

STUART STYLE



STUART STYLE

MONARCHY, DRESS AND THE SCOTTISH MALE ELITE

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Contents

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PART I

THE EVOLUTION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF STUART STYLE

THE STUART MONARCHS FROM JAMES VI and I to James VII and II are at the heart of Stuart Style. Their shared belief in their right to rule Scotland, England and Ireland meant that amongst the elite, court style, became national style in the three kingdoms. This was not to say that their style was not challenged on occasion – rather that the Stuarts set a benchmark against which others aligned themselves or not as it suited them. Practically, in spite of periods of civil war, exile and the relocation of the Stuart court, the clothing of these five men is surprisingly well documented in words, and images, if not in surviving garments. So, this opening section of Stuart Style sets the groundwork by evaluating the evolution of men's clothes from 1566 to 1701 through the wardrobes of three generations of Stuarts. By choosing to write each man's clothing biography, there is inevitably some overlap in terms of chronology, but this offers the reader scope for comparison and analysis. For instance, all five experienced childhood and youth and the chapters demonstrate that the types of clothing worn by infants and young boys remained quite stable on the one hand, while also revealing how sons, once breeched, experienced the adult fashions favoured by their fathers with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

Another emerging theme is the Stuarts' declining level of Scottishness from James VI and I in terms of their blood, their time spent on Scottish soil and their wider engagement with the Scots male elite, with the exception of James VII and II. However, while the Stuarts became more 'British' or more Anglicised, their courts still provided a draw for Scottish courtiers and craftsmen alike who helped shape the styles synonymous with the Stuart name. And the fashionable Scottish elite consistently presented themselves as the equals of their English, Irish or French counterparts, serving as representatives, of the absentee Stuart monarchs on home soil. However, before embarking on the clothing biographies, it is important to set the scene by asking which clothes were considered fashionable in early modern Scottish and English contexts, how clothes and fabrics were linked to national identity and consequently, how clothes were used, and abused, to promote national stereotypes.

Fashionable dress, clothing regulations and the lowland Scottish male

In 1558 George Seton, 7th lord Seton (1531-86), attended the marriage of Mary queen of Scots to the dauphin of France, as the master of her household. Twelve years later he was painted in a sumptuous suit of crimson silk; the presence of embroidered gold thistles on this garment suggesting that these were the clothes that he had worn for Mary's wedding [Fig. I.1]. Seton's crimson doublet, hose and cloak are an excellent example of the mid-sixteenth century suit, the evolution of which was central to the male wardrobe during the long seventeenth century. In its final form of coat, vest and breeches, the suit symbolised modest masculinity amongst the social elite for contemporaries such as the diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706). Running in tandem with the evolution of the suit, was the use of new and traditional accessories that served as markers of male status and fashionability.

An early modern Scotsman's clothing choices were influenced as much by his status as they were by where he was born. As Thomas Kirke observed in 1677 'The Lowland gentry go well enough habited' by which he meant that the gentlemen of lowland Scotland wore fashionable dress of the type to be found throughout northern Europe. An English clergyman, Thomas Morer (1651-1715), expanded on this in 1689 commenting that inw the lowlands 'Their habit is mostly English, saving the meaner sort of men wear bonnets instead of hats and pladds, instead of cloaks'. Indeed, all through Scotland 'the Scots generally (that is, the poorer sort), [wore]...blue bonnets on their heads, and some russet'. The popularity of these bonnets is borne out by examples recovered from archaeological sites including



I.1 Clad all in scarlet, Seton is dressed in the height of French fashion, unknown artist, French school, George Seton, 7th Lord Seton, 1570, oil on panel, National Galleries of Scotland, NG 2274, Bequest of Sir Theophilus Biddolph 1948, received 1965

Dava Moor, near Cromdale, Tarvie in Ross-shire, and Quintfall Hill, Caithness [Fig. I.2]. While Morer was unenthused, others saw bonnets as desirable and in 1617 the tailor William Orme stood trial for receiving stolen goods from Margaret Grey who took oats, meal, and 'ane new blew bonnett' from her employer. As a tailor Orme would have been well placed to sell on this bonnet to a willing buyer.



I.2 Not all bonnets were blue, as in the case of this dark green example, with a narrow headband decorated with red spots, which was recovered from a bog on Arnish Moor, Lewis, early 18th century, National Museum of Scotland, K.1997.1115.F

The value that was placed on propriety in clothing styles in the British Isles was evident from the repeated attempts made by the government to regulate what men wore. While James VI and I repealed the English laws regulating clothing in 1604, by 1610 he accepted that it was still necessary to take 'some politic order gainst excess of apparel'. He and his successors did so with varying degrees of success through a series of proclamations. In contrast,

James left sumptuary law in place in Scotland and so it remained until 1701. Why he followed different strategies in the two kingdoms is harder to explain. One possibility lies with how James viewed both nations. He certainly believed that ‘Saint george surelie rydes upon a touardlie rydding horse, quhaire I ame daylie burstin in daunting a wyldre unreulie coalte’. His decision also reflects that Scottish men had always spent heavily on their clothes in spite of Scotland’s relative poverty compared to larger European countries. When Don Pedro de Ayala (d.1513) visited Scotland in 1496-7 he noted that ‘They spend all they have to keep up appearances. They are as well dressed as it is possible to be in such a country’. Attempts to regulate this wish to be well dressed occurred in 1581 with the Act Aganis the Excesse of Coistlie Cleithing: a statute that was renewed in 1595 and again in 1612. All three excluded the elite and the officers of the king’s household from any sartorial restrictions.

The doublets and hose, and later the coats and breeches, described in and regulated by the Scottish sumptuary laws, were in keeping with fashionable male dress across Europe. However, there were other styles of clothing open to Scottish men as is clear from the regulations for merchants trading at Veere, the staple port for Scotland in the Netherlands between 1541 and 1799 that stipulated that ‘none seil in merchandise except he be honestly abuillzied like an honest merchant’. ‘Honest’ business attire was clearly a doublet and hose as was made evident in a negative comment about merchants from Aberdeen travelling to Edinburgh and Dundee in 1611. It was sniffily observed that these individuals were dressed in ‘plaidis and blew bonnatis...as giff they were landwart men...and not merchantis’. In contrast, Alexander Barclay, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, and indweller in Mayboill, dressed in the approved style, as revealed in the testimony he made in 1617. Barclay claimed that he was attacked by John Ferguson of Kilcarran and David Ferguson, otherwise known as Davie the Devil, who ‘cutit his cloik throw the double neck thair of and doublet and ther claithes into the skyne’. Whether his doublet made Barclay more of a target for the likes of Davies is harder to say.

In spite of the fashionable style of men like Barclay, in c.1620 Sir Robert Gordon wrote a letter of advice to his nephew, John Gordon, 14th earl of Sutherland (1609-79) urging him to ‘Purge your countrey piece by piece from the vnciwil kind of cloithes, such as plaids, mantels, truses and blew bonnets...Cause the inhabitants of the countrey to cloith them selfs as the ciwill prowinces of the kingdome do, with doublet, hoise, cloiks and hats’. In Sir Robert’s view, lowland clothing was preferred to highland dress and, as Stana Nenadic has observed, this style of ‘civil’ – and fashionable – appearance was still viewed ‘as a mark of status’ by many Scots at the end of the seventeenth century.

The distinctive appearance of Highland dress and its significance in Stuart society

Early modern concepts of identity and civility were closely linked to language, dress, and the types of textiles used to make clothing. James VI revealed some of the underlying tensions within sixteenth-century Scottish society, and the Highland/Lowland divide, in his *Basilikon Doron* when he commented:

As for the highlands, I shortly comprehend them all in two sorts of people: the one that dwelleth in our mainland, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some show of civility: the other, that dwelleth in the isles, and are utterly barbarians, without any sort or show of civility.

When Sir William Brereton travelled to the Highlands in 1635 he described the local men’s distinctive clothing as ‘a kind of loose flap garment hanging loose about their breech, their knees bare’. However, unlike James, Brereton considered that the Highlanders were ‘proper, personable, well-complexioned men, and able men, the very gentlemen in their blue caps and plaids’.

Seventeen years earlier, the former London boatman, John Taylor (1578-1653), the water poet, had recorded Highland dress more fully, noting unfamiliar garments made from distinctive textiles. He described men wearing:

stockings (which they call short hose) made of a warme stuffe of divers colours which they call Tartane; as for breeches, many of them, nor their forefathers, never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuffe that their hose is of...[with] a plead about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, much finer and lighter stuffe than their hose, with blue flat caps on their heads.

Aspects of this style were shared between the Highlands, Islands and Ireland. Thus Randal MacDonnell, 1st marquis of Antrim, wore ‘neither hat, cap nor shoe, nor stocking’ until he was seven or eight (arguably the time when he might have been breeched) because he was ‘bred the highland way’ and wore their distinctive style of dress.

By the 1670s the plaid was worn, belted to form a cloak and kilt, with a short waisted doublet of a style that had dropped out of fashion in the 1660s. John Michael Wright captured this short doublet in his portrait of Lord Mungo Murray (1668-1700) painted while he was in Ireland [Fig. I.3]. Thomas Kirke saw this style of dress when he travelled to Inverness in 1677. He wrote that the men’s doublets were:

1.3 In addition to his bonnet, belted plaid, and tartan hose, Lord Mungo also has an impressive set of Highland weapons including a dirk, basket hilted sword, two pistols and a flintlock sporting gun, John Michael Wright, Lord Mungo Murray [Am Morair Mungo Moireach], 1683, oil on canvas, 88½ x 60¾ inches (224.8 x 154.3 cm), National Galleries of Scotland, PG 997



slashed in the sleeves, and open at the back...[worn with] a sort of breeches, not unlike a petticoat that reaches not so low by far as the knees, and their stockings are rolled about the calves of their legs, and tied with a garter, their knee and thigh being naked... with a plaid over the left shoulder and under the right arm, and a cap a-cock.

As the seventeenth century progressed, it became common for some Scottish gentlemen to own a distinct set of 'Highland clothes', as opposed to clothes for elsewhere. One very interesting example from 1682, is that of Charles Home, of Ayton in the Border region, who asked his nephew George for a suit of highland clothes and laces. . More details of highland clothing appear in the inventory of Colin Campbell of Glenure of 1740 that included a kilt, and a short kilt jacket. Of all the elements of highland dress, the plaid was most distinctive. Many men, including John Campbell, 1st earl of Breadalbane (1635-1716), wore their plaids regularly. In 1690 he bought a waistcoat to wear under his coat 'as his plaid has grown threadbare'. By the 1720s the significance of the plaid as the key part of a man's Highland identity was clear so much so that when one man abandoned his plaid, to the fury of his neighbours, he observed that 'his greatcoat was the cause of their wrath; and that their reproach was, that he could not be contented with the garb of his ancestors, but was degenerated into a Lowlander, and condescended to their unmanly fashions'. Here the role of Scottish geography and highland dress in creating a sense of identity are very clearly linked.

The weapons a Scotsman carried were an essential marker of social standing that the crown, again, tried to regulate. On 22 March 1617 James VI and I renewed the ban on a certain Lauchlan MacLean stating 'that he nor his sone sall not beare nor weare hacquebutis or pistolettis bot in the Kingis service', although they were permitted a sword as a reminder of their place in society. Over half a century later attempts at control were still in place. For instance, in February 1656 Sir David Ogilvy, laird of Inverquharity, was permitted to 'passe with his sworde in the shire of Angus & to keepe a fowling peece for his Game'. Even so, by the 1670s most Highland men carried 'a durk or skean, of about a foot and a half a yard long, very sharp... nor is this honour sufficient, if they can purchase more, they must have a long swinging sword'. Scottish weapons were distinctive in style in terms of the type of the blade and the style of the hilt. Many also had characteristic decoration, as indicated by an inventory taken at Gordon castle in 1699 that recorded six old guns 'with highland works' that was a distinctive feature worthy of note.

While weapons were significant, the use of plaid and tartan is one of the most distinctive, yet elusive features of early modern Scottish dress. Regulations controlled the quality, colour and lengths of plaids, as is evident from a ruling made by the town council of Stirling on 18 August 1661 that stated that 'plaids are to be of good yarn, that the red, blue and yellow colours thereof are to be dyed by litsters of the burgh, at a cost not exceeding 5s Scots per pound, that each pair of plaids is to be 12 ells long and ¾ ell broad and that the weavers are to give ready service to the plaid-makers in the burgh'.

Plaids were often worn draped round the body but they could also be cut and made into garments. While seventeenth century household accounts distinguished between purchases of plaid and tartan, indicating that they were different products, the exact nature of the tartan was less certain. It was a checked, wool cloth that was produced in a variety of weights, ranging from fine to coarse. Worn throughout the seventeenth century, it was the fabric used in hunting dress for the Highland elite and in everyday clothing for much of the rest of the population. By the 1690s the elite were accustomed to give lengths of tartan to members of their household. For instance, in 1697 the earl of Breadalbane bought 10 ells of tartan for his footmen and

I.4 For the part of Sauny the Scot, Lacy's choice of trews reveals a lot about the character's status and wealth, John Michael Wright, John Lacy, c.1668-70, oil on canvas, 233.4 x 173.4 cm Royal Collection, RCIN 402803.



scholars, while in April 1698 he charged Colin Campbell to buy 3 ells of plaid to make a waistcoat for John McComie, the butler's man. The earl also clad his pipers in tartan. Thus, Little Johnny McIntyre, piper, received a plaid, while tartan was sent with Johnny McIntyre, piper, to be given to McCrooman, piper in the Isles, for his breeches and hose. Here, at the end of the seventeenth century we see the first tentative steps towards what Michael Lynch identified as 'the cult of tartanry'.

By the mid-seventeenth century, Scottish dress and tartan were present in London too. In January 1659, for example, the young laird of Glenorchy paid James Campbell, merchant in Edinburgh, for carriage of his cloak and waistcoat to London by land, along with a fine plaid. Fifteen years later a highland plaid was bought for Dougal Campbell in London at a cost of £12 Scots. He also received a short coat of blue cloth, 9 ells of ribbon to trim the plaid and coat, trews and hose of fine tartan, a dirk with a sheath, a powder horn and belt, a targe and a broadsword. A bonnet, two pairs of Lorn brogues, a belt and a purse completed the outfit. The acceptability of this stylish dress is evident in John Michael Wright's triple portrait of the actor John Lacy in the clothes associated with his most famous roles: the lead from Sauny the Scot, (an adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*), Monsieur Device from *The Country Chaplain* and Scruple from *The Cheats* [Fig. I.4]. Like Campbell, Lacy wore trews, a very distinctive element of Highland dress and one that was typically considered an elite garment because they were tailored. Commissioned by Charles II as it was, it is most unlikely that this painting - or this actor depicted in it - were mocking the Scottish nation. Rather, Lacy was surely shown here clad in the way that Scots could, and often did, dress. Indeed, copies of this painting, depicting as it did Scottish, French and very subdued English clothing, were popular in Edinburgh in 1697 when two examples were for sale. In short, Wright's painting summed up three significant and contrasting strands of the Stuarts' style of which Highland dress was a distinctive and increasingly acceptable option.

Dressing the part? A multitude of Stuart types

If clothes reflected a man's place of birth, social position and good character, then mocking distinctive aspects of a person's dress was associated with national stereotypes in early modern literature, drama, and libels. English poems and songs commenting on Scottish men of the middling sort emphasised their provincial, functional, and inexpensive accessories. This suggests that there was less to ridicule in terms of their clothing, while acknowledging that the correct accessories were essential in making a man fashionable. Bonnets, shoes, and swords all came under close scrutiny, indicating that

they were distinctively different and that aspirational Scottish men discarded them when presented with an alternative. Consequently, the blue bonnet was replaced by the socially aspirant Scot with 'a hat and feather', rough footwear was exchanged for shoes of Spanish leather 'decked with roses' and a sword with 'a great basket hilt of iron' was swapped for a rapier. Sartorial adjustments like these prompted some Englishmen to make the provocative claim that:

Bonny Scot, we all witness can,
That England hath made thee a gentleman.

The importance of these accessories meant that the stock figure of the middling sort Scot on the English stage was distinguished by his blue bonnet and whinyard (a hanger or short sword) and by their accent and dialect. In contrast, high-ranking Scots were presented as 'gentlemen in their own countries' with no reference to specific clothing, mannerisms or speech indicating that they exemplified the fashionable Stuart look.

The change in accessories, described above, was linked to the shift in social status to a gentleman, a recurrent theme that indicated that many of the Scots who had come to London had done well for themselves. In the verse below, it was the transition from a naturally coloured or 'pied motley' jerkin to one made of scarlet that affected the transformation and made it apparent to all:

His pied motley jerkin all threadbare and old
Is now turned to scarlet and o'er-laced with gold
His straw hat to beaver, his hat band to pearl
And Jockey can caper as high as an Earl.

Scotland and England were both wool-producing countries, with raw wool, yarn and woven cloth making up a significant part of their exports. There was also a close link between home produced cloth, patriotism and dress. In death, the wool trade was promoted by the English government's insistence on the use of woollen burial shrouds. In life, English men were encouraged to wear broadcloth, as made clear in the subtitle of Robert Greene's *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* or *A Quaint Dispute between Velvet Breeches and Cloth breeches*. Here, the character of Cloth breeches, a stalwart and protestant Englishman, was stoutly opposed to the silk fabrics imported from Catholic countries represented by his rival, Velvet breeches. In a similar vein, Scottish wools and linen were staples in many Scots' wardrobes. However, the elite shopped more widely as was indicated in 1640 when the laird of Glenorchy settled his account with James Rae, merchant and burgess of Edinburgh. The laird's purchases

included the finest black satin, silver plate breast buttons, purple ribbons, Holland cloth, purple Spanish taffeta and a fine, black, English hat. Fashioned from a range of European goods, the laird positioned himself amongst the well-dressed Scottish elite.

Unlike the Scots, the English did not have a distinctive national style of dress. However, English men (and women) did have a clothing weakness that could be exploited in turn – their susceptibility to fashionable novelty and innovation. European visitors mocked this trait, while group of English commentators who felt they were above such things, wrote scathingly about this national failing. In 1562 Andrew Boorde (c.1490-1549) mockingly observed:

I am an English man, and naked I stand here,
Musyng in my mynd what rayment I shal were;
For now I wyl were this, and now I wyl were that;
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

Accompanying Boorde's text was a woodcut of a scantily clad English man brandishing a pair of scissors. Driven by a desire for the novel, the result was inelegant confusion. Matters had not improved by the time Daniel Defoe wrote *The True-born Englishman* (1701) in which he declared that:

A true-born Englishman's a Contradiction
In Speech an Irony, in Fact a Fiction.

Another very important pair of figures, from 1642 onwards, was that of the cavalier and roundhead. These political terms could sum up a man's choice of clothes, and hair-style, both north and south of the border, to create a distinctive look. The name cavalier was derived from the Spanish word 'caballero', meaning a swaggering soldier; a times this could be seen as a good thing. For instance, Robert Monro addressed a summary of his life written in the 1630s 'to the use of all worthie Cavaliers favouring the laudable profession of Arms'. However, during the wars of the Three Kingdoms the term cavalier was used to describe and denigrate the followers of Charles I, many of whom wore sumptuous clothes and had long hair. In contrast, the soubriquet 'roundhead' was used to disparage the shorter haired, simply dressed followers of Parliament. Williams and Breward have successfully challenged the stock images that these terms conjured up by demonstrating that the terms and the types, or stereotypes, were not as cut and dried as they might appear to be. Even so, the terms had ongoing use, for example, with the Cavalier parliament that was in session from 1661 to 1679, and was so-called because of the number of royalist MPs.

The plainly dressed roundhead has often been associated with a third distinctive group, the puritan, or in Scotland, the Presbyterian. Both Puritans and Presbyterians were opposed to luxurious clothing and personal adornment for the laity and liturgical textiles for the church or kirk. The cover of Samuel Ward's 1622 sermon, *Woe to Drunkards*, appears to gesture towards this puritan view, by making a direct link between changes in men's fashions and a decline in moral standards. The high-heeled shoes, shoe roses, garters, lace cuffs and satin doublets of the 1620s were equated by some moralist commentators with smoking, dice and drink. However, Bremer has challenged this view by citing the work of the puritan clergyman William Perkins (1558-1602). Perkins stressed the value of clothing 'in respect of place, calling and condition, for the upholding and maintenance thereof'. So, for the elite there was a permissible level of luxury that was required to maintain their position in society.

This was equally true for puritans and Presbyterians. When the Suffolk gentleman, Edward Lewkenor (c.1590-1634) died, he was described as not only 'honest, devout, holy and christian life' but also of 'somewhat above the ordinary garbe and fashion of gentlemen of his age and quality'. His everyday clothing was 'far from baseness' but it was 'normally much lower than the height of his meanes'. While these words from Lewkenor's funeral sermon were likely to play down worldly concerns such as clothing, his portrait records him posed nonchalantly in an elegant doublet, breeches and short cloak. In a similar, if more exalted manner, William 3rd duke of Hamilton, a committed Presbyterian, dressed the part of Scotland's leading peer. An inventory of his clothes, dating from 1693, included 'a fine scarlet embroidered coat with gold, with a gold stuff waistcoat fringed with gold [and] a fine scarlet cloak embroidered with gold and lin'd with blue velvet'. This shared attitude to clothing meant that, while there were clear doctrinal differences between Puritanism and Presbyterianism, one might be confused for the other by non-Protestants.

Many puritans and Presbyterians adopted black, but it is important to note that they did do so for a range of reasons. While donning black could represent a rejection of colour, on the other, black clothing had significant social and financial value. When Archibald Campbell, 8th earl of Argyll (1598-1661) [Fig. I.5], was painted in the 1650s, his fine quality linen was accentuated by understated yet



1.5 Sombre yet elegant, Archibald Campbell's fashionable black doublet, night cap and gown are paired with a very fine linen collar and tassels, David Scougall, Archibald Campbell, 8th earl of Argyll, 1650s, oil on canvas, 29 x 26½ inches (73.7 x 67.3 cm), National Galleries of Scotland

expensive black doublet and gown that commanded the respect due to his place in society. Dyed black textiles were costly and elegant and they gained in desirability when embellished with embroidery, lace and passementerie, either black, coloured or of metal thread. In 1601 the tensions between a certain John Weillands and the reverend John Gibson at Haddington were expressed by their clothes. A witness reported that Gibson 'said errant knave ar ye cummit heir to schaik yowr breiches with [...] satein doublet, and the said Jhone Weillandis ansuerit quhay maij I not weir this s[...] dowblet, as weill as ye weir blak klaithis'. Both men felt equally justified in their choice.

The perceived opulence, colourfulness and fashionability of Catholic dress were compared by contemporaries with the plainness of Anglican and Puritan style. George Savile, 1st marquis of Halifax (1633-95), summed up the danger faced by Charles II during his European exile when, he claimed, 'the outward appearance of such unfashionable [Anglican] men was made an argument against their religion; and a young prince more susceptible to raillery, was the more susceptible of contempt for it'. As this discussion reveals, nationality, political views and religion divided and drew together Stuart society. Your dress could indicate what sort of man you were thereby inviting criticism and compliments alike.

Scottish military men

The Scottish soldier was well known, if not an especially well liked figure, in England chiefly because Scottish armies crossed the border on four separate occasions between 1639 and 1651. Some of the rank and file were well equipped, as is indicated by the comments of John Spalding (1609-70) on troops who mustered in Aberdeen on 16 February [1640?] when 'Ilk soldiour wes furneshit with tua sarkis, cot, breikis, hoiss and bonet, bandis, and schone'. An image of a Scottish soldier in 1650 that features in a print of the Covenanters holding Charles II's nose to the grindstone, was in a similar vein. 'Jockie', as he was styled, wore a short coat with a centre back seam, and buttoned at the back vent, sleeves with a turned back cuff, simple loose fitting knee length breeches and a bonnet [Fig. I.6]. Overall, the English view of Scottish soldiers was not positive and vica versa.



1.6 The clothes of the three protagonists correspond to contemporary stereotypes - the simply dressed soldier, the Covenanter minister in black gown and cap, and their young, cavalier king, dressed fancy breeches, long boots and spurs, unknown artist, 'The Scots holding the young king's nose to the grindstone', 1651, broadside, Alamy stock photo, D98ATE

Scottish troops also played a significant role in European armies where, again, some of the rank and file were distinctive because of their dress. This was the case of the professional soldiers fighting for Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden (1594-1632), during the Thirty Years war [Fig. I.7]. In addition, many Scots held high rank including Patrick Ruthven, 1st earl of Forth (c.1573-1651), Alexander Leslie, 1st earl of Leven (1580-1661), David Drummond (1593-1638) and Sir John Hepburn (c.1598-1636). Ruthven and Leslie returned to Scotland dressed in the height of European fashion. Scots also held commands in France as well as in English armies. In the case of the latter, Scots led five of Sir William Waller's eleven regiments, so making them very visible in society south of the border. They also in held commands in the Royalist army but as Newman has observed, they were less prominent.

From the mid seventeenth century onwards, the development of military uniforms, associated with the king's Scottish and English standing regiments, exerted a growing influence on fashionable male clothing. In 1699 Archibald Campbell, 10th earl of Argyll, arranged a contract to clothe his Horse Guards with the Edinburgh merchants Hugh Blair and Samuel McLellan. The uniforms were stylish, with each gentleman receiving 'ane fashionable coat of fine scarlet cloth...mounted with fashionable double guided princes mettle buttons'. Everything about the cut and decoration of this coat was influenced by fashionable male dress.

I.7 Prized for their ferocity Scottish troops were heavily armed with bows, halberds or lochaber axes, and muskets, and distinctively dressed in bonnets and belted plaids, unknown artist, Scottish soldiers in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, 1631, woodcut, New York Public Library Digital Collections, PC ARMY-(M-Z)



Running in parallel to this development, was the option for elite men to be portrayed in armour, as William Dobson (1611-46), and Sir Peter Lely (1618-80) frequently painted them. Armour asserted a man's knightly status, alluded to his military skill and emphasised his honour. Therefore, it did not matter if the armour was their own, or outdated. The value placed on such a portrait is evident from the group of three quarter length pictures of men in amour painted by John Michael Wright in the 1660s. These included his portrait of Robert Bruce, 2nd earl of Elgin and 1st earl of Ailesbury (c.1623/7-85). Sir John de Medina produced similar work including his portrait of his leading Scottish patron, James Leven, 3rd earl of Leven, painted in 1691. Leven persuaded Medina to come to Edinburgh, pleading with him to 'only to stay so long as to doe all the faces of his pictures...If you can condescend upon the persons to be drawn, the size and the garb, a good many be so blocked as that he'll finish them before he goes'.

Medina painted a number of his male sitters in very similar armour, with their collar or cravat, sash, and sword belt offering an impression of individuality, as in the 1694 portraits of John, 8th earl of Rothes and Charles, 1st earl of Hopetoun. While this generic style might speak to ideas of chivalry and elite masculinity, their behaviour and reputation determined how others viewed the man in question. David Paton's portrait of the professional soldier, John Graham of Claverhouse, viscount Dundee (c.1649-89) presents a good looking man with his long, dark hair falling onto his armoured shoulders. However, his reputation divided opinion. To the Covenanters whom Graham defeated at Bothwell Bridge or Brig on 22 June 1679 he was 'Bloody Clavers' while his supporters called him 'Bonnie Dundee'.

Clothes as disguise

'I thought myself to be like a crow in the middes of a great many golden feathered dove'. These words summed up how one Wiltshire MP felt when he attended the ceremonies marking Henry's creation as prince of Wales in 1610. At an event such as this, clothes served as a display of magnificence and loyalty to the crown. On other occasions, the Stuarts used clothing as a disguise to allow them to step outside their usual place in society, to take part in court entertainments and even to escape capture in extremis. They also used clothes and jewellery as a means of asserting their cause during the War of Three Kingdoms, and the Commonwealth, and after 1688 when James VII and II became 'the king across the water'.

Prior to 1603, the Stuart kings used clothes occasionally as a disguise so giving them freedom to act outside the usual constraints that were placed upon them. Consequently when Elizabeth I said that

she would like to meet Mary queen of Scot, the Scottish ambassador Sir James Melville offered 'to convey her secretly to Scotland by Post, clothed like a Page, that under this disguise she might see the Queen as James the Fifth had gone in disguise to France with his own Ambassador, to see the Duke of Vendom's sister, who should have been his Wife'. However, disguise outside the royal family was generally associated with subversive behaviour. On 22 March 1606 false rumours of James VI and I's death circulated and it is interesting to note that 'Some said the treason was performed by English Jesuits, some by Scots in women's attire, others by Spaniards and French'. Coming only a few months after the Gunpowder plot, such rumours easily gained credence amongst the public.

The masque flourished at the Jacobean and Caroline courts. As an art form, the masque was used to explore ideas of nationality in terms of the subject matter and the participants. In 1613, John Chamberlain described Ben Jonson's Irish Masque to Alice Carleton informing her that 'yesternight there was a motley maske of five English and five Scots (which are called the high dancers) amongst whom Sergeant Boide, one Abraham crummie and Ackmoutie (that was at Padoua and Venice) are esteemed the most principall and loftie'. William Davenant's *Salmacida Spolia* (1639) included 'an ancient Scottishman, presented by Mr Atkins' and Inigo Jones drew costume designs for an Englishman, an Irishman and a Scot. While quite sketchy, the contemporary design for the Scot suggest that the masquer was dressed in a belted plaid over trews in order to evoke the sense of the Stuarts' homeland.

The masque also allowed the royal family to take centre stage. Masked and in costume, everyone knew who they were because of the quality of their clothes. Inigo Jones's costume design has survived for Charles I's costume for the Shrovetide masque planned for 1628. At this time the king was described as having 'his hair all gauffred and frizzled, which he never used before'. Four years later, when the queen and her ladies performed *Tempe restored* on 14 February 1632, observers reported that 'The king himselfe by gaily taking part in the dancing, proved the pleasure which he took in it'. George Kirke, yeoman of the robes, similarly provided masquing apparel 'for his Majesty's oune Royall person and others' for *Coelum Britannicum* performed on 18 February 1634. Not everyone approved of these entertainments and the use of costumes to play a part. Indeed some saw the court as 'a nursery of lust and intemperance' where courtiers 'were entertained with masks, stage playes and sorts of ruder sports' and 'wantonnesse in things belonging to the bodie is shewed in costly apparell...in no estate or degree may one be so excessive as to forget holinesse and Christian sobrietie'. From a puritan perspective, these costumes embodied everything that was wrong with the Stuart court.

The Stuarts also resorted to disguise when they were in great danger or difficulty, the most celebrated occasion being when Charles II masqueraded as a countryman during his escape after the battle of Worcester in 1651. It was acceptable for prisoners to dress as women to escape, as in the case of James duke of York and Albany in 1648. And it was not just the monarchs who sometimes had to resort to such tactics. In 1690, Mary Carew's son Alexander joined his brother George at Spithead after escaping from Spain by cutting his hair and dressing as a friar.

While costumes and disguises were often problematic, adopting Scottish dress in London could serve as 'a compliment' to the Stuart kings. The dramatist Thomas Dekker (c.1572-1632) suggested this in *The Gull's Hornbook* performed in 1609, when he described a 'true humorous gallant' wearing trews because he 'desires to pour himself into all fashions' and consequently was 'ingenious in the trussing of a new Scotch hose'. In a similar vein, Taylor revealed that elite figures from across Scotland 'doe conforme themselves to the habite of the High-land-men' when they went hunting because it was expected.

The monarchy also adopted this style when it suited them. Before our period, James V and his daughter Mary queen of Scots chose to wear a form of highland dress on occasion. In August 1538, for example, 'The expensis on ye kingis persone deliuerit to Thomas Authnore' includes reference to the purchase of highland tartan for the king. No evidence has so far been found to indicate that the later Stuart kings wore this style of dress when hunting in Scotland. But they did want to see it being worn. On 29 June 1633 the Scottish privy council wrote to the laird of Glenurquhie to inform him of Charles I's request that he wished to see 'a show and muster made of hieland men' when he was at Perth. They were to be 'men personable for stature and in thair best array and equippage with trews, bows darlochs [quivers] and other thair ordinarie weapons and furniture'. Even an Englishman, such as John Taylor, could dress the part successfully with a little help. He noted that 'My good Lord of Marr...put me into that shape' [i.e. highland dress]. Dressing the part, whether it was to fit in with a hunting party, take part in a masque or to evade capture played a significant role in Stuart society.

Each of the Stuarts shaped fashionable dress during their lifetimes and it was a style that much of the elite followed. It was a style that reflected the tensions between the three kingdoms and national stereotypes that were often associated with specific types of clothing. However, in the Scottish context elite men, especially those from the Highlands had an alternative to the fashionable 'Stuart' style suit in highland dress which they could wear as an expression of distinctly Scottish culture or as a lack of engagement with or rejection of Stuart (or later, Hanoverian) authority.



CHAPTER ONE

James VI and I (1566-1625)

JAMES VI AND I IS often presented as less significant than Charles I and Charles II in dress histories that focus on either the seventeenth century or the Stuarts. This is largely because by taking an Anglo or London-centric view, these studies start with his arrival in England, thus missing 37 years of James' clothing history, and then analyse a king who was middle-aged at his accession. As a result, James is frequently regarded as passively following his more glamorous, clothes conscious cousin, Elizabeth I, rather than looking at how he added to and drew upon the clothing traditions established by his recent Scottish, Francophile predecessors – in particular James V and Mary queen of Scots. When Jenny Wormald considered whether James VI's style of kingship was radically different before and after 1603 she actively compared his Scottish and English reigns. However, when thinking about his clothing, it is more helpful to divide his life into three: from his birth to the point when James gained control of his own wardrobe in 1584; from then until 1603, thereby encompassing his life as a married man, and a father in Scotland and presiding over a court with a particular style; and after 1603 when he was a mature figure living at Whitehall, dealing with the challenge of ageing, and competition from younger men [Fig. 1.1]. This chapter argues that rather than embrace London fashions in 1603, James' Scottish court had a distinct fashionable style that he brought to the English capital. He imposed this look on his new court thereby shaping what we think of as early Stuart fashion. This is very much in keeping with Linda Levy Peck's argument that in that year James created a new court, a new elite, and a new culture. Far from being the scruffy king that Sir Anthony Weldon mocked, James was clothes conscious and elegant, and his court, whether in Edinburgh or London, was the showcase for this sartorial king.

1.1 James's doublet has a peasecod belly, and small shoulder wings, typical of the 1620s, Adam de Colone, James VI and I, after 1622, oil on canvas, 109.3 x 83.5 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, PG 2172

James VI and I's clothing

'Remember, that as I am your kinsman, so am I a true prince'. These words, addressed to Elizabeth I in December 1591, demonstrate James VI's absolute belief in his royal dignity and the honour of Scotland. As a true prince of the Scottish people, James had his own fashionable style which he brought south with him in 1603. If his new subjects chose to adopt this sartorial look, it had the potential to visually bind his three kingdoms together. James, who described himself as the father of his people, certainly thought they should follow his example. So it is no surprise that James wrote a good deal about the importance of clothing in the *Basilikon Doron*, or kingly gift, a work which, while ostensibly for the benefit of his son, provides a clear record of his beliefs on all things pertaining to the exercise of royal authority. James urged his reader to 'return to the purpose of garments' because 'they ought to be used according to their first institution by God, which was for three causes: first, to hide our nakedness and shame; next and consequently, to make us more comely; and thirdly to preserve us from the injuries of heat and cold'. In addition to their practical virtues, James acknowledged the ability of clothes 'to make us more comely', thereby stressing their visual appeal for the wearer and their audience. James' tailor created the king's elegant appearance so making him the focal point of his court, while the king took time to admire well-dressed men around him. The defining characteristics of James' clothing style were eye-catching colour, enhanced by the generous application of trimmings, and jewellery.

The *Basilikon Doron* was written for a very specific Scottish audience so James's views on clothing did not always tally with how the English thought their sovereign should look or how the Tudors had used dress to project a sense of magnificence. Even so, the ideas underpinning Scottish royal male dress, including the need for opulence and swagger, would have been familiar to his London courtiers and James acknowledged the source of these ideas when he stated that 'we imitate the French fashion, in fashion of clothes'. The 'auld alliance' ensured strong links between Scotland and France where many young Scottish men travelled and in the process acquired an appreciation of French style like the son of Lady Faudonside, Mr Jon Ker, who was 'pransing in his French garb, with his short scarlet cloake and his long caudie rapier'. This French influence would remain a constant feature of Stuart fashion throughout the seventeenth century.

The 'cradle' king: from birth to the start of James' majority, 1566-84

A child's parents usually shape their views on clothing but this is unlikely to be true in the case of James VI. While both of his parents took a keen interest in clothes their direct influence on their son was short-lived. His father, Henry Stuart, lord Darnley (1545-67), was murdered on 10 February 1567 when James was less than eight months old. Darnley's strangled body, dressed in his nightshirt, was found outside his lodgings at Kirk o'Field, along with the body of his page William Taylor. Prior to his marriage, Darnley had lived in France and his double portrait with Mary, c. 1565, presents a young man who carefully managed his appearance [Fig. 1.2]. Small hints remain of Darnley's clothing including an order in January 1567 for linings for two gowns of satin and velvet and cambric for ruffs for his shirts. His elegance and good looks caused Mary to describe Darnley, shortly after she first met him, as the 'lustiest and best proportioned long man that she had seen'. Sir James Melville of Halhill was less easily impressed by Darnley's boyish looks, observing laconically

1.2 Darnley's tight fitting, pink doublet, decorated with slashing and pinking and very full hose contrast with the black gown of his wife, Unknown artist, Henry Stuart, lord Darnley and Mary queen of Scots, c.1565, oil on panel, 110.5 x 150.5 cm, Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust, NT 1129218



that 'na woman of sprit wald mak choice of sic a man, that was lyker a woman than a man; for he was very lusty, berdles and lady facit'. Melville's word rang true and Mary soon came to regret her marriage.

Mary's direct maternal influence ended when she abdicated on 24 July 1567, making James a 'cradle king', but prior to this she lavished clothing and furnishings on her young son. In September 1566 Mary ordered a bed and bedding for James. Six months later a 'Memorandum for my lord Prince' recorded the delivery of 60 ells of Holland, ten ells of white Spanish taffeta, and 80 ells of white Florence ribbon. The items made from these materials were probably similar to those described as 'my Lord Prince geir' in an inventory dating from 1542. Possibly made for James, duke of Rothesay (22 May 1540 – April 1541), Mary's short-lived, older brother, the inventory includes 'ane wylicoit of scarlet', 'ane bonat of blak velvot' and 'twa litill bonattis of quhyte satyne'. While sumptuous, they were not personal, unlike a set of embroidered child's reins often said to have been made by Mary for James. They are embroidered with a crowned harp, sceptre, roses, carnations, pomegranates and thistles and the text 'Angelis Svis Devs Mandavit De Te Vt Cvstodiant Te In Omnibvs Viss Tvis' (God hath given his angels charge over thee: to keep thee in all thy ways). However, Margaret Swain has convincingly argued

that while Mary may have made the reins, she probably did so for one of Ann Dacre's children, rather than for her own son.

More influential were the four regents who oversaw the young king's clothing orders from 1567 to 1578: James Stuart, 1st earl of Moray, Matthew Stuart, 4th earl of Lennox, John Erskine, 17th earl of Mar and James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton. Three of the four were the king's relatives and familial bonds explain the amount of time they spent in Stirling with young James. Payments for some of their clothes appeared in the royal accounts and relate to garments worn to promote their roles as regents. For instance, on 14 April 1568, 12 ells of black figured velvet were bought for Moray 'to be my lord regent ane gown'. On 13 September 1569 2 ells 2 quarters of violet in grain were supplied 'to be his grace ane cloke' and twelve double hanks of silver for decoration. Both garments are more opulent than those Moray was painted in by Hans Eworth eight years earlier in 1561



1.3 Douglas' close fitting, high-necked, black doublet, and full hose, are accessorized with a tall crowned hat and gloves, attributed to Arnold Bronckorst, James Douglas, 4th earl of Morton, 1580, oil on canvas, 106.3 x 82.1 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, PG 1857



[Fig. 1.3]. The earl of Mar favoured a similar dignified appearance. In 1571 John Murdo, tailor, was paid for 8 ells of fine black velvet 'to be his grace breikis and bordering the breikis'. The sombre clothes of the regents served as a foil for the brightly dressed boy-king.

The regency began when James acceded to the throne on 24 July 1567. Two days later James Inglis, 'master taillour to the prince', received material for the cradle king's coronation including 'fyve elnis of fine cramosie veluet, five elnis of blew fyn veluet, off red armosie taffeta thre elnis two quarters, of blew armosie taffeta thre elnis thre quarter, off plen pietticks' for the 'abilliaments to the prince'. For his first appearance in the Scottish parliament in August 1571 James had miniature robes. The order included 'fine purpouir cramosie velvot to be his grace ane side coit' and 'four e elnis of purpouir Armosie taffatie to lyne the same coit' for £56 Scots. He was depicted in pale blue robes kneeling before his father's tomb with his grandfather [Fig. 1.4]. Having royal robes, such as these, was essential for such a young king to stress his right to the throne but his everyday clothes acknowledged his youth. In October 1567 he received gowns, including one made from 4 ells of grosgrane taffeteis, embellished with gold and silver 'practikis' and gold buttons. By March 1568 James was receiving coats including 'blak welvot to be ane cote', an incarnate coat decorated with 8oz of silver 'cordonis', and a red satin coat lined with 'reid Armosing' taffeta and trimmed with 4½ oz of gold

1.4 Dressed in full mourning, the earl and countess of Lennox, along with their son Charles Stuart, kneel behind James, Livinus de Vogelaere, The Memorial of Lord Darnley, 1567, oil on canvas, 142.3 x 224 cm, Royal Collection - Palace of Holyroodhouse, RCIN 401230



1.5 From his jaunty black bonnet, to the dark green velvet Venetians, and sparrow hawk on his left fist, James' love of hunting is already clear, unknown artist, James VI, late 16th century, after an original of c.1574, oil on canvas, 118.1 x 73, London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 63

passaments. He also received six leather belts and six pairs of small cut gloves. Over the next couple of years his clothes became more sophisticated and in January 1572 he received a doublet of slashed black satin laid over black corded taffeta while in July 1573 he received a cloak.

The breeching of the young king took place by, or in, May 1574 when the accounts recorded the first order for adult clothing consisting of 3½ ells of red figurate taffeta for a pair of breikes and an ell of red Spanish taffeta for a doublet. Aged 8, James was painted in clothes of this type in c. 1574 [Fig. 1.5]. He was dressed in a simple yet elegant white satin doublet, or a doublet and jerkin, and green velvet breeches. These breeches compare well with an order placed in November 1574 for a pair of breiks of grey figured velvet and in November 1575 for a pair of provincials of grey figured velvet. They continued to be popular over the coming years with a preference for satin doublets worn with provincials made of patterned, fancy fabrics such as a pair of provincials made from black figured velvet on crimson satin in November 1576 paired with a red cramosie satin doublet.

James officially came of age on his twelfth birthday in March 1578 when Morton lost the regency. The following month his clothing orders, reflecting his increased influence, included a Spanish cloak of black grosgrain taffeta, an almain cloak with sleeves of the same black taffeta, along with orange velvet provincials and three, orange satin doublets. His coming of age, saw Lady Annabel, countess of Mar, deliver the clothes still in her care to James Murray master of the wardrobe, at Stirling castle in September 1579. While his minority did not end until 1584, James was increasingly involved in court life including the Maundy celebrations, revels, progresses and hunting and this was reflected in his clothing.

It was at this time that Mary sent her son *Tetrasticha, ou Quatrains à sons fils*. According to the bishop of Winchester in 1616 'The Quene his Majesties Mother wrote a book of verses in French of the Institution of a Prince, all with her own hand, wrought a cover of it with a needle, and is now of his Majestie esteemed as a precious jewel'. While his

mother might offer advice on French style from a distance, Esme Stuart 1st duke of Lennox (1542-1583), was much closer at hand. James was thirteen when he met his second cousin who quickly became a royal favourite, along with Captain James Stuart, the second son of Lord Ochiltree, who was made Captain of the Guard in 1580. The young king's clothes became increasingly sophisticated and in December 1579 he ordered a black velvet Almain cloak, a gown of black figured velvet upon grey satin, and a pair of black velvet provincials. November 1583 saw a change in style and terminology. Lennox may have returned to France but the king wore a doublet and breeches of white velvet upon white satin and a cloak, jupe and breeches of Paris scarlet. James' clothes during this phase of life reflected his physical progression through infancy and childhood while asserting his royal status. His style was influenced by the men around him with the regents and Esme Stuart shaping the young king's views.

Adult king of Scots 1584-1603

James settled into his role as king, a position that was consolidated by becoming a husband and father of sons. In many ways James' wardrobe continued as it had been, with an emphasis on expensive, high quality, fashionable materials. His cloaks, for instance were made of velvet or very good quality wool, with the latter often lined with velvet. Velvet was used for the 'neck' or collar, as well as forming decorative bands placed down each front and around the hem. While the style of the doublet and hose remained fairly stable in the 1580s, during in the 1590s they started to be cut from layers of fabric, with the top fabric slashed or pinked to reveal the layer below.

It was unusual for the clerk to record why clothes were ordered. However, hunting was always a priority with green suits, boots and boot hose. Summer and winter riding clothes also featured regularly indicating the amount of time the king spent in the saddle and in May 1597 the king received a riding garment of tawny velvet and a riding cloak of sad violet French cloth 'at his majesty riding to Dundee'. James needed these clothes because he had called the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk and Dundee was a strategic choice because the distance from St Andrews and Edinburgh reduced the number of ministers attending from either place. Travel, as in August 1596, was important and the king received two pairs of silk hose to wear 'in the time of his progress'. A royal appearance at parliament called for new clothes such as the columbine satin doublet and hose ordered on 16 May 1592 for 'his majesty for the time of the parliament'. Church attendance and a celebration of spring were marked by a green grosgrain taffeta cloak, doublet and breeches supplied against the first Sunday in May 1597.



1.6 James' ruff is an exemplar of the starcher's craft, while the tawny satin is decorated with short slashes and silk thread wrapped buttons, unknown artist, att. to Adrian Vanson, James VI, 1586, oil on panel, National Trust for Scotland, Falkland Palace

In August 1584 Monsieur de Fontenay informed Mary that her son disliked 'dancing and music...or curiosities of dress' and he attributed this sad state of affairs to 'a lack of proper instruction'. While this might have been a jibe at James' tutor Georg Buchanan, Fontenay believed that James lacked the polish and skills essential for the ideal, preferably French, courtier. However, Fontenay's comments do not tally with the king's wardrobe or portraiture. It was true that royal style needed to be managed and expensive clothes were not enough in themselves. They had to be worn with regal elegance which required good deportment and a fine physique and James projected all of these qualities in a half length portrait from c.1586. Painted when he was a young man of 20, possibly as part of the early negotiations for his marriage to Anna of Denmark, James was dressed in a tawny coloured doublet. However, true magnificence was to be found in the jewelled band which features on his black velvet bonnet and appears to disprove Fontenay's view that James did not

appreciate the 'curiosities of dress' [Fig. 1.6].

When James went to Denmark in 1589 to collect his bride, he was able to show off his courtly skills. He made a good impression, being described as 'a tall, slim gentleman' who dressed stylishly in 'a red velvet coat appliquéd with pieces of gold so that there was a row of golden stars and another row where the velvet could be seen. He also wore a black velvet cloak lined with sable'. On his wedding day, James dressed with a sense of poise and he 'walked first on the red carpet where he stood with his hands on his hips'. A half length image of James presents the king in a doublet of pale patterned silk, embellished with applied bands of narrow gold lace and slashing, suggests this style continued after his marriage. This was topped off with a tall crowned felt or beaver hat with a jewelled hat band at the centre of which was an A of diamonds for his wife Anna [Fig. 1.7]. The accounts reveal that James' style as a married man was influenced by Anna on many levels, not least of which was that she appreciated fine clothes. James also used clothes to mark becoming a father selecting four sets of sumptuous clothes in 1596 to celebrate the birth of his daughter. These included a cloak of 'rose peach' colour velvet and a suit of purple velvet.

1.7 Over his doublet James wore a short cloak with a wide fur guards, unknown artist, James VI and I, c.1595, oil on panel, 72.9 x 62.3 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, PG 156



While James was aware of European fashions, he also looked across the border towards England. In 1597 a group of items were made for James in London including a cloak of black velvet lined with black pan velvet and another in grey. Both were decorated with embroidered guards costing ‘£10 sterling made in Scots money - £100’. Other purchases included olive, grey and sand colour velvet costing £1,104. Shopping in London was expensive but offered insights into what men of taste were wearing there and added a further nuance to James’s style.

Courtiers and favourites in Jacobean Scotland

During this period the king’s own views were clearly established but the influence of certain male courtiers on court style was still important. Most significant were the royal favourites, perhaps most notably, George Gordon, 1st marquis and later earl of Huntly (1562-1636). Educated in France, Gordon was a catholic and while he signed the Presbyterian confession of faith in 1588, he supported a Spanish invasion of Scotland. Even so, James paid for Huntly’s marriage to Henriette Stuart in 1588 which cost five percent of the royal annual household’s expenditure. Talented and handsome, Gordon was described by James as his ‘good sonne’, one of the

early instances of the king using his role as father-figure to frame personal and political relationships even when the individual in question was older than him. The same was true of his friendship with George Hume, earl of Dunbar (c.1556-1611), who James met when he was 16 and the earl was 26. Hume travelled with James to Denmark and his portraits suggest that he was very interested in his appearance [Fig. 1.8]. Equally important was Ludovic Stuart, 2nd duke of Lennox (1574-1624), who had lived at court since his father’s death in 1583. James demonstrated their friendship with small gifts of clothing including a velvet lined black castor hat with a hat band and a pair of long Naples silk hose in October 1590 and another pair of these hose on 25 February 1591. Two years later Ludovic and fifteen friends swore an oath not to wear gold and silver trimmings for a year, which is suggestive of how highly rich clothing was valued at James’s court.

1.8 The striped effect on Dunbar’s doublet and trunkhose was achieved with applied bands of passementerie, unknown artist, Sir George Hume, earl of Dunbar, after 1590, oil on canvas, 128.3 x 102.2 cm, National Galleries of Scotland, PG 816



The clothing choices of royal favourites helped develop and perpetuate court style, a style that was emulated in the purchases of others. For instance, Sir William Douglas, half-brother of James Stuart, 1st earl of Moray, ordered his clothes from the Edinburgh merchant, George Wauchope. His account dated 1583 came to £534 18s Scots and listed the materials and clothes that George had supplied since 1581 for the laird and his sons. From these, their tailor, John Douglas, had created a number of items including ‘thrie standis’ of clothes for the laird. While these were mostly black, there was also a gown of hunscoth, a fabric from the Low Countries, riding clothes trimmed with green Spanish taffeta and ‘nycht geir’. His son Robert received a more chic mandillion cloak with an embroidered lining and garments in green, grey, violet and white. In the same year, William Douglas, the laird of Lochleven, received a bill for items including 13 ells of incarnate satin to make a doublet, a pair of hose and a cloak lining, 13 ells black satin to be the other stand of clothes, and 4 ells of incarnate passements and buttons to the incarnate doublet. Edinburgh tailors and merchants helped disseminate court style to a receptive Scottish male elite.

King of Scots and King of England (1603-25)

In 1594 the English gentleman, Robert Carey, described James as a king only to add ‘yet he is but a king borne in Scotland and so a Scottes man’ and to be treated warily. In turn, the Scots believed that the English did not deserve James because ‘this people will spoil a gud king’. The English lawyer Sir Roger Wilbraham feared the same and hoped ‘that nether the welth and peace of England make him forgett God, nor the painted flatterie of the Court cause him forgett himself’. Sir Roger’s prayers fell on deaf ears because prior to 1603 James was addressed as ‘our soverane lord’ in Scotland, but after he was ‘his sacred majesty’, following the English style. Even so, while James embraced certain aspects of English court culture, especially those that suited his idea of kingship, he did not change his style of dress.

James travelled south with three sets or stands of clothes and a cloak made for him by his tailor, Alexander Miller, in Edinburgh in April 1603. These garments reflect how the king viewed this period of transition. First and foremost was his official mourning for Elizabeth made from 21½ ells of purple velvet to be his ‘dule’ coat, cloak and breiks. These items were worn with a riding cloak of fine violet cloth lined with purple velvet and trimmed with fur. The second was ‘a stand of ryding clathis’ of feuilmort velvet and a ‘fine color de roy frenche clath to be a riding cloak, lined with color de roy velvet’ for the king’s journey. The third was all of green: ‘green satin to be dowblet and breiks lined with green Spanish taffeta with a pair of green silk shanks’. His choices were respectful and fashionable,

suitable for travel while also allowing him to take advantage of good hunting as he rode through England.

On his arrival in London James had a new audience for his style and what his English subjects saw was an individual dressed in an elegant, French style, suitable for a mature family man aged 37. James' style was echoed in the clothes of his Scottish favourites, advisors and nobles who had accompanied him south and together they set the visual appearance of the core group at court. Alexander Miller travelled with James and once in London he set to work making fifteen doublets and fourteen pairs of hose of satin 'of sundry colours', along with a jerkin and pair of velvet hose and five suits of grosgrain of sundry colours, one suit of silk grosgrain brocaded with gold and silver, one jerkin and breeches of cloth with a doublet of satin. All of the suits were decorated with lace, pinked and lined with taffeta. In terms of quantity and materials this order set the tone for the years between 1603 and 1615, when the evidence relating to the king's clothes is patchy but after 1616 it is minimal.

The suit, consisting of the doublet and hose, was central to James' wardrobe and he ordered significant numbers ranging from 65 in 1603-04 and 51 in 1613-14. While the accounts provide little detail on cut, portraits suggest that his doublets were fairly close fitting with a peascod belly. They were lined with taffeta and the tailor also supplied stitching and sewing silk, ribbon, along with canvas, baize, fustian, rug, hair stiffenings and Holland cloth. Equally, there are only a few hints about the style of hose being ordered. For example, in 1605-06 James appears to have favoured long hose including a doublet and pair of long hose of hair satin slashed with taffeta upon cloth of silver. Paned hose, of the type depicted by de Critz, appear, along with occasional pairs of bullion hose and canions and in 1613 there was a single pair of the full breeches known as Venetians [Fig. 1.9].

Successive orders reveal fancy cloaks, such as a tawny velvet example with three embroidered borders and furred with sable, and opulent suits, including a doublet of pinked carnation silk grosgrain and hose of uncut carnation velvet trimmed with embroidered silk lace. Essentially the same in terms of cut, the all important differences lie in the details of colour, combinations of fabrics and applied decoration. In part this reflects the way in which the fashionable look changed subtly year in, year out, but it may also suggest that James knew what he liked and wise tailors provided him with that. It may have been a reflection of his age although in Fonteny's opinion James was always 'an old young man'. However, James was not alone in prizing familiarity and good materials over innovative cut. When Robert, lord Spencer, went to Wurtemberg in 1603 he ordered 'a white satin doublet of the same fashion that my old one is'. Whether Spencer favoured older styles or was resisting the new court look under James, it is hard to say.

Equally challenging is the lack of accounts and the small number of portraits between 1615 and 1625 that make it difficult to consider the king's clothing in detail during this period. However, the basic format of his orders probably remained the same and this is supported by a comment made in 1617 by the Venetian ambassador, Horatio Busino. He described James wearing 'tawny satin, the whole suit being



1.9 James' cream doublet, paned trunkhose and shoes show off the sable lined cloak very effectively, attributed to John de Critz the elder, James VI and I, c.1606, oil on canvas, Dulwich Picture Gallery

1.10 The king's formal robes contrast with his white suit, Paul van Somer, James VI and I, c.1620, oil on canvas, 226.1 x 149.2 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 404446

1.11 (opposite) Doublet and breeches of satin, slashed and laid over taffeta, of similar style and colour to those favoured by James, c.1618, V&A Museum, London, T.28&A-1938 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



embroidered, while his black velvet cloak was trimmed with lace right up to the shoulders, and lined with sables’.

When Paul van Somer painted the king in c. 1620 James wore a suit of white satin, doublet with fitted sleeves, slight peascod front, small skirts and short points, full, knee length breeches with slashing and pinking; shoes with a ribbon bow, and fairly flat shoes [Fig. 1.10]. In terms of style and cut it compares very well with a surviving suit from the period [Fig. 1.11]. Although the king looked much older when painted by Mytens in 1621, he was dressed in a similar white satin suit. This suggests that a pale suit was favoured with state robes but it also reflected James’ fondness for white, a colour often associated with the Stuarts. James also promoted blue as a fashionable colour – especially pale to mid-range bright blues – and he wore it for state occasions. For instance, the king selected a suit of ‘watchet satin laid with silver lace’ for his meeting on 5 June 1619 with the duke of Lorraine [Fig. 1.12]. While Sir John Holles complained that the Scots ‘filled every corner of the Court with theis beggarly blew caps’, he was wise enough not to pass comment on the king’s blue satin doublet. More importantly, fashionable younger men, like Nathaniel Bacon embraced Stuart blue so demonstrating their support for James [Fig. 1.13].



1.12 This blue doublet is decorated with lots of slashing, pinking and jeweled buttons, Nicholas Hilliard, James VI and I, c.1609-15, watercolour on vellum on card, 4.6 x 3.8 cm, Royal Collection, RCIN 420039

1.13 Bacon’s doublet is an excellent example of the style popular in the 1620s, Nathaniel Bacon, Self portrait, c.1625, oil on canvas, 57.5 x 44.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 2142

The impact of the Stuarