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## **Scottish Late-Seventeenth Century Male Clothing (Part 2):**

### **The Barrock Estate Clothing Finds Described**

By DAVID WILCOX

*The National Museums Scotland collections include clothes and textiles recovered from Scottish peat bogs, examples which are revealing of vernacular, non-elite dress in Scotland. One of these sets, the clothes recovered from a peat moss at Quintfall Hill on the Barrock estate, near Keiss, Caithness and dating from the late-seventeenth century are the subject of this article. Although reported in some detail after their discovery in 1920, very little further consideration was given to these clothes. This article, the second of two, describes the finds in more detail and discusses them in the context of other Scottish and Irish finds of the period c.1650 – c.1750, and draws on recent discoveries about the textiles. Pattern cutting analyses of the garments are also presented as diagrams and discussed in relation to the cut and tailoring of surviving examples elsewhere.*

**KEYWORDS:** Scottish dress, Highland dress, Irish dress, tailoring, seventeenth-century men's fashion, Scottish peat bog finds, Irish peat bog finds

#### INTRODUCTION

In an earlier essay, the set of clothing found at Quintfall Hill, Barrock estate, near Keiss, Caithness-shire was introduced in the context of dress history c.1700, as revealed

through the observations made by travellers to Scotland at that time.<sup>1</sup> The remains of a man's body and his clothing had been unearthed by peat cutters at Quintfall Hill in 1920, and subsequent examination of the finds prompted a date for the man's death in the last decade of the seventeenth century. A number of coins were found in the man's possession, and the dating of these suggested that the man met his death no earlier than 1694.<sup>2</sup> Associated with this body were two woollen jackets, one worn over the other, two pairs woollen breeches, again one worn over the other, short woollen stockings, remains of a pair of leather shoes, a woollen bonnet, a woollen plaid and a patch of woollen cloth (thought to form a pocket of some kind, for the concealment of a weapon). Although the surviving garments were all of wool, it is possible that there were elements of the man's dress that had degraded and disappeared in the peat bog. It is known that variations in bog biochemistry can result in variations in garment and textile survival. Turner and Scaife, in their study of bog bodies, discuss this point: 'Where tissue survives, then so does woollen cloth. However linen and other fibres may decay. Untanned skin or fur will also survive where tanned leathers, particularly oak-tanned leathers, may not. Consequently the surviving items of clothing associated with bog bodies may not fully represent those in which they were buried'.<sup>3</sup> Slightly acidic conditions, such as those of peat bogs, favour the survival of animal protein fibres, while slightly alkaline conditions, such as lake mud, favour the survival of linen and other cellulose fibres.<sup>4</sup>

Although these garments were examined by a tailor for the report of this archaeological find, published in the *Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland* in the 1920s, with simple pattern diagrams to illustrate his interpretation, more recent examination of the garments by the present author has shown these to be erroneous.<sup>5</sup> In this article, the clothes will be examined one by one, with photographs and pattern

diagrams of each, alongside descriptions of the textiles and of the traces of dyestuffs revealed by recent analysis of the fibres. These garments will also be discussed in relation to others recovered from Scottish and Irish wetlands from the period 1650 - 1750, and in relation to the wider clothing narrative of the period.

#### THE CUT AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE BARROCK ESTATE CLOTHING FINDS

*Man's woollen jacket, worn innermost (NMS object number: H.NA 408): Figure 1 and Figure 8.*

The short woollen coat or jacket which was worn innermost is a relatively simple garment, but one which shows signs of crafting by a tailor. The body of the coat fastened through the front with a row of fifteen buttons and buttonholes. The buttons did not survive the peat bog, but there are impressions left on the wool where they were attached. There are no traces of thread attachment either.

The coat fronts have been cut using the selvedge as the centre front edge and on both front sections this selvedge has been folded back for much of its length to form part of a facing. Below the level of the buttons and buttonholes the selvedges are no longer turned in but allowed to form the leading edge. The coat fronts have flared skirts with small triangles of cloth added to give the desired width. This suggests that the maker was working to a template or pattern. Where the selvedges were turned back, the front edges were further reinforced with irregular strips of self-cloth so that the buttonholes might be worked through a double layer of wool for strength. The double thickness at the fronts helps hold the coat in shape and strengthens an area where there is much regular manipulation of the fabric through fastening and unfastening the coat. The upper front left hand side (LHS) has a section missing.<sup>6</sup> The coat fronts were most

likely cut from a folded width of the fabric since the distance from the front selvedge to the skirt insert seam is one half-width.

