

## CHAPTER III

### Review of Literature

The purpose of this research was to determine whether or not poetry (i.e., poems, ballads, and songs) could be used as a source of knowledge on historic dress in a social, political, or economic context, using the dress of Scottish Highlanders from 1603 through 1830 as an example, and to triangulate the findings with other sources that portray dress through the written word or visual image. The review of literature, therefore, will present an overview of Scottish culture in general and the impact of its geography on the cultures of the Highlands and the Lowlands, as well as the history of its relationship with England and surrounding areas. The review of literature was organized in the following manner: subcultures, poetry and poetic analysis, Scottish political climate, Scottish social climate, Scottish economic climate, Scottish dress during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, dress in written works, and content analysis. In the sections on dress, the review of literature provides the documentation of historic dress, an overview of dress from 1603-1830, European dress, Scottish dress, Highland dress, and Irish dress.

#### Subcultures

People who interact on a regular basis and behave in a similar manner are considered to be derived from a similar culture (Eicher, Evenson, & Lutz, 2000). Cultures are dependent upon material and non-material objects, including dress, literature, and works of art. In addition to culture, a society may contain one or more subcultures, which arise as a means of dealing with the contradictions that exist within a society. The subculture offers solutions to the contradictions and a “place to be oneself, explore what one is, and to make statements about one’s condition” (Brake, 1974, p. 184). People that create a subculture deliberately distinguish themselves from the rest of their society. Therefore, any smaller group within a society that distinguishes itself from society at large is considered a subculture (Eicher, Evenson, & Lutz, 2000; Horn & Gurel, 1981). Dress is one means of distinguishing subcultural groups from the rest of society. According to Brake (1974), members of a subculture learn particular behaviors expected of members including “the kinds of clothes he [or she] wears” (p.185).

Waugh (1999) studied 12<sup>th</sup> century French nobility and characterized them as a subculture because they used garments to distinguish themselves from other groups in France at the same time. These people wore the bliaut, a tunic that was adapted by lacings to fit snugly about the body. Young noblemen had developed a preference for

garments that emphasized their slenderness and gave the illusion of length. Additionally, the sleeves were extremely long and the hem of the biauut drug on the ground. The biauut clearly inhibited a man from moving about easily or working, which distinguished the nobility from the other classes that had to work. Young noblewomen also wore this style of garment, as a means of sexual attraction. According to Waugh (1999), a subcultural style evolves when, “a distinct style of dress that functions as a badge of group identity and values...a subculture style antagonizes members of other groups, but one must wear it to be accepted by one’s peers” (p.11). The tightly fitted biauut became a status symbol, or badge of nobility, that distinguished the nobility from other classes. These garments became distinctive in style and silhouette apart from other more common garments in France and the rest of Europe.

Dress and subcultures can be seen in many different time periods. While Waugh (1999) studied historic dress related to subculture, Brake (1974) studied modern subculture. England during the 1950s and 1960s experienced the emergence of several different youth subcultures, which used dress as a means of distinguishing themselves from society at large. The “Teddy boys” was the first youth subculture to emerge in the early 1950s. They distinguished themselves by wearing “narrow trousers, thick crepe-soled shoes, long jacket with velvet collar, bootlace tie, and all topped by sideboards and an aggressive quiff”(Brake, 1974, p. 181). In addition to their garments, the Teddy boys were known for their violent acts. The 1960s gave way to a new youth subculture known as the “rockers.” Again, this group used dress to distinguish themselves from other Brits. The rockers wore “black leather jackets, oil-stained denims, high leather boots, and studded belts” (Brake, 1974, p. 182). The rockers tended to ride motorcycles which, combined with their style of dress, created a tough, working class image. Around the same time that the rockers emerged, another group known as the “mods” also emerged. The mods were working class youth that wanted to appear affluent. They were “neat, clean, and extremely well dressed...often obsessed with fashion” (Brake, 1974, p. 183). The last group discussed in the study on English youth subcultures was the skinheads that emerged in 1968. The skinheads developed as a movement that countered the hippie and flower child movement. The skinheads were against most beliefs held by these other groups. Dress was again used as a means of distinguishing the skinheads from others; their dress included, closely cropped hair, Doc Martin boots, Levis rolled up into a cuff, suspenders, a tailored shirt with the top button left undone, a sleeveless pullover, and a black Crombie coat (Brake, 1974). The dress was supposed to promote

the image of hard working people against any image that promoted the idea of laziness or theft of jobs from the hard worker.

Issenman (1997) noted that subcultures could arise from isolation and traditions rather than class status. She studied the Inuit people (a Native American tribe) that lived in geographically isolated communities in arctic regions. The Inuit are a subculture of the countries in which they live because they continue to live by traditional means and dress in a traditional manner, rather than adopt a western lifestyle. The styles of dress of the Inuit allow the knowledgeable viewer to distinguish kin groups, age, sex, marital status, and country of origin (Issenman, 1997). The most important item of dress is the parka; the distinguishing features of the parka are the hood shape, the configuration of the shoulders, the presence and shape of flaps, the length and outline of lower edge, the presence or absence of a baby pouch, and fringe, ruff, or other decorative elements. Although trade with other Native Americans and other peoples in their countries has brought some new elements to the Inuit dress, new items did not compromise the “basic efficiency and imagery of their attire” (Issenman, 1997, p. 98).

A study by Jirousek (1996) also noted subcultures that were centered around remote locations and traditional means of dress. Diaries, letters, and photographs, as well as interviews and participant observation, were used as data in this study. The focus of the study was a remote Turkish village, Comlekci, with approximately 600 participants (the whole village) that belonged to the two Comlekci clans. Dress in Turkey had been a source of social and political policies since the Ottoman Empire and continued into the republican era of Turkey (beginning in the 1920s). During the 1960s, village dress throughout Turkey continued to be traditional while urban dress was more westernized. Comlekci was selected to be the first village in Turkey to receive an elementary school, thereby indoctrinating the young Comlekci with the government’s new ideas on reform and served as a model to other villages. Therefore, Turkish government specifically targeted Comlekci to further dress reforms and westernized the peoples’ garments. The people of Comlecki wore traditional garments, such as the salvar (baggy trousers), gomlek (pullover shirt), an apron, and headscarf (bas ortusu), until the government introduced westernized or mass fashion garments. The younger people of the village wore the mass fashions but also continued to wear and incorporate traditional garments (particularly the baggy trousers and headscarf) into their dress, while the older people of Comlekci continued to wear traditional dress without punishment.

Similar to the Inuit and Turkish subcultures, the Highlanders were isolated from the rest of Scotland. Prior to modern times, two distinct groups inhabited Scotland: Teutonic speakers in the Lowlands and Gaelic speakers in the Highlands and islands (Browne, 1896; Bain, 1954; Grimble, 1973). The two groups differed in their ancestral heritage, social and political structures, as well as the geography of their region. Burt stated that, “the Highlanders differ from the people of the Low-Country in almost every circumstance of life. Their language, customs, manners, dress, ect., are unlike, and neither of them would be contented to be taken for the other...” (Jamieson, 1974, p. 24). The Lowlanders were descendants of the Normans, while the Highlanders were descendants of the Celts. The Highlands were, and continue to be, made up of islands and small towns spaced very far apart; whereas, the Lowlands were, and continue to be, made up of large cities and small towns close together (see Appendix A). Brander (1980) and von Furstenberg (1996) note that the Lowlanders had a feudal system modeled after the Normans circa 1100 A.D. and later became more Anglicized (English). At the same time, the Highlanders had a clan system where a clan owed its allegiance to a chief that held the lands, rather than a feudal lord. Although over time, the chief became more like a feudal lord (Devine, 1994). Religion was another area of discontent between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders. The Highlanders were followers of the Catholic and Episcopalian religions and the Lowlanders were followers of the Presbyterian religion (Devine, 1994; Pryde, 1962). Education was an important part of a young man’s life in the Lowlands, while only the wealthiest of Highland males were educated. Schools were rarely found in the Highlands before the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, so Highlanders were sent to the Lowlands for an education (Pryde, 1962).

By the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Lowlanders were influenced primarily by the English; whereas, the Highlanders had maintained a distinct culture within Scotland, including their dress, for several centuries. Therefore, the Highlanders evolved as a subculture of Scotland under British rule. The Highland clans had waged war with England and won the right to be free during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Brander, 1980); however, England slowly regained power over the Scottish people during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1603, the Union of the Crowns took place and James VI of Scotland succeeded the English throne to become ruler of both Scotland and England; however, it was the 1707 Act of the Union of the Parliaments that finally united Scotland and England under British rule, rather than Scottish rule.

The union with England was at least partly responsible for the social, political, and economic upheaval that took place in Scotland during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Brander, 1980). Tension between the Scottish and the English and between Highlanders and Lowlanders during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries grew to fervor and then declined. Uprisings by the Highlanders with English and Lowland soldiers periodically took place in reaction to British rule; however, by 1745, the British monarchy had full control over the Scottish people. According to Smout (1969), the Highlanders were the most difficult group of people to control because of their warring nature and allegiance to the House of Stuart, which also claimed to rule England and Ireland. The English took harsh actions to control the Highlanders, including banning their native dress through the Act of Proscription in 1746 (Devine, 1994; Dunbar, 1979; Hamilton, 1991; Trevor-Roper, 1984). The dress ban was used to suppress the Highland traditions and assimilate the Highlanders into the British monarchy. The effectiveness of the Act of Proscription is undetermined. Although the Highland garments were banned, some people continued to wear them, as viewed in David Allan's portrait "John, 4<sup>th</sup> Duke of Athol, with His Wife and Family" (Dunbar, 1979). The portrait was painted in 1780, before the ban was lifted, and shows the duke wearing a kilt, a bonnet, and tartan fabric, while his servant wore a kilt and tartan fabric. The ban was of little consequence to the Lowlanders, who already wore English style dress. The majority of Highlanders wore English style dress during the ban; however, when the Proscription was lifted in 1782, the Highland styled garb gained popularity among both Lowlanders and Highlanders as a symbol of the national identity of Scotland (Martin, 188; Maxwell, 1974; Thorburn, 1974; Trevor-Roper, 1984; Wilson, 1990).

According to Jamieson (1974) and Logan (1876), travelers (i.e., people vacationing or sent on work-related business) to the Highlands during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were continually surprised by the unique dress of the people. The Lowlanders and the English were rarely acquainted with the Highlanders because traveling in the Highland mountains was dangerous for strangers (Jamieson, 1974). The Highlanders had a distinctively different identity than the Lowlanders. The Highland identity reflected a Gaelic speaking clan system and eventually a distinctive style of dress (Smout, 1969). However, the Lowland Scots believed that the Highland dress was barbaric and that the people were uncivilized. In fact, Murdoch and Sher (1988) stated that in Scotland, "to be a Gaelic speaker marked one as outside and below in terms of class and culture" (p.128). Around the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Highlanders emerged "as a

people with their own conscious identity” (Smout, 1969, p. 42). Although Trevor-Roper (1984) disagrees with Smout (1969) about when Highlanders became a people with a conscious identity, he does agree that the people had a distinct culture, tradition, and style of dress. Specific dress items of the Highlanders included the tartan and plaid.

The Highlands were an isolated area in the northern and westward portion of Scotland. Long before the time period being studied, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions formed faults and mountain chains that effectively dissected the Highlands in the north from the Lowlands in the south of Scotland (Brander, 1980). Additionally, the lifestyle of the Highlanders differed from the Lowlanders. Due to the fact that the Highlanders were effectively cut off from the Lowlanders and England, they continued to live by the old customs and folkways of their forefathers, including living in a clan system, wearing customary Highland dress, and using poetry and song as a form of expression and entertainment.

## Scottish Social, Political, and Economic Climates Between 1603 and 1830

### Scottish Political Climate

The British government ruled Scotland for most of the period between 1603-1830. Scotland and England were first united under a Scottish king (James VI) who ascended the English throne in 1603 with the Union of the Crowns. The Scottish reign in England continued off and on until 1688, when William and Mary became the English monarchs during this time known as the Glorious Revolution. Scotland and England became officially united under English rule in 1707 with the Union of the Parliaments. During English rule, the monarchy attempted to assimilate the Scottish people (Dunbar, 1979). The enactment of a law banning Highland dress was one attempt at assimilation. Tensions and periodic skirmishes between the Scottish and the English continually marked the political climate. The monarchy created tensions by passing laws without Scottish consent and hiring mercenaries to attack clans. One reason the assimilation was more difficult in the Highlands was that the political structure of the Highland people was a clan system, while the Lowlands had a feudal system akin to the English system (Bain, 1954; Brander, 1980).

### Highland Government

The Highlanders appeared to have their own government structure, separate from the rest of Scotland. The literature indicates that the majority of the Highlanders lived a very simple life with little wealth. The clan system was a carry-over from the

Highlanders' Celtic heritage. The clan system had a chief that headed a kinship family. According to Bain (1954), the chief dispensed law in peace times and led his people in war. He governed his territory for the benefit of the clan and dispensed land sufficient to provide for each family in the clan. The chief was supposed to protect his clan from other warring clans or invaders, but in return he expected their services in wartime (Bain, 1954; Prebble, 1962).

Chiefs. The chief, also known as a laird, was the head of a Highland clan and owned a particular territory within the Highlands. The clan members and their chief were supposed to be related to one another by blood. Clan members tended to intermarry, in order to continue this tradition. All of the members of the clan lived within their chief's territory, which was divided by geographic boundaries distinctly known to others within the clan system. According to Jamieson (1974) and Logan (1876), the chief divided up his property among his followers, who paid rent or a tribute to the chief and were expected to take up arms in their chief's defense. The chief determined whom among the other clans and outsiders were friend or foe. According to Jamieson (1974), the chief was followed without regard for laws or other governmental figures (namely, the English monarchy). The people were his obedient followers. However, the chief was expected to protect his followers by providing land, work, and people for defense, when necessary. The chief acted as the judge in disputes among his followers and meted out punishment. Under the law of Kincogish, a chief was responsible for every member of his clan and their actions (Logan, 1876). The chief could be punished for wrong actions of his followers.

A chief was considered a person of great status and as such, was attended by many different people whenever he went abroad. He had a hanchman, bard, piper, piper's servant, gille-more, gille-casfluich, gille-comhstraithainn, baggage man, and a running footman (Jamieson, 1974; Logan, 1876). Each of these attendants had a particular job to do. The hanchman attended the chief and always stood nearby. The bard entertained the chief with his poems and song, as well as keeping the clan records through poetry. The piper played the bagpipes to entertain the chief and to keep workers on task through motivational music. The piper's servant carried the bagpipes when not in use. The gille-more carried the chief's broad sword. The gille-casfluich carried the chief over rivers when travelling on foot. The gille-comhstraithainn led the chief's horse through dangerous passages. The baggage man carried the chief's personal belongings when travelling abroad. The running footman only occasionally

accompanied the chief and ran ahead to announce the chief's eminent arrival. In addition to the chief's regular attendants, some men that were near relations and some common members followed the chief in procession. The clan wanted to demonstrate the greatness of their chief whenever possible.

Clans. The clans consisted of several tribes (families) that were related by blood. Besides the chief, the highest-ranking persons in a clan were the chieftains and goodmen, who were directly related to the chief (Logan, 1876). The chieftains had some authority over the rest of clan but still had to answer to the chief.

The clans practiced foster parenting; whereby, different families raised other member's children. The son of a chief was raised by one of the less fortunate families in the clan. The boy would stay with the family until puberty (Jamieson, 1974; Logan, 1876). The bond between foster brothers was stronger than most family bonds. The foster brother was usually promoted to a status position close to the chief. The foster family was given compensation for raising the child, often in the form of cattle.

Due to the cooperative nature of the clansmen and their blood relation, a close bond formed among members of one clan (Jamieson, 1974; Logan, 1876; Prebble, 1962). The bond was so close that the whole clan resented injury to any one of its members and would retaliate as a whole. These injuries often brought about clan wars, as clans would fight each other over an indignity.

Tribes. According to Logan (1876), the clans were divided into tribes, each with a chieftain. The tribes were then subdivided into smaller family branches consisting of approximately fifty men. The smaller branches showed allegiance to a particular chieftain, from whom they were descended. The allegiance of the Highland people was first to their chief, second to their tribe, third to their clan, and fourth to Highlanders in general. The Highlanders would adhere to one another in opposition to the Lowlanders and English, as they thought them to be inferior (Jamieson, 1974). Although the British monarchy ruled the Highlands and the Lowlands of Scotland, their forms of government differed; the Highlands were followed their clan chiefs while the Lowlands and England followed a feudal lord.

#### English and Scottish Monarchy

Tensions between England and Scotland had a long and bloody history (see Appendix B). The English ruled over the Scots until they fought and won their freedom in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The Scottish people had their own king and royal court until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when Queen Elizabeth I of Great Britain died and was

succeeded by her Scottish cousin, James VI of Scotland (Pryde, 1979; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). At this time, the Union of the Crowns occurred (circa 1603) (Browne, 1896; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958) and James VI of Scotland became James I of Great Britain and ruled both Scotland and England. James moved the Scottish royal court to England and remained on the throne until his death in 1625 and was succeeded by his son, Charles.

Charles I. Charles I of Great Britain, son of James I, ruled from 1625 until 1649. According to Pryde (1962) and Tortora & Eubank (1998), Charles was disliked by many Englishmen and caused a civil war in 1642. Charles I was taken prisoner in 1646 and beheaded in 1649. The monarchy was temporarily abolished; this period (1646-1649) was known as the Revolution (Pryde, 1962).

Oliver Cromwell. The Revolution succeeded in replacing the monarchy with a dictator, Oliver Cromwell, whose military dictatorship lasted from 1649-1659 (Pryde, 1962; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). According to Jamieson (1974), Cromwell and his forces invaded the Highlands, forced the natives into hiding in the mountains, and held others as hostages. As late as the 1720s, the name "Oliver" struck terror in the Highlanders. At this same time, the Highlanders were warring with the Lowlanders. Oliver Cromwell died unexpectedly in 1659, leaving no one powerful enough to continue the dictatorship.

Charles II. The monarchy in England was restored under Charles II in 1660, until his death in 1685. The beginning of the newly restored monarchy was termed the Restoration (Pryde, 1962). Charles II was unpopular with many Scottish people due to economic favoritism toward England. During Charles II reign, Scottish merchants lost their right to free trade, while English merchants prospered (Pryde, 1962). Charles II left no heirs, so his brother James II succeeded the throne.

James II. James II pursued policies that would help the Roman Catholic Church, much to the dismay of the Church of England and the Puritans (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). In addition, the Presbyterian Lowlanders were discontent with James II's policies (Devine, 1994; Pryde, 1962). The Highlanders were in favor of James II's policies, since the Highlanders were predominantly Catholic. James II had an extremely short reign, lasting only 3 years from 1685-1688, which ended the period of Restoration and began the Glorious Revolution. James left the throne and hid in France, which allowed the political factions to offer the throne to William of Orange (Holland) and his wife Mary (daughter of James II) and they accepted.

William and Mary. William and Mary's reign became known as the Glorious Revolution. Religion played an important role in the revolution to rid Scotland of the Catholic religion (Brown, 1955). In addition to religion, the revolution involved a change in politics. The House of Stuart had ruled by divine right, whereas William and Mary were appointed to the monarchy (Brown, 1955). During the reign of William and Mary, a massacre occurred at Glencoe (Highland territory) in 1692. According to Brander (1980), Pryde (1962), and Smout (1969), the English government, on William's orders, hired the Campbells to kill the MacDonalds, who were sympathizers for the Scottish throne. William feared that supporters of the Scottish royal lineage were a threat to his monarchy. The Campbells killed 38 men, women, and children, including the chief of the MacDonalds. William became the most hated man in the Highlands because he was able to turn the clans against one another in favor of British rule (Brander, 1980; Pryde, 1962). Mary's reign ended with her death in 1694, while William's reign continued until 1702 when he died in a riding accident.

Queen Anne. Queen Anne, the sister of Mary, succeeded the throne after William and Mary's reign. The late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries were the last periods where society was led by the nobility centered in Scotland (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Queen Anne pursued the idea of completely uniting Scotland and England into one kingdom. The Union of the Parliaments occurred in 1707, positioning both the Scottish Parliament and the English Parliament in London. Many Scottish people disliked Queen Anne due to the union, which was supposed to dissolve the countries of England and Scotland and form one entity called Great Britain (Brander, 1980; Pryde, 1979). According to Pittock (1991), Jacobites particularly dislike the Union and believed that it was an act of betrayal against all Scottish people. Some Scottish people were not ready to give up their national identity, while most Lowlanders were at this time were proud to be part of Britain. In addition, the union was designed to benefit the commercial economy of the Lowlands, which caused much resentment in the Highlands and throughout Britain. According to Bennett (1980) and Pittock (1991), Highland dress became a mark of Scottish pride after the Union of 1707 to visually represent their displeasure with the union. Anne's reign ended with her sudden death in 1714.

George I. After Anne's death, George I of Hanover, the distant cousin of Queen Anne, was unopposed for the throne and became the King of Great Britain. However, George was a German and did not speak any English, nor did he ever learn to speak English (Brown, 1955). The Scottish rebels, known as Jacobites, believed that James

VIII and III (the descendant of James II) should succeed to the throne of Britain (Brander, 1980; Brown, 1955). Their discontent led to the first Jacobite Rising in 1715, as the Highlanders attempted to overthrow Hanoverian rule and place James VIII and III on the throne (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969). The attempt by the Highlanders failed and the established government remained in control of Scotland. As punishment for the rising, the British Parliament considered banning Highland dress. Many members of the Parliament believed that banning Highland dress would help “integrate the Highlanders into modern British society” (Trevor-Roper, 1984, p.104). However, the Parliament did not implement the ban because Highland dress was appropriately adapted to the geography of the Highlands. George I’s reign ended in 1727 and he was succeeded by his son, George II of Hanover.

George II. Shortly after George II’s reign began, the Clearances were initiated in 1730. The Clearances involved the forced removal and relocation of Highland populations by both the English landlords and Highland chieftains to accommodate the commercialization of agriculture and sheep farming (Brander, 1980; Devine, 1988). The Jacobites (i.e., those loyal to the House of Stuart) were dissatisfied with the changes taking place in their society due to Hanoverian rule under George II. However, some Highland clans were loyal to George II and the Jacobites. Their dissatisfaction culminated in the second Jacobite Rising, which occurred in 1745, and the Battle of Culloden in 1746 (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984). The Jacobite Rising of 1745 was another unsuccessful attempt by the Highlanders to overthrow the Hanoverian government. Five thousand Highland men had taken up arms in the Battle of Culloden and were soundly defeated by the Duke of Cumberland’s army (Brander, 1980; Smout, 1969; Trevor-Roper, 1984). This defeat marked the end of the Highland form of government (i.e., the clan system). As a result of the Highland people’s continued disobedience and savage nature, the English Parliament passed the Act of Proscription, which banned Highland dress; the act was enforced for 35 years (1747-1782).

The Act of Proscription. The Act of Proscription was enforced to punish the Highlanders for their repeated attempts to overthrow the government and to force the Highland people to assimilate with the rest of Scotland. The act forbade the wearing of Highland dress, with the threat of execution. According to Bennett (1980) and Devine (1994), Proscription proclaimed that no man or boy, unless he was a part of the specified military regiments, was allowed to wear Highland dress, including the plaid, philabeg,

little kilt, trews, shoulder belt, or any other Highland dress. Dunbar (1979) reprinted the statement of the act, which read

...no Man or Boy, within that Part of Great Britain called Scotland...shall, on any pretense whatsoever, wear or put on the Clothes commonly called Highland Clothes (that is to say) the Plaid, Philebeg, or little Kilt, Trowse, Shoulder Belts, or any part whatsoever of what peculiarly belongs to the Highland Garb; and that no Tartan, or party-coloured Plaid or Stuff shall be used for Great Coats, or for Upper Coats...to wear or put on the aforesaid Garments, or any part of them, every such person so offending...shall suffer Imprisonment, without Bail...(p.3).

The act was a financial, environmental, and cultural burden on the Highlanders. The purchase of English style clothing was expensive and difficult to acquire. Highland clothing had been adapted to the circumstances of their environment and social structures.

Although the use of the tartan by males was strictly forbidden, Maxwell (1976) contended that some males continued wearing Highland dress. He found period accounts from households specifying purchases of tartan cloth, as well as orders for tartan kilts and gowns. Females, though not mentioned in the act, continued to wear tartan shawls to show their Jacobite sympathies (Stewart, 1974). It is unclear, however, where or how the shawls were acquired, since, according to Hamilton (1991), the women's spinning and dyeing skills fell into disuse when, as a result of the ban, they were no longer allowed to produce the tartan. Penalties for wearing Highland dress ranged from six months in prison to death.

Hamilton (1991) noted that the Proscription had a dramatic effect on men's dress, as well as women's home apparel production. Prior to Proscription, Highland women made their own fabrics and garments for their families. The local parish minister of Ross and Comarty (two Highland communities) believed that Proscription was to blame for women's slothfulness, as their time was no longer occupied with the production of traditional Highland woolen cloth. The minister wrote,

Highland women were remarked for their skill and success in spinning and dyeing wool, and garments themselves and their households, each according to her fancy, in tartans, fine, beautiful and durable. Deprived of the pleasures of seeing their husbands, sons, and favourites, in that elegant drapery, emulation died, and they became contented with manufacturing their wool in the coarsest and clumsiest manner... (Hamilton, 1991, p. 30).

However, some young girls and women did engage in yarn spinning as employment for the "putting out" system during and after the Proscription (Hamilton, 1991).

Areas of the Highlands obeyed the Proscription to varying degrees. Patrols were set up in several districts to ensure that Highland garb was not worn (Dunbar, 1979). Many Highlanders continued to wear their traditional garb, risking imprisonment. Wilson (1990) stated that, “the kilt went underground where aristocrats, who had seldom worn it previously, took it up as the symbol of an endangered ethnic group” (p.52). British patrols (to ensure that the Proscription was being followed) were used until about 1760 when the controls were relaxed. Some Highlanders and clans adhered more strictly to their ancient customs and traditions. The parish minister for Lochgoilhead and Kilmorich (two Highland communities) wrote that the people of his parish continued “to wear Highland dress, the bonnet, the philabeg, and tartan hose; even the authority of an act of Parliament was not sufficient to make them relinquish their ancient garb” (Hamilton, 1991, 30).

George III. The Act of Proscription remained in effect throughout George II's reign, which ended with his death in 1760. He was succeeded by his grandson, George III of Hanover, who remained in power until his death in 1820. During his reign, George III repealed the Act of Proscription in 1782. After the repeal, Highland dress became a fashion statement in both Scotland and England (Devine, 1994; Dunbar, 1979; Stewart, 1974; Trevor-Roper, 1984). During the ban, nobles enjoyed wearing the traditional Highland dress in the privacy of their own homes and had portraits made wearing the outlawed garments. The use of Highland dress spread after the Act was repealed. The upper and middle classes began to wear Highland garb with enthusiasm, although most people only wore the little kilt. According to Dunbar (1979) and Stewart (1974), the tartan and the kilt became the “rage” for all social classes. However, the dress was based more on the military style of Highland dress than the original clan style of dress. George III was somewhat popular with the Scots, due to the lifting of the Act of Proscription, as well as having a Scottish prime minister (i.e., Lord Bute). His son and successor, George IV, was the first king to publicly wear Highland dress.

George IV. George IV had an extremely short reign, lasting from 1820-1830. Although he was not a popular king, George IV tried to assuage the tensions between the Scottish and the English. He made a trip to Edinburgh in 1822, the first Hanoverian monarch to visit Scotland. Sir Walter Scott, a Lowlander, organized the trip and encouraged people, including the king, to wear tartan and Highland garb (Devine, 1994; Dunbar, 1951). The king appeared completely outfitted in Stuart tartan. His appearance started a craze for tartan fashions among the nobility, which filtered down to the lower

classes (Dunbar, 1979; Stewart, 1974). The wearing of tartan and Highland dress by Lowlanders and others created an invented connection with Highland ancestry (Pittock, 1991). George IV's reign ended with his death in 1830.

William IV and Victoria. William IV, brother of George IV, succeeded the throne in 1830, but had an even shorter reign. William IV died in 1837 and was succeeded by his niece, Victoria. Victoria was well liked by both the Scottish and the English; she restored the popularity of the monarchy during her reign (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). She reigned for most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Her reign ended when she died in 1901.

Upheaval and turmoil characterized the political climate in Scotland, due to perceived difficulties with the monarchy. Tensions between the Highlanders and the English remained high throughout most of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, due to the uprisings and Act of Proscription. There was some lessening of the tensions when George III lifted the ban near the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The majority of the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw an ease in political tensions, beginning with George IV's visit to Scotland wearing tartan garb. Victoria was popular with both the English and Scots throughout the remainder of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

#### Scottish Social Climate

The political climate in Scotland, in general, and the Highlands, in particular, was characterized by turmoil, while the social climate reflected a simple lifestyle. The people went to church, worked, and gathered in the center of town to sing and discuss politics and events (Bain, 1954; Symonds, 1997). Poems and ballads were the main forms of entertainment for Highlanders (Dunbar, 1951) and often reflected political opinions with few repercussions from the English government. According to Macinnes (1988), the writings of local poets reflected public opinion about the Highland Clearances, as well as other social issues.

#### Social Stratification

Scottish society during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries had a distinct class system. The traditional ruling class (upper classes) owned most of the land in both the Lowlands and the Highlands during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Lowlands were governed by feudal lords but remained democratic to a degree, while the Highlands were governed by the clan chiefs (Devine, 1988). Lords, appointed by the monarchy, were often given their lands due to family heritage, wealth, and loyalty to the monarchy; on the other hand, the chief inherited his lands and title upon the death of the previous chief. The chiefs were not appointed; rather the chief passed his title to his son. If a son was

not available, then the chief passed the title to his nearest male relation (Jamieson, 1974; Logan, 1876). The class system shifted during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as manufacturers became a more significant group in the social and economic process. In pursuit of economic security, the clan chiefs began to abandon kinship ties and their other followers.

One indicator of rank and status among the Highlanders was the number of colors in a tartan. According to Sutton and Carr (1984), poets and chiefs wore the largest number of colors in their tartans. The wearing of trews by male Highlanders was another mark of status (Cockburn, 1985; Wilson, 1990).

### Home and Work Life in the Highlands

The home was the center of activity, including entertainment and work. Most Highland families, including the upper class, lived near their livestock in small homes with a little patch of farmland (Dunbar, 1951; Bain, 1954; Smout, 1969). Burt (Jamieson, 1974) wrote a letter in 1726, upon a visit to a Highland chieftain, that he was, “prepossessed with the notion of seeing a castle, and seeing only a house hardly fit for one of our [English] farmers of fifty pounds a-year; and in the court-yard a parcel of outhouses, all built with turf, like other Highland huts” (p. 159). The stone or turf huts were either round or square with a turf, heather, or fern roof that provided little protection from the rain and a central fire in the middle of the floor. Conditions inside the home were not sanitary, because livestock was allowed to wander in and out of the home and the fire gave off a dense black smoke (Dunbar, 1951; Smout, 1969). Additionally, due to the lack of sanitation, distemper was rampant throughout the Highlands. Burt (Jamieson, 1974) wrote in many of his letters to friends back in England of the number of the Highlanders who had distemper and of its contagious nature.

Like the home itself, furnishings were simple and often created by using local materials (Bain, 1954). According to Smout (1969), fabrics for the home were spun and woven from local animal hair, such as livestock (sheep, cattle) or wild animals (goats, seals, ect.). The typical Highland family home was sparsely furnished, as many Highland families had very few possessions; however, most families owned a small farm plot, which they used to grow the majority of their food. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, most Highlanders were tenants living on pastoral farmlands (Smout, 1969; Symonds, 1997). In addition to working their farmlands, the people often had jobs outside the home as field and harvest laborers and were paid in oats and barley. The person then had to find a buyer for the sheaves to make some money. Some of these workers were paid

money, but only three pence a day and their oatmeal supper (Jamieson, 1974). Other than outdoor work, women supplemented their household incomes by preparing and spinning flax, both for making garments at home and for selling in town to the merchants (Whatley, 1988). Spinning was considered appropriate women's work, as it was carried out by all of the classes. Near the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Highlanders began to shift from pastoral farming (subsistence living) to industrialization (factory work) or large agricultural farming (company farms). Toward the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these families increasingly turned into wage laborers, rather than continuing as subsistence farmers (Symonds, 1997). Men, women, and children worked as wage laborers on the large agricultural farms or in the factories due to the lure of economic stability. According to Whatley (1988), 63% of the Scottish industrial workforce in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (1826), was comprised of women and children, who worked long hours and were poorly paid.

### Infanticide

Scots of all classes, whether they worked to purchase their own land or were given titles to their land, depended upon their reputations in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Upper class Scots, even in the Highlands, had lands, money, and titles (such as lord or duke). The lower classes in the Lowlands worked hard to acquire even a small piece of land and establish a household. According to Symonds (1997), access to land depended upon the town's population (larger number of people led to fewer or smaller land plots available), the number of villagers looking for property, and one's reputation. Highlanders were dependent upon their chief to provide them with a parcel of land. However, a threat to one's reputation, such as an illegitimate birth, could result in the loss of potential land or the loss of a job.

Reputation was an important asset in the fulfillment of social needs (i.e., jobs, family, land, titles, ect.); therefore, infanticide (i.e., the killing of babies born out of wedlock) became a growing problem in 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> century Scotland, particularly the Lowlands. Failed courtships and sexual encounters produced illegitimate babies with increasing regularity (Symonds, 1997). Although many women kept their illegitimate children, others would hide their pregnancy and kill their babies shortly after birth, in order to save their own or their lover's reputation. According to Symonds (1997), at least 347 women were indicted for murdering their babies between 1661 and 1821. The Scottish government decided that the problem of infanticide had gone too far and enacted the Act Anent Child Murder of 1690. The act provided a law that called for

the trial, conviction, and hanging of any woman found guilty of infanticide (Symonds, 1997). Regardless of this law, many women risked hanging, rather than raising an illegitimate child. Men also went to great lengths to conceal an illegitimate birth. According to Symonds (1997), some men, once they had learned about the pregnancy, killed their lovers, rather than marry them or lose their reputation. Both men and women went to great lengths to keep their reputations intact. These violent acts were immortalized in poetry and songs (Symonds, 1997).

Entertainment, including poetry, appeared to be an important part of the Highlander's social well-being. People gathered in the center of town or at someone's home to sing poetry and discuss the days' events. The Highland clans were extremely tight-knit groups of people, dependent upon one another. The Lowlanders were a feudal group of people whose loyalties were not based on kinship ties. The Highlanders lived simply with small homes, small farm plots, and few possessions. They worked their farm plots to feed their families and worked outside the home for money. A good reputation was vital to keeping one's land or job. The social climate in the Highlands during the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was fairly stable; however, the climate began to shift in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries from a society based on kinship and loyalty to one based on economics. Chiefs moved away from being the protectors and providers for the clan to providers for their own economic security.

#### Scottish Economic Climate

The economic climate changed rapidly from the 17<sup>th</sup> century through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Hamilton (1991), changes in the economy created changes in lifestyle, including the dress worn by the Highlanders. A population shift from the small Highland towns to cities and the shift from tenant farming to large agricultural farming also caused changes in the amount of money people had to spend on dress and the styles that they could afford to wear.

#### Population Fluctuations and Its Effect on the Economy

Most people lived in small towns throughout Scotland at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century due to population fluctuations and transition to capitalism. By the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, only 5% of the Scottish population lived in towns with more than 10,000 people (Devin, 1988). The 19<sup>th</sup> century brought a growth in the Scottish population, as well as a redistribution of the existing population. An increasing number of jobs at factories and large agricultural centers in established cities caused the population to shift away from small towns to be nearer to the job sites. As illustrated in Table 1, by the

beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century only 17.3% of the Scottish people lived in towns with more than 10,000 people and by mid-19<sup>th</sup> century that number had risen to 32% of the population. In contrast to England, the number of towns in Scotland with over 10,000 people grew at a steadier rate. Economic advancement and social stability were necessary for population growth in Scotland (Devine, 1988; Macinnes, 1988). Society began to move from the smaller towns to the bigger cities, which affected social issues such as the number of legitimate of births. According to Devine (1988), between 1660 and 1770, only 4% of births were illegitimate. By 1816, illegitimate births jumped to 9% of the Scottish population.

Scotland had a much higher mortality rate than England during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Mortality rates remained high late into the 18th century, which impacted the economy. According to Houston (1988), mortality rates were also provoked by famine (drought that caused crops to die) and starvation (poverty and/or geographic isolation that did not allow for replenishing of stock during the rainy season). Death rates began to fall in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, while birth rates remained steady. Additionally, there were three mortality crises that caused endemic death in the late 1690's, the early 1740's, and between 1782 and 1783 (Macinnes, 1988). The endemic death was due to communicable diseases, which swept through Scotland during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and had an impact on the available work force.

### Transition to Capitalism

The Scottish people, in comparison to the ruling English, were considered very poor in materialistic objects during the 17th century. Devine (1994) and Grant (1934) contend that the Scottish Highlanders were generally regarded as barbarians. They continued to wear the tartan and the plaid, while the rest of Europe wore more refined garments. The English, as well as most of Europe, were moving toward industrialization and regarded the Scottish as backward. The Highlanders of Scotland were thought to be even further behind than the Lowlanders.

The Scottish people were primarily an agricultural peasant society from the 17<sup>th</sup> until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Devine (1988) notes that the 17<sup>th</sup> century Scots had some overseas trade, mainly in the form of partially processed goods or raw materials such as grain and timber. Commercialization did not begin to emerge until circa 1760. The Highlanders began to move from a tribal subsistence to a capitalist economy in the mid-to-late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The connection between the clan elites and their followers also dissolved, as everyone felt the pressures of the new market system. English landlords

and some Highland chieftains forced many Highland clan members off of their small farm plots; this forced removal and relocation of many Highland populations was known as the Clearances. According to Macinnes (1988), the Clearances began in the mid-18th century and continued into the early 19th century (circa 1730-1820). The Clearances were due to the shift to a capitalist economy, as clan elites abandoned their followers and pursued the commercialization of agriculture. By the 1820's, communal farming and crofting had been replaced by a system of individual or tenant farms and croft holdings. Urban growth and production caused a significant shift from agriculture to industrialization. However, as late as 1830, the majority of the Scots still lived and worked in a rural environment (Devine, 1988).

In addition to the agricultural boom that resulted from the Clearances, the textile industry experienced significant growth between 1760 and 1830, as linen, cotton, and wool emerged as staple manufacturing products in Scotland (Devine, 1988). Handloom weavers were the mainstay for employment. By 1830, more than 78,000 Scots were employed as weavers; that figure is more than three times the number of weavers in 1760 (Devine, 1988). The Scottish people were dependent upon the textile and clothing manufacturers for employment. The textile industry emerged as the most significant economic influence for the Scottish people in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Devine, 1988).

The economic climate in Scotland remained stable throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. By the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many changes were taking place that would forever change the Highland lifestyle. Highland chiefs began to abandon their kin and followers in favor of economic prosperity. Many Highlanders were forced off their lands so that the chiefs could create large commercial farm plots. These commercial farms combined with textile factories produced exportable products, which led to an economic boom in Scotland. Populations began to shift from the small towns to the large cities, as people needed to find work. The traditional ties were broken and families had to rely on their immediate family members, rather than their kinship ties (Devine, 1988). The 18<sup>th</sup> century marked an overall transition from traditional Highland culture to a more contemporary way of life.

#### Summary of the Political, Social, and Economic Climates of Scotland

The Highlanders began the 17<sup>th</sup> century with a clan system of government, but were technically under the Scottish and English monarchy. Through a series of political events and skirmishes with England and the Lowlands, the Highlanders were

assimilated into the British form of government by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. The assimilation was both the abolition of the clan system and the banning of traditional Highland dress. The social climate of the Highlanders, including the clan system and the dress of the people, reflected a simple lifestyle. Poetry was the preferred form of record keeping in the Highland culture. It was often used to express their social, political, and economic views. The economic climate was a particular concern of the people. The forced removal and relocation of many Highlanders, as well as a growing population, changed the economic climate of the Highlands. A distinct class system (chief, clan members, and followers) had existed in the Highlands until the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the chiefs began to abandon clan members and followers in favor of economic prosperity (i.e., combining their lands into commercial plots and forcing their members off of the lands). Historic circumstances, such as these social, political, and economic events may be reflected in dress of a people (Giddings, 1990; McCracken, 1987; Pannabecker, 1990; Ryan, 1966; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The impact of these political, social, and economic events on the dress of the Highland people is not known or not well documented. Poetry, however, may be useful as it often reflected the political, social, and economic situations of the writers. Both poetry and dress are products of the social, political, and economic climates; and the impact of the climate may be reflected in both.

#### Dress of Europe, Scotland, and the Highlands Between 1603 and 1830

##### Documentation of Historic Dress

Historians document European dress several different ways. Payne (1965), Russell (1983), and Tortora and Eubank (1998) contend that works of art are the largest primary source of information on dress. Painted portraits, drawings, and painted scenes with people included are valuable sources for documenting dress. However, such artwork has typically displayed the upper classes rather than the middle and lower classes. Historians, to a lesser extent, use extant garments, found in a variety of museums such as the Victoria and Albert Museum and personal collections, and fashion plates in old magazines to study dress (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Extant garments were most often preserved by the upper classes. The middle and lower classes either wore the garments until they became rags or adapted old garments into newer styles. Fashion plates (hand colored drawings) created during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century were directed toward those individuals with money to spend on the latest fashion trends. Payne (1965),

however, believed that the extant garments and accessories were the best sources for studying historic costume, whereas Russell (1983) and Tortora and Eubank (1998) preferred art to extant garments. Tortora and Eubank (1998) believed that although extant garments provide valuable information on construction and fabrics, they furnish little information about how the garments appeared when completed with undergarments and accessories. Portraits, paintings, and drawings, however, provided more information about the manner in which historic garments appeared on the body.

Costume historians, such as Payne (1965), Russell (1983) and Tortora and Eubank (1998), documented European dress of the 17<sup>th</sup> century using art works and some extant garments. According to Payne (1965), near the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, hand-colored fashion plates with written commentary began to circulate in Paris and are an additional source of information on dress. Painted portraits are a valuable source of dress information for the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as well as fashion plates and extant garments. Hand-colored fashion plates grew in popularity in Paris during the 18<sup>th</sup> century and provide examples of popular dress. More extant garments exist for the 18<sup>th</sup> century than for the 17<sup>th</sup> century. However, the garments tended to reflect upper class lifestyles rather than middle and lower class lifestyles. A greater number of extant garments exist from the 19<sup>th</sup> century than from previous centuries, but historians continued to use art works as the source for most information on dress. The majority of those extant garments are women's special occasion garments and male and female upper class garments (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Unfortunately, extant men's, children's, and everyday dress are under represented. However by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (circa 1830), magazines, such as Godey's Lady's Book, appeared as a new source of evidence on dress (Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Approximately ten years later (in the 1840s) a technological innovation appeared in the form of photographic portraiture. According to Tortora and Eubank (1998), photographic portraiture, called daguerreotype, recorded the actual styles being worn and allowed comparisons with painted portraits and fashion plates.

Evidence of Scottish dress from the 17<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> centuries varies somewhat from the traditional evidence just discussed. Few extant garments exist for historic study; the garments that do exist are in museums such as the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and private collections throughout England and Scotland. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) wrote the most comprehensive book on Scottish costume in general and dates costumes between 1550 and 1850 (i.e., the Reformation through the Industrial

Revolution in Scotland). Household accounts (i.e., bills, ledgers) and some artwork were their major sources of information, although a few extant garments were also studied. Dunbar (1979) wrote an account of Scottish dress specific to the Highlands and also used household accounts and artwork as the major sources of evidence. Therefore, the majority of evidence on Scottish dress appeared in the form of artwork and household records.

### Overview of Dress During the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries

European dress of the upper class during the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries can be characterized as extravagant; however, the latter portion of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century experienced a shift to more sensible garments. The lower classes wore simple garments during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Much more information is available on men's dress than women's dress. Men were considered "peacocks" and dressed more flamboyantly than the women during this time. The basic European dress items during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries consisted mainly of variations of the breeches, shirt, waistcoat, and coat for men and variations of the gown for women. The basic silhouette for men was controlled and structured into a diamond shaped silhouette. Women had a structured and controlled silhouette at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century but the silhouette became looser and more flowing while retaining the cinched waist over the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Prior to the Industrial Revolution, fashions tended to be established by the ruling classes of leading European countries, such as England, France, and Spain (Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Neighboring countries wore similar styles or followed the ruling class' styles of dress. Scotland was directly north of England; therefore, its nobility wore styles similar to the English nobility (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958) and its lay people followed suit, to the extent affordable.

The 17<sup>th</sup> century began with the Union of the Crowns in 1603; James VI of Scotland succeeded the English throne and became James I of Great Britain. James moved the royal court of Scotland to England. This move, according to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), affected the development of fashion, and beginning in 1603, the Lowland Scots looked to England for fashion direction.

### Male Dress of Europe During the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

The attire for men and women in Europe consisted of certain garments common in most of the countries. While variations existed, some pieces were worn throughout Europe in some form or another. The basic lower body covering for men was petticoat breeches or Rhinegraves (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank,

1998). Breeches and rhinegraves were bifurcated garments with a skirt-like appearance that men wore from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century through the 17<sup>th</sup> century in varying forms. Knitted stockings, commonly made from wool or cotton fibers, were worn in Europe as early as 1519 (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, knitted stockings or hose were worn with breeches extending from the knee and covering the foot. The upper body was clothed with a doublet (a straight, unfitted garment) and a neckpiece in the form of a cravat or a steinkirk. A shirt, worn under the doublet, was cut full and had a falling band collar. Long waistcoats or vests were being worn with outer coats.

The common outdoor garments were the cassock, cloak, and cape. According to Payne (1965), Peltz (1980), Russell (1965), and Tortora and Eubank (1998), the cassock was a long sleeved coat worn loosely about the body and buttoned at the center front. All classes wore the cassock. Large-brimmed hats were popular during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Men wore shoes with squared toes and ribbon or rose decorations. Boots were also worn and extended up to the knee.

#### Female Dress of Europe During the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

The major components of women's dress in 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe were the chemise, gowns, skirts, and falling ruffs. A white linen chemise was the major undergarment worn and leg coverings consisted of knitted stockings (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Gowns were comprised of a bodice and skirt seamed at the waistline. The bodice had a stomacher (a V-shaped panel over the chest extending to a point at the stomach) at the center front. The skirt of the gown was open at the center front and pulled back and pinned to reveal an underskirt. Numerous petticoats were worn to hold out the wide skirts of the gowns (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980). In the previous century a detachable collar known as the ruff was worn; the ruff consisted of pleated lace that was starched until it was very stiff. However, by the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, a falling ruff was the preferred collar style, which was still lace but no longer pleated or starched and fell softly about the shoulders. According to Payne (1965) and Tortora and Eubank (1998), women wore capes when they went outdoors. Hat styles varied from the cavalier style hat or small close fitting caps to squares of fabric tied under the chin. During the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century a new garment appeared called the mantua (Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The mantua was a garment that had the skirt and bodice cut in one length from shoulder to hem (i.e., no waistline seam). The mantua had a center front opening from neckline to hemline and was worn over an underskirt. The fullness of the lower front portion of the mantua was pulled to the back and tied to reveal the underskirt. In addition

to their garments, women wore shoes. Footwear changed over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, beginning with broad-toed shoes with a high-heel and finishing with a pointed-toed shoe with a high-heel.

#### Male Dress of Europe During the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

Although England had a greater influence on European dress styles than France between 1780-1800, France was the fashion center of the world during most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983). The following descriptions, however, are an aggregate of styles throughout Europe. Men continued to wear breeches, as they had in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century drawers were worn under their breeches. Drawers were pulled tight at the waist with a drawstring and fell to the knees (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Shirts remained the same as the previous century. Stocks (piece of linen used to create a high neck band) replaced cravats as the prevailing neckpiece. Waistcoats continued to be worn with an outer coat. Breeches and stockings were also still being worn. Breeches were loose below the waist and tight at the knee (Payne, 1965; Russell, 1985; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Hats were worn less as wigs rose in popularity. Men wore bicorne and tricorne hats, as well as caps. Shoes continued to have a square toe until after the 1720s, when the toe became more rounded. A new and popular garment that appeared in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the habit à la Française, which was the combination of a knee-length coat worn over a waistcoat and breeches (Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983). Two styles of coats were worn: the frock (frac) and the redingote. The frock coat was close-fitting at the front and loose in the back. The redingote was a fitted double-breasted coat adapted from the English riding coat.

#### Female Dress of Europe During the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

Women's dress of the 18<sup>th</sup> century continued to have similar features of the previous century. The chemise was still the primary undergarment. Drawers for women had limited popularity. Petticoats and hoops were worn to hold up the enormous width of the skirts (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The gown, consisting of a bodice and skirt seamed at the waist, and the mantua continued to be worn, while several new dress styles emerged. The sacque dress was a full gown hung loose from the shoulders to the floor. The sacque was replaced mid-18<sup>th</sup> century by the robe à la Française and the robe à l'Anglaise. The robe à la Française was fitted at the front and full, but pleated at the back; whereas the robe à l'Anglaise was close-fitting in both the front and the back (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). In the last part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the polonaise emerged as the popular gown style. The polonaise was

a gown that was fitted through the bodice and formed three puffs in the skirt, one puff on either side and one puff at the back (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Small caps were the preferred headcovering. Cloaks continued to be worn for the outdoors. Stockings were worn with shoes with a pointed toe and high heels or shoes resembling backless slippers (Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998).

#### Male Dress in Europe During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

France prescribed male and female dress styles in Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Male dress, including the shirt, waistcoat, stock, and frock coat, continued with slight variations of styles popular in the previous century. The upper body was clothed in a shirt and waistcoat. The stock continued to be worn with the shirt (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983). The shirt remained the same, while the waistcoat varied to some degree. The waistcoat did not change until the 1880s when the fit was tighter and the waistline was cut smaller (Peltz, 1980). Breeches and trousers clothed the lower half of the body. Trousers gained greater acceptance over the breeches. The trousers were ankle length and close fitting until the 1850s when the legs began to widen. According to Tortora and Eubank (1998), breeches and trousers had previously been fastened with a fall (i.e., a centralized square flap of fabric that button onto the waistband). Button fly fronts replaced the fall on trousers beginning in the 1850s. Several styles of overcoats existed, including the greatcoat, frock coat, box coat, sack coat, and the Prince Albert Coat (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The greatcoat was a fitted double-breasted overcoat that reached to the knee and was worn until 1830. The frock coat was a man's overcoat with tails. The box coat was a square overcoat with a shawl collar that appeared in the late 1830s. The sack coat was a jacket worn with matching trousers and had no waistline. The Prince Albert coat (an overcoat) was worn after 1850 and looked like a double-breasted frock coat. In addition to one of these overcoats, men wore a hat outdoors. According to Payne (1965), Peltz (1980), and Tortora and Eubank (1998), the most popular hat style was the narrow brimmed top hat. Men began to wear the bowler in the 1850s and the fedora in the 1880s. Boots were popularly worn with trousers until the 1850s and a side-buttoned shoe became the style of choice in 1860. Socks, rather than stockings, were worn under shoes and boots.

#### Female Dress of Europe During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Women in the 19<sup>th</sup> century continued to wear garments similar to those noted in the previous century, except for the undergarments. Women wore several different types of undergarments in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, unlike in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the primary

undergarment was the chemise. Russell (1983) and Tortora and Eubank (1998) contend that women wore the chemise, drawers and corsets. Crinolines replaced petticoats in the early 1840s and then evolved into large caged hoops in the 1850s. The bustle, small pads or pillows positioned on the derriere and tied around the waist, became popular in the mid-1800s and continued off and on in popularity until the 1890s. A gown was worn over the undergarments and was considered the main garment of 19<sup>th</sup> century female dress; however, several new variations appeared. The popular gown style was known as the lingerie gown, which was made of sheer material and worn over the chemise (Peltz, 1980). Another style gown introduced in the 1860s was the gabriel; it was a princess styled floor length gown that was closely fitted to the body. In addition to wearing new variations of the gown, women began wearing vests and coats over their gowns. New garments were introduced in the 19th century. Women began to wear a canezou or a spencer with their gowns. The canezou was a sleeveless vest that was worn until the 1840s; whereas, the spencer was a close-fitting jacket with long sleeves that came to the waistline, which during this period was just below the bosom (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). The pelisse, similar to a modern full-length coat, was another jacket worn in the early 19th century. Shawls, square or oblong pieces of fabric, were worn with women's gowns in the 19th century (Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Shawls were worn in England as early as 1765, but did not become popular until the 1800s. The first woman's suit appeared in the 1860s and consisted of a matching skirt, jacket, and shirt (Peltz, 1980).

In addition to their garments, women's headcoverings remained similar to those of the previous century, while shoes saw more dramatic changes. Bonnets (hats with fabric or straw crowns, wide brims, and ties that knot under the chin) and caps (small pieces of muslin or lace worn on the head) were the popular female headcovering until the 1860s. Caps were worn only indoors by mature, adult females (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Wide brimmed hats with a high crown and feathers made a brief appearance in the 1820s. The porkpie hat, which had a low crown and a small up-turned brim, was popular in the 1860s. The bonnets became popular again in the 1870s, with the addition of ribbons, flowers, and feathers, and continued to be worn throughout the rest of the 19th century (Payne, 1965; Peltz, 1980; Russell, 1983). Flat ballet style slippers predominated the first half of the century, while pointed toe shoes with a medium heel and buttoned shoes with a medium heel predominated the second half of the century

(Payne, 1965; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). High-buttoned boots with a medium heel became popular near the end of the 19th century.

#### Overview of Scottish Dress in the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Scotland consisted of two distinct groups: the Lowlanders and the Highlanders. The Lowlanders of Scotland were more inclined to wear the current English styles of dress, while the Highlanders of Scotland were geographically isolated from the rest of the country and developed their own unique style of dress. The geography of the Highlands created a need for dress that allowed for movement and warmth, rather than fashion. The large stone outcroppings, numerous rivers, and the heathers created dress needs distinctively different from the dress needs of the Lowlanders. The Highland garments, such as the tartan belted plaid and the kilt, were ideal for moving about the topography of the environment (Trevor-Roper, 1984; Wilson, 1990).

In both the Highlands and the Lowlands, the dress of the middle class and the merchant class imitated the nobility; the styles were similar but the fabrics were of a lesser quality. Silk, wool, flax, and cotton were the most common fibers used for Scottish dress. The fibers were then spun into yarns and used to create fabrics that were sewn into garments. In the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the Scottish government promoted flax as a major agricultural product, but cotton continued to be produced (Hamilton, 1991). Both cotton and flax were traded and were also used at home for spinning into yarns and fabrics. Raw silk was imported and spun into yarns and fabrics. Wool was also a byproduct of sheep farming in Scotland. Dress worn by the poor was based on affordability and usually made from coarse wool. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the poorest people of Scotland wore only an old plaid or some of their bedclothes for everyday use.

Scottish, namely Lowland, dress during the 17<sup>th</sup> century was similar to European dress, particularly English dress; however, there were some items of dress that were distinct to the Scottish people. The study of Scottish dress poses some limitations because Lowland dress is often assumed by costume historians to be similar to the English styles of their neighboring country. Only Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) have provided a source of Lowland and Highland dress; however, they depicted the dress as Scotland and Highland, rather than Lowland and Highland, which suggests that the Highlands were a subculture of Scottish society. Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) documented Scottish dress using portraits, letters, and travel accounts. There are multiple sources (Brander, 1980; Dunbar, 1951; Dunbar, 1979; Maxwell & Hutchison,

1958) that depict Highland dress, but many gaps in the information exist, including a lack of information on female dress and how social, political, and economic events impacted Highland dress.

### Male Dress of Scotland During the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

Scottish male fashions resembled that of the English court, with the exception of color. Scottish fashions tended to be much darker in color than the English fashions. Coarse woolens with somber coloring, known as “gray claith,” were used for garments (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Other types of cloth used to produce the garments varied based on affordability. For example, silk and velvet were used for the wealthy, while the lower classes used homespun woolens to create garments.

Basic dress of the Scottish male during the early part of the 17th century consisted of a doublet, ruff, breeches, hose, and plain shoes (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The basic undergarment for men was a long white shirt. The upper garment worn by most men was a doublet. This was a tight fitting garment that came just below the waist and flared out into a short skirt. A wired or starched detachable lace collar called a ruff was worn until the mid-1620s when it was allowed to droop. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), the cravat replaced the ruff in 1650 as the neckpiece. The breeches, a type of bifurcated garment, were the lower body garment worn by men. The breeches were heavily padded for fullness in the leg at the beginning of the century; however, by the mid-1620s, the padding began to lessen (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). In addition to breeches, hose made of cloth were worn with a garter either above or below the knee. It is not known whether the hose cloth was knitted or woven; however, Europeans had been wearing knitted hose since 1589 (Kocia, 1999).

The outdoor garment for the wealthy was a cloak; whereas all the classes wore the plaid. The cloak was a long outer garment with or without a hood made from wool and lined with silk (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The plaid was worn by all classes and consisted of a large piece of material draped about the head and shoulders hanging to the knees. By the middle of the 17th century another outdoor garment, the buffcoat, had emerged (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The buffcoat, similar to a cloak, was a knee length sleeveless garment with no collar or discernible waistline. The buffcoat was buttoned at the chest and was made of heavy leather or heavy woolen.

In addition to wearing an outdoor garment, men often wore a hat outside. The prevailing hat style had a tall narrow crown and a small brim, in the manner of popular English fashion; however, the bonnet, also prevailed in Scotland. Scottish men wore a

blue or russet colored bonnet (flat wool cap) throughout the 17th century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

Many of the items of dress for men remained the same during the first part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century; however, the latter part of the 17th century reflects a great deal of variation, unlike female dress. Men's breeches showed the least amount of change. Loose fitting breeches were worn tapered at the knee and tied. The greatest changes appeared in the form of the outercoat, which differed from the popular European styles. There were three different types of outercoats, all with similar characteristics (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The first style was for indoor wear. The coat was fitted to the waist and then hung loose to the floor. The garment met at center front but did not overlap or button. Occasionally, clips were used to join the garment at the front. Lightweight woolen or lightweight silk was used to create this type of coat. The second coat was similar to the first coat style, only cut much fuller. The coat was made of a slightly heavier woolen or silk than the first coat and was still worn primarily indoors. The third style of coat was for outdoor use. The style was the same, except the coat was joined at the center front by an overlap and ball buttons. The coat was quilted for extra warmth. However, at the end of the 17th century the quilting disappeared and was replaced by heavy woolens and velvets. Brown, blue, black, and gray were the usual colors for these coats. All three coats were collarless and worn with a waistcoat (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958); however, the wearing of waistcoats by Scots did not begin until near the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, while the Europeans wore waistcoats throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The waistcoat had no distinct waist, fell to the hipline, and buttoned to the neck (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Men wore a plain shirt underneath the waistcoat. The shirt was much fuller than a man's dress shirt of today. There was no collar and little or no tailoring near the neck and shoulders. A series of tucks around the neck achieved some shaping in the shirt. The European shirt style was cut full but included a falling band collar. The shirt was usually linen, except for those worn by the wealthy, in which case the shirt was made out of silk.

The wealthier class also experienced another change in Scottish men's fashion in the form of hairdress, as wigs became popular in the 1680s in Scotland. Wigs had been popular in England since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, before being adopted in Scotland (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Usually the most fashionable of the wealthy class wore wigs.

Shoes were accessories worn by men of all classes. There were two styles of shoes manufactured by the *cordinars* (shoemakers). According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), the style was either a *singill soillit schoone* (single soled shoe) or a *double soillit schoone* (double soled shoe). The shoes had a broad toe and were either laced or buckled. Some men wore boots (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Dragoon boots were heavy black leather boots worn for riding horseback.

#### Female Dress of Scotland During the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

In contrast to 17<sup>th</sup> century European styles, Scottish female dress consisted of relatively simple styles in the early part of the 17th century. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), female dress consisted of a shift, farthingale, ruff, gown (bodice and skirt), surcoat, a cloak or plaid, and a snood. The standard undergarment worn was the shift (same as a chemise), which was a straight white dress that hung from the shoulders. The next layer of dress was the farthingale, an understructure used to support the width of the skirt. The farthingale allowed the skirt to stand out away from the body. The outer garments consisted of a bodice, ruff, skirt, and surcoat. A closely fitted bodice was usually worn with a ruff, consisting of several layers of white ruffles, as the standard collar during the early 17th century. The ruff was either starched or wired to stand up away from the neck. The bodice was paired with a skirt similar to the European style with a split down the center front and pulled back to reveal the underskirt; however, by the 1640s, the skirt was no longer split to reveal the underskirt. The surcoat (not an outdoor garment) was worn over the top of the gown. Between 1600 and 1660, another type of gown was worn in Scotland that was not of English styling (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The bodice of the gown dipped low in the center front and the center back near the waistline, similar to the style of a stomacher. The skirt portion of the gown was split from waist to hem in both center front and the center back. The splits, which created a front-to-back right half and a front-to-back left half, were pulled from the front toward the back and tied just past the sides. The gown was worn over an underskirt (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The outermost garment layer was either a cloak or a plaid. The cloak was a long outdoor garment, with or without a hood, made from wool and lined with silk, and worn by women who wanted to follow London fashions. (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The most common outdoor garment for all classes was the plaid, which was a large piece of material draped about the head and shoulders hanging down around the knees (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). A jeweled snood served as the headcovering and was generally worn on top of the head.

Headcoverings and garments were made of different fabrics depending upon wealth. Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the wealthier people wore garments made of silk and velvet for formal occasions. Homespun woolens and linens were used for everyday dress by all classes (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Between 1600 and 1630 garments featured heavy rich colors, such as green and red, and a great deal of embroidery. During the 1630s, the colors began to soften.

Due to political turmoil between Scotland and England, the latter part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century reflected small changes in dress from the beginning of the century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Scottish dress was based on popular English styles, including the gown and petticoats. The bodice was more tapered and appeared more like a stomacher. The skirt became fuller, but no longer used the farthingale. Instead, women relied on petticoats, like the Europeans, to create the fullness necessary to hold their skirts away from their bodies. The underskirt reappeared, but was only seen below the hem of the gown. The waistline of the gown loosened. By 1680, the gown resembled a one-piece garment (similar to the European gown) rather than a separate bodice and skirt (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The shift remained the standard undergarment, while the cloak or plaid remained the garment for outdoor wear. The pinner became the typical headcovering for Scottish females of all classes (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The pinner was a piece of linen worn either plain or decorated with lace. John Ray wrote a letter in 1662 describing the pinner as “only white linen, which hangs down their backs as if a napkin were pinned about them” (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958, p. 62). White plain or laced caps were also worn, but only by the poor.

Those who could afford to purchase stockings wore them; however, shoes were not worn by all women on an everyday basis (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Women and children of the poorer classes were barefoot most of the time, except perhaps when attending church or a special occasion. Even women and children of the better classes tended to go barefoot (Maxwell and Hutchison, 1958). Shoes, when available, tended to be made of plain leather or cloth cover uppers. There are no extant examples of women’s shoes from Scotland. However, by examining paintings, Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) concluded that women’s shoes were slipper style with a pointed toe and decorated with metal buckles.

Scottish women made an attempt to adopt the fashions of Europe, including their garments, headcoverings, and shoes, throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Although most of the Scottish Parliament and nobility remained in Scotland after the Union of the Crowns in

1603, they continued to rely on the English court for fashion direction until the latter half of the 17th century (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Scotland and England were in political turmoil between 1646 –1659 (the Revolution) and 1660 -1688 (the Restoration).

According to Maxwell & Hutchison (1958), a division in fashion, among both males and females, occurred due to the turmoil. The Scottish and English people who disliked Charles II of Great Britain due to his extravagant lifestyle displayed a severe mode of dress, while supporters of Charles II (particularly the English court) pursued extravagant fashions.

#### Male Dress of Scotland During the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

The rebellion against the English due to the Union of the Parliaments of 1707 and the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745 took place during the 18th century in Scotland. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), the Scottish people had a greater desire to erase their nationality and become good Englishmen (in their speech, writing, and dress). An increase in garment and fabric manufacturers led to more income and the desire to spend the income on dress.

At the beginning of the 18th century, men still wore the dress of the late 17th century. The coat was worn long and collarless with a wide skirt and marked waistline (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The waistcoat was similar to the long coat, only slightly shorter. Breeches were worn as the lower body covering. Unlike the loose fitting European breeches, the Scottish breeches were tightly fitted and fastened at the knee with buttons, buckles or both. Dress remained relatively unchanged until the 1730s, when the coat and waistcoat began to rise. The skirt portion of the coat narrowed and the waist disappeared. The coat was then worn open, rather than buttoned (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Once the coat was worn open, it was only a short time before the sides fell toward the back. The falling sides were cut off and became tails by the end of the 18th century, the coat then became known as the tailcoat. Coats and shirts both remained collarless or with a 1/2" collar through 1770, at which time a 3" high standing collar became popular. This trend persisted until 1780 when the high standing collar was converted to the turn-down collar (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). In Europe, stocks replaced the cravat; however, wealthier Scotsmen continued to wear cravats with a shirt. Both velvet and woolen cloth in brown, purple, green, and dark red were popular fabrics for coats and waistcoats until the 1740s. In the 1750s and 1760s, heavy silk became the fashionable fabric for coats and waistcoats of the wealthy. Another garment that men wore was the negligé coat, a long sleeved, wide garment. According to Maxwell and

Hutchison (1958), the negligé coat appeared to be much like a night gown, but was worn around the home when one was not expecting visitors. Similar to European fashion, the popular hat was the tricorne; however, the bicorne made a brief appearance near the end of the 18th century. The Scottish bonnet was worn less frequently near the end of the century, except during work. Woolen or silk stockings were worn with shoes. Cotton stockings gained popularity in the mid-18th century. Men wore flat-heeled shoes with a prominent tongue and laces or buckles. As the century came to an end, the buckles grew larger and the heel heightened (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The plaid and the great coat continued to be worn for outdoors.

Home produced linen increased enormously during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The rise in the cotton industry in Scotland was phenomenal but did not affect dress until the 19th century (Maxwell & Hutchison, (1958). Near the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many people wore English woolens, rather than their native Scottish woolens. The Scottish woolens industry began to sharply decline.

#### Female Dress of Scotland During the 18<sup>th</sup> Century

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the females of Scotland, like the males, continued to wear garments similar to the styles being worn in England. Females wore corsets under fitted gowns during the early part of the 18th century. The skirts on the gowns had become so large that the hips vanished under the huge hoops used to hold the skirt out (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Panniers were used by the 1730s to hold the skirt away from the hips. The shift continued to be worn as an undergarment, although the lace at the neck and cuffs were visible on the outside of the gown. Although drawers had limited use in Europe, they were not used at all by women in Scotland.

One dress style worn in Scotland was an overdress that buttoned at the center front and whose skirt fell toward the back to reveal an underdress. Often the overdress was quilted for extra warmth, when worn during the winter (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Some gowns had an inset bodice stomacher. Another dress style similar to the prevailing style in Europe was the sack-backed dress that fell freely from the shoulder to the ground ending in a train. By 1740, the fabrics being used to create the gowns had become increasingly more elaborate. Silk damask, silk and satin brocades, and embroidered silk and satin became the fabrics of choice when affordable (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Everyday dress was usually made of drugget - a locally woven, striped woolen fabric.

Like dresses and fabrics, accessories were an important part of a woman's wardrobe. The pinner continued to be a popular form of headdress throughout the century. By mid-century other Scottish headdresses had also become popular. The Balloon hat (also known as a Lunardi, after the inventor of the hot air balloon), the Werther bonnet, and the Robin Gray were types of hats used by women after 1740. Stockings of woolens were worn by the lower classes, while silk stockings with clocks were worn by the upper classes. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958) and Smout (1969), shoes were not worn on a daily basis by women of any class. Women tended to go barefoot, while men nearly always wore shoes. When shoes were worn, the style featured leather soles with brocade uppers, often low-heeled or slipper-like. The plaid, much like a shawl, was worn by all classes when going outdoors throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, the mantle and the cloak were also popular among the middle and upper classes.

#### Male Dress of Scotland During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Information on men's dress in the 19th century is sketchy. Information is available until mid-19th century, when the Scottish began to wear mostly English styles of dress. When dressing up for occasions, particularly going to *kirk* (church), men wanted to wear "good English clothes" (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958, p.141). Tailcoats, waistcoats, and breeches were still worn in the early part of the 19th century. The tailcoats, however, were cut square at the natural waistline rather than curving gently toward the back (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The wide collars of the previous century evolved into lapels. The waistcoat, in light or buff colors, was cut square to match the tailcoat. The shirt and cravat continued to be worn. By 1830, some changes occurred in men's dress; the tailcoat changed to a modern-styled jacket and breeches changed to tight fitting trousers (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

Accessory items also changed. Accessory items included stockings, shoes, and some type of headdress. The century began with men wearing stockings and buckled shoes and ended with stockings and shoes with ties (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The typical headdress for the first few years of the 19th century was the bicorne, but was quickly replaced by the beaver or top hat. By 1840, men of all classes were wearing the top hat (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). In addition to the top hat, the flat bonnet continued to be worn, but only by the lower classes for work. Wool broad cloth became the fabric of choice for men's dress from the turn of the century until the 1840s, when it was replaced by wool tweed.

### Female Dress of Scotland During the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Information on 19<sup>th</sup> century dress of Scottish females is less plentiful than information on the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, because the garments were less culturally distinctive (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The cotton industry rose to prominence during the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Scotland. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, cotton had become the favored material for women. According to Maxwell and Hutchison (1958), cotton was considered a simple fabric, so floral designs were printed on the fabric, rather than embroidered or woven into the fabric. The new styles used silk as the fabric of choice for the wealthy, and cotton fabrics were left to the poor. However, fabrics for outdoor garments varied depending on the season. For example, the pelisse, created from heavy fabrics, was worn in the cold months, while the spencer, created from light weight fabrics, was worn during the summer months (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958).

The garments are thought to be so close to English garments that less distinction is made in the descriptions of Scottish garments. The lingerie gowns were made of lightweight cotton and were considered scanty and thin, almost undignified (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). The waistline rose to the empire style at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued rising until it reached mid-breast and then returned to a natural waist length in the 1820s. The gowns were narrow and wrapped over the neckline, creating a v-shaped that was filled in with a tucker (habit shirt), ruff, and brooch. No information was available on the type of undergarments worn with the gown. The dress styles began to change in the 1820s, which was earlier than the Europeans, whose dress styles did not begin changing until the 1840s. The waistline dropped to a natural level. Skirts became full and required petticoats and crinolines as undergarments.

Accessory items included headdress, shawls, stockings, and shoes. Linen caps and bonnets covered the head (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Shawls adorned the shoulders of Scottish women. Paisley shawls were popular from 1800-1840, while large plaid shawls were popular from 1840-1880. Although shoes and stocking were worn by all but the poorest women (Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958), no information was available on the style of the shoe.

### Highland Dress of the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Scotland is divided into two basic areas: the Lowlands and the Highlands. As noted in the previous section, the Lowlands had a tendency to follow the current English styles, as well as favoring a few indigenous clothing items. The Highlanders tended to

follow styles specific to their area and cultural background, while mostly ignoring the English and Lowland styles.

The previous discussion on the dress of Scotland during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries does not include Highland dress. The Highland area was geographically isolated from the rest of Scotland, which may have limited their access to prevailing dress styles (Ryan, 1966). As a result, the people tended to wear traditional clan (or customary) dress rather than follow the latest European fashions. The Highland social structure consisted mainly of clans, which had their own social system and governing rules. The clan hierarchy included the chiefs, those directly under the chiefs, and the poor. According to Bain (1954) the clan members wore similarly styled garments, but the number of garments and the fineness of the cloth was based on affordability. The Highlanders proudly wore the garb that distinguished them from the rest of Scotland and England. Grimble (1954) stated that “it was the dress itself, rather than the colors, that was the object of their pride” (p. 9).

Highland dress has been documented using portraits, letters, and travel accounts because so few extant garments exist before the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Bennett, 1980; Cheape, 1993). However, these sources are not always available or plentiful for each time period and do not create a complete picture of Highland dress. The information that has been gleaned from these sources depicts the Scottish Highlanders wearing the dress of their forefathers (Celts) during the 17<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, while most areas of Scotland dressed according to the dictates of the upper classes (Bennett, 1980; Cheape, 1993; Cockburn, 1985; Dunbar, 1979; Trevor-Roper, 1984; Wilson, 1990).

Unlike the rest of Scotland, Highlanders wore a small variety of garments (Dunbar, 1979; Maxwell & Hutchison, 1958). Male and female dress had some similarities but differed in the manner in which it was worn. Children dressed in a manner similar to their same gendered parent (Tortora & Eubanks, 1998). Additionally, most Highlanders (men, women, and children) wore some tartan garments during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The dress did not begin to change until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century due to industrialization and the Act of Proscription that banned traditional Highland dress. Until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, Highland dress was distinctively different from the rest of Scotland, namely the Lowlanders; at this time, the Highlanders were forced to dress similar to the rest of Scotland due to the 35-year ban on Highland dress through the Act of Proscription. However, after the Proscription was lifted, people had their choice of garments (Bain, 1954).

Fabrics. Highland garments used a variety of fabrics, including the *hodden gray*, plain silk, plain cotton, and plain linen. Patterned fabrics included tartan and paisley. The most popular plain fabric used by the Highlanders was the *hodden gray* (homespun coarse wool), which was created by women who spun undyed wool into plain cloth in their homes (Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938). Garments were made from the *hodden gray* prior to the mid-18th century, but no exact date has been established.

Tartan was also woven in the home and was the most prevalent patterned fabric used in the creation of Highland garments. The tartan was a woven, two by two twill cloth, usually made from wool, cotton, or silk. According to Freilinger (1981), the tartan was a combination of two, three, or four blocks with lines and or bars. The warp and weft yarns had the same number of colors and were identically arranged with equal picks and ends in the finished cloth (Amos, 1983). Tartan designs were referred to as *setts*. Each *sett* had specific colors and patterns and was associated with a specific clan. As previously mentioned, there is a great deal of debate over how long the specific *setts* have 'belonged' to a specific clan. Tartan was worn by Highland clans, but the different *setts* related to the dyes available in a particular location (Grierson, Duff, and Sinclair 1985). In the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the popularity of tartan urged merchants to create tartans for clans and invent tartans for Lowlanders, who had previously despised Highland dress. According to Pittock (1991), Scotland invented an ancestral past that linked all Scotsmen to the Highland clans.

The uniqueness of Highland dress was evident in their use of the tartan. The exact time that the tartan appeared is in question. The tartan before 1745 is distinctly different from the tartans that appeared after 1782 (Dunbar, 1951; Dunbar, 1979). However, in the modern era, people associate the tartan with Scotland as a whole, rather than just the Highlands. The tartan became the focal point of the movement for Scottish national identity in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Patriotic Scots, both Highland and Lowland, began to regard the tartan as a national symbol at the time of the Union of 1707 (Innes of Leary, 1938; Stewart, 1974). The movement progressed when King George IV of England visited Edinburgh in 1822. The King arrived in an outfit made entirely of tartan (Bain, 1954; Grimble, 1973; Stewart, 1974). After the King's visit, the Lowlanders began to romanticize the "old ways" and abandoned the notion of the Highlanders and all of their garb as being barbaric. The tartan became a symbol of the "old ways" and gained popularity until it became a symbol of national identity.

Although the tartan had been a Scottish national symbol, another fabric, the paisley print, gained national prominence as well. The paisley print was popular in Scotland, Europe, and America during the mid-18th century and continued to be used for the next 100 years (Tortora & Eubank, 1998). People who wished to obtain paisley print fabrics or garments made from paisley print fabrics had to travel to the Lowlands or had to send a purchase order, as they did for other garments and fabrics, including tartans (Maxwell, 1974). The town of Paisley, Scotland began to produce the modern paisley patterned shawl around 1850. The shape of the paisley resembled the pinecone, although it was originally a palm design. Hamilton (1991) and Tortora and Eubank (1998) stated that the pattern was given the name of the town because people associated the town with the pattern.

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the most favored fabric among the Highlanders continued to be the tartan, rather than the paisley. Highland garments for both males and females were made predominately from hodden gray or tartan (Dunbar, 1979; Hamilton, 1991; Innes of Leary, 1938). Although, the wealthier members of Highland society wore tartan, they used better fibers, such as silk, to spin the yarns for tartan fabric.

Color. Some imported dyes were available in Scotland, but mainly in the Lowlands rather than the Highlands. According to Grierson, Duff, and Sinclair (1985) Imported dyes included weld (yellowish dye), woad (blue dye used prior to indigo), and cochineal (red dye). Due to the Highlanders limited access to imported dyes, they often created dyes from the native products and plants that grew in an area of the Highlands (Grierson, Duff, and Sinclair, 1985). Some of the main plants used for dyes in the Highlands were seaweed, a variety of lichen, ling heather tips, Lady's bedstraw roots, white water lily rhizomes, foxglove, wild privet berries, and elder berries. Dye colors were affected by local soil type and climate. Therefore, particular colors of fabrics were indigenous to different areas of the Highlands. For example, seaweed from the Lochaber district in the Highlands produces a very dark dull green color, while ling heather tips from the Perthshire district in the Highlands produced a greenish yellow color (Grierson, Duff, and Sinclair, 1985). Many colors were so specific to one area that a person's location could be identified by the colors worn.

Garment colors were not only important for identification, but they also served as a means of communication. The wearing of a white cockade, by either a Scottish man or a Scottish woman, demonstrated one's allegiance to the Jacobite cause (Dunbar, 1979).

Women wore white headdresses to communicate their virginity and maidenhood, while the color of a man's bonnet and other apparel items often indicated his allegiance to a particular clan (Dunbar, 1979). For example, a blue bonnet often indicated Jacobite allegiance. Fabric patterns and colors used to create male dress often demonstrated a clan association.

Male Highland Dress. Particular patterns were popular with certain clans, while colors were often indicative of location due to dyes available in a region. Male dress in the Highlands consisted of several different items worn together or separate, including a saffron shirt, the belted plaid, kilt, little kilt, trews, a bonnet, and a sporran. The long saffron (yellow) colored shirt was a holdover from the Highlanders' Irish (Gaelic) heritage (Bain, 1954; Stewart, 1973; Trevor-Roper, 1984; Wilson, 1990). The saffron shirt was worn until about the mid-17th century and was eventually replaced by the plaid. However, both the shirt and plaid were worn together for some time.

Wilson (1990) noted that the plaid (*breacan*), which was generally constructed in the home, is a Gaelic term meaning a rectangular shawl worn over a shepherd's left shoulder. The plaid was worn over both the upper and lower (to the knees) portions of the body in the period preceding the 1700s until about 1730. The plaid was worn in lieu of breeches. The plaid was a warm and versatile outer garment that served as a cloak, blanket, or makeshift bedding. Since the plaid could easily be lifted up, it was particularly convenient for jumping over rocks or wading through bogs, as trousers would get wet and need to be removed. Additionally, the plaid served as bedclothes or blanket, when the need arose (Wilson, 1990). Due to lengthy distances between family homes and towns, in addition to frequent flooding, Highlanders were often caught out on a hillside for a night. Dunbar (1979) suggested that even when a Highlander found shelter with a family, he had to sleep on the floor and provide his own bedding. Families usually had only enough garments and bedding for themselves and did not have spares for guests.

The belted plaid was a popular item of male dress in the late 17th century (Innes of Leary, 1938; Wilson, 1990). The belted plaid (*breacan - feile*) was a garment created from a piece of tartan two yards in width by six yards in length. A man would center his plaid over a belt laid on the ground. Next, he would pleat the lower section of the plaid, while leaving the side and upper sections unpleated. The man would then lay down on his plaid and fasten his belt with the unpleated side sections overlapping. Finally, he would stand up and put the unpleated upper section of the plaid over his shoulders. A

brooch would hold the left side in place, while the right side would be tucked into the belt on the backside (Bain, 1954; Wilson, 1990). The kilt (*feileadh*) was considered to be the pleated lower section of the plaid. In the 18th century, the kilt was separated from the plaid and made into a singular garment. Thomas Rawlinson, a Quaker manufacturer from Lancashire, England created the little kilt (*feileadh beg*), modern kilt or philabeg, as it was known in 1730. According to Cockburn (1985), Grimble (1973), and Wilson (1990), Rawlinson, who founded an iron smelting plant near Inverness (Highland community), noticed that the Highlanders had difficulty performing their jobs due to the cumbersome belted plaid. Rawlinson and his tailor decided to separate the kilt from the plaid and sewed permanent pleats into the kilt.

An alternative to the belted plaid or modern kilt was the trows (*triubhas*), which were typically made from tartan fabric. The trows were a combination of breeches and hose, similar to the trunkhose of Medieval Europe (Bennett, 1980; Grimble, 1973). Long after trunkhose disappeared from Europe and breeches became stylish, the Highlanders continued to wear their trows. The upper class in the Highlands and officers of the regiments often wore trows to signify their roles in society (Cockburn, 1985; Wilson, 1990). On the other hand, Dunbar (1979) argues that the lower classes, rather than the upper classes, wore trows because the Book of Kells depicted people of lower ranks wearing trows prior to the 17th century.

In addition to their garments, Highland men wore several accessories, including the sporran, the bonnet, and shoes. The sporran (*spleuchan*) was an additional accouterment that the Highland men began wearing in the 18th century. According to Harrold (1978), Thorburn (1976), and von Furstenberg (1996), the sporran was a goat skin purse worn at the waist and was used to hold their provisions. A goat skin sporran was worn for everyday use, while a baby seal skin sporran was used on special occasions (Bain, 1954).

While the sporran was not used until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the bonnet was used from medieval times until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Highland men wore a woolen blue bonnet style hat, similar to the Scottish bonnet (Bain, 1954; Hamilton, 1991), which showed allegiance to one clan. The bonnet was flat and worn close to the head. Occasionally, a feather or plume was worn on the bonnet. The color of the cockade in one's bonnet showed his allegiance to a particular clan.

Aside from the sporran and the bonnet, men accessorized with some form of foot covering after the mid-17th century. Shoes and boots were worn with hose, although it

is not known whether the hose were woven or knitted. The shoes had a single-sole made from untanned hide (Bain, 1953; Innes of Leary, 1938; Stewart, 1974). Instead of shoes, a short form of boot was sometimes worn. Bain (1954) describes the *cuaran* as bootlike reaching nearly to the knee, made from cow or horse hide, and held together with thongs.

Female Highland Dress. Less information is available on female dress, and according to Harrold (1978), Highland women have no specific dress. However, since women have often been the subject of poetry (Symonds, 1997), information on the dress of Highland women may become clearer as a result of the current study. Hamilton (1991) has found that Highland women often spun wool into yarn and wove it into cloth in order to create homemade garments, such as gowns, petticoats, and stockings. Women continued to create homemade garments until the mid -18th century, at which time they began to purchase some of their garments through trade with the English.

Two of the homemade garments are known only by their Gaelic names. According to von Furstenberg (1996), the *tonnag* and the *arisaid* were worn by women. The *tonnag* was a small tartan shawl worn around the shoulders. The *arisaid* was a long garment reaching from the neck to the ankles, pleated and fastened at the breast with a large brooch or buckle, and belted at the waist (Bain, 1954; Stewart, 1974). The lower portion of the *arisaid* was not pleated. The *arisaid* was similar to the men's belted plaid. Dunbar (1979) stated that the *arisaid* was made of silk or fine worsted wool and tended to be white with black, blue, and red stripes. By the late 17th century, the *arisaid* continued to have a white background but any number of different colored stripes. Colored backgrounds for women's plaid appeared in the 18th century.

Women often accessorized their garments with some form of headdress. According to Hamilton (1991), a tartan plaid was often worn over a linen headdress (*curraichd*) or close cap with ribbons. A married woman wore a white linen kerchief or curch (*breid ban*) to signify her role as wife. Young unmarried women wore colored, usually red or blue, caps that lay close to their heads (Dunbar, 1979). Women, unlike the men, usually did not accessorize with shoes, as they (and their children) rarely wore shoes until the mid-18th century (Smout, 1969).

It appears to this researcher that Highland men and women had a unique style of dress that distinguished them from the rest of Scotland. Scotland, England, and much of Europe followed similar forms of fashion, while the Highlanders continued to wear the dress of their forefathers, the Celts.

### Irish Dress of the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The Highlanders were descendants of an Irish population known as the Celts. The Highlanders continued some of the customs of the Celts into the 17<sup>th</sup> century, including the wearing of the saffron shirt during the earliest part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Irish were in the same political turmoil with England as the Scottish people, fighting for the right to govern themselves, as well as fighting for religious freedom (Dunlevy, 1989). The Irish had been a self-sustaining population until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the English introduced industrialization and large agricultural farming. The English influence created a need to conform in both attitudes and dress. According to Dunlevy (1989), people who dressed in English garments were deemed to be honest.

The wealthy people of Ireland closely followed English dress styles, while the middle class emulated the wealthy to the extent possible (i.e., similar styles but lesser quality fabrics and trims) (Dunlevy, 1989). The wealthy used silks, damasks, and other exceptionally fine quality fabrics; whereas, the middle class used good-quality wool for their garments. The lower class wore hand-me-downs and homemade garments. The fabric used by the poor was homespun wool or leather. The poor had the most difficult time adapting to English styles of dress and had no way of emulating the wealthy of Ireland.

The majority of the Irish had conformed to wearing English dress by the 1650s, similar to the Lowlands of Scotland. The only strictly cultural (Gaelic Irish) piece of dress that remained throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century was the Irish mantle (an outer garment); however, the cloak was substituted whenever possible. Similar to the Highlands, men's trews were still worn during the earliest part of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Trews were considered a crude garment and out of fashion by 1648; however, older men still wore the trews until the 1660s, when they went out of style completely (Dunlevy, 1989). However, the Highland men continued to wear the trews until they were banned during the Act of Proscription.

In Ireland, English styles of dress continued their popularity throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the wealthy Irish wore the style popular in the English court. The latest fashions were created out of extravagant fabrics with an excess of silver and gold embroidery until the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when more practical fabrics were used for everyday dress. According to Dunlevy (1989), by the 18<sup>th</sup> century men of all classes wore suits (i.e., coat, waistcoat, and breeches) except the poorest Irishmen. Near the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the coat was replaced by a frock-coat

for better comfort. Most women wore an open robe (i.e., a gown with the bodice and the overskirt joined at the waist and open at the skirt front to expose a petticoat) with a close-fitting silhouette. The poor still relied on hand-me-downs and homemade clothing.

According to Dunlevy (1989), dress during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a continuation of 18<sup>th</sup> century styles. The Irish continued to follow styles started at the English court. Fabric colors and prints became bolder at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Irish linen became a popular fabric, particularly for women. The poor tried to emulate the wealthier classes in their clothing worn to church on Sundays. According to Dunlevy (1989), there was a well-established practice by the urban poor to wear their best clothes on Sunday, pawn them on Monday, and buy them back the next Saturday evening. The rural poor remained ill-clad in what most people considered to be rags.

#### Summary of Dress

Dress trends in Europe (including England, Scotland, and Ireland) during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were initiated by the upper classes and adopted by the middle and lower classes in a desire to emulate the upper classes. Europeans, in general, followed the trends set by England and France. The Scottish Lowlanders and Irish tended to follow the English style of dress because of their close proximity to England, as well as the political, social, and economic influence exerted by the British monarchy; however, the Irish and the Lowlanders retained a few items of dress unique to their particular cultures, including the Irish mantle and the Scottish bonnet. The Highlanders of Scotland continued to wear a unique style of dress until they were forced by the British monarchy to wear English style dress. As noted in the previous sections on dress, the political climate, such as an unpopular monarchy, can have an influence on fashion. Moreover, the social and economic climates can also influence the availability and affordability of fashions. Various forms of evidence are used by researchers to understand a culture. Cultural artifacts that may be used include books, manuscripts, letters, diaries, portraits, paintings, poetry, dress, and other extant pieces of work produced by the inhabitants of a culture. Very little evidence is available to understand dress of the Highlands.

#### Literature and Culture

One means for understanding a culture or subculture is to examine its literary history (Fowler, 1981; Kelly, 1974). Literary texts are a self-contained verbal artifact and serve a vital cultural function (Fowler, 1981). The Scottish people, particularly the

Highlanders, have a rich literary history. Poetry, in the form of poems, ballads, and songs, was the preferred form of record keeping in Highland society; however, it also provided entertainment, as well as a means to voice their concerns (Craig, 1961; Symonds, 1997; Trevor-Roper, 1984; Wittig, 1972).

Many chiefs had a poet, either a clansman or follower, to record the history of the people. Therefore, poets were among the highest ranked individuals. Poetry and balladry were popular methods for recording Scottish Highland history and clan history, as the chiefs discouraged the keeping of written records and encouraged the use of poetry for record keeping (Bain, 1954). The poems and ballads included a description of the characters and their dress and often reflected the social, political, or economic environment. Most of the people in the Highlands were illiterate during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and explains why so few songs and ballads were of Highland origin (Pryde, 1962; Wittig, 1972). Most poems from or about the Highlands were written by or translated by Lowlanders. Oral poetry was almost always anonymous, and in the case of the Highlands, written/sung in Gaelic. Oral histories, in the form of poems, songs, and ballads, helped the people understand and verbalize their past and present situations. Poetry represented a form of entertainment, as people would gather in the center of town (market area) or at someone's home to recite or sing poetry.

Scottish poetry often reflected the sentiments of the people and the social, economic and political beliefs that were popular in the Highlands and the Lowlands. Some writers were literate and recorded their poetry in manuscript form (Symonds, 1997). Other illiterate writers had a literate person transcribe their poetry (Symonds, 1997). Many of the illiterate writers were actually ballad singers that changed the lyrics of ancient songs to fit their time and place and then had literate persons transcribe the new version of the song (Bold, 1979; Geddie, 1896).

#### Significance of Poems and Ballads

One popular form of Scottish poetry was balladry, which is sung poetry. The oral tradition of singing ballads was passed down from generation to generation. Some ballads began to be transcribed and published in the early 18th century. The original composers of ballads were usually not known; however, the singers of the ballads were nearly always identified in the transcriptions of the ballads. Women and men from Scottish villages were the usual singers of ballads; additionally, a few women of gentry (particularly Anna Gordon Brown) sung and transcribed ballads beginning in the early

19th century. Symonds (1997) concluded that most of the recorded singers were women, while the publishers were usually men.

Poems and ballads were important forms of expression for Highland society. Lord (1960) described ballads as “narrative poetry composed in a manner evolved over generations by singers of tales who did not know how to write; it consists of the building of metrical lines and half lines by means of formulas and formulaic expressions and of the building of songs by the use of themes (p.4).” The roots of the ballads go back as far as the Homeric epics and use mnemonic devices to tell a story in varying lengths and by various singers without ever being written down (Bold, 1979; Lord, 1960); however, some literate persons did transcribe the ballads. Generation after generation repeated the ballads, songs, and poems that described the lives of their forefathers. These ballads and poems were often the only record of events that had taken place. According to Symonds (1997), villagers often lived and died in the same town without ever moving, leaving behind few records other than what was transmitted through oral storytelling. These songs and stories are available in manuscript form due to the diligence of 18th century collectors who published them.

The ballads often represent first person accounts of life in Scotland ( both the Highlands and the Lowlands) because the poet was writing during his or her own time and often made changes to older ballads to update the time period and environment (Symonds, 1997). The most popular ballads dealt with the issues of courtship, marriage, pregnancy, murder, jealousy, and infanticide. Crawford (1976) agreed that ballads often dealt with courtship, but he also believed that ballads were used to further a political cause. Regardless of the theme, dress was often employed to describe the person in the ballad, sometimes as the actual garments worn and sometimes as a metaphor.

The ballads were used to record life in the villages. Bold (1979) contends that the ballads were tailored for popular usage; employing the pieces of a previous ballad and discarding the pieces that didn't fit into the new ballad. Geddie (1896) also found that the balladist created a ballad with features and forms of his or her own time. Ballads fall into a special category of oral literature; they are oral poems sung and created during the performance itself, then passed down from generation to generation. Performers had the right to change the ballad to some degree. For instance, there are twenty-nine versions of Mary Hamilton. Symonds (1997) considers all of the versions to have the same basic premise - Mary finds herself pregnant with an illegitimate child, kills the child after its birth, and is hanged for the murder of the child. However, each singer in a

village would create some new lyrics to coincide with his or her own environmental circumstances.

Symonds (1997) suggests that even today oral traditions continue to be strong in traditional agricultural societies, such as Scotland. The ballad was a primary source of storytelling until about 1750 when Scottish society began to move toward industrialization. The oral traditions then moved into a state of literary prowess. According to Symonds (1997), collectors of the ballads began to publish the words to the ballads and sell the ballads for profit throughout the remainder of the 18th century and into the 19th century.

### The Scottish Poets

Some very prominent Highland (e.g., James MacPherson and Robb Donn MacKay) and Lowland (e.g., Burns and Fergusson) poets wrote/created numerous quality poems, while many poets only wrote one or two poems that are considered notable. Poets dealt with many subjects, including love, politics, nature, and economics. According to Rogers (1886), the best poets of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century were the Earl of Stirling and William Drummond of Hawthorne. The Earl was a philosophical poet that wrote for James VI of Scotland. His poetry reflects historic parallelisms, ethics, and theology. Drummond's poetry used rich imagery, nature, and had a harmonious rhythm.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was inundated with many unknown Highland authors dedicated to the Jacobite cause (Rogers, 1886). Often the poetry was anonymous because the poems had political overtones, which defamed the English government; such poetry could have resulted in imprisonment. Some of the best known Highland poets were Robb Donn Makay and James MacPherson. Maclean (1904) believed that Alexander Macdonald and Duncan Macintyre were two of the best 18th century Highland poets. Macdonald was the first to publish a book of Highland poetry in 1751. The Highlands and its people were re-created through Macintyre's vivid, original, elaborate, and accurate descriptions in his poetry. For instance, Macintyre's poem entitled "A song to the Breeches" in Campbell's (1984) anthology discusses the Highlanders disgust with the banning of Highland dress through the Act of Proscription. Macintyre writes, "...Taking our clothes in spite of us by treating us with violence. And since we put the trousers on that clothing does not please us well..." (p.221). Irving (1804) and Rogers (1886), however, believed that Allan Ramsay, a Lowlander, was the best poet of the 18<sup>th</sup> century because he fully reawakened the poetic genius of Scotland. Ramsay wrote about a variety of subjects, including love and war.

Ewen MacLachlan and William Livingston were considered the paramount poets in the Highlands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Maclean, 1904). MacLachlan was well-educated, receiving a Masters of Art at King's College. He wrote poetry about nature (Maclean, 1904). Livingston had apprenticed as a tailor; however, he continued to pursue poetry as a means of earning a living. Livingston's epic poetry bemoaned the loss of the old Highland ways. In addition to poetry, Livingston wrote one drama (Maclean, 1904).

Many other Highland poets from the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were considered to have valuable poetic skills, but may have only written one or two noteworthy poems. Some Lowland poets wrote about the Highlands including James Balfour, Lady Wardlaw, and John Hope. Robert Burns in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Sir Walter Scott in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were Lowland poets with an affinity for the Highlands and wrote about the Highlands in their poetry, which is particularly evident in the titles of the following poems: "Highland Mary" and "My heart is in the Highlands" by Burns and "Bonny Dundee" by Scott.

The poets recorded the life and times of the Scottish people and their work often reflected their own political, social, and economic beliefs. According to Trevor-Roper (1984), the Highland chieftains usually had a poet to record the events of the clan. The chieftains' poet came either directly from Ireland or were Scotsmen sent to Ireland to learn the traditional Celtic writing style (Trevor-Roper, 1984). The Lowland poets usually wrote in Scots or English; whereas, the Highlanders wrote in either Gaelic (the Celtic language). The poets, by writing in Gaelic, demonstrated their Celtic heritage that distinguished them from the Lowlanders. The poets wrote in Gaelic from the earliest times through the 17<sup>th</sup> century. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century the poets began writing in both Gaelic and Scots and by the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Highland writers were writing mostly in Scots, abandoning the Celtic tradition. Scots was the common language of Scotland but English was the written language until about 1750, when hundreds of poems began to be written in Scots.

#### Research on Poetry

Poetry has been the focus of several research studies. These studies often examined characteristics of a given society as conveyed by the poet. Greenfield (1980) examined selected works by Percy Bysshe Shelley (i.e., a prominent English writer during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century). He demonstrated Shelley's desire to reflect his own historical and social relationships with his audience. Greenfield used two different methods to study Shelley's poetry. The first method he employed was to use a socio-

historical approach that would emphasize the historical and cultural nature of literature as a work of art produced by an individual within a society. The second method Greenfield employed was to study theories that emphasized strategies used by authors to connect with their audience. Shelley wanted to connect with his audience by writing poems about the current social and historical events of his time and culture. For example, in Prometheus Unbound, Shelley writes about the English government's repression of its people. Shelley's poems became increasingly distressed as he felt that he was speaking for a society of which he was a member, but a society that was not listening.

Robertson (1988) studied patriotism in Sir Walter Scott's late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century writings. Scott wrote poems that romanticized Scotland and particularly the Highlanders to achieve a sense of patriotism. Due to the cultural importance of the Highlanders in Scottish patriotism, Scott promoted the image of the Highlanders as the image for Scottish cultural expression. In addition, Scott promoted his own ideas about politics through his writings, thereby reflecting his own feelings about his culture bound in time and place. Robertson (1988) stated, "Scott's literature was explicitly related to his own historical circumstances and to his perception of those which had existed before" (p.20). Robertson demonstrated Scott's use of literature to reflect his own views on Scottish patriotism.

A study on Hugh MacDiarmid by Willhardt (1993) also linked political views and literature. MacDiarmid was an early 20<sup>th</sup> century Scottish writer, who attempted to author poetry and act as its subject to demonstrate to the world the truth as he experienced it from a Scottish perspective. MacDiarmid wrote poetry to create and empower Scots as a nation and a culture apart from Britain. Willhardt (1993) demonstrated that MacDiarmid's poetry urged political involvement in Scotland.

Bell's (1995) research on King James VI's centered on his role as a Scottish poet and his use of poetry in cultural policies. She found that the king used poetry to create a cultural community that supported the authority of the monarchy. The king began by creating poems regarding the fledgling Scottish nation, but moved toward a stronger authority role when he was made King of Britain. The poems attempt to demonstrate the need for unity not of Scotland and England, but as a new nation of Britain. The King used his poetry to spread information about his views on politics and religion to people worldwide.

## Summary of Poetry

Poetry was a means for the poets to express feelings about their social, economic, and political situations. Poets sometimes used their writings as a forum for public opinion. Some poets expressed their Jacobite politics in poetry, while others used poetry to discuss their economic situation. Macinnes (1988) found that poets expressed public sentiment about the Clearances and the economic changes that were taking place in the Highlands. In the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, people recognized the significance of Scottish poetry and began to publish poetic works for the masses regardless of the subject.

### Dress in Written Works

Poetry may provide a source from which to study dress; however, clothing researchers have typically used traditional sources of reference such as travel accounts, letters, paintings, and magazines to study historic dress. The best form of evidence is extant garments, but they are not always a readily available source. Only a few clothing and textiles researchers have recognized the value of written documents (e.g., poetry and plays) and used them as a source for understanding dress, including Gordon (1992), Owens and Harris (1997), and Pannabecker (1991). Some researchers of English literature have noted dress within written works, including Cameron (1973), Kiernan (1975), Landa (1971), and Toliver (1982).

Harris and Owens (1990) and Owens and Harris (1997) used Shakespearean plays to study the figurative and literal use of jewelry and dress. The researchers studied the social, historical, and cultural aspects surrounding the use of metaphorical dress and jewelry terminology within Elizabethan society (Harris & Owens, 1990; Owens & Harris, 1997). Twenty-eight Shakespearean plays were selected for analysis. Metaphorical dress references were collected with seventy-five distinct dress and jewelry terms being classified in the study. The terminology was reduced by further selection of terms that appeared three or more times. Dress items were arranged schematically into generic dress, headcoverings, male and female apparel, legwear, waistwear, head, arm, and neckwear (Harris & Owen, 1997). They determined that social, political, and economic conditions of a culture could be examined in relation to dress and jewelry terminology in written works (plays); for example, legwear was found to denote status, rank, and gender.

Landa (1971) also demonstrated a relationship between dress and economic status in the study of the Rape of the Lock by Alexander Pope. Pope was a prominent

18th century writer whose poem focused on a character named Belinda. Landa (1971) noted that Belinda was the “glass of fashion” but has received little attention from researchers dealing with her apparel. Pope’s references to Belinda’s garments were examined in relation to the English economy. Although Pope glosses over Belinda’s attire and the rituals of dressing, Landa (1971) maintains that Belinda’s garments and dressing rituals relate to the economic milieu that emerged during the 18th century. He noted that during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, England had begun its industrialization process and had expanded its trade routes; therefore, many of Belinda’s dressing objects, such as her comb, were indications of the expanded trade routes. The petticoat that Belinda wore was described as fabric of “new Brocade.” At the time, England was importing fine brocades from France, which indicated the expense of such an item and the economic status of Belinda.

Pannabecker (1991) studied the relationship between 13th century French dress styles in the poem Le Roman de la Rose and social realities. The purpose of the study was to examine the meaning of dress through literary analysis of a poem. Although the research mentions studying references to dress, her methodology is unclear. References to dress were made throughout the book-length poem. Her major conclusion was that dress reflected social realities, such as etiquette and manners. Pannabecker (1991) stated, “reading dress as a text is an important analogue to reading dress as an artifact or behavior...the uniquely human ability to use metaphors enables dress constructed by an author/dressed person to be intelligible to the reader/viewer” (p.201). In other words, the person writing (author) is also a person who wears dress, which validates the work as a first person account. Through the descriptions of dress, the reader can see in his or her mind how the garments would appear. Additionally, if the setting has been described in the literary document, the reader can link the dress with the surrounding environment (social, political, and/or economical).

Although poets have used dress to denote status, Spreuwenberg-Stewart (1997) contends that gender and desire are two segments of the social environment that have also been the focus of poetry. She examined five Renaissance poems (i.e., 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries) and their use of dress, gender, and desire. The first poem was Chaucer’s translation of Le Roman de la Rose, in which Chaucer used dress as part of each character’s identity. Gender was an ambiguous issue because men dressed in a more effeminate manner than in other time periods. However, male characters were comfortable expressing their desires in an outward manner (i.e., dress). The second

poem was Marlowe's Hero and Leander, in which dress was a means for his characters to represent his or her own social desires, such as class status and wealth. He allowed only the wealthiest characters to display ambiguity in their dress (i.e., being neither feminine or masculine). The third poem was Donne's Elegy 19, which also used dress as a means of obtaining social desires. Donne used dress to give his characters an identity, which was often extravagant, like the dress of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. Butler's Hudibras was the fourth poem explored by Spruewenberg-Stewart. The characters in Butler's poem dressed in a genderless and ambiguous manner, which was befitting of the time and culture (i.e., move toward the Restoration and males dressed more elaborately than females). The final poem analyzed was Milton's Paradise Lost. This poem deals with religion and dress as important elements for achieving the path of salvation. Dress was again genderless, but important to the characters' social well-being (i.e., the right dress would help one succeed on Earth and in heaven). Overall, Spruewenberg-Stewart found that dress in poems from the Renaissance period aided the poet in establishing a character's identity, even when the dress appeared to be genderless. The dress also was a representation of one's social desires (e.g., class and wealth) during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Toliver (1982), like Spruewenberg-Stewart (1997), researched the poet's use of dress in relation to the social environment. In his case study, Toliver (1982) compared Swift, Carlyle, and Herrick's references to dress and social environment (religion, beauty, and identity) in their writings. No specific methodology was revealed, but the research appears to be an analysis of metaphors. Swift, in A Tale of a Tub, used dress to depict the religious beliefs of his characters. Toliver discusses Swift's allegory by stating, "church clothing was not mere haberdashery, but the forms and Vestures, under which men have at various periods embodied and represented for themselves the Religious Principles" (p.434). According to Toliver (1982), Swift helps the reader understand the setting by telling who people are through the description of their dress. According to Toliver (1982), Carlyle used dress as an outward form to beautify a person. He likens dressing to architecture, for example, the person is the edifice and the headwear is a tower. Finally, Herrick describes Julia's petticoat, in Delight in Disorder, in great depth. Toliver notes that Herrick permits the dress to take on a life of its own, independent from the character within the garment; while, Herrick is "aware of the signs by which clothing represents us ..." (p.434). Toliver concludes that Herrick realizes that dress, while a separate entity, does, in fact, represent the person within the garments.

Kiernan (1975-76) studied medieval poetry to understand the manner in which dress could be used to represent a woman's beauty. Several poems by four different medieval authors were compared for their references to dress. According to Kiernan (1975), poets used dress to discuss particular body parts or to refer to body parts. Kiernan concludes that the poets, particularly Chaucer, used dress as a "virtual conduit for coursing over...[a female] body" (p.15). The dress is described so thoroughly, that the reader can envision the garments. Researchers should be able to validate the descriptions by examining portraits, extant garments, and books on historic dress; however, few researchers have used poetry in conjunction with other visual sources to validate dress descriptions.

Cameron (1973) triangulated visual sources with written sources to validate descriptions of dress in Corippus' poetry. Corippus was a Byzantine poet during the time of Justin II. The coronation garments of Justin II were described in great detail in Corippus' poem In Praise of Justin II. Cameron (1973) proposes that the poem describes dress and its meaning associated with the rituals of coronation during Byzantine times. The researcher made reference to numerous dress artifacts in mosaics and written legislation, which he compared to dress in the poem. During the time of Justin I and Justin II, Byzantium had strict sumptuary legislation. The rank or status of the wearer accorded the type of garments and accessories that could be worn. Therefore, Corippus writes in length about the fibula and chlamys that could only be worn by someone of high rank (Cameron, 1973). Both military and religious elements of dress and ritual appear in the poem. The setting is defined for the reader through both military and religious imagery.

Like Cameron (1973), Hugo Bekker (1971) studied imagery in poetry, but focused on color imagery rather than environmental imagery to write a literary analysis of the German epic poem The Nibelungenlied. The author analyzed multiple areas of the poem, with one section focusing on dress and gems. Bekker used a literary tool known as parallelism to analyze dress in the poem. Parallelism involves the use of repetitive descriptions to convey meaning. The poem used adjectives in conjunction with dress descriptions when the author was trying to draw the reader's attention to what was happening or was foreshadowing an event that would happen later. Color was used to convey characteristics and social realities of the characters. Black, white, and green were the colors most often used in the epic. Green signified death, while white signified equality. Black and white together showed good versus evil or local versus foreigner.

Dress served to tell the reader of the epic something purposeful. Bekker (1971) contended that dress was mentioned often because it plays a role in everyday life, from conferring honor and respect on its wearer to foreshadowing death of the wearer due to its color.

Written documents other than poetry have served as data for costume research. Diaries, letters, etiquette books, and popular fiction served as sources for understanding the connection between status and dress for women in Gordon's (1992) study. She used a variety of literary and personal documents to account for women's dress choices in mid-19th century New England. The researcher was searching for meanings of dress according to the roles women played in society. A total of 3,000 references to dress were recorded verbatim. The references were then organized into interpretive categories. The author concluded that dress functioned as a means to convey information about a person. Information, such as etiquette books, was available for women to understand fashionable dress during the mid-19th century. A fashionably dressed woman maintained a social front and demonstrated an outward sign of achievement. Women's roles were reflected in their dress; for example, a "true" woman dressed modestly to show her piety and domesticity (Gordon, 1992). Industrialization, immigration, and urbanization in 19th century New England caused rapid social change. These changes increased the importance of women's dress to portray their status in society.

The previous works described illustrate how literary works, including poetry, plays, etiquette books, and popular fiction, can be used to understand dress within specific social, political, economic climates. According to researchers, authors of the literary works describe their characters' dress for various purposes, such as to foreshadow death or show a character's beauty. Dress was found in Shakespeare's plays and in Corippus' In Praise of Justin II to reflect the social, political, and economic realities of the time period in which the work was written. Social realities were reflected in Le Roman de la Rose and in various pieces of literature from 19th century New England. Economic realities were most evident in Pope's Rape of the Lock. Therefore, an analysis of works written during a given time period could provide evidence of the dress worn. The accuracy of these characteristics could be validated using other references, such as travel accounts and portraits.

## Content Analysis

One method for analyzing characteristics of dress in written works, such as poetry, is content analysis. Harris and Owens (1990) used content analysis to analyze the plays of Shakespeare. Berelson's (1952) definition of content analysis is "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p.18). Manifest content refers to the coding of the content exactly as it appears, rather than coding one's feelings of how an object could or should be used (Stemple, 1981). Objectivity is gained only when categories are precisely defined. Different people analyzing the same data should get the same results with well-defined categories. The systematic approach applies to the procedures used during categorization. Categories must be related to the research questions. Content analysis is particularly useful for research involving written or photographic documents. According to Paoletti (1982), content analysis is an appropriate methodology when the principle source is documentary evidence, the sources are plentiful, and the researcher is intent on studying embedded meanings through communication devices. Content analysis has been used to study different areas of historic dress, particularly men's fashion trends and children's fashion trends in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Paoletti, 1987). Contemporary fashions, including men's suits (Jacob, 1990) and heavy metal dress (Allen, 1993), have been studied using content analysis. This method has also been used to study advertisements from various time periods to determine their influence on fashion (Kimle, 1991).

Paoletti (1987) studied children's fashion from 1890-1920 to determine the changes that took place according to gender. She examined 500 illustrations of children's dress during 1890-1920 in four different magazines. A content analysis instrument was created to collect information about children's dress, particularly the design characteristics: sleeve type, fabric type, color, neckline, silhouette, and trim. The age and sex of the wearer were correlated with the different characteristics collected from the instrument. Paoletti (1987) found that children's dress followed adult trends but changed more dramatically than adult dress. Boys' and girls' dress were similar but had distinct differences, such as button placement.

In a different study, Paoletti (1987) studied men's jacket styles during the period after W.W.I (1919) and before W.W.II (1941). Content analysis of catalogs was used in conjunction with extant garments within the specific time period. Extant jackets from the Smithsonian were studied first and that part of the study was reinforced when the

researcher examined jackets in Sears and Roebuck Company catalogs. Paoletti (1987) created a content analysis instrument to enable her to classify each variable into a specifically defined category. Three students assisted the researcher and used the instrument for data collection. Interrater reliability was 80%, an acceptable rating. The combined use of extant garments and print sources allowed for better understanding of the changes that took place in men's jacket styles between 1919 and 1941.

Allen (1993) used content analysis to examine the dress of heavy metal musicians from album covers. Her instrument was created to identify characteristics of upper and lower body garments, fabrics, hair adornments, jewelry, shoes, accessories, trim and location, and corporal adornment. Twenty-four album covers from 1970-1989 were examined for time and subgenre. Allen (1993) found that heavy metal music consisted of several subgenres and the heavy metal musicians developed images consistent with their style of music. Her findings showed that each subgenre had distinctive dress characteristics that changed over time.

Jacob (1990) analyzed the changes that occurred in men's business suits between 1950 and 1988 relative to masculine roles. Advertisements (n=975) in Vogue, The New York Times, and Esquire, as well as scholarly literature on masculine roles, were used as his sources. Jacob (1990) created an instrument to identify the stylistic changes in men's business suits over time. He used scholarly literature to determine the pervasive masculine roles in each decade and concluded that the changes in the suit were relative to the masculine roles in a changing social environment.

Kimle (1991) also used advertisements to analyze the form and content of ads in Vogue over a nearly thirty-year period (1960-1989). Her instrument considered illustrations versus photography, setting or context of the fashion model, and the amount and type of verbal text. A large sample was used with a total of 450 ads being analyzed. The researcher ensured reliability by having an additional researcher analyze the data. A trend toward photography was found, while no contextual cue trends were apparent. Finally, a decline was noticed in the text accompanying an ad. Kimle (1991) found themes in advertising, including mood and lifestyle contributions, implied elegance or wealth, innovativeness of style, longevity of style, vacationing activities, and implied reputation of designer or store. Advertisers appeared to rely more heavily on pictures than on the written word to persuade apparel consumers to buy their products.

All of the aforementioned studies used visual images (e.g. pictures or illustrations) to document or develop dress categories. The researchers were able to

gain an understanding of dress and changes that occurred over time. Harris and Owens (1990), in the previous section, used content analysis to analyze dress in written works (e.g., Shakespeare's plays). The current research used a similar method to examine references to dress in Highland poetry and their relationship to social, political, and economic events.

### Poetic Analysis

According to Brooks and Warren (1976), a good poem is as useful as a bad poem for studying historic context of a given time period. Generally, the poet incorporates his or her own experiences, observations, and perspectives into the work. Brooks and Warren (1976) noted that poetry is a response to and an assessment of a poet's experience of the world in which he or she lives. The poet is usually concerned with relating the multidimensional quality of an experience and the poet arranges his or her own experience into a verbal form for others to feel.

Poetry can be examined in two ways: according to the arrangement of its parts, pattern, and form or by the feelings or ideas it conveys (Perry, 1926). There is a distinction between form and content, form being the actual structure of the poem and content being the subject matter within the poem. Several research studies have examined the content in reference to dress of the characters (Bell, 1995; Greenfield, 1980; Robertson, 1988; Wilhardt, 1993). The current research is concerned with content. Beyond the verbal form of the poem is the content (meaning) of the poem. Meaning can be described as symbolism, which can be genuine (literal) or metaphorical (figurative) (Reiser, 1969). A genuine symbol purports to represent the exact object being described. A metaphor, on the other hand, has meaning beyond the described object. Nowotny (1965) described the metaphor as the poet "speaking of X as though it were Y" (p. 49). One element of metaphor is the phenomenon of transference, that is, the process of transferring a word from one object of reference to another; transference can either be a synecdoche or a metonymy (Nowotny, 1965). A synecdoche occurs when the poet transfers the name of the whole to a part; for example, the object being a ship is called only by keel. A metonymy results when a poet calls an object by a name of something associated or connected with the object; for example calling a woman a rose instead of a woman. The audience understands the metonym through the context of the poem. The current research focused on genuine symbols, rather than metaphors. The context of the dress reference within the poem is necessary to discerning whether or not the dress is a genuine symbol.

Poetry is a verbal form consisting of three classic elements: rhythm, rhyme, and metre (Brooks & Warren, 1976). The characteristics of rhythm and rhyme, along with metre, make poetry intrinsically different from prose. Rhythm is instinctual to human beings. People ascribe rhythm to both animate and inanimate objects. Each person's heartbeat has a natural rhythm; whereas, people ascribe a rhythm to a clock (hearing the tick tock in a rhythmic way) (Perry, 1926). Therefore, rhythm becomes the most important and humanistic characteristic of poetry. Alliteration, a type of rhyme, frequently appears in Highland poetry (Geddie, 1896). According to Brooks and Warren (1976), all poetry is rhythmical, but not all poetry is metrical. On the other hand, Perry (1926) contended that all poetry consists of rhythm, rhyme, and preferably, metre. Highland poetry has a common metre, which alternates lines of four and three accented syllables (Geddie, 1896). In either case, rhythm appears to be the strongest of the three elements in poetry. Brooks and Warren (1976) and Perry (1926), along with Reiser (1969), agree that rhythm is the primary element in poetry and that rhythm creates a frame and a way to focus the reader's (audience's) attention.

According to Perry (1926), metre are the sections of rhythm. The metrical unit is a foot, which consists of long and short syllables in different combinations. A foot can also be examined as stressed or unstressed syllables. The analysis of metre in a poem would be written with both the syllabic units and the foot units.

Rhyme is a component of both rhythm and metre. Perry (1926) discussed rhyme as a device for repeating sounds at measured intervals to foster the rhythmic effect, while Reiser (1969) contended that rhyme is the intensification of order when a similar sound is repeated. There are several types of rhyme, including alliteration, common rhyme, complete rhyme, and middle rhyme. Any of these types of rhymes may be employed by a poet to assist the rhythmic effect of the poem. The more frequent the repetitions of any type of rhyme, the quicker the rhythm, which sets an eruptive or explosive tone or mood. Consequently, the less frequent the repetitions, the slower the rhythm becomes which creates a soothing or calming mood or tone (Perry, 1926). The rhyme scheme, in conjunction with the rhythm, will help the researcher to identify the mood or tone of the poem.

Perry (1926) contended that poetry is an art that expresses emotions through words that have been rhythmically arranged. On the other hand, Reiser (1969) believed that the purpose of rhythm in poetry is to prolong the reader's or audience's moment of contemplation. Rhythm brings order to poetry in two different ways. According to Reiser

(1969), rhythm can be eruptive and devoid of uniformity (free verse) or it can be soothing and uniform (lyric and epic poetry). Either way, rhythm acts as a container to control the ideas of the poet.

Scottish poetry contains all of the classic elements of poetry (i.e., rhythm, rhyme, and metre). These elements were used to produce prolific poems about the events surrounding the lives of the poets and to provide a form of entertainment. The Highlanders, in particular, were prolific in their use of poetry as a means of public entertainment. The poets helped to express public sentiment about the Highlanders' social, political, and economic situations. According to Geddie (1896) and Maclean (1904), the focus of Highland poetry ranged from love and nature to patriotic and Jacobite subject matters. The rhythms and rhymes of Highland poetry remained relatively unchanged until the time of the Jacobite Rising of 1745 (Maclean, 1904). Around the time of the Jacobite Rising of 1745, poets began to invent new rhythms and rhymes. In addition to the classic elements contained in Highland poetry, descriptions of the characters' dress were often included (Geddie, 1896). Besides dress, the poets described the social, political, and economic events that prevailed during their lifetime; therefore, Scottish poetry, in general, and poetry about the Highlands, in particular, will be used as a source of information on dress in relation to social, political, economic events.

#### Summary of the Review of Literature

The review of literature examined subcultures, poetry, Scottish culture, dress, dress in written works, and content analysis. Subcultural groups are often denoted by their distinctive dress. The reasons a subculture develops vary from reactions to class status to isolationism and traditionalism. The Highlanders are considered a subculture due to their geographic isolationism and traditional means of dress and lifestyle. Dress has been documented in a variety of ways, including written and visual documentation. However, poetry while a rich written source has rarely been used as a source of data. Poetry often laments the social, political, and economic situations of the writer and the readers of poetry.

Traditions and geographic isolation led to political, social, and economic upheaval during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Highlands, while the 17<sup>th</sup> century remained somewhat stable. Dress is one means of understanding the effects of the political, social, and economic environment on the Highlands and its people. There is evidence that political and social leaders in society are often the fashion leaders, as well.

Trickle-down theory of dress suggests that the lower classes in a society mimic, to a lesser degree, the dress of the upper classes, which consists of the nobility (Engel, Blackwell, & Miniard, 1995; Kaiser, 1990). Trickle up theory demonstrates that the lower classes wear garments and then they become popular with the wealthier classes. Wealth or status generally impacts dress patterns (Kaiser, 1990; Roach & Eicher, 1965). Trickle up theory seemed to have been the pattern in Europe during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. This pattern appeared to be followed in Scotland as well until the Act of Proscription was imposed, at which time, the upper class either began or continued to wear Highland garb.

Status and wealth were not a big concern to the Highlanders until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century with the onset of industrialization and the move from subsistence farming to large agricultural farming. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Highlanders still had a clan system of government and relied heavily on kinship ties, while the Lowlanders followed the English style of government and relied on individuals (Bain, 1954; Brander, 1980). The British had power over all of Scotland, but had difficulty controlling the Highlanders until the Act of Proscription was created and enforced. The Act dissolved the clan system and banned the unique style of dress that prevailed in the Highlands (Bennett, 1980; Dunbar, 1979). The dress ban forced the Highlanders to assimilate with the rest of Scotland and England, in the hopes of creating a truly united kingdom.

The social climate of the Highlands prior to the Act of Proscription reflected a simple lifestyle. The Highlands were stratified with a distinct class system with kin owing their allegiance to a clan chief (Jamieson, 1974; Logan, 1876). Most clans retained a poet to record the significant events of a clan and acted as a means of communication (Bain, 1954). Poets were an important part of the social life of the Highlanders because they were able to express public sentiment about social, political, and economic events (Symonds, 1997; Trevor\_Roper, 1984).

One economic event that the poets wrote about was the forced removal and relocation of the Highlanders (Devine, 1994; Macinnes, 1988). Population growths, as well as the move from a traditional kinship society toward a capitalist society, were economic problems that plagued the Highlanders. The traditional jobs of the Highlanders (farming and crofting) lessened as the need for employees grew in the burgeoning textile and clothing industry (Devine, 1988). New employment and better wages for the Highlanders were reflected in their dress.

Dress is an important product of the social, political, and economic environment. Therefore, one focus of the review of literature was the dress of Europe, Scotland, and the Highlands during the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup>, and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. France and England set the fashion trends in Europe during this time period (Payne, 1965; Russell, 1983; Tortora & Eubank, 1998). Lowland Scotland predominantly followed the fashion trends of England, while the Highlands retained the traditional dress of their forefathers. The Highlanders maintained many of their old traditions, including their dress and clan system, due to their geographic isolation from the rest of Scotland. Many authors, such as Shelley and Sir Walter Scott, have written about dress in relation to particular social, political, and economic events of their lifetime (Greenfield, 1980; Robertson, 1988), while other authors, such as Chaucer and Marlowe, have used dress to enhance a character or to help add a dramatic touch to the plot (Spreuwenberg-Stewart, 1997).

Content analysis has been used to study dress through both the visual image and the written word. A content analysis of dress descriptions in relation to social, political, and economic events have been analyzed using Shakespeare's plays (Harris & Owens, 1990; Owens & Harris, 1997). Visual images are more commonly used than the written word. Content analysis has been used to establish changes in apparel over time. Highland dress and the impact of social, political, and economic events can be studied using both content analysis and poetic analysis. In addition to the written word in the form of poems and letter, visual images in the form of portraits will also be content analyzed.