd lutestring… 3s 6 a yard, half yard wide" and "a Strip'd buff & blue Taffity… four guineas the piece sixteen yards, yard wide". In 1763 Johnson notes "a White Sattin… 3s 10d a yard" and a "Blue and white spotted lutestring… three quarters wide, six and sixpence a yard…"[122]

The 2nd Duke is likely to have made this purchase in Scotland or London, his lifestyle being a similar precursor to the 3rd Duke's. If this type of fabric was commonly described as gauze then the Blair and Haddington dresses relate to goods promoted in the *Edinburgh Advertiser*. In July 1765 the "Sale-Shop, in front of the Exchange" sold "figured silk modes, for capuchins, silk gauzes plain and flowered".[123] In November the same year "*At the third high shop, East wing of the Exchange, fronting the Cross*" could be found "Silk gauzes, plain and flowered, 5-fourths wide, at 2 s. 6 d. and flowered at 3 s." The advert begins, "The following goods are to be exposed to sale, only for a month or two at farthest, and they will be sold very cheap, some of them considerably below cost",[124] suggesting three shillings for silk gauze is a bargain.

Acquiring Asian fabrics was done more by chance or specific order than as an everyday purchase. The time and difficulty involved in transporting these goods was enough to have made them relatively rare. For example the 3rd Duke of Atholl made the note in January 1771; "Paid Mr King for a Curious Blue & Gold Indian Cover for a Bed which he had bought at a sale 7.17.6". The Duke's use of 'curious' suggests that the bed cover was unusual. It is likely that Mr King would have pitched his sale to a client he thought would be interested, able to afford it and possibly a customer whom he wished to show preference.

On the opposite scale of this accidental discovery, is a letter written with reference to the Duchess of Gordon, dated Green Hall, November 6th 1771:

> "To Mr James Ross
> Dear Sir,
> When I was in London this summer I remembered you had wrote me on my arrival from my last Voyage that the Dutchess of Gordon wanted a Piece of Black satten, Embroidered the same as the one my Lady Findlater had from me, the fellow of which a Brother Officer of mine just Arrived from China has got, and which I prevaild on him to keep till I ch.d be able to acquaint

[122] Rothstein, *Barbara Johnson's Album*, 1987, pages 7-9 of Album
[123] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, Tuesday July 2 to Friday July 5 1765, number 158, volume IV, 15
[124] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, Tuesday November 12 to Friday November 15 1765, number 196, volume IV, 319

him if Her Grace would chuse to purchas it; I sh.d therefore be Obliged to you to know her mind on it, as soon as Possible; I have your Pardon greatly to beg for neglecting you commission of some Musleing you Charged me to procure for you in the Spring, the particular kind I have quite forgot, however if it is not to late now, and you will let me know the sort you want, and as near the Price as you can, that the Lady w.d goe to for it, I shall be able to get it you at the first Hand as several Friends of mine are lately Arrived both from Bengal & Madras. Your Commands in any other way I shall allways be happy to Obey and ever am Dear Sir

Your Most Humble

& Most faithfull Servant

Ja:s Ogilvie"[125]

It is evident that James Ogilvie was regularly asked by his friends and acquaintance to procure Asian and Indian textiles, his attitude further suggests that he took this as part of his daily business. The upper classes were in a good position to exploit social networks based around favours and influence, but the network in this letter seems entirely Scottish. The strong ties between Scots in procuring work, favours and friendship in London and abroad have been demonstrated by Stana Nenadic, and feature in sources relating to Scottish gentry.[126]

Obtaining foreign goods could be undertaken in person. The 9th Earl of Cathcart's children are examples of this. They travelled widely, perhaps an effect of living in Russia as children, when the Earl was Ambassador at the court of Catherine the Great, 1768-1772. It is likely this is where the family learned some of their French, which featured regularly in their correspondence.[127] When living in Paris and anticipating a visit from her sister Mary, Louisa Stormont mentions that "you will be very much liked if you talk, which you must doo, as you speak French much still better than I doo, and I am reckoned here to pronounce well and to speak with so much facility that they cannot imagine how I have learnt it..."[128]

Louisa, Lady Stormont, lived in Paris with her husband from 1776-1778, while he was French Ambassador. Mary Graham visited her sister there when Louisa was expecting her first child.[129] Subsequently, when Mary Graham's health was failing in the early 1790s she spent time touring in Europe; the trip eased her consumption but was also for pleasure. When abroad the Grahams certainly intended sending goods home, evidenced by a note from Thomas Graham's mother;

[125] Original spellings, National Archives of Scotland, GD44/43/52/7
[126] Nenadic, Stana (ed.), *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2010; for example Calderwood, Mrs. Margaret (Fergusson, Alexander ed.), *Letters and Journals of Mrs Calderwood of Polton from England Holland and the low countries in 1756*, Edinburgh, 1884, 92, 164-165, 170-173
[127] Louisa to Mary, Shaw Park, 1775 and William Cathcart to Thomas Graham, New York, December 1779; Graham, E. Maxtone, *The Beautiful Mrs Graham and the Cathcart Circle*, London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd. 1927, 61 & 151
[128] Graham, 1927, 120-122
[129] Graham, 1927, 120-127

> "I will be obliged if you buy me a dozen pair silk stockens, they must be pretty large as I wear under ones, - but all is just as convenient.
> I hope you never sent the piece of black silk you once mentioned intending to do, at least I never got it."[130]

Procurement came alongside discernment; Louisa Stormont's stay in Paris gave her time to understand the differences between British and French fashions and sartorial codes. Writing to Mary prior to her visit Louisa advised her, "If you have a new black silk sacque, very handsome, bring it, of not don't for Hoops and everything are different here from what we wear…"[131]

The Cathcart's were therefore able to obtain their own foreign luxuries, through travel in Europe and in America, where William and Charles Cathcart were stationed in the late 1770s.[132] Added to which their social connections enabled them to obtain goods not widely available; in January 1776, Louisa wrote from London to her sister Mary;

> "... Mr. Greville has given me an abundance of charming feathers from Paris, but I have not yet had the courage to wear the longest of them, for Papa is generally in the carriage and I cannot sit down without removing the cushion, which would not please him."[133]

It is evident that the procurement of fashionable goods and dress for these Scottish families was determined by a combination of wealth and social standing. Although the Dukes of Atholl and Gordon ultimately held the purse strings there is no sense of shortage in the transactions of the women. The Duke of Atholl never seems to pay for things unwillingly, while the bills of Madalina Gordon give a sense of abundant luxury. It is also the case with the Cathcart sisters that they lived within their means, however different those were from one another. Their correspondence never evidences complaint of shortage. The Chinese fabrics, gold work, complex silk weaves and sheer quantity of silk in the above garments allude to households that were not only able to afford high quality materials and garments, but did so without pressure to re-use them. Wealth gave them a wider choice of goods, a wider choice of places to find these goods and access to social connections that provided a personal import system, shopping by proxy and via gifts.

Decision making:

It remains to be seen how this access to a broader selection of items influenced taste, what impact wealth and social position had upon making decisions regarding dress. Social etiquette has already been seen, via the Haddington example, to affect the style of court dress. The above discussions have

[130] Gayfield, January 19; Graham, 1927, 171
[131] To Mary Graham, Fontainbleau, 16 Oct., 1776; Graham, 1927, 121
[132] Graham, 1927, 147
[133] Graham, 1927, 69

included mention of different garment styles; *sacque* and *volante*. Standards of style and social occasion are clearly present, but personal tastes are evident as well.

The relationship between Lady Charlotte and Miss Murray has been noted as affecting their choices in dress. It is possible to argue that Blair 2 or 3 may have belonged to Miss Murray, possibly surviving through familial attachment. Some account entries reasonably matching the materials of Blair 2 and 3 are double purchases; the "24 Yards ¾ Ell Wide of Change [Colourd] Silk for the young Ladies £7-7-0" of 1768 and silk imported from London to Scotland in 1772. Both Blair *sacque* dresses fit within the time period at which these textiles were produced. Additionally, in January 1768 the Duke pays £8.8.0 "For a Peice of Green Ribband Containing 36 Yards". For a dress fully trimmed like Blair 2 half of this quantity would be appropriate. However, Blair 2 is elaborate, and may have not been appropriate wear for seventeen year old Miss Murray.

There are two more entries that feasibly match Blair 2: in January 1773 the Duke pays £6.10.0 "for a piece of Green Ribon", the cost suggests a sizeable quantity and in August that year he itemises "to Mr. Murray Wever, a Snaled Silk gown 1.10.0". This is too small an amount for the cost of silk, and is likely to refer to cleaning or repair of the garment. It is possible that an item belonging to Miss Murray that had been taken for cleaning or repair would have been received and immediately stored. It could equally be that this expense was incurred months prior to August, when the Atholl family were last in Scotland.

Despite these entries it is arguable that Blair 1 and 2 belonged to the Duchess, who left Scotland soon after her husband's death in November 1774 and never returned.[134] Any garments that she left behind would have been stored. Changing fashion in textiles through the 1770s and 1780s to smaller and plainer designs may have meant that no immediate re-use could be made for these two items.[135]

In the instance of the Duchess Charlotte leaving Scotland it would appear that emotional circumstance over-ruled any taste for acquiring dress in Scotland. This suggests that the 3rd Duke may have influenced her places of purchase, perhaps if indirectly by her consciously playing a role as a politicians wife. John, 3rd Duke of Atholl was fortunate to retain the family title and property as both his father and uncle supported the Jacobite cause in 1745, leading to the death of his uncle at the Tower of London and his father's exile to the Netherlands. The 3rd Duke was, however, educated by his uncle James, 2nd Duke, under the Hanoverian government. He chose to remain in support of the Hanoverian's

[134] John, Seventh Duke of Atholl, volume IV, 1908, 58
[135] Rothstein, *Woven Textile Design in Britain*, 1994, 9

in relation to the Jacobite uprising and was later at pains to show his loyalty to the crown to ensure his being able to retain the family property.[136]

It is likely that this formerly precarious position affected the later behaviour of the Duke and Duchess. Their patronage of Harris, King and Thompson in 1765-1767 may have been influenced by politics, as the mercers also supplied Royal customers.[137] Shadowing the patriotic shopping habits of the Royal family was more prudent than the behaviour of other aristocrats who chose to defiantly follow their own inclinations.[138] Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire is arguably the most famous case in point. A friend of Mary Graham and probably by extension knew Louisa Stormont and Jane, 4th Duchess of Atholl, Georgiana's behaviour differed greatly from her acquaintance's more careful use of dress. Louisa's comments about not wearing a very long ostrich feather in 1776 were noted above. In contrast Georgiana seems to have had no qualms about wearing a four foot long feather given to her by Lord Stormont in 1775; pre-empting a fashion that "generated resentment", causing Queen Charlotte to ban feathers at court.[139]

The Duchess of Devonshire was equally famous for her promotion of French fashions in Britain. It has been argued that she played a unique role in the dialogue of fashionable dress between France and England; her popularity promoting if not creating *Anglomanie* in France.[140] The friendship between Queen Marie-Antoinette and the Duchess of Devonshire was no doubt a key part of the Queen embracing British fashions; however where the Duchess could survive criticism of her dress and behaviour, Marie-Antoinette's disregard for politics in dress would contribute, ultimately, to her execution.[141]

Returning to the styles of the above garments, strong comparisons with France were present for Blair 5 but earlier garments were more typically British; the style of Blair 2 is most closely comparable to Allan Ramsay's *Augusta, Princess of Wales*, circa 1760-68 (1.57). Although the Dukes of Atholl were happy to purchase more exotic textiles the evidence suggests that the 3rd Duke and his female household were careful to display patriotism in patronage and style. This extends to the frequent use made of mercers and makers in Scotland. The 4th Duke and his first wife, Jane Cathcart, older sister of

[136] John, Seventh Duke of Atholl, volume III, 1908, 19, 51-522, 325, 367, 408
[137] *London Evening Post*, London, February 20 1766 - February 22 1766, Issue 5970; Gale Group, Gale news vault online database, accessed 24.10.2010
[138] Queen Charlotte overtly supported British manufactures, see Langford, 1989, 581-582
[139] Foreman, Amanda, *The Duchess, Georgiana: Duchess of Devonshire*, London: Harper Perennial 1999 (first published 1998), 37-38
[140] Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly, 'French Connections: Gergiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and the Anglo-French Fashion Exchange', *Dress (Journal of the Costume Society of America)*, 2004, volume 31, 7
[141] Chrisman-Campbell, 2004, 8-9

Mary Graham and Louisa Stormont, continued this support for the local community. Reverend James McLagan's entry in the *Statistical Account* of 1791 described Jane's philanthropy:

> "Some improvements on the construction of the spinning-wheel, have been lately invented by a wheelwright in Dunkeld. At the desire of the late Duchess of Atholl, (who was disposed to patronise the inventor), a comparative trial was made… the result was, that with greater ease to the spinner, nearly one-third more, and of better quality, was spun on the former."[142]

She also instigated a girl's school "to teach the different branches of female education, such as sewing, tambouring, &c."[143] and the Reverend McLagan dedicates his entry; "in the recollection of her virtues, and her kindness, with respect and gratitude as heart-felt as ever impressed any human being."[144]

Individual character clearly held strong influence regarding decisions on dress. It would seem that the character of the Atholl and Cathcart ladies steered them towards more modest and less radical interpretations of fashion, whereas the Duchess of Devonshire and Marie-Antoinette's personalities led them to more intrepid tastes.

The Cathcart sisters are described as having had simple tastes in dress.[145] Louisa also shows evidence of trusting to her own taste and character in dress in Paris, in defiance of general mode. She writes of herself; "However, Mademoiselle is resolved never to wear any, and is fighting very hard, with the assistance of Lord Stormont, about not wearing rouge, except at Court."[146] Louisa's correspondence evidences a general interest in dress, often observing those around her.[147] It seems that she balanced her own tastes and desires with an understanding of the importance of engaging with sartorial etiquette. As Lord Chesterfield famously wrote to his son; "Dress is a very foolish thing; and yet it is a very foolish thing for a man not to be well dressed, according to his rank and way of life; … the man of sense laughs at it, at the same time that he knows that he must not neglect it…"[148]

While the Cathcart sister's tastes may have been simple, they were fashionable, as evidenced by a surviving dress known to have been worn by Mary Graham (1.210), which has the deep v-shaped waistline of French modes around 1790, when the garment was probably made. Louisa also demonstrates awareness of local differences in dress, and the counselling she offers her sister Mary in a

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[142] Sinclair, Sir John (ed.), *Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, Volume XII, North and West Perthshire, Wakefield: EP Publishing 1977, 334
[143] Sinclair, Volume XII, 1977, 331
[144] Sinclair, Volume XII, 1977, 351
[145] Graham, 1927, 24
[146] Louisa, Lady Stormont to Mary Graham, Paris, July 3rd; Graham, 1927, 106
[147] For example, 16th February, 1776; Graham, 1927, 72-73
[148] Lord Chesterfield to his son, November 19, 1745 quoted from Bell, 1976, 18

letter to Scotland suggests that they consciously balanced the differences in fashionable dress as they travelled and exchanged goods between locations. Louisa writes; "You must not be frightened at the size of the caps for they are all moderate, I assure you" and "You may safely wear your Polonaise without offence – the woman that makes it says she is making a great many to send to Edinburgh for the Races."[149] It is clear there was a system of ordering items from London by the female gentry in Edinburgh, and it appears that these women tended to use the same maker, possibly by recommendation or to ensure they had the same style.

On the theme of relative simplicity in fashionable dress it is worth re-considering the garments detailed above. The Blair garments are the most elaborately trimmed. The Haddington and Home garments represent certain styles, but even the most formal of these – the blue and grey damask – is modestly ornamented with self-material. The trimmings on the cream silk dress are equally subtle, providing visual interest but refraining from the colourful display of other garments at this date. The comparisons detailed above suggest there may have been a trend for cream satin dresses around 1780, but the style may equally have suited a more reserved temperament.

Finally, regarding choice of materials the accounts of the 3rd Duke of Atholl include enough detail to gain an impression of the colours and patterns chosen by the Duchess, Lady Charlotte and Miss Murray between 1762 and 1774 (appendix 1.3). There appears to be a variety of colour and fabric type, with blue and satin dominating. Some of the more unusual materials include a "Greve Skin Muff & Tippet" and "Satten Cloak lined with Mole Skin", which appear to have been one-off purchases for the Duchess.[150] Other colours include green; "Green & Gold…Printed Linnon" and "Pea Green flowrd Silk", as well as pink and white, and yellow, two colours represented in other collections of extant garments.[151] While the impression given by these descriptions is colourful the recurrence of blue and the simple weave structures of the fabrics; satin, 'ducare' and striped silk suggest a certain level of modesty and it is worth noting that a number of these plainer fabrics were purchased in Scotland. The 3rd Duke and Duchess of Atholl were clearly not afraid of investing in luxury pieces, but at the same time there is some sense of moderation, similar to that expressed by the Cathcart sisters. Alongside the Haddington dresses this does seem to express a trend for relative restraint in luxury within a section of the Scottish aristocracy.

Production and manifestation:

[149] Hertford Street, May 1776; Graham, 1927, 95
[150] March and May 1765 respectively; Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[151] March 1763 and April 1770; Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139

The wide access which the families of the Dukes of Atholl and Gordon and Earls of Cathcart and Haddington had to sources for acquiring items of dress and textiles was matched by their ability to select more easily between a wider choice of garment makers. The process of buying materials did not necessarily go hand-in-hand with the garment's production, as is visible in the separate entries in the accounts of the 3rd Duke of Atholl for fabric and makers. Together the accounts of the 3rd and 4th Dukes of Atholl mention by name 101 different maker and mercers, split between London and Scotland from around 1755 to 1810, most of those in Scotland being located in Perth and Dunkeld (the latter was the family's main place of residence).

The Dukes of Atholl were loyal customers in Scotland, but not so regularly as to suggest they gave custom out of charity. Examples include John Matthew, a glove maker noted in 1799 and who may also be an illegible "…matham" glove maker of 1773. The name 'Duff' frequents the Atholl accounts; the 3rd Duke purchased cloth from Andrew Duff, possibly a weaver, in 1769 and 1773. Shoes were purchased from a Duff in 1767, 1772, 1774 and 1781, and there were the Dunkeld mercers, Duff and Cargill, used frequently by the 3rd Duke. It is likely that these Duffs were extended if not close relations.[152]

A further possible family name is that of Donaldson. In 1764 the 3rd Duke enters £4.8.6 "To Mr. Wright being money Laid out by him for me to the Duches for Payment of Donaldsons Bill" and a Helen Donaldson, mantuamaker, features under accounts for the new Duchess in 1778 and again as Miss Donaldson in 1781. Another female trader who occurs twice, once for the 3rd Duke in 1755 and once for the 4th Duke in 1778 is Mrs Robertson. In 1755 Mrs Robertson features as part of the Duchess's Edinburgh accounts, in 1778 she is "Mrs Robertson Milliner". The time gap could mean these entries relate to different people but given the Atholl loyalty to other traders it is reasonable to assume she is the same or a closely related person. [153]

It is obvious from these entries that the skills and materials demanded by aristocratic clients were available in small-town Scotland from the mid-eighteenth century. The Dukes of Atholl are sourcing linen and wool cloth locally, as well as commissioning silk from Mr. Murray in Dunkeld.

When in Scotland the Duke's of Atholl shared some of the same mercers and makers as the local gentry, most notably the 'Sandiman' (or Sandeman) brothers. Mr David Sandeman was brother to a merchant in Perth, an acquaintance of the Richardsons of Pitfour, who will feature in Chapter 2. He

[152] Blair Castle 5/108; Blair Castle 5/139; Blair Castle 5/113
[153] September 1764, Blair Castle 5/139; December 1778, Blair Castle 5/114; November 1781, Blair Castle 5/113; December 1755, Blair Castle IID.6.(1); December 1778, Blair Castle 5/114

and his wife are variously noted as supplying the Duchess of Atholl with a mourning dress in 1766 and a white dress in 1770. Thomas Graham of Balgowan, husband of Mary Graham née Cathcart, also dealt with the Sandeman family.[154] Severe class distinctions were evidently not at play here in the same way as some London mercers; it is notable that the items bought of Harris, King and Thompson, mercers to Royalty, are high-end products including uncut velvet and gold brocade, none of the bills falling under £15.0.0.[155]

Two years after the Duchess of Atholl had a white dress made in Perthshire, the Duchess of Gordon had one made in London and sent to her by the Duke of Gordon's London tailor, J. Peter Schein, who writes (phonetically), "… Sir as I would be very glad to know if the Dutchess have rece.d hir whit silk Goon and if hir Grace is pleasd to her Licking as I hop it is save araud to hir Grace so no more at present…"[156] This may suggest that the Duchess of Gordon had more London-centred tastes in attire than her close social counterpart - in March 1772 George Steuart, the 3rd Duke of Atholl's architect, gave a tour 'from cellar to the leads' to a party of friends and relations that included the Duke and Duchess of Gordon.[157] White dresses were not the only type shared by the Duchesses; the Duchess of Gordon's request for a black embroidered satin was noted above and in May of that year the Duke of Atholl accounts for a "black flowrd satten".[158] With Lady Findlater having a similar garment there was evidently a trend for such fabrics around this time, yet very few black silk garments of this date survive.[159]

Although the Duke of Atholl procured some goods from Harris, King and Thompson, his London patronage also overlapped with the gentry. The Duchess, Lady Charlotte and Miss Murray used a dressmaker called Mrs Grey; in June 1766, to the sum of £5.17.8; in March 1768 £15.5.0 encapsulates "the Duchess & Young Ladies" and in June 1773 Mrs Grey is paid £21.3.1 on behalf of the Duchess of Atholl, £4.13.2 for Miss Murray and £2.18.3 for Lady Charlotte. Barbara Johnson, whose *Album of Fashions* in the V&A provides a unique resource for dress historians, used a Mrs Grey in 1763, 1765 and 1770.

As Madeleine Ginsburg points out it cannot be ascertained whether Johnson and the Atholls used exactly the same Mrs Grey, as several women worked under that name in later eighteenth century

[154] Graham, 1927, 142-143
[155] March and July 1765, June 1766, March 1767; Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[156] London August 27 1772; National Archives of Scotland, GD44/43/72/25
[157] Atholl 54/3/47 and 54/3/49; referenced in Coltman, Viccy, 'Scottish Architects in Eighteenth-Century London: George Steuart, the Competiton for Patronage, and the Representation of Scotland' in Nenadic, *Scots in London […]*, 2010, 97
[158] Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[159] Only fragments of black silk garments were found in the survey of collections for this project.

London.[160] That they did use the same maker is a tempting speculation, and one candidate is Mrs Jane Grey of Aldersgate Street, whose notice of marriage to Mr Thomas Clough, Warehouseman, St. Martin's Le Grand was printed on Tuesday June 21st, 1763 in *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post.*[161] Mr Clough's occupation as a warehouseman makes it likely that his wife would join the same business, or operate a partner business such as dressmaking.

While the over-lapping of social class of customers in Scotland might suggest a smaller pool of tradespeople were available, there is no reason to think that their level of skills was inferior to counterparts in London. The main difference seems to be that some materials, and therefore the skills accompanying them were only to be had in the capital. No evidence of complaints about the standard of products purchased in Scotland has been found. A footnote in the memoirs of Ramsay states that,

> "Lady Sarah Bruce says a Katherine Murray was the only milliner in Edinburgh when she first knew it, about 1720. Nor were female mantua-makers very ancient in that place - Isabel Robertson, who was bred in London, having been, about 1725, the first person eminent in that way. In the preceding age a great part of the ladies habiliments were made up by tailors."[162]

Although there may be some truth in this statement, the claims that there was only one Edinburgh milliner circa 1720 seems exaggerated in the face of Elizabeth Sanderson's research, which revealed a strong network of female mercers and workers in the dress trades.[163]

Above it was noted as likely that fabrics woven with precious metals had to be imported from London. It is, however, worth noting that it was possible to have gold and silver embroidery made in Scotland. *The Edinburgh Advertiser* for Tuesday June 4 to Friday June 7, 1765 published the following advert;

> "This is to acquaint all Noblemen, Ladies, Gentlemen, and others, that the EMBROIDERER lately in the College wynd, is now removed to Rae's land, head of the Canongate, Edinburgh, and embroiders as usual, in the following articles, either in gold or silver, viz. silk or worsted men and womens cloaths of all sorts whatever, of the best fashion and at the cheapest rate, to the knowledge of several persons of distinction, who have been servid by him to their great satisfaction... Likewise cleans ladies apparel of all kinds. Those who are pleased to favour him with their orders, may depend upon having them expeditiously executed, and at the lowest rates, by their most humble servent, ISAAC SOLOMON / N. B. He teaches ladies to embroider in any of the foregoing articles."[164]

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[160] Rothstein, *Barbara Johnson's Album*, 1987, 19
[161] *St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, June 18 1763 – June 21 1763, issue 358, 17th-18th century Burney Collection Newspapers, Gale online, accessed 20.12.2010
[162] Ramsay, John, Esq. of Ochtertyre (ed.), *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, volume II, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons 1888, 86 note 2
[163] Sanderson, Elizabeth, *Women and Work in Eighteenth Century Edinburgh*, London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1996
[164] *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 366

The advert mentions provision of tutorials to ladies, which raises an important point regarding the production of women's wear. Although the making of upper class women's wear was mostly done by professionals, some women did have the skills and took pleasure in making items of dress. Charlotte, 3rd Duchess of Atholl is regularly mentioned in the Duke's accounts as undertaking needlework. In March 1765 she was "learning to Work at Tambour Tents, Needles & for silk & Threads" at a cost of £7.0.0. In February 1768 the Duchess has a pattern drawn onto a bed cover; "to Mrs Pignaroll for Snailing of all Colours for the Duchess to Work a White Satten Bed with" and in May 1772 the Duke "Paid… to Mrs Dobson for Gold thread for the Duchess to Embroider My Coat & other things 15.9.6…". This final entry suggests that the Duchess was an accomplished embroiderer and other notes for metal trimmings suggest that her sewing skills included more general work as well.[165]

A letter dated 1783 from Jane, 4th Duchess of Atholl, describes a comic incident to her sister and alludes to Lady Charlotte having acquired similar embroidery skills to her mother:

> "You would not guess what Lady Charlotte's last work has been. A Waistcoat for Kincairny, done with a border of festoons upon flaps, composed of *Mouse Tails* mixed with Ribband. She said it was not a very *pleasant* work, but very diverting whenever she recollected what a *contrast* it made to the one she was working this time last year. The idea come from the Duke's receiving a large collection of Tails, one day Kincairny was here…"[166]

One running theme throughout this discussion has been the association of fabric name with the colour and raw material. Shopping for fabrics would have involved and developed an intimate knowledge of different materials and methods of construction, alongside the properties these would give to a garment. So much so that certain types of dress were synonymous with certain fabrics, a light-hearted example is the thought process of Susannah, Mrs Shandy's ladies maid in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*. On learning of the death of her Mistress's eldest child Susannah's thoughts go to a green satin night gown and subsequently;

> "O! 'twill be the death of my poor mistress, cried *Susannah*. – My mother's whole wardrobe followed. – What a procession! her red damask, her orange-tawny, - her white and yellow lusterings, - her brown taffata, - her bone-laced caps, her bed-gowns, and comfortable under-petticoats. – Not a rag was left behind. – "*No, - she will never look up again,*" said *Susannah*."[167]

The materials take precedence over any mention of style in this anecdote, suggesting that the material was of more importance and gave the most immediate impression to a dress in the mid-eighteenth

[165] March, April and December 1771; Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139
[166] Dunkeld, December 18th, 1783; Graham, 1927, 186
[167] Original emphasis; Sterne, Laurence, (Ross, Iain Campbell ed.) *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1983 (first published 1759-1767), 288-289

century. When making entries in his accounts the 3rd Duke of Atholl was descriptive of the fabrics paid for, but rarely made any mention of their end use beyond a 'suit' or 'gown'.

To gain any impression of the success or use of women's wear it is necessary to turn to comments written by women. The Cathcart family were adept at entertaining one another with anecdotes relating to dress. One such from Lady Cathcart to her sister in law, Mary Graham, indicates that there was some skill in wearing the formal dress such as the Haddington mantua. In 1792 she describes the Duchess of York's German lady dancing at a court ball;

> "Mlle. Von Verack who sailed down the Dance in a Bell Hoop and Arms extended in a most extraordinary manner. It would have entertained you much to have seen her dancing with Sir J. Murray in his Aide-de-Camp's uniform with such a good Boy look and manner…"[168]

This is matched by the fictional Lady Delacour in *Belinda* who laments,

> "Every body wears hoops, but how few - 'tis a melancholy consideration! - how very few can manage them. There's my friend lady C----- in an elegant undress; she passes for very genteel, but put her in a hoop and she looks as pitiable a figure - as much a prisoner - and as little able to walk as a child in a go-cart. She gets on, I grant you, and so does the poor child, but getting on you know is not walking….' lady Delacour went on to mimic what she called the hoop awkwardness of all her acquaintance…"[169]

Jane, Duchess of Atholl's own account of her formal dress is more perfunctory:

> "My Dress was pink sattin, the Petticoat puckered all over with Crape, which was ornamented with festoons and bouquets of Roses. There was no very fine Gowns, but a good many trimmings with coloured foils stuck upon Crape. I thought however that they looked more tawdry than handsome."[170]

While she describes the visible make of her dress there is little further information and her comment about the use of precious metals hints at a reason why she preferred crape and roses. Jane was not entirely adverse to metal embellishments however, as a later comment shows; "I wore my Blue and silver, which is now a Night Gown as I thought it would be the most showy for such an occasion. I enclose a List of the Company…"[171] This comment provides clear evidence that the Cathcart-Atholl family had their garments remodelled in order to extend wear. It is probable that this 'Blue and silver' dress was once a formal garment worn in London for a particular occasion, possibly similar to some of

[168] Whitehall, Tuesday May 15th; Graham, 1927, 272
[169] Edgeworth, Maria, (Kirkpatrick, Kathryn J., ed.), *Belinda*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1999 (first published 1801), 74
[170] January 20th, 1780; Graham, 1927, 154
[171] Describing 30th of June, 1783 to Mary Graham; Graham, 1927, 185

the examples highlighted in the Haddington mantua analysis above. Remodelling would have enabled a costly fabric to be worn repeatedly subsequent to the formal event it was made for. If re-modelling was standard, then this further supports the idea that sentiment and, or mixed with, the textiles falling out of fashion assisted the survival of garments discussed in this thesis. Moreover, the Duchess's introducing her dress in colour and material relates back to the above mention of the importance of fabric as a descriptive of dress.

Once again it is clear that personal character played a strong role in the production and manifestation of aristocratic Scotswomen's dress. The choice of using Scottish or London trades people was open to all of the families discussed above. Which was favoured seemed to rely on circumstances such as the loyalty felt by individuals to their 'seat', the area which gave them their title, how quickly work could be accomplished – such as Mrs Sandeman's production of mourning dresses – and the materials required. Overall the Atholl and Cathcart families seem to have displayed a generosity of patronage and while little is known regarding the owners of the Haddington and Home garments their materials and styles suggest their owners held some comparable sensibilities.

Conclusion:

The above assessment gives an impression of the women in the Atholl and Cathcart families as individual characters. The combination of garments and archive materials shows these women as having a strong sense of family and social role, who enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle, but took with it duties and responsibilities. They tempered their luxury with philanthropy and restraint of sartorial style, aware of how their behaviour might affect the social position of themselves and their families. Thus, they work against the assessment of John Brown, who wrote in 1757; "the character of the Manners of our Times: … on a fair examination will probably appear to be that of a *vain*, *luxurious*, and *selfish* Effeminacy."[172] Robert W. Jones summarises "... as both Brown and Fawconcer make clear, luxury, and the baleful fruit of commercial excess, marks a profound loss of both national identity and cultural certainty."[173] These commentators may have had men in mind, but even so the behaviour of the Dukes of Atholl is not typical of vain, luxurious selfishness.

These comments presuppose that individuals had a sense of national identity and cultural certainty to lose. The strongest impression gained from the above discussion is that, in regards to habits of dress, the strongest sense of an individual was one of class and their immediate personal surroundings. It is clear that personal character was an important influence in the dress style of aristocrats, but that it often

[172] *An Estimate of the Manners and Principals of the Times*, London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1757, 29 quoted in Jones, Robert W., *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1998, 60
[173] Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste […]*, 1998, 61

intertwined with social etiquette. Wider access to goods and makers skills brought with them wider concerns of social responsibility and duty; to social station, family and nation. The families of the Dukes of Atholl expressed patriotism to Britain and their home community when shopping, but the resultant dresses combined contemporary fashions, luxury and exoticism.

From the slight restraint in style of the extant garments, and the Cathcart sister's conscious consideration of how fashions were worn and received in Scotland as against London, suggests there were differences between the localities that women who lived between the two were prudent to be aware of. However, there was evidently a wide variety of materials and skills available for the manufacture of dress in Scotland. What these aristocrats obtained elsewhere was a greater exposure to rare and high-end textiles and a more direct understanding of fashionable styles, as observed in their friends and via travelling. It was then left to their individual characters to choose what modes to wear, how and where.

Figure 2.1: Location map

Pitfour Castle, Perthshire = 1
Guthrie Castle, Angus = 2
Persie House, Angus = 3
Kinclune House, Angus = 4

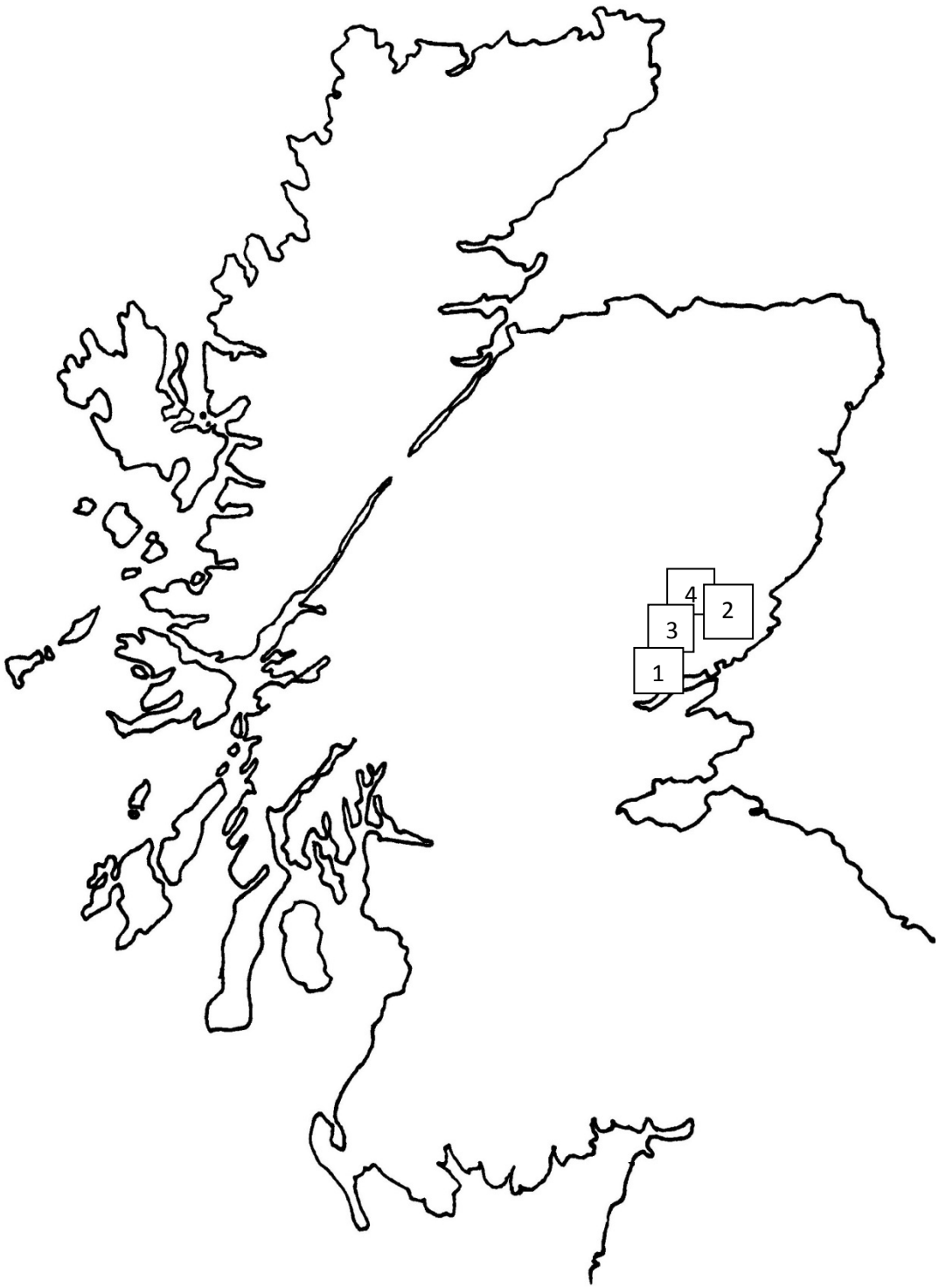
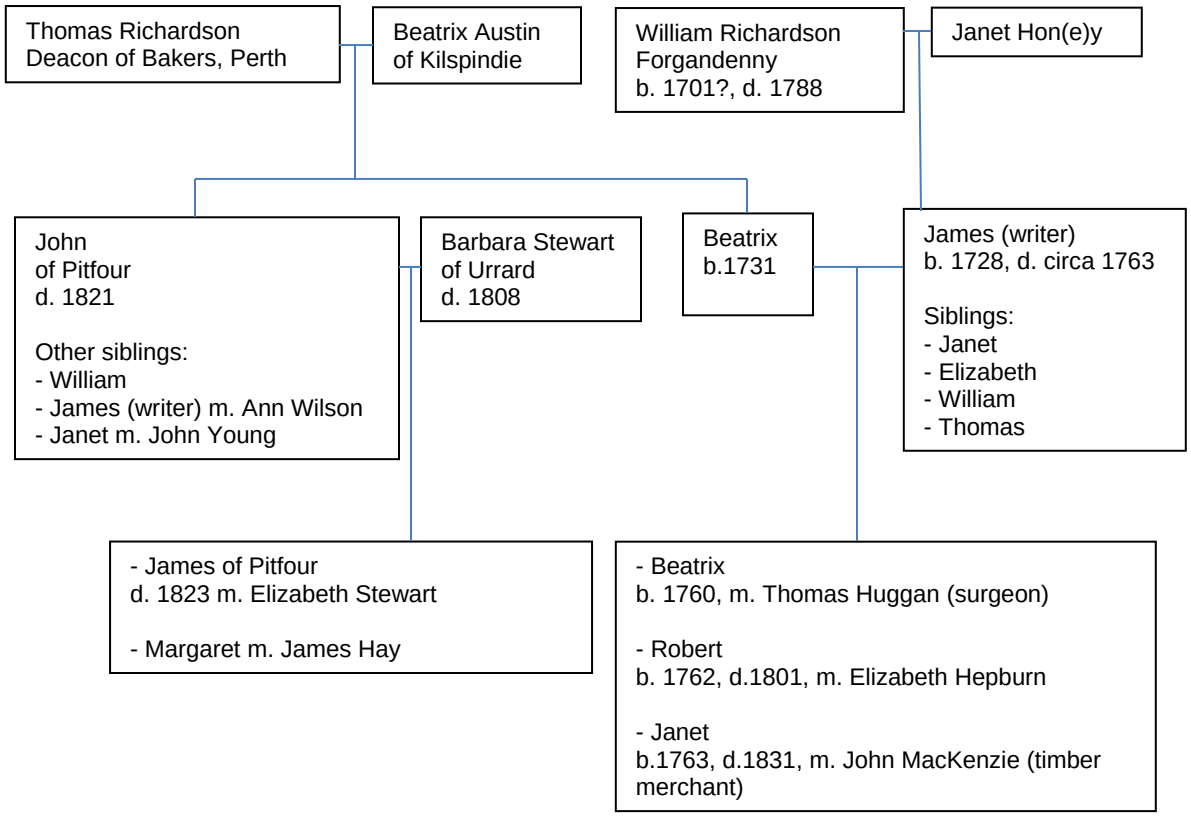


Figure 2.2: Richardson of Pitfour family tree[174]



[174] Information taken from family tree research associated with the Richardson family archive, Perth and Kinross District Council

Figure 2.3: Guthrie of Guthrie family tree[175]

James Guthrie, 14th of Guthrie m. 1704 Margaret, daughter of John Turnbull of Strickathro
- John (15th of Guthrie)
- daughter

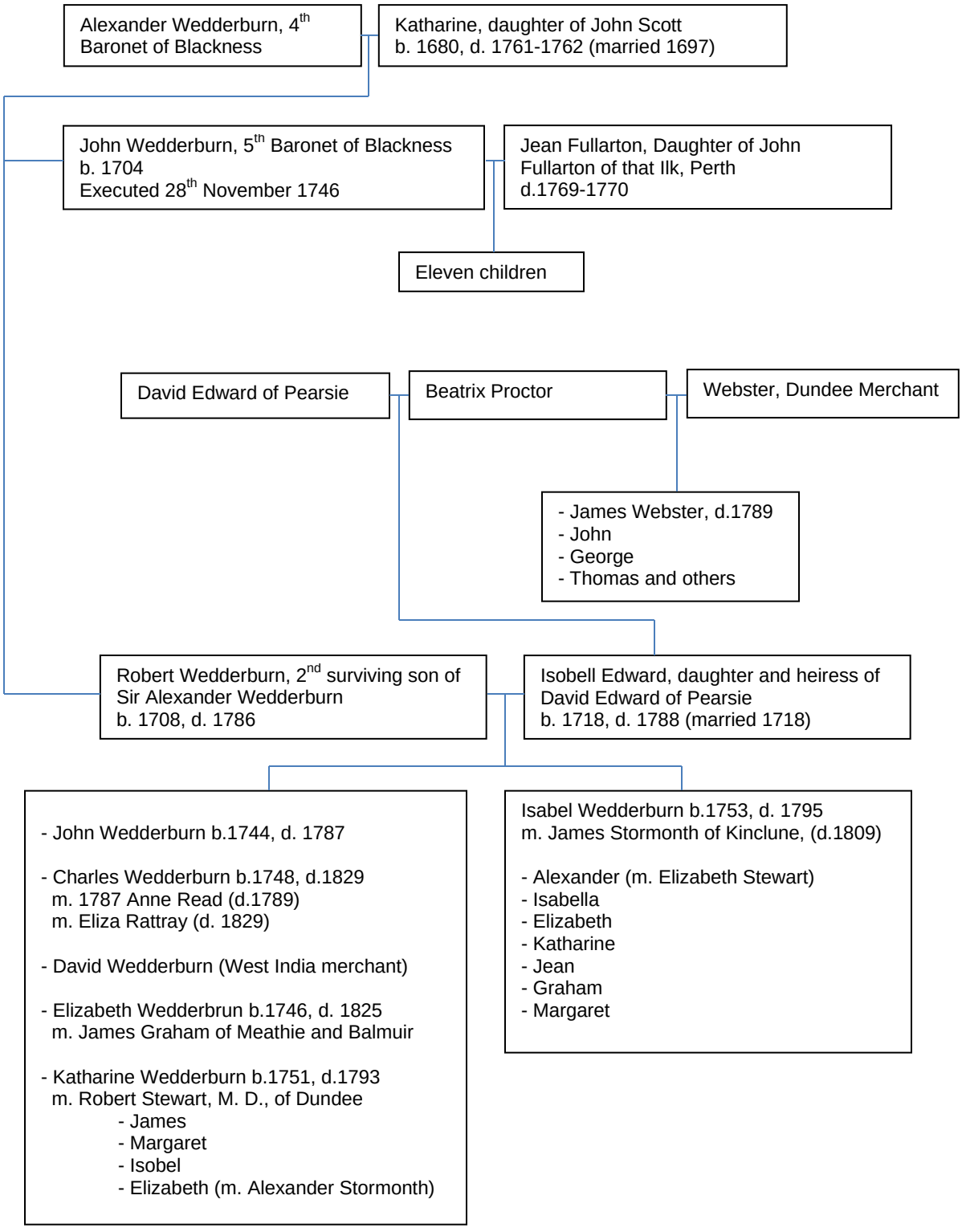
John Guthrie, 15th of Guthrie m. 1732 Jean, daughter of Reverend James Hodge, of Bothkinnar
- John (16th of Guthrie)
- Margaret m. William Alison, merchant in Dundee
- Jean m. John Scrymgeour, younger son of Tealing

John Guthrie, 16th of Guthrie m. 1763 Margaret, daughter of Reverend Whyte of Murroes, son of Charles Whyte, merchant of Dundee
- John (17th of Guthrie)
- other siblings

John Guthrie, 17th of Guthrie m. 1798 Anne, daughter of William Douglas, 2nd of Brigton

[175] Synopsis from *Burke's Landed Gentry* entry 'Guthrie of Guthrie'

Figure 2.4: Wedderburn family tree[176]



[176] Information sourced from *The Wedderburn Book*, 1898 (see below) and research undertaken by Rebecca Quinton, Glasgow Museums

Chapter 2: A view of gentlewomen in Perthshire and Angus through their dress

Review and introduction:

This chapter will present the second instalment analysing eighteenth century women's fashionable dresses from Scotland. The chapter will move the discussion into a new social group, the gentry, whose garments dominate Scottish collections of historic dress. An ambiguous social group by today's standards, they are the most represented in collections of historic fashion throughout the United Kingdom.[177] Most easily summarised as landowning families, their income was generated through investment in and management of land and assets. Their concerns can broadly be described as a down-sized version of the aristocratic lifestyles seen in the previous chapter. More hands-on application would have been required of members of the gentry in their own homes and businesses, yet they still had extensive leisure time. Most importantly for the purpose of this essay, their lifestyle supported the acquisition and use of a large variety of dress.

The following chapter will look at three of five genteel households represented in Scottish collections. Examination of the remaining two will follow in Chapter 3. These five households were selected primarily due to the availability of their surviving dress and related archives. Additionally, they present a variety of incomes and income-sources, over two broad geographic areas: modern day Perthshire and Angus against Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. This chapter focuses on the Perthshire, and Angus families; the Richardson's of Pitfour, Guthrie's of Guthrie, Wedderburn's and Stormonth's of Persie and Kinclune. Perth was the main trading centre for this area of Scotland, but its small size meant these families accessed the same trades-people as the Dukes of Atholl, and Grahams of Balgown.

The number of traceable garments belonging to Perthshire and surrounding areas is testament to their having once hosted a dynamic fashionable community. The garments discussed below are all in Glasgow Museums' collection. This is thought to reflect past closures of dress and textile collections in Perth Museum and those in Edinburgh, rather than Glasgow actively seeking items from eastern Scotland.[178]

The following discussion will illustrate the similarities of concerns regarding dress and lifestyle between the genteel and aristocratic classes, as well as looking at some of the differences, often driven by financial circumstances. The Richardson's of Pitfour, for example, acquired a substantial property,

[177] As observed during collections research for this project
[178] Noted from conversations with Rebecca Quinton, Curator of European Costume and Textiles, Glasgow Museums

but this had limited impacted on their social concerns, which continued to revolve around family, Perth society and business connections. The Guthrie's of Guthrie were an 'old' landed family, but without the pecuniary returns of the Dukes of Atholl. Wedderburn of Persie had kin with substantial Caribbean wealth and London business, while being connected locally by marriage to more modest seats at Kinclune.

The object studies and discussions below will highlight the different temperaments in dress between the gentry and aristocracy of the previous chapter. The social groups shared interest in fashion and outlay on dress, but the quantity and quality of purchases was different. Discussion will look at how the garments reflected their owners' social attitudes and personal circumstances; considering how the garments evidence differences in daily life and their owner's locality from their aristocratic counterparts.

Ultimately, the questions of Chapter 1 will be repeated, asking how the garments reflect personal and social identity; what associations they have with national or international fashions; and, what can be learned about the lives of Scotswomen from them. The dialogues between personal taste, monetary and moral circumstances all remain key, while the ability to compare these examples with those of the next chapter will enable insight into whether there were differences between women's fashionable dress in eastern and western lowland Scotland in the mid to late eighteenth century.

Methodology and layout:

The methodology and layout for this chapter follow the same format as the previous chapter; presenting object descriptions as data, followed by a comparative analysis with other garments and pictorial media, guided by the Prown approach. The data and analyses will then be followed by a general discussion relating the items and addressing overarching themes identified from the objects, as well as the thesis' general themes.

The items to be discussed in this chapter were all studied as part of a survey of eighteenth century women's dress in Scottish collections. The Richardson garments had been connected to their respective household by research undertaken by Rebecca Quinton, curator of European Costume and Textiles at Glasgow Museums (also known as Glasgow Life). The Guthrie garment was less certainly identified but strongly associated with the family name. The Wedderburn garments had been the subject of previous research undertaken by the author in 2007 for an MLitt, which was built on by Rebecca Quinton, Hazel Taylor (on behalf of the author) and as part of this project. The Richardson of Pitfour family archive is extensive and offers potential for further research into the family; the Guthrie family have limited public archives, while the Wedderburns have been the subject of publications assisting the

development of contextual knowledge.[179] However, despite the availability of related information, specific knowledge of the women who wore the extant garments is sparse, with no detail of their dress purchases. This highlights the problematic development of women's histories, and the important role objects have when subjects and stories are unwritten.

Data:

Richardson of Pitfour

Object name /number	E.1986.62.5.a&b
Date	Collection date: circa 1765-1770 / research date: circa 1757-1763
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 18 inches / 457mm
Provenance	Richardsons of Pitfour, Pitfour Castle, Perthshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	a) Woman's dress, or *sacque*, in dark yellow silk. Open front with folded robings forming wide v-shape to waist front; neckline and robings trimmed with snaking gathered self-material. Bodice back with two double box-pleats forming the *sacque*. Elbow length sleeves each with triple-layer flounce-style cuffs gathered over, cut with scalloped edge. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen. Skirt with open front, snaking gathered self-material trimming at front edges, each side of lower skirt with small self-material covered button to fasten yellow silk cord loop, extending from inside lower skirt to gather hem. Inside lower skirt lined with silk. b) Petticoat in matching silk, pleated into waistband at front and back, drawstrings at each side to fasten. Centre front with self-material flounce, cut with scalloped edge, trimmed above and below with various twisted and gathered bands of self-material. Later alteration to waistband and cotton panel added to skirt back; conserved 2006 with removal of cotton and insertion of wool replacement. Petticoat lined with glazed wool, possibly calamanco.

Comparative analysis:

[179] For example, Wedderburn, Alexander, *The Wedderburn Book: A History of the Wedderburns in the Counties of Berwick, and Forfar*, volumes I-II, Printed for private circulation, 1898

Research established that yellow silk garments form a prominent group in British collections of eighteenth and early nineteenth century dress. Forty garments were noted across seventeen collections in the United Kingdom, including striped or figured textiles predominantly in yellow, while five were noted in North American collections, two in Kyoto, three in France and one in the Netherlands.[180] It is possible that the number of surviving yellow garments is partly because the strong colour was less desirable for re-use. Analysis of the Pitfour dress took two paths; firstly identification and comparison of extant yellow garments, secondly analysis of stylistic detail.

The Pitfour dress is a *sacque*, in a dark yellow silk. Various shades of yellow were found in extant garments dating from around 1740-1820, an example from Leeds City Museums showing the longevity, or revival, of strong yellow in dress (2.2). As will be seen evidence indicated that darker shades were most popular circa 1740-1770 and a majority of the items are dated circa 1760s. A number of paler garments with cream floral patterning were found associated with the 1770s.

Three items were identified as a strikingly similar shade of yellow to the Pitfour garment (2.3-2.5). The pockets may have been made to match a skirt to camouflage it when the skirt moved, or simply as the owner's preference. Pockets are the subject of their own specific study.[181] The V&A items are part of a group from around the 1740s-1750s and can be connected to wider examples (2.6-2.15). The Worthing and Wade dresses (2.7 and 2.12) may be earlier than the circa 1760 stated due to the wide pleats of their *fourreau*, (this style feature is discussed further in Chapter 4). Similarly Mercier's 1733 *Music Party* (2.8) shows a paler yellow garment that compares in colour to items in the Wade collection, Museum of London and Leeds Museums of circa 1720-1750 (2.9, 2.14-2.16). The London dress (2.13) is made of Chinese silk, suggesting imports met the demands of this European fashion.

Several yellow garments were identified as using textiles from the 1740s-1750s but having been remodelled or styled at a later date, they approach the attributed date of the Pitfour garment and form a tangible connection between the earlier garments and those of the 1760s (2.10, 2.11, 2.16). Two further distinct groups of yellow garments were identified during research; dresses with cream or white embellishment on the textile or trimming, and dresses with self-material trimming. The first group evidenced the different uses of yellow and the lightening of colour into the latter half of the eighteenth century (1.69, 2.16-2.23, 2.31), by forming a distinct sub-group these items assisted the identification of self-trimmed garments as a trend within which the Pitfour dress could be firmly situated; making it clear the Pitfour garment was part of a specific fashion.

[180] These items were noted during general research, not specifically searching for yellow garments
[181] Fennetaux, Ariane, 'Women's Pockets and the Construction of Privacy in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 20, number 3, Spring 2008, 307-334

Research collated similar extant garments, which generally dated to the 1760s (2.24-2.37, 1.24). The uncertainty of date around some of these made reference to fashion plates and contemporary portraits necessary (1.50-1.52, 1.58-1.60, 1.176, 2.38-2.56). While later fashion plates and garments could display a highly detailed level of self-trimming (2.50-2.54) their designs were more linear and restrained than earlier plates and portraits such as those by Thomas Gainsborough (2.41-2.49, 2.55-2.56). The majority of embellishments are found on the petticoat of the Pitfour dress; a central scalloped flounce surrounded by twisted puffs, with pleated serpentine bands below, resolving themselves into leaf and floral forms. When compared with other examples, it is these forms and quantity of self-trimming that evidences the Pitfour dress as dating around the late 1750s to early 1760s (2.28, 2.30-2.31, 2.44). This theory is supported by knowledge of the Richardson family whose tastes in dress were fashionable and whose situation enabled them to obtain items at the height of their popularity. The garment has therefore been given a date bracket of circa 1757-1763, although it remains debateable in light of the later images.

Out of the primary extant examples, the 1772-1777 dating of the Bath dress (2.37) may have been determined by the striped fabric, however stripes occur earlier (2.38) and the pinking detail relates to items given an earlier date in the V&A and Museum of London (2.35-2.36). Again the Museum of London item dated as a wedding dress of 1753 may be later, the pinking of the trimming matching that seen in Liotard's 1759 portrait of *Madame La Live d'Epinay* (2.39). It is evident that dating garments is an indefinite process. However, these garments fit within a wider context associating them with circa 1760, while their designs generally compare to the Pitfour dress. Furthermore, the distinctive skirt hem button of the Pitfour dress can be seen on a trade card of 1758 (2.40).

Finally, research revealed a smaller number of yellow dresses in French collections and paintings (2.57-2.60). While the survey of French collections was itself smaller, the lack of dark yellow garments in the major collections of Musée Galliera, Musée Les Arts Décoratifs and Musée des Tissus suggests they were a predominantly British style.

Object name /number	E.1986.62.4.a&b
Date	Collection date: garment circa 1770s; silk circa 1750-1760 / research date: 1760-1772 (possibly 1768)
Materials	Silk, linen

Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 20 inches / 508mm
Provenance	Richardsons of Pitfour, Pitfour Castle, Perthshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	Woman's dress, or *sacque*, with matching petticoat in cream silk with trailing floral stem and dash ground pattern, brocaded in multi-colours with bouquets and sprigs, arranged in vertical repeats of alternating sizes. a) Dress with squared neckline, folded robings at each side of matching stomacher, attached to the dress on one side. The neckline and bodice robings are trimmed with box-pleated self-material. The matching stomacher has a central seam, decorated with six self-material covered buttons, visible pin or stitch holes evidence use or adjustment. The bodice back has two double box-pleats forming the *sacque*. The sleeves extend to the elbow and are trimmed with triple-layer flounce-style cuffs, box-pleated onto the sleeve and with scalloped edges. Bodice and sleeves are lined with linen and cotton, the sleeves weighted at the inside elbow. There are signs of adjustment; some of the lining has been replaced and arm protectors inserted, the bodice front appears to have been raised for a higher neckline, the sleeves have later net lace inserts. The skirt has an open front, trimmed with self-material in a narrow box-pleated band at the front edge, outwardly flanked by wider bands of self-material in a snaking pleat and puff pattern extending from hip to hem. Inside the lower skirt is lined with plain silk; cotton buttons and long silk cords inside the waist back allow skirt adjustment to a polonaise style. b) Petticoat has a cotton waistband fastening centre back, probably a nineteenth century replacement. The upper back panel has been patched with cream calamanco. The front is trimmed with two flounces of self-material, gathered across the top and tucked at each side to form three swags. Over each flounce and at the petticoat hem are snaking bands of box-pleated self-material. The petticoat is fully lined with calamanco.

Comparative analysis:

The analysis of E.1986.62.4 was also undertaken in two stages; textile design, then garment style. The textile fits within a second major group of garments identified during research into British collections; those using a cream silk brocaded in multi-colours with floral designs. This group was examined broadly in relation to items from Perth Museum and Art Gallery collection (see Chapter 4). The Pitfour dress (2.61) was examined with understanding of this general context already in place.

Four examples from The Fashion Museum, Bath, provided a good basis from which to begin investigation (2.62-2.65), all except one date to the 1770s and all have a selvedge width of around 19 ½ inches (495mm), only slightly narrower than the Pitfour textile. Each example has a different ground pattern, brocaded with coloured flora forming generally horizontal or vertical sequences of alternately large and small bouquets and sprigs. The Pitfour example exhibits a more varied floral colour and form, possibly suggesting it is a higher quality material. Close comparison of the colour and design of the floral elements on these textiles revealed that all featured bouquets with a bundle of stems protruding from below the flower heads at a slight angle, and all featured different sized flowers within the bouquets.

Detailed analysis of the floral elements extended to other extant garments and designs (2.66-2.75), revealing that similar forms for flora in textiles were in use over the extended period of 1740s-1770s, while the Kensington Palace example (2.73) indicates such silks could be used for court dress. Examples sourced were both French and British; designs from the two nations are closely comparable. A distinctive feature of the Pitfour textile is the floral trail ground pattern, which forms irregular shapes framing a small dash pattern. Similar forms and dashes can be seen in Anna Maria Garthwaite's designs in the V&A, dated 1752 and 1744 (2.74- 2.75). The nuances of Garthwaite's designs are discussed further in Chapter 4. These comparisons support the earlier dating of the Pitfour textile.

The construction of the Pitfour dress has general similarities to its yellow counterpart, so that some sources overlapped. Particular comparison can be made with the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMoA) dress, circa 1760 (2.30), and *A Lady in the Dress of the Year 1767* (1.50). Other previously cited fashion plates show skirt or bodice trimmings comparable to the cream Pitfour dress: *The Duchess of Gloucester, 1772* (2.52); *A Lady in the Dress of 1770* (2.51); *A Lady & Children in the Dress of 1770* (2.50); and *A Lady in the most elegant Dress of 1768* (1.52), while image 2.76 adds another example for 1772.

The fashion plate of 1768 has the greatest overall similarity with the Pitfour garment. The main differences are the illustration of an extra band of trimming on the petticoat, bows on the stomacher and inside elbow, and only two layers to the cuffs. Accepting these, the plate could feasibly have served as a model for the Pitfour dress. This visual evidence can be compared to other media, drawings or painted narratives and portraits (2.77-2.79).

Fragonard's *La Confidence* has been dated to circa 1780 but the similarity of the depicted dress to the Blair items discussed in Chapter 1 suggests, whether drawn later or not, the work shows women of circa 1770. The button front bodice connects this image, Blair 1 and the Pitfour dress. Similarly, the

connection can be once again made to Gainsborough's portrait of Mrs Portman, 1764-1765 (1.176). Other relevant portraits include Gainsborough's depiction of the Byam's (2.78) in which Mrs Byam wears a multi-flounce petticoat like the Pitfour example, dating to the early or mid-1760s, and Mrs Dehany's skirt and petticoat in Gainsborough's portrait of 1760-1761 show similar trimmings to the Pitfour dress (2.79).

Relevant images therefore present a range of dates circa 1760-1772. Comparable extant garments have mostly been cited above: the MMoA dress, dated circa 1760 (2.30), Worthing dress dated circa 1770 (2.29) and Norwich dress dated 1765-1775 (2.28). Additionally a dress in National Museums Liverpool (2.80) dated circa 1765-1770, exhibits similar trimmings to the Pitfour garment and is in floral brocade silk. Therefore the Pitfour brocade dress can be broadly dated 1760-1772, but is likely to date more closely to circa 1768. While the material has similarities to French design the weight of evidence suggests the textile design and garment construction are probably British. The similarities in style and likely origin between this and the yellow Pitfour dress strongly suggest they had the same owner.

Object name /number	E.1986.62.1
Date	Collection date: circa 1740-1770
Materials	Silk, linen, wool
Dimensions	
Provenance	Richardsons of Pitfour, Pitfour Castle, Perthshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	Woman's petticoat in light blue satin silk lined with calamanco, interlined with blue wool and quilted in a running stitch with a fish-scale or scallop design on the upper part, and floral pattern interspersed between a horizontally snaking line on the lower part. Waistband is missing and the waistline is unpicked but originally had side openings.

Comparative analysis:

The research focus of this thesis is main garments, this petticoat may be regarded as both undergarment and main garment as it could have been worn fully visible with a *caraco,* or largely hidden by a dress and apron. As analysis of quilting design and technique forms its own branch of dress and textiles

studies,[182] research only intended to give a context of other extant examples to provide insight into the quilting design and garment form.

Most extant examples found were in pale blue or cream silk (2.82-2.89). Although following a general format of construction and design the details of each garment found differed, an undated example in Leeds City Museum being most comparable to the Pitfour petticoat (2.85). With four of the examples from Scotland and other examples predominantly having an English origin, it appears that quilted petticoats were a standard garment in eighteenth-century British women's wardrobes. It has been argued that these items were a staple in the ready-made garment trade,[183] and it is evident from the examples found that quilting could vary considerably in design and quality.

These examples provide a picture of a generic style of garment that varied gradually over time, but which could be found across the United Kingdom and further afield in the mid-eighteenth century. The more decorative examples were probably intended to have some exposure to the public eye, and the design focus suggests the lower part of the garment might have been on display more often than the upper or waist areas. Research into quilted items also revealed a number of garments intended to be seen fully, which use wadded and cord-quilting; these will be highlighted in relation to the Houstoun of Johnstone garments in Chapter 3.

Object name /number	E.1986.62.2.a&b
Date	Collection date: circa 1770-1785 / research date: circa 1784-1786
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 28 inches / 710mm
Provenance	Richardsons of Pitfour, Pitfour Castle, Perthshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums
Description	a) Woman's dress in pale brown (or grey) silk, finely ribbed, with selvedge containing four red stripes. Dress with low square front neckline, closed bodice with squared v-point at front waistline. Bodice back shaped *en*

[182] Colby, Avril *Quilting*, London: Batsford 1972; see also Staniland, Kay, 'An Eighteenth-Century Quilted Dress', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society*, number 24, 1990, 43-54; and, Baumgarten, Linda, 'Dressing for Pregnancy; A Maternity Gown of 1780-1795', *Dress*, volume 23, 1996, 16-24

[183] Lemire, Beverly, 'Redressing the History of the Clothing Trade in England: Ready-made Clothing, Guilds, and Women Workers,1650-1800', *Dress*, volume 21, 1994, 61-74

	fourreau with five seams, sleeves fitted to just below the elbow; the sleeve hem and lower arm trimmed with narrow bands of cream ribbon delineating a cuff area. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen. Full-length skirt, pleated into waistline with 10-15mm knife pleats, open at front with pocket slits at each hip. Skirt is lined at the hem with plain cream silk, with linen ties inside for tying *polonaise*-style. b) Matching petticoat with skirt broadly pleated into a self-material waistband except at centre front. Back of petticoat constructed with smaller pieces of same material. Linen tapes to fasten side openings. Unlined.

Comparative analysis:

Initially all of the items from Pitfour Castle were viewed as a group, possibly with one owner. However, research has shown that this and the final Pitfour garment to be discussed are later in date and consequently of a substantially different design ethic. The most striking thing about both of these garments is their relative simplicity, compared to the other Pitfour items. Their use of un-figured silks enforced research focus briefly on colour and predominantly on garment style.

The simple style of E.1986.62.2.a&b enforced a more general approach to analysis, as areas of trimming were less easily isolated. Research having already identified other extant garments with similarly simple forms these were collated and compared, several items in the Wade collection proved highly relevant (2.91-2.94). The Wade items have a fitted bodice and narrow sleeve, either with a cuff or trimming to suggest one, as on the Pitfour dress, and all use a plain coloured silk, with contrast trimming on 2.92 and 2.93. Currently dated to the 1770s and 1780s, pictorial evidence suggests the latter is most accurate (see below). While the removable ruche cuffs for 2.93 are most commonly associated with the later 1770s, a French fashion plate provided one example of this gathered style circa 1780 (2.95). Moreover, crease lines on the bodice fronts of 2.92 and 2.93 indicate re-modelling so that their use may have extended through this time frame. Manchester City Galleries holds another example with a creased bodice front and contrast trimming (2.21). The widths of the Wade silks are all around 24 inches, narrower than the Pitfour garment, but still exceeding figured and earlier silks, suggesting a simpler weave enabled a greater loom (and selvedge) width.

Research found that French collections matched these examples; with relevant French fashion images exceeding their British counterparts in relation to this garment style. Four examples of dresses with a fitted bodice, sleeve and plain contrast edging exist in the Musée Galliera (2.96-2.99). Although in other ways more elaborate than the Pitfour dress, with more collar and waistline detail, it is clear they form part of the same fashion trend. They have all been dated to the 1780s, predominantly 1785-1795.

The latter examples are a style known as *redingote*, and deliberately mimic or interpret British dress as part of the French *Anglomanie* of the 1780s.[184]

Research then focussed on finding comparative examples for the sleeves of the Pitfour garment, and understanding the broader stylistic context in which they were made. This focus was made through fashion plates; the most useful were French (2.100-2.108). The *Cabinet des Modes* for 1785-1786 was particularly relevant and might be argued as a source for the spread and popularity of styles relating to the Pitfour garment. The muted colour and simple contrast trimming evidence a clear relationship between 2.105 and the Pitfour dress, strongly suggesting a date of circa 1785-1786. British fashion images were found (2.109-2.111), however there were fewer relevant images and the most comparable tended to depict actual cuffs rather than bands of trimming on the sleeve end; these dated around 1782-1784, whereas the French images were generally 1784-1786.

The most relevant portraits found are both of Scottish families (2.112-2.113). The dress of James Boswell's wife, Margaret Montgomery, in the family portrait of around 1786 evidently has a low front, fitted bodice and sleeves trimmed with a pale narrow band just over the elbow, balanced by a small ruffle at the sleeve end. Margaret Boswell stayed close to her Ayrshire home for health reasons. Her depiction in this simple style of dress with contrast trimming therefore strongly associates the mode with lowland Scotland in 1786, and describes an association with French style that she may have accessed through her husband, a frequent traveller to London. Equally, her husband may have had no sway in this; David Allan's *The Spreull Family* portrait and the presence of the Pitfour dress suggest the style may have appealed broadly to Scotswomen and their dressmakers.

The Spreull portrait is of a later date and shows Hannah Park, the mother of James Spreull (or Shortridge), in a dress like the Pitfour item in style, whereas her daughter-in-law Margaret McCall Spreull has on a garment like the Pitfour dress in colour. The Spreull's were a notable family in the west of Scotland.[185] These pictorial examples, in combination with the Pitfour garment demonstrate this style of dress was worn by Scotswomen in eastern and western locations, and its use endured for some years.

The weight of pictorial evidence places the Pitfour dress to around 1784-1786. Although items outside of this bracket are relevant, the closest comparisons can be made with the 1786 fashion plate and Boswell family portrait of around 1786; French and Scottish respectively, with extant garments

[184] Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly, 'French Connections: Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire, and the Anglo-French Fashion Exchange', *Dress* (Journal of the Costume Society of America), volume 31, 2004, 7-9
[185] Information from Hunterian Art Gallery online catalogue

providing an English connection. The Pitfour dress demonstrates attention to contemporary fashion, which was regarded as English by the French, and perhaps reciprocally adopted by the British as French.[186]

Object name /number	E.1986.62.3.a&b
Date	Collection date: circa 1770, altered circa 1790 / research date: mid-1780s
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 18 ½ inches / 470mm
Provenance	Richardsons of Pitfour, Pitfour Castle, Perthshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums
Description	Woman's dress in dark green or brown grosgrain silk, with a low wide square front neckline and narrow quite low back neckline. Bodice with closed front, squared v-point at front waistline and some visible pin or stitch holes. Sleeves fitted to just over the elbow with possible adjustment near inside seam. The bodice and sleeves are lined with linen, linen ties inside back waistline. Skirt has mid-sized pleats into waistline, truncating the bodice back *fourreau* point; the skirt is open-fronted and unlined with linen tapes inside. The matching petticoat has a linen waistband in matching the silk in colour, with a side opening the skirt pleated into the waistband, a flat area at the centre front skirt. The silk selvedge has a red stripe flanked by white.

Comparative analysis:

The relationship of this dress with E.1986.62.2.a&b (discussed above) through provenance and style prompt the assumption that they had the same period of wear. There are subtle differences to the grey Pitfour dress, partly through minor adjustments. The good condition of this second dress suggests the modifications were done contemporary to the garment's initial use. While evidently over-lapping with the previous discussion, research for E.1986.62.3.a&b drew parallels with garments from the Perth Museum and Inverness (to be discussed in Chapter 4) through the shape of the back neckline and *fourreau*.

[186] For examination of cross-channel interaction through fashion plates see Ghering van Ierlant, Marie J., 'Anglo-French Fashion, 1786', *Costume*, London: published for the society, number 17, 1983, 64-77

The colour of this Pitfour dress, as with the grey dress, is subtle, appearing brown or green depending on the light. The grey and brown tones contrast with the yellow, blue and floral Pitfour garments by being muted, but still appear to have been popular at that time. Research found a number of extant garments using plain brown silk in British collections, three of which have been highlighted as also having a similar style (2.115-2.117). The item from Paisley Museum, although not dated by the museum is likely to be circa 1780s. It has a particular relevance to the Pitfour dress as its silk's selvedge is the same, white stripes flanking a central red strip, now faded on the Paisley example. As both garments have strong associations with Scotland it is possible therefore that this silk was obtained from the same source, and may have been produced in Scotland.[187]

Aside from the colour the most notable feature on the Pitfour dress is the truncation of the *fourreau* on the bodice back. Although the simplicity of the garment might date it to the earlier 1780s, this shortening of the waistline is most synonymous with the later 1780s and 1790s. Two items in Glasgow Museums' collection have been adjusted and constructed in a similar manner (2.118, 1.71). The silk used for 2.118 is likely to date to the 1770s, see for example 2.119. A dress in The Fashion Museum, Bath (2.120), provides evidence of the shorter *fourreau* from which this trend may have stemmed; contrasting markedly with French examples of the 1780s, for example 2.96. From evidence presented by extant garments it may be argued that waistlines had begun to rise and level in British women's dress, before their French counterparts.

These examples are both English and Scottish, suggesting plain brown textiles, and the gradual adjustment of waistlines were nationwide phenomena. The general styling and gradual shortening of the waistline of the Pitfour dress further compares to Scottish portraits; James's Boswell's wife and daughter truncated their waistlines with sash and apron, although the garments still have pointed construction (2.112), whereas, John Opie's portrait of *Lady Augusta Campbell* shows her with a shorter waistline and fitted sleeve (1.93). Lady Campbell's garment is similarly lacking in trimming, while both women in these portraits wear *fichu* around the décolletage, indicating how the Pitfour garment may have been styled and giving one explanation for the pin marks on the bodice front.

Finally, Downman's *The Fourdrinier Family*, (2.121) gives further evidence of a simple brown dress, the waistline truncated with an apron. Worn by Minerva Manning (born 1763), the edges of the garment are apparently trimmed with a pale band, this is a clear pictorial indication of the use of dark brown as fashionable dress.

[187] Plain weave silks were available from Scottish makers as noted with the Dukes of Atholl purchases in Chapter 1

All of these pictorial sources date to the mid-1780s, indicating this dark green-brown Pitfour item as contemporary to the grey dress, possibly having been worn slightly longer and adjusted according to fashion. To conclude, the most relevant sources found for E.1986.62.3.a&b are British, suggesting the Richardson's engagement with British fashion seen with the earlier items continued in later generations.

Guthrie of Guthrie

Object name /number	E.1983.47.1.a&b
Date	Collection date: silk circa 1730-1740; dress circa 1770 / research date: circa 1740s-1750s
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 20 inches / 508mm
Provenance	Guthrie of Guthrie, Guthrie Castle, Angus
Collection	Glasgow Museums
Description	Woman's dress in cream silk brocaded in green, blue, pink and black with a bold trailing floral pattern. Bodice with open front, folded robings at each side forming a deep v-shape to the front waistline. Bodice back is broadly pleated *en fourreau*. Elbow-length sleeves with weights in the lining, with double layer flounce style cuffs with a scalloped edge. One sleeve has been removed and has an ink stain. Full-length skirt with open-front, broadly pleated into the waistline. Two net lace ruffles, or *engageants*, probably not original, now removed from sleeves, one slightly stained with ink. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen, hem of skirt lined with plain cream silk. The back of the skirt has a stiffened pleated linen or cotton panel, probably a later addition. Garment has been adjusted at the neckline, back pleats, and bodice front.

Comparative analysis:

Research for this dress overlaps considerably with items to be discussed in Chapter 4, where more sources of relevance can be seen. Research of the Guthrie garments was undertaken subsequent to style investigations of similarly constructed items. Those sources will not be repeated here; instead focus is placed on the textile design, which relates to designs by Anna Maria Garthwaite (1690-1763).

The design of the Guthrie textile is very bold and sprawling, using globular forms for the floral motifs and acanthus leaves. These shapes and the colours compare to Garthwaite designs in the V&A (2.123-

2.128). Designs 2.123 and 2.124 are thought to have been copied from a French example, they can be broadly compared to an item in the Musée des Tissus (2.129). The other Garthwaite examples all differ from the Guthrie example in being part of a continuous trailing design, rather than a repeated motif. Further examples of a repeat motif are found in the Musée des Tissus collection (2.130, 2.131), but they are markedly different from the Guthrie textile in form, and slightly different in colour. Based on this evidence it appears reasonable to suggest the Guthrie silk was produced in London, possibly to a Garthwaite design around 1730-1745, most likely dating to the mid-1730s.

The dress style has features that might be expected from a garment of around the 1740s. The bodice back has been adjusted, probably from *sacque* pleats, to its current form but the broad pleats of the *fourreau* form the outer edge of the shoulder strap at the neckline, the outside edges of the top-pleats being neatly placed within the horizontal part of the back neckline. The same can be found on items in the Colonial Williamsburg collection, dated around the 1760s (2.132-2.133). These examples are also dated later than items in British collections with a similar design (2.134-2.135).

The open front and pleated robings of the Guthrie dress further support its dating to the 1740s or 1750s. There are signs of adjustment; the crease lines suggest two possibilities. Firstly, that the garment has simply changed from a completely open front, to one that closes across the waistline. Secondly that the garment was originally a *robe volante* with double pleats at the front as well as a *sacque* back, as seen in Chapter 1. The weights in the sleeve ends, though common in eighteenth century garments over an extended period, appear most often in earlier items, little used after the 1770s.

Other visual sources relating to dress and textile styles were found to support the attribution of the Guthrie dress as circa 1740s-1750s (2.136-2.138); showing both what it may have looked like originally, and was adjusted to. Quillard's *The Four Seasons: Winter*, 1725-1729, provides a much earlier example in which the wide pleated *fourreau* back and open pleated robings of a dress front can both be seen on the right and left hand women. This image is additionally relevant to the Guthrie dress in showing a similar bodice format with a sleeve that is loose and with a deep square cuff. The Guthrie item has a loose sleeve with flounce style cuff, but mid-way on the sleeve are horizontal crease lines that suggest the sleeve may have originally been folded to have a square cuff above the elbow, as has been seen on other extant items (1.188-1.192, 1.198, 2.132-2.134).

The pictorial examples relating to Scotland demonstrate that the Guthrie garment style was found in both working and genteel classes of mid-eighteenth century Scotland, but can be connected to French styles via Quillard and the Musée des Tissus examples. However this connection is not emphatic and

the strong stylistic links to Anna Maria Garthwaite's designs, produced in Spitalfields, London place more credence on the Guthrie garment as an example of the trade connections between eastern Scotland and London.

Object name /number	E.1983.47.2.a&b
Date	Collection date: circa 1780 / research date: silk circa 1760-1775, garment circa 1780
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 inches / 483mm
Provenance	Guthrie of Guthrie, Guthrie Castle, Angus
Collection	Glasgow Museums
Description	Woman's dress in cream silk, figured with bands of vertical ribbed stripes and dark pink satin stripes, overlaid with trailing white flora and small pink sprigs, alternating with white floral stems trailing around floral sprigs brocaded in pinks, purples and greens. Bodice with closed front and low squared neckline, trimmed with a short white lace ruffle, probably nineteenth century. Bodice front with dark purple satin ribbon, also probably nineteenth century. Front waistline in squared v-shape, bodice back shaped *en fourreau* with boning either side of centre seam. Bodice lined with linen with seven hook and eyes to fasten (possibly later additions). Sleeves to elbow-length, lined with white silk, with wide flounce-style cuffs; trimmed and lined with purple silk (probably later). Skirt with open front, pleated into waistline, pocket slits at hip on each side; hem lined with cream silk, linen ties inside skirt to adjust to a pouf style. Matching petticoat with skirt broadly pleated into cotton waistband with flat area at front, side openings, fastened with hooks and eyes, hem lined with cream silk.

Comparative analysis:

The nineteenth century alterations of this second Guthrie dress made intimate investigation of the original style problematic, therefore research focussed on the textile. The extant sources most relevant to the Guthrie textile are divided between British and French collections. Suggesting this type of design was more positively cross-channel than other examples seen in this chapter. The Guthrie silk is differentiated from previously discussed cream ground silks, brocaded with multi-coloured floral bouquets by using ribbed and coloured stripes: the design uses the trailing stems and bouquets like the 1740s and 1750s designs seen above, which are combined with stripes, more commonly associated with the 1770s and later.

Research initially focussed on sourcing other extant textiles with similar colours, stripe and floral combinations. Four examples exist in the Musée des Tissus (2.140-2.143), all French and dated to the later eighteenth century. Analysis showed that despite marked differences each of these examples shared the same design elements. This was equally apparent in items in the V&A (2.144-2.146), all made in Spitalfields, London and dating to circa 1760s-1770s.

Extant garments using silks like the Guthrie example similarly showed connections to each side of the English Channel. An item in the Wade collection is said to be French (2.147), which probably refers to the textile, and dates to around 1770. It compares to a dress previously noted in The Fashion Museum, Bath (2.62), while also featuring box-pleated trimmings, seen on French garments around this date in Chapter 1. Similarly, an item in the Metropolitan Museum of Art Costume Institute is said to be French (2.148), the silk comparing to the above examples from the Musée des Tissus.

Among several other garments found in French collections using pink and white stripes silks (some of which will be noted in Chapter 3), were dresses in the Musée des Tissus and Musée Les Arts Décoratifs (2.149-2.150). Although different in its distribution of colour 2.150 provides points of comparison with the Guthrie silk in composition of the lace trail and floral bouquets. The style of this French dress compares to items in the Musée Galliera noted above (2.97), thus indicating that the textile was still used for fashionable dress in the 1780s, although earlier in date. The same is probably true of the Guthrie textile and dress, who's scale of floral bouquets on the silk compare to an item in Paxton House (2.71), linking it to the earlier textiles discussed above.

Three further examples of ribbed, striped and figured cream silks were found in Hereford Museum (2.151-2.153), one of which (2.151) is believed to have been worn as a wedding dress in 1775 by Elizabeth Francis Paine, who married Richard Chappel Whalley and was daughter to Reverend John Paine, Canon of Wells, thus establishing a firm English provenance.

This discussion has relied on extant objects for evidence and the focus has been on the textile design. Nevertheless the weight of comparisons seem to point towards a 1760-1775 date for the textile, in accounting for its combination of trailing lace-forms, bouquets and stripes. The colour tones also match a number of items dated to the 1770s. The garment construction, on the other hand, while having undergone some major changes in the nineteenth century still implies a date of around 1780. While examples presented here are split between France and England, the quantity of relevant sources found during research suggested that textiles like the Guthrie dress were slightly more common in French collections, particularly those using a pink stripe.

Wedderburn

Object name /number	E.1940.47.a.1
Date	Collection date: circa 1785-1790 / research date: circa 1780-1787
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 23 ½ inches / 597mm; inside waist 28 6/8 inches (730mm)
Provenance	Donated by E. M. Wedderburn
Collection	Glasgow Museums
Description	Woman's dress in cream silk, figured with stripes in a brown-green, flanked by very narrow stripes in pink, interspersed with narrow foliate trails in pink. Bodice with a low wide neckline, trimmed with a zig-zag of twisted pink silk fringed braid and a closed front. Bodice back fitted *en fourreau*, waistline with a shallow squared v-shape to the front and shallow v-shape to rear. Sleeves extend just below the elbow and are shaped with three tucks on the inside arm; cuffs are trimmed with a narrow box-pleated band of self-material edged with pink silk braid as before. The bodice and sleeves are lined with linen, four bones at the three centre back seams of the bodice. Skirt is pleated into the waistline with narrow knife-pleats, secured internally with two rows of chain stitch. Skirt open at front, front hem cut in rounded shape, adjustable to *polonaise* style with linen loops inside the skirt and two sets of ties inside the rear waistline. Skirt has small areas of silk running up inside in rows indicating that the original *polonaise* tie system used a running cord. Skirt untrimmed, hem lined with plain cream silk. Centre back seam with inscription handwritten in ink 'Miss Wedderburn'.

Comparative analysis:

The dress is currently dated circa 1785-1790, but a wider bracket may be more appropriate: ownership attribution to Isabel Stormonth née Wedderburn as the 'Miss Wedderburn' of the inscription requires a date prior to her marriage in 1786.[188] To establish whether an earlier date and attribution to Isabel Stormonth was feasible research took several approaches; firstly examining the textile, attempting to match and locate the style, and establish a wider context for stripes in fashion; secondly situating the dress style within the context of previously researched styles.

[188] Where appropriate dresses connected to an individual are henceforth referred to by the owner's maiden name for clarity and distinction.

The shades of pink and green on the Wedderburn silk are distinctive; less vibrant than contemporary garments, such as the Houstoun of Johnstone dresses (see Chapter 3). Samples with a similar colour and pattern scale were found in the V&A, designated as Spitalfields productions, circa 1779 (2.155). A sample using a similar leaf motif is dated 1781 (2.156).

Examples from the Holker manuscript showed the use of narrow stripes in linen and cotton wares (2.157). Narrow stripes were possibly synonymous with linen products prior to their adoption by silk. General research found that stripes became popular in the 1770s and generally contained a floral element. The weight of evidence placed colours and patterns similar to the Wedderburn silk in the 1770s and 1780s, with both French and British origins (2.158-2.165). Plain stripes are most commonly found in the 1780s (2.166-2.179); with bold stripes in French depictions around 1787-1790 (2.180-2.183). Through the 1780s stripes and flowers appear to have separated onto different textiles. It is possible the Wedderburn textile sits within this trend, an intermediary stage between floral and plain stripes.

The use of stripes was not exclusive to women's wear (2.184-2.185). It is likely that there are distinct parallels and dialogues of influences between men's and women's wear regarding the trend for tight-fitting garments with narrow stripes in the 1780s and 1790s, as well as other parallels noted in this thesis, such as combinations of green and pink (see Chapter 3). The very narrow stripe on a dress in the National Museums Scotland (2.186) may be an antithesis of the wide stripe trend; the very narrow lines create a shot-silk effect, normally produced by contrasting colours in warp and weft. This dress looks forward to the early 1800s, both in style and use of luminous silk, other extant examples include 2.187-2.189.

Similar examples of striped fabrics and styles are predominantly French, but the closest comparable extant garment to the silk Wedderburn dress is in Leeds City Museums (2.190). Furthermore, there are strong similarities with some of the Houstoun garments, particularly a blue silk dress (1932.51.p). The Houstoun items are dated between 1778 and 1783. Elements of the Wedderburn dress could date from later in the 1780s. However, if the dress belonged to Isabel Wedderburn its main period of use could have ended around 1787 when she had her first child. This provides a possible reason why the item has survived; by 1790 it may have seemed outdated.

Before moving on to the second Wedderburn dress it is useful to note that both items have ties to gather their skirts. Several methods are known to have been used for gathering skirts in the eighteenth century, which might be split between those that were easy to do by the wearer as a final adjustment, and those that would have required tying prior to donning the garment, possibly with it half-on; the

running cord system of the silk Wedderburn dress falls into the latter category, other examples include 2.191 and 2.192. In contrast, the loop and button technique (see 1932.51.l&m, Chapter 3), could have been fastened easily after the garment was put on with minimal adjustment. One benefit of the ties systems on the Wedderburn garments was that they made the skirt adjustable into different styles, useful if the dress was worn with different petticoats. This speculation is based on the knowledge that eighteenth century women styled their garments for different occasions. Adjustability served physical practicality as the activities and body of the wearer changed, and social practicality in being able to meet a small variety of different fashions.[189]

Object name /number	E.1940.47.c
Date	Collection date: circa 1775-1790 / research date: 1786
Materials	Cotton, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 38 1/2 inches / 970mm; inside waistline: 30 inches / 762mm
Provenance	Donated by E. M. Wedderburn
Collection	Glasgow Museums
Description	Woman's dress in striped white cotton muslin printed with a floral trail in multi colours including green, blue, pink and yellow with a black outline. The stripes are in blocks of five, approximately 2 inches (50mm) across and set with a 2 inch gap. The pattern has a repeat measuring 10 inches (260mm) high and 7 ½ inches (190mm) wide. The dress has a low square neckline, the bodice front is gathered into a ruche along three horizontal pairs of pale green-blue ribbons, fastening with a bow at centre front (some are replacements). The bodice back is shaped *en fourreau* with a narrow v-point at centre waistline. The sleeves extend to just below the elbow and are shaped with a short tuck on the outer edge. The sleeves and bodice are lined with linen, with two narrow wooden bones in the centre back seam. The skirt is open-fronted and gathered into the waistline with narrow knife pleats. Inside the back waistline are two sets of linen ties, corresponding to four loops inside the skirt back. Skirt is unlined with pocket slits at each side, constructed with three selvedge widths of material.

Comparative analysis:

[189] For example, Louisa, Lady Stormont to Mary Graham, Fountainbleau, 16th October 1776; Graham, 1927, 121

Research for this dress was founded on a MLitt project, which analysed material, style and probable use context of the garment.[190] Some of the conclusions of that project were found to be inaccurate. Research for this thesis re-examined those key areas, redressing both textile origin and garment style, inaccuracies of provenance will be discussed below.

The MLitt suggested the muslin was Indian, as it had no blue threads in the selvedge and British manufacturing was thought not to be so fine in the 1780s by consulted experts and published sources.[191] Subsequent research found loop-holes in excise laws regarding blue threads in British cotton cloth; as laid out by John Paul Esq. in 1779 (enacted around 1721) (appendix 2.1).[192] Imported woven cloth could be printed in Britain and stamped as a British manufacture (2.194), but would not have blue threads in the selvedge. Consequently, British manufacturers could leave out the threads and only use stamps; moreover, Dutch textiles may have incorporated blue threads to circumnavigate excise costs.[193] The restrictions are aimed at multi-coloured cloths, but surviving British examples and reports suggest the law was flouted (2.195-2.205),[194] and regarded as misapplied;[195] proof of British manufacture was a defendant's responsibility, if caught.

Research found very fine textiles were woven in Paisley, Scotland, from 1790 for cotton and prior to 1770 for silk (2.195-2.197).[196] The fine weaving skill evidenced by Paisley silk gauze manufactures suggests the capability was present for weaving the Wedderburn muslin in Scotland.[197] Moreover, the Paisley albums contain various striped muslins, which build on Manchester archival evidence cited in the MLitt,[198] and other later Scottish examples (2.198).[199]

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[190] Taylor, Emily Joan, *Consuming Cotton: A study of an eighteenth century dress*, MLitt thesis, University of Glasgow, 2007

[191] For example, George Unwin quoted in Farnie, Douglas A., 'The Role of Cotton Textiles in the Economic Development of India 1600-1990' in Farnie, Douglas A. and Jeremy, David J., *The Fibre that Changed the World: The Cotton Industry in International Perspective, 1600 – 1990s*, Pasold Research Fund, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004

[192] See *A continuation of the abridgment of such statutes now in force […]*, Edinburgh 1721; Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale group, accessed 27.01.2012

[193] This is an observation made by Dr. Philip Sykas during a workshop on printed textiles, 2012

[194] Tuesday December 9 to Friday December 12, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, volume III, number 308, 378

[195] Wright, John, M.D., *An address to the members of both Houses of Parliament on the late tax laid on fustian, and other cotton goods; […]*, Warrington MDCCLXXXV [1785], 4-10, 16-17; Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale group, accessed 27.01.2012

[196] 'City of Glasgow' in Sinclair, Sir John (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Volume 7, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire*, Wakefield: E.P. Publishing 1973, 297; Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly, 'Paisley Before the Shawl: The Scottish Silk Gauze Industry', *Textile History*, 33 (2), 2002, 162-178

[197] 'City of Glasgow' in Sinclair, 1973, 295-297

[198] Appendix 1; Samuel Oldknow Papers (1782-1820), University of Manchester, SO/11/11

[199] James Finlay & Co., Adelphi Cotton Works' day book, 1791-1793, University of Glasgow Archives Service UGD91/1/5/3/2/1

Research found the Wedderburn print as undoubtedly European design, while neither the smaller elements of the design nor its level of intricacy discount it from European production. Exoticism of form is found in British and European prints (2.199-2.205), and the Wedderburn swagged tendrils compare closely to French examples (2.206-2.209).

Re-assessment of the Wedderburn print looked at production method. Line breaks and pin-dots indicated either a wood-block with metal inserts, or engraved metal plates. However, variation in line thickness and tapering points, synonymous with engraving, made metal plates more likely.[200]
Whether the Wedderburn was roller or plate printed is unknown, but the colouring is blocked and pencilled; the dark pink of the flowers when misaligned retains a sharp edge on all sides evidencing block-work. Whereas, three lines on a leaf are brush-strokes, and the blue colouring is inaccurate on one side of a shape, while precise on another, suggesting pencilling (see details of 2.193).

The combination of printing techniques could indicate a fledgling industry, experimenting with techniques, or multi-national production, as suggested in a curatorial note on a dress in Manchester City Galleries collection for 2.202 suggests: 'Open robe of cream glazed Indian chintz, painted in India with rows of stylised sprigs then block printed with alternating bands of floral wavy lines in England.'[201] The likely use of engraved plates indicates European production and extant chintz garments, all probably British manufactures, show a wide variety of styles circa 1770-1795 (2.210-2.217). One garment in Leeds shares similar colours, methods of printing and outline style with the Wedderburn dress (2.216), but has a blue thread in the selvedge, likely to signify British origin. There are also garment style similarities, such as the narrow *fourreau* and alternating pleat size at the waistline. Another dress using similar colour and line characteristics is in National Museums Scotland (2.217), thought to be French or British. The rear bodice shape is comparable, excepting the *fourreau* truncation. This is persuasive evidence that the Wedderburn muslin is European, or at least a Euro-Indian product.

MLitt analysis of the dress style found no closely comparable extant or pictorial examples, instead it focussed on broader context, suggesting the fitted back and gathered front combined fashions, circa 1784-1786. The date bracket remains valid, but labelling the dress 'transitional' is simplistic, while the

[200] carved patterns in wood had a continuous line; metal inserts in wood used smaller pieces that would move over time, gaps often appearing at join areas on points; dots could also be created by pins in woodblocks -relevant information taken from Dr Philip Sykas' workshop on 'Identifying Printed textiles in Dress 1740-1890' at Manchester Metropolitan University, 21.02.2012 and accompanying booklet *Identifying Printed textiles in Dress 1740-1890*, Dress and Textiles Specialists Back to Basics workshop in association with the V&A, funded by the Arts Council England 2007

[201] http://www.manchestergalleries.org/the-collections/search-the-collection/display.php?EMUSESSID=9caa50f84faca07c8dae1bdf129b9192&irn=12386 accessed 04.02.2013

garment encompasses preceding and subsequent styles, it has clear fashionable intent. The neat construction and silk darning connect the two Wedderburn garments in production and after-care. Both were made with skill; the fine muslin was probably costly, therefore unlikely to be used without careful consideration.

The sleeves of E.1940.47.c match other Scottish items from the Houstoun and Kinloch households (see Chapters 3 and 4) and follow a fashionable line evidenced by cited images and numerous extant garments (for example 1.93, 2.116). The narrow *fourreau* and relatively low back neckline are slightly unusual among extant garments, but compare with a Kinloch dress (see Chapter 4) and other British examples (2.217-2.220). The longer *fourreau* is associated with French style, although French examples have squared ends (2.221). However, 2.215 has a squared *fourreau* and is thought to be English. This garment has the four-section back of the Wedderburn dress, as does 2.217. Dress, 2.216, has a different back, but the front waistline is deep; all these items reference French waist-styling.

Gathered skirts are often associated with 1770s *polonaise* dresses (see Chapter 3), but evidence of continued use mid-1780s was found in British and French sketches (2.222-2.225). Image research built considerably on the MLitt; portraits evidenced wide and varied use of gathered bodices (2.226-2.231), equally French or British origin, dating to the later 1780s or 1790s. Mary Hamilton's portrait illustrates how the belt was also used on fitted bodices, while her sleeves reference the famous *chemise à la reine* (or *gaulle*) dresses (2.232-2.234). The MLitt suggested the Wedderburn dress referenced this style. The *chemise* sensation, focussed around Queen Marie-Antoinette,[202] had a strong impact on women's fashion; however gathered material served many styles (2.235-2.239). The most comparable pictorial source for the Wedderburn bodice is Mrs Hatchett's portrait, circa 1786 (2.240); the brush-work shows the ruche with vertical strokes, broken at three intervals suggesting integral ties, although only two bows are discernible.[203]

Research found many garments with gathered fronts, evidencing a trend which continued into the 1800s (2.241-2.253). Of the most relevant garments, nine were found in French collections; four in British collections and one American example. All, except a chintz dress in the National Museums Scotland, are dated 1790 or later. The NMS item dates to the mid-1780s and is probably Scottish. Several of the garments have two-layer bodice fronts; a fitted bodice under a gathered *compere* (for example 2.242-2.243, 2.252). Although two layers of outer material are used the function is the same as the Wedderburn dress; there is little indication they have been adjusted.

[202] Weber, Caroline, *Queen of Fashion; What Marie Antoinette Wore to the Revolution*, London: Arumn Press Limited 2007, 161-162 and 185-186

[203] Regrettably, this assessment has relied on published photographic sources.

The examples cited make clear that the Wedderburn dress is one of the earliest surviving garments this project found which uses ruche across the front. The use of bows is one indicator of the earlier date; bows are famously associated with portraits of Madame du Pompadour, (for example, 2.254) but by the 1790s were often confined to fastening *fichu* or sashes.

Discussion:

There are several points of connection between all the above garments, the most obvious are geographic. Not only do all the garments have a provenance from a limited area of eastern Scotland, but they incorporate substantial references to English and French modes. The next strong point of connection is their date, more accurately the generations they probably belonged to. The Guthrie and Pitfour items both offer a generational split. It is possible these garments were worn by the same woman at different times, but a lack of any clothes from intervening years equally suggests they were kept via association with significant, unrelated events. Put together with the Wedderburn garments the dresses are insightful examples of genteel fashions in Perthshire and Angus throughout the eighteenth century. They provide an introduction into the hazy distinctions that constituted eighteenth century Scottish gentry; birth, kin, financial wealth and property all determined a person's standard of living and social status, in turn, social position, society and culture were key factors in what a woman wore, how and when.

Based on these points of connection the following discussion will be split under three sub-headings. Firstly, 'Family Status': how heritage, kin and estate affected the choice and use of the above garments. An expansive part of the discussion, this section will introduce the bulk of provenance information. Secondly, 'Personal Circumstances' will build on discussion of estate by examining differences in immediate wealth, and how these might coincide with life-events and personal character to affect sartorial choices. Finally, 'Location' will examine the varied influences of design and textile origin at work in the Richardson, Guthrie and Wedderburn garments, asking why these influences might exist, how they relate to one another and what role, if any, location within Scotland plays.

Family Status:

The items obtained from Pitfour Castle, Perthshire are believed to have belonged to the Richardson family who purchased the estate in 1781 and erected the current castle.[204] They are the most illuminated of the three households featured in this chapter, with family and business papers surviving

[204] Perth and Kinross Council Archive [PKCA], Collection description, GB/252/MS101

at Perth and Kinross Council Archive (PKCA) and the National Library of Scotland (NLS). The clothing accounts and correspondence generate a relational picture, of connections throughout Perthshire, to London, the Caribbean and Europe.

John Richardson purchased Pitfour Castle estate from John Hay in 1781. Richardson was one of five children belonging to Thomas Richardson, Deacon of Bakers, Perth, and Beatrix Austin of Kilspindie. He married Barbara Stewart of Urrard (died 1808) and had a son James (died 1823) and daughter Margaret (died 1819).[205] James married Elizabeth Stewart of Urrard (died 1824); their heir also called John would inherit estates from his mother and became known as Stewart-Richardson. Margaret married James Hay, Deputy Lieutenant of Perth in 1801. As the Richardson family were close-knit, whether the garments from Pitfour Castle belonged to Margaret and her mother or other female relations is a matter of speculation.

The documents in PKCA largely relate to James Richardson, son of William Richardson of Forgandenny and cousin to John Richardson of Pitfour. He married John's sister, Beatrix (1731-1784). The couple had three children: Janet (Jessie), Beatrix (Betty) and Robert (Bob in his mother's accounts). Much of the correspondence between John, James and Robert, Mrs James Richardson, her daughters and their acquaintance survive. Added to which are Mrs James Richardson and Robert's accounts. James Richardson died circa 1763 leaving a widow and young children, his wife survived him until November 1784. Robert noted his mother's death in the front of his accounts booklet; "1784 Nov 19 – About a quarter past five in the Morning my Mothers distress ended Friday Morning."[206]

Genealogical information on the Richardsons is taken from combined sources. *Burkes Baronetage and Knightage* of 1928 gives John Richardson of Pitfour and James as brothers, sons of Thomas Richardson and Beatrix Austin. This entry makes no mention of John Richardson's wife but gives James as married to Ann Wilson (died 1797), with only one child, and placing his decease as 1762. A hand-written family tree associated with the PKCA papers has been compiled from various published sources and disassociates the two James Richardson's as brother and cousin to John of Pitfour. This family tree has been relied on here as the most comprehensive source, including all the names featured in the family correspondence and making sense of name repetition. However, some information is not referenced and is open to further research.

[205] For dates of decease - <http://thepeerage.com/p30619.htm#i306186> viewed 21.20.2011 citing Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke's Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage, 107th edition, 3 volumes* (Wilmington, Delaware, U.S.A.: Burke's Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd, 2003), volume 3, 3741
[206] Perth and Kinross Council Archive [PKCA], MS101/Manuscript 23

The Richardsons were regular, familiar correspondents and compare in their intimacy to other Scots families discussed in this thesis. Robert worked within the family business as a merchant and related correspondence is affectionate in tone.[207] His employment involved a considerable amount of travel; to London, the south of England and Italy – letters of introduction for Madeira, Genoa, Leghorn and Malaga survive –[208] in 1797 Robert married Elizabeth Hepburn and moved to her family's estates in Nassau, Bahamas.[209]

The family business was generally trade in foodstuffs and shipping. John Richardson's name featured in a paper relating to grain and milling in Perthshire, 1768,[210] however, his primary business is said to have been salmon; harvesting, processing, preserving and exporting fish from the Tay. John Richardson was instrumental in developing methods of preserving fish for export.[211] This was supplemented by concerns in other local and fishing businesses to stabilise his income against fluctuations in the salmon market. The purchase of the Pitfour estate and erection of the castle gave the family landed interest, alongside involvement with the Huntingtower bleachfield.

The period covered by the garments from Pitfour Castle was broadly the hay-day of the business development. Export would come to an end from around 1806 due to the Napoleonic wars, the Richardson business finally closing two years before Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815.[212] The society of the Richardson men, John, Robert and James all working in the family business, must therefore have been dominated by trade connections. From surviving correspondence it appears this was also true for the women. In December 1782 Jessie wrote to her brother:

> "- I expect a letter soon from Miss Sandeman, I beg you will put her in mind of it or I shall be disappointed – adieu your ever affectionate J Richardson
> P.S. this day was processed over Miss Steell & to old Capt Bett who is to be married here tomorrow a great surprise to us all, it never was talkd of till to day Sunday evening 6 o'clock ."[213]

It is probable Miss Sandeman was related to the Sandeman brothers, traders and merchants in Perth. The Sandeman name featured in the Duke of Atholl's accounts, Thomas Graham of Balgowan dealt with the Sandemans, and a receipt in the Richardson papers evidences that Mrs Richardson bought

[207] Letter dated Perth 4th October 1781, James to Robert; PKCA, MS101/8
[208] PKCA, MS101/5
[209] Collection description, PKCA GB/252/MS101
[210] Dundas, Henry, [Lord Elliock, Reporter], *Information for John Richardson, Merchant, John Clark, Baker, and others, Burgesses and inhabitants of Perth, […]*, June 15 1768
[211] Collection description, PKCA GB/252/MS101
[212] Richardson and Company, search information, Scottish Archive Network, <http://195.153.34.9/catalogue/person.aspx?code=NA14707&st=1&>, accessed 12.02.2013
[213] 14th December 1782; PKCA, MS101/8

mitts, gloves, bombazeen and serge[214] from David Sandeman in 1775.[215] While intimacy with the Sandeman family evidences the social difference of the Richardsons to the Atholl and Graham households, they evidently shopped in the same Perth establishments.

The following January Robert receives a letter in London updating him on Perth society, giving further indication of Jessie's attitudes and priorities;

> "…I yesterday attended Miss Maghie's (I don't know if I have spelled her right yet) burial where you may believe there was much lamentation – but I understand good part of the Compy drowned their Grief at the expence of her heirs – Mrs Blaik gets none of her money – […] & I conjecture that you will make your journey down wt Captn Stewart as he is expected about the time you speak of coming – It is strange Wishart has not made his appearance y I hear of Oliphant has got fixed now – I have been much in the wrong for not writing him – beg you will make some excuse for my neglect to him – G. Mercer has been in Perth these 8 Days what of that – a nothing – J. Richardson"[216]

Jessie Richardson's tone regarding Miss Maghie's funeral is reminiscent of Jane Austen's correspondence, for example, "Charles Powlett gave a dance on Thursday, to the great disturbance of all his neighbours, of course, who, you know, take a most lively interest in the state of his finances, and live in hopes of his being soon ruined."[217] The comparison of humour and writing style can equally be made with fellow Scots, the Cathcarts (Chapter 1) and Houstouns (Chapter 3), suggesting jocular terms of familiarity were characteristic of friendships in literate eighteenth century society. The Oliphants were a Perthshire family also linked to Thomas Graham, the Richardson's intimacy with them shows the close connection of social worlds in eastern Scotland.[218]

Reviewing the Richardson garments with this information in mind, the social distinction between the Dukes of Atholl and Richardson family is subtly evidenced, in differences of material and trimming. The ornament of the earlier Richardson garments is solely self-material; the lack of ornamental silk braid and metal work seen on the Blair Castle garments and other examples can be regarded as likely to reflect social position as well as personal taste. The quantity of self-trimmed yellow dresses and painted evidence of similar items found suggests these items were worn for less formal occasions. It might be that yellow was a favourite with the middle, gentry, classes as it combined colour and lustre; visually rich but not competing with or emulating more exclusive materials, like gold brocade. It

[214] Unclear handwriting, bombazeen and serge are a best approximation
[215] 22nd August 1775; PKCA, MS101/18
[216] 5th January 1783; PKCA, MS101/8
[217] To Cassandra Austen, Steventon, December 1, 1798; Johnson, R. Brimley, *The Letters of Jane Austen*, London: John Lane The Bodley Head Ltd. 1925, 50
[218] Thomas Graham to his wife, Buchanan, September 7th 1791; Graham, 1927, 260

appears yellow was worn by Royalty, artistic and merchant classes alike, and from the way it features in portraits, had some association with happy domesticity.

The floral cream brocades were also cheerful, feminine fabrics. The quantity of their survival is testament to widespread popularity. Cream silk brocade would have been costly to purchase and maintain. The quality of the fabric and ornate, but not rich, style of the Pitfour example allies comfortably with an understanding of the wearer's social status as part of the wealthy merchant classes. Circa 1760-1770, John Richardson was yet to purchase the Pitfour estate and build the castle. These garments probably belonged to Barbara Urrard, wife of John, or his sister Beatrix; they certainly belonged to someone with domestic and financial security, whose lifestyle afforded the leisure of entertaining, or entertainments, where these garments might be worn.

The suggestion that the garments may have belonged to Beatrix Richardson is based on the coincidence of events in her life with the supposed dates of the dresses. She lost a brother in 1762, was widowed around a year later, and died in 1784. A period of mourning as a single parent with three young children, even with the assistance of family and friends, would explain the storage of the yellow *sacque* for long enough it would become out-dated. Her own death might explain the storage of garments in 1784. Moreover, born in 1731, her age means she could have worn all of these garments as the fashion dictated. There is no reason to suppose an eighteenth century fifty-three year old would not wear a fashionable line in dress, evidence from portraits suggests women maintained interest in fashion throughout their lives, with adjustments to suit older age, such as covered décolletages.[219] No evidence has been found confirming where Beatrix lived after 1763, but it is clear her and John's children were on intimate terms, possibly suggesting they resided together for a period, if not permanently. A point of uncertainty for this theory lies with the possible date of the cream brocade dress as circa 1768. In Beatrix's surviving accounts of 1767-1771 there are no obvious candidates for payment towards the *sacque*.

Although they owned similar garments the Guthrie of Guthrie family wealth contrasted to the expanding merchant wealth of the Richardsons as their estates had been held for several generations. In the *Statistical Account for Scotland* Mr. Guthrie of Guthrie is stated as the patron of the church, a side note details the history of Guthrie as a 'collegiate church' founded in the sixteenth century. Reverend Milligan comments; "Families, like individuals, often rise to strength and notice, and decline again into weakness and obscurity… This old family seems not yet the worse of age. John Guthrie, Esq; of that

[219] For example, *Lady Elizabeth Montagu* (1718-1800), by Sir Thomas Lawrence, probably circa 1786-1795, oil on canvas, unknown dimensions, private collection, Bowhill, Dalkeith

ilk, possesses a fine estate in the shire of Angus…",[220] suggesting the Guthrie family had stability of income and status in the late eighteenth century. A description of the castle reinforces this impression;

> "The castle of Guthrie, supposed to have been built by Sir Alexander Guthrie, who was slain at Floudon, is a strong building, and is still entire…This castle and its door are at once a monument of the ancient grandeur of the family of Guthrie, and of the rudeness and barbarity of those times… The garden of Guthrie is a mixture of ancient and modern taste; it has several beautiful box hedges cut in various figures, and in perfect preservation, though very ancient."[221]

It is clear that the castle and grounds were in decent repair when the surviving garments were made. The parish of Guthrie had a small population of 571 in 1792, decreasing from the 584 accounted for in 1755; a rural community who must have generally been on familiar terms. The Reverend Milligan, described the community as "almost without exception…, industrious and contented."[222] He counted seventeen weavers, five tailors and two shoemakers and concluded a majority of inhabitants were aged twenty to fifty.

The Guthrie family tree is more clearly recorded than that of the Pitfour family and the women accounted for. Of interest here are Jean, who married John the 15th of Guthrie in 1732, and her daughters Margaret and Jean. Margaret married a Dundee merchant named William Alison and had issue; Jean, married John Scrymgeour, younger son of Tealing, but had no children. Secondly, John, 16th of Guthrie married Margaret Whyte (or White) in 1763, and they also had two daughters called Jean and Margaret, of whom there are no further details.[223] Unfortunately, very few clothing accounts or notations from the family have been found, and none dating to the eighteenth century.

Despite being established in Angus, the Guthrie's were subject to the same inheritance and title rights as other landed families. To officially assert their rights regarding title and arms John Guthrie took out a patent of arms at the Lord Lyon's office in 1779.[224] Thus indicating they wished to combine legal security of the title alongside an exclusive, public method of display – the coat of arms. The interest in family crests and arms was increasing in the late eighteenth century, most likely as a way of distinguishing established heritable wealth and social place from newly acquired wealth, such as the Richardsons'.[225]

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[220] Milligan, Rev. Mr., 'Parish of Guthrie' in Sinclair, Sir John (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, Volume XIII, Angus, Wakefield: EP Publishing Limited 1976, 291
[221] Milligan, 'Parish of Guthrie' in Sinclair, 1976, 293
[222] Milligan, 'Parish of Guthrie' in Sinclair, 1976, 291 and 292
[223] Burke's Landed Gentry 1937; Guthrie of Guthrie papers, National Archives of Scotland, GD188/22/8/23-30
[224] Guthrie of Guthrie papers, National Archives of Scotland, GD188/22/8/23-30
[225] The Richardson's of Pitfour had ancestral ties to the Richardsons of Smeaton, Pitfour descendants would inherit the Smeaton Baronetcy in the nineteenth century

The Guthries may have retained their historic home, title and local standing, however, their marital connections to merchant industry evidences a flexibility of social class and attitude towards professions. As might be expected, the Guthries married into other established families of a similar rank – for example the Scrymgeours, who are a point of connection with the Wedderburn family.[226]

The garments from Guthrie Castle more definitely embody separate generations than the Pitfour items in having a forty-year time difference in textile style. The similar quality of each silk when situated in their respective times evidences the stable fortune Reverend Milligen described. The garments compare in quality with the Pitfour Castle dresses, suggesting a similar level of income between the households. This can be extended into the style of the cream floral dresses from each household, which use self-trimming. It is possible that the Guthries also frequented the Perth suppliers used by the Dukes of Atholl and Richardsons as beyond Forfar, Perth would have been their nearest commercial centre.

The adjustment and re-use of the Guthrie items evidences continued use by inheriting generations. In the case of the earlier Guthrie dress, some of the adjustments may have been contemporary and indicate thrift, a subject which will be discussed further in Chapter 4. The later alterations may be significant in considering class and heritable wealth; the Pitfour dresses, belonging to a wealthy merchant family survived relatively unscathed, while the Wedderburn garments underwent careful repairs and replication. The Wedderburns, like the Richardsons and Guthries, were an established family in the Dundee area of Scotland. In the 1780s their immediate wealth must have rivalled that of the Pitfour income, although their landed property was arguably less significant than Guthrie Castle.

The Wedderburn garments were donated to Glasgow Museums in 1940. Research has connected the donor to the Wedderburn's of Persie in the eighteenth century, identifying Isabel Stormonth née Wedderburn as the most likely owner of the eighteenth century items, due to the 1786 dating of the muslin garment and the continued association between the two items. It is possible that Isabel's older sister Katharine (1750-1793) could have owned the striped silk dress, although it would require specific and unknown circumstances to then unite this garment with the wedding dress of Isabel, which the evidence strongly suggests as the provenance of the muslin garment.[227]

Isabel (1753-1795) was the daughter of Robert Wedderburn of Persie (1708-1786) and Isobell Edward (1718-1788) and one of six or seven children. She married the Reverend James Stormonth of Kinclune

[226] See 'The Scrymgeour-Wedderburns of Wedderburn, and Birkhill', Part II, Chapter V in Wedderburn, 1898, 169-184

[227] Research combines work completed by Rebecca Quinton, Hazel Taylor and the author; there is some disparity of name between sources 'Isabel' being interchanged with 'Isabella', 'Isobel' and 'Isobella', this discussion follows the names as stated in Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 319

(1753-1809) on the 2nd of June 1786 and subsequently gave birth to seven children: Isabella born 26th August 1787, Elizabeth born 20th September 1788, Alexander born 16th January 1790, Katherine born 4th May 1791, Jean born 18th July 1792 and died aged three, Graham (said to be a girl) born 8th October 1793 who died aged two and Margaret born 15th February 1795.[228] There is some anomaly in Isabel's name as she is 'Elizabeth' in a list of marriage documents in *The Wedderburn Book*.[229] This may be a type error or Isabel may have been christened Elizabeth, but known as Isabel to distinguish her from her mother and older sister.

Isabel's father and uncles and cousin were involved in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, one of whom was hanged for treason; the others escaped to the Caribbean.[230] The exiles subsequently founded Wedderburn and Company, building up sizeable business concerns in the West Indies. Part of the Wedderburn legacy in Jamaica includes Robert Wedderburn, an abolitionist, son of James Wedderburn and a slave, Rosanna.[231] The family business connections are compounded by the second marriage of Isabel's maternal grandmother to a Dundee merchant named Webster. This union provided two sons, half-uncles to Isabel and her siblings; James and David Webster.

In the aftermath of the Jacobite Rebellion the house of Persie is said to have been occupied by government troops for a number of weeks "where they lived at free quarters… and committed great violence among the tenantry", at which time Isabel's father who had assisted Lord Ogilvy's escape to Paris was in hiding on nearby Catlaw.[232] The next generation continued the military outlook; Isabel's brothers John and Charles both entered long-term service with the East India Company, Charles having been unable to join Lord Ogilvy's regiment when in Paris, 1765.[233]

Knowledge of the Stormonth couple can be gained through the *Statistical Account*, which James wrote as minister for Airly in 1792, the same year his new Manse was completed. It is quite brief; his concision likely encouraged by combining parish duties, property ownership and having a young family.[234] Stormonth's report indicates some personal interests; he mentions prehistoric finds in the Moss of Balrie and details descriptions and histories of Airly Castle, and the Castle of Balrie. The

[228] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 324
[229] Wedderburn, 1898, volume II, item 29, 492
[230] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 318-320; Stewart, John, *Byron and the Websters: the letters and entangled lives of the poet, Sir James Webster and Lady Frances Webster*, North Carolina: Mcfarland and Company Inc. 2008, 5
[231] McCalman, Iain (ed.), *The Horrors of Slavery and other writings by Robert Wedderburn*, Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randale Publishers 1991, 44-50
[232] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 318 and 320
[233] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 325
[234] Stormonth, Reverend Mr James, 'Parish of Airly' in Withrington, Donald J. (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Angus, Volume XVIII, Wakefield: E. P. Publishing Ltd. 1976, 6-11

account is too short to draw many conclusions; but he appears to have been a clear writer, with an interest in the local population, their work on the land and the history of the region.

Stormonth puts the Airly population at 865, decreased from 1012 in 1755. The industry of the area is agricultural, focussed on cattle, grain and sheep, but reference to importing sheep from Northumberland implies improvements in husbandry, such as those promoted in the 1760s by 'The Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures, and improvements in Scotland'.[235]

The first home of Isabel and James Stormonth was probably Stormonth's property; Kinclune is around six miles from Airlie. According to the *Statistical Account* the couple may have relied partly on small-holding for provisions. The Minister's wage was small but supplemented by 85 bolls, 3 sirlots, 1 peck 1/3 lippie of meal, 43 bolls and 3 shirlots of bear, 9 pounds of vicarage tithes, a glebe and garden - no size given.[236] James Stormonth's patron was the Earl of Strathmore, but the couple lived in a small community; there were seven heritors in the parish and one gentleman's seat with the prospect of another once Airly Castle was built.[237] Gentrified neighbours were seemingly scarce.

Regarding the dresses in Glasgow Museums' collection, there are two key points of connection between the analyses and provenance. Firstly, the notation of 'Miss Wedderburn' on the silk dress's lining fits with the fact that the closest and majority of comparative sources found for the silk and style dated pre-1786. If the dress belonged to Isabel Stormonth, it would have been made before marriage for use of 'Miss'. Secondly, the strength of comparative sources suggesting the muslin dress dates to 1786, combined with Isabel and James having married in June, the fine material and construction, indicate this may have been Isabel's wedding dress. It is possible the silk dress as pre-dating 1786 was kept through significance to James and Isabel's relationship, such as an item she wore when courting or engaged.

As a side note, the MLitt study followed a false lead in attempting to uncover the muslin garment's provenance. Without close investigation of the partner garment, a note in the catalogue description for the silk dress was used because of the association; it said the dress belonged to a 'Miss Henderson'. Continued research revealed this was a misinterpretation of the name 'Miss Wedderburn', hand-written in ink on the dress's lining.

Personal Circumstances:

[235] Stormonth, 'Parish of Airly' in Withrington, 1976, 7; for example: Tuesday October 15 to Friday October 18, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, number 188, volume IV, 1765, 256
[236] Stormonth, 'Parish of Airly' in Withrington, 1976, 8
[237] Stormonth, 'Parish of Airly' in Withrington, 1976, 8

From the extant garments it is clear the Richardson family could afford good quality materials and dress-making. They could also afford to be fashionable, a concern that affected both young and old, but is perhaps most evident in the correspondence between Jessie and Robert on his visits to London. In 1782 Jessie responds to Robert's enquiry about what she and an unknown female relation would like:

> "I shall say it is a muff for each of us that we are in most want of at present – either feathers or furr which ever of them is most wore -- I wish I had recollected before Mr Oliphant had left Perth I would have sent along with him my sett Buckles being so very small to have got a pair fashionable ones in exchange…"[238]

Jessie's emphasis is on style, rather than cost or practicality, suggesting there was enough income to allow multi-purchases, should fashion and practicality mismatch, and that price was no concern - value judgment being left to Robert. This request likely relates to an entry in Robert's account for 4th January 1783 'Paid for two muffs £2.10.0', considerably cheaper than the Duke of Atholl's purchase of a muff on the 26th January 1780 at £4.4.0.[239]

Robert's accounts show his frequently being a proxy shopper. On 27th August 1787 he notes "Sent Jonah Maxton for a oiled silk umbrella for Miss M. Richardson Wc I urde him to buy - 0.7.0" Although the 'M' is not specifically identified, among his near relations it is reasonable to surmise Robert is referring to Margaret, his cousin. The same year on October 30th Robert records buying muffs from 'I McKenzie', "wc Jesse said would be about a guinea each say white Fox Skin Muffs / B 1 for Miss M Richardson / & 1 for Miss M Maxton / 2 muffs £2.1.6…"[240] Robert has been entrusted to decide style, but has consulted with his sister Jessie regarding price. The association of names suggests Miss M. Richardson, Robert, Jonah Maxton and Miss M. Maxton were mutual friends.

Both the muffs and umbrella can be classed as luxury items, although umbrellas were common in Scotland by the early nineteenth century, as noted by Dorothy Wordsworth visiting a ferryman's house in Tarbet, August 1803;

> "A number of good clothes were hanging against the walls, and a green silk umbrella was set up in a corner. I should have been surprised to see an umbrella in such a place before we came to the Highlands; but umbrellas are not so common anywhere as there… even five minutes after this a girl passed us without shoes and stockings, whose gown and petticoat were not worth half a crown, holding an umbrella over her bare head."[241]

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[238] 14th December 1782; PKCA, MS101/8
[239] PKCA, MS101/Manuscript 12; Blair Castle collection, 5/113
[240] PKCA, MS101/Manuscript 23
[241] Wordsworth, Dorothy (Shairp, J. C., ed), *Recollections of a tour made in Scotland AD 1803*, Edinburgh: David Douglas 1894, 117

Robert Richardson and his female relations combine practicality and luxury, but with no evidence of the gold embroidery and rich brocade of the Atholl accounts. This might reflect different practicalities of lifestyle, but as the Richardson accounts and correspondence largely relate to the 1780s-1800s, generation should be considered. One similarity between the Dukes of Atholl and Richardsons is the women's needlework; the 3rd Duchess of Atholl and her daughter were noted for embroidery skills, in 1782 Jessie Richardson wrote to Robert mentioning their progress making his shirts; "in case you should want your shoes soon you might have them along with some green thread stockens as it will be some time yet before your shirts can be got ready…"[242] Shirt-making was common among female gentry; Jane Austen commented in 1796 "We are very busy making Edward's shirts".[243]

The practical element of the Richardson household is most evident in the accounts of Beatrix Richardson. She purchased silks, printed cloth, had gowns, shoes and coats made, but also had cloth woven, bleached, printed and washed. Items of dress were regularly repaired, including turning a short gown in 1770.[244] The accounts of Beatrix present regular purchases of dress and textiles, however many of these items are specified for her children and regarding the bolts of cloth it is impossible to know whether they were going towards personal or family use. Her costs were relatively low, most dress or textile bills totalled under £0.10.0, only three make three figures: a corded item in June 1767 at £1.0.9, two pieces of cloth woven in July 1768 at £1.7.9 and a suit of clothes in January 1771 costing £[3].8.0.[245]

From the garments, accounts and correspondence it is clear the Richardson family were not shy of colour and luxury in their clothing. Robert's clothing accounts as a bachelor between 1780 and 1782 express an equal balance of practicality and show. In August 1780 he pays for a white coat and muslin cravats, followed by buckskin gloves in October and white gloves in January 1781. He purchases thread and silk stockings, jean breeches, a linen waistcoat, as well as a green silk vest, yellow satin and 'satten flourtine Britches'.[246]

Overall, Robert and his mother's accounts generate a picture of practicality mixed with luxury. The hard-wearing cloths in Robert's wardrobe, such as jean and buckskin, are synonymous with the idea of a merchant traveller, who probably enjoyed mixed-gender social evenings. There is an element of practicality in the later extant Richardson dresses too; the colours, though fashionable in the 1780s were considered masculine in the 1770s. Louisa Cathcart comments on Miss Howe:

[242] Perth 25th March, see also other letters in bundle; PKCA, MS101/29
[243] To Cassandra Austen, Rowling, Thursday September 1; Johnson, 1925, 37
[244] PKCA, MS101/Manuscript 4
[245] PKCA, MS101/Manuscript 4
[246] PKCA, MS101/Manuscript 12

> "She is so like a man she frightens me some times, as she affects everything that looks masculine. She generally wears a dark brown dress and short waistcoat without a belt, the chain of her watch hanging out, itself being in a fob, a round little black hat and, when she rides, boots, and she told us herself what besides that, which I leave you to guess."[247]

Robert's female relations were clearly concerned with fashion and occasionally travelled to London, at other times they wished to remain fashionable via proxy. The following from Jessie evidences the London fashion-supply network and Richardson society:

> "Dr Robert,
> As none of us will be in London this season we inclose you a letter to Messrs Thompsons for some goods we are in need of at present - & another for Miss Austin which you might send along with 1 ½ guineas to pay some things she is gone to send us, & the other guinea you have we can account for afterwards […]
> I am very happy to here Captain Boyles has such a favourable opinion of Perth & the Perth Ladies there are few of his tast I believe, however it is good there are some – the Ladies I suppose he spake particularly of, is very well known every where as he kept it no secret here in any company whatever but your poor sister never was in company with him to have it in his power to speake of her […], don't mistake which of your two sisters I mean – the two Miss boyles are in favour with the Perth gentlemen for they danced at the last Assembly with the two mr woods W&J so they have won the Doctors favour…
> Your affectionate J Richardson"[248]

The Richardson correspondence evidences a generally happy group; there is no sense of deprivation from the loss of their father when young. Their interest in dress, while natural for their age, may also have been influenced by Beatrix and their aunt Barbara. The Miss Austin mentioned above may be a relation through Jessie's maternal grandmother. The earlier Pitfour garments clearly indicate a commitment to fashion by the previous generation, and if Beatrix was the owner of all the extant garments, her sense of style does not appear to have faltered, the muted brown-greys of the later items seen as worn by old and young in portraits from the 1780s.

The lack of archive material relating to the Guthrie family forces understanding of their personal circumstances to rely on garment association. There is evident re-use, some possibly within the eighteenth century, which could suggest thrift. However this should not be over-emphasised as the nineteenth century alterations are dominant. The earlier dress compares closely to Anna Maria Garthwaite's designs and the productions of Spitalfields in London. As will be seen in Chapter 4 they were not the only household in eastern Scotland to acquire similar products, suggesting the Perth-London trade links were as strong in the 1730s and 1740s as they seem to have been later in the century.

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[247] To Mary Graham, 16th February 1776, Graham, 1927, 72-73
[248] Original spellings, Perth 25th March 1782; PKCA, MS101/29

From the choice of textiles used in the Guthrie garments it is clear that women from a landed family, living in a historic property in the Angus region, were as concerned with contemporary fashions as their neighbours and had equal means to acquire them. Given the dates of the textiles discussed above it seems most likely that the first item belonged to Jean, who married John, the 15th of Guthrie in 1732. Why this particular item survived is not known; it is tempting to speculate the dress survived through sentimental attachment to a special event, however the sale of the Guthrie estate may have alienated the garment from a wider context in which it is less remarkable. The colour scheme is particular to a certain period of textile design, once out of fashion the garment may have felt un-wearable, although valuable enough to keep.

The second dress may have belonged to Margaret Whyte who married John Guthrie, the 16th, in 1763. The surviving marriage contract between Margaret and John details that she was an only child, and on marrying her Guthrie gained the following property: "All and hail the Lands of Muirhouse both halfs thereof and lying on both sides of the Burn with the mans place houses Biggings Yards orchards Dovecoate planting outsets insets parts pendicles and universal pertinents…" As property arrangements were common in eighteenth century marriage contracts it is not possible to make a judgement about the emotional attachment between Margaret and John Guthrie, although he evidently gained materially.

Although the garment style of the later dress is suggestive of circa 1780, it is possible that the material was acquired around the time of Margaret's marriage to John Guthrie in 1763. They were married in July; as with the Wedderburn muslin, the cream and pink silk would be an appropriate colour and style for a summer event. The alterations of the dress make any further connection between the 1763 wedding and surviving dress problematic. The silk may have formed part of a trousseau or been an early post-marital purchase. Similar conclusions could be made regarding the earlier dress; both Guthrie items appear to date from the first decade of marriage between each couple, a period when increased preoccupation with fashion might be expected due to personal age, social entertaining and increased wealth from combined income.

Equally, Isabel Wedderburn is likely to have brought substantial means to her short marriage. She was beneficiary in her parents wills. In 1787 her mother died, splitting her property between her three daughters.[249] In May 1791 Isobel and her younger brother David received joint ownership of a flat in South Nethergait, Dundee, as their shares of their parents estate; in January 1792 David made his

[249] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 322

interest over to Isabel.[250] Isabel also benefitted alongside her siblings when her uncle James Webster died in 1789, inheriting her part of;

> "all that my plantation and Estate called Richmond Vale in the parish of Hanover and County of Cornwall in the Island of Jamaica together with all the Negroes Cattle Works Buildings live and dead Stock materials and Implements of every kind to the same belonging and all my Estate Right title and *Interest* thereby hold…"[251]

John Stewart quotes the death notice for Webster in *The Times*, December 28th 1789 as stating that he was "reported to have left behind him upwards of ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS!" (original emphasis).[252] This connection to the West Indies, inheriting proceeds from plantation slavery and a considerable mercantile estate could have been morally contentious as slavery was illegal in Scotland after 1778.[253] It seems reasonable to suppose people with concerns in the Caribbean would not have talked with complete freedom about their business. Nisbet has illustrated that there was disconnection between the reality of how wealth was accrued in the Caribbean and the status of Scottish families.[254] However, without evidence of Isabel Stormonth's opinions, there is no way of knowing if she had misgivings over the family's business.

James Webster left Isabel and her sisters with £40 per annum for the first seven years after his death, to be paid in instalments twice a year. Thereafter £1000 was to be invested on Isabel's behalf, or for her children who would then be paid the accruing interest as a regular income, to be inherited as the child or children reached 21 years.[255] As Isabel only survived her half-uncle by six years she presumably enjoyed the benefit of the £40 until her decease, her children thereafter. The income was probably welcome to the Stormonth household, with its annual birth-rate.

The death of Isabel's father six months prior to her marriage may also have been of pecuniary consequence. In 1779 Robert Wedderburn sold his estates to his son Charles (subject to Robert's life-rent), "for a sum to be paid at the first term after his death and to be used in satisfying bonds of provision" for his daughters and youngest son.[256] It is not known exactly what was understood by the first 'term' after Wedderburn's death, but it may have referred to the eighteenth century quarterly rent

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[250] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 329
[251] Last Will and Testament of James Webster, 14 November 1789 as published on <http://pagespro-orange.fr/euroleader/wedderburn/wills2.htm>, accessed 23.03.2010; see also Stewart, 2008, 8
[252] Stewart, 2008, 7
[253] <http://www.bl.uk/learning/histcitizen/campaignforabolition/abolitionbackground/slaverytimeline/timeline.html> accessed 14.08.2013
[254] Nisbet, Stuart, *Castle Semple Rediscovered*, Renfrewshire Local History Forum 2009, 90-99
[255] Last Will and Testament of James Webster, 14 November 1789 as published on <http://pagespro-orange.fr/euroleader/wedderburn/wills2.htm>, accessed 23.03.2010
[256] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 321 and 326

calendar built around Lady Day, Midsummer, Michaelmas and Christmas;[257] in which case the payment may have been made on 25th March (Lady Day). Whether this was the case or not Isabel's marriage so shortly after her father's death and her age (thirty-three years) does suggest she may have been waiting for her 'provision' in order to marry.[258] Therefore she and James Stormonth may have had long-standing knowledge of each other, if not engagement, but deliberately delayed marriage for financial reasons.

Context for the £40 left Isabel by James Webster (as only one part of her income) can be gained through comparison with George Houstoun's bills. A member of the landed gentry in Renfrewshire (see Chapter 3), his tailor's bill for 1778-1779, including himself and articles for two servants came to £12.18.7, while his grocers bill with Hugh Fulton of Paisley from February to November 1783 totalled £7.2.2.[259] This would have provided food, or kitchen garden supplies,[260] for himself, two sons, his mother and whomever else he entertained. Whereas, Reverend Muter in Kirkcudbright (see Chapter 4) had an income of £15 per annum in 1797, which he claimed did not cover the rent of a house in Kirkcudbright.[261] It is likely the Stormonth's would have made investment in supplies for their glebe and garden like George Houstoun, but their combined income after 1789 must have considerably exceeded a similar expenditure on necessaries, allowing more luxury where desired.

The Stormonth income was evidently much larger than some of their clergy counterparts, thanks to family property and trading connections. Being forced into exile may have been a lucky push for those members of the family; some Jacobites who fled to Europe, sought funds and pensions from the French and Prince Charles, ultimately being reduced to begging from relatives.[262]

Whether the increased income from her uncle's will allowed Isabel to spend more money on her own wardrobe is unknown. Having seven children in nine years of marriage probably affected her interest and means to invest in fashion; however she could have retained standards of dress – no record has yet been found regarding particulars of her personality or domestic situation. If the connection made between her wedding date and the muslin garment is correct, then she certainly invested in

[257] The 3rd Duke of Atholl's accounts evidence his use of these dates to give his female relations allowances
[258] She was much older than average for a first marriage, see Vickery, Amanda, *The Gentleman's Daughter Woman's Lives in Georgian England*, London: Yale University Press 1998, 53 (footnote 38)
[259] Houston of Johnston, bills and receipts 1757-1843, Strathclyde University Archives, MS 1/4/3/3
[260] The weights are in ounces, some descriptions include seeds and hocks implying supplies were intended for planting
[261] Muter, Dr. Reverend Robert, 'Parish of Kirkcudbright', *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Kirkcudbright and Wigtownshire, volume V, Wakefield: E. P. Publishing 1983, 209
[262] Oliphant, T. L. Kington, Esq., *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, London: Charles Griffin & Co. 1870, 274-277, 298-300

contemporary fashion, selecting a high quality muslin and print. At the age of thirty-three Isabel had probably refined her personal taste in dress.

The fact that Isabel had so many children further suggests one reason why the extant garments survived. If they were items she wore prior to or on entering her marriage, then it may be that the subsequent changes in her figure effectively put the garments in storage. The front of the muslin dress is adjustable, so could have been adapted during pregnancy, but the material is so fine that it would have been impractical around infants. There are a number of careful darns in the dress as well as later silk darns, but the former are so finely worked they may have been carried out during manufacturing. Evidence of muslin darning in factories was found in the Adelphi Cotton Works (Deanston, Stirlingshire) day book, 1791-1793.[263]

Isabel's comfortable income may have made little change from her circumstances prior to marriage. Although the silk dress probably pre-dates the muslin item, similarities between the two suggest a continuity of personality in support of their both having belonged to Isabel; both are neatly constructed with few or simple trimmings; typical of their time both skirts are gathered for shapely, decorative appeal; and, neither garment uses a showy textile, instead small floral details reward close inspection. Finally, both textiles are contemporary to the garment they make, suggesting the dresses were entirely new.

It is reasonable to suggest Isabel would have paid attention to details such as decorative pleating and a narrow tapered *fourreau* on the muslin, as they emphasise the rear waistline, of particular consideration for a church wedding dress. There are definite connotations of French design in the textile pattern, which alongside the exotic flora may have distinguished the muslin from other available designs. However, here location may factor as having two brothers in the East India company could have influenced Isabel's taste and the markets she accessed.

Location:

Archival evidence suggests that circa 1760-1790 the social life of the Richardson of Pitfour women centred round Perthshire, with visits to London. Yet, connections further afield may have influenced their tastes; for example, whether through London or direct from Paris it is clear that the pale grey dress would have seemed French to readers of the 1786 *Cabinet des Modes*. It is known that Robert Richardson travelled to Portugal and Italy for reasons of health and trade. He married Elizabeth Hepburn, whose family had estates in the Bahamas, so he alone represents a varied geographic pattern.

[263] E.g. 21st July 1792 and 7th November 1792; Glasgow University Archives Service, UGD91/1/5/3/2/1

His correspondence with Jessie clearly indicates the interest he took in his female relations, and his own accounts evidence a regular acquisition of dress for himself and others when a young man.

Further foreign connections are made by Jessie, who married John Mackenzie, a timber merchant. They lived in Memel, Prussia (modern day Klaipėda, Lithuania) where the business was based.[264] There is believed to have been long-standing Scottish communities in other Baltic Sea ports such as Danzig (Poland), built around trade links.[265] Although details of Jessie Richardson's acquaintance with John Mackenzie are not yet known, it is likely that they knew each other through merchant family connections and Perth society. The same might be said of Beatrix, or Betty, sister of Robert and Jessie who married the naval surgeon Thomas Huggan.[266] Huggan served on HMS Bounty and is said to have been a drunkard. He predeceased the mutiny, dying in Tahiti, 9th December 1788.[267]

Prior to 1785 there is no evidence to suggest the Richardson women went abroad themselves aside from emigration, but their social world clearly included men who travelled widely, thus opening the possibility of their gaining world-wide contacts for acquiring dress and fabrics. However, the extant garments give no indication of style more exotic than English or French. It may be significant that there is equally little evidence of a specifically Scottish style, although certain features appear to have been widespread in Scots gentry - such as the cream trimming and muted colours of the later Richardson garments.

Archive material shows that Jessie, her sister and cousin accessed London goods personally, through friends and relations. Moreover it is probable the London-Edinburgh-Perth shipping links created a strong presence of English dress in the Scottish ports. It would seem that any influence of geographic location on their garments was determined by the women concerned. That is, men would purchase the goods on request. Robert's query to Jessie if there was anything she needed may indicate unwillingness to purchase without asking her desire and advice. While a brother-sister relationship is perhaps more restrained in this regard than husband and wife, or lovers, it indicates the force of personal identity involved in deciding on dress.

While there is no specific evidence of how and where the Guthrie of Guthrie family travelled and made purchases, the English and Franco-English style of the dress silks strongly suggests that they accessed similar markets in Dundee, Perth and Edinburgh for their luxury goods as the Dukes of Atholl,

[264] Collection description, PKCA GB/252/MS101
[265] Lauder-Frost, G. M. S, F.S.A. (Scot.), 'Lowland Scots in Prussia', Borders Family History Society 2001-2008, sourced as a pdf <www.bordersfhs.or.uk>, accessed 13.02.2013
[266] Collection description, PKCA GB/252/MS101
[267] <http://library.puc.edu/pitcairn/bounty/crew3.shtml>, accessed 15.02.2013

Richardsons of Pitfour and Kinloch family (see Chapter 4). Whereas, geographically, the Stormonth household and Isabel's probable use of the garments can be located to the east of Scotland, no evidence has been found to suggest Isabel personally travelled outside of Scotland. She is likely to have lived with her parents at Persie until her marriage and once in Airly Isabel remained within twenty miles of her parents' estate, and six miles of her husband's.[268] However, she had merchant relatives who travelled between the Caribbean, London and Dundee and two brothers in the East India service. She could have accessed European and London goods through family and markets in Dundee, Perth and Edinburgh, while also possibly receiving goods from her brother Charles who was probably in Scotland in 1779 and retired in 1785.[269]

The story of Isabel's garments is complex in style and family associations, but they appear to have been worn by a woman whose life was relatively simple and short. Dying in 1795 at the age of 42, death may have played a key part in their continued storage, and the respect they engendered in subsequent generations.

Regarding the textiles of Isabel's garments, they both have some connection to English and French productions but the silk stripes compare more favourably with other items with a British association. The muslin print has strong links to both sides of the channel, but in general pattern, laid over stripes, the French association is strongest. In the knowledge that Charles may have returned from the East Indies around 1785 it is problematic to definitely state whether the muslin is European or Indian, it could have been made and printed in either place, or the striped muslin could have been imported and printed in Europe.

Isabel was also close to print-works in Edinburgh as well as the cotton industry in Glasgow.[270] Furthermore, Beatrix Richardson's accounts evidence that she had cloth printed,[271] it is not impossible that Isabel's muslin was printed to commission near Dundee and Perth. The possibility that the muslin was Scottish should be seriously considered given Lord Sheffield's comments in *The Draper's Dictionary*, 1785:

[268] Based on contemporary travel directions from Airlie Manse to the Kinclune Estate (currently run as a steading) and to the Edwardian Persie House (a holiday rental property).
[269] Wedderburn, 1898, volume I, 326
[270] As noted by Irwin, Francina, 'Scottish Eighteenth-century Chintz and Its Design – I', *The Burlington Magazine*, volume 107, number 750 September 1965, 452 & 454-458; 'City of Glasgow' in Sinclair, Sir John (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791-1799, Volume 7, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire*, Wakefield: E.P. Publishing 1973, 295-296
[271] September 1786, PKCA MS101/manuscript 4

> "If the cotton manufacture should continue to make the progress it has lately done in England, it bids fair to be the principal manufacture of the country. It will bear a great extension. Scotland, whose intelligent and steady people are so well disposed to manufactures, has within two years, made an astonishing progress in it, particularly in the muslins…"[272]

However, this is equally balanced with evidence of plentiful French imports twenty years previously, noted in an objection to lifting the import ban on French cambrics:

> "I tell you, there will be a consumption of French clears, and the difference will then be amazingly great. The India Company will lose a consumption of at least two hundred thousand pounds a-year, and the difference between the duty on muslins and clear lawns.
>
> Large duties on cambrics, you know, we must not lay, as we can have them smuggled for three shillings per demy-piece, and allowing sixpence a demy for risque, does not amount to the late duty; you may, therefore, depend on it, this will have some weight with the India Company; and I am frank enough to tell you, the Lords of the Treasury are not only acquainted with this argument, but the infamous length the smuggling muslins is got to…"[273]

Conclusion:

The desirability of exotic and foreign goods is understood as a key player in eighteenth century markets,[274] and there is evidence of a good variety of materials being available in Edinburgh; "*the third high shop, East wing of the Exchange, fronting the Cross, Edinburgh*, … exposed to sale... Muslins, plain, flowered, and stript, from 3 s. to 14 s. the yard. Lawns, plain, stript, and flowered, from 1-half to 10 yards long. Lawns from 2 s. to 4 s. Silesia lawns flowered and plain, from 2 s. 6 d. to 5 s. Silk gauzes, plain and flowered, 5-fourths wide, at 2 s. 6 d. and flowered at 3 s. Black satins from 5 s. to 7 s..."[275] Yet, the evidence presented appears to suggest that the fashion ambitions of the Richardson, Guthrie and Wedderburn women generally went no further than France. The main influences on their dress were seemingly British, specifically London, with some indication of French design.

The most exotic textile in this group is Isabel Wedderburn's muslin, which is strongly influenced by French design and East Indian textiles, but technically could have been produced in Scotland. It seems likely her choice of textile went in hand with her wedding. As a special occasion she may have wanted to invest in a garment that outstretched her daily ambitions in dress; something with more fragility and exoticism. Her brothers' occupations may also have influenced her decision towards the exotic, as an emotional attachment to things of an East Indian style. Her wedding possibly provided an opportunity to prioritise her desires over practical circumstances. It is even possible the silk dress was her social

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[272] 'On the Manufactures, &c., of Ireland' in Beck, S. William, *The Draper's Dictionary A Manual of Textile Fabrics: Their History and Applications*, London: the Warehousemen & Drapers' Journal Office 1882, 233

[273] By 'A Veteran Smuggler', Tuesday December 9 to Friday December 12, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, volume III, number 308, 378

[274] See discussion of Madame de Boyer in Roche, 1996, 206; Berg, Maxine, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2005, 19

[275] Tuesday November 12 to Friday November 15, *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, volume III, number 196, 1765, 319

wear as an unmarried woman, which was then replaced or supplemented by the muslin. Yet, although the muslin itself provides a touch of exoticism, the style of garment is British, including references to French style.

The Richardson garments give very little indication of influence beyond the main fashion trends in London, despite the family having as many international influences as the Wedderburns. If these garments did belong to Beatrix Richardson, sister of John of Pitfour, then it can be argued that the earlier items are the equivalent of the Wedderburn dresses. Born in 1731, Beatrix was around thirty years old when the yellow *sacque* was made, while Isabel Wedderburn was thirty-three when she married. It is a useful comparison to make as the Richardson items show an equal engagement with fashion, using very contemporary colours and trimmings. That the early Richardson garments are more positively British in style may be personal, but could also be attributed to political relations with France in the 1760s. The use of obviously French textiles was contentious, tied up with notions of patriotism;[276] being related to law officials and legitimate merchants Beatrix was perhaps less likely to purchase smuggled goods.

The Guthrie garments and later Richardson garments show an equal tendency towards British fabrics and modes. Overall it would appear that the women who invested in and created the garments were most influenced by what could be obtained through the east-coast trade connections, particularly London and Perth. Although the colour and modesty of the later Richardson garments does compare with depictions of Scottish women, if the dresses belonged to Beatrix they evidence less a cultural temperament than that of an older woman, with adult daughters and who still engaged with fashion. There is little evidence of French influence beyond what might be expected in a time when British and French modes were strongly connected to fashionable figures from each nation, who advised and interacted with one another - such as Marie-Antoinette and the Duchess of Devonshire.[277] Nor is there strong evidence of specifically Scottish temperament and style, each garment having counterparts in English collections.

[276] For example April 23rd-30th 1765, *Edinburgh Advertiser*, Volume III, no. 138 and 139, pp267-269 and 276-277

[277] Foreman, Amanda, *The Duchess* (first published as *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*), London: Harper Perennial 1999 (first published 1998), 40-41; Weber, 2007, 150, 185-186

Figure 3.1: Location map

Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire = 1
Castle Semple, Renfrewshire = 2
Blair Hall (Castle), Ayrshire = 3

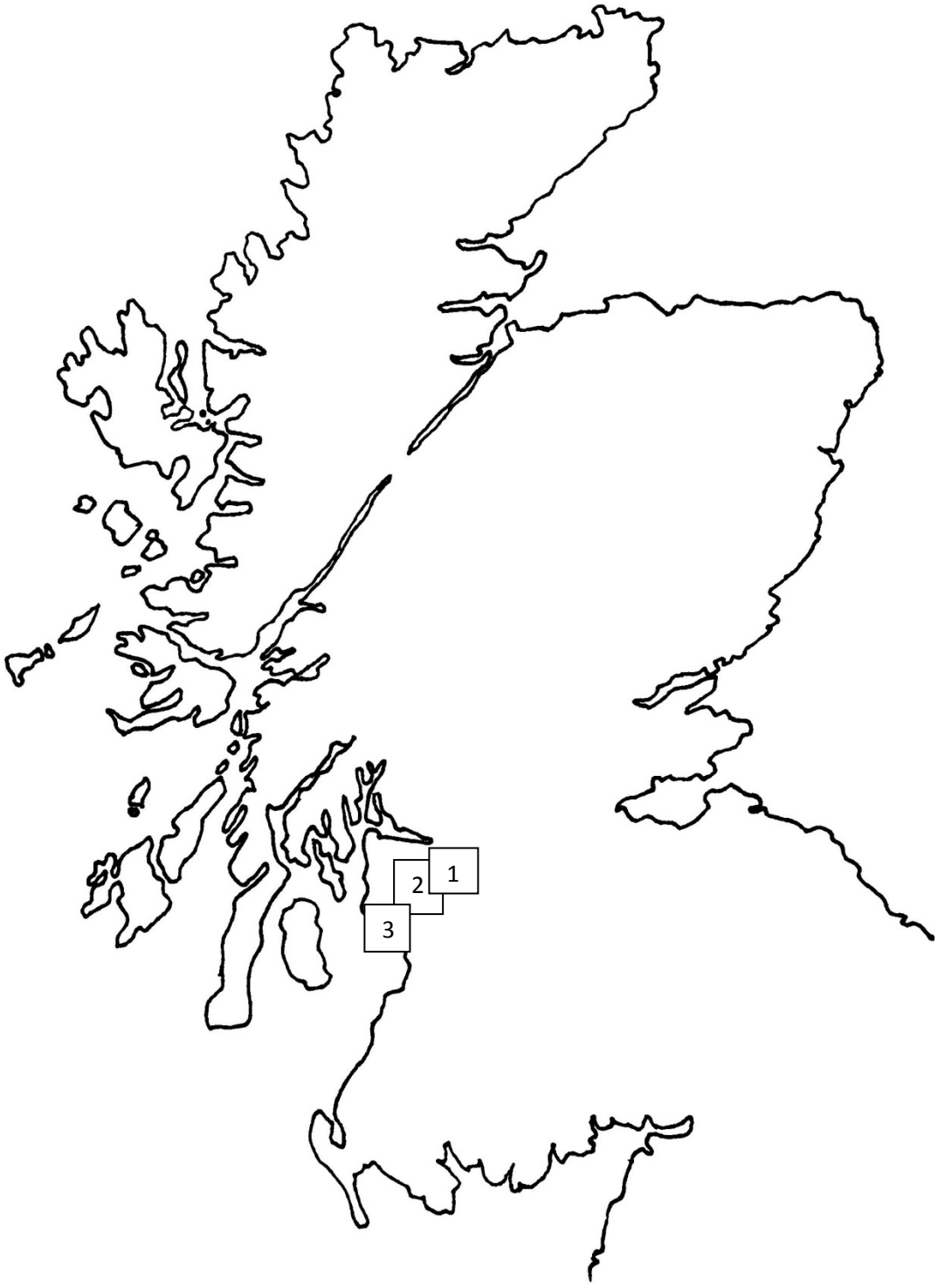
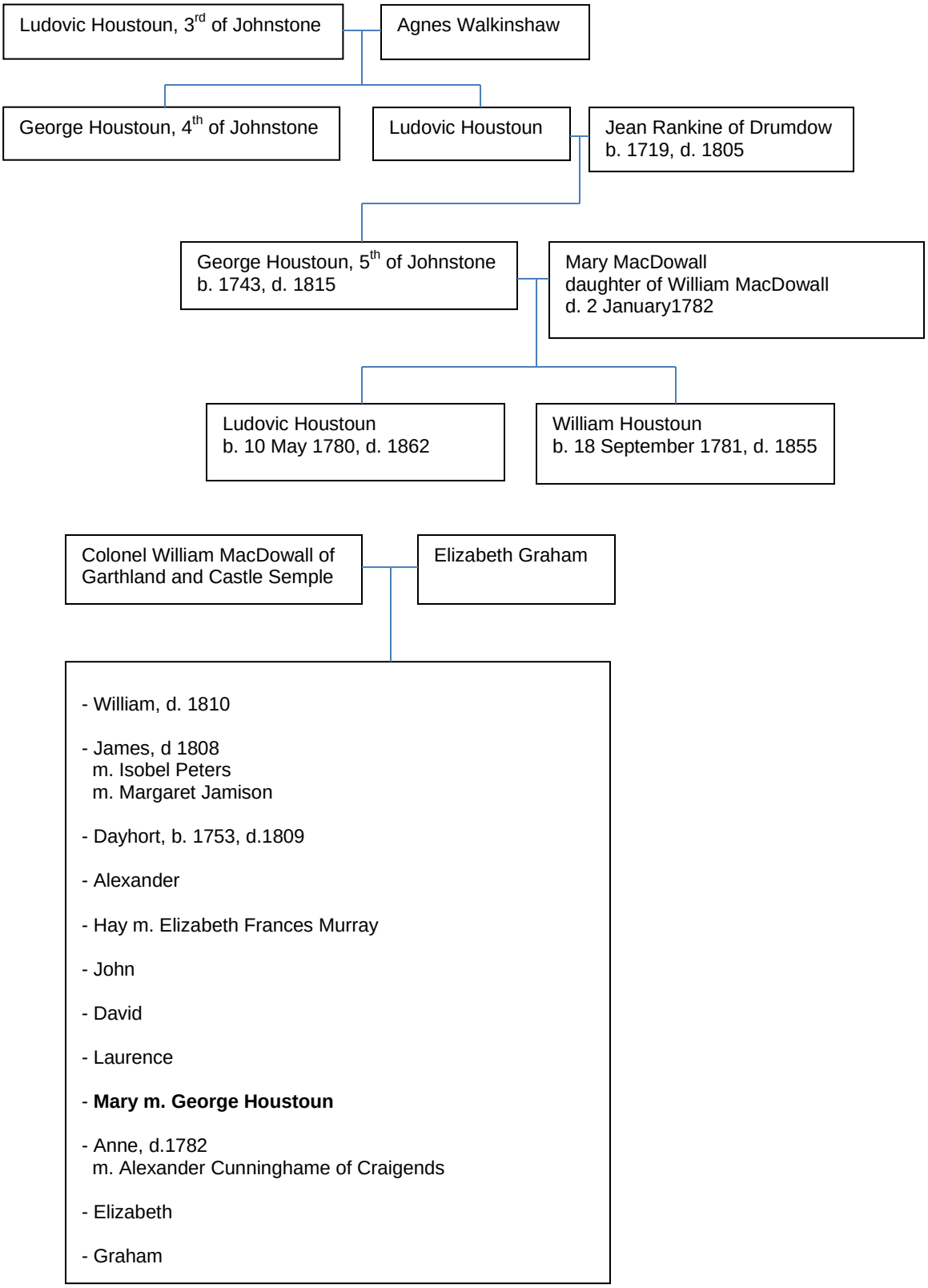
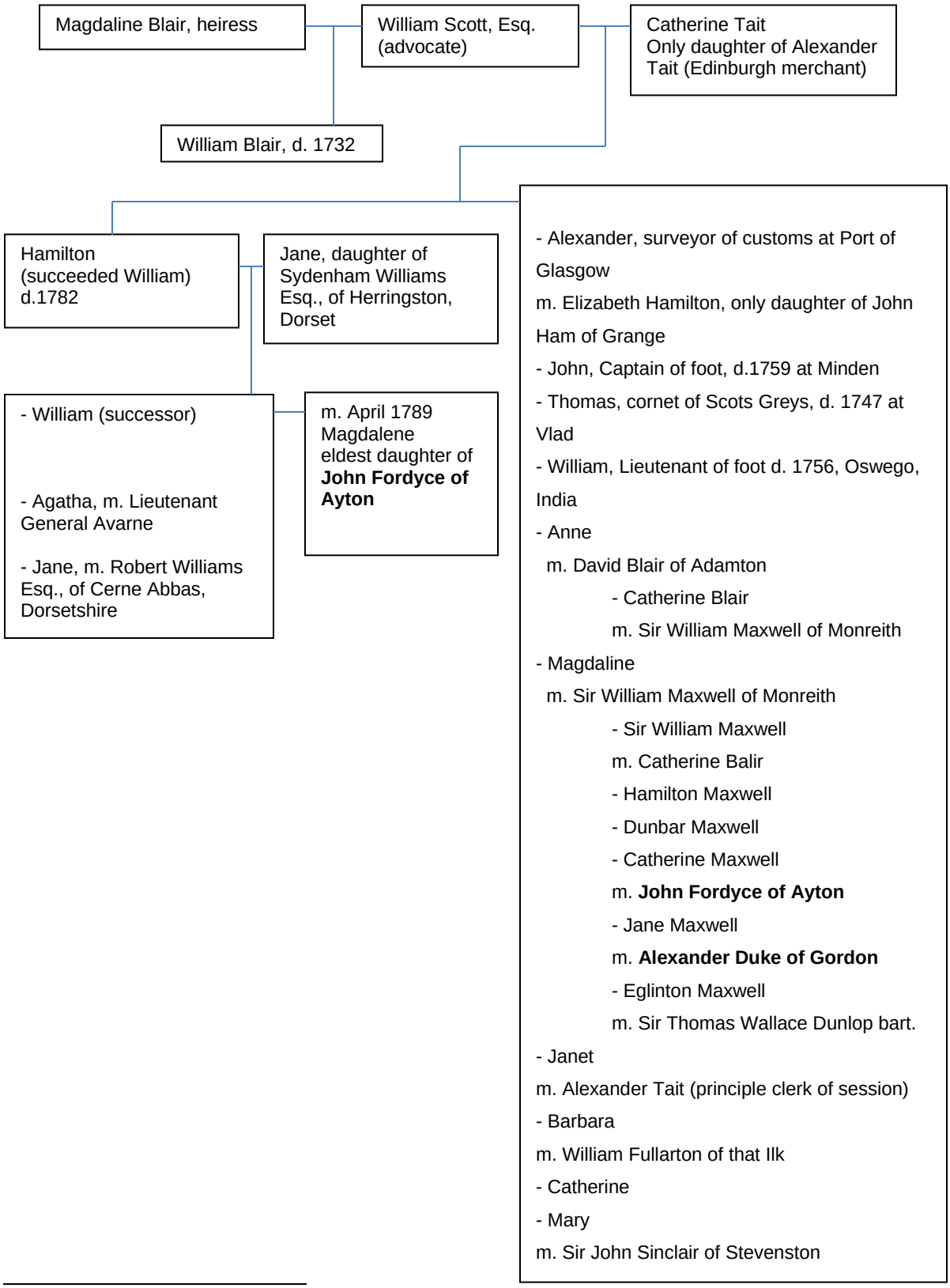


Figure 3.2: Houstoun of Johnstone family tree[278]



[278] Information supplied by Rebecca Quinton, Glasgow Museums, sourced from *Burke's Landed Gentry* and archive resources at The Mitchell Library, Glasgow

Figure 3.3: Blair of Blair family tree[279]



[279] Information from multiple sources including contemporary newspapers, *Burke's Peerage* and provided by Robert Ferguson at Dalgarven Mill Museum (see detailed references below)

Chapter 3: A view of gentlewomen in Renfrewshire and Ayrshire through their dress

Review and introduction:

Continuing the discussion of fashionable dress from genteel households this chapter shifts geographic focus to western lowland Scotland: Renfrewshire and Ayrshire. Extant garments from the Blair of Blair and Houstoun of Johnstone households will form the basis of the discussion. These families share social class, temperament and income with the Richardsons, Guthries and Wedderburns of Chapter 2; their origins equally established, and mixed with emerging industry, so discussion will continue to look at how source of income and family concerns affect sartorial choices.

The primary focus of this Chapter will be on the Houstoun of Johnstone family. This is a consequence of there being five surviving garments and related accessible archives. All of these garments are thought to have belonged to one woman, Mary Houstoun née McDowall;[280] they therefore form the largest group in this thesis testifying to one person's taste. As with the previous discussions there is little archival evidence specifically of Mary Houstoun but the surviving accounts of her husband, and diary of her mother-in-law, provide insight into her activities and interests. Discussion surrounding the Houstoun family will draw comparisons with the Richardson and Wedderburn families; such as the international nature of the male society, juxtaposed against localised female acquaintance.

The second focus of this chapter is on a garment which belonged to the Blairs of Blair Hall (or Castle) near Dalgarven, Ayrshire.[281] Considerably less information regarding the personal circumstances of this family survives, although archive material and information relating to the recent sale of Blair Castle provide context. Only two eighteenth century garments owned by the Blairs of Blair are known, a woman's *caraco* and man's jacket or coat (2.185). The *caraco* is the sole focus in this discussion and provides a unique element of the thesis. It is the only Scottish garment found to have an almost exact counterpart in another collection. Analysis has consequently focussed on an intimate comparison of these two items through scale drawings of their patterns (appendix 3.1). This enables a fuller understanding of how these garments relate to possible theories of their being ready-made or semi-tailored in the same workshop, which assists a more detailed understanding of future research in eighteenth century garment production.

The role of personal taste and international influences on women's fashion in Scotland will form an important element in the discussions surrounding the Houstoun and Blair items; hints of French design

[280] As researched by Rebecca Quinton, Curator of European Costume and Textiles, Glasgow Museums

[281] The property is currently known as Blair Castle, but to prevent confusion with the Dukes of Atholl's seat it shall henceforth be referred to as Blair Hall. This is also more accurate to the smaller property that existed pre-1800.

will once again become present, alongside possible Dutch connections. The differences highlighted between gentry and aristocratic tastes in dress continue to be present, while the strong reflection of personality found in the Houstoun group increases understanding of how individual identity combines with surrounding circumstances in the development of sartorial expression. The dialogue of means, place, society and person remains fundamental in asking what the relationships are between fashion and identity, and how Scottish fashion related to international trends in the late eighteenth century.

Methodology and layout:

As with the preceding chapters the research presented here is based on an initial survey of garments in Scottish museum collections. The Blair and Houstoun items have been selected for their unusual potential; being a significant group and a rare 'copy' garment. When beginning this project initial research on the Houstoun items had already been made by Rebecca Quinton, Curator of European Costume and Textiles, Glasgow Museums. This was built on through continued archival research, but most significantly via comparative studies with objects and visual sources. As before, this work will be presented as data with a catalogue entry and comparative analysis. The primary intention of research was to situate the Houstoun garments within general fashion trends, to complement the work undertaken by Rebecca Quinton.

As noted above research into the Blair of Blair *caraco* took a less genealogical and archival approach. Some research into the family had already been undertaken by Robert Ferguson, proprietor and curator of Dalgarven Mill Museum, where the garment is held; there was no question of the provenance. The decision to undertake a technical study of this garment was based on the early discovery of it having a twin in Manchester City Galleries collection and there being few archive records relating to the garment (although the Blair of Blair papers in the National Archives of Scotland are considerable). The rarity of matching eighteenth century garments made a detailed study essential to understand the similarities and whether the items were ready-made; important to scholarly reassessments of the garment trade pre-mechanisation.[282]

Therefore, catalogue entries will be presented for the Blair and Manchester *caracos* together, followed by a comparative analysis giving a general context but focussed on assessing similarities and differences between the garments. This will be accompanied by scale drawings approximating the cut pattern of each item. This approach broadens the methodology of this thesis, juxtaposing object

[282] Lambert, Miles, 'Bespoke Versus Ready-Made: The Work of the Tailor in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Costume*, number 44, 2010, 56-65; Styles, John, *The Dress of the People: Everyday Fashion in Eighteenth-Century England*, New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2007; Lemire, Beverly, 'Redressing the History of the Clothing Trade in England: Ready-Made Clothing, Guilds, and Women Workers, 1650-1800', *Dress*, number 21, 1994, 61-74

analysis techniques in a deliberate move towards the "wholly descriptive 'catalogue' tradition of costume history".[283]

As before the Prown approach will guide the comparative analyses of the Houstoun garments and the data presentation will be followed by a discussion in the established format of identifying overarching themes from the analyses. These themes will be used to address the broader questions of this thesis relating to fashion and identity, and the position of Scottish dress in a European context.

Data:

Houstoun of Johnstone

Object name /number	1932.51.l&m
Date	Collection date: circa 1770-1775 (silk); circa 1780-1781 (dress) / research date: circa 1778-1779
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 5/8 inches / 499 mm
Provenance	Houstoun of Johnstone, Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	Woman's dress in cream silk with self-stripe, brocaded over with multi-coloured floral bouquets and roundels with roses, thought to be produced in Spitalfields, London. Low rounded décolletage. Neckline with flat collar, rounded at front opening edges, forming v-shape at back. Bodice front in two layers, under-layer closed with slightly squared front waistline, over-layer open at centre front, in inverted v-shape from bust towards each hip, extending into three-quarter length skirt. Over-layer edge trimmed with self-material box-pleat, and silk fly-braid in colours matching the floral brocade. Bodice back fitted *en fourreau* with three bones at centre seams, pleats in skirt aligned with seam endings. Inside skirt back waist with fly-braid ties, which loop under hem, attaching to a self-material button at each side of outside waist back. Sleeves fitted to just below elbow, with turn-back style cuffs, tucked at inside elbow and looped with fly braid as on skirt. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen. Matching petticoat or underskirt with box-pleated self-material trim around hemline, edged with matching fly-braid. Skirt pleated and gathered onto waistband, centre back opening. Hem lined with silk.

[283] As referenced in introduction - Taylor, *The Study of Dress History*, 2002, 3

Comparative analysis:

As noted previously, research of cream floral textiles was undertaken in relation to items in Perth Museum collection (Chapter 4), forming a basis for the analysis of the Pitfour and Houstoun garments. The silk of this first dress is thought to have been produced in Spitalfields, London, circa 1770-1775. It compares in scale and floral distribution to a dress in Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums, probably also of Scottish provenance (3.1). That the Houstoun textile may have been produced after 1775 should be considered as the garment style and provenance closely associates it with fashions of 1778-1780 (see below) and this style of textile enjoyed long-term popularity (see Chapter 4).

Analysis of the dress attempted first to find garments for overall comparison, and then focussed on cuff and neckline detail, important as the forms are repeated in other Houstoun garments. The most relevant extant item found for overall comparison is in Worthing Museum (3.3). The dress uses a similar textile, self-material and fly-braid trimmings, and is irregularly pleated at the waist back. As with the Houstoun example it is a two-piece ensemble with a three-quarter length skirt to the over-dress. Unlike full-length skirts, the Worthing and Houstoun items are designed to be permanently gathered, the petticoat and skirt trimmings appear incongruous otherwise.[284] The Worthing item has evidence of alteration, but the bodice trimmings must have created a similar visual effect as the double-layered Houstoun front. The double-layered bodice, in combination with a puffed skirt was found to be a '*polonaise*',[285] tying in with Cathcart family correspondence of 1776.[286]

Research of extant garments with collars revealed a number of items dating circa 1790-1810 (2.98, 3.4-3.8). Evidently a long-term feature of women's fashion, these later collars may have emerged from the *redingote* of the 1780s (2.98, 2.99, 3.9-3.12). Associated with France through fashion plates and surviving garments, the *redingote* is found in Scottish portraits (3.13-3.14). Anne Calderwood and Margaret Durham were however members of a well-travelled Lothian family,[287] possibly with direct experience of European fashions.

[284] As observed by Rebecca Quinton, Curator of European Costume and Textiles and Maggie Dobbie, Textile Conservator, Glasgow Museums, when attempting to work out the garment style for mounting 1932.51.l&m
[285] 'Polonaise' can be used by dress historians and curators to refer to any form of gathered skirt, eighteenth century understanding of the term is used here, relating to the whole garment not only the skirt
[286] Graham, 1927, 74-75, 95
[287] Calderwood, 1884; Journal of Mrs James Durham of a tour in Switzerland, 1789, National Register of Archives for Scotland (NRAS), 3246/Bundle 155; Journal of a tour in France by Mr & Mrs Durham and Miss Hare, 1788, NRAS 3246/Bundle 154

The only other extant garment found to pre-date 1785 with a collar is a *caraco* in Hereford Museum, circa 1780, (3.15). The collar is very like that of the Houstoun dress. Thought to have been worn by a Derbyshire family member it evidences the Houstoun collar style as country-wide, and reinforces the current dating of the dress. This triangular collar back can also be seen on a *polonaise* in the French print *La Sortie du l'Opera*, 1777 (1.184).

A portrait of Grace Dalrymple Elliot, circa 1782, (3.16) provides another similar pictorial depiction of the Houstoun collar type. However, the side notches compare to the *redingote* examples, while the bodice buttons and cording relate to different dresses evidenced in prints (3.17-3.18). Elliot's dress collar appears more like an additional trimming, resembling 1932.51.h&i (see below). A French image of 1780 (3.19), compares to Elliot's portrait. The neckline has a contrasting panel, which drapes over the shoulders like a small cape or *fichu*, however there is no evident fastening, making it unclear if this panel is part of the main garment or an accessory. This may be misdirection of the artist, but misinterpretation no doubt featured in eighteenth century fashion dissemination. The low wide necklines of these images compare to the Houstoun items.

The Houstoun dress cuffs are a significant detail, connecting the dress to 1932.51.o, the Houstoun *caraco*. In turn-back style, trimmed with fly-braid they are tied with a small loop of fly-braid at the inside elbow. The same feature can be found on a *caraco*-petticoat ensemble at the V&A (3.20), and a *caraco* said to have belonged to Eva-Maria Garrick (3.21). More difficult to locate on images, examples of this decorative detail were found on a French fashion plate and Scottish portrait (3.22-3.23). A British fashion plate shows a *polonaise*-like dress with turn-back cuffs (3.24). The image features women wearing *fichu* tucked under their arms; the foremost figure possibly wears a hooded *mantelet* (see below) or collared dress.

A majority of the stylistic evidence relating to this Houstoun dress has been provided by fashion plates. The earliest fashion plates of relevance so far found date from 1775, combining several characteristics of the Houstoun garment (4.27, 4.28). The first illustration shows the facing figure in a *sacque* with gathered skirt and turn back cuffs. The reverse figure has a fitted bodice and ribbon-tied skirt, synonymous with the Worthing dress. The turn-back cuffs are rarely depicted with *polonaise* type dresses, except on a British image of 1780 (4.26). More often *polonaise* are depicted with ruche cuffs (3.25-3.26). Only four depictions of *polonaise* were found for 1776 and 1777, two each year; none share the cuffs or bodice front of the Houstoun dress.[288]

[288] Museum of London, Harry Matthews collection, 2002.139.513, 507 and 521, 525

Supporting the pictorial evidence is a description of an Irish *polonaise* in the *Lady's Magazine*, 1774; "…made very becoming – it buttons down half the arm – no ruffles, quite straight in the back, and buttons down before and flies off behind, till there is nothing but a kind of robe behind except the petticoat; a large hood behind the neck, short back and white, all laced aprons or painted gauze." [289] The 'flying off' behind probably describes an over-dress bodice opening from centre front towards the hips similar to the Houstoun dress. The description confirms some *polonaise* had hoods and non-French origins.

The majority of relevant fashion plates date circa 1778-1780, fewer relevant examples continuing to 1782. Five French images were found for 1778 (3.27-3.31). This includes two copies of *Femme en Robe à la Polonaise, en taffetas rayé […]*. The image is playfully flirtatious, associating a strong character type with a dress that has characteristics of the Houstoun garment. The following three plates are along a similar format; 3.30 and 3.31 appear to have hoods. The most relevant British image for 1778 (3.32) shows figures whose main garments are obscured by secondary garments, however the left figure has a gathered skirt with hem trimming proportionate to the Houstoun dress.

In 1779 relevant fashion plates are predominantly French. *Polonaise* dresses feature heavily. Image 3.33 shows a *polonaise* under a hooded *mantelet*. Images 3.34 and 3.35 show *polonaise* with open fronts and necklines trimmed (possibly with a kerchief) in a similar form to the Houstoun collar. A further French example is 3.36, showing a woman with a lute. Relevant British images from 1779 are less common, for example 3.37. The quantitative evidence suggests the *polonaise* was popular in French illustration, likely indicating French enthusiasm for the style, 1778-1779. This enthusiasm may have been matched in British fashion, given the Cathcart sisters' references to the style (noted above).

While no images exactly match the Houstoun dress, they are a strong match for overall shape. By 1781 instances of *polonaise* in fashion plates are fewer; the Harry Matthews collection includes only two secondary figures in British images (3.38, 3.39). The latest fashion plate of relevance in this collection is titled *Deshabillé à l'Anglaise…*, dated 1782 (3.40). The wearer has an extremely low décolletage, and several bands of ruffles around the neckline and shoulders, indicating a collar like that of 3.19. This burst of relevant fashion plates around 1778-1780 supports the dating of the Houstoun dress, as well as suggesting these were the final years in which specifically *polonaise* dresses were

[289] *Ladies Dress for July*, in *The Lady's Magazine; or, Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex*, volume v, London: printed for G. Robinson , 1774, 379

fashionable.[290] While written sources describe the *polonaise* trend from 1774, the visual evidence is limited prior to 1778.

Another entry in the *Lady's Magazine*, January 1780 describes the dress of December. The 'Deshabille' includes "The short poloneze with petticoat, a deep flounce round, long sleeves, and large hoods, large puckered caps, deep wing of fine blond, short aprons, slippers."[291] In relation to the Irish *polonaise* of 1774, the description evidences longevity of the *polonaise*.

Although the use of trimming to suggest an open over-bodice is evident on earlier illustrations and some garments (3.26, 3.41), the style of a free-falling upper bodice was most depicted from 1778. Including portraits of fashionable women, such as Romney's of Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon, 1778 (1.177). *The Ladies Waldegrave* of 1780 offers an alternative view of the modes seen in some of the above fashion plates (3.42); all have a collar or short cape-like feature across the shoulders of their dresses. It is possible to see the longer 'collars' on the back of the two foremost sisters.

The Houstoun *polonaise* dress is most securely dated to circa 1778-1779, but shares features with earlier and slightly later dresses. The lack of examples using the same collar and construction is suggestive of the Houstoun dress plausibly being the result of personal taste mingled with a consideration of fashion plates. The origins of this garment are clearly mixed; biased towards French visual influence, mixed with British extant garments, descriptions and portraits.

Object name /number	1932.51.h&i
Date	Collection date: circa 1779-1781
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 ¼ inches / 489 mm; inside waistline: 31 inches / 787 mm
Provenance	Houstoun of Johnstone, Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	Woman's dress in bright pink silk (partially faded) figured with narrow white stripes, closely set in pairs, brocaded over with small carnation-like flowers in pink, green and black. Low squared neckline at front, closed bodice front with squared v-shape waistline, bodice back shaped *en fourreau*, rear waist trimmed

[290] This does not include garments with gathered skirts later referred to as *polonaise*
[291] *The Lady's Magazine*, volume XI, January 1780, 32

	with cream silk ribbon formed into bows at centre and each side. Bodice neckline and centre front trimmed with white twisted silk cord, outlining the shape of a collar with rounded fronts, over a vertical band at centre front, v-shaped at back; outline originally in-filled with cream silk, now perished. Sleeves shaped to just below elbow, turn-back style cuff trimmed with white silk ribbon and cording, surmounted by 'upper-cuff' of pleated self-material, trimmed as before. Lower cuff originally covered with cream silk, now partly perished. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen, one bone at the centre back (second bone is missing), front fastening with fifteen metal hooks and eyes. Skirt, open-fronted, narrow pleats into waistline, trimmed with wide panels of plain silk at front edges, broadening from waist to hem and edged with silk braid as before, now largely perished. Matching petticoat pleated into waistband front, with drawstring at back; some stitch holes below edge suggesting alteration, pocket openings at each hip, hem trimmed with a broad band of cream silk, edged with silk cord. Hem lined with linen.

Comparative analysis:

Analysis of this garment was carried out in two main stages; textile pattern and garment style. The latter built on information established with the above garment, focussing on certain details that are repeated in the Houstoun group, for example the collar.

Research identified comparable textiles, mostly in French collections or with French association (2.140-2.141, 2.146, 3.44-3.50). The focus was on identification of pink stripes, and small floral motifs with colour blocking like the Houstoun dress; two examples of the latter are in Chertsey Museum (3.51-3.52). Unfortunately the broad dating of the Musée des Tissus examples does not assist dating of the Houstoun textile. Overall the examples found support the approximation of 1779-1781. Additionally, the ensemble silk (3.51) measures 19 ½ inches (495mm), with small motifs around 20mm across, both approximately equal to the Houstoun textile.

The evidence suggests bright pink striped textiles are more synonymous with France than Britain, however the French examples are essentially all white textiles figured with pink stripes, whereas the Houstoun textile has a bright pink ground figured with white stripes. Pink was found to be strongly associated with France in the 1770s and 1780s (1.182, 3.62).[292] More specifically evidence suggested a trend for combinations of bright pink and green circa 1780-1785 in France and Britain (2.100, 2.106, 2.182, 3.53-3.56).

[292] For example samples under Robes Turques; les vite; robe englaire; Grands Habits; Petu panier; Robes Anglaise; Levite in *Gazette des autour de Marie-Antoinette, Garde-robe des autours de la reine Gazette pour l'année 1782*, Réunion des musées nationaux – Archives nationales 2006, pages 9&31, 17, 18, 22, 28, 34, 37

The dress style of 1932.51.h&i is unmistakably of the same genre as the *polonaise* discussed above, through the neckline detail, but where the *polonaise* has a collar this item originally had plain silk applied in imitation of the shape. The same feature was found on a dress in Hereford Museum (3.57), which also has matching ribbon on the waist back. The very wide opening of the Hereford skirt front is more like styles of the late 1780s than circa 1780 (3.58 – note the skirt of the overdress is just visible to the left), the *fourreau* and waist trimming can be visually associated with circa 1779-1783 (3.59-3.60). A third item using trimming to mimic a collar was found in Bath (3.61), combining *fourreau* braiding with extensive gauze and ribbon trimming on the skirt front. Other items of a similar date found in British and French collections using contrasting silk and gauze trimmings include 2.17, 2.19 and 3.62.

The most relevant depictions of contrasting trimmings and collars like the Houstoun dress are French and Scottish (3.19, 3.63-3.67). Although the portrait of Helen Murray is the closest pictorial example of a dress trimmed like the Houstoun garment, it is unknown whether the trimmings were painted at a later date, as is suggested by other elements of her garment being of a much earlier style, such as the wide sleeves (2.38). Without further information on Murray's portrait it can only be taken as evidence is that the collar seen on the Houstoun dress was considered fashionable elsewhere in Scotland.

John Hoppner's portrait of *Mary Robinson* from 1782 shows a method of wearing a *fichu* that may have inspired the collar shape on the Houstoun dress. It is also worth noting the similarity in dress detail between this portrait and the French fashion plate (3.65).

Regarding the cuffs of the Houstoun dress, the Hereford item (3.57) is again comparable, the cuffs being turned-back and then their edge trimmed with ribbon matching the neck and waistline. French fashion plate 3.22 combines elements of the *polonaise* and this Houstoun garment, using a *fichu* in a similar manner to Hoppner's portrait and having a turn-back cuff on the over-sleeve. The illustration refers to the dress as adopted by *les Angloamericaine* and dates to 1780.

The combination of a turn-back cuff and pleated trimmings on the Houstoun dress is unusual in illustrations, most show a gathered or ruche sleeve. Images of relevance, though less common were found to date from 1774 (1.17) and 1780 (3.24). Two garments sharing a combination of similar *fourreau*, waistline and turn-back cuffs to the Houstoun dress are in Leeds City Museums (3.68-3.69). Dress 4.69 also has a similarly simple use of colour in the floral design, laid over stripes, but the silk has lost colour and texture through being washed.[293]

[293] Probably in a modern washing machine prior to entering Leeds collection

One final image of relevance is Zoffany's depiction of Mary Wilkes, exhibited in 1782 (3.70). The fitted and pleated sleeves are probably the closest examples found to those of the Houstoun dress. The portrait gives some indication of how the Houstoun sleeves may have been trimmed with a very narrow gauze or lace ruffle, while her neckline *fichu* and dress trimming at centre front bodice and skirt edges all broadly compare to the Houstoun dress. Added to which Wilkes' dress is fashionably pink.

The sources cited demonstrate tendencies towards French styles of fabric, while the dress style forms a dialogue with English garments and French images; all reinforce dating the dress as circa 1779-1781

Object name /number	1932.51.n
Date	Collection date: circa 1779-1781 / research date: circa 1776-1780
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 inches / 483 mm; inside waistline 25 6/8 inches / 654 mm
Provenance	Houstoun of Johnstone, Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	Woman's dress in silk figured with pink satin ribbed ground with dense pattern of waving white stripes and small dots in green and pink. Low squared neckline at front, with closed bodice forming v-shaped point at waist front, trimmed with snaking band of white lace net with small square design and additional trimming of pink, green and cream silk fly-braid. Bodice back with two narrow double box-pleats forming a *sacque*, neckline trimmed with lace as on bodice; sleeves to just over elbow with large double flounce-style cuffs, trimmed with net lace and fly-braid as before. Skirt shaped for panniers and pleated into waist side, with slightly longer hem at back. Skirt front trimmed with white net lace as before in box-pleated bands, narrower bands following the skirt front edge, flanked by wider snaking bands, and additionally trimmed with tassels of fly-braid and small white cord bows. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen, bodice front fastening with seventeen metal hooks and eyes.

Comparative analysis:

Research for this garment used a number of sources previously referenced, including sources for *sacque* dresses and pink silk textiles. Analysis therefore concentrated on contextualising these with

further examples that might assist or explain the garment's current dating, focussed on the textile and trimming.

The textile, now faded, was a pink and white silk; the pink ground figured with raised vertical satin stripes, over which were narrow zig-zag bands in white containing small floral buds of pink and green. The design is small scale, resembling items discussed above and later samples from the V&A's Batchelor, Ham and Perigal pattern book (3.72-3.76). Research by Grace Evans, curator at Chertsey Museum, noted a similarity between dress 3.51 and silk 3.75.[294] The Houstoun textile therefore shows association with 1770s British manufactures, as well as bright pink designs from France.

Sacque dresses were gradually fading out of use in the late 1770s, but were still used for semi-formal dress. Depictions show the style in informal public settings (1.18, 3.77) and the *Lady's Magazine* lists *sacque* garments as formal wear (see below). That these later *sacque* dresses were used for sedate social activities is suggested by their trimming.

Comparative research revealed that the width of shoulder pleats distinguished between earlier and later *sacques*; illustrated by juxtaposing Blair 1 and the Houstoun *caraco* (1932.51.o, see below) (3.78). The later garments contain the pleats in line with the innermost centre-back neckline; earlier *sacques* have pleats in line with the outer edge of the shoulder straps (or shoulder seam) - a subtle but consistent difference, useful for dating *sacque* items.

A *sacque* comparable to the Houstoun dress with narrow centre-back pleats is in Leeds Museums (1.186). Currently dated circa 1760, the silk's narrow stripe and small flowers, combined with narrow shoulder pleats strongly suggest an alternate date of the later 1770s. A mis-reading of the garment as earlier is easy to understand; *sacque* pleats, use of panniers and triple-layer cuffs are all features retained from earlier *sacque* dresses.

Another later example is in the V&A, dated 1775-1780 (1.174), with narrower shoulder pleats, skirt shaped for panniers and extensive trimming of padded ovals, lozenges and tassels. The Houstoun *sacque* likewise has tassels, a long-standing feature on *sacque* dresses (for example, 2.31, 1.65), present in later 1770s images (1.184, 3.79) and 1780s designs for French court dress (3.80-3.82).[295]

[294] Evans, Grace, '*Marriage á la Mode*, An English Eighteenth-Century Wedding Dress, Hat. And Shoes Set from the Olive Matthews Collection, Chertsey Museum', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society*, volume 42, 2008, 50-65

[295] As exhibited at the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, 2010

The Houstoun *sacque* is dominated by lace, or gauze, trimming. As seen above, the use of white or cream lace, net, gauze or muslin for trimming was common in French fashion plates of 1778 (3.27-3.31, 3.33, 3.35, 3.36). The use of 'blonds' is found on formal and court dress as well (1.165). The term 'blond' is used in the *Lady's Magazine* fashion reports of the 1770s and references lace or gauze ('gause') material used for trimmings. Whether the Houstoun lace was a 'blond' is not definitely known.

In 1774 Charlotte Stanley described in 'Dress for March' "- Sacks a beautiful new palish blue, or a kind of dark lay-lock satin. Trimmings, large puffs down the sides, with chenille silver, or gold, or blond… Undress… Trimming of the gowns white tissue, or brown satin…".[296] In April fashions included; "…Round the neck… – no tippet, but a blond tucker, with small Italian flowers round it – this is quite a late fashion. Sacks slight striped and flower'd figur'd silks, or pale colours trimmed with gauze and flowers – Trimming large puffs…"[297] The Houstoun *sacque* broadly fits with the latter description, but flowers and lace trimmings featured in more than one fashion season. An item in the Museum of London collection more directly fits the description, but is dated to the mid-1760s (3.83).

Another description from July 1774 specifically mentions tassels on 'Full Dress'; "Sacks trimmed with tassels or waves, and corded across the stomacher with gold or silver twists. Deep ruffles…" The 'Undress' includes "…chince or muslin worked with gold, or pale laylock – no trimming but gause – but that is going out of fashion."[298] This forms part of the description for an Irish *polonaise*. Just as the *polonaise* dress style was seen to recycle and continue through the late 1770s to early 1780s so does the use of 'blond' trimming. In the *Lady's Magazine* of 1780 'Full Dress for August' involves "…Shapes small, long waists, festino gowns, over large hoops. Silver gauze or blond trimming. Four falls of ruffles…"[299] A visual example to support this is provided with *The Masquerade Scene in the Belle's Stratagem* (3.84).

Examples of 'blonds' include a dress at Tullie House (2.17), Zoffany's portrait of Mary Wilkes, exhibited in 1782 (3.70) and a portrait believed to be Marie-Thérèse Savoie, Comptesse d'Artois, probably dating to the 1770s (3.85). The portrait dress is broadly like the Houstoun *sacque*, thus juxtaposing a gentry garment with a royal character. A close visual source for comparing the overall arrangement of Houstoun trimmings is a print of Mrs Margaret Caroline Rudd, tried and acquitted of forgery in December 1775 to January 1776 (3.86).

[296] *The Lady's Magazine*, volume v, 1774, 125-126
[297] *The Lady's Magazine*, volume v, 1774, 212
[298] 'Ladies Dress for July' in *The Lady's Magazine*, volume v, 1774, 379
[299] *The Lady's Magazine*, volume XI, 1780, 404

The closed bodice front of the Houstoun *sacque*, aligns the dress to styles of circa 1780, sharing similarity of waist and neckline to the other Houstoun garments, and other garments previously noted in Chapter 2. The Houstoun *sacque* was evidently a formal dress worn in the late 1770s. Sources again present a mixture of French and British influences, suggesting the garment design was based on accumulative knowledge of what was fashionable in both nations.

Object name /number	1932.51.p
Date	Collection date: circa 1779-1781
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 23 1/8 inches / 588mm; inside waistline 28 ½ inches / 724mm
Provenance	Houstoun of Johnstone, Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire
Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	Woman's dress in pale blue silk figured with very narrow (0.5mm) densely set (4mm) stripes in white. Low wide neckline, slightly squared, closed bodice front with shallow squared v-shape at waist front, back pleated *en fourreau* with inverted pleats, neckline trimmed with gathered self-material edged with narrow silk twisted fringe in cream. Top of each shoulder with small self-material covered button and small loop of cream twisted cord. Sleeves fitted to just above the elbow. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen, linen ties at back of waist to fasten bodice to stays. Cream twisted silk ties each side of inside centre back waist to loop under skirt and tie in *polonaise* style. Bodice fastens centre front with twelve metal hooks and eyes. Skirt narrowly pleated into waistline, with open front, trimmed with cord (as before) in repeating semi-circles down front edges. Skirt with slightly rounded hem at front, lined at bottom with pale blue silk.

Comparative analysis:

The material most relevant when analysing this dress was predominantly British and the most striking feature on studying the garment was the fine stitching; suggestive of high quality professional work. Fine sewing is found on other extant garments, yet the neat construction of this dress combined with its good condition sets it apart. Research on this dress focussed on construction style and trimming, with some reference to colour; attempting to find garments with an overall similarity, before focussing on details.

The overall style of 1932.51.p epitomises the increasing simplicity in dress of the 1780s, discussed in relation to the Pitfour garments (Chapter 2). The portrait *Marie-Antoinette á la rose*, 1783 (3.88), describes a similar style and colour to the Houstoun item. The image shows a silvery-blue silk, trimmed with figured lace. The depicted trimmings suggest a cut-away front to the bodice and fold-down collar across the dress back, thus providing a point of connection between the blue Houstoun dress and *polonaise* (above). Another image comparable to the Houstoun dress is the fashion plate *Three Ladies in the Dress of 1776* (2.53). The skirt of the left hand foreground figure uses the same semi-circular loops of trimming. As with Marie-Antoinette's portrait, the bodice of the illustrated dress is cut-away, again connecting the *polonaise* and blue dresses.

Extant garments bearing overall similarity to the Houstoun garment include two items in Hereford Museum (3.89, 3.90). The first shares colour, trimming form, waistline construction and *polonaise* skirt detail with the Houstoun dress, it is the closest comparable example found. The main difference is that the Hereford dress has ruche cuffs. There are no cuffs on the Houstoun dress, instead the sleeves end at the elbow with no obvious sign of cuffs having been attached. Other small differences include the Hereford waistline being more v-shaped at the front, and the Hereford dress has buttons for the *polonaise* ties while the Houstoun dress has buttons on the shoulders. It is evident the two dresses are interpretations of the same style, differing in detail – to be expected from bespoke garments. Item 3.90 shares the fine stitching, *fourreau* construction and placement of neckline trimming with the Houstoun dress. Other examples using comparably narrow fringe trimming are the silk Wedderburn dress (Chapter 2) and SNO 25 in the Wade collection (2.19). These garments have tight waistline pleating and the similarity of the Wedderburn item continues with the shallow 'v' of the rear waistline.

Another dress in the Wade collection (3.91) features elements of the Houstoun dress's style, such as the untrimmed sleeve length, rounded front waistline and fine waistline pleating. The neckline trimming follows the same simple line of the Houstoun dress and the *fourreau* back is similarly pleated. This compares to a *polonaise* style garment in the V&A, which has a pleated *fourreau*, the centre seam lowermost as on the Houstoun dress (2.34).

The Houstoun *fourreau* pleat also compares to an adjusted *sacque* in Glasgow Museums (1.140). This dress was given to Glasgow Museums by a local donor. The dress was evidently adjusted to a *polonaise* style of circa 1780 and shares the neat stitching, narrow waist and inverted *fourreau* pleats of the pink and blue Houstoun dresses. All three garments may have been made in the same workshop, particularly as the pleats of the skirts are all held internally with a running-stitch, one of several methods found holding pleats on other garments.

That the small, close-set pleats of the Houstoun dresses are synonymous with circa 1780, rather than the larger pleats of earlier garments is further supported by a dress in the Musée Les Arts Décoratifs, Paris (1.182) and the Hereford *caraco* (3.15). The French dress, with *polonaise* style skirt, uses two small pleats each side of the centre back seam, which is cut-across by the waist seam as on the Houstoun garments. The *caraco* uses four narrow pleats each side of the centre back seam, which continues into the 'skirt'.

The self-material button and silk loop on the Houstoun dress's shoulders were not found on any other extant garments during research. Two depictions were found showing accessories styled with clasps or loops at the shoulder (2.230, 3.92), suggesting the Houstoun loop probably fastened the wearer's *fichu* to their dress. Pin holes around the centre front of the Houstoun dress neckline suggest that a *fichu* might also have been attached at the bust with a brooch. Useful descriptive evidence is given by Louisa, Lady Stormont, from London, May 1776; "…You may when you are in Edinburgh buy a piece of black gauze, which you put on drawing the two ends through a ring and pin it down upon the shoulders with your two little diamond ear-rings, to look as if it fastened it down."[300] Louisa appears to instruct her sister to pin the gauze at her shoulders, then cover the pins with decorative earrings by using them like dress clips.

The Houstoun dress's style has clear links to other English and Scottish items; such as the short rounded front waistline of the MacTavish dress (Chapter 4), fringe trimming of the Wedderburn dress and pleating of the adjusted Glasgow *sacque*. The pale blue was popular taste both sides of the channel through the mid- to late-eighteenth century, as noted in previous chapters, and there is little to suggest the dress was pursuing a particular national taste; the design is informed by contemporary fashions, but uses cross-channel and British features eclectically.

Object name /number	1932.51.o
Date	Collection date: circa 1780-1781
Materials	Linen
Dimensions	Inside waist 29 1/8 inches / 740mm
Provenance	Houstoun of Johnstone, Johnstone Castle, Renfrewshire

[300] To Mary Graham, Hertford Street; Graham, 1927, 94

Collection	Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Life
Description	Woman's jacket, *pet-en-l'air*, or *caraco*, in white linen figured with a scrolling floral design in white cord quilting. Low neckline, closed bodice front with two layers, under-layer with rounded waistline attached to main garment via lining only at sides, over-layer falling loose from centre front neckline, extending into a short open skirt, with single pleat at each side of front from shoulder to hem. Sides are pleated into the waist, centre back with two double box-pleats forming a *sacque*, a rounded rear hem, longer than front. Sleeves are three-quarter length with turn-back style cuffs made from edge of corded linen (leaving a larger expanse of plain linen than on other parts of the garment), inside each elbow has a small button hole. Bodice and sleeves lined with linen, upper front fastening with four metal hooks and eyes.

Comparative analysis:

Research for this garment encompassed a number of criteria: quilting method and pattern, garment type and garment style. As will be seen these factors have influenced the current dating of the garment by associating it with pregnancy and indoor confinement. Therefore, as the item is thought to have belonged to Mary Houstoun née McDowall, it has been dated circa 1780-1781 in line with the birth of her sons; 10th of May 1780 and 18th of September 1781. Worth noting is the fact that increased girth is provided by the lining, not the outer fabric. The sides of the under-layer fronts (or *compère* fronts) are connected to the back of the garment via the lining, and not directly sewn to the bodice back. This suggests the fronts may have been cut to Mary Houstoun's usual measurements, with no allowance for a larger waistline, possibly for a number of reasons: convenience of the maker who already had those measurements; because the *caraco* was made prior to pregnancy, growth or weight increase; or, in anticipation of adjusting the *caraco* to the smaller size.

The majority of research focussed on contextualising the use of quilted and *caraco* garments in the eighteenth century, before relating the *caraco* to other extant garments. The varied methods of quilting were accounted for but not a primary focus;[301] pattern comparison was made with a few items dating from the first half of the eighteenth century, noting similarities in floral form (3.94, 3.95) and distribution of design i.e. the pattern creating borders rather than continuing a repeat (3.95, 3.96). However, the quilted design is generally more formalised and rigid. Two of these examples were

[301] For example, Staniland, Kay, 'An Eighteenth-Century Quilted Dress', *Costume*, number 24, London: published for the Costume Society, 1990, 43-54

intended for interiors; quilted interiors fabrics were occasionally used for dress, for example a cord quilted garment in the V&A (3.97).[302]

Quilting was a decorative technique, adopted across the social classes in different forms, found to be associated with warmth, comfort and informality. Few portraits show quilted garments, suggesting they were normally hidden or not thought suitable for painterly depiction; those found show quilted petticoats within informal staging (3.98). Prints and character scenes more regularly depict quilted items, again usually petticoats, in doing so they associate quilted garments with impoverished and morally lax women (3.99-3.102); as emphasised in the St. Giles and St. James' beauty prints in which only the poorer St. Giles has a quilted petticoat. The eighteenth century association of quilted garments with poorer classes is likely to have resulted from their reduced ability to afford warm, dry living conditions – consequently warm, durable clothing was necessary.

Caracos were found to be similarly informal. French fashion plates show these items in domestic situations; including a mother and baby (2.108), lute player (3.103), and women with pets (2.95, 3.104-3.106). The image *Femme en Deshabillé…* (3.106) is probably referencing Boucher's *Woman on a Daybed* (3.107), combining an informal situation with relaxed morals, implied by the position of the figure's hand and presence of a domestic pet. The dog may have similar connotations of sexualised innocence to Fragonard's *Girl With Dog* and *Young Woman Playing With Dog* of circa 1765-1770 (for example, 3.108).

To be certain the Houstoun garment was a '*caraco*' research compared different styles of women's jackets and the terminology used on relevant fashion plates. *Caracos* of circa 1780 were identified as informal, indoor wear, distinct from riding or walking dress, traditionally tailored in a masculine style (3.109-3.112). The term '*caraco*' was used in relation to a number of different jacket styles only consistent in their use and hip-length. The distinction between *caraco* and *pet-en-l'air* currently used by some curators does not appear to have had the same implications in the eighteenth century fashion press. In the sources accessed all short jackets of the late 1770s and 1780s were referred to as *caraco*, no references were found for a *pet-en-l'air*. It may be the latter was an earlier garment with a *sacque* structure, but by 1780 the term had fallen out of use, or like *casaquin* and *pierrot*, was interchangeable depending on the materials of the garment and use context.

The flexibility of eighteenth century terminology is perhaps confused for current historians and curators by the authoritative tone of subsequently published historic fashion glossaries. Norah Waugh suggests

[302] See also Rose, Clare, 'Corded Quilting and The World of Fashion', *Quilters' Review*, number 15, Summer 1993, 6-7

the "casaquin was now called a pet en l'air, and there were other jackets for informal wear".[303] The Cunnington's state that a *pet-en-l'air* was popular in the 1750s and provide a quote from *The Connoisseur* October 1754 in which it is described as a 'short sack', however they extend the use date for the *pet-en-l'air* to 1780 while at the same time restricting a *caraco* to being "a thigh-length jacket shaped to the figure".[304]

Research confirmed that the Houstoun garment was part of a long-standing mode in women's wear, having distinct similarities with earlier depictions (3.113, 3.114). Notable is the absence of moral comment attached to the *caraco* in 3.114. Construction details, such as the button hole on the inside elbow were also associated with substantially earlier depictions (3.115) as well as those mentioned relating to the Houstoun *polonaise* (above).

Image research only provided general context for the Houstoun *caraco* failing to reveal examples specifically in the same style. Extant garments have provided crucial information in understanding the quality, rarity and use of the Houstoun *caraco*. Women's quilted upper-body garments are much rarer than petticoats and few relevant items were identified, all of which are part of ensemble outfits (3.97, 3.116-3.117, 3.119, 3.120); the Houston garment stands alone as a quilted *caraco* without a matching skirt. However, French collections were found to contain a substantial number of individual *caracos* made from different materials, displaying a similar style diversity to the above fashion plates (3.120-3.129), excepting 3.129 which is a Belgian garment in an American collection. Faced with this quantity of French examples, it is worth re-noting the similarity in use of *compère* fronts and cuff detail between the Manchester (3.21) and Houstoun *caracos*.

Research indicated French collections contained proportionally more *caracos* than British collections, and a larger number of French fashion plates showing *caracos* were found; however, methods of enquiry may have affected the number of garments uncovered in British collections and, as seen, British images evidence use of *caraco* garments over an extended period. It is problematic to interpret whether the Houstoun *caraco* was synonymous with French attire in the late eighteenth century.

All except one of the quilted upper-body garments found have been dated to the mid-eighteenth century. This may support a theory that the Houstoun *caraco* was made from material of an earlier date than the garment, and could suggest the item was made prior to Mary Houstoun's pregnancies. However, the style of the garment, particularly the width of the *sacque* pleats locates it within the latter

[303] Waugh, Nora, *The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600-1930*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1968, reprinted 1973, 70
[304] Cunnington, *Handbook of English Costume* 1972 (first published 1957), 297 and 300

1770s to 1780s. It is possible that the dating of the Wade and Galliera items could be reassessed, especially given the Wade jacket's hood and tabbed waistline. Hoods were noted in the Houstoun *polonaise* discussion, and the tabbed waistline occurs frequently in French examples from the 1780s; see Chapter 2 images and 3.62.

Quilting techniques and designs appear to have been relatively static in the mid- to late-eighteenth century, probably resulting from and enabling re-use. The connotations of quilted materials were more to do with aesthetically pleasing practicality than contemporary fashion.[305] The Wade and Williamsburg items both evidence practicality. The hood of the Wade *caraco* suggests it was designed for warmth and protection,[306] while the double-layer bodice of the Williamsburg dress combines protective warmth with flexibility of wear during pregnancy. Moreover, the Wade *caraco* is similar to *The Brunswick* (3.118) – a garment invented in honour of the Princess of Brunswick who visited Britain in winter 1765, the invention therefore requiring warmth with aesthetics.[307]

The Houstoun *caraco* clearly combined aesthetics with practicality. The quilted linen is heavy, therefore warmer and more supportive, durable and highly decorative. Yet, within the supposed remit of this garment – as a traditional, comfortable undress – a consideration of fashionable style remains prominent. The back pleats are narrow and there are the 'fly-away' fronts and cuffs seen on other Houstoun garments. Added to which, the *caraco* was strongly represented in French fashion plates of circa 1778-1780, emphasising its contemporaneity and the close consideration of fashions that appear to have informed the Houstoun group.

Blair of Blair

Object name /number	R+MF 86.22
Date	No date given by collection; research suggests circa 1780-1790
Materials	Silk, linen, wool
Dimensions	Selvedge width not available; inside waist 24 inches / 610mm

[305] For discussion of 'warm waistcoats' in relation to pregnancy and quilted garments see Baumgarten, Linda, 'Dressing for Pregnancy; A Maternity Gown of 1780-1795', *Dress*, volume 23, 1996 (16-24), 17-18
[306] Possibly when travelled, as suggested in Arnold, Janet, *Patterns of Fashion: Englishwomen's dresses and their construction c.1660-1860*, London: Macmillan publishers Ltd. 1984, 30
[307] Friday September 13, 'London' in *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, volume III, number 178, 173

Provenance	Blair of Blair, Blair Castle (or Hall), Ayrshire
Collection	Private collection, Dalgarven Mill Museum
Description	Woman's jacket, or *caraco*, in pale blue silk woven with a dense zig-zag design in purple with small white dashes, forming an irregular diaper pattern around sprigs of small white flowers. Low squared neckline with closed front fastened by ten metal hooks and eyes with two linen ties each side of the inside front, possibly for fastening. Sleeves fitted to just below the elbow shaped with a short tuck. Body of garment has a natural waistline and full skirt extending to the upper thigh, pieced at each side. Garment is fully lined with dark blue glazed cloth, thought to be a linen-wool mix, called Silesia. No other trimming, sewn with two different threads, possibly due to eighteenth century repair or alteration.

Object name /number	MCAG 2003.171
Date	Collection date: circa 1780-1790
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Selvedge width not available; inside waist 26 3/8 inches / 670mm
Provenance	Unknown: bought at Sotheby's Castle Howard auction 7.10.2003, lot 232; previously bought by Castle Howard at Christie's, London, on 3.10.1979, lot 910[308]
Collection	Manchester City Galleries
Description	Woman's jacket, or *caraco*, in pale blue silk woven with a dense zig-zag design in dull purple with small white dashes, forming an irregular diaper pattern around sprigs of small white flowers. Low squared neckline forming a flat v-shape at back. Closed front fastening with eight metal hooks and eyes, with two linen ties each side of inside front. Sleeves fitted and extending to elbow, cut in semi-circle to rise above inside elbow and shaped with small tuck at outside. Garment extends to upper thigh with full skirt, pieced at sides. Fully lined throughout with dark cream cloth, probably a linen wool mix, called Silesia. No other trimming, some degradation of lining.

Comparative analysis:

[308] Information from Manchester City Galleries collection information: http://www.manchestergalleries.org/the-collections/search-the-collection/display.php?EMUSESSID=15d7777c97564949c0ba414e6324c7a4&irn=19743, accessed 21.03.2013

Before undertaking a minute analysis of the Manchester and Dalgarven *caracos*' construction, they require the same basic context as the other garments in this thesis. Part of understanding the implications of matching garments in different collections is gaining insight to where they were manufactured and how they were used from the materials and style.

Research followed the same process established for other garments, examining first the textile design and secondly the garment style. The silk had strong associations with designs seen most often on extant men's wear from the mid- to late-eighteenth century (3.132-3.136). However, a few instances of similar small-repeat patterns are found on women's wear in French collections, or with a European association (3.137-3.140). The MoMA dress is an anomaly in extending beyond the upper body. The frequent use of small pattern textiles in men's wear may have given such cloths masculine associations deemed appropriate for bodices and jackets, but not skirts.

The focus of research was on women's wear, so further speculation about the extent of association between small, dense patterns and masculine attire is problematic. The separation of men's and women's dress in museum collections as necessary to the cataloguing process encourages false gender disassociations. In eighteenth century Europe men and women often socialised together, so their dress would have been in dialogue. It is possible that this pattern type gave women's upper-body garments an air of practicality rather than masculinity. However, eighteenth century women did directly reference men's dress in their outer wear, for example with riding jackets (3.109-3.110).

Other comparable textiles were found to be associated with France and London (3.141-3.145). A factor swaying in favour of the Dalgarven silk being of French or European production is the lining material; a glazed blue wool-linen mix, probably the 'calamanco' commonly referred to in the eighteenth century. Expert assessments of the *caraco* have suggested a Dutch or Scandinavian origin for the garment, and the reasons cited for this are the cut and materials used.[309] These assessments of the Dalgarven *caraco* are supported by comparison to similar items that have been recommended as probably or definitely Dutch (3.146-3.150).

For the item SNO 48 (3.147) the online catalogue entry shows some discrepancy in opinion about the material; Dr. Mary C de Jong suggested the textile as Dutch while Natalie Rothstein suggested it is French. There is no indication of which textile each expert is referring to and why, so that Jong's opinion could be in reference to the lining; it was the coloured glazed lining that was cited to Robert

[309] As related by Robert Ferguson, owner and curator of Dalgarven Mill Museum; impression of Dutch style of garment confirmed via e-mail correspondence by Pascale Gorguet Ballesteros, curator at Musée Galliera, 25.10.2010

Ferguson as possibly connecting the Dalgarven *caraco* to Scandinavia. Whereas Rothstein suggests the lining could be British. These differences in opinion may be to do with familiarity of materials; the glazed wool lining purportedly being more common on garments in Scandinavian and Low Country collections.

The SNO 48 with other *caraco* items, 3.150-3.152, provide indication of date via their sleeve trimmings, which compare to those discussed with the 1780s Richardsons of Pitfour dresses. The publication accompanying an exhibition at the Musée Galliera, Paris, 2005, titled *Modes en Miroir* has enabled comparison with Dutch garments which were outside the primary scope of this research project. The exhibition was undertaken in partnership with Dutch collections and directly compared eighteenth century fashions in France and Holland. The most relevant examples published in *Modes en Miroir* are either from Dutch collections or are said to be Dutch (3.121, 3.148). Whereas the French *caracos* in the same publication (3.126, 3.153) are shorter with compère fronts, more like the Houstoun *caraco* noted above.

Further examples of women's jackets in British collections reinforced this idea of many French jackets being shorter than the Dutch *caraco* style, while an example from Mellerstain House in the Scottish Borders illustrates the longer length of jacket in a less formal style, more synonymous with the Houstoun *caraco* (above) in it's probable use (3.154-3.158). Given that 3.158 fits with the pink and green theme mentioned elsewhere[310] and uses trimming bands similar to the Worthing *polonaise* it is possible to extend the dates currently given to this and the 3.157 Museum of London item.

These different garments illustrate that the Dalgarven *caraco* style probably had associations with Dutch dress styles in the eighteenth century. Moreover, in context with other items found and discussed within this thesis, the style was one among several available to women in the 1780s. From the evidence presented here it seems that in contrast to the Houstoun and Mellerstain examples, the Dalgarven *caraco* would have been worn in company outside of the home. Although not a riding dress, it would have been suited to use in town, visiting and similar activities; a luxury fabric but with an air of practicality and business.

Construction:

This section will continue the general discussion of textile and style into a more detailed, predominantly visual, appraisal of the construction of the Dalgarven *caraco* via close comparison with its Manchester twin. Below is a table giving the different measurements taken from the respective

[310] See discussion for 1932.51.h&i

caracos. These measurements were taken for drawing scale diagrams of the pattern pieces for each garment. It is necessary to present the measurements with the resultant drawings (appendix 3.1) to make evident the origin of any inaccuracies and provide an enumerative comparison: the nature of interpreting flat diagrams from a made garment and photographs means that the free-hand drawings are to scale but with approximated curves. They should not be read as exact replicas of the original pattern. The intention of these drawings is to provide a visual interpretation of the garments, enabling direct comparison of respective size, shape and construction.

The drawings (scale of 2mm for every 10mm on the garment) were aligned on graph paper with the vertical lines representing the vertical repeat of the cloth pattern; consequently over-laying the patterns of the two *caracos* enables a comparison of their respective alignments on the cloth. The patterns have a fixed point, from which they differ, generating a picture of how slightly different sizes of garments were made from similar patterns. The differences when overlaid are very like the differences between sizes on modern dressmaking patterns.

While the drawings take the form of flat pattern shapes they are not accurate pattern reproductions. They represent the flattened shape of the external material as viewed from the right side of the cloth. Linings have not been included, partly due to the complexity of piecing in some areas. Construction of lining tends to mimic the external shape as far as possible; this analysis is primarily concerned with the external appearance of garments - understanding the use and economy of lining material remains a subject for further study. Nor do the drawings account for seam allowance, in some areas this is very small at around half an inch or less; as the garments are fully lined it is problematic to interpret seams.

Data:

Colour key: Yellow = + difference, Dalgarven smaller

Pink = - difference, Dalgarven larger

Blue = approximately the same size

	Dalgarven		**Manchester**		**Diff.**
Measure wearer's left & right	inches	mm	inches	mm	mm
length of side seam from underarm to hem (left)	22 7/8	580	29 7/8	759	179
length of side seam from underarm to hem (right)	22 1/2	572	29 7/8	759	187
length of hem from centre front to side seam (left)	24	610	20 1/4	514	-96
length of hem from centre front to side seam (right)	23 5/8	600	20 1/8	511	-89

centre front neckline to hem (left)	25 1/8	638	25 1/4	642	4
centre front neckline to hem (right)	25 1/8	638	25 1/4	642	4
centre front neckline to waist (left)	7	178	5 1/2	140	-38
centre front neckline to waist (right)	7	178	5 1/4	133	-45
centre front neckline to vertical neckline (left)	3 3/4	95	3 1/2	89	-6
centre front neckline to vertical neckline (right)	4 5/8	118	3 1/2	89	-29
length of vertical neckline at front (left)			6	153	
length of vertical neckline at front (right)			6 5/8	168	
width of seam from neckline to sleeve (left)	2 1/4	57	3 1/8	80	23
width of seam from neckline to sleeve (right)	2 1/4	57	3 1/4	83	26
length of strap from neckline front to back (left)	4 1/4	180	5 1/2	140	32
length of strap from neckline front to back (right)	4 7/8	124	5 1/4	134	10
width of seam from neckline to sleeve at back (left)			3 3/4	95	
width of seam from neckline to sleeve at back (right)			3 5/8	134	
width of centre back neckline	3	38	2 1/2	64	26
width of waist back (total / left / right)	5 1/4	134	6 3/4	172	38
length of centre back seam from neckline to hem	31 3/4	806	33	838	32
length of centre back to waist	8 5/8	220			
length of hem from centre back seam to side seam (left)	28 1/2	724	31 1/2	800	76
length of hem from centre back seam to side seam (right)	28	711	31 1/4	794	83
size of piece(s) on skirt front left (hem x side seam x cross seam)	3 4/8 x 4 7/8 x 7 7/8	89 x 124 x 202	4 3/8 x 11 1/2 x 12	111 x 292 x 305	
	5 x 6 2/8 x 4	127 x 159 x 101			
size of piece(s) on skirt front right (hem x side seam x cross seam)	2 6/8 x 4 1/8 x 4 7/8	70 x 105 x 124	4 1/2 x 12 1/2 x 13	114 x 318 x 330	
	5 4/8 x 4 7/8 x 7 2/8 x 12 2/8	140 x 124 x 184 x			

		311			
size of piece on skirt back right (hem x side seam x cross seam)	9 6/8 x 9 1/8 x 12 3/8	248 x 230 x 314	12 3/8 x 11 x 14 1/2	314 x 280 x 368	
size of piece on skirt back left (hem x side seam x cross seam)	9 5/8 x 9 2/8 x 11 3/8	244 x 235 x 289	12 3/8 x 11 x 15	314 x 280 x 381	
length of sleeve from shoulder to rear elbow (left)	14 5/8	370	13	330	-40
length of sleeve from shoulder to rear elbow (right)	14 1/4	362	13 1/2	343	-19
length of sleeve at shortest inside (left)	8 5/8	219	9 7/8	251	32
length of sleeve at shortest inside (right)	8 5/8	219	10	254	35
inside sleeve seam left / right	10 4/8 / 10	267 / 254	9 7/8 / 10	251 / 254	-16 / 0
inside circumference of where sleeve meets bodice (left)	11 3/8	289	16 1/4	413	124
inside circumference of where sleeve meets bodice (right)	12	305	15 5/8	397	92
number of hooks and eyelets	10		8		
distance between hooks and eyelets	3/8	10	1/2	13	3

Construction analysis:

There are significant differences in the size and shape of the Dalgarven and Manchester *caracos*. The initial impression given by their similarity in materials and form breaks down into many smaller disparities on close inspection. Overall, both *caracos* are made with a four-piece body construction, fitted sleeves and the same set of hook and eye fastenings at the front, accompanied by short ties. The fastenings are all approximately ten millimetres apart (3.130-3.131). Finally, although the linings are different colours they are both wool-mix cloths.

The first differences evident from closer inspection are proportions; the Manchester item has a shorter waistline and shorter sleeves. However, the measurements and drawing make clear this is a larger item overall. It is tempting to assimilate the size differences to those between contemporary standard sizes, such as you might expect from a modern size 8 and 10, for example, but the disparity is larger and less evenly spread than standard sizing grades. The differences between the garments are also more complex than size alone, for example the piecing on the skirt area. The Dalgarven *caraco* has smaller inserts or gores at the side seams of the skirt. These provide a proportionally larger hem width to body than the Manchester example, resulting in a more exaggerated triangular shape.

The fronts of both *caracos* are not a mirror image of each other. As they have been drawn each *caraco* has one side with a convex outer skirt seam. The exaggerated form of this on the Manchester item may be due to some error in measurement, but as drawn is the rational interpretation of the seam and hem measurements taken. Regarding the front panels the added curve to the Dalgarven *caraco* across the wearer's midriff is strongly suggestive of the garment having been shaped against the wearer after initial cutting and construction, tucking the front edge hems for a more accurate fit. The shaping of the extant garments is probably therefore tailored; both *caracos* beginning with a standard shape, which was adapted for an individual fit. In order to do this the lining may have been added after initial adjustments, allowing the commissioner to choose the lining material.

This adjustment-tailoring is visible on both garments' sleeves. The Dalgarven sleeves are markedly different in size, possibly reflecting the a-symmetrical proportions of the wearer. These inaccuracies in the flat pattern are to be expected from a completely hand-made garment, allowing for movement of cloth during making, but they are more indicative of how the garments have been fitted to individual figures. Both items use a simple tuck in the finished sleeve to shape it to the elbow, the Manchester garment having an additional tuck along the sleeve seam, narrowing them overall (which may be of a later date to original construction). Again, these are finishing touches to the tailoring - post main construction but before the garments were fully lined; probably forming part of the final fitting. Further differences in the construction include the placement of seams at the collar bone. The Manchester *caraco* has longer vertical extensions around the neckline of the front panel, but the 'straps' connecting the front and back panels on the two *caracos* are almost of equal length.

In order to assess these differences it is necessary to look at the stitching used in the construction. While there are differences in the piecing of the patterns, and their sizes, these might be explained by the required overall size of each garment by the wearer. Stitching can be more immediately indicative of a particular hand or place of production, as well as providing, through different threads, evidence of changes and adjustments.

Both garments use a variety of stitches, varying between areas of very neat regular sewing and places where under-stitching or basting is visible. To begin with, both *caracos* use the same densely set over-stitching to secure the hooks and eyes, under which there is a running stitch about 10mm inside the front hem to secure and strengthen the lining, the only difference being that the stitches on the Dalgarven garment are smaller (images noted above). Both garments appear to use a small running stitch to fasten the major seams, and a small neat slipstitch to join the hem of the outer material to the lining (3.159-3.161). Similarly both items appear to use a type of running stitch throughout the major

joins in the lining (3.162-3.163), placing one section over another with a folded edge, then sewing down and through, creating a secure hem. On the Manchester garment the construction is less precise and backstitches are visible next to the fold line at these joins, suggesting one side was secured to the main garment with a backstitch before the other was laid over it. In other areas of this garment and on the Dalgarven *caraco* it is evident that the folded layer should have hidden the backstitching, but it became visible through the maker's inaccuracy (3.164-3.165).

Although the majority of the sewing follows the same form there are a few small differences. Overall the construction of the Dalgarven *caraco* appears tighter in the stitching, in part because fewer of the basting and backstitches are accidentally visible. The Dalgarven item further uses a catch stitch to join smaller areas of the lining (3.166). It is possible that this change in stitching from the folded-over hem in other areas of the lining is because these smaller segments were joined to the main body of the lining during its shaping, before insertion to the garment.[311] The second significant difference in the internal stitching of the Manchester and Dalgarven *caracos* is the joining of the sleeve linings to the body. On the Manchester garment the join uses the same folded hem as elsewhere on the lining. The Dalgarven *caraco*, however, places the backs of the two parts of lining together and uses a backstitch to join them, then a whip stitch to secure the edges of material and help prevent fraying of the cut edges (3.167-3.168).

This is a common method of joining sleeve and bodice lining, though less neat than the Manchester method. Another example using the whip stitch is a *sacque* dress in the Musée Les Arts Décoratifs; 2009.2.1.1., circa 1780-1785 (3.169). The two different threads used for the Dalgarven sleeve seam may indicate adjustment however the whole garment appears to have been constructed with a combination of pale blue and brown threads. This might indicate the involvement of more than one person in the sewing, each having a different thread and focussed on different areas. It is worth noting that this method of seam join is common on other neatly constructed garments in both British and French collections. The use of a whip or blanket stitch to prevent fraying is, however, less common. It does appear to have been optional to the maker's preference and not necessarily related to how prone to fraying the main textile was, since both examples using a whip stitch here are reasonably stable in that regard. It is possible that it was a stitching technique more commonly used in continental Europe, but with so few examples found in this research project no positive assertions can be made.

[311] Stitches have been identified using Schaeffer, Claire B., *Couture Sewing Techniques*, Newtown, CT: The Taunton Press Inc., 2007 first published 1993, 29-32; the catch stitch on the Dalgarven *caraco* is seen from the reverse of the diagram on 30

Taking a step back from these differences in the detail of construction the Manchester and Dalgarven *caracos* obviously follow the same broad pattern of stitch use. Their use of the same outer material, similar lining materials, basic construction pattern and use of similar stitches in most areas provides a strong basis for arguing that these garments could have been produced in the same workshop. The differences highlighted above could, in this scenario, all be explained away by adjustments made in line with the requirements of individual clients. As both *caracos* have been made using two colours of thread, there is even a suggestion that they followed the same progression of making-up and adjustment. Despite this however, in the face of so few copy garments having survived from the eighteenth century it is hard to assess how widespread stitching similarities and processes were between workshops. Therefore, even with these two items unequivocal assertions cannot be made that they were manufactured in the same place as ready-to wear garments.

Discussion:

Throughout the above analyses several themes have emerged that build on those identified with the garments of Chapter 2. Family status, personal circumstances and location remain contributors in the production and use of the Houstoun and Blair garments. However, these items raise new themes which assist a more rounded picture of the landed gentry in Scotland. Firstly, the *caraco* items were shown to have an element of practicality and tradition; items suited to fundamental aspects of female life, but which could be influenced and adapted to fashion. Secondly, stylistic themes were identified within the Houstoun group; a repetition of certain garment features which were read as evidence of the influence of personality. Finally, analysis of the style of several of the Houstoun garments and that of the Blair *caraco* demonstrated influence by European styles. Yet, their wider associations and what is known about their provenance do not suggest a simple transposition of continental fashion to Scotland, rather a multi-layered and informed decision process using knowledge of European fashions, British fashions and available materials.

The following discussion will be split into three categories titled ‘Practicality’, examining the role of lifestyle and tradition in fashion, this section will also provide the bulk of provenance information relating to the Houstoun and Blair households, to evidence specific lifestyles and circumstances behind their sartorial choices; ‘Individual Design’, looks at how the personal circumstances of the commissioner, their tastes and means, affected a translation of their personality into their garment via specific style features. Finally, a re-use of the Chapter 2 category ‘Location’ will this time discuss the translation and knowledge of continental European fashions in Scottish garments.

Practicality:

The Houstoun of Johnstone and Blair of Blair households were relatively near neighbours and by modern standards can be regarded as approximately the same social level. However, examination of their respective social networks situates the Blairs in the national, political elite, with immediate relations to the south and east. The Houstouns' daily interactions looked to near neighbours in Renfrewshire, Paisley and Glasgow. It is likely that the two households did know of and come across one another, but no significant evidence has been found to suggest they were intimate. This could be due to the English connections and migrants within the Blair kin, placing their social focus away from Ayrshire, whereas the Houstouns' social and business concerns rested primarily within their locality.

The main sources for evidence of the Houstoun of Johnstone household are Jean Rankine's diaries (Glasgow City Archives). Jean Rankine was mother to George Houstoun (1743-1815) and would become mother-in-law to Mary McDowell (d.1782) who is believed to have worn the above garments.[312] Rankine's surviving journals date from 1762, a few years subsequent to the death of her husband, Ludovic Houstoun (1757), and continuing until her decease in 1805. They provide insightful information relating to the weather, agriculture, domestic and family life and her extended social network of Renfrewshire gentry. More immediate financial and sartorial information survives in a number of accounts and receipts belonging to the Houstoun family in Strathclyde University Archives.

Put together these sources provide pertinent information not just to the circumstances of Mary McDowell's married life, but her contemporaries' attitudes to expenditure and display in clothing and interiors. In the year(s) prior to their marriage George Houstoun appears to have refitted some rooms in Johnstone Castle. A receipt from upholsterers Archibald Bogle and Robert Scott of Glasgow, 18th July 1778, lists among other items: "44 ¼ yds Crimson moreen @ 2/6 £5.10.7 ½", "12 doz Crimson silk lace @ 3/6 £2.2.0" and "12 yds Crimson Linen tape @ 2/4 £0.0.9"; "49 yds yellow moreen @ 2/2 ½ £5.8.2 ½", "86 yds yellow sik lace [sic] @ 3 ¼ £1.3.3 ½" and "12 yds ditto linen Tape @ ¾ d £0.0.9". These most likely relate to the item in George's accounts; "Augt: 24. By Bogle & Scott for 2 Beds, the Curtains £16.0.0",[313] as the bill includes fixtures such as tacks, studs and rings and "9 Days work of an upho @ 1/8 £0.15.0". The upholsterers supplied materials and carried out the work, coming to a total of £18.9.4 ½. A further £16.5.6 ¼ was charged in August for similar goods, implying that the materials purchased initially were inadequate for the job.[314] It is the latter amount that matches George Houstoun's accounts; he makes no mention of the larger portion of the bill, which may mean that George only accounted for goods purchased on credit.

[312] As researched by Rebecca Quinton, Curator of European Costume and Textiles, Glasgow Museums
[313] Account/cash book 1776-1780, Mitchell Library Archives (MLA) TD263/309
[314] Bills and receipts 1757-1843, Strathclyde University Archives (SUA), MS 1/4/3/3

In contrast to the bold choices of crimson and yellow for household interiors, George Houstoun's tailoring receipts indicate a more restrained palate.[315] Houstoun appears to have paid for his own clothing alongside that of his male servants, so it is not always clear which items were for whom. A bill from a Robert Arthur covers 1778-1779, and was paid in March 1780. It details a mixture of items including £0.17.4 for James Hallrick, a steward or main manservant, £2.4.8 for a driver and £9.16.0 for George Houstoun. Not all of the garments are itemised with their wearers, but it appears the driver had a coat and jacket in blue, with jacket and vest in yellow; Hallrick wore a striped jacket with sleeves, two striped vests probably also being intended for him. Leaving aside binding, thread and flannel making up each garment, the other main materials include linen, black cotton velvet, white fustian, "a Suit of Raven grey Cloths", fustian and shalloon with unidentified colours and "2 Buff Vests & a pair of breeches". These colours are restrained and the cloths generally hardwearing. George Houstoun was evidently not adventurous in his daily apparel.

Further sartorial attitudes of George Houstoun and Mary McDowell's peers will be discussed under 'Individual Design' below. Worth noting here are the lifestyle circumstances that may have influenced George Houstoun's wardrobe. He was a man of business and would become a wealthy industrialist. He had concerns in Quarrelton Colliery, set up Johnstone cotton mills and in 1788 was a founding partner in the Paisley Union Bank.[316] His mother's journals evidence a hands-on application that probably required actual practicality in George Houstoun's wardrobe as well as a business-like appearance of it. In July 1784 she wrote "Mrs Gordon and Mrs McDowal Call'd here my son doing something wt a seren at the fire engine".[317]

Despite not always grasping the technical points of her son's work Jean Rankine evidently enjoyed taking an interest. In November 1783, she notes her son's exploration of the potential for cotton manufacturing:

> "Novr 1…about the middle of Octr my son with a strong Desire to introduce the Manchester business into this Country hired a Manchester Weaver, (that Came to see, the Cotton Mill) for 12 Months to stay and work to him so a shop and looms were taken, and he is to work Constantly for my Son, all the Different Patterns that is wrought, such as Delverets Cordoroy &c &c"

[315] Bills and receipts 1757-1843, SUA, MS 1/4/3/3
[316] As noted in related biographical notes of Glasgow City Archives; Letter dated Newcastle Sept 24th thanking George Houstoun for his liberality in allowing them to publish plans of the Quarrelton Quarry; Letters 1801, Strathclyde University Archives, MS 1/4/2; see also Reverend Mr Robert Boog, 'Parish of the Abbey of Paisley' in Sinclair, volume VII, 1973, 850
[317] Diary 1783-1788, MLA, TD263/255/2

By 1786 the subsequently founded cotton mill had been absorbed into her daily activities; "[April] 10. a Charming day walked down to the mill bad accounts from Edinr Miss mcD no Better I made 9 Lib of Marmalade".

The Houstoun household was evidently entrepreneurial and practical, yet Rankine's journals also detail a leisured community in which the Houstoun and McDowall families were closely acquainted. The proximity of their social world is evidenced by the marriage of Mary's sister, Anne, to Alexander Cunninghame of Craigends.[318] Craigends neighboured Castle Semple (the McDowall home) and Johnstone Castle. Jean Rankine notes frequent visits to Castle Semple and Craigends, while surviving letters between George Houstoun and Alexander Cunninghame testify to their friendship, mimicking a similar relationship between their fathers.[319]

Jean Rankine's journal entries concerning Mary McDowall speak clearly of friendship and affection.[320] It may be that Mary with Jean made up two of the "3 fine Ladys" who "went a Jaunt to the high Craig" with Colonel McDowall on April 7th 1775. Jean socialised with the McDowall's on her own, as well as with her son, for example in 1777: "13 Jun[e] a pretty good Day my son gone to Castles: I went too the weather pretty Good all the time I was there which was till the 18th 19th 20th."[321]

Given this intimacy between the families it is difficult to know whether the note in George's account book for "Octr: 16. [1777] By the Miss McDowalls for a horse £10.10.0" was a gift with romantic intent, or simply a financial loan between friends.[322] Whether an engagement was made or not is unknown. The prior intimacy of George Houstoun and Mary McDowall, alongside his investment in interior furnishings does suggest the latter was done in preparation, yet Jean Rankine's relation of events suggests that she at least had no verbal pre-warning, stating, with characteristic lack of punctuation and jumbling events, that she was informed of the marriage and it occurred within a short period of time:

> "A new Coal Discovered Janr 1779 7 a fine day a little frost the hounds out 8 hard frost from this to the 13th fine soft weather Gentle frost 12th all the 3 Brothers of the Sword here all night this month Big with several events 1st Mrs Nickleson went to England 2dly Mrs James McDowall dyed 28th 3d my son told me of his marriage and was marry'd to Miss McDowall the 1st of Feby Miss Hall lost her eye by an unlucky Accident I went in to see her the 24 and staid with her till the 8 of April Came to Johnston found my son and daughter there fine weather all this time" (emphasis added)

[318] Cuninghame genealogy taken from: <http://craigends.co.uk/geneology4.html> accessed 30.11.2011
[319] MLA, TD263/269-271
[320] The family name was McDowall or McDowal, Jean consistently spells it McDowall
[321] Diary March 1768 to June 1783, MLA, TD263/255/1
[322] Account/cash book 1776-1780, MLA, TD263/309

The Mrs James McDowall mentioned here was the first wife of Mary's brother, the second eldest McDowall son. The manner of George and Mary's marrying suggests George felt no need to consult his mother and that she was content with the proceedings.

Despite the practical mien, the Houstouns enjoyed quite large and regular social gatherings. In 1781, June "30th 16 Ladys and Gentlemen Din'd here amongst whom was the Laird of Houstoun and his brother and Mr Will: Houstoun when we were all gone to our Rooms we had an Express acquainting us of the agreeable news of a Son Born at Craigends…" From further comments it appears the group gathered at other properties in the region over a few weeks, the same number were present at the child's Christening on July 8th.[323]

It is this social community that seems most relevant when considering Mary McDowall's surviving garments. As smart, fashionable dresses they are neither prohibitively ornate nor completely practical, suited to a leisured lifestyle in which a good appearance among a mixed acquaintance was regularly necessary. Mary's continued involvement in social activities around the birth of her sons was noted by Jean Rankine. The birth of George and Mary's first child, Ludovic, was followed by a number of visits from friends and neighbours, which were reciprocated after some months. In July 1780, when Mary would have been around seven months pregnant with her second son, William, Jean reported that, "my Daughter fell down the stair at Craigends, was a good deal frightened but not hurt". While potentially serious for her health this incident describes Mary's continued activity when pregnant. It is possible that the stair in Craigends was particularly hazardous as Jean also recorded on August 15th 1778, "Miss Cunningham very ill from a fall down the stairs".

When William was born Mary seems to have wanted to regain a normal routine quickly, her mother-in-law remarks; "Octr 1st my Daur was in the Drawing Room at Dinner she is only 13 day brought to bed".[324] These circumstances suggest that Mary was socially active even when perhaps not physically strong. This fits with the linen *caraco*, which could have been used to receive informal company just prior to or subsequent to the births of her sons.

Mary died only three months after William was born. Although other entries in Jean's diary state Mary is doing well, in late October she suffers from a breast pain, and throughout the course of her regular appearance in Jean Rankine's diaries her health varied. There is no sense that Mary had a particularly

[323] Diary March 1768 to June 1783; MLA, TD263/255/1
[324] Diary March 1768 to June 1783, MLA, TD263/255/1

weak constitution, however a weakened state post-childbirth may have been a contributing factor to her decease.

Mary's illness is described as a fever, which she caught while visiting friends on Christmas day. She had her youngest son, William, with her; he survived, but she did not. The loss felt by Mary's death is detailed by Jean:

> "25 Mrs Houstoun and Willie gone to Castlesemple to Cristmas she was taken ill of a fever next day the fever going on the Child Came home the 29th
> 30th Blisters at her feet
> 31 the fever still going on
> …
> 2d James Hallreck came over and says Mrs Hous: fell a Sleep at 4 in the morning and sleept till about 12, but is not so much the better of it as was expected Docr Stev: thinks she is better this 2d day of Jany 1782 the most wofull of days to this family the most Amiable of her Sex Left us by the appointment of her heavenly Father to enjoy pure happiness with him in the Mansions of Bliss leaving behind her a Melancoly husband and two Lovely Boys and a fond Mother in Law who wishes Life on no other account but to take Care of what she has Left behind her -"[325]
> (original spellings, emphasis added)

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of this affection, which easily explains the careful storage of some of Mary McDowall's clothing through grief. Jean Rankine also noted the death of Mary's sister Anne in April the same year, and a severe outbreak of smallpox locally, at Quarrelton. The loss of Mary and her sister must have been severely felt in this friendly community, perhaps especially as they had not long been predeceased by Mrs James McDowall in January 1779.

There is some evidence that 1782 was a particularly bad year for illness in Scotland. Although not statistically verified, Jean Rankine's notes give the impression that the new year and spring months could bring considerable illness and decease in the Renfrewshire community. That the early 1780s saw particular hardship likely to affect health is supported by the Ruthven entry for *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, which states that grain was so scarce in 1783 that a few families subsisted on wild 'herbs' they could gather.[326] In Perthshire the Duke of Atholl intervened in 1783, purchasing 500 bolls of oats to be sold at a reduced price in Dunkeld, while at Dowally "His Grace…purchased 300 bolls of oats, and a large quantity of hay", which was "beneficial …to many, who had suffered severely from the inclemencies of the preceding season," suggesting 1782 and 1783 saw poor harvests, possibly exacerbated by government imposition.[327] So there may have been a number of contributing factors involved with Mary McDowall's death.

[325] Diary March 1768 to June 1783, MLA, TD263/255/1
[326] Reverend Mr Alexander Fraser, 'Parish of Kirkhill' in Sinclair, volume XVII, 1981, 217
[327] Reverend Mr James McLagan, 'Parishes of Blair-Atholl, and Strowan', in Sinclair, volume XII, 1977, 371

Although fewer relevant records of the Blair of Blair family survive, their associations hint at an equally busy social network, but which is likely to have been based away from Ayrshire. No specific reference to a *caraco* has so far been found in the Blair of Blair family archive, but it is sizeable and still not yet fully catalogued and sorted, holding potential for future research. Without specific information relating to the purchase or wear of the *caraco* its general provenance context suggests it was worn in Scotland by a Scot, but could have been acquired from mainland Europe.

Comparative analysis concluded that the Blair *caraco* dates to circa 1780-1790. There is a similar estimated dating of a man's coat accessioned alongside the *caraco*.[328] Special circumstances often surround surviving garments, for instance their marking a specific occasion, so it is reasonable to speculate that as these two items are partnered in origin, they may also have been partnered in use. The *caraco* possibly dating to the 1780s opens up the potential for it having belonged to a sister of William Blair of Blair Esquire, who inherited the estate in 1782, or to his wife Magdalen Fordyce who he married in 1789. Their marriage was noted in *The Scots Magazine* under April 2nd; "William Blair of Blair, Esq; to Miss Fordyce, eldest daughter of John Fordyce of Ayton, Esq; and niece to the Duchess of Gordon."[329]

In this short paragraph the political credentials of William Blair's wife are exposed and his own situation is set as tied into this network of powerful Scots. Whether or not Magdalen and William shared a love match, their alliance was conservative in that it reinforced heritable titles, land and influence on all sides – both sides appear to have gained. In order to illustrate the family ties involved in this connection, and therefore a social background to the *caraco* it is useful to look at the previous generation. To begin with Magdalen's kin, her connection to the Duchess of Gordon is illustrated via her mother's obituary as printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine, and historical chronicle*, 1815;

> "Mar. 3 in George-street, Hanover-square, aged 68, Mrs Catharine Fordyce, widow of the late John Fordyce, esq. of Ayton, co. Berwick, N.B. who died July 1809. She was daughter of Sir Wm. Maxwell, bart. and sister to the late Duchess of Gordon. Her remains were interred at Ayton."[330]

John Fordyce was a noted MP, forging a reputation and influence for himself and his family in Scottish and London society. Marrying the daughter of Sir William Maxwell was, if nothing else, a canny alliance with one of the oldest and most powerful families in Scotland. He was no doubt not the only husband of a Maxwell to reinforce his social position this way, and probably shared society with his

[328] Wilcox, David, 'Cut and Construction of a Late Eighteenth-Century Coat', *Costume*, volume 33, 1999, 95-97
[329] 'Marriages' in Volume LI [51], MDCCLXXXIX [1789], Edinburgh: Printed by Murray and Cochrane, 204
[330] Published by E. Cave, Volume 85, part 1, 373

sister in law, the Duchess of Gordon, who gained notoriety as a politically geared London hostess and 'whipper-in'.[331] The Duke of Gordon was not, however, involved with this as he became estranged from the Duchess.[332]

As seen in Chapter 1, early in their marriage the Duke and Duchess of Gordon mixed with the Dukes of Atholl, arguably exhibiting a very different social temperament. Both generations of the Atholl family discussed in this thesis were praised by contemporaries for their philanthropy and loyalties; John Fordyce's reputation is likely to have been more ambivalent. His bank Fordyce, Malcolm, & Co. failed after the collapse of the Ayr Bank in 1772, which was associated with Alexander Fordyce, a distant relation of John and known speculator. After the collapse of the Ayr Bank Alexander Fordyce lost £150,000 and absconded. On his return he was subject to trial, but his accusers sought recompense rather than profit. The Fordyce name was, therefore, publically associated with insolvent financial affairs. This mismanagement ran hand-in-hand with Fordyce ambitions towards political power in what was still a generally anti-Scottish parliamentary society.[333]

John Fordyce as a father-in-law may have been a risk inasmuch as the association could have tied William Blair to a particular social set. However, the same might be said of any marriage that involved decisions around property, family and politics. The family ties to the Maxwell's were probably an equal if not more present driving force in William Blair's choice of bride. The Maxwell's of Monreith and Blair of Blair families both had ancient heritage and power in the south west of Scotland, inter-marrying prior to William and Magdalen. William's paternal aunt Magdaline married Sir William Maxwell of Montreith (4th Bt.) and two of their daughters were Catharine, who married John Fordyce, and Jane, later Duchess of Gordon. Another of William's paternal aunts, Anne, married David Blair of Adamton and their daughter Catherine was to marry her cousin, the next Sir William Maxwell (5th Bt.). Put simply, William Blair married his cousin's daughter. The inter-family connections persist further through the Fordyce's of Ayton as John Fordyce was the grandson of Adam Whitefoord, 1st Bartholomew of Blairquhan, a cadet branch of the Blair of Blair family.

It should be noted that, as with many Scottish heritors, the Blair of Blair family were not associated only with landed gentry or political power; they were represented in the military and merchant industries. William Blair was Colonel of the Ayrshire regiment of Fencible Cavalry; his father was a

[331] Wharton, Grace, and Wharton, Philip, *The Queens of Society*, volumes I-II, London: Jarvis and Son 1890, 267
[332] See introduction to *An Autobiographical Chapter in the life of Jane, Duchess of Gordon*, privately printed, Glasgow: Bell and Bain, 1864, vi
[333] J. M.Collinge in Thorne, R., (ed.), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820*, London: Boydell and Brewer, 1986 accessed online <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/fordyce-john-1735-1809> 25.03.2012; Langford, 1989, 269-270

Major in the Scots Greys, his grandmother was the daughter of an Edinburgh merchant called Alexander Tait and one of his uncles was surveyor of customs at Port Glasgow, three others died young in military service abroad. Furthermore, William Blair's aunt Mary married Sir John Sinclair of Stevenson, commissioner and editor of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*. What appears to be an unassuming *caraco* in the Dalgarven Mill collection was evidently worn by someone who identified with the highest echelons of late eighteenth century Scots society; one made up of people who had profound and lasting influence on the political, social and propertied landscape.

As with the Houstoun's at Johnstone Castle, the interiors forming the background to the social world of the Blair of Blair family are partially revealed by an inventory made of Blair Hall after William's father, Hamilton Blair died. The inventory was undertaken for William "at the desired of his Tutors upon days of February 1782 years".[334] It takes in the whole estate buildings and their content, as well as the annual income from the baronies owned by the Blair of Blair family. The descriptions of two rooms in the main house give an impression of specifically feminine spaces;

> "Miss Blairs room
> A bed with check curtains
> A Fether bed mattress Bolsters & 2 Pillows
> 2 pair Blankets & a Binding Do & Quilt
> 2 small Tables
> A Mahogany Cloaths press
> A Small Chist of Drawers
> 4 Covered Chairs
> A Check Windown Curtain
> An old Carpet of minay Coleurs
> A Grate Fender Tongs Poker & Shovel
> A Basan stand
>
> Mrs Blairs room
> A Bed with red curtains
> Fether bed mattress Bolster & one pillow
> 3 ½ pair of Blankets & a Bindary Do wt White Cover
> 4 Chairs
> A Mahogany Chist of Drawers
> A Small Table
> Two Window Curtains red & white Check
> A Carpet and a Miror
> A Grate Fender Tongs Poker & Shovel"[335]

From these brief descriptions it is evident that both rooms were expensively and fully furnished, both women enjoyed feather bedding and a number of blankets for colder evenings. They were colourful

[334] Blair of Blair Muniments, NAS Box 12 bundle 2, page 1
[335] Original spellings as far as legible; Blair of Blair Muniments, NAS Box 12, bundle 2, inventory page 4 and 5

rooms, featuring check curtains. The mother's choice seems to have been for red and white; a bold contrast, similar to traditional colours used for *arisaids* in the north of Scotland.[336] Miss Blair's room further contained a carpet of many colours, specifically noted as 'old' and thus indicating that these rooms are likely to have been a mixture of new and old furnishings, not the sole product of a newly fitted interior.

A picture featured as part of the Savills sale brochure in 2011 shows a mixture of furnishing dating from the eighteenth century to the present, including a bed, table and wardrobe chest which match the 1782 inventory list for the 'Yellow Room';

> "The Yellow Room
> A Grate Fender Tongs Poker & Shovel
> A Carpet
> Two looking Glasses & Toilet Table
> A [runnd] Mahogany Table
> A Mahogany Bed Stedd with yellow marine curtains
> A Dawn bed mattress Bolster & 2 pillows
> 4 pair blankets & 2 Binding Do is blew a White cover
> 6 covered chairs & 2 arm'd corner do
> A large easy Chair
> A Cabinet with drawers below
> A Tent bed with blew check hangings & blew & white cover
> Two yellow marine window curtains
> One Basan stand"[337]

They do not, however, match the items detailed for the Yellow Room in the recent sale of the house contents by Lyon and Turnbull of Edinburgh (March 2012), the main items of furniture being largely Dutch inlay dated to the nineteenth century. The catalogue provides further visual evidence of the quality and extent of Blair furnishings, a large number of mahogany pieces from the eighteenth century. The range of origins and the high quality of the furnishings leave no doubt about the class of society the Dalgarven garments belonged too. Family portraits in the sale included a half-length of Major Hamilton Blair, a full length of William Blair as a child and watercolours of different family members, such as 'Mrs Fordyce of Ayton'.[338]

The most important points to be taken from this context are that the *caraco* belonged to an ancient and wealthy Scottish lineage, one whose heads of house were firmly bonded to the lowlands. The intermarriage of the Maxwell and Fordyce families to which the Blairs of Blair were attached, was one

[336] Cheape and Quye, 2008, 1-20
[337] Blair of Blair Muniments, NAS Box 12, bundle 2, inventory page 4
[338] Circle of Mason Chamberlain, oil on canvas, 690 x 610mm, sold as lot 85; late 18th century Scottish school, oil on canvas, 600 x 480mm, sold as lot 108; William Wood (1768-1809), pencil and watercolour on paper, 120 x 90mm, sold as group lot 589

of political power, wealth, influence and landed heritage. The Maxwells of Monreith had land and influence spread across southern Scotland,[339] some connection with them would therefore seem almost inevitable for the equally high-ranking and long-standing Blair family. Set together, Blair, Fordyce and Maxwell present a prestigious picture; a kin network with broad horizons, containing significant players in national politics and the upper echelons of British society.

In contrast to these extended connections and the well-furnished surrounds of Blair Hall the *caraco* is a modest garment, well-made and unembellished. As has been noted *caraco* garments were often associated with practicality; a functional item to wear at home, when travelling or walking. In shape the *caraco* does not therefore express prestige; the possibility of its having begun life as a ready-to-wear garment takes this further. Considering the range of venues in which the wearer might have been found; in Edinburgh, London and fashionable centres in the south of England such as Bath, the place in which the garment was kept must be considered as significant. In essence this is a practical, finely made garment found in a country seat of a wealthy family; a place where social occasions might have been less formal and entertainments could have revolved around country sports.

Drawing together Mary McDowall's garments and the Blair *caraco* poses a quantitative problem, but even so it is evident that upper class Scottish women made use of finely constructed undress. The presence of *caracos* in both households affirms that despite other differences in lifestyle and routine there was a general place for these garments, in both instances the materials with which they are made suggest there was an element of show. These are not house jackets made from plain robust materials, the silk and cord quilting were evidently intended to be enjoyed and seen, so that whatever element of practicality the *caraco* may have as a garment type, it was also a public garment, expressing the wearer's taste.

The five surviving items belonging to Mary McDowall are unlikely to have constituted her entire wardrobe; there certainly would have been underpinnings that have not survived. This opens the question of whether the surviving garments were of particular significance to her mother-in-law and husband, or whether they are simply a selection that did not suit re-use by descendants. Either way, the originally bright pinks, silvery blue and floral patterns of the materials evidence an engagement with colour and form, which must have contrasted markedly with George Houstoun's plain clothing.

Individual Design:

[339] Wharton and Wharton, 1890, 262

As mentioned above and noted in the comparative analyses the Houstoun garments present a strong element of design consistency, which, in the context of eighteenth century production and their single origin, is suggestive of their all having been worn by the same person. What the Blair and Manchester *caracos* show, however, is that similarity of style is not a guarantee of the garment belonging to one person. It is therefore worth briefly considering what elements of the Houstoun items are suggestive of an individual's expression as opposed to copies of a style worn by different people. This requires weighing the similarities and differences between the garments to draw out a theme.

In the above comparative analyses similar forms or features were identified in the Houstoun items, without being consistent across all garments. The *polonaise* shared a collar with the pink striped *robe à l'anglaise*, and cuffs and *compère* front with the *caraco*. The pink and blue dresses shared use of silk braid for outlining and narrow waist pleats. While the *sacque* dress and *caraco* were seen to have the same back pleats, but the *sacque* and pink *robe à l'anglaise* used similarly coloured silks. Each garment consistently featured small, neat stitching so that overall they are related to one another without mimicry. The differences consist of: colour and pattern of the materials used; overall garment style; intended function of the garment; and, slight differences in the waist size. All of these inconsistencies can be explained by one of two factors: physical and fashion changes over time, and simultaneous use of garments for different functions; meaning they share style features in line with the current fashion, but are sufficiently different enough to provide the sartorial variety expected from different occasions and uses.

The relevance of Mary McDowall's dresses to the contemporary fashions of her day as discussed in the comparative analyses, combined with a lack of any evidence to suggest that she acquired garments from outside of the west of Scotland, indicates that women who might be considered provincial - outside of the metropolitan centres of Paris, London and Edinburgh - were as appraised and engaged with fashion as their urban counterparts. As was seen above bright pinks and pale blues were colours selected by Marie Antoinette in 1782, so that around the time Mary McDowall was selecting her dresses, the Queen of France, acknowledged fashion icon, was making similar colour choices. Simultaneously, in 1780 Jane Bailey was preparing for her marriage in the south of England by commissioning a dress fitted and constructed very like Mary McDowall's blue example, but choosing a floral dot and cream fabric, echoing other elements in Mary's wardrobe.[340]

[340] Evans, Grace, '*Marriage á la Mode*, An English Eighteenth-Century Wedding Dress, Hat. And Shoes Set from the Olive Matthews Collection, Chertsey Museum', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society*, volume 42, 2008, 50-65

The fine craftsmanship of Mary McDowall's dresses reinforces the suggestion of her being able to acquire knowledge of fashions quickly with evidence that high quality dressmaking was available in Glasgow around 1780. Given the discourse necessary when commissioning bespoke dress, it seems likely that Mary's knowledge of fashion may have been heavily influenced by her dressmaker, whose business it would have been to acquire patterns, images and information on the latest cut, fabrics and trimmings.

With no archival evidence relating directly to Mary it is difficult to know what influenced her sartorial decision making, why she had more than one dress made with a rounded front collar, for example. An educated guess would suggest that she considered this feature flattering to herself and attractive on a garment.

More context can be found in letters of 1775 to George Houstoun from his close friend Alexander Cuninghame (as signed), providing the masculine background against which Mary appeared and made her dress choices. The letters describe Alexander's stay in London. It is not clear what his objective for being in London was, but he played the tourist and reported back in detail about the British Museum, Hans Sloan museum, losses sustained by others at the Newmarket races, describes a masquerade and visiting the opera, as well as the state of agriculture in Yorkshire on his journey south. It is the description of having to dress for the opera which is most insightful regarding his and George's attitudes to dress;

> "…At night I went to see the Italian Opera because it is fashionable – it is the Genteelest Company in town – Nobody can go to the Piles Boxes unless they be full dressed and the ticket is half a guinea – Accordingly I was obliged to spruce myself out in full dress Coat, bag and sword, and a Silk hat below my arm – I never was in such torment nor I believe I never Cut So Ridiculous a figure in my life – Antonio (after I was dressed) said he was very Glad you was not here, for dat you would say God damn two or three times… – When I got into the Pit did not know a Single person except Lord grham whom I met at Castlemilk[?] last summer I looked like a fool there – I then Strutted into the tea Room and having that time Rather Aquired more brass I believe I made a decent amore tho still a very awkward figure – the men and women in the opera sung Very well, …the whole is in Italian So that between my ignorance of the language, my being totally unacquainted wt the Company and my awkward management of my sword I must have Cut a curious figure -"

Alexander's discomfort at having to be formally dressed and having to play an 'amore' is evident, as is his ability to laugh at his own ridicule. He was clearly a stranger to this particular social scene and not in the habit of dressing in the required manner. The description of his manservant's language suggests that Antonio may have come from the McDowall estates in Jamaica,[341] if so the Renfrewshire

[341] Nisbet, Stuart, *Castle Semple Rediscovered*, Renfrewshire Local History Forum 2009, 40 and 29-30

community must have had a certain familiarity with slavery, ethnic minorities and Caribbean culture. Antonio's comments also reveal George Houstoun's use of expletives and attitude towards masculine finery.

Alexander continues in the letter to enquire about a gun he has ordered back in Scotland and describes a Mr Gillian who has been credited with being a genius for an unknown reason;

> "…he has Set in the house all this forenoon because his hair was as he thought ill dressed – wch was not really the case he is just now dressed a second time wt a brown full dress coat and Gold headed Cane & is Strutting to dinner as if he was the King of Spain…"[342]

Overall, Alexander Cunninghame's ideas of manliness appear very similar to those of Jean Rankine (see below). He does not appear to enjoy the rigmarole of etiquette or pernickety attitudes to dress. When combined with notes about guns and horses in his letters this suggests him as a country sportsman at heart. Holding some common interest with Thomas Graham of Balgowan (Chapter 1), who was equally occupied with his country sports, writing to Charles Cathcart in 1785 "…The frost prevented my seeing the best pack of beagles in the island and what is no less provoking prevented me ever since I came up from going a hunting…"[343]

Taking into account the plain items in the tailor's bill and his friend's attitudes it is hard to imagine George Houstoun would have married a woman who took fashions and public appearances to the extreme. Mary's garments suggest she engaged with fashion and took an interest in her dress, but there was still an element of simplicity and neat construction indicative of a personality who wanted to dress and appear well, according to her contemporary culture, but not in an overly fussy manner.

Despite Alexander Cuninghame's distaste for his sword and hat, his written descriptions of his London visit provide evidence of at least one way in which women in his neighbourhood may have gained information in national and international fashions. Other important sources were probably publications; the similarity between some of the fashion plates evidenced above and Mary McDowall's garments may be because she had access to these images, although no direct evidence to support this has been found.

Mary McDowall's garments evidence a colourful, accurate and timely engagement with French and British fashion, but perhaps also relatively safe choices as her *polonaise* was made a few years subsequent to the comments of the Cathcart sisters placing the dress in London and Edinburgh: Louisa

[342] London, 5th April, 1775; MLA, TD263/272
[343] London, 10th March 1785; Graham, 1927, 195

Cathcart described Miss Wrottesley dress in March 1776 as "…one of those that are loose behind, and was tied up with two little knots of white ribbon, which had a very singular effect; it was laced with narrow white ribbon which with her dancing made her a most *risible figure*".[344] The Carthcart correspondences mention the *polonaise* in March and May 1776, when Louisa states that *polonaise* dresses are on order from London for the Edinburgh Races.[345].

It has been suggested that the adult years prior to and just after marriage are when an eighteenth century woman would invest most in her wardrobe.[346] This could explain the contemporaneity of the textiles and dress styles in the surviving Houstoun garments, by no means a given feature in Scotswomen's dress as will be seen in the next chapter. If some of these items were new when George and Mary were courting or recently married then this might explain a sentimental attachment to them, which resulted in their long-term storage. The surviving garments may therefore represent the pinnacle of Mary Houstoun's engagement with fashion, a period when she had the time, wealth and energy to invest in her appearance. Whether this would have changed if she had lived longer cannot be known, but the fewer surviving garments from contemporaries such as Isabel Wedderburn (Chapter 2), suggest that garments may have been subject to hard-wear or reuse, leaving only the finest or most cherished to survive.

It is also worth noting that Mary McDowall's sartorial decisions were made within a female community. Although it is predominantly the male attitudes which have survived in relevant archives, Mary was one of several sisters married to local gentry and who had frequent contact not only with her mother, but her mother's peers such as Jean Rankine, prior to her marriage. It is likely that the '3 fine Ladys' who 'went a Jaunt to the high Craig' described by Rankine (above) would have consulted one another in matters of dress. Equally it is reasonable to suppose that the practical straight-thinking displayed by Jean Rankine could have influenced the younger generations with whom she interacted. A good example of Rankine's attitudes to modern manners is provided by her description of a hunting party, April 1777:

> "11 a little wet like, the fox to be hunted the Company of Hunters came all here in the morning, driving in a Couple of Chaises; very unlike Hunters of formers times and, took their Chaise after the Chace, like degenerate plants."

[344] Louisa Cathcart to Mary Graham, Grosvenor Place, March 1st 1776; Graham, 1927, 74-75
[345] Hertford Street, May 1776; Graham, 1927, 95
[346] See discussion of Latham family in chapter 'Clothes and the Life Cycle' in Styles, 2007, 229-245 in particular 236

Just as George Houstoun's attitudes to dress suggest he would not have enjoyed marriage with a woman who put too much emphasis on impractical finery, his mother's attitudes suggest, likewise, she may not have enjoyed the company of women with too many airs.

Without assuming too much regarding Mary McDowall's character, it is likely she was a woman who enjoyed good quality dress and an engagement with contemporary modes, but who adapted these attributes to her lifestyle. Her wealth and circumstances allowed her to seek out high quality products, but her surviving garments do not suggest that this led to unwieldy embellishment, or a desire to dress out-with her social circumstances. Her garments being generally appropriate for less formal social occasions; entertaining in domestic surrounds, day-trips and walks with the exception of the *sacque* dress that may have been appropriate for the theatre or semi-formal evening wear. As a gentlewoman living in a rural area, whose social life consisted largely of visits to neighbouring properties and occasional trips to Glasgow, or Ayr, Mary McDowall had no need of the level of finery seen to be worn by the Atholl and Haddington families in Chapter 1.

The above discussion has necessarily focussed on the Houstoun garments as the Blair *caraco* is problematic to assess in terms of personal engagement with style, not only as a single item, but one that has a copy and no specifically identified owner. However, the *caraco* is of much more relevance in the next section which will look at the influence of continental European dress styles.

Location:

The above analyses have shown the Blair and the Houstoun garments as referencing continental European style. As there is only one surviving women's garment from the Blair household it is not appropriate to make a comparison between it and all of the Houstoun garments, however the presence of the Houstoun *caraco* enables discussion of how and why two similar garments from genteel households in the west of Scotland are so different, independently referencing Dutch and French styles.

It is difficult to know whether there was any sizeable income gap for the female members of the Blair household and Mary McDowall. As the McDowall family had a good income from the Caribbean,[347] and George Houstoun was able to invest in cotton production not long after his wife's decease, it seems unlikely there was much financial disparity. As the comparative analyses above showed the Houstoun and Blair *caracos* are in a very different style, but their function appears to have still been the same; as undress, or walking and indoor dress. Both are made from subtle but still decorative fabrics with a

[347] Nisbet, 2009, 90-99

hardwearing lining. The analyses pointed towards a French style influence on the Houstoun *caraco*, and a Dutch one on the Blair *caraco*.

Provenance investigation is the best means of understanding why such geographically close garments had disparate influences. The Blair of Blair household are likely to have had social connections and interaction with a number of other landed families in the Ayrshire and Renfrewshire regions at events such as the Ayr races. The diaries of Jean Rankine detail visits to the Ayr races by George Houstoun, travelling with his wife Mary to Ayr in February 1781.[348] Rankine also mentions sending thirty fruit trees acquired from a Mr Spiers as a gift on "Miss Maxwells Marriage to Mr Craigie".[349] Thirty fruit trees was a substantial present, only suitable for another heritor, or landowner. However, who Miss Maxwell was is unknown; none of the daughters listed in peerage accounts for the Monreith or Pollok Maxwells note marriage to a 'Craigie'.

Definite social connections for the Blair family are those outside of Scotland. William Blair's sisters, as mentioned in *Burke's Peerage*, were married to gentlemen in the south of England; Agatha married Lieutenant-General Avarne, of Rugeley Staffordshire, and Jane married Robert Williams Esq. of Cerne Abbas, Dorsetshire (dates not found). These connections reflect the fact that their father, Hamilton Blair, Major in the Scot's Greys married Jane, daughter of Sydenham Williams Esq. of Herringston, Dorset. The family must have lived between the south west of England and the south west of Scotland. The marriages of William's sisters suggest that they lived in England perhaps prior to and definitely after their brother's succession to Blair Hall, either with their maternal family or in London, where they might have socialised with their mother's relations and neighbours. The emphasis placed on female society and English education in the upbringing of Scottish girls, as discussed by Katharine Glover, may have been another contributing factor.[350]

The next generation followed the same path. Agatha's son's marriage is listed in *The United Service Journal* of 1831;

> "Dec. 4th. At Bath, Capt. Hamilton Blair Avarne, Honourable East India Co's Ship Warren Hastings, son of the late Lieut.-Gen. Avarne, of Rugeley, Staffordshire, to Mary Sarah, eldest daughter of Henry Hill Esq. of Pulteney-street, in that city."[351]

[348] September or October 1775, October 1777; Diary March 1768 to June 1783, MLA, TD263/255/1
[349] November 27th 1780; Diary March 1768 to June 1783, MLA TD263/255/1
[350] See Chapter 2 'Education and Upbringing' in Glover, Katharine, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press 2011, 24-49
[351] *The United Service Journal & Naval & military Magazine*, Part I, London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley 1831, 141

General Avarne's daughter Hannah-Lycette is also listed as having married 'Walter Jolie Esq., W.S.' in Dorchester, 1825.[352] William Blair's sisters may have owned the *caraco*; it appears that they settled in the south, but in 1782 must have been at Blair Hall regularly enough for the eldest to be associated with a specific room. Yet, if the *caraco* is to be associated with the gentleman's coat of circa 1790, Miss Fordyce remains the most likely candidate as she has the strongest link with a gentleman in Blair Hall at that time.

The presence of French and Dutch furnishings in Blair Hall dating to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provide a tangible, albeit dismantled, object context for the *caraco*; for example a Dutch painted Staartklok.[353] These items help support connections between William Blair and his female kin to fashionable societies in Scotland, England and further afield. Such connections are implied by association with Jane Maxwell and John Ayton – key figures in Edinburgh and London political and fashionable society.

Alternatively, the Blair *caraco* can be associated with the trade community via William Blair's paternal grandmother; daughter of Edinburgh merchant Alexander Tait, and his uncle Alexander Blair, surveyor of customs at the Port of Glasgow (as noted above). These professions may have provided opportunity for the acquisition of imported goods from abroad and elsewhere in Britain. It is certain that textiles and clothing articles in Glasgow were regularly sourced from England; dressmakers and merchants were careful to advertise this, particularly at the beginning of each fashion season (spring and autumn). For example Whitelaws perfumery placed a notice in *The Glasgow Advertiser and Evening Intelligencer* on Friday 25th March 1791 declaring;

> "CHEAP UMBRELLAs, Hat-Covers, Bathing-Caps, Riding Hoods, Riding-Aprons and Tippets; also, Wax Cloth Great Coats, very useful for travelling by sea or land, to be had at WHITELAWS Perfumery shop, No. 36, opposite the Glasgow Hotel, head of King street.
> J. WHITELAW has lately returned from London, where he laid in an elegant assortment of UMBRELLAS and materials for making them… - Ladies old Silk Gowns may be made up into Umbrellas, or frames of old ones covered on a day's notice…"[354]

While a Glasgow haberdashery advertises a return from England, which given his cotton products is likely to refer to the Manchester region;

> "HABERDASHERY, GRAY and LOWRY, TRONGATE, the Corner of STOCKWELL, … humbly beg leave to acquaint… that H. Gray has just returned from England, where he has

[352] *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, No. CII, Vol. XVIII, Edinburgh: William Blackwood 1825, 654
[353] Dated approximately late 18th to early 19th century, painted wood, 350 x 1170mm, sold as lot 54 by Lyon and Turnbull of Edinburgh in Blair Castle sale no.34514th & 15th March 2012
[354] Original spelling errors; Volume IX, number 556, Monday March 21 - Friday March 25

> purchased considerably in the following articles, viz. PRINTED COTTONS and CALLICOES, MUSLINS, MUSLINETS and DIMITIES, BLACK and COLOURED LUTSTRINGS, with every other article in the Linen Drapery and Haberdasery Business… country merchants served upon equal terms as from England. Glasgow, Nov. 9th, 1789."[355]

In Edinburgh merchants were equally careful to advertise wares from London, and as the largest international port in the country, goods from London could originate from the East or West Indies, or a number of European nations.

Merchant connections in the Blair and Maxwell families could have opened a specific avenue for access to international styles in dress, possibly reflected in the garment's style association with Scandinavia and the Low countries; there is known to have been considerable North Sea trade between Scotland and these regions. For example, in 1793 James Wilson, of Wilsons of Bannockburn tartan manufacturers wrote from Aberdeen; "Father […] Trade is very Dull here at present which I am informed is owning to the French getting Possession of Holland as the Abn people carried on a great Trade there as they ly very contigious to one another […]."[356] Furthermore, the 1792 Ledger entries for James Finlay & Co., cotton manufacturers and merchants in Glasgow and the west of Scotland, detail sizeable quantities of stock going to companies in Amsterdam and Maestricht, for example; "Wytse Pieters & Van Eden, Amsterdam … £64.14.0", "Bachmann & Hatchmann, Maestricht … £135.6.9".[357]

Migrants add another layer to European-Scottish trade connections. During their tour through the Continental Lowlands in 1756 Mrs Calderwood and her husband came across various Scots; travellers, social and economic migrants and Jacobite refugees. In Liege, Belgium, they visit a Jesuit garden and meet a Father Blair, who the editor of the published text believes may have been descended from Ayrshire Blairs of Adamton.[358] The Blairs of Adamton were connected to the Maxwell and Blair of Blair family. As noted above Anne, sister to Hamilton Blair (d.1782), married David Blair Esq., of Adamton, and their daughter and heir Catherine married her cousin Sir William Maxwell of Monreith (5^{th} Bt.).

Mrs Calderwood describes Father Blair as;

[355] *The Glasgow Advertiser and Evening Intelligencer*, Volume VII, number 414, Friday November 6 - Monday November 9, 1789
[356] Aberdeen 23 April 1793; Wilsons of Bannockburn archive, private collection, National Register of Archives in Scotland 4241/1/39
[357] Adelphi Cotton Works, James Finlay & Co., University of Glasgow Archives, UGD91/1/4/2/5/1 pages 108, 140, 141
[358] Calderwood, 1884, 171

> "an old little body, and lame of a leg... for which reason he has had a dispensation to allow him to be admitted into the church. He carried us into a parlour, and in a little time some other fathers came; two Scotsmen, one Maxwell, who goes at present by the name of Stewart, because he had wrote something concerning the disputes in France betwixt the clergy and parliament… This man was from Nidsdale, and had been out of the country since he was ten years old, but he spoke the language pretty well yet. He is a tall old man with a grey head, and one of the best faces, and most reverent figures I ever saw.
> Mr. Calderwood, by discoursing with Father Blair, found he was a Scotsman too, though born in England. His father was Sir Adam Blair of Carberry, and left the country with King James VII. It was a brother of his that died lately, and left his money to Andrew Wallace; this brother he had not heard of for thirty years, and only knew he had been in the army; was of another marriage, and a protestant."[359]

Mrs Calderwood goes on to explain that English and Scottish monasteries, convents and colleges were set-up by sympathetic 'Popish Princes' after the Reformation and include "a Scots colledge at Paris, an English one at St. Omers, and this at Liege".[360] The Calderwood view of monastery life and the Scots who undertook it was pragmatic; seen in the description of 'Father Daniel';

> "…he is a good natured, innocent, obliging soul, and very ugly and very merry. He is just a Scots pedantick scholar and was always snuffling, out of curiosity, about every sort of religion, to see what it was, […] and, as he was snuffling about that, I suppose he found a life of study and idleness could be had without an estate, or so much as a farthing, none of which the others had offered him."[361]

It is clear from Mrs Calderwood's memoirs that there were many Scots living on the continent in the mid-eighteenth century. Not all of these connections were necessarily remembered by relatives, but that Mrs Calderwood still considered the Jesuit monks she met as Scottish, despite their estrangement is an indication of how long-lasting kin associations could be. It is reasonable to deduce from the evidence of these anecdotes that long established trading links between migrant merchant communities may have existed.

However, the style of a garment does not necessarily indicate its place of manufacture. The following advert in the *Glasgow Mercury* shows, undergarments were made in the west of Scotland to French, Italian and English styles, suggesting certain forms were associated with particular nations, but were constructed locally.

> "LUNDIN McKECHNIE, Stay and habit maker Returns his most grateful thanks to the Ladies & Merchants of Glasgow in particular, and of the Country in General… He begs most respectfully to inform them, that he is removed from Glasgow to Ayr, where he makes all sorts of STAYS,

[359] Calderwood, 1884, 170-171
[360] Original spellings; Calderwood, 1884, 171
[361] Original spellings; Calderwood, 1884, 173

> CORSSETS, &c. in the neatest manner, and in the newest English, French, and Italian fashions; also LADIES RIDING HABITS in the genteelest taste.
> Ladies in or near Glasgow, by directing their orders to his house in King Street, will have them answered as formerly: and Ladies in Ayrshire, by directing to Ayr, will be waited on at the shortest notice.
> Orders for exportation executed in the best manner, and on the most reasonable terms."[362]

Regarding the Blair *caraco*, the above information suggests multiple possible supply sources and scenarios. It is evident that Scotland was on the receiving end of frequent trade with England and Europe, in such a way that without understanding the garment's style it would be impossible to pick out any one influence. As no receipts or other archival evidence has yet been found proving a point of connection between Blair Hall and the Netherlands, it is only objects that form a connection; allying the *caraco* with the Dutch furniture gives a sense that the householder had a taste for Lowland design, but whether this was acquired direct from the continent, via London, or Edinburgh is unknown.

Complicating the picture is the presence of the Manchester *caraco,* whose unknown provenance makes it difficult to assess whether these garments were continental or British products. It may be that they were produced by a foreign hand in Britain. Continental clothes makers were certainly present in Britain and there is no reason to suppose that the textiles used for the Manchester and Blair *caracos* would not have been available in Britain. A letter to the Duke of Gordon from his London tailor is written phonetically in such a way to strongly suggest the author was Dutch, Flemish or, in reference to his name, of German origin. Moreover the letter refers to items made for the Duchess of Gordon, making clear women's dress was as much his trade as men's.[363]

The possibilities of supply, make, and design influence for the Houstoun *caraco* are equally diverse, the difference being that the strong association of the garment with Mary McDowall and the other extant garments provides an anchor point from which to assess the likelihood of their input. While no bills relating to the purchase of female dress have been found in the Houstoun papers, George Houstoun's accounts and Jean Rankine's diaries suggest via mention of Glasgow establishments and purchases that Mary McDowall's garments are likely to have been acquired in Glasgow. Rankine notes reasonably regular trips to Glasgow for shopping and company, both day trips and short stays, for example on March 28th, 1780; "went to Glasgow wt my Daughter fair weather for two days but ever since nothing but wind and rain…".[364]

[362] Volume XI, number 525, Wednesday January 16 - Wednesday January 23, 1788
[363] See quote of letter in Chater 1; To the 4th Duke of Gordon from J. Peter Schein, dated London August 27th 1772, NAS GD44/43/72/25
[364] Diary March 1768 to June 1783; MLA, TD263/255/1

As newly-weds in the spring of 1779 George and Mary travelled to visit friends and shopped in Glasgow. George Houstoun's account book notes for May "25. By Pair Sleeve Buttons 15/ a pair silk stockings 12/ £1.7.0", "By a watch chain 7/ & a small Bottle 8/ for my wife £0.15.0", "By a Tea Kitchen £2.5.0" and "By Expences at Glasgow £0.9.0" giving a clear impression of a day out purchasing small luxury-necessities for himself and his wife. The accounts further detail sums of £5.5.0 and £1.1.0 to 'Mrs Houstoun'.[365] As with the 3rd Duke of Atholl, who changed referring to his wife as Lady Charlotte to the Duchess after succeeding his title, George Houstoun transfers the title of 'Mrs Houstoun' to Mary and 'My Mother' to Jean Rankine.[366]

The only specific reference in George's accounts that appears connected to women's dress is on 5th August 1779, "By … do [M. Houstoun] for striped Dimity £0.9.2". Dimity is a cotton fabric and does not therefore match any of the extant garments; Mary also does not appear to have purchased a very large amount. However, it is useful as the only direct record of a textile purchased by Mary. It is likely she purchased other fabrics, but that it was done either with ready money or George was simply not interested in recording an itemised list. This might infer a good level of trust in his wife's spending habits. He regularly gave Mary sums of money varying between £0.12.0 and £31.10.0, as there is no regular distinction between what was for household expenses or for personal use it is difficult to gain much more from these amounts, except that the largest sum is likely to have been the settling of a standing account, possibly for textiles and dry goods.

The accounts place the Houstoun's expenditures within their local area, but as has been seen elsewhere proxy shopping was a matter of course for Scots visiting London or further afield. While George and Mary's personal movements may have remained largely in their local area, friends went further afield. While no specific evidence exists of their acquiring goods via proxy it is worth knowing where their acquaintance travelled to gain a picture of possible sources for gaining objects or simply knowledge of fashions.

Alexander Cunninghame is the most obvious candidate for associated travel; he has already been seen to have visited London in 1775. On March 18th that year Jean Rankine makes a note; "Mr Cunningham sett out from this, & from Edinr for France the 27th, that day all the Ground Covered wt snow and hard frost".[367] She does not state exactly which Mr Cunningham she refers to; the most likely candidates are Alexander, who had become 11th Laird of Craigends in 1765, or his brother William. Both men had

[365] Account/cash book 1776-1780, MLA, TD263/309
[366] First distinctions made in August 1779
[367] Diary March 1768 to June 1783; MLA, TD263/255/1

interests abroad, their grandfather having been an influential force in the West Indies, bequeathing property there and stakes in the Alexander Houston Trading Company in Glasgow.[368]

This is the only mention of France yet found in Jean Rankine's notes. There are many more instances of local gentlemen travelling to and from the Americas, largely due to the war of 1775-1783, but involving other circumstances. In November 1778 Jean writes "got accounts of Sandy Alexrs Death at Jamaica Capt Walkingshaw came home from America in bad health" and in the same month 1780, "we got notice of John marchalls Death in Virginia… Decr … the 8th wh day Michael Hogart was kill'd I had a letter from Miss Hall the 4th aquainting me so." In March 1781 "Mr Napier her Grand[s]on sail'd for the east Indies wt Govr Johnstones fleet as is Capt Hay McDowal…" and finally the following August "the Agreeable Will: Houstoun Esq left Johnston I dare say forever he proposes going imeadeitly to Georgia to see his friends may God preserve him well his undertakings…".[369] The connections between Renfrewshire and the Americas were clearly strong, drawing a mix of military and business men, and their respective voyages being regarded as hazardous.

Not all connections were westward-bound. On August 8th 1783, Rankine notes the return of gifts from India; "Mrs Alexr has been here the Whole friends are at Duchall to a feast to be eat off Boyd Alexr fine China sent in a present from India…" The following year Alexander returns and calls on the Houstoun's July "10 Mr Boyd Alexr come from india a Beauty full fig:r … 12 a very warm day a Call from nabob Alexr." Jean's calling Boyd Alexander as 'nabob' is probably a jovial remark on the wealth and position he has gained during his time in India.[370]

Unlike with the Cathcart sisters it is predominantly the men of Renfrewshire who are travelling between regions and continents. Given their mixture of activities it is unclear how far their travels will have resulted in returning goods. It was evidently an occasion to receive the dinner service from India, but smaller gifts may have been regularly procured. A female who brought a foreign element to the Renfrewshire community was Miss Jamieson, second wife of James McDowall. In August 1782 Jean Rankine remarked simply "this Day was Married Mr James McDowall, to Miss Jamieson from America", Miss Jamieson's origin was clearly a distinguishing characteristic.

The community around Mary and George evidently saw a lot of movement to and from foreign locations, but there is no mention of Mary having travelled further afield than Ayr and Stirlingshire,

[368] See Dr. Stuart Nisbet, 'That Nefarious Commerce' St Kitts, Slavery and the West of Scotlandc. 1695-1735, Courtman, Sandra (ed.), *The Society for Caribbean Studies Annual Conference Papers*, volume 9, 2008 accessed online 06.12.2011 <http://www.caribbeanstudies.org.uk/papers/2008/olvol9p3.PDF>
[369] Diary March 1768 to June 1783, MLA, TD263/255/1
[370] Diary 1783-1788, MLA, TD263/255/2

which she did with her husband. Her daily life was centred more locally. This supports the theory discussed above that Mary was able to access goods and knowledge of British and French fashions relatively easily, but this understanding of wider fashions was fed through the filter of her daily life in rural Scotland. The surviving garments attest to an enjoyment of fashion, but not at the expense of practical necessity, or going beyond the requirements of her social world. Conversely the garments are more than practical, befitting a young woman engaged with her appearance and the decision processes of dress commissions.

It is evident from even this limited knowledge of the Blair and Houstoun families that the women were provided with multifarious opportunities to acquire materials and knowledge of continental European, British and even international fashions. In western lowland Scotland the gentry were no more isolated from contemporary culture than their counterparts in other areas of the United Kingdom, perhaps even less so given their proximity to Port Glasgow and the increasingly easy communications with Edinburgh. The juxtaposition of a taste for French style in Mary McDowall and Dutch style at Blair Hall suggests that regional placement had only a limited influence on tastes in dress and furnishings; ultimately it would appear more specifically personal considerations are what determined the outcome, such as familial and social connections and individual taste.

Conclusion:

It is clear from the variety of materials seen in the above objects that access to goods was not a major factor in determining the dress of the gentlewomen concerned, although it had a role. Instead, the discussions have drawn out issues of social appearances and personal taste, which were combined with an understanding of fashion in the extant garments. Certain elements of practicality were evidently necessary to a gentlewomen's wardrobe, but not so much that decorative appearance was neglected. This practicality in dress can be regarded as symbiotic with level-headed attitudes towards daily life, as illustrated in Jean Rankine's diaries and more broadly by Katharine Glover, who notes that attitudes to luxury in Scotswomen's travel writing acted to "reassure those at home that they retained the level-headedness and common sense on which polite Scots tended to pride themselves."[371]

Evident in the above garments and associated information is a sense of social place that was combined with an interest in fashion and appearances. Whether consciously or not the 'common sense' of the gentry with whom Mary McDowall associated appears to have infiltrated her personal style, providing neat, colourful garments, both determinedly personal and within the bounds of her social settings. She dressed for the occasions she would attend, rather than attempting to impose any extra level of finery.

[371] Glover, 2011, 152

For the Blair and Houstoun households an ability to acquire foreign goods and fine materials was combined with a social identity that directed taste and style towards garments that were luxurious, international, but in some ways still simple and practical.

Figure 4.1: Location map

Blairgowrie, Perthshire = 1
Kirkcudbright, Dumfriesshire = 2
Bochrubin, Invernesshire = 3

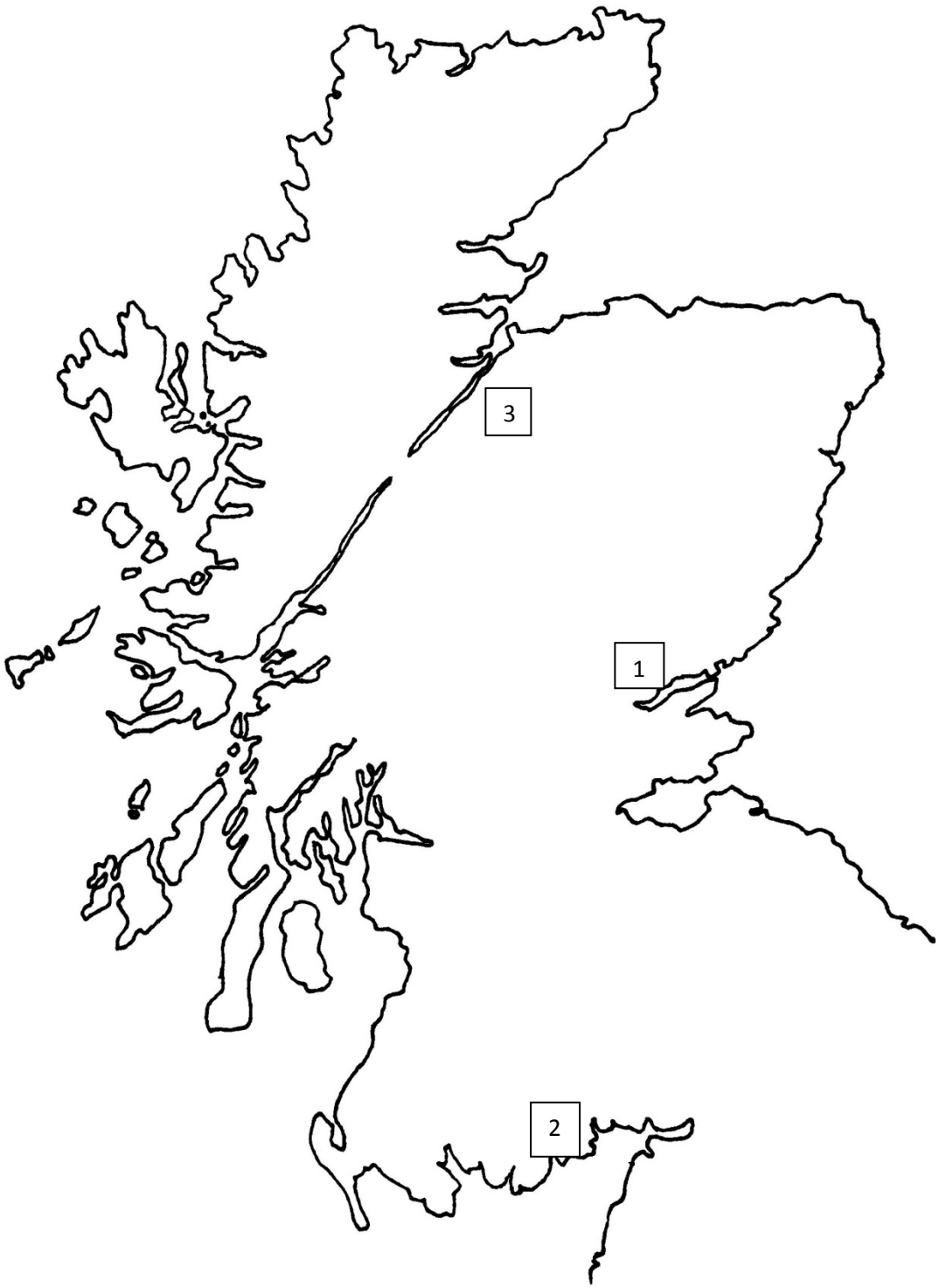


Figure 4.2: Kinloch family tree[372]

Sir James Kinloch, 3rd Bart of that Ilk

Janet Duff, sister of the Earl of Fife

- William, who resided in England and sold the estate to **Captain George Oliphant Kinloch**
- David
- Joseph York
- Francis Peregrine
- two further sons
- Jean, m. Robert Maclaren
- Henrietta
- Mary,m. John Rankine of Dunhope
- Ann
- three further daughters

Captain George Oliphant Kinloch
(purchased Kinloch estate, 1770)

Ann
daughter of John Balneavis of Carnbaddie

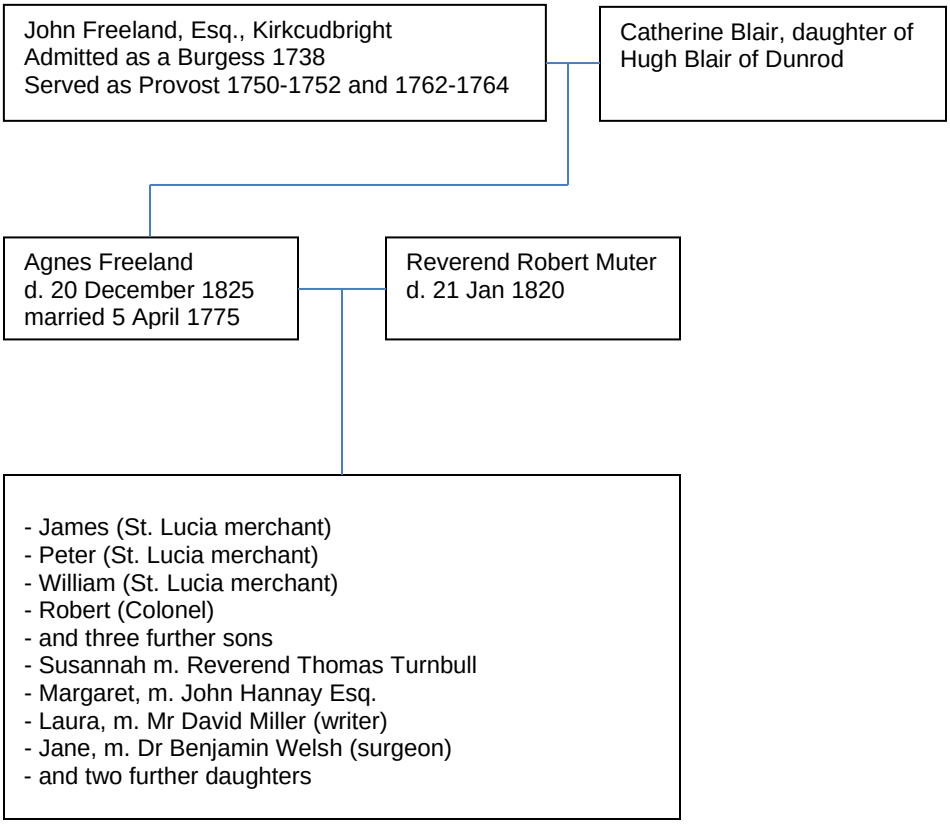
Lieutenant-Colonel William Calderwood of Polton
d. 1787

John, d. 1789 at Nice

George, d.1833
m. his cousin Helen, 3rd daughter of John Smyth
- had two sons and six daughters

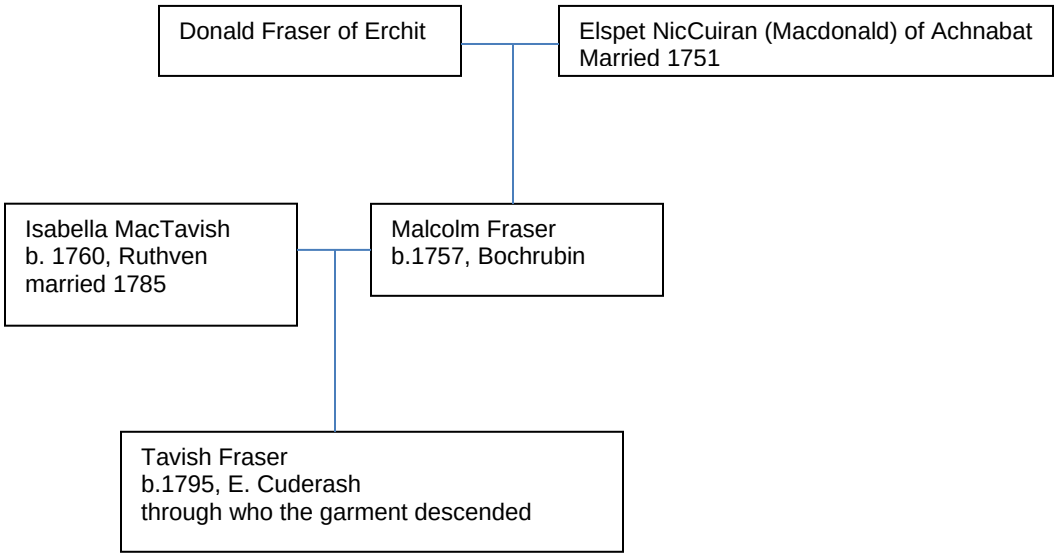
[372] Information largely taken from *Burke's Peerage*, 1936, 1390-1391

Figure 4.3: Freeland family tree[373]



[373] Taken from provenance research information supplied by Liverpool Museums

Figure 4.4: Fraser-MacTavish family tree[374]



[374] Information is taken from that supplied by the owners to Inverness Museum and Art Gallery

Chapter 4: fashionable dress in Scotland with restricted means

Review and introduction:

The final chapter in this thesis will discuss garments relating to households whose income relied on both occupation and inheritance or estates, but still afforded an educated, occasionally leisured status. This generalisation serves to group the objects to be discussed, originating from disparate regions of Scotland. While the garments can be usefully compared, their eighteenth century owners would not necessarily have recognised one another as social peers. Within this thesis however, both garments and owners represent the third and final income level under discussion, providing the counterpoint to the aristocratic lifestyles seen in Chapter 1.

The reduced means of the households concerned, as reflected in the surviving garments add a new layer to the discussion of women's fashion and identity in eighteenth century Scotland. Limited means necessarily place greater emphasis on economy of material than fashion, yet concern with contemporary modes is not neglected, simply modified and integrated accordingly. The necessity for economy in dress would have been evident to contemporaries, but what becomes clear in the objects explored below is that economy did not necessarily mean compromise in quality of materials – reuse of materials, for economic and sentimental reasons is a feature of every item. How these two concerns interacted will be an important theme in the analyses and discussion, raising questions such as whether sentimental attachment maintained or elevated the value of materials? For example, was re-using high quality textiles of a much earlier date perceived as better than purchasing slightly inferior, but new textiles?

This Chapter is concerned with garments connected to three families. Firstly, a group of four dresses in Perth Museum and Art Gallery collection, thought to have belonged to the Kinloch family formerly of Rosemount House in Blairgowrie, Perthshire; secondly a dress in Liverpool Museums collection thought to have belonged to Agnes Freeland, wife of Reverend Muter in Kirkcudbright, Dumfriesshire; finally a tartan dress believed to have been worn as a wedding dress in 1785 by Isabella Fraser née MacTavish, in Invernesshire.[375] Most of the garments were last worn in the eighteenth century during the 1780s, with some having been re-modelled or subsequently worn as historical garments.

Methodology and layout:

Once again, the items to be explored below were identified from a survey of eighteenth century dress in Scottish collections, and from a wider search for garments with a Scottish provenance. As with the

[375] This dress is generally known as the 'Fraser wedding dress' but is referred to here as the MacTavish dress in keeping with previous discussions by referring to the garment via the most definitely associated wearer.

Houstoun of Johnstone and Richardson of Pitfour objects, the Kinloch garments were identified as useful for this study by providing another example of a group of garments from one source, but differing from previous groups by coming from a less wealthy family and the garments having undergone significant reuse.

Having identified the MacTavish and Freeland garments as items with a firm provenance, initial research showed that both mixed earlier materials or styles with 1780s wear, significant in that both use materials rarely found on extant women's main garments in Scotland. As the only late eighteenth century tartan dress found during this study it was crucial to include the MacTavish garment, and try to understand the reasons for its exceptional survival. The Freeland dress was found to provide further interest as it was donated to Liverpool Museums alongside a photograph showing it being worn as fancy dress in the late nineteenth century, thus evidencing this common reuse of earlier garments, which any object-study of eighteenth century garments must take into account.

Following the Prown methodology and layout of previous chapters the individual garments will be presented and analysed regarding their material and stylistic design; beginning with the four Kinloch items whose joint provenance and style similarities necessitate cross-referencing. The Freeland and MacTavish garments will then be explored, including some general discussion of tartan cloth, in order to provide context for the latter. The garments are finally brought together in a discussion addressing themes identified during the analyses, which relate to the dialogue between identity, fashionable dress and social position for eighteenth century Scotswomen, with particular focus on how limited incomes interacted with fashion to promote or necessitate re-use and economy in materials.

Data:

Object name /number	12A/1939
Date	Collection date: silk circa 1740-1745; garment circa 1775-1780 / research date: silk circa 1740-1743, garment circa 1780-1785
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 ½ inches (495mm)
Provenance	Kinloch family, Blairgowrie, Perthshire
Collection	Perth Museum and Art Gallery

Description	Woman's dress in two designs of cream silk. First woven with a ground pattern of trailing floral bands, brocaded with a continuous floral stem in a vertical snaking design, in green, yellow, black, purple and pink, blue and cream - motifs include lily of the valley. Second silk is used for the skirt and bodice fronts, similarly brocaded with floral motifs including a large carnation sprig. The selvedge of the primary material is red; the second material yellow. Dress has a closed bodice front, low squared neckline with integral drawstring; front waistline ending in a squared v-shape. Bodice back *en fourreau*, with three central seams and two flanking seams. Sleeves extend to the elbow with a narrow extension to the sleeve end and single flounce-style cuff. Bodice and sleeves are lined with linen. Skirt has an open front, with narrow pleating into the waistline, secured internally using a chain stitch. The skirt has been constructed from five panels and the hem is lined with cream silk.

Comparative analysis:

Initial enquiries found striking likeness between three of the Kinloch textiles (12A/1939, 13B/1939 and 14/1939) and designs by Anna Maria Garthwaite. Making it likely the textiles are Garthwaite designs, or at least produced in Spitalfields, London. Comparative sources cited are the most relevant ones found and therefore largely limited to examples by Garthwaite in the V&A collections.

The Kinloch dress uses two textiles for the main garment. The first, used for the garment back and majority of the skirt is patterned with a continuous, vertically snaking floral stem. The flowers accommodate several colours each, but are not so large that they obscure the ground as on some of Garthwaite's 1730s designs (4.2, 4.3). Instead the silk resembles the spreading patterns of the early 1740s (4.4-4.7). Evidenced by the V&A Garthwaite collection, regular trailing floral stems in this style do not appear to have extended much beyond 1743 and 1744. Research therefore determined that circa 1742-1744 was the most applicable date bracket for 12A/1939.

Similarities between 12A/1939 and Garthwaite's designs include floral shapes and colours. Design 4.4 has a notable similarity of colour; the strongest being the shading of the green leaves in both examples. The floral shapes are likewise comparable, combining pointed and bulbous spreading leaves and star-shaped yellow flowers. These flowers and the soft, large floral heads on the Kinloch silk can be found on designs 4.7 and 4.8.

The second textile, used for the bodice and skirt fronts, has a different floral pattern but which is still distinctly Garthwaite-like; for example the tightly coiled tendril, seen as part of a blue sprig on the wearer's left front compares to designs of 1740, 1741 and 1749 (4.9, 4.10, 4.20 – below). This second textile retains some of the fluid and star-shaped flora of the other silk, but the pattern distribution is

like that of 4.6; the distance between flowers is greater and they have a more delicate appearance. This second textile compares to designs of around the same date in Garthwaite's oeuvre as the first, circa 1740-1743, suggesting both materials were contemporary.

The front-back construction of the dress was probably intended to minimise a viewer's recognition of there being two fabrics, which is further minimised by design consistencies. However the cuffs of 12A/1939 are in a third material; the same used for dress 13B/1939 (see below). This sharing of material with 13B/1939 evidences a conjoined history. Yet, the cuffs having a paler colour, eighteenth century construction (carefully pieced, with pinked edges), and, alongside the sleeve, stitch holes from previous seams, suggests they were transplanted from 13B/1939 at a later date. An idea further supported by the cuffs seeming clumsy when compared to the joining of different silks in other areas of the garment.

Crease lines diagonal on each side of the bodice front further evidence alteration on 12A/1939. As the dress is pieced from different materials it is possible the creases relate to a previous incarnation of that fabric, as opposed to adjustment; however, the creases are suggestive of having been pleated robings folded out.

These alterations raise two possibilities; that the dress is made from parts of older garments, or that it has always been constructed from two (or three) different figured silks and simply adjusted its form. The use of different materials for front and back is plausibly deliberate. For example, the shoulder blade area uses small pieces of the different fabrics; inside the visible selvedge switches neatly from red to yellow. The use of two fabrics is subtle, unlike the cuffs where the fabrics differ in colour.

Analysis of the style of 12A/1939 dated it to circa 1780-1785 and allied it with the 'Dutch' style of *caraco* discussed in relation to the Blair and Manchester examples in the previous chapter. The former date is most evident in comparing the narrow knife pleats at the waist, narrow *fourreau* and small marks at the waist back where buttons were once attached (4.11-4.17). All of these features relate to the Houstoun garments, the sources discussed in relation to them, and the later Richardson of Pitfour items. The features which relate this Kinloch dress to the Blair *caraco* style are, arguably, more subtle.

Of the garments studied during research thought to date to the 1780s a vast majority have low, wide necklines with a rounded edge at the outermost point of the décolletage (for example, 4.11 and 4.12). Their rear necklines are also usually quite high, around an inch at most below shoulder level. On this Kinloch dress the outer point of the décolletage is at a right-angle and the back neckline is comparatively low; the same can be seen on the Manchester and Blair *caracos* (3.130, 3.131), their

related sources and a Dutch *sacque* circa 1770s (4.18). The squared v-point at the front waistline is also an unusual feature on the Kinloch dress. Given the earlier date of the fabric it is possible these features stem from the dress having been adjusted from an earlier style of around the same date as the fabric. An example of a garment sharing these features and clearly adjusted from a circa 1730 style is 4.11.

The folding out of robings to form a bodice front could explain these features. However, the probable dating of the garment and the existence of the features on *caracos* connected to 1780s Dutch styles makes that link seem stronger.

Object name /number	13B/1939
Date	Collection date: circa 1760s / research date: silk circa 1745-1755; garment circa 1767-1773
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 ½ inches (495mm)
Provenance	Kinloch family, Blairgowrie, Perthshire
Collection	Perth Museum and Art Gallery
Description	Woman's dress, or *sacque*, in cream silk woven with snaking ground pattern of a lace-style motif and small floral sprigs, brocaded over with sprays of carnations ('pinks') and other smaller bud and four petal flowers. The flowers are brocaded in coloured silks including pinks, greens, yellow, orange, blue and purple. The selvedge has a red stripe. Dress has an open bodice front forming a deep v towards the waistline, with flat single-tuck robings at each side of the bodice, and stitch holes evidencing the removal of previous trimming. Bodice back has a square neckline with two wide double box-pleats extending into the skirt. The sleeves extend just over the elbow, trimmed with short flounce-style cuffs, attached onto the sleeve with a deep gather, the cuff edges are pinked. The bodice and sleeves are lined with linen, the inside underarms have wool patches with a blue stripe as garment protectors, possibly not original. Skirt has an open front, trimmed at each side with box-pleated self-material forming a snaking pattern from hip to hem. Skirt is slightly shaped to be shorter at the front hem, has tie loops on the inside and silk lining the front panels and hem. Skirt is constructed in four full selvedge width and two smaller panels.

Comparative analysis:

As with the previous dress, 13B/1939 was found to be connected with designs by Anna Maria Garthwaite. Brocaded in coloured flora on a cream ground, the arrangement differs from the previous

example, possibly suggestive of a slightly later design and production date. The flowers are dispersed in individual sprigs, not threaded to each other, while the ground pattern forms a snaking line in a lace-motif. The latter is comparable to later French examples, but less detailed (for example 1.39).

Research focussed on two main elements of the textile design; the ground motif and the floating floral sprigs. Examples of designs by Garthwaite with a snaking ground pattern were found dating to the late 1740s and early 1750s (2.74, 4.20, 4.21). As noted above 4.20 can be connected to earlier designs by Garthwaite by the curled tendril ends. Both 4.20 and 4.21 have isolated coloured floral motifs, which again can be found in earlier designs by Garthwaite, suggesting she had a repertoire of floral motifs for use across different design layouts (2.23, 4.22).

The relative pattern density and more rigid structure to this second Kinloch textile are further suggestive of a slightly later production date to the first dress' silk. Although less directly comparable to extant Garthwaite examples, the group context of 13B/1949 and the treatment of the flowers support the theory that this is another Garthwaite designed silk. For example, the carnation sprigs are comparable but more contained than those of 2.23, and it is possible to compare petal forms, relative colour distribution and size of flora in both examples. Similar comparison can be made with 4.21, which uses carnations and small daisy-like flowers in the ground pattern as on the Kinloch silk; the latter are different in specifics but comparable as variations on a theme. As is the general design of floral bouquets or stems formed around a central snaking ground motif. Furthermore, 13B/1939 has a similar highlight effect on the smallest flowers to Garthwaite's designs, seen on 4.23.

How far specific design elements can be ascribed to an individual designer is debateable, but comparing Garthwaite's designs to anonymous French pieces makes clear their character and fluidity (4.24 and 4.25). Moreover, colour could change from design to cloth, such as paler shading; an example of the difference in tones used on a Garthwaite carnation between drawing and silk can be seen in the V&A collections (4.26), explaining the likelihood of the Kinloch carnations being Garthwaite designs, despite colour differences.

Research into the dress style of 13B/1939 focussed on understanding the place of the garment within the Kinloch group and specific details, as research into the *sacque* style was covered by other garments (see Chapters 1 and 2). As has been discussed elsewhere, research found the *sacque* style did not visibly go beyond the late 1770s – the latest visual sources found for *sacque* garments date to 1776-1778 (4.27, 4.28, 3.103), but by the late 1770s the back pleats had narrowed (see Chapter 3). The *sacque* pleats on the Kinloch example clearly ally it with earlier garments, such as those belonging to

the Dukes of Atholl. The Kinloch *sacque* therefore predates its partner garments in construction, two of which date to circa 1780 (12A/1939, 14/939), but was found to still be likely to post-date its textile.

The garment was assessed via the skirt trimmings and sleeves. The form of the skirt trimming was found to be used, or depicted, for over a decade (4.29-4.31). Close analysis of the trimming concluded it most resembled images of circa 1767-1772, for example; *Her Grace the Duchess of Marlborough…* of 1772 (2.76). Loose curves can be found earlier (2.79, 4.30); however the width of the Kinloch trimming was closest to fashion plates from 1767, 1768 and 1772 (1.50, 1.52, 2.76 – as noted).

The sleeves may have had a double-layered cuff, if the under-layer was transplanted onto dress 12A/1939, as discussed above. This, the elbow length, and fitting of the sleeve are suggestive of a style date later than the 1740s fabric, when sleeves could be loose (see 2.38). Depictions of dresses with double layer sleeves were found dating to the late 1760s (as before) and around 1772-1775 (1.15-1.16, 2.76, 4.32-4.34). Triple layer cuffs were commonly depicted in 1771 (1.14).

Consequently, the Kinloch *sacque* construction comfortably dates to the late 1760s-early 1770s, arguably extending earlier to the late 1750s; post-dating the silk used to make it. For use context sources such as the image of the *Duchess of Marlborough* noted above, *A Lady in the Dress of 1769* and *Two Ladies in the Dress of 1773*, *Lady Waldegrave* of 1771 (4.32, 4.34-4.35) suggest ways in which the skirt, with its internal tapes, may have been worn and its 'undress' context (see the discussion below).

Finally, there are a few construction features worth noting: the stitching on the bodice is similar in neatness to 12A/1939, hinting at the possibility they had the same maker. The *sacque* has evidence of adjustments, probably made in the nineteenth century, while the presence of a nineteenth century replica dress, donated alongside the four eighteenth century Kinloch items further supports a theory that the garments may have been used, or considered for use as fancy dress.[376] Adjustments include: stitch holes on the robings where a trimming has been removed, stitch holes in the bodice lining where boning was inserted and removed, the skirt sides being over-stitched onto the lining (not usual practice for eighteenth century *sacque* dresses) and wool protectors are attached to the underarms. Protectors are found regularly in nineteenth century garments, but no other examples were found in un-modified eighteenth century dresses. In regard to the trimming removed from the bodice, it is possible this was used for the cuffs seen on 12A/1939, for the smaller pieces and bands joining to the sleeve end.

[376] Accession number 13C/1939

Object name /number	14/1939 or /1972
Date	No collection date provided / research date: silk circa 1749; garment circa 1775-1780
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 19 ¼ inches (490mm)
Provenance	Kinloch family, Blairgowrie, Perthshire
Collection	Perth Museum and Art Gallery
Description	Pale yellow-green silk, woven with a ground pattern in cream or white silk of thin floral stems around irregular striped areas. The ground pattern is interspersed with single stems and trailing stems of flowers in coloured silks. The larger single stems are roses in purple, pinks and greens, the smaller flowers include yellow, pink and purple. The selvedge has blue stripes. Bodice with a closed front and wide low neckline, trimmed with a narrow band of scalloped and gathered self-material and with an internal drawstring fastening at centre front opening. Fitted sleeves, extending to the elbow. Slightly rounded waist front and bodice back shaped *en fourreau* with three centre seams and two flanking side seams. Bodice and sleeves show evidence of adjustments and are lined with linen. Skirt pleated into waist in regular narrow knife pleats, approximately 5mm width, skirt open at centre front, the open edges trimmed with pleated bands of gathered self-material, cut with a scalloped edge snaking to hem. Skirt shows signs of wear just below the waistline, ties inside the bottom hem to tie up the lower edges, constructed from four selvedge width panels and two narrow gores at each side. Matching petticoat constructed with five selvedge width panels, a linen tape waistband with ties at each side. Petticoat broadly pleated into the waistband at the back and either side of the flat front, sides of waist with petticoat gathered on a drawstring, fastening at each side. Stitch holes below waistband indicating some adjustment.

Comparative analysis:

The similarity of the silk used for this third Kinloch dress with Anna Maria Garthwaite's designs is clear from the above analyses. The design is one of a white ground pattern with trailing stems and stripes in white, with floating diagonal stems and rose branches brocaded in colour. The striped areas of the ground pattern can be associated with a Garthwaite design cited in Chapter 2 of 1748 (2.23) and another dating to 1749 (4.37). Another comparable design and sample of Garthwaites' dated 1749, was cited above (4.20). The similarities lie in both the overall composition and floral detail, the tendril shapes and colour treatment of the flowers. Research also found that the strength of comparison between the floral forms on this textile and that of 13D/1939, affirmed the association between the latter and Garthwaite's designs.

Due to a slightly higher neckline and scalloped trimming 14/1939 is more comparable to some of the sources cited in relation to 12A/1939 than that dress, such as 4.11 and 4.13, as well as having stylistic association with some of the Houstoun items (3.43, 3.87), all dated to roughly 1780. This association is most evident through the use of a gathered band of self-material trimming at the neckline and skirt front. Research found other instances of garments with this trimming, with a scalloped edge, which used textiles thought to pre-date the dress style; 4.38-4.40, 4.43-4.44 (4.41-4.42 illustrate the earlier date of the textile for 4.40). At the same time extant garments evidenced the use of scalloped self-material trimmings at earlier dates to circa 1780 styles (1.33, 4.45-4.46). Possibly suggesting that this scalloped edging was a hang-over feature from earlier garments perpetuated in women's dress through the adjustment and re-use of older garments.

Trimmings with a rounded scallop edge are relatively common on garments in British collections. The presence of this feature on both 14/1939 and the final Kinloch garment (analysed below) links the Kinloch group so that each of the four garments share either construction style or textile pattern. These connections create the same group behaviour that was seen with the Houstoun of Johnstone garments, suggesting the garments were owned and modified together, rather than being accumulated from different individuals.

Several of the sources noted above were found to share construction style with 14/1939 as well as trimming form. For example, the rounded waist fronts on the two Leeds garments (4.43-4.44). A final style feature of 14/1939 worth particular mention is the tying of the lower skirt. Rather than creating a *polonaise* effect, noted in Chapter 3, internal ties only allow the hem of the Kinloch dress to be raised, creating an effect more like that seen on the yellow Richardson of Pitfour dress (2.1), dated circa 1765-1770. Again, this feature may be a hang-over from a previous incarnation of 14/1939, closer to the date of the textile.

Object name /number	13D/1939
Date	Collection date: circa 1770 / research date: silk 1724-1732; garment circa 1775-1780
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 15 ¾ inches (400mm)

Provenance	Kinloch family, Blairgowrie, Perthshire
Collection	Perth Museum and Art Gallery
Description	Woman's dress in grey soft satin silk woven with blue mirror repeat floral design,[377] with details brocaded in yellow, pink and green. Low square neckline, trimmed with a band of gathered self-material, with scalloped edge. Bodice front closed with centre front opening having evidence of hook and eye fastenings, now removed. Waist front with rounded v-point; bodice back pleated *en fourreau*. Bodice lining with boning, most probably replacement with one possible original. Sleeves are fitted, ending just above elbow and cut slightly shorter on inside arm. Bodice and sleeves are lined with linen. Skirt pleated into waist, unevenly at one side, with internal linen loops to tie up skirt. Skirt hem bound with linen tape. Skirt constructed with seven selvedge width panels, the selvedge is blue.

Comparative analysis:

Research for the final Kinloch dress focussed on the textile and will elaborate on what was stated as mirror or point repeat, circa 1720-1732, in relation to the Haddington dress K.2002.510, Chapter 1 (1.188). As the pattern and weave are markedly different to the other Kinloch garments it was important to explore the origins of the fabric. The garment style is consequently secondary to the discussion.

The textile and garment style of 13D/1939 share characteristics with garments, in Paisley (4.48) and Glasgow Museums' collections (4.49). Because of their geographic and stylistic proximity research compared and contrasted the items, providing examples relating to all three and building a visual context for the Kinloch dress. The Paisley and Glasgow garments were accessioned from local donors, therefore probably have Scottish provenances; combined with the Haddington dress, it appears the fashion for mirror repeat textiles spread in Scotland, despite the style being comparatively short-lived.

Analysis of the Haddington dress quoted Clare Browne's general comments on mirror repeat designs. Her opinion of 13D/1939 is that it "was probably woven between about 1725 and 1730" and it "would not have been likely for a woman who considered herself fashionable to continue wearing such a silk, so the gowns may have been less likely to be worn out, or re-figured for another use".[378] As the Kinloch, Glasgow and Paisley garments all show evidence of reuse in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Browne's statement, based on textile knowledge, can be questioned via fashion knowledge;

[377] The term indicates a pattern with a centre line and exact reflected design each side, the paper designs only show one side of the pattern

[378] E-mail correspondence with the author stating her opinion and in consultation with Dr. Lesley Miller (Senior Curator, Department of Furniture, Textiles and Fashion, V&A), 11.05.2011

there possibly having been a brief trend for reuse of these fabrics, evidently retained by a number of upper class households.

Browne's dating of the Kinloch textile was found to be supported by items at the V&A (4.50-4.53), including a broad likeness with designs by Anna Maria Garthwaite (4.54-4.59). Items 4.54-4.56 are the most relevant to the Kinloch textile in being less dense and using feathery leaves. The other examples, in relating to the Paisley dress, form a further point of connection between the two items and show the variation in mirror repeat designs. From the examples cited, the increased pattern density in Garthwaite's designs might be attributable to their later production date, suggesting the Kinloch textile dates closer to 1725 than 1730.

Connections with French designs were found, through the Lyonnais Huguenot refugee Christopher Badouin, whose drawings were compiled and may be mixed in with Anna Maria Garthwaite's volume at the V&A (4.60),[379] and through items in the Musée des Tissus collection (4.61-4.66). Once again these showed the variety of design within the mirror repeat genre, and more examples of tear-drop forms using feathery leaves. However, the non-specific dating provided for the samples meant that little further information could be gained regarding the Kinloch item except that four of the most relevant Musée des Tissus examples are furnishing fabrics, illustrating the dialogue between dress and furnishings at this time.

In the process of sourcing examples comparable to the Kinloch silk, the mirror repeat designs were contrasted with other patterns of a similar date, both French and English (4.67-4.70). Illustrating the variety of repeating textile patterns used circa 1720-1735.

Relatively few extant garments using mirror repeat textiles were found, aside from those already mentioned (4.71-4.73). The Musée Galliera dress (4.71) provides a good example, alongside the Haddington *robe volante*, of an unaltered garment. The others have all undergone modification; the Worthing dress (4.72) appears to have been re-structured in the mid-nineteenth century and the Colonial Williamsburg dress (4.73) provides an example of eighteenth century remodelling.

The Galliera dress is a key example as it has a pleated *fourreau* back, in which the pleat folds align with the neckline edge and shoulder seam (see also 2.133, circa 1760-1780). As with the dating of *sacque* pleats according to their width, the placement of these folds may indicate date (discussed

[379] http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O85068/design-baudouin-christopher/ referencing Baker, Malcolm and Richardson, Brenda (eds), *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London: V&A Publications 1997, 431

further below). The Galliera pleats are wider than the Kinloch pleats, which align with the inside of the neckline and the outer edge of the neckline trimming. This is the case with the Paisley dress and was seen on the Norwich dress (4.11). The relation of the Kinloch pleats to the neckline trimming suggests they were adjusted when the trimming was applied and the robings folded out to form a closed front.

The Kinloch trimming compares to that of the Glasgow dress, which, in turn, compares to images from the late 1770s and early 1780s (3.23, 3.66, 3.79, 4.75-4.76). Dress 4.74 in Hereford Museum is presented because its trimmings compare to the Williamsburg item; the textile is similar to the other Kinloch dresses; and the back is pleated like the above Galliera garment, providing a connection between these geographically disparate sources and indicating flexibility in the use and interpretation of styles. The interwoven trimmings of the Hereford and Williamsburg dresses are found on images of circa 1759 (1.148, 2.44, 2.47, 4.78), implying their *fourreau* pleats date to around this time. Evidence of broadly pleated *fourreau* backs used in Scotland circa 1750 is found on Paul Sandby's images (2.136, 4.79, 4.80).

Dress 13D/1939 therefore departs from the other Kinloch garments in using an earlier textile, but is similarly likely to have been remodelled circa 1780.

Freeland

Object name /number	LM 50.98.1
Date	Collection date: silk circa 1736-1738; dress circa 1770-1780 / research date: dress circa 1780s
Materials	Silk, linen
Dimensions	Silk selvedge width: 16 3/8 inches (416mm); pattern repeat height 17 inches (432mm)
Provenance	Believed to have belonged to Agnes Freeland, Kirkcudbright, Dumfriesshire
Collection	Liverpool Museums
Description	Woman's dress in cream silk woven with floral design in dark green, brocaded with pink, dark red and yellow on the flowers, in a repeating design of one large floral spray. Dress has a low wide and slightly squared front neckline and a shallow squared rear neckline, a closed bodice front with a squared v-shaped waistline, fastening with eleven metal hooks and eyes, two of which are modern replacements. Bodice back shaped *en fourreau*, with two narrow pieces at the centre back, flanked by the main body of the garment. Sleeves fitted to just below the elbow and shaped with a tuck. Bodice and sleeves are lined with pieced linen and possibly cotton.

	Centre back may have had boning. Bodice has creases and stitch holes suggesting the dress has been re-modelled from a *sacque*. Skirt pleated into the waistline with knife pleats around 10mm in width. The skirt has an open front and pocket slits at each side, the hem is straight and faced with linen tape, some piecing of material on the upper skirt, overall skirt construction with six widths of fabric. Conservation circa 1987 lined the skirt so selvedge measurement was not possible.

Comparative analysis:

Examination of the silk was important in the analysis of this garment; the disparity between the date of silk design and dress construction, combined with the unusual textile design necessitated understanding the context in which both were created, to gain insight to how and why both features were combined. Sources are therefore dominated by comparative textile samples and designs and other extant garments that have reused earlier silks.

Although the scale of pattern on the Freeland silk is comparable to the mirror repeat examples seen above, it is a simple block repetition, without any mirroring or points of continuity between each diagram. Comparison of the Freeland pattern to examples from British and French collections (2.123-2.125, 4.69, 4.82-4.95) found that, in general, the design was closer to items and designs said to be French (4.85, 4.87).[380] However, it is evident from these sources that the difference between designs each side of the English Channel was subtle, so that with the limited examples found during research it is not possible to say definitively if this silk is British or French. It is known that Anna Maria Garthwaite, and no doubt other English designers, possessed French patterns.[381] It is therefore possible the Freeland design was based on a French style but made in Britain.

With the exception of the vaguely dated items from the Musée des Tissus all of the examples cited date to circa 1730-1736, making this a likely production date for the Freeland textile and confirming the view expressed by Natalie Rothstein, who is noted in Liverpool Museum catalogue information as suggesting a date of the later 1730s. Agnes Freeland's father became a Burgess of Kirkcudbright in 1738, which would probably have been a time of wealth and celebration for him, feasibly resulting in luxury purchases, such as this silk.

Aside from relevant examples cited elsewhere research found one other garment using a similar design of textile, and which appears to have survived without major alteration (4.96). This contrasts with three

[380] Items 4.85 and 4.86 appear to be the same design, however they have been catalogued separately and this information could not be investigated further due to the late acquisition of this information during the project
[381] Browne, Clare, *Silk Designs of the Eighteenth Century From the Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, London: Thames and Hudson 1996, 106

garments in Glasgow Museums' collections that use textiles of circa 1730-1760 adapted into the simple, fitted style of circa 1780 (4.97-4.99). Following on from the previous analysis, the construction of the bodice *fourreau* again proved informative regarding the adaptation and original form of the Freeland and other garments. While 4.96 has pleats probably of circa 1730-1750, the other examples have seamed *fourreaus*. Dress 4.98 and the Freeland garment use small pieces of material across the upper back and piecing in the upper skirt. When compared against other adjusted garments, and noting some remaining vertical creases on pieces inserted to the Freeland skirt, research found that the piecing was not only careful thrift of material, but is likely to indicate that the garments were adjusted from a pleated *fourreau* style, rather than a *sacque*. Additional to which their makers evidently used the same methods of reconstruction.

In examination of the *fourreau* seam alignments with the neckline, several extant garments were sourced dating unmistakably to the 1780s and 1790s (2.94, 2.114-2.115, 2.118, 4.100-4.103), supporting the idea that the Freeland garment was reconstructed in a style contemporary to the 1780s, with an eye to construction detail at that time, as opposed to attempting to remould the existing construction to a slightly more fashionable line, as may have been the case with 13D/939 (above). This suggests that the original garment of the Freeland textile was completely deconstructed before the silk was re-used.

The signs of alteration on the Freeland dress are clear; there are crease lines on the bodice front which suggest it originally had folded front robings. On the bodice back there are closely set vertical creases mid-way between the *fourreau* and under-arms. These are positioned where the outer *fourreau* seams on other garments are found (notably 12A/1939), or tucks, as on the Houstoun dress 1932.51.h. The Freeland creases are likely to mark where similar tucks have been let out. The latter adjustments are likely to date to the nineteenth century, as indicated by Georgina Turnbull's photograph wearing the dress circa 1880-1890 (4.81).[382] Ms Turnbull wears the dress over a nineteenth century corset with a short, tight waist, tight sleeves and the skirt arrayed over a bustle, with the sides gathered to emphasise a bustle shape.

Looking at the Freeland dress again there are evident adjustments around the front neckline, raising it and adding material around the fastenings. These are likely to be later additions, using thread loops and metal hooks – a typical combination for nineteenth century dress.[383] It is possible that the tucked seams on the bodice back were let-out in the nineteenth century to increase the size of the garment. There are further tucks which have been inserted around the upper bodice back where it meets the sleeve, and

[382] Accession number 50.98.4
[383] As observed from work with 1840-1870s garments in Glasgow Museums

along the sleeve seam, both of which would tighten the sleeve against the arm. As Ms Turnbull is an older woman in the photograph the higher décolletage is probably for increased modesty, but would fit with the more figure-hugging style of dress at that time, requiring over-bust coverage for physical security.

MacTavish

Object name /number	INVMG.00.164 or 1948.009
Date	Collection date: circa 1785 / research date: wool possibly circa 1750s; dress circa 1751 (dress)
Materials	Wool, linen
Dimensions	Wool selvedge width: 20-30 inches (510mm-760mm)
Provenance	Said to have been worn by Isabella Fraser née MacTavish, Invernesshire
Collection	Private loan, Inverness Museum and Art Gallery
Description	Woman's dress in dark red wool cloth, woven with chequered design of wide and thin stripes of dark green and dark blue. Bodice has a low rounded neckline and a closed front, the front waistline in a u-shape; the bodice back is pleated *en fourreau*. The sleeves are fitted to just below the elbow, inset with seams front and back of shoulder, with turned-back cuffs that have three tucks on the inside elbow. The bodice front sides have vertical rows of running stitch where the lining is attached. The bodice and sleeves are lined with "home spun linen, made from lint grown and spun at Kirkhill",[384] the bodice lining has lacing holes at front opening. The conservation file describes the 'underbodice' as two inches shorter of the exterior fabric either side of the front opening and probably having been stayed. Skirt has open front, broadly pleated into waist at the sides and back, the hem cut with a straight edge and the skirt appears unlined. Dress has matching shawl (plaid, or *arisaid*),[385] with knotted tassel fringe at ends and visible evidence of pin holes.

Comparative analysis:

Due to the popularity of tartan fabric and traditional Highland dress as subjects of study the possibilities of research for this garment were expansive. Allowing the object to lead the investigation was therefore of primary importance. Many sources concerning tartan fabric were published after the eighteenth century; only a few scholarly publications deal directly with original sources from that era.

[384] Due to the dress being on display measurements and a close view of the linen material was not possible.
[385] To avoid confusion with place-specific or generalised terminology the garment will be referred to as a shawl, following the International Council Of Museums terminology (1978) designating this as the term for unshaped textiles used as women's outer wear; http://www.collectionslink.org.uk/icom-terms accessed 14.08.2013

So, despite the wealth of published engagement with tartan and 'traditional' Scottish dress, secondary sources were found to have limited use in assisting the investigation of the MacTavish dress. Although the dress has a tradition of use by the owning family as a bridal gown (from the eighteenth century to the present day), and featured in Christian Hesketh's *Tartans* as a 'Highland lady's marriage costume of the mid-eighteenth century',[386] research found that the form of the dress is as contemporary to its era as other items discussed in this thesis, so that any understanding of this dress as an example of specifically Highland dress must rest with the textile, and possibly with the accompanying shawl in matching fabric.

Sources presented follow the same pattern as other object analyses in being the most relevant to the dress itself. No specifically matching pattern for the textile was found, however dark lines crossing red regularly appear in mid-eighteenth century portraits. Even accounting for the use of drapery painters and the repetition of garment props in portraits, the sources suggest there was some popularity for this colour and pattern, which was associated with Scottish dress and Scottish personalities (3.66, 4.105-4.117).

The tartan textile presented a different set of problems to other garments in this project regarding research into its origins and design. Tartan wool cloth was a popular fabric manufactured throughout Scotland. The MacTavish dress is a rare survival of a fabric that would have been present in a much wider range and number of homes than the brocaded silks analysed above. The production of tartan was a localised craft industry, comparable to household linen manufactures; it was therefore not regularly or extensively documented before mass production in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, as production was local the commissioning of cloth could be highly personalised with clients able to stipulate line colours, widths and combinations to suit their taste.[387] Research demonstrated the variety of lined patterns in different textiles and highlighted the problems of attempting to trace specific origins for popular non-figurative cloths (4.118-4.130).

As the MacTavish dress has a reasonably firm provenance, locating the probable production of the garment in the Inverness region, understanding the dress style was of more importance for the purposes of this project than an intimate understanding of the textile. Although believed to have been worn by Isabella Fraser née MacTavish for her wedding in 1785, the cuffs and broad pleats of the *fourreau* back can be associated with garment styles of around the 1750s.

[386] Hesketh, 1961, 35
[387] For references relating to production and use of tartan cloth see discussion below

Turn back cuffs have already featured in the discussion of items in Chapter 1 and the Houstoun *caraco* (3.93), so it has been established that they featured in fashions of the 1730s-1750s (1.194, 2.4), and circa 1780 (3.23, 3.24, 4.136). Further painted sources build on this evidence, with the weight of relevant images and garments accumulating to suggest such cuffs were more common in the earlier period (4.131-4.135). This association is emphasised by the three most relevant sources, not only being dated to circa 1750, but combining cuffs like those of the MacTavish dress with similar back pleats (4.71, 4.137-4.138).

As was noted in relation to the Kinloch dress 13D/1939, the width of back pleats could be a date identifier. However, extant sources are vague and sometimes misleading in their attributed dates. This is sometimes due to adjustment, but there seems also to be a curatorial tendency to attribute a later date to garments with a fitted style and an earlier date to *sacque* dresses, without close examination of the neckline or fit of the garment (4.139-4.148). In relation to the MacTavish dress it is the dating of the pale wool Colonial Williamsburg item which is most pertinent (4.138). The textile pattern and images, such as those by Paul Sandby (4.79-4.80) reinforce the circa 1750 attribution. When viewed together with the brown Williamsburg dress (2.133), it is clear these garments are of the same style group.

The wool Williamsburg dress (4.138) includes a third feature seen on the MacTavish dress – lacing holes in the lining fronts. In a departure from other garments in this thesis the construction of the garment lining was found to be relevant in attempting to understand date and dressmaking tradition. Although the lining could not be studied first hand due to the garment being on display, conservation notes and the image from Hesketh's *Tartans*, clearly illustrate that the lining fronts have lacing holes to fasten beneath the bodice. This method of dress fastening and construction was regularly found on garments known to be French or with a French association, predating 1775 (4.139, 4.149-4.154), with the exception of the Cosprop item whose origin is unknown, and occasionally present on a wider range of garments of a later date (4.155-4.156). Images such as 4.157 provide evidence of the use of external lacing on bodices circa 1750, possibly implying that the use of lacing was normal in garment structures at this time and providing evidence of a style from which laced linings may have stemmed.

Seen elsewhere in this thesis, the closed bodice front is synonymous with the 1780s; comparing closely in waist and neckline to the blue Houstoun dress, 1932.51.p (3.87) and other garments from around this time (2.210, 4.158). This raised the question of whether the dress was adjusted and reused. There is little evidence of adjustment on the garment, but as the fibre and treatment of the cloth would make it more forgiving of alteration it is problematic to assess whether the bodice front has been adjusted from robings. However, the closed front of the brown Williamsburg dress (2.133), for example, suggests that

the MacTavish garment could not only date to circa 1750, but be unaltered, and if worn in 1785, then in an unaltered state.

The tradition of this garment being worn by brides in the family from 1785 until the present day makes it as likely that the practice may in fact descend from Isabella MacTavish's mother-in-law who married in 1751 (see below). Alternatively, Isabella may have chosen to wear a dress that had meaning for other reasons. The 1745 Jacobite uprising and subsequent popularity of tartan in women's wear due to the 1746 ban on men's highland garb could be of relevance. However, without further evidence this speculation should not be regarded as more likely than the alternative explanation of the dress being re-used through maternal association. It is known that the dress has nuptial association, there is no evidence of political association and as a common cloth wool tartan in women's wear circa 1780 is unlikely to have been regarded as a political red flag over and above other associations.

As a final point few images were found showing the use of shawls, or *arisaids*, by eighteenth century Scotswomen (4.159-4.161). The Mosman portraits evidently use the shawls within a painterly repertoire of drapery to emphasise the nationality of the sitter, whereas the Sandby sketch shows the more practical, everyday function these accessories had, suggesting that commissioning a shawl at the same time as fabric for the making of a dress would have been a natural addition for the completion of a smart outfit.

Discussion:

The garments presented above represent the final step down the social hierarchy within this thesis. At the same time their importance as sources of information about their wearer increases, because research has not revealed any significant documentation relating to them or their users. The following discussion therefore revolves around circumstantial evidence and the information provided in the above analyses. Tying into previous discussions the availability of goods, individuality of the wearer and their financial means all remain key aspects of the interpretations. The theme of practicality seen in Chapter 3 resurfaces, relating to the availability of materials and the means to acquire them. Income has been seen as important in decision making processes in different guises throughout this study, and in the above items the extraction of maximum effect on minimum expenditure has led to adjustment and reuse. As such the materials have become prominent in new ways; as meaningful either in value or sentiment, beyond considerations of current fashion.

The comparative discussion of these items will focus on three themes, under the sub-headings 'Materials', 'Remodelling and Reuse' and 'Sentiment, Nostalgia and Reuse'. These will encompass exploration of the roles played in the creation of the garments by location, national identity and personal circumstances. 'Materials' will explore the significances of the fabric types and origins highlighted in the object analyses, attempting to understand their dialogue with the commissioner or wearer's sense of identity. 'Remodelling and Reuse' will assess the ways in which the Kinloch and Freeland garments have been remodelled to understand not only how and why these particular items were remodelled, but also begin to situate them within a wider eighteenth-century reuse context. Finally, 'Sentiment, Nostalgia and Reuse' will discuss reuse without alteration in relation to the MacTavish dress, alongside an assessment of the different methods and sentiments behind the reuse and alteration of eighteenth century garments by their contemporaries, juxtaposed against nineteenth century users and owners.

Materials:

When presented with a tartan garment it is impossible to ignore the possible political and national connotations: tartan is now regarded as a key signifier of Scottish identity.[388] However, reading these aspects in an object that has no specific association with a political figure could be misdirection. This study attempts to understand the decision processes and significances of fashionable style for eighteenth century women. Imbuing the textile with the complex historical and political meanings surrounding current understandings of tartan would detract from the certainties presented by the object. Taking lead from the garments and their provenance it is known that the dress and shawl have survived because of their use as a wedding outfit,[389] and that the first use is believed to have been by Isabella MacTavish in 1785.

Yet, as noted above, the dress has strong association with styles of circa 1750. Regarding interpretation of the materials this could be significant. Scholars have noted a surge in the use of tartan in women's dress after the Jacobite uprising of 1745; a relatively short-lived fashion reacting to the Prohibition Act 1746 which restricted the use of tartan in men's dress, and promoting patriotic feeling towards the defeated Jacobite cause.[390] It is questionable how politically driven the women involved in this fashion

[388] Tuckett, Sally, 'National Dress, Gender, and Scotland: 1745-1822', *Textile History*, 40 (2), November 2009, 140-151; Nicholson, Robin, 'From Ramsay's Flora MacDonald to Raeburn's MacNab: The Use of Tartan as a Symbol of Identity', *Textile History*, 36 (2) November 2005, 146-167

[389] The most recent use by a bride in the owning family was in 2005

[390] Tuckett, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh 2010, 36 referencing John Ramsay, *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, volume 2 of 2, Edinburgh 1888, 85 (notes); *An Act for the more effectual disarming the Highlands in Scotland[…]*, London, 1746, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, University of Glasgow Library, accessed 03.03.2011; *An Act to amend and enforce so much of an Act made in the nineteenth year of His Majesty's reign, as relates to the more effectual disarming the Highlands in Scotland […]*, London, 1748, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale, University of Glasgow Library, accessed 03.03.2011

were; reactionary modes of dress or sympathy for a losing cause can develop from an ambiguous sense of participation in current events, rather than long-standing values.[391] As noted by Tuckett, Bishop Robert Forbes described the idea of a Jacobite ball, rumoured to have been planned in celebration of Charles Stewart's birthday in 1746, as exploiting "the folly and idleness of the Government folks", not as a determined activist event.[392]

Although this provides a fashion context with a political catalyst for the MacTavish dress, the provenance of the garment does not suggest any association with fashions in the capital – the dress is likely to have been made and worn in Invernesshire. After five years, the Jacobite rebellion and consequent government military actions in Scotland were still fresh memories (in some cases realities), but sartorial resistance or reference to the event is likely to have begun to fade, perhaps in the face of real military oppression. A tartan dress made in 1750 would have had less reference in the wearer's mind to the fashion in the immediate aftermath of the rebellion.

A lasting effect of the tartan prohibition is the perception of tartan as a masculine cloth. The very act of banning tartan in men's wear signified the idea that the cloth was a national and political signifier, associated with militarist male gatherings. Banning general use of the cloth, but retaining it in government military attire was a move no doubt intended to annex these, largely patriotic, associations; transferring them onto Hanoverian government troops.[393] While this gendered perception of tartan is relevant to subsequent generations viewing the garment, whether or not it was a consideration for contemporaries remains debateable. Tartan could be both a colourful and hardwearing cloth, so that it may have had some association with practicality that stood alongside eighteenth century perceptions of masculinity, but was not dominated by those connotations. Perhaps similar to the associations of practicality and masculinity discussed in relation to the Blair *caraco* (Chapter 3). Gender is a less prominent aspect of the Kinloch and Freeland textiles, possibly because modern associations of floral imagery and femininity leave the use of floral textiles in women's wear unquestioned, however flowers were equally transferable to male attire in the eighteenth century.[394]

In relation to the MacTavish dress it is important to understand the regional and social placement of the textiles, before drawing any conclusions regarding possible political and military connotations. As the

[391] Wrigley, Richard, *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*, London: Berg 2002, 236
[392] Tuckett, PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh 2010, 36 quoting Robert Forbes (Paton, Henry ed.), *The Lyon in Mourning, or a Collection of Speeches, Letters, Journals Etc. Relative to the Affairs of Prince Charles Edward Stuart*, volume 2 of 3, Edinburgh 1895, 110-112
[393] As implied by the full title of the 1746 Prohibition Act, see bibliography
[394] For example Tadeka, Sharon Sadako and Spilker, Kaye Durland, *Fashioning Fashion European Dress in Detail 1700-1915*, London: Prestel Verlag and Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2010, 54-55

garments have been handed through generations as a bridal outfit, whether beginning with Isabella MacTavish or the previous generation, they must therefore have had feminine associations, perhaps sentimental attachment relating to particular individuals and the event of marriage. This gives the tartan fabric a special quality for the owners, which is more usefully understood within a familial and regional context.

As identified in the above analysis red and dark stripe tartans had a level of popularity in mid-eighteenth century portraiture, which may have created a view of this as typical 'tartan' outside of Scotland. However, the impression gained by accumulating these portrayals is an inaccurate presentation of eighteenth century perceptions, after initial show in the artist's studio the portraits would have been housed privately, without reference to one another. Moreover, it should be remembered that Allan Ramsay used a drapery painter until around 1750,[395] so that some of the similar depictions of tartan fabric could be based off the same prop. As Viccy Coltman has warned the use of portraits with tartan in them as "graphic ballast" is unhelpful,[396] and the most that can be taken from the examples noted above is that there would have been association in the minds of eighteenth century viewers between Scotland and red and dark tartan textiles. Although he used a drapery painter in his early career, Ramsay later expressed concern for the accurate depiction of tartan, suggesting his post-1750 would have put accuracy over effect with fabrics.[397]

There is evidence from secondary sources that red and dark stripe tartans were synonymous with the Invernesshire area of the Highlands, although all differing in line pattern.[398] One example, Hugh Fraser of Boblainy's plaid can only be approximated as dating to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries.[399] Hugh Fraser inherited the estate in 1805, so it may post-date this time. Boblainy as it is located today is just over four miles from Kirkhill where the linen lining of the MacTavish dress is said to have been made. An eighteenth century fragment with a similar colour scheme to the Inverness textile, said to be from the plaid of Prince Charles Edward, was left with Lady Mackintosh at Moy

[395] Smart, Alastair and Ingamells, John (ed.), *Allan Ramsay: A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1999, 8; Smart notes the change in depiction of dress detail as occurring around 1750-1751, after van Aken's death in 1749
[396] A good example of this use of images is Hesketh, 1961
[397] Coltman, Viccy, 'Party-Coloured Plaid? Portraits of Eighteenth Century Scots in Tartan', *Textile History*, volume 41 (2) November 2010, 182-216: 190 quoting Fraser, William, *The Chiefs of Grant*, volume II, Edinburgh 1883, 549
[398] For example MacKintosh patterns, Fraser and Grant, MacDonell of Keppoch and Robertson in Stewart, Donald Calder, *The Setts of the Scottish Tartans with descriptive and historical notes*, Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd 1950, plates 4, 14, 18, 24 and 31; and, Hugh Fraser of Boblainy's plaid in Scarlett, James D., *Tartan: The Highland Textile*, London: Shepheard-Walwyn Ltd 1990, plate 14(a)
[399] Scarlett, James D., *Tartan: The Highland Textile*, London: Shepheard-Walwyn Ltd 1990, 95

Hall, around twenty miles from Kirkhill, "a relic of the '45".[400] Due to the number of 'relics' relating to Charles Stewart in Scottish collections, this association may be false, but the fragment may be of a plaid from the area of the 1740s.

The proximity of these examples to Kirkhill, offers some evidence that the MacTavish dress fabric may have been typical of its region in colour. Making a wedding garment in these colours could, therefore, have referenced locality and tradition for those directly concerned. Viewing the tartan as a national signifier might, in this context, be a misleading imposition of wider values on what was essentially a regional product. The MacTavish and Fraser families were probably more concerned with the local tradition of the textile than its perception as a signifier of Scottish nationality, which, as inhabitants of Highland Scotland, they likely felt no need to promote.

As noted, the linen lining of this dress provides even stronger local characteristics to the dress, whose close physical association to the tartan could infer a similar production ethic to the tartan. The linen is said to be 'homespun' linen from Kirkhill, which is close to the Fraser clan seat. This geographic proximity adds weight to the idea that the dress originally belonged to Isabella MacTavish's mother-in-law, who was married in 1751 - understanding the specific provenance is now vital.

Isabella MacTavish (born 1760) was from Ruthven, and in 1785 married Malcolm Fraser (born 1757) of Bochrubin,[401] Torness, Invernesshire.[402] Fraser was the son of Elspet NicCuiran (Macdonald) of Achnabat and Donald Fraser of Erchit, who married in 1751. The dress descended through the female line via Tavish Fraser (born 1795), son of Isabella and Malcolm. The descending family tree has been given to Inverness Museum by the owners. They note Tavish Fraser as located in E. Cuderash, presumably Easter Cudrash, Beauly, west of Inverness, around thirteen miles north of Bochrubin.

They appear to have been landowning families, owning and working small estates. Today's Bochrubin consists of a cottage and a larger farm house. In the *Inverness County Directory for 1887* it was listed as a 'principal' farm.[403] The specific Ruthven referred to above could be Ruthven House, Kingussie (approximately fifty miles from Bochrubin), also a sizeable house for its time.[404] However, Ruthven

[400] National Museums of Scotland, published in Cheape, Hugh, *Tartan: The Highland Habit*, Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland 1991, 29
[401] Alternately spelt Bochruben; the gaelic name has been interpreted as combining terms for house and tree, see place names of Stratherrick, <http://www.lochnesswelcome.co.uk/sectionDetail.asp?sid=100>, viewed 01.03.2011
[402] Bochrubin was said to have been built around 1760, <http://www.lochnesswelcome.co.uk/downloads/pdf/Tales%20from.pdf> viewed 10.03.2011
[403] <http://digital.nls.uk/23/85906823.pdf> viewed 11.03.2011
[404] As shown on Savills property details <http://residentialsearch.savills.co.uk/property-detail/231246> viewed 10.03.2011

lends its name to a loch only a few miles from Achnabat and Bochrubin, which is a more plausible courting distance in the eighteenth century Highlands. The origins of Hugh Fraser's parents, Erchit and Achnabat were only around two miles distant. Erchite, Malcolm Fraser's father's origin has been described as "the old estate of Erchit, of which the old mansion house used to occupy a magnificent site a little to the south of the ruins of the old farm house of Wester Erchite".[405] Though based on an oral memoir taken over a century later this anecdote does give some indication of what Erchit may have been in the 1700s.

So it is clear that the MacTavish dress was made by people who had practical daily lives and are likely to have had the skills or staff to weave their own linen. The *Statistical Account* entry for Ruthven describes the area as undergoing agricultural improvement, with a particular reference to flax:

> "The parish […], was always remarkable for producing fine flax, but more so, it is said, before the introduction of marl. A greater quantity, indeed, might be raised now than formerly, but, in the opinion of experienced farmers, there is no comparison as to the quality."[406]

Scholars have suggested that traditionally Scottish wedding clothes were made close to home, supplied by either the bride or bridegroom's family,[407] but it is Henry Grey Graham who asserts definitely that brides spun their own plaid and linen, being expected to "bring a full store of napery" to the marital home.[408]

Sally Tuckett has undertaken a full study of the use of homespun textiles in Scotland during the long eighteenth century. Her analysis evidenced a sizeable percentage of households containing textile manufacturing equipment, 24% in male and 35% in female inventories. Tuckett took the presence of these materials as indicative of the existence of homespun manufactures and her data analysis reveals that in Inverness almost twice as many women had textile equipment than men, whereas in the Isles and Argyll this trend is further exaggerated; in Edinburgh men and women were near equal in possession.[409]

Analysing the literature of Allan Ramsay (author of *Tartana*), Robert Burns and Alexander Ross among others Tuckett also discussed the moral and national significance of homespun linen and

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[405]<http://www.lochnesswelcome.co.uk/downloads/pdf/Tales%20from.pdf> viewed 10.03.2011
[406] Will, Reverend Mr James, 'Parish of Ruthven' in Sinclair, Sir John, *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799*, Wakefield: EP Publishing Limited 1976, 599
[407] Faiers, Jonathan, *Tartan*, Oxford and New York Berg Publishing 2008, 37
[408] Graham, Henry Grey, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, Volume 1 of 2, London: Adam and Charles Black (second edition) 1900, 18
[409] Tuckett, PhD thesis, 2010, 66 and 74

wool.[410] Home spinning and homespun textiles were eulogised by Scottish authors as morally upright and pure, acting against the luxury and dissipation that preoccupied social critics.[411] Broadly speaking Tuckett's research suggests that the Kirkhill homespun linen of the MacTavish dress was more likely to have been produced by women than men and that its moral connotations could have given it added significance. Wearing homespun linen would position a bride within a framework of tradition, arguably potent in its connection to both land and locality. Regarding the MacTavish dress the use of homespun was probably one of choice rather than impoverished necessity. Likewise the use of pure wool for the tartan cloth could be viewed as a demonstration of class.[412] Yet, availability of materials and personal taste would equally have been at play.

The comparison of the MacTavish materials with those of the Freeland and Kinloch textiles does suggest that opportunity and wealth to purchase would have mixed with tradition and fashion in the creation of all these garments. The Kinloch and Freeland textiles are silks, probably made in London, the fact that Blairgowrie and Kirkcudbright were near and acted as coastal trading centres could be significant. However, the differences in materials may simply indicate differences in values. The pride of the Ruthven area in their linen was noted above. It may be that the MacTavish dress is reflective of a personal preference for fine local manufactures over imported wears. This could be construed as evidence of a regional pride, or simply a result of the wearer living in an area that excelled in certain textile manufactures. Equally, it may be a preference that results from a desire to have a wedding dress embedded with identity meaning, such as being made with cloth from the bride's local area.

Despite being geographically disparate Kirkhill, Blairgowrie and Kirkcudbright were all relatively rural locations, Kirkhill being the most rural. Described in the *Statistical Account* people in the region were multi-tasking to allow a small community to provide many of its own needs: "Frequently one man has three occupations; he manages his croft, works as a labourer in summer, or while the weather is good, and as a weaver, tailor, shoemaker or carpenter in winter, or when the weather is bad."[413] The Reverend Fraser who wrote the description considers that; "The people of this parish, in general, are sober and industrious, free from gross crimes, tractable and submissive." But his anti-Jacobite leanings are fully expressed as he continues, "Before the year 1745… Every chief considered himself as an independent prince, who might commit depredations on his neighbours

[410] Tuckett, PhD thesis, 2010, 145-167
[411] For example, Robert Burns, *Bessy and her Spinning Wheel*, song, 1792 see discussion by Tuckett, PhD thesis, 2010, 154; see also Graham, Henry Grey, *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, volume I of II, London: Adam and Charles Black (second edition) 1900, 17
[412] For discussion of use of silk, wool or a mix and social class see Ramsay, John, Esq. of Ochtertyre (Allardyce, Alexander, ed.), *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, volume II of II, Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1888, 87-88
[413] Sinclair, volume XVII, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty, 1981, 212

territories, as avarice or animosity dictated."[414] Accordingly the quashing of the rebellion dealt an "irrecoverable blow" to the feudal system:

> "Before that era [1745], they considered themselves as a race of warriors, and that religion was beneath their notice, or inconsistent with military prowess… Besides, religion has been considerably aided by literature since the era mentioned. The lower class have been more generally taught to read. In learning to read, the principles of Christianity have been inculcated."[415]

These descriptions are unapologetically propagandist in tone and the misconstrued picture is evident when considering the MacTavish dress's probably having been made in the region following a fashionable shape only five years after the rebellion. If Reverend Fraser's exaggerated depiction was accurate it seems unlikely that the Highland population would have had the time or resources to consider contemporary style.

Conversely, the Reverend Muter, husband of Agnes Freeland, alludes to a generally liberal and well educated society in his *Statistical Account*. He says,

> "The people of Kirkcudbright are, in general, of a pleasant, social and agreeable disposition, and their morals are fully as good as those of their neighbours… in point of taste, they are much superior to most people of the parishes around them. Their reading is extensive; and being furnished with an excellent subscription library of the best modern books, they have access to all the improvements in literature and politics. They are all loyal to government; and no less attached to the principles of the British Constitution, than averse to divisions in the Church…."[416]

The Reverend Muter clearly takes some pleasure in his community, but is sensible enough to realise that their morals are fallible and in common with those of surrounding areas. His notice of the library hints at some enthusiasm for education, and possibly of the benefit he personally has through the library. Elsewhere he mentions that "The scholars are numerous, and well taught",[417] which again suggests satisfaction with the community's interest in education.

Muter's interest in education was personal. Licensed by the Presbytery of Hamilton in 1762 he became preacher in the College Chapel at Glasgow and was awarded a Doctorate from the University of Glasgow in February 1793.[418] Muter was minister in Kirkcudbright from his ordination in September

[414] Sinclair, volume XVII, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty, 1981, 215-216
[415] Sinclair, volume XVII, Inverness-shire, Ross and Cromarty, 1981, 216
[416] Sinclair, volume V, Stewartry of Kirkcudbrigh and Wigtonshire, 1983, 209
[417] Sinclair, volume V, Stewartry of Kirkcudbrigh and Wigtonshire, 1983, 208
[418] *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae*, 1867, 691; reference provided to Liverpool Museums by David Devereux, Museums Curator (Stewartry), 28.09.2000

1770, and it was presumably after this time that he became acquainted with Agnes Freeland, they were married around two and a half years later.

It is not possible to draw any conclusions from these descriptions relating to the textiles used in the MacTavish and Freeland garments, although it is worth noting the coincidence that the surviving garment from a community who were described as self-sufficient as well as feudal uses a textile of local production, whereas the surviving dress of a community praised for their intellectual engagement and taste was probably imported to the area. Unfortunately no equivalent descriptions were found of Blairgowrie for the Kinloch textiles.

A final point to consider regarding the materials that the Kinloch, Freelance and MacTavish garments use is the dialogue between how they were acquired and their final use. Unfortunately very little information exists regarding the owners of the Kinloch textiles. However the analyses made evident that three of the items were probably made to designs by Anna Maria Garthwaite in London, and therefore acquired either in London, Perth or Edinburgh, the latter two having been previously noted as key shipping-trade centres with London. That the group consists of four garments using what appear to be Spitalfields textiles, dating to the 1730s and 1740s suggests that whoever purchased these textiles was doing so regularly in these years. Their subsequent re-use consequently suggests a change in circumstances for the owners, or a change in owners who had fewer means.

This situation is in contrast to the one-off survivals of the MacTavish and Freeland dresses. Their singular survival can be argued as implying that they belonged to less wealthy households, and that they are the material representation of a unique event. In the case of the MacTavish dress it seems likely this event was a wedding. For the Freeland dress it may have been a celebration of social achievement. The textile of Agnes Freeland's dress pre-dates Agnes herself; born in 1749 the large floral repeat was seen to be synonymous with designs of the 1730s.

Agnes was the daughter of John Freeland and Catherine Blair. John Freeland was admitted to the Burgess of Kirkcudbright in 1738 and served as Provost in 1750-1752 and 1762-1764. It is the first of these events that may have occasioned some celebration for Agnes's parents, in such a way that a demonstration of newly acquired wealth or status via new clothes would have been fitting. Unfortunately research did not uncover the date when Catherine and John were married, so the possibility of this garment pertaining to their wedding cannot be assessed.

That the silk seen in the Freeland dress may have been an unusually fine purchase for her parents, which would explain its survival and subsequent reuse, is evidenced by the family associations that

were uncovered. Catherine Blair was the daughter of Hugh Blair of Dunrod and Agnes Brown. A Margaret Blair, born in 1717, is possibly a sister of Catherine (and therefore Aunt to Agnes) and she married Alexander Telfair, who was the son of a Reverend Alexander Telfair and Margaret Cairns.[419] This gives some impression of the educated, but not necessarily wealthy, class Agnes and her family belonged to.

Agnes's cousin, Hugh Blair of Dunrod, died aged 27 years leaving a young family. He can be connected to a horse race and bet, which appears in the Kirk Session records of 1775.[420] The bet, made in 1769, was £200 upon who could ride fastest between Kirkcudbright and Dumfries. Hugh Blair lost the wager to Major Maxwell of Dalswinton, who pursued his claim after his opponents' decease in 1771.[421]

While Hugh Blair was able to exercise modern tastes for horse racing and betting, Agnes was in a much more restricted position. She married Reverend Dr. Robert Muter on 5th April 1773, and he includes an account of their financial situation in his *Statistical Account* entry;

> The present minister was ordained the 27th of September 1770, is married, and has 13 children, viz. 7 sons and 6 daughters. As to his stipend, he cannot say *what* it is. About 20 years ago he raised a summons of augmentation… but from the violent contests which afterwards arose… the locality is not yet finished… Though there are 3 glebes in the parish, yet the minister possesses only one, and it is the *worst* of the three. It is the worst in *quality*, and scarce the *legal half* in *quantity*. He has no manse, notwithstanding there were, in former times, 3 churches, 3 manses, and 3 glebes. Instead of a manse he has 15l. per annum. This he had to contend for before the Court of Session. The sum is too small for the rent of a house in Kirkcudbright."[422]

Muter's frustration is understandable with such a large family to provide for and the temptation of potential ways to better his position. That his intentions were relatively modest is evident by a surviving proposal for a manse by him, dated 1781.[423] The plan shows a double fronted house; the centre door opens onto a hall and stairway, each side are rooms of 12'10" square, which lead onto back rooms of 12'10" by 6', there is a first floor which exactly replicates the ground floor with the exception of a small room over the entrance hall. As a plan for a family of fifteen this is a modest home. Muter was never granted a manse.

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[419] <http://genforum.genealogy.com/telfair/messages/45.html> accessed 06.01.2012
[420] 25th February 1775, minutes of the Kirk Sessions of Dumfries, Kelton and Kirkcudbright, Dumfries Archive Centre, RG2/6/5
[421] See monument inscriptions for Senwick Old Kirkyard no.s 1 and 4 relating to Hugh Blair, as published online <http://www.kirkyards.co.uk/borgue/senwick.asp> accessed 06.01.2012
[422] Sinclair, volume V, Stewartry of Kirkcudbrigh and Wigtonshire, 1983, 208-209
[423] Dumfries and Galloway Museums Service, STEWM: 2154

The probability of the MacTavish tartan being manufactured in the Highlands opens up a new dynamic. It is possible that this textile was commissioned to a special design. Both men and women engaged in the process of requesting specific patterns from tartan weavers. In 1703 Martin Martin described the situation in the western isles:

> "The Plad wore only by the Men, is made of fine Wool, the Thread as fine as can be made of that kind; it consists of divers Colours, and there is a great deal of ingenuity requir'd in sorting the Colours, so as to be agreeable to the nicest Fancy. For this reason the women are at great pains, first to give an exact Pattern of the *Plade* upon a piece of Wood, having the number of every thread of the stripe on it. The length of it is commonly seven double Ells…"[424]

His description seems to imply that although women requested patterns, it was only men who wore the 'Plad' in 'Plade' fabric. However, the survival of the MacTavish dress is unequivocal evidence that around fifty years later women were wearing tartan (or plaid) in fashionable styles, as opposed to only traditional garments. Later instances include a request by Robert Keith of Craig, Kincardineshire, for "a plaid of *my colours*" from his father in 1769,[425] implying that he had a specific design of tartan.

All of these examples show that a textile could have a significant role in the reuse or survival of a garment, and that the reasons behind this role could vary. Value was not attached to only one type of material in eighteenth century Scotland, nor was it only associated with rare or exotic manufactures, but also items, such as tartan, that could have a strong sense of place. The next section will carry these ideas forward in discussing how personal circumstances, taste and identity could coincide with pre-used objects; generating a unique dialogue with the materials, and evidencing the complicated relationships that existed between some eighteenth century women and their garments.

Remodelling and Reuse:

Many garments surviving from the eighteenth century have undergone some form of alteration, so that these are often taken as a matter of course within collections work. Establishing when alterations have taken place is regarded as important in understanding how 'original' or 'authentic' a garment is, and what value it has as a historic artefact. Unaltered, but worn, garments are a clear presentation of a style that was definitely used in the past, and they are much more easily displayed as they require less interpretation and are often more physically stable than remodelled garments, whose structural integrity may have been undermined by extra folds, stitch holes or poor quality stitching.

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[424] Martin Martin, *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, London : printed for Andrew Bell, 1703, 207-208, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale group, accessed 03.03.2011

[425] Coltman, 'Party-Coloured Plaid? Portraits of Eighteenth Century Scots in Tartan', *Textile History*, 2010, 191 quoting Benedict, B. M., 'The "Curious Attitude" in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Observing and Owning', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 14 (1990), 59

The more alterations a garment undergoes, the less clear the original style becomes. However, alterations and changed garments are a valuable resource in understanding past clothing cultures, if their layers can be untangled and read. Only intimate object study, combined with garment and social knowledge can begin to unpick these layers. The physical presence of the object in such instances can provide more information about use than provenance information, but it is through a combination of both that the character of the wearer(s) and their decision making processes can be more fully explored.

This section will explore how the Kinloch and Freeland garments may have been reused, looking at how and why they have been altered. In doing so, the placement of these garments within their contemporary fashion trends will assist understanding of how they were likely to have been perceived within eighteenth century society. At the same time the financial and personal reasons for reusing the textiles or garments will be explored.

To begin with the Kinloch garments, as presented in the above analyses all of these items have undergone adjustment, sizeable remodelling, or reuse. They were not simply new dresses from old fabric, as each, with the exception of the *sacque* dress (13B/1939) has crease lines and stitch holes from previous forms. The *sacque* dress does not have apparent signs of remodelling, but has had smaller alterations such as the removal of trimmings from the bodice robings, and the later additions of metal hook fastenings and wool underarm protectors to the bodice lining. This gives a distinction of reuse from the other three garments. The other items were all remodelled within the eighteenth century as well as the possible re-use of 12A/1939 in the nineteenth century onwards, which is likely to have been when the cuffs were transferred from the *sacque* dress.

Although the three items adjusted within the eighteenth century were associated with styles of the 1780s in the above analyses, when placed against one another they present quite different engagements with style. The dress using the mirror repeat textile (13D/1939) may have neckline trimmings akin to those seen on the blue Houstoun dress (1932.51.p), but in light of the MacTavish and Guthrie discussions above and in Chapter 2, the back pleats are more synonymous with circa 1750. In which case this dress could have been altered from a *sacque* or *robe volante* of circa 1730 to a fitted dress circa 1750-1760, the same decade in which the Kinloch *sacque* could have been made. Whereas the other two garments thought to be of Garthwaite silks date much more clearly to circa 1778-1785 with their tight waist pleating and narrow seamed *fourreaus*, close in style to the later Richardson garments and, again, the Houstoun items.

The garments seemingly present several generations of re-use. Suggesting that the Kinloch household had a period of affluence around 1720-1740 and that the silks invested in at that time retained enough

value for subsequent generations, or the ageing owner of the originals to re-use them. The lack of surviving garments of a later eighteenth century date implies a change in circumstances for the family or household, which is reinforced by the information so far found on the household.

The dresses were donated by a "Miss Kinloch of Rose Mount, Blairgowrie".[426] Rosemount House still stands and was built around 1700. In 1770 it was sold by William Kinloch to his cousin, Captain George Oliphant-Kinloch who was titled "of Clashbinny afterwards of Rosemount" in 1755-1768,[427] in 1773 he was known as "Captain George Olyphant of Rosemount now of Kinloch".[428] George married Anne, daughter of John Balneavis of Carnbaddie and Preston Durham.[429] Preston Durham was the youngest daughter of James Durham of Largo. This is significant because George Oliphant-Kinloch died in 1775 and in 1780 his widow Anne remarried William Calderwood of Polton.[430] The Calderwood and Durham families were closely inter-twined through marriage and blood, as were the Kinloch and Oliphant families.[431] So the garments in question can be situated within a relatively intimate kinship of property owning gentry in east and Lothian Scotland.

Anne is thus one candidate for ownership of the dresses remodelled circa 1780. She is the earliest known female associated with the house, taking into account an approximate dating of the garments to the mid-eighteenth century. As shall be seen there are certain features of some garments that are most synonymous with the 1770-1780s. William Kinloch was living in England when he sold the house and no evidence has yet been found of his having lived with a woman there.[432] Anne becoming widowed might explain the storage of the garments, particularly if she removed from Rosemount soon after her husband's death; however she only lived for two years after her second marriage.[433]

Although little is known about Anne, her first husband's concerns were expanding through the 1760s and early 1770s, including trans-Atlantic connections. Captain George Oliphant Kinloch was an army man and landowner, with surviving documents relating to the Grange Estate property in Jamaica,

[426] Accessioned 1939
[427] *Volume containing state of affairs*…, National Archives of Scotland, GD1/8/34
[428] *Instrument of Sasine document*, 13th September 1773, National Archives of Scotland GD1/197/12
[429] Burke, Sir Bernard and Burke, Ashworth P., *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage, The Privy Council, and Knightage*, London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., 94th edition, 1936, 1391
[430] 'Pedigree of the Calderwoods of Polton' in *The Coltness Collections, MDCVIII-MDCCCXL*, Edinburgh: Printed for the Maitland Club, MDCCCXLII [1884]
[431] For example in 1730 and 1745 Isobel Olyphant married to David Kinloch of Kilrie and Elizabeth Oliphant, her sister are named on a disposition to their sister Jean Oliphant married to Mr. John Kinloch, Dr. in Dundee (brother of David); NAS GD1/931/37
[432] Burke, 1936, 1390
[433] *The Coltness Collections*, 1884, 402

Blacklaw, Ennochs, Neither or Wester Muirtown and Rosemount in Perthshire.[434] George and Anne's concerns were not large but enough to support a genteel household and George may have hoped to continue expanding his estate for the security of heirs.

George and Anne had two sons; John, who succeeded but died in Nice, France, without any children and George who married his cousin Helen Smyth but fled to France in 1819 to escape indictment for sedition. In turn, George and Helen had two sons and six daughters.[435] Anne's son George was born in 1775, the same year in which his father died. What direct effect this death had on his spouse and children is unknown but it is easy to understand Anne's five year widowhood, not only as a natural mourning period but the end point being around the age an eighteenth century boy would begin a more masculine lifestyle - expressed in his being 'breeched', given his first trousers. It might further be argued that this is an age when a male role-model might be thought necessary for a growing boy's social and academic education.

Anne presents a picture of a woman with a young family and a dynamic husband whose various business concerns are centred locally and in Jamaica. As such the presumption might be that she had a limited quantity of finery available to her wardrobe, suiting a genteel lifestyle but tempered by the expenses of household, estate and children. Her second marriage was to another military man, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Horse Guards, having served in France, but whose personal interest lay in astronomy. William Calderwood would later die in Lausanne 1787.[436] It is not known whether Anne remained living at Rosemount with her children after re-marrying.

While it is possible that Anne remodelled two of the garments for use, there is clearly another female figure who currently remains hidden, but who was the initial owner of the garments pre-1750. This begs the question of whether she had left the garments in the house, which was then possibly sold with contents by an absent William Kinloch, who was based in England at the time of the sale. Although nothing definite is known about William Kinloch it is possible he is the merchant in Lisbon of the same name who appears in Richardson of Pitfour papers with a legal claim dated 1748.[437] The proximity of Rosemount House to Perth and its merchant network, which the Richardsons of Pitfour were part of, makes this plausible.

[434] Grange Estate, 1770-1775, National Archives of Scotland, GD1/8/35 & 36; Blacklaw signature of lands, 1770, NAS SIG1/130/40; Blacklaw plan, 1772, NAS RHP12350; Ennochs signature of lands, 1756, SIG1/130/22
[435] Burke, 1936, 1391
[436] *The Coltness Collections*, 1884, 402
[437] PKCA, MS101/2

Outside of Anne's family situation possibly necessitating some economy of circumstances the reasons why the Kinloch garments were reused can only be left to speculation based on the garments. The adjustments made to the three remodelled garments are done with consideration. The stitches, particularly on 12A/1939 and 14/1939 are generally small and neat. Care has been taken with both the internal and external construction, indicating an intention for the garments to have the solidity, so they could withstand the same level of wear as newly made items of that date. Care is also evident in the consideration of style. Regular pleating, a fitted bodice and narrow trimmings all fit with the fashions for the early 1780s seen in Chapters 2 and 3. The dresses express a concern with style, perhaps seemingly at odds with the second-hand nature of their materials.

A very similar assessment can be made of Agnes Freeland's dress. Once again study of the object reveals a concern to give the garment a fit contemporary to around 1780; the piecing of the garment is regular, care has been taken to maintain the symmetry of pattern presumably present in the original garment, and the stitching of the eighteenth century areas of lining (also pieced) is small and regular. Where stitching is externally visible on Freeland's dress it is in areas repaired or altered in the nineteenth century, such as the extension band across the décolletage.

As was noted above Agnes Freeland's financial circumstances were uneasy. She and the Reverend Muter had a large family, a modest income and no provision of a Manse, which was the due of other clergymen such as Reverend Stormonth (Chapter 2). The impact of a large family on a clergyman's income is given light-hearted expression by William Combe in Dr. Syntax's *Tour in Search of the Picturesque*, 1810. Combe, born in 1741, was of the same generation as Agnes, her husband and the Stormonth's, who had a large family of their own. In Canto VII the Dr. stops in a churchyard and chats to the Sexton about the current Pastor and his wife. The Sexton remarks;

> "No: - she's a worthy woman too;
> But then they've children not a few:
> I think it is the will of Heav'n
> That they are bless'd with six or seven;
> And then you will agree with me,
> That home's the scene of charity."[438]

So Agnes Freeland's careful reuse of materials makes sense as a necessary economy. However, for both this garment and those probably adjusted by Anne Kinloch the juxtaposition of their contemporary style with the evidently much older fabrics raises the questions about the purpose of these garments. It would have been obvious to contemporaries that the silks used for these items were

[438] Combe, William, *Dr. Syntax's Three Tours in search of the Picturesque, Consolation, and a Wife*, London: John Camden Hotten 1869, 27

old, but that the garments were remodelled and worn suggests the reuse of older high-quality silks was still preferable or parallel to purchasing new but much cheaper fabrics. There are various reasons why this might be the case. Firstly the older silks may have been regarded as relatively robust fabrics, and possibly warmer than what Agnes Freeland or Anne Kinloch could afford as new. Yet plain wool cloth would not necessarily have been outside of their budgets, so that the pattern and lustre of the textiles must also have been a deciding factor in their reuse. These brocaded textiles were designed for visual effect and the attention to detail in their later reconstructions indicates that they were still regarded as textiles to be seen in.

This brings the discussion to purpose. As a mother of many Agnes Freeland would not necessarily have had the time or means to socialise on a formal level very often, so it is possible a dress of good quality silk, whether old or new, would have suited her social purposes. The same might be said for Anne Kinloch as a widow. Although it is evident from the discussions surrounding the Richardsons of Pitfour and Houstoun of Johnstone garments that knowledge of fashions was widespread in lowland Scotland, it is possible that the smaller communities within which Freeland and Kinloch were situated were accepting of people managing their fashion desires on different means, so that there was little embarrassment about appearing before friends or the local community in older fabrics.

It is also feasible that the reuse of textiles and garments in the eighteenth century could lend itself to the same style connotations second-hand clothes enabled in others at a later date. In contemporary clothing there is a distinction between people who wear second hand clothes only through necessity, and those who benefit from the reduced prices but explore and exploit the ‘alternative’ styles available on the second hand market to good effect. These people are more often admired for character than judged for a lack of means, whether that was or was not the reason behind their cheaper purchases. As an unqualified opinion this remains open to debate, however the presence of a number of mirror repeat silks having been used at a later date to their limited period of manufacture (as noted in the object analyses) does put forward the idea that unusual and out-moded textiles could appeal to eighteenth century wearers.

That the eighteenth century was sartorially varied within social classes and groups as well as between them is evidenced in a comment by Louisa Cathcart, Lady Stormont, writing to her sister from Paris, July 1776;

> “The common people (I mean the women) are dressed in a great many different stiles, manuta makers, milliners, etc., are coifféed and wear little caps and sacques, and when there is a court

> mourning there is nothing that does not wear it. Others are dressed very like the Russian Women, in short bed-gowns, no stays and very dirty. They are quite as ugly and as brown."[439]

Later in the year Louisa writes again from Paris advising her sister Mary regarding what dresses to pack for her pending visit and overtly mentions re-making garments, taking it as a matter of course that her sister should not purchase new silks for travel, only re-model her existing ones:

> "Bring nothing seizable, as unmade-up silks, etc. I am trying to recollect your gowns. I think you have a very pretty spring silk, which was in a Court dress and a trimming, which would make a very handsome sacque. We shall not, you know, wear colours till the winter is near over…"[440]

The practicality of this re-use of dress appears two-fold, not only does it prevent the necessity of expense and shopping but prevents the danger of having items seized by customs and excise control. Re-use was therefore evidently allowable in the mind of the fashion conscious Louisa Stormont, but she is selective and careful about which silks can be re-used for what purpose.

Throughout this discussion the assumption has been made that the remodelled and reused garments were inherited objects. This is largely because the circumstances of the previous generations or the moderate wealth of probable owners makes this likely. The careful preservation of the garments further indicates a degree of sentiment surrounding the objects, which will be discussed further below. However, it should be recognised that there was an active second-hand trade in the eighteenth century, so that at any one time there was likely to be a number of people wearing colourful, yet, outdated fabrics. Although the Freeland and Kinloch examples are likely to have been inherited, they may not have been distinguishable from other women who purchased old silks second-hand.[441]

Sentiment, Nostalgia and Reuse:

As discussed above the MacTavish dress as it exists today is unaltered. Conservation treatment has removed twentieth century additions, but the integrity of the dress style has been preserved throughout. Yet the outfit has been repeatedly reused. This section will discuss what role sentiment and nostalgia may have had in the survival of the dress and shawl, as juxtaposed to the Freeland dress which has been reused but altered and other items previously discussed, such as the printed muslin dress of Isabel Wedderburn (Chapter 2) which was copied rather than reused.

[439] July 3rd, Sunday to Mary Graham at Balgowan; Graham, 1927, 108
[440] Lady Stormont to Mary Graham, 16 Oct. 1776; Graham, 1927, 121
[441] Styles, 2007, for example 8

The linen and tartan textiles of the MacTavish dress have been noted as having multiple associations, both historic and which would have been recognised by its contemporaries. These would have played a role in any sentimental attachment of subsequent generations to the dress, but the fabric is only one element of a garment. The style and shape, the original wearer and specific events at which the garment was worn all function in the reactions of people to garments. Regarding the MacTavish dress, the physical integrity of the item has been respected. This suggests that it embodied an event whose integrity was also to be respected, and possibly an event within living memory of those involved in the initial reuse of the dress. Without that living memory the probability of only reusing the fabric but altering the shape of the garment would increase, as the garment entity became less sacrosanct.

These speculations make sense on knowing the dress has been associated with family weddings. The probability of the outfit having been made for Malcolm Fraser's parent's wedding makes sense of the dress style, and if they were present at Malcolm and Isabella's wedding would make sense of the respect shown to the original garment. It might also suggest that the women were of a similar size. The reason(s) why this particular dress became so respected and significant will always, to some extent, remain hidden. However, the subsequent importance of tartan fabric as a signifier of Scottish identity, which built from the turn of the nineteenth century and is still an international phenomenon is enough to explain why a family still in possession of an early tartan garment would maintain it as a significant object.

The association of the dress with Isabella MacTavish in 1785 creates a specific emotive point from which family memory can descend. How long this association has existed is not known, but a general understanding of a woman's garment as a wedding dress is often enough to increase attachment to it and respect for it, if for no other reason than a wedding dress is regarded as significant to the woman who first wore it, representing a landmark event in her life.

For the MacTavish item the home production of the lining and the possibility of the cloth having been specifically woven, or at least chosen for the event increase the potency of association by imbuing the garment with a sense of space as well as person-significance; whereas the subsequent socio-political associations with tartan add a sense of rarity and lost culture. This emotional mixture evoked by the MacTavish dress is no doubt why it has survived in such good condition and is the only women's tartan dress of this date found during research.

Conversely it is perhaps the lack of specific associations with the textile of the Freeland dress that led to it being carefully altered before reuse. Georgina Turnbull, the granddaughter of Agnes Freeland, is shown wearing the dress circa 1880-1890 (4.81) and, as noted, it is evident this is when the shape of

the neckline and sleeves were altered to enable a fit suited to the changed corset shape and perhaps as more appropriate to Georgina Turnbull's age and nineteenth century morals. No specific event has been handed down as connected to the dress only that it belonged to Georgina Turnbull's grandmother, Agnes Freeland. In the context of the MacTavish dress it may be this lack of an event on which to focus attachment or judge significance (personally and historically) that made it more allowable for Georgina to have alterations made. However, invasive nineteenth century altering of eighteenth century dresses for fancy dress is a common feature within relevant collections, another example seen in this thesis is the cream and floral dress from Guthrie Castle (2.139). Personality of the secondary user should also be taken into account, as individuals differ in their attitudes towards preservation of dress.

A good example of this disparity in attitudes is the muslin Wedderburn dress, which was accessioned alongside a copy probably made circa 1880-1890. The copy has been shaped to fit a late nineteenth century corset and has a small bustle inside the skirt. It has been faithfully made, aside from the difference in body fit. That the wearer possibly considered use of the original garment is one interpretation of the areas darned with a later silk thread, but the end result appears to have been a preservation of the original. The delicate material of this garment is likely to have increased anxiety about its use, whereas the silk of the Freeland dress is comparatively robust.

In this instance sentiment and nostalgia give way to the physical properties of the materials. Although the Wedderburn dresses were accessioned with little accompanying information, this does not mean that prior owners of the garments had no nostalgia or sentiment attached to them via knowledge of an associated event, or of the previous owner. It may have been known by whoever repaired the dress that it may have been worn as a bridal gown, for example.

While the purpose of reuse is explained by the provenance of the MacTavish dress, that of the Freeland dress appears to have been less sentimental. In the photograph Georgina Turnbull wears her grandmother's garment as fancy dress. The use of the eighteenth century garment may have leant her costume authenticity, but her use is light-hearted in comparison to the MacTavish bridal wear. This contrasts with the eighteenth century reuses of the same garments, which were probably for everyday functionality. The different intended uses of garments also leads to differences in the quality of construction; nineteenth century alterations of garments for fancy dress are generally obvious when studying a garment because of the loose or visible stitching. The repairs on the Wedderburn muslin are visible less because of a lack of care but due to ill-matched materials. The later thread is much thicker and silk rather than cotton. Eighteenth century darns on the garment use the same thread that the textile is woven with and are nearly invisible.

Conclusion:

The analyses and discussions surrounding the Kinloch, Freeland and MacTavish dresses have served to highlight how difference in income and social position only change factors involved in decisions surrounding dress, with no impact on the complexity of these decisions. The availability of materials may be more limited, but the consideration of them can be as emotive, fashion conscious or political as that of more wealthy counterparts. Fewer means had little impact on the level of care and attention put into the making of the garments.

The above discussions do highlight one difference; the garments belonging to households with less property or financial means have been reused or altered over the generations of their owners, suggesting that they were not forgotten, or perhaps had less permanent storage. This may simply be a result of the owners having smaller houses, but it may also indicate an increased attachment to the materials of their ancestors, relative rarity possibly leading to more desire to reuse, repair and return the garments to function through a sense of pride and ownership.

This chapter has also shown that the importance of the materials from which a garment is made not only resides in an ability to date and locate the origin of the textile, but could imbue the finished object with wider meanings, detached from the form of garment. In turn, this illustrates the importance of understanding dress objects as interfaces of different media and meanings, as entities which can change remarkably through the perspective of the viewer.

From these case studies it is clear that eighteenth century women on the lower rungs of the genteel or educated classes, even with means reduced by large families, were as willing and able to engage with their dressed appearance as their more wealthy counterparts, when opportunity arose. They took care in reusing materials to choose a fashionable cut of dress, and chose high quality materials. In this sense they were evidently as engaged with the fashions of their contemporaries as their means allowed. Equally, the highland location of the Fraser and MacTavish families had little bearing on the shape of the dress, which was found to have close counterparts in French and American collections. Regional identity came into play with the materials, but the form of the garment followed current fashions of the time, suggesting that to the interested woman knowledge of national and international style was available even in the rural Highlands of Scotland.

Conclusion:

Revision and summary:

The aim of this study was to further understand the dialogue between dress and identity in the lives of eighteenth-century Scotswomen and build on a growing number of academic works looking at identity in dress and textiles, Scottish identity, the study of dress objects, women's lives in the eighteenth century, and more specifically, the lives of Scotswomen in the eighteenth century. To achieve this object research was employed, as the best means to explore the dress of women who often left little documentary or visual evidence behind them. This fulfilled a secondary intention of the thesis; to explore and highlight eighteenth century garments in Scottish collections, providing insight into material culture in support of documentary studies and to increase collections knowledge.

This project deliberately took an almost archaeological approach to the chosen extant garments. Their case studies revealed that documentary or pictorial evidence of women can diminish in line with their income and social position; showing that extant objects are a vital element for understanding of historic women, and more generally of people who are otherwise undocumented. Carr and Glover, among others,[442] have noted limitations on women's engagement with public (recorded) culture in the eighteenth century, which in turn supports the value of studying their clothing. Through dress women expressed themselves alongside men; study of it reveals a fuller picture of their personal characters outside of masculine anecdote.

The case studies have shown that close analysis of a worn garment can reveal intimate details and raise unique questions around the fashionable identity of the wearer, whereas quantitative stylistic analysis of garments was proved necessary to gain insight to the objects. The latter revealed the existence of the matching Blair and Manchester *caracos* and connected them to the Low Countries; it enabled several of the garments to be situated within an Anglo-French context, and closely related the style of the MacTavish tartan dress to items in Colonial Williamsburg; visually placing garments of specific eighteenth century Scotswomen within an international framework. Thus contributing to current arguments that Scotswomen were internationally engaged alongside their male 'Enlightenment' counterparts,[443] and providing evidence anchored in Scotland of the use of imported textiles in garment styles that would have been recognised as fashionable by contemporaries in Europe and North America.

[442] For example Chapter 'Isolation' in Foreman, 1999 (first published 1998), 305-326

[443] For example Rosalind Carr's discussion of women's engagement in intellectual and political spheres in Carr, Rosalind, *Gender, national identity and political agency in eighteenth-century Scotland*, PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow 2008, 240-298; and Glover, 2011, in particular 139-165

The case studies showed that often fragmentary notes regarding origin in museum collections can be traced into rounded, if indefinite, pictures of provenance. Tracing the possible origins of garments in this thesis has revealed a great potential for research and understanding into eighteenth century women's lives. Even the most basic clues into family history can geographically situate a garment, such as with the Kinloch items. The *Statistical Account of Scotland* then provides a unique resource for insights into the community and conditioning circumstances around a wearer. Understanding broader national conditions enabled tentative links to be made between garments; for example, the 1782-1783 poor weather and harvests which may have contributed to Mary McDowall's death, could explain why Isabella MacTavish reused the tartan dress in 1785. It is possible the economic climate meant Isabella could not afford a new garment of the desired quality, and therefore reused a wedding dress from 1751. Conversely, a year later, with income from trade and property, Isabel Wedderburn invested in new printed muslin for her marriage.

Analysis of some of the garments in this thesis, predominantly in Chapter 4 revealed that they covered several decades within themselves, and thus provided clues to the sartorial choices of more than one wearer, knowledge of whom was inextricably tied to the garment and its other user. Such instances make clear Webb Kean's idea that the undeniable material realities of "objects bring the potential for new realizations into new historical contexts".[444] Without study of the objects the continuity between generations in the Freeland and Kinloch garments would have been unknown.

The emotional stories read in the garments are the most telling about wearer identities, through their own clothing decisions and those of their descendants. The value placed on memory of a person was seen, in the instance of Mary McDowall, to be an indication of how she was valued in life. Association with events or people are dominant forces behind historic garment survival, so that even where the original reasoning for storage is unknown, probability hints that items could initially have had emotive reasons for preservation.

Most evident throughout the case studies is the complex relationship between the wearer and garments, and the ethereal nature of the evidence left in the objects. While this thesis has brought to light personalities not yet studied, such as the Richardson women and Kinloch women, the traces of their characters available to view are shifting and necessarily based on the interpretation of the reader. Yet, the objects do present tangible facts: their material type, their shape and usage. Together the object studies present consistent ideas relating to dress; each garment has been seen to evidence the location of the wearer, their social position and income, and a dialogue of personal character.

[444] Webb Keane, 'Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning: On the Social Analysis of Material Things' in Miller, Daniel (ed.), *Materiality*, Durham and London: Duke University Press 2005, 190

Specific outcomes:

To direct the object analyses and subsequent discussions in addressing the subject of dress and identity a set of key questions were provided in the introduction, further directed by the themes of taste, financial means, morality and social environment, access to goods, nationality and personal origin. Due to the nature of the enquiry not every question was addressed to the same degree in each case study, instead the questions formed a framework through which to begin understanding the garments and the characters they revealed.

Asking what the garments said about their wearers revealed multi-layered answers. Perhaps to be expected from such an open question, conclusions surrounding it fell into two main categories; physical and personal. Material analysis of the garments revealed the dimensions and proportions of the wearer to the researcher, although in general these did not form part of the comparative analysis because the emphasis of the project was on sense of identity and therefore style. Where dimensions were noted, such as on the Houstoun garments and the Blair of Blair *caraco*, this was done to enable specific comparison to assess whether items did belong to the same wearer, what their differences were and, in the case of Mary McDowall probable physical timeline.

Physical and material evidence

Aside from proportion, the materials also revealed modes of use through wear and tear and, in the case of the cream satin *sacque* from the Earls of Haddington and the silk Wedderburn dress, the name of the owner; written into the lining probably as part of a cleaning or tailoring process. For the Wedderburn dress this served to build evidence of a timeline for Isabel Stormonth, by suggesting the dress was hers prior to marriage. Dating items through a process of style identification and by examining the physical evidence of alterations, such as holes left by stitches and creases from past seams, was integral to positioning each garment in a timeline, both generic within the eighteenth century, and specific regarding individual use. This enabled the identification of nineteenth century adjustments in the Dukes of Atholl, Guthrie and Freeland garments and nineteenth century repairs in the Wedderburn dresses, which could be contrasted against eighteenth century adjustments in the Freeland and Kinloch garments, using untouched items as static points for comparison.

Consequently, conclusions were able to be drawn in relation to the income level of the owner from the physical state of the garments as they were last used in the eighteenth century. While most of the garments have survived in good condition, more adjustments suggested more reuse, suggesting that the owner(s), specifically of the Kinloch and Freeland garments, either lived longer or lived through a period in which they altered old dresses rather than purchasing new ones.

The personal knowledge of the garment's wearers was gained through assessment of material quality, pattern and garment style. As most of the case studies presented more than one garment from each household conclusions were able to be drawn in relation to familial and personal taste. The predominantly plain and always fashionable textiles chosen by the Richardson of Pitfour women could be contrasted with the patterned, more complex textiles used by the Earls of Haddington and Dukes of Atholl families, excepting the cream silk *sacque* which stated a certain social ascendancy though quantity of silk required for manufacture and difficulty (cost) of maintenance. While the aristocratic textiles were equally fashionable, their quality advertised a level of pecuniary exclusivity. For example, the cream silks with floral brocades seen in the Richardson, Guthrie, Houstoun and Kinloch groups were evidently broadly affordable to genteel women, but the imported painted Chinese silk in the Atholl group is a rarer find, particularly with its quantity of gold trimmings. Additionally, where the Houstoun items used narrow stripes on blue and pink seen as popular in France, the multi-buys of Garthwaite brocades by the Kinloch household indicated a taste for Spitalfields silks.

Personal taste and social place

Regarding taste in dress, the role of family was seen to have indirect impact across the case studies. The Cathcart sisters and Atholl women understood themselves overtly as public representatives of their family, as well as individuals, so that political and philanthropic notions tied into their everyday behaviour. They were expected to balance their own sartorial desires with sensitivity towards the social implications of their dress. For instance, Louisa Cathcart mixed deferral to her father in the matter of head-feathers, with disobedience to the Parisian fashion regarding rouge. She took into account the possibility of ridicule in both instances and where one may have upset the dominant male in her life, in the other she judged that following her own desire was of little consequence to her husband as he assisted her endeavour.[445]

Yet, the case studies highlighted that attempting to understand possible political meanings or motivations behind women's dress requires caution because of the much more evident emotional and personal connections to garments. The exotic fabrics worn by the Duke of Atholl's household at a time when overt patriotism to the British crown was politically prudent does not seem to have had any significant bearing. Additionally, as stated, the reuse of the tartan dress in 1785 could have been economically driven, or simply following a bridal tradition, rather than demonstrating Jacobite sympathies.

[445] See Chapter 1, quoting Graham, 1927, 69 and 106

In the Richardson of Pitfour discussions family was most evident as enabling wider access to goods and opinions, while their extant dresses suggest a certain restraint, which was possibly in keeping with the different types of social event they attended, as compared to the Haddington and Atholl families. For Agnes Freeland and possibly Anne Kinloch family remained a consideration in that their dress and fashionable desires had to be tempered; their concern was to maintain respectable appearance without detriment to the household income. While, the aristocratic women highlighted in Chapter 1 monitored income, it was of less consideration than their public role; the use of gilt trimming for formal occasions was evidently accepted as necessary despite the cost,[446] and income remained a relatively minor consideration for the Richardson and Houstoun families.

How personal taste influenced dress was perhaps most evident in the Houstoun garment group as all of the items are thought to have belonged to Mary McDowall. Close examination revealed style features that crossed between garments, such as the collar and cuffs, but without direct replication. Each garment retained a unique style that might serve a different social or practical purpose, such as the *sacque* dress, used for formal wear, or the *caraco* for home wear. Juxtaposing the garment groups of this study further enables insights to personal taste, for example where Mary McDowall's garments tend to use bright colours, or have a boldness of style, such as the *polonaise*, Isabel Stromonth née Wedderburn's garments use more subtle colours and less spectacular style, but both women's items are very neatly constructed, indicating a professional maker.

The provenance stories around the garments developed these material indications, suggesting that Isabel Wedderburn may have used her wedding as an opportunity to invest in an impractical fabric, but one that expressed her personal desires, possibly knowing that once family life began she may not have the same opportunity to invest in dress for some time. Mary McDowall, on the other hand appears to have been part of a practically-minded and physically active social group, so that her dresses may be the product of a desire to be physically smart, but uninhibited. Whereas, further knowledge of the Richardson, Atholl and Cathcart families revealed an engagement with London and proxy shopping; garments being sourced and sent by relations under various instructions, so that their tastes were mingled with those of their friends and relations and affected by different sources of supply. In the case of the Blair of Blair *caraco* the existence of a very similar item showed that being a member of the genteel and upper classes did not necessarily preclude a person from having ready-to-wear tailored garments.

[446] For example the brocade purchase by the Duke of Atholl, March 1765, see Chapter 1, quoting Accounts for John Duke of Atholl, Blair Castle 5/139

That fashionable style was engaged with by Scotswomen throughout their adult lives has been suggested by the earlier Richardson of Pitfour garments and Wedderburn dresses probably being worn by women in their thirties, and the remodelling of the Freeland dress around ten years after Agnes had married. This provides tangible evidence that fashion was not the sole concern of young women, or even those who were most able to afford it. The Freeland and Kinloch dresses have shown that interest in fashion did not necessarily diminish with an ability to obtain new goods.

Overall attempting to understand what the garments said about their wearer's was significant in emphasising the role of personal character, and the complex, reflexive engagements that eighteenth century women had with their wardrobes. It is the character of the wearer-commissioner that decides the interplay between family responsibility, expenditure, origin of fabrics and overall design. The intangible emotive causes behind taste were shown in the case studies to be both problematic, yet consistently present. Of further significance was that these studies presented information on women of different ages and at varying stages in their lives. Although a number of the garments appear to have dated to times just prior or subsequent to marriage, when a woman feasibly has more money and time to invest in dress, other garments such as Agnes Freeland's dress offered valuable insights to the continued interest in fashion that women had beyond the initial years of married life. While famous spinsters such as Jane Austen are renowned for their life-long engagement with fashion,[447] much less is said about married women, perhaps due to a lack of documentary evidence, which again emphasises the value of material studies.

Origin and use of material

Regarding what the garments said about their origin and probable use the material evidence provided the key. As noted above, the quality of stitching gave indication in some circumstances of whether items were professionally made, and, in the case of Mary McDowall there is no evidence that she travelled beyond Scotland, so it is reasonable to presume that her garments were made in Glasgow or Renfrewshire.

The analyses revealed that nearly all of the case study garments were in styles recognisable within an international framework, so that the specifics of where and how materials were obtained were only definitely answerable in a few cases such as the Dukes of Atholl and Richardsons of Pitfour whose family paperwork has survived. In other cases this had to be inferred from household location and fabric type, such as the suggestion of importation from Spitalfields, London of the Kinloch silks.

[447] See for example Byrde, Penelope, *Jane Austen Fashion: Fashion and Needlework in the Works of Jane Austen*, Ludlow: Moonrise Press, 2008

Overall, the garments studied from Lowland Scotland nearly all appear to have used imported outer-textiles, either brought with their travelling owners or via sea trade from London. With the exception of the Chinese painted silk they could all have been produced in Britain; design associations with France and Holland not extending to conclusive evidence they originated there. The only Highland garment included in the thesis is likely to have been entirely of Scottish manufacture; probably determined by personal choice and circumstances rather than lack of trade to Inverness.[448]

The links between the garments from eastern Scotland and London are the strongest, but the Wedderburn and Atholl items expanded these origins internationally, reflecting personal associations of the wearers over immediate market supply. The Chinese silk is probably an indicator of wealth as well as access to supply, as noted above, acquired either through social connection or the London markets. The Wedderburn muslin may have reflected an interest of Isabel in the East Indies, prompted by her brother's employment there. Location therefore intervenes in the choice of material on a practical and an emotional level. Aside from the MacTavish wedding dress, which was possibly driven by a greater sense of tradition than the other garments, little impression was gained that the wearers limited their tastes to a particular origin for their materials; French, English, Dutch and Far Eastern styles suggests markets were exploited where possible to suit personal and fashionable taste.

The cumulative conclusion is that a wide range of high-quality fabrics were available to Lowland Scotswomen in the eighteenth century; imported by merchants, friends and family. In the two instances where specifically local productions were used, that of the Dukes of Atholl patronising local business and the MacTavish dress being produced in Invernesshire, the motivations were more suggestive of expressing social position and personal values than a particular national patriotism, although these purchases were arguably tied to a sense of place identity.

Understanding the likely uses of garments was gathered from the combination of visual and provenance sources. Knowledge of the 3rd Duke of Atholl's attendance at Royal Court and the level of gold work detailed in relation to his garments in his accounts suggested the Chinese silk dress as having been used at a similarly formal gathering. The possibility of Mary McDowall being one of the 'fine ladies' to visit the 'high craig' noted by Jean Rankine suggests one of her garments may have been used as walking dress, while fashion plates suggested the connection of her *caraco* with maternity wear. Equally, stylistic analysis was a constant indication of probable uses of garments; the fly-braid trimmings and tassels of the Richardson and Houstoun *sacque* dresses suiting these garments to more sedate physical activities, which demanded a certain level of show.

[448] Cheape, Hugh and Quye, Anita, 'Rediscovering the Arisaid', *Costume*, 2008, number 42, 1-20

Summary

To reiterate, the outcomes of addressing these framework questions are that there is now material evidence of how Scotswomen variously engaged with their contemporary fashions. They were not noticeably limited by an availability of materials, except when this was affected by income level. Their tastes in dress, as compared to the English, French and other sources cited throughout the thesis, were clearly international, even when using local materials the MacTavish tartan dress was formed into what was a generally fashionable style in Britain and North America. This information both supports and adds to what is known about eighteenth century Scotswomen from studies of their social habits,[449] and studies including the discussion of their dress within themes of commissioning, making and national identity.[450] Thus, the garment analyses have contributed to uncovering the international community of female material culture in the eighteenth century; providing tangible evidence of the mixed-gender society that the 'polite' culture was so keen to express.[451]

What remains to be dealt with in relation to these new understandings of women's eighteenth century dress is the sartorial relationship between men and women. To more fully understand how women regarded their own dress and how they developed their sense of identity future study needs to look at the visual and physical interaction between male and female garments. As individuals and gender groups did not exist in isolation, nor should their surviving dress.

Regarding knowledge of eighteenth century dress the case studies have presented defined examples of re-use, juxtaposing the differences in eighteenth century reuse and later use, while providing specific circumstances in which to view the recycling of materials in the eighteenth century. This helps to give context to a practice that is generally accepted by historians of eighteenth century dress, but not widely explored as a complex and circumstantial process. The stylistic comparisons designed to locate and date the garments also offered insights to construction details not overtly stated in other studies; such as the narrower box-pleats on late 1770s *sacque* dresses, and the similarly narrower or different pleats systems on bodice backs which can date a garment. Examining details such as cuffs also revealed that eighteenth century fashions were as subject to short revivals of previous trends as contemporary fashions are today.

General outcomes:

[449] Glover, 2011
[450] Tuckett, PhD Thesis, 2010
[451] Glover, 2011, 3-4; and, as satirised by Swift, Jonathan, (Litt, Toby (ed.)), *Polite Conversation*, London: Hesperus Press Limited, 2007(first published 1738)

The overall intention of this thesis was to explore the relationship between fashionable dress and identity in the context of eighteenth century garments. The strong presence of the women concerned in the object studies has enabled them to be more firmly situated within existing knowledge of eighteenth century dress and eighteenth century society, as well as drawing connections to current practices. Individual eighteenth century personalities have been displayed, tempered by the uncertainties involved with object interpretation. In attempting to summarise the overall impression of the garments and their identity stories it is useful to return to fashion theory; Anne Hollander has asserted that fashion is "a sequential art, an emblematic projection of life, a visual analogue to the sort of common experience that is founded on social facts, but that takes its forms from inward life…".[452]

The objects of this thesis have shown sequence, commonality and a reflection of internal, personal, concerns. What affected fashionable dress over two hundred years ago is still of relevance to today because it reflects fundamental concerns within human society; personal desires, personal expression and public communication. Therefore, the most striking outcome of the exploration within this thesis is that there are strong parallels between the sartorial concerns of eighteenth century women viewed through their garments, to the themes of recent fashion and consumer theories, as discussed in the introduction. This is significant in helping to reduce the perceived divide between fashion theory and dress history, highlighting how useful both study approaches can be to one another.

Overall methodology outcomes:

A key contribution of the methodological approach taken for this study is that it has both uncovered and enabled the further study of groups of historic items of dress. These have been shown to provide unique stories of personal or familial taste, with a specific geographic location. Other eighteenth century groups have been revealed within museums via publication,[453] and more were found in regional museums during research for this project; for example, the Baskerville family items in Hereford and Margery Jackson's items in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, are yet to be explored for their full potential of identity stories. While studying individual groups of items can reveal details of personal taste, such as how individuals adapted their dress and which fashions they chose to adopt, the system of comparison between groups from different geographic locations begun in this thesis has the potential for far broader insight into fashion trends; what may have been the norm, what was regionally specific and what was an unusually individual style.

[452] Hollander, Anne, *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress*, New York: Knopf 1998 (first published 1994), 15

[453] Wilcox, David, 'The clothing of a Georgian Banker, Thomas Coutts: A Story of a Museum Dispersal', *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society*, volume 46, number 1, 2012, 17-54; Evans, '*Marriage á la Mode…*', *Costume*, 2008, 50-65

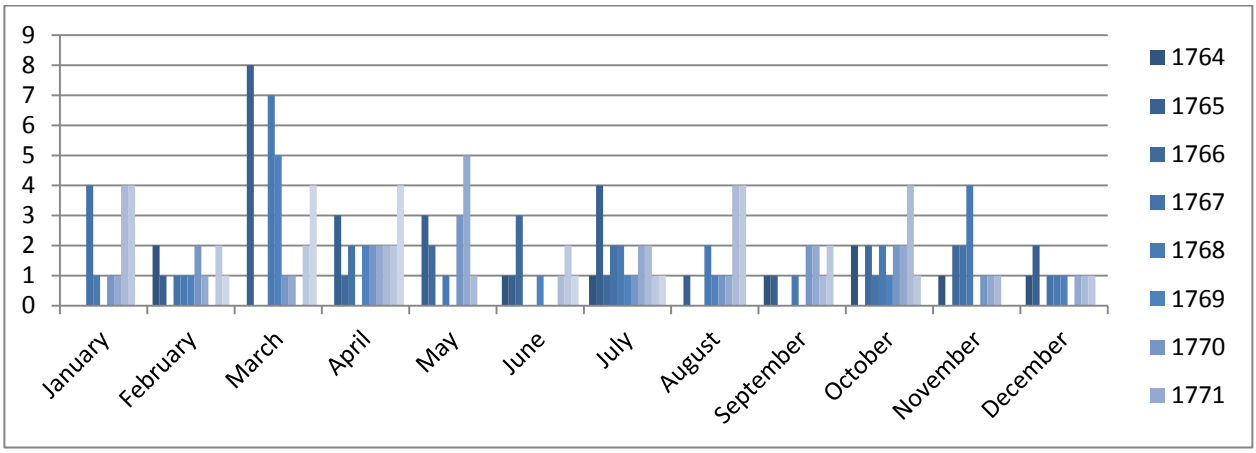
It is clear that future research into museum collections has the potential to continue re-establishing connections between objects, and creating historic material culture contexts for individuals and families. Through gaining group insights a truer picture of the daily concerns and personal tastes of eighteenth century Scotswomen has been made and further research has the potential to continue complementing and expanding on existing studies. The system of object study adopted in this thesis combined different sources, and it can be argued that this practice encourages a multi-disciplinary view, essential to understanding the multifarious ways in which dress and textiles touch on personal and social life.

However, one aspect which any study into collected or museum objects must take into account is the process of selection and the systems of museum classification, which while enabling the survival of the object are often responsible for dislocating it from original context.[454] In studying objects closely this research project has attempted to remove these historic constrictions of classification as far as possible, and apply the open-minded framework noted in relation to comments by Daniel Roche, Lou Taylor, W. David Kingery and Michael Owen Jones in the Introduction. By removing or subduing the museum setting the objects have been returned to a moment or moments of essence in their lives; their creation and primary function, the use which defined them in the form they exist today. Thus the garments have been temporarily removed from the museum and returned to an imagined original context, which can now accompany them back to the museum. This study has essentially revealed the 'personal statements' of the garments involved, reinstating some of their original character. This can then enable a clearer definition of their place within their collections, and museums more generally. Understandings of the objects have been developed and some control of their future interpretation has been given back to them; their character investigated and recorded for posterity and as a platform for future research.

[454] Jordanova, Ludmilla, 'Objects of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Museums' in Vergo, Peter (ed.), *The New Museology*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2006 (first published 1989), 22-40

Appendices:

1.1 – Number of dress expenses itemised by John, 3rd Duke of Atholl



1.2 – Table of purchases relating to dress by John, 3rd Duke of Atholl

	Jan'	Feb'	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept'	Oct'	Nov'	Dec'
1755	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1756	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1
1757	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
1758	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	2	2
1759	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
1760	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	4	1
1761	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	1	0	0	0	1
1762	6	3	2	5	1	0	0	3	1	1	2	4
1763	1	2	1	2	4	0	0	1	0	3	5	0
London		1758 and 1759 May has both London and Edinburgh Accts										
Scotland		1762 Duke in London alone for some of the summer										

	Jan'	Feb'	March	April	May	June	July	August	Sept'	Oct'	Nov'	Dec'
1764	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	1	1
1765	0	1	8	3	3	1	4	1	1	0	0	2
1766	0	0	0	1	2	3	1	0	0	2	2	0
1767	4	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	2	1
1768	1	1	7	0	1	0	2	2	1	2	4	1
1769	0	1	5	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
1770	1	2	1	2	3	0	1	1	2	2	1	0
1771	1	1	1	2	5	0	2	1	2	2	1	1
1772	4	0	0	2	1	1	2	4	1	4	1	1
1773	4	2	2	2	0	2	1	4	2	1	0	1
1774	0	1	4	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Scotland	London	Not known									

1755-1763 Includes all accounts for apparel noted

1764-1773 Includes only women's and children's, excluding jewellery and hair, and linen demonstrably not for attire, including non-gender specific entries and undesignated entries, excludes servants wear when clearly acknowledged as such, includes threads for sewing when probably for clothing, is a record of the number of accounts, not their size and does not reflect how many people the entry concerned.

1.3 – Fabric types in John, 3rd Duke of Atholl's accounts (original spellings and emphasis retained)

1762
cambric for stocks
blue Linnen for Gowns Froks
Silk pocket Handkerchiefs
flowrd muslin
lawn

1763
silk stockings x2, black x1
Green & Gold...Printed Linnon
India hankerchiefs
Lace for hat

1764
linnen
suit rich gold embroidery, on blue cloath
silk stockings
lether britches

1765
greve skin muff and tippet
rich gold ground brocade
cloath [wool?]
irish gown
satten cloak, lined mole skin
flowered gauze
ruffled shirts
blue saten

1766
blue uncut velvet embroidered gold
cotton stockings
linnen

1767
muslin
blue uncut velvet [above garment]
embroidering blue frok suit [as before]
thread stockings
silk
blue satten cloak, cap and feather

1768
green ribband
white satten [bed]
blue and white satten
change clound silk
blue satten with natural flowers
silk
muslin
black silk [old account]
true India handerchiefs
silk stockings

1769
thread stockings
worsted stockings
flannel
silk, purple suit embroidered
silver
green silk

1770
yarn
pea green flowered silk
yellow ducare
pink shot white [ducare?]
silk
white silk
linen [previous yrs bills]
silk stockings

1771
blue and gold indian cover for bed
silk handkerchiefs
gauze fringed ruffles [mens]
foyl and trimming
black flowrd satten
lustring gown
french stamps for painting
blue saten
silver buttons
embroidered suit
spangles

1772
buckles
silk
linen
white thread stockings
Irish silk handkerchiefs
gold plate [0.16.0]
lace ruffles mended

1773
green ribbon
ermin lipet
a trimming
umbrelo in silk
worsted stockings
linen
snaled silk

1774
muslin and worked gowns
thread lace
striped silk - perth
silk
linen

2.1 – Cotton law:

"Printed, &c. or dyed goods wholly made of cotton, shall be stamped at each end with the words *British manufactory*, and whoever shall *counterfeit* or *forge* the *stamp* or *impression*, shall suffer *death*; and every person knowingly selling, or aiding to sell such, *death*.

…

British stuffs, wholly made of cotton wool spun in Great Britain, whether printed, painted, &c. in each piece thereof, shall be woven in the warp, in both selvages through the whole length, *three blue stripes*, each of *one thread only*; the *first* to be the *outermost* thread, the *second* to be the *third* thread, the *third* to be the *fifth thread of the warp in each selvage*. Persons exposing to sale, or having custody, of any such stuffs, muslin neckcloths and fustians excepted, *wanting such three blue stripes*, except for exportation, shall forfeit *such goods*, and for every piece *fifty pounds*."[455]

"Nothing in the Act 7 G.1. shall prohibit… stuffs wholly made of cotton wool, spun and manufactured in Great Britain, *when* printed, painted, &c.

The prohibition is as follows.

No person shall wear, or use, any calicoe printed, painted, stained, or dyed, *except all dyed blue*, on pain of *five pounds* to the informer. Complaint on oath to be made within six days after offence committed. Penalty levied by distress; but the party on giving six days notice to the prosecutor, may appeal to next Quarter Sessions, whose judgement shall be final. And no person shall offer such calicoe, or *any furniture*, made up or mixed therewith, to sale, unless for exportation, nor use nor wear it, on pain of *twenty pounds*, half to the informer, half to the poor; and if the offender is an officer of any corporation he shall forfeit his office.

It shall also extend to prohibit the wearing or using of any stuffs made of cotton, or mixed therewith, printed or painted, or any calicoe chequered or striped, stitched or flowered in *foreign parts*, with any colour or colours, or with coloured flowers made there, muslins, neckcloths, fustians, and calicoes dyed all blue, excepted."[456]

3.1: Scale drawings of MCAG 2003.171 and R+MF 86.22 - 2mm for 10mm

[455] Paul, John, *A clear and compendious system of the excise laws, methodically arranged, and alphabetically digested. Containing, all the laws now in force relative to that important branch of the revenue, down to the close of the last session of Parliament. Divested as much as possible, of the exbarrassing terms of law, and equally useful to the excise officer, and the public in general. By John Paul, Esq; author of the tenants law, parish officer, bankrupts law, &c.* London: Richardson and Urquhart, MDCCLXXIX [1779], 89; Eighteenth Century Collections Online, Gale group, accessed 27/01/2012

[456] Paul, *A clear and compendious system of the excise laws,* [1779], 89-90

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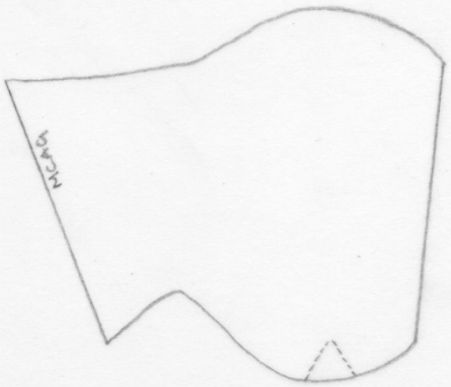

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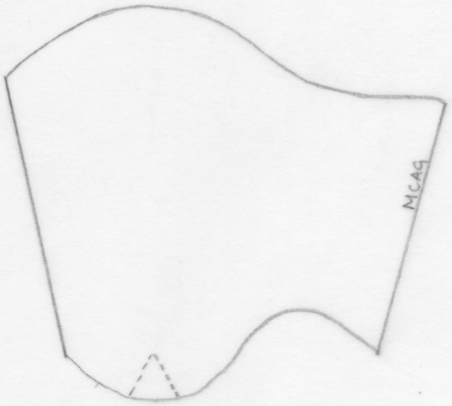

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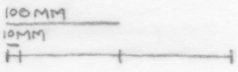

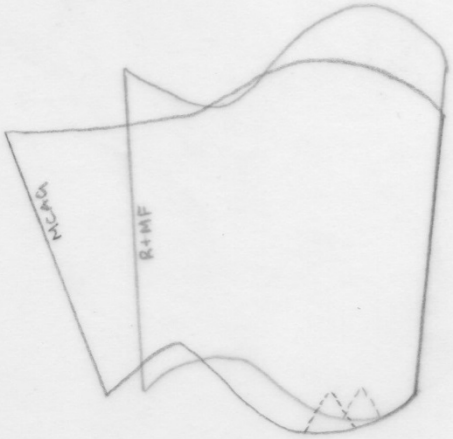

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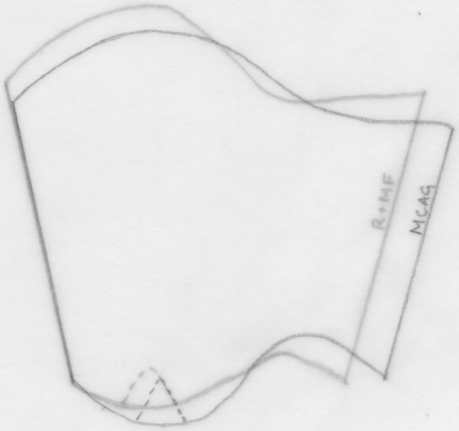

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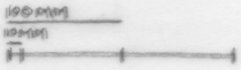

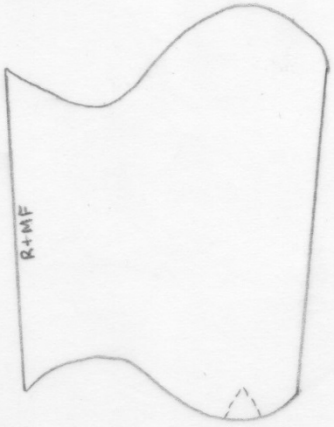

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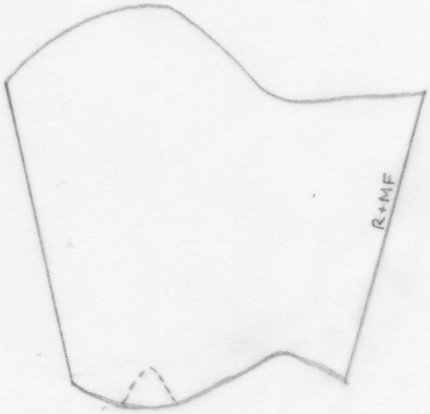

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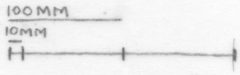

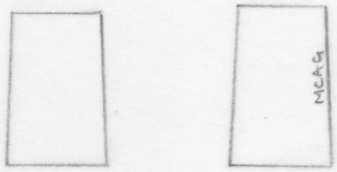

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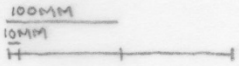

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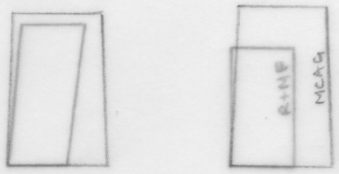

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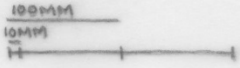

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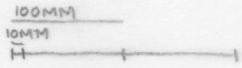

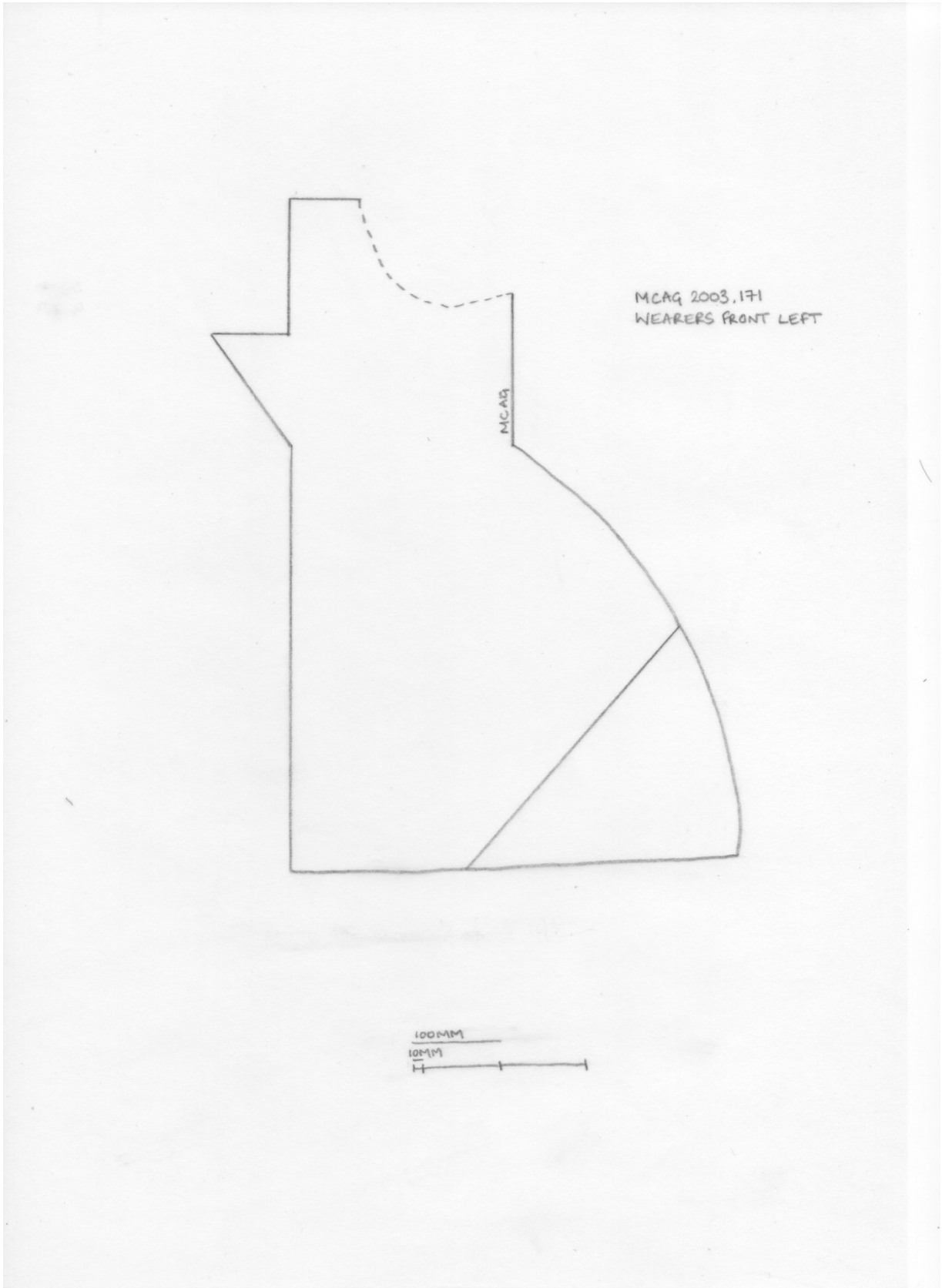
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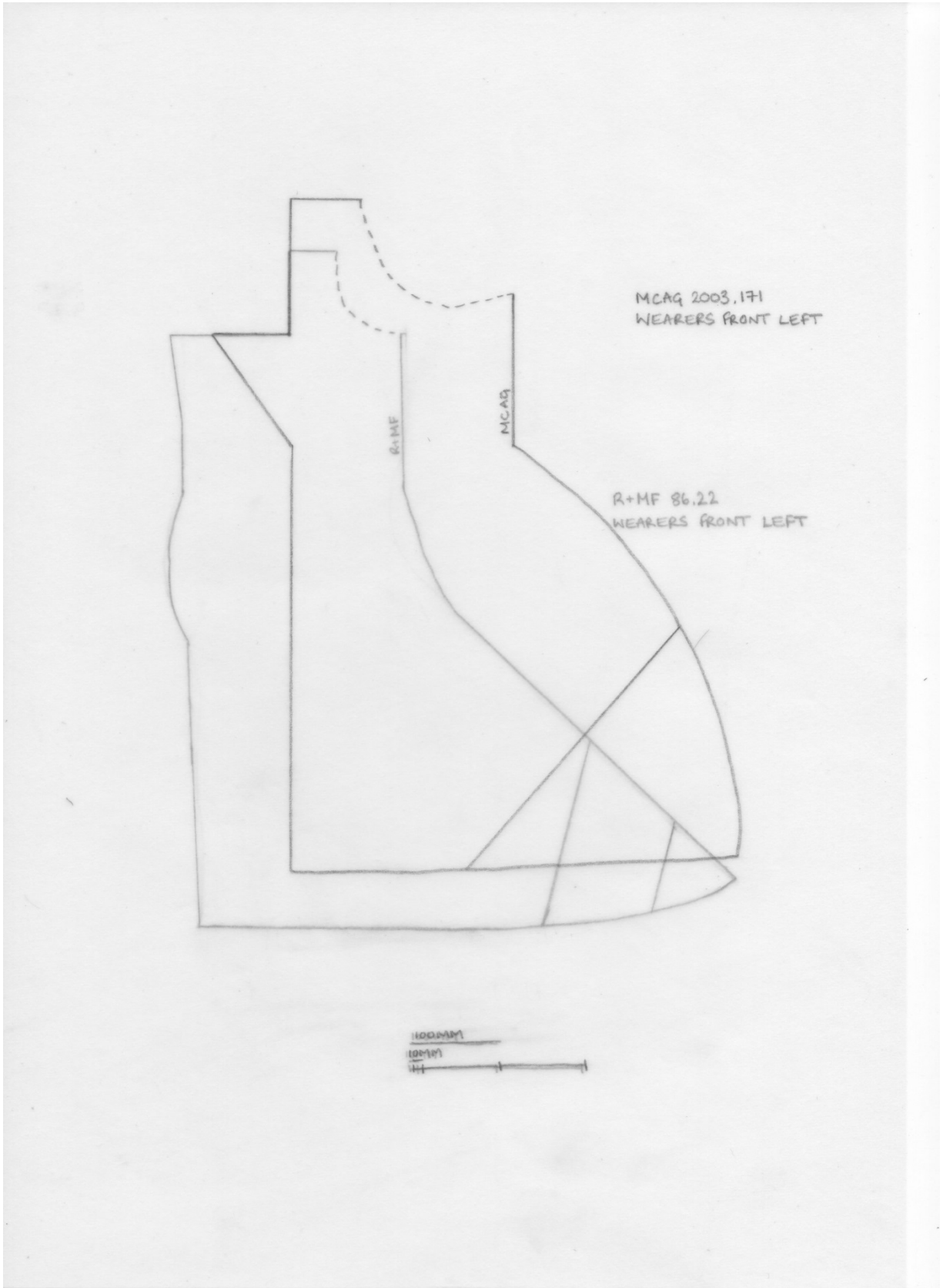
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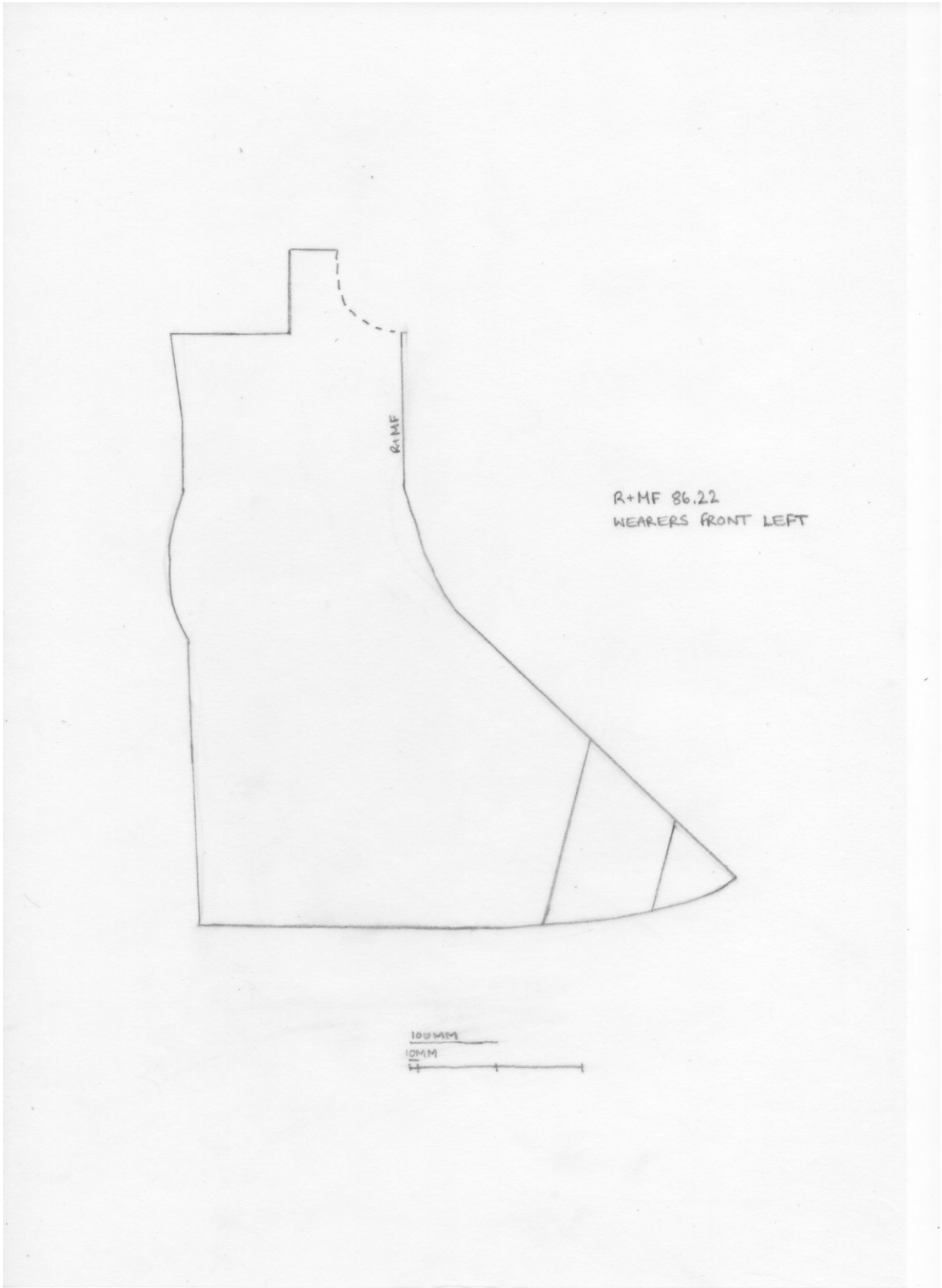
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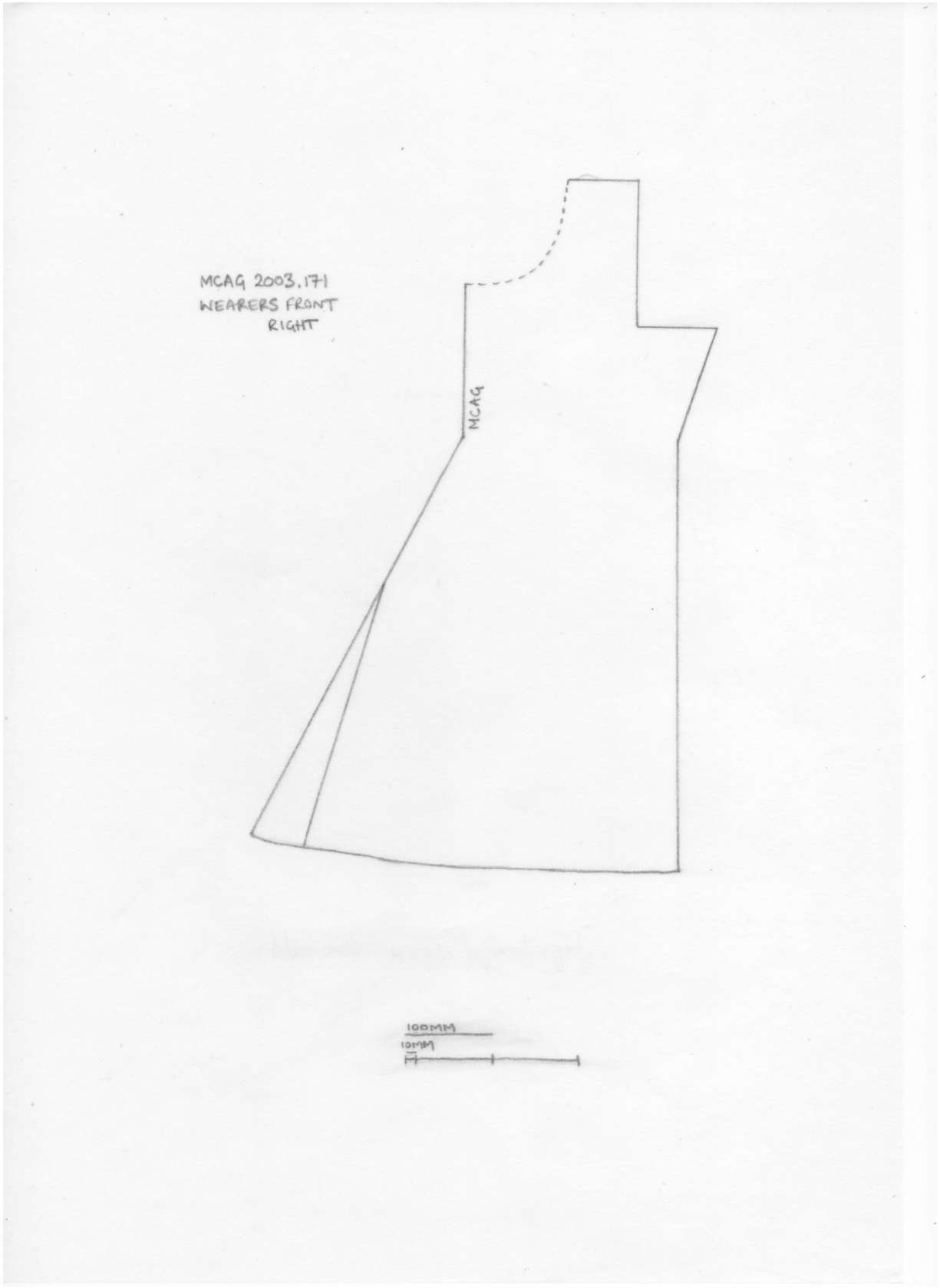
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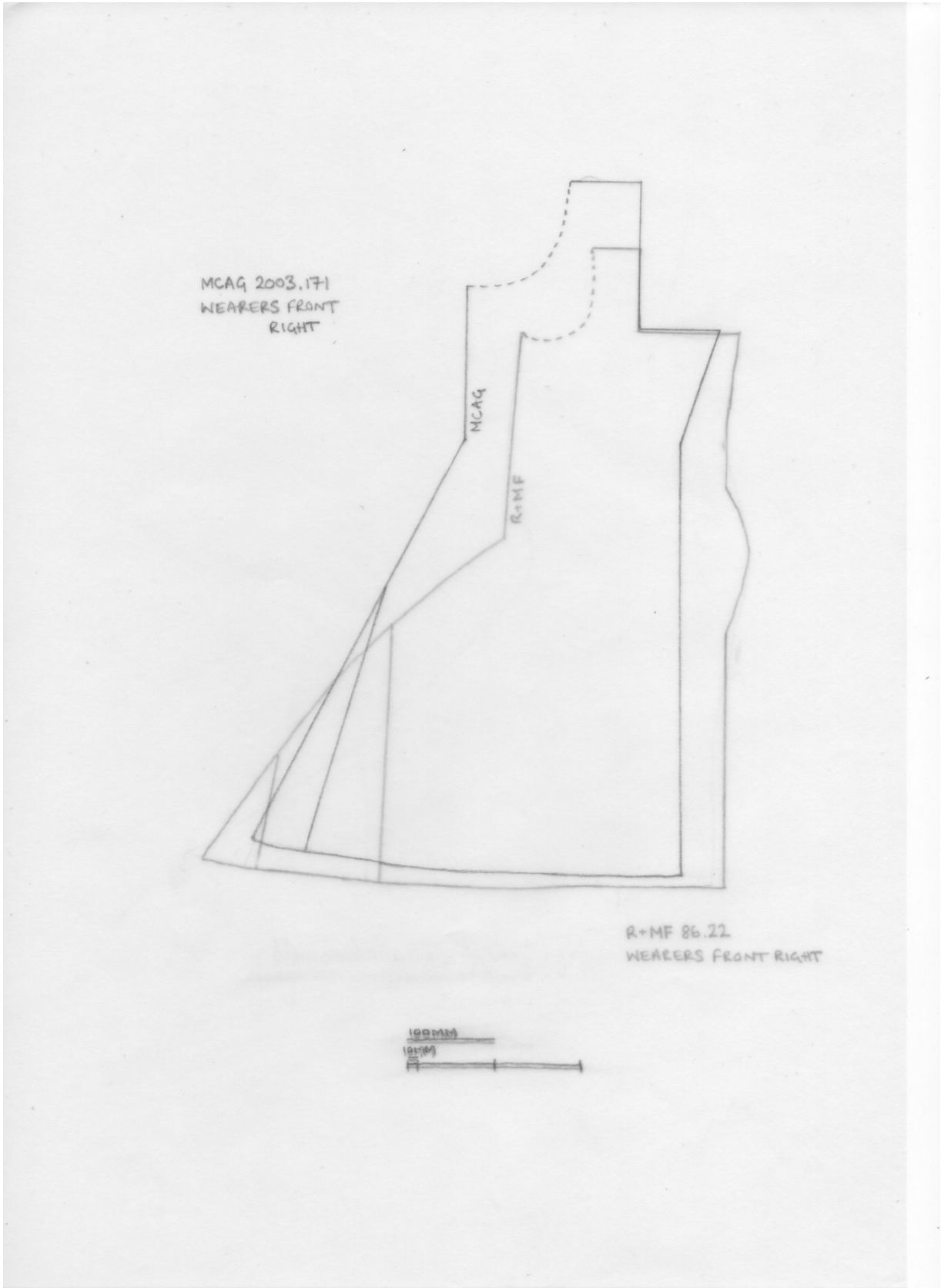
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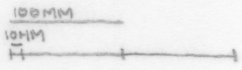

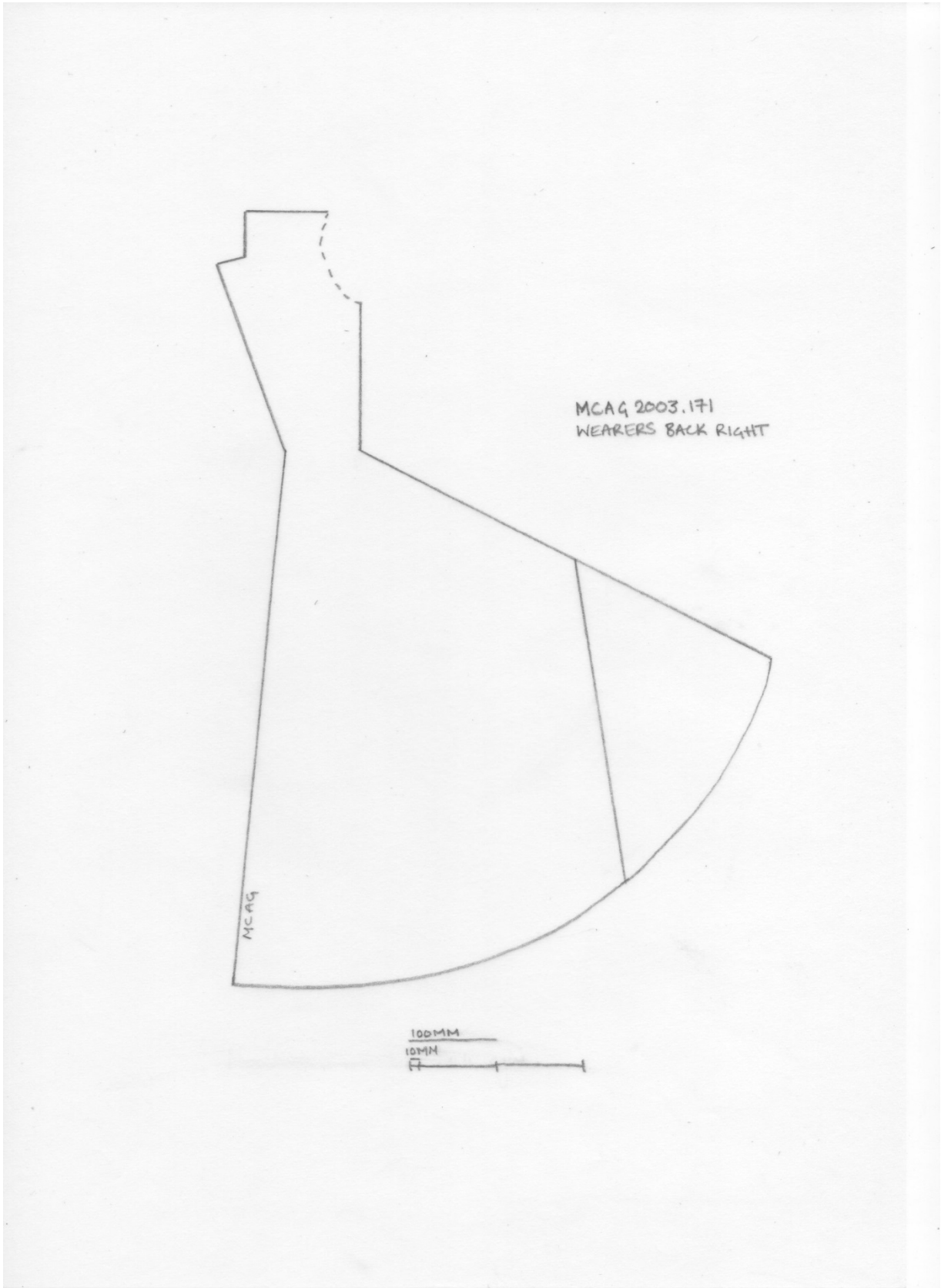
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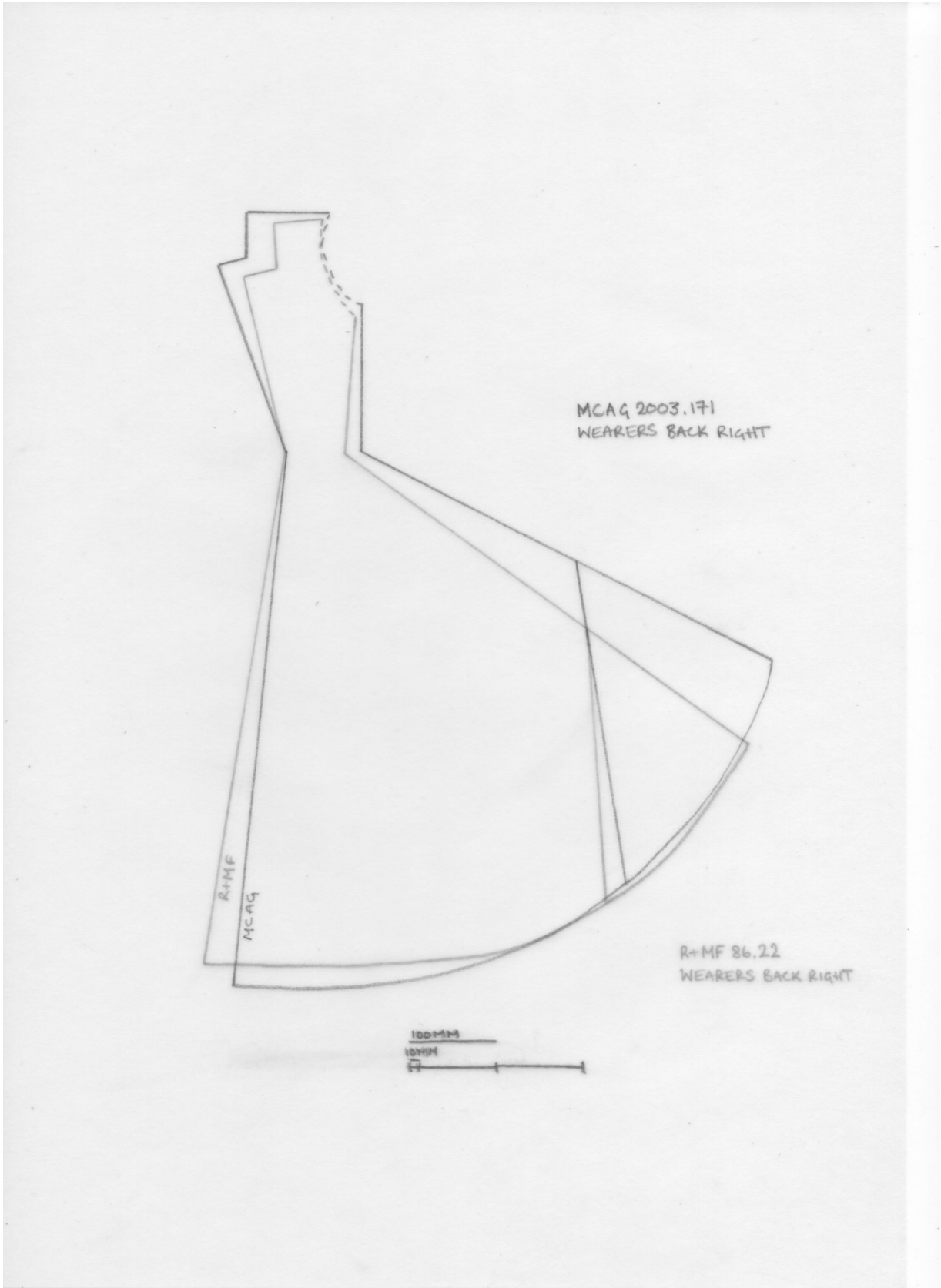
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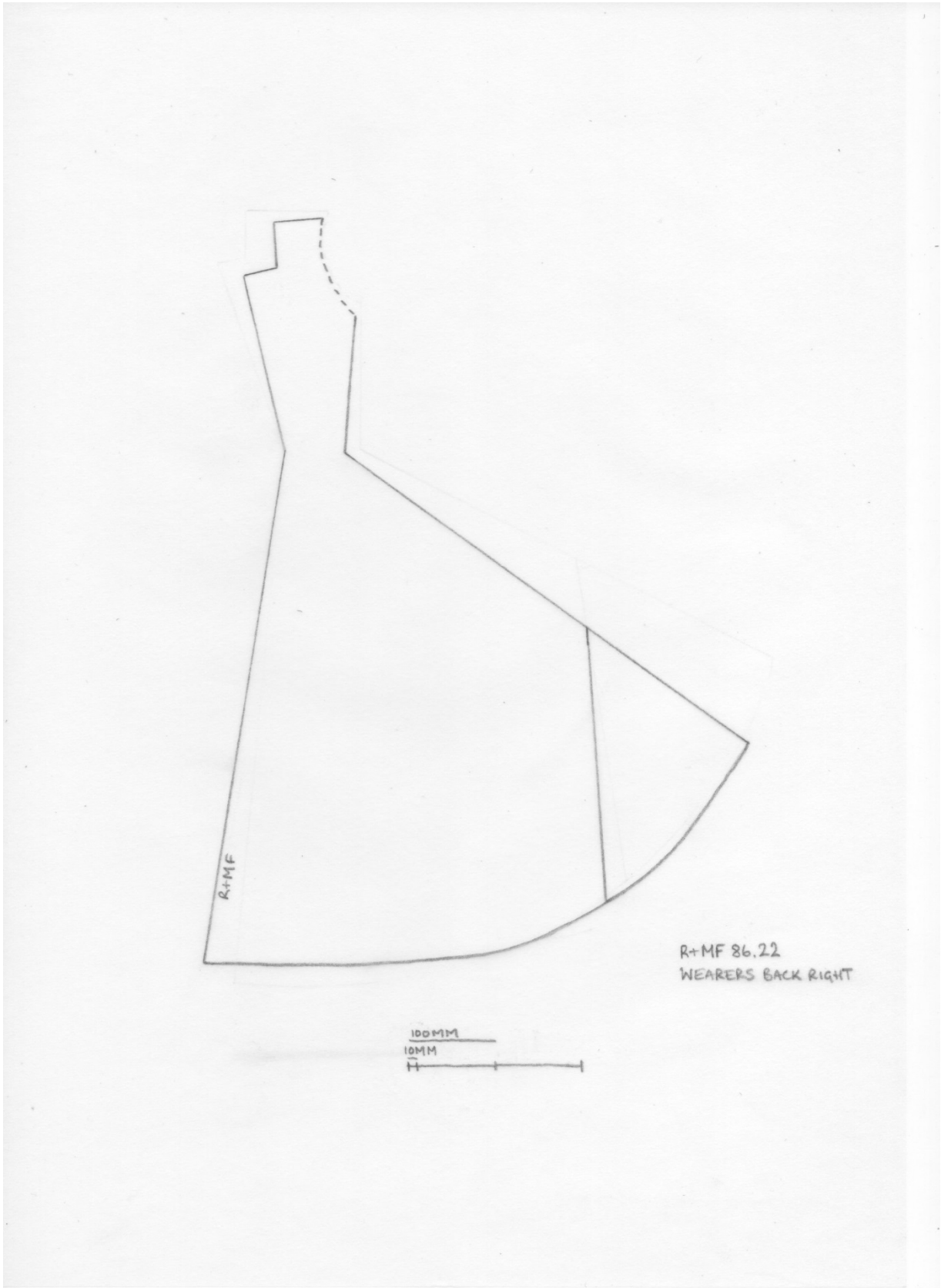
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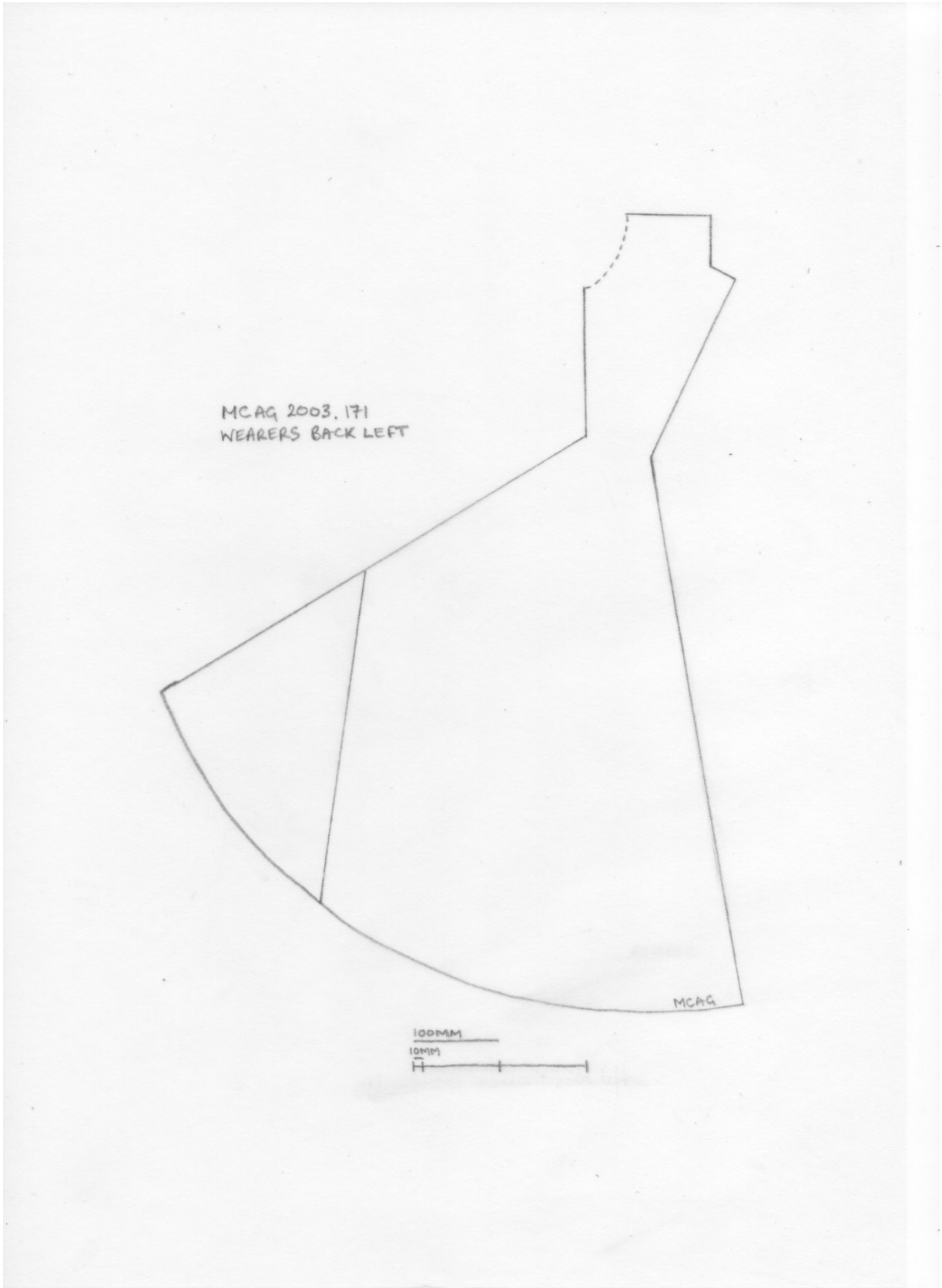
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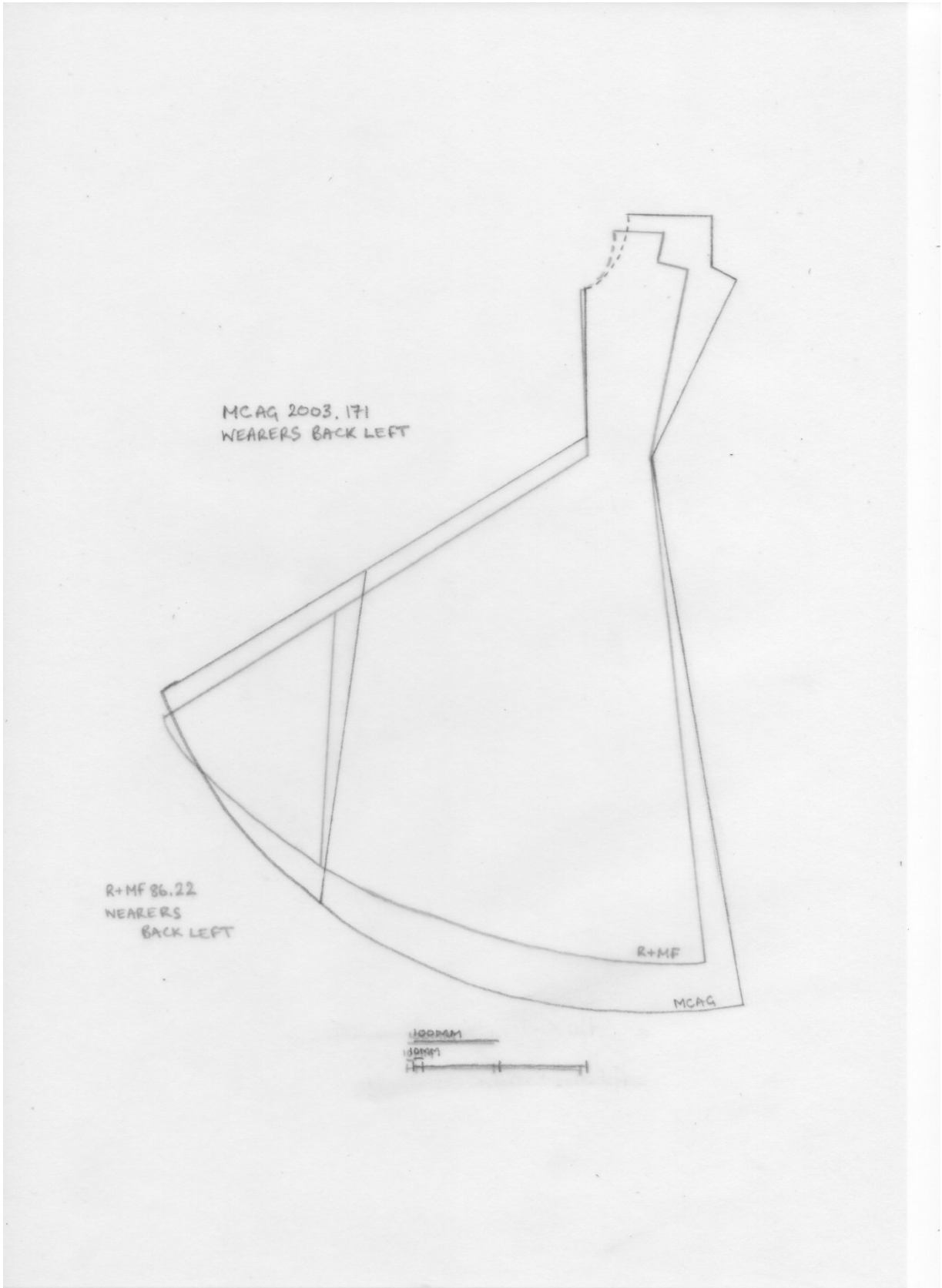
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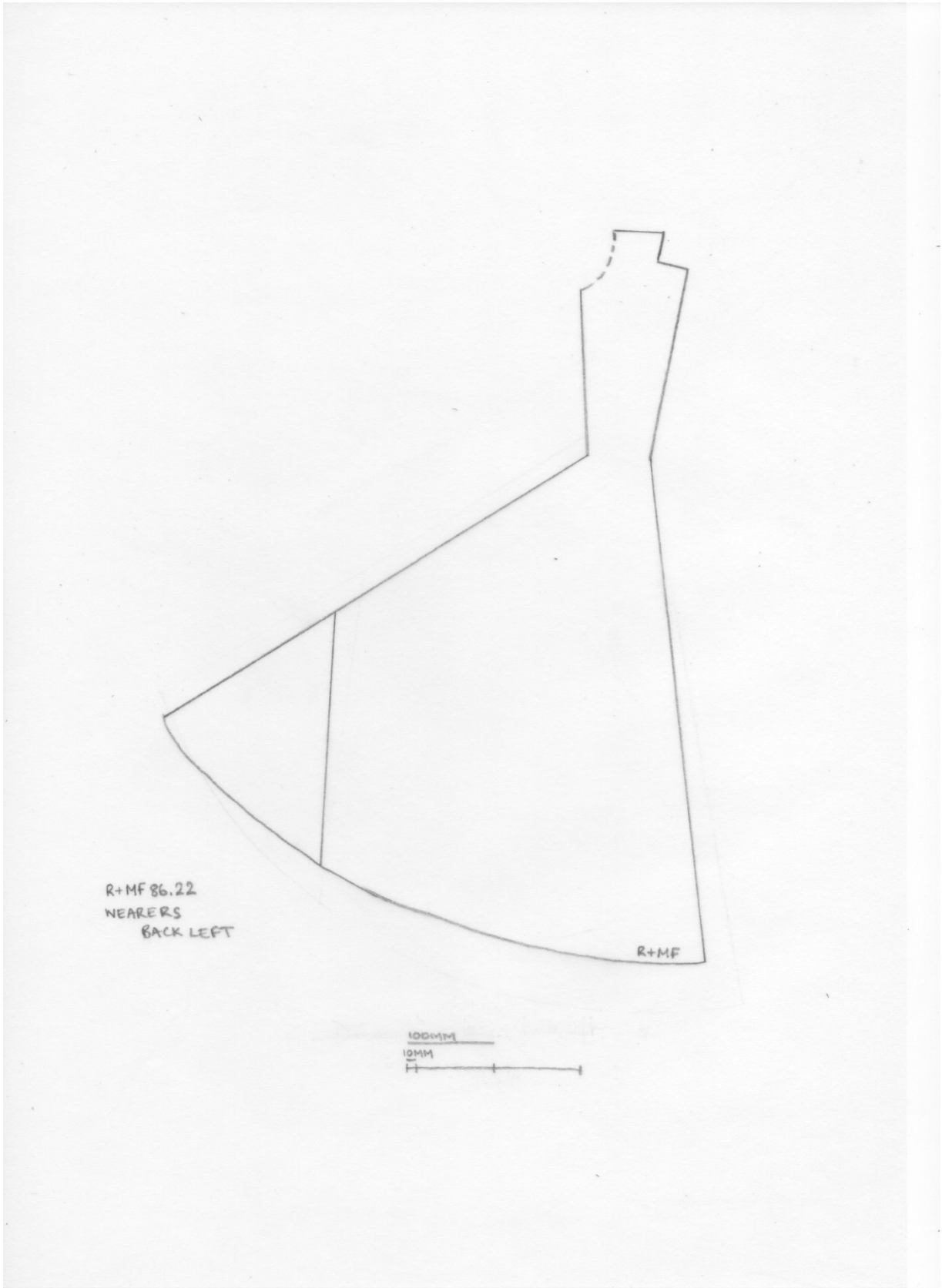
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