The coat back is cut from the complete width of the cloth, and like the coat fronts, the skirt area has been extended to give the desired width by the addition of small triangles of fabric. Judging from the relative positions of the armholes and the skirt inserts, the coat back panel seems to have been cut from fabric that was not pulled square before cutting out. The coat fronts are also slightly skewed in the same way. The hem edge of the coat skirts is left raw. The neckline is finished with the addition of a stand collar made from several short lengths of self-fabric. Like the upper front LHS, the collar has a section missing in this area. It is likely that this missing section had a buttonhole worked through it for the collar fastening.

The sleeves are typical two-piece sleeves of the period, formed from pieces of similar width and shape apart from the armhole shaping. Both sleeves end in a cuff fastening of four paired buttons and buttonholes – although, like the coat front, the buttons do not survive. The cuff area and wrist opening and elbow area are all reinforced with facings made from pieces of self-fabric. The subtle shaping of the garment through small additions which allow the skirt to flare, the curved sleeves, the strategic use of facing pieces to reinforce areas of wear and tear, all suggest the skill of a tailor, working to a pattern. The coat and its stitching are of wool and so this has survived intact, apart from the missing neck section. The complete absence of buttons suggests that they were all of a material incompatible with survival in the bog – unlike the buttons of the outer coat – and were possibly of leather (Henshall).<sup>7</sup> The absence of traces of thread suggests the use of linen thread to attach the original buttons.

The coat fabric is a 2/1 twill weave, with warp Z-spun, 28-30 threads per inch, and wefts Z-spun, 19 threads per inch. The width of fabric is around 27 inches (68.6 cm).<sup>8</sup>

*Man's woollen jacket, worn outermost (NMS: H.NA 409): Figure 2 and Figure 9.*

Like the innermost woollen coat, the outer coat shows signs of construction by a tailor. The same cutting and construction strategies are in evidence as for the inner jacket, while here, in addition, the flared skirt has been cleverly accommodated. The coat fronts appear to have been cut from half-widths of the fabric – although the coat's symmetry suggests that this tailor was more careful in aligning the weave of the cloth before cutting out. As before, the front panels are cut to use the selvages and these are turned under for most of their length to form part of the front facings. To these are added, on the LHS, one large piece of self-fabric and on the right hand side (RHS), several smaller scraps of cloth are used to build up a facing. The flared skirt is again widened by the addition of a small triangle of cloth to each front panel. The degree of flare in the skirts of this coat is greater than that of the inner coat, although both coats are made to a very similar pattern.

The coat back in this coat has a very wide flared skirt and the tailor has adopted a different strategy to accommodate this flaring. Instead of cutting a back panel which uses the full width of the cloth and then extending the flare by the use of small triangular pieces, the tailor has cut the back in two parts – an upper back and a separate skirt section. The skirt section has been cut with the waist line set on the selvedge of the cloth. Like the inner coat, the hem edges of the coat are raw. The coat fastened with eleven buttons, only six of which remain. The others are marked by traces of the wool

shanks which attached them to the coat. There are eleven corresponding and functional buttonholes.

The buttons are typical of those found on similar garments of this period, being made from circular scraps of woollen cloth worked over a small pad of wool to form a bobble-like button. This technique dates back to medieval times – for example, fragments of garments recovered from fourteenth-century deposits, in London, show these kinds of fastenings.<sup>9</sup> The neckline is completed with a simple standing collar formed from a folded strip of fabric, but with its ends slanted to sit well at the front neck. This has been fastened with a button and buttonhole, and although the button is now missing, the wool by which it was attached remains in place.

The sleeves of the coat are very similar to those of the inner coat, with strong curves at the elbow, cuff openings (each with three buttons and buttonholes and the cuff area and elbow area strengthened with facing pieces. Again, the coat is of wool, with woollen stitching and so the whole has survived intact. The level of detail, subtle shaping and idealized form suggest that this was the work of a skilled tailor, again working with a pattern or learned series of procedures.

Henshall noted that the cloth is of a 2/2 twill weave, with warp Z-spun 22-30 threads per inch and wefts Z-spun, 19-23 threads per inch. The width of the warp is over 31 inches (79 cms).<sup>10</sup>

*Man's woollen breeches, worn outermost (NMS: H.NA 410): Figure 3 and Figure 10.*

The breeches are characterised by their extremely distressed condition. Each leg is formed from one web width of cloth, along the selvedge of which is added two

narrower shaped pieces to make up the required pattern width. It is clear from an examination of seam placements and wear and tear in certain areas that the breeches were initially worn as the tailor intended, with these piecing seams placed at the back. Eventually holes were worn at the knees. These were patched up and sometime later, to extend the life of the garment, the wearer began to wear the breeches back to front. The original front opening, now moved to centre back, was blocked off by attaching an irregular patch of fabric across the opening, on the inside. The original centre back seam, now at the front, was unpicked to create a new opening. At this time, a new, rather coarse buttonhole and button was attached to the waistband at the new front position. It is also likely that it was at this time that a small pocket (approximately 9cm x 12.5cm) made of a single layer of woollen cloth, was attached to the inside front (wearer's right), under the waistband. The position of this pocket suggests that the man was right-handed.

The top of each leg has been gathered and loosely pleated into a waist band, which is in two halves and has buttonholes both front and back. The surviving button is at the original front of the breeches (later, worn at the back) although there seems to have been a button associated with both waistband buttonholes, front and back, when first unearthed (Orr).<sup>11</sup> Henshall noted that there had once been a lining to the waistband, indicated by the remains of stitching.<sup>12</sup> The extreme bagging and patching at the knees which can be seen quite clearly in photographs of the breeches back, suggests that they were most frequently worn back to front. The pattern of wear and tear suggests that the wearer was frequently crouching or on his knees. It was in this later period of wear that the seat was worn through and also repaired with patching. (It is quite possible that the breeches had been worn by another, before being adopted by their last owner).



There are slits for pocket openings in the sides of the breeches, but there are no surviving pocket bags. At the fork in the legs, there are triangular inserts to give enough depth to the crotch. The inside leg seams appear slightly curved, but equally, the garments are so felted and distorted with wear that originally they may have been cut straight. At the knee there is a split on the outside of the leg, the hem is gathered into a knee-band of wool and to the ends of this are attached two lengths of striped wool braid. In the original account of 1921 Orr noted that this pattern was of red and green, which could be seen despite the coloration from the bog.<sup>13</sup>

It should be noted that the breeches fabric is worn and stretched and felted in places – so the weave is no longer even. The pattern represents the best account that could be drawn by the author in the circumstances. It is hoped that the general strategy of the tailor is apparent.

Henshall noted that the breeches fabric weave is a 2/1 twill, with warp threads Z-spun, 27 threads per inch and weft, Z-spun, 15 threads per inch. The width of the textile is just over 26 inches (66cms). Henshall also noticed that there had been a lining to the waistband, but this had disappeared, although the stitching remained. Quite possibly, this lining had been of linen. The wool patches were of 3 types, all 2/1 twill weave, although not of the breeches' original cloth. The tapes used to tie the breeches at the knee are of S-spun wool and the patterns of red and green stripes are also noted in Henshall.<sup>14</sup>

*Man's woollen breeches, worn innermost (NMS: H.NA 411): Figure 4 and Figure 11.*

The innermost breeches are not quite as distressed as the outermost pair. The legs are cut to a similar pattern. The full web width of the fabric has been used to form most of

the leg circumference, with the full leg width achieved by the addition of an extra section, with a single selvedge-to-selvedge join in the case of the RHS leg, and several small pieces in the case of the LHS. Both legs are approximately the same shape and size. The waistline appears to rise towards the centre back to accommodate the seat. The breeches open with a simple seam opening at the centre front. There is no fly closure. On the mid-point of each leg panel a slash has been made for a pocket opening. The deeper RHS opening is oversewn but there is no pocket bag attached, although it seems likely there was once. The left leg has a shorter pocket opening and on the inside, has a large patch of self-fabric placed centrally over the slit, the outer edges of which are sewn down to the breeches leg. It may be a patch, but could have been used as a pocket, of sorts.

Like the outer breeches, the top edge of the breeches is pleated and gathered into the waistband, which has been cut from a selvedge strip. It fastens with a cloth button and a buttonhole. The breeches are worn out at the knees, where they have been patched. The hem edges are raw. Like the coats, the two pairs of breeches have similarities of cut and construction, with the main difference that the inner breeches end in simple wide leg openings, while the outer pair has knee-bands and tapes with which to fasten the breeches closely to the legs.

The (innermost) breeches fabric is a 2/2 twill weave, with warp Z-spun, 24 threads per inch, and the weft Z-spun, 20 threads per inch. Like the outer breeches, the width of the fabric is around 26 ½ inches (67.5 cms). Henshall notes that ‘there was apparently a leather facing inside to the front opening, a leather pocket to the right of the front and a long side slit has been loosely whipped and must have held a pocket too, and there was a lining to the waistband: the leather leaves slight traces, but in the other places nothing but the wool stitching remains’.<sup>15</sup>

*Man's woollen bonnet (NMS: H.NA 412): Figure 5 and Figure 10.*

The bonnet is simply constructed from a circular top piece to which is attached a ring of fabric, the inside circumference of which is an approximate fit to the wearer's head.

This simple, flat, circular beret is completed by the attachment of a headband, made from a folded length of woollen cloth. However, while the bonnet top is cut as one piece, the under-layer has been cut from three semi-circular pieces which together form a circle. The headband has similarly been pieced from two lengths of wool - one long and one short. These have been seamed together to form a circular band, which has then been folded along its length to give a band of double thickness. The raw edges are joined to the inner circle of the bonnet underside.

Along the fold-line of the band are worked groups of stitching, ten in all, each of five or six stitches of coloured wool, worked on the outer 0.5 cm of the headband. In addition, the headband has been flattened towards the outside and sewn down the middle of its length to the underside of the bonnet. The headband is torn through at AB (see Figure 10) and this tear continues for 3 cm into the seam at this point on the underside. In addition, a crude tuck has been made at this point and stitched in place. Again, these modifications and the condition of the bonnet suggest considerable wear and tear.

Henshall noted that the cloth is a 2/1 twill weave, warp Z-spun, 28 threads to the inch. The weft is Z-spun, 21 threads to the inch. The inside of the bonnet is much felted, while on the outside the threads can be seen clearly. She noted that the bonnet was shrunk and the nap raised after sewing.<sup>16</sup> Other bonnets of similar style have been found

in peat moss, some associated with other items, but unlike this bonnet, they have been knitted.<sup>17</sup>

*Man's woollen stockings (NMS: H.NA 413): Figure 6 and Figure 10.*

Although both stockings survive in part, the more complete one is shown in the pattern diagram (Figure 10). Characteristically of hose cut from cloth, the stocking has been cut on the bias, which allows it to take up the shape of the wearer's leg. The stocking pieces that survive are the main lower leg covering which has a tongue-shaped piece which lies over the upper foot, with two flanking long, narrow cuts (A,B) into which are inserted the tapered ends of two gusset pieces. The main seam, the centre back leg seam, is back-stitched then felled to one side. The gusset inserts are attached in similar manner. The upper section of each stocking is lighter in colour than the lower leg and foot section, which is much darker. The stockings would once have had soles, but these are now missing, perhaps worn out.

The stocking pattern, although incomplete, resembles remarkably some hose found at Alpirsbach Abbey, Alpirsbach, Southern Germany, and which date from the early sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The presence of hose immediately suggests the presence of shoes of some kind, no matter how primitive, and fragments of leather footwear were found with the Barrock clothes (Orr).<sup>19</sup>

Henshall noted that the fabric is a 2/2 twill weave. The warp is Z-spun, 27 threads to the inch, the weft is Z-spun 24 threads to the inch. She added that the tops are felted, while the fabric below is less so.<sup>20</sup>

*Man's woollen plaid (NMS: H.NA 414): Figure 7.*

The plaid is made from similar two lengths of cloth sewn together along their selvages. Its dimensions are 64 inches by 107 inches (162.6cm x 271.8cm) and is of wool cloth with a 2/1 twill weave. The warp is Z-spun and 21-24 threads per inch, while the wefts are Z-spun and 18-20 threads per inch. The weft width of the woven textile is about 32 inches (81.3cm) across, from selvedge to selvedge. A more detailed account of this textile can be found in Henshall.<sup>21</sup> The cloth is mostly plain, except for a dark stripe woven on the outside, parallel to the selvages – this can be seen in Figure 7.

Associated with this plaid was an irregular piece of fabric which was sewn to one end of the plaid. It appears to have formed a pocket of some kind, which Orr suggested might be associated with the concealment of a knife or dagger.<sup>22</sup> The construction, a plaid made from two widths of cloth, is typical. The relatively short length of 9 feet or 3 yards suggests this was like the shorter Lowland plaid and not long enough to arrange as the *féileadh mór* or belted plaid. Morer and Martin state that a length of around 7 yards (or double-ells) was typical for the belted plaid, while Burt states that the plaid is two breadths wide and 3 yards long.<sup>23</sup> This plaid answers almost exactly to Burt's description.

#### THE DYESTUFFS

The Barrock garments were part of an investigation by the National Museums of Scotland into the dyestuffs that could be detected in textiles recovered from Scottish peat bogs.<sup>24</sup> The finds reveal not so much the original colours of the textiles, but that there was the presence of dyestuffs, which could not be immediately detected through the colouration from the peat bog – the textiles look uniformly brown. Thus, there were

traces of madder, cochineal, quercitron bark, weld, woad and/or indigo in the Barrock textiles. Indigotin was identified in the weft of the breeches, the pocket stitching of the breeches and also in the darker bands of the plaid, indicating the presence of dye from woad or indigo. It was not possible to show traces of more fugitive dyes which may once have been present, but which readily denature during the extraction procedures. Thus it was not possible to examine for anthocyanins, neoflavonoids, carotenes and lichen dyes.

Anthraquinoids (red pigment) were identified in the breeches knee tapes, in the bonnet's decorative stitching, and in the middle section of the plaid. As the alizarin was found without pupurin in the plaid, this suggested that the dye source was madder. Flavonoid luteolin (yellow) were also identified in the coat warp and ellagic acid (brown ) was identified in the coat wefts. Rather unexpectedly, carminic acid was also found in a fragment of cloth from the Barrock finds, but it was not associated with the garments themselves. Nevertheless the identification was interesting because it showed the presence of cochineal dye in a late seventeenth-century textile – a relatively expensive dye at the time and certainly a non-native dyestuff, it was most commonly imported from Mexico. In general, it was clear that the wool composing the cloth and the garments had been dyed, although their colours during their wearer's lifetime could not be determined with any certainty. The plaid, showing traces of madder and woad or indigo, was almost certainly more vibrant than it appears today.

The study also looked at the textiles of the set of clothes recovered at Gunnister, Shetland and which dates from a closely similar time period (late seventeenth century). Traces of blue (indigotin) and red (anthraquinoids) dyestuffs were identified.<sup>25</sup>

ARE THERE SIMILARITIES WITH OTHER PEAT BOG FINDS?

The key Scottish sets for the period *c.* 1700, so far as male clothing goes, that should be considered for comparison are those found at Dava Moor, Morayshire, at Keiss, Caithness, at Arnish Moor, Isle of Lewis and at Gunnister, Shetland Isles.<sup>26</sup> There is also a relevant set of clothes from this period that was recovered from a peat moss at Tawnamore in Co Sligo, Republic of Ireland.<sup>27</sup> Are there any common features? The garment types will be considered in turn but firstly, a brief outline of what was recovered from each site may be helpful. A table of the finds and their associated museum codes can be found in the Appendix.

At Dava Moor, Morayshire, textile remains from a pair of trews, part of a woollen doublet and other unidentified clothing fragments were uncovered along with a broad woollen bonnet; at Keiss in Caithness-shire, a sleeved woollen jacket; at Arnish Moor, Isle of Lewis, a jacket, a shirt, an undershirt, hose and a knitted bonnet; at Gunnister, Shetland Isles, a jacket, a coat, a shirt, breeches, knitted hose, two knitted caps, knitted gloves; at Tawnamore, Co Sligo, Republic of Ireland, a sleeved jacket, a coat, breeches, hose, garters and a felt hat. All of these finds were associated with human remains. The clothes in all cases are of wool.

### *Jackets*

The Keiss garment is a short doublet of the kind fashionable in the mid seventeenth century, but executed in checked woollen cloth and it is this aspect - its manufacture in a commonly available material - that relates it to the other sets of clothes. It has several of the features which are to be found in the jackets of the other sets of clothes from Arnish Moor, Barrock, Gunnister and Tawnamore (see Figure 12): central front button

fastening, stand collar and sleeves which button at the wrists. These are features of early seventeenth-century doublets but which are found also to survive in the later garments of c.1700. The buttons of the Keiss doublet do not survive, but those on the jackets from Arnish Moor, Barrock, Gunnister and Tawnamore do survive and are made of woollen cloth (as described above for the Barrock jacket). What is interesting in these garments is the late survival of both the medieval technique of cloth buttons into the eighteenth century and also the garment features seen a century earlier – the doublet collar and associated high neckline, centre front button fastening and sleeves with button closures at the wrist. The garments show a certain economy in the way they have been cut, with the Keiss doublet and the Tawnamore jacket especially suggesting that the fabric was cut with minimum waste.

### *Breeches*

The other items to consider from the Barrock set are the breeches. One set of these breeches, the open-legged pair, worn innermost, with no kneebands, is matched by a pair from Tawnamore, which is similar in cut and construction. Although the Tawnamore pair has been patched and mended to an extreme degree, with so many small pieces of cloth that the primary construction is at first difficult to discern, the selvedge width of the foundation fabric forms the circumference at the knee, with additional pieces added to give the required fullness across the hipline.

The other pair of Barrock breeches, the pair worn outermost, has kneebands and is not matched in form by any of the other sets of clothes under discussion, although the strategy of cutting the legs from the full width of the fabric, piecing the rest of the pattern shape to make up the necessary width, is common to all these breeches. The



only other pair of breeches from this group are the open-legged breeches found on the Gunnister man. These are markedly different in that they are of the rough, wide-legged type of breeches found in the mid seventeenth century (although this pair dates from the late seventeenth century). Instead of tapering to the knee, the leg width established for ease at the hips – in this case a width and a half of fabric – continues down to the knee with no reduction in width. They are like petticoat breeches in that respect, although petticoat breeches were generally very much wider in the leg and also of finer materials. A remarkably similar pair of breeches can be seen in a painting from the mid seventeenth century by Isaack Koedijck (c.1618-1668), which shows a barber-surgeon tending a peasant's foot.<sup>28</sup> It is open-legged breeches of this kind that are mentioned by Martin Martin in his description (1698) of the men of St Kilda: 'some of late have got breeches, and they are wide and open at the knees'.<sup>29</sup>

### *Coats*

Knee-length coats were only associated with the finds at Gunnister and at Tawnamore. These are both full-skirted coats, reaching to the knee. Both coats have cloth buttons and cuffed sleeves, the cuffs relatively large and with buttons. The Gunnister coat has pocket openings worked on the coat fronts, and these have their associated buttons. These details of the Gunnister coat, made to the style of fashionable, elite coats but rendered in heavy, hard-wearing wool help date it to the late seventeenth century. The Tawnamore coat is plainer and shows more wear and tear and its fewer buttons and fuller skirts suggest a date in the eighteenth century, possibly nearer 1730.

*Stockings*

The Barrock man wore cloth stockings and shoes. Cloth stockings were also found at Arnish Moor, but their cut was quite different, without clocks, although pieced together from bias-cut cloth. Both types might answer to the description given by Martin Martin in his commentary on the Western Isles and St Kilda.<sup>30</sup> Knitted stockings and shoes were associated with the Gunnister man, with Barrock, and the body found at Tawnamore.

*Bonnets*

The other significant object of dress was the Barrock man's bonnet. This was made of cloth seamed together. It had knots of coloured wool in a pattern along its headband binding. The other bonnets that have been found come from Dava Moor, Arnish Moor and Tarvie, and all are knitted.<sup>31</sup> Of these, only the Arnish Moor bonnet had a headband decorated with knots of coloured wool.

*Shirts*

Other items of interest from these finds are the shirts. Although they were not found on the Barrock body, woollen shirts were recovered from Arnish Moor and Gunnister. Like the doubling of clothes found on the Barrock man, the Arnish Moor man was found to be wearing two long shirts, both reaching to his knees. The outer shirt was very similar to the one found on the Gunnister man and was more carefully made than the undershirt over which it was worn. These shirts are not unlike the jackets or doublets in that they have cloth buttons to close the centre front chest opening, have shaped sleeves like the

jackets, with buttoning cuffs and a stand collar at the neck. The undershirt from Arnish Moor is a simpler T-shaped garment and quite crudely fashioned.

Although the Arnish Moor man was wearing two shirts and a jacket, no breeches were found. It is possible that the breeches had biodegraded, but in the light of other finds, this somehow seems unlikely. It is quite possible that he had no breeches, as their absence was not uncommon in the Highlands, if we are to trust observers. Burt noted their absence, recording one experience: ‘By the way (although the weather was not warm), he was without shoes, stockings, or breeches, in a short coat, with a shirt not much longer, which hung between his thighs, and just his nakedness from two daughters, about seventeen or eighteen years old, who sat over against him’.<sup>32</sup>

### *Plaids*

The plaid found with the Barrock set is the sole example in this group of peat bog finds. Where a plaid might also have been found, with the Arnish Moor set, for example, there is evidence of violence and a plaid might easily have been stolen by the attacker. The plaid was a garment that could easily transfer from person to person until worn out. The Gunnister man was too fully dressed in a version of the lowland costume to allow for a plaid; he was found to be wearing a ragged jacket over his coat, probably as an extra protection against bad weather.

### *The Tawnamore Jacket*

A final point regarding the Tawnamore jacket. If the Tawnamore set of clothes is later than originally thought by Dunlevy and has its origins in the eighteenth century, as is

suggested by dating of the shoes, then possibly a style associated with the turn of the century *c.*1700, as evidenced through finds at Arnish Moor, Barrock and Gunnister, may have carried on being worn well into the eighteenth century. Although we have no relevant Scottish bog finds from the mid eighteenth century with which to compare, the evidence of the Tawnamore clothing suggests that this jacket style could have continued to be worn among the non-elite in Scotland and Ireland, especially in remoter rural or highland areas. The Penicuik drawings, a set made in 1745 and illustrating scenes and characters from the Jacobite rebellion of that year, show highland followers of Prince Charles Edward Stuart; these drawings highlight characteristics of dress met with in this essay, such as belted plaids, long belted shirts, short hose and bonnets. There seems also to be the presence of short jackets like the ones from Arnish Moor, Barrock, Gunnister and Tawnamore.<sup>33</sup>

### *Trews*

Although trews are recorded as being worn by many men of the Western Isles in Martin Martin's commentary written at the end of the seventeenth century, none from this date survive. Trews (in Gaelic: *triubhas*) are a pair of close-fitting trousers or leggings. They are cut on the bias which results in both flexibility and a close fit to the leg.<sup>34</sup> The remains of a pair of trews were recovered from Dava Moor, but these are thought to date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. According to Mairead Dunlevy, by the late seventeenth century, trews had been downgraded and derogated in Ireland, seemingly the opposite of the associations with status they appear to gain in Scotland.<sup>35</sup> By the time of Burt's commentary around 1730, trews were associated with the gentry.<sup>36</sup> There are political reasons for this. Tartan trews only appear in Scottish

portraiture after the Act of Union of 1707, when tartan dress becomes, increasingly, a symbol of nationalism and identification with the exiled Stuart court.<sup>37</sup> But although patterned trews, gartered under the knee, appear in Scottish portraiture of the aristocracy, surviving garments from the early eighteenth century are not to be found. The earliest surviving pair of eighteenth-century tartan trews, dated 1744, are those belonging to Sir John Hynde Cotton (1686-1752), an English Jacobite.<sup>38</sup>

#### CONCLUSION: AN OPEN VERDICT

The object of this essay has been to describe in some detail a set of clothes that seems likely to have been typical of a large proportion of the male population of Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century. The clothes have a recognisable relationship to earlier seventeenth century clothes, such as the doublet and hose. The jackets of wool, while resembling shortened versions of the coat, reaching only to the hip or thigh, have retained the standing collar and button closure on the sleeves associated with the doublet.<sup>39</sup> The layering of clothes - the wearing of double layers of the same garment has been noted elsewhere (Arnish Moor finds, as well as the Barrock finds). This suggests that the wearers were protecting themselves against extremes of wind and weather, possibly wearing all that they possessed. The Gunnister man, whoever he may have been (possibly not a native of Shetland) seems clearly to have been wearing all he possessed against the cold, but even that may not have been enough, as he seems to have died from exposure. The fact that the end of the seventeenth century was the nadir of the little ice age, bringing poor weather, failed harvests and famine to Scotland, is suggestive of the difficulties and dangers faced by travellers.

The clothes found at Barrock Estate seem to relate both to recognisable, more general forms of male dress found throughout the British Isles at this time and to the more specifically local descriptions noted by travellers in Scotland. The three sets of male clothes that cluster around 1700 – Arnish Moor, Barrock, Gunnister – give us surviving examples of many basic garments: caps and bonnets, woollen shirts, jackets, coat, breeches of several types, cloth stockings, knitted stockings, knitted gloves, and a plaid. The clothes have survived because they were woollen, and while there may have been linen and leather elements to their clothing, the principal component of dress among non-elite men seems, most probably, to have been wool.

There remains the possibility of further evidence surfacing from one of Scotland's many wetlands, once more adjusting our view of the past. What is also clear from the surviving clothes and commentaries of travellers is that modes of dress that were once associated with elites were diffusing relatively rapidly through society, reaching remote parts of Scotland where they were translated into vernacular versions in wool, replacing older forms of dress, while co-existing with others. Modernizing influence was just as likely to come via trade with northern Europe as from more southerly mainland centres of fashionability. The set of clothes found at Barrock Estate, Caithness shows adaptation to these waves of influence and adaptation to local materials and practicality.

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<sup>2</sup> Stewart Orr, 'Clothing Found on a Skeleton Discovered at Quintfall Hill, Barrock Estate, near Wick', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1920-21*, Vol.55 (1921), p. 213. Orr's drawing of the clothing patterns was also reproduced in: David Wilcox, 'Scottish Late-Seventeenth Century Male Clothing: Some Context for the Barrock Estate Finds', *Costume*, Vol. 50, no. 2 (2016), p.151-168 (p.156)

<sup>3</sup> *Bog Bodies: New Discoveries and New Perspectives*, ed. by R. C. Turner and R. G. Scaife (London: British Museum Press, 1995), p.121.

<sup>4</sup> M. Cybulska and J. Maik, 'Archaeological Textiles - A Need for New Methods of Analysis and Reconstruction', *Fibres and Textiles in Eastern Europe*, Jan/Dec 2007, Vol. 50, no. 5-6 (64-65).

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<sup>6</sup> To clarify: LHS here means the wearer's left hand side.

<sup>7</sup> Audrey S. Henshall, 'Early Textiles Found in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1951-52*, Vol. 86 (1954), pp.1-29 (p.26).

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<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Crowfoot, Frances Pritchard and Kay Staniland, *Textiles and Clothing, c.1150-c1450 (Medieval Finds from Excavations in London)*, (London: HMSO, 1992), pp. 164-172.

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<sup>16</sup> Audrey S. Henshall, 'Early Textiles Found in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1951-52, Vol.86 (1954), pp. 1-29 (pp. 25-6).

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<sup>18</sup> Ilse Fingerlin, 'Seltene Textilien aus Kloster Alpirsbach in Nordschwarzwald', *Waffen-und Kostümkunde*, 39 (1997), pp. 99-122. Alpirsbach Abbey was a Benedictine monastery until the time of the Reformation and thereafter (c.1535) it was used for Protestant worship.

<sup>19</sup> Stewart Orr, 'Clothing Found on a Skeleton Discovered at Quintfall Hill, Barrock Estate, near Wick', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1920-21, Vol. 55 (1921), pp. 213-221 (p. 213)



<sup>20</sup> Audrey S. Henshall, 'Early Textiles Found in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1951-52, Vol. 86 (1954), pp. 1-29 (p. 26).

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<sup>22</sup> Stewart Orr, 'Clothing Found on a Skeleton Discovered at Quintfall Hill, Barrock Estate, near Wick', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1920-21, Vol. 55 (1921), pp. 213-221 (p.220).

<sup>23</sup> David Wilcox, 'Scottish Late-Seventeenth Century Male Clothing: Some Context for the Barrock Estate Finds', *Costume*, Vol. 50, no. 2 (2016), pp. 151-168 (p. 161)

<sup>24</sup> I. Surowiec, A. Quye and M. Trojanowicz, 'Liquid chromatography determination of natural dyes in extracts from historical Scottish textiles excavated from peat bogs', *Journal of Chromatography A*, 1112 (2006), pp. 209-217.

<sup>25</sup> I. Surowiec, A. Quye and M. Trojanowicz, 'Liquid chromatography determination of natural dyes in extracts from historical Scottish textiles excavated from peat bogs', *Journal of Chromatography A*, 1112 (2006), pp. 209-217 (p.214).

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The clothes from Arnish Moor, Isle of Lewis, and from Gunnister, Shetland, along with the bonnet from Dava Moor, can all be viewed at <http://www.nms.ac.uk/explore/search-our-collections/>

<sup>27</sup> See Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London: Batsford, 1989), pp. 81-82 and for the acquisition account, see A. T. Lucas, 'National Museum of Ireland Archaeological Acquisitions in the Year 1969', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 102, No. 2 (1972), pp. 215-222. Dunlevy thought this set of clothes similar to those from Gunnister, Shetland, and placed them tentatively in the late seventeenth century. Examination of the coat and the shoes suggests that they are more firmly in the eighteenth century.

<sup>28</sup> An image of this painting can be found at:

[http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Isaac\\_Koedijck#mediaviewer/File:Isaack\\_Koedijck-barber-surgeon-tending-a-peasants-foot.jpg](http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Isaac_Koedijck#mediaviewer/File:Isaack_Koedijck-barber-surgeon-tending-a-peasants-foot.jpg)

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<sup>31</sup> Bonnet recovered from Tarvie, Garve, Ross-shire, Scotland is described in detail in Audrey S. Henshall, 'Early Textiles Found in Scotland', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1951-52, Vol. 86 (1954), pp. 1-29 (pp. 24-25). It resembles other seventeenth-century bonnets, although there were no other objects found alongside to help with dating.

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<sup>35</sup> Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London: Batsford, 1989), p. 78.

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<sup>37</sup> Hugh Cheape, *Tartan: The Highland Habit* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 1991), p. 25.

<sup>38</sup> Helen Bennett, 'Sir John Hynde Cotton's Highland Suit', *Costume*, 14 (1980), pp. 95-109. These garments are held at the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh.

<sup>39</sup> The author has also examined an elite sleeved silk waistcoat of the late seventeenth century which has also retained the doublet standing collar, stiffened with whalebone and consequently fastening at the neck with loops and buttons. Clearly, certain functional elements of earlier garments were valued and retained, perhaps much longer than the elite fashion narrative suggests. Private collection, East Lothian, Scotland.

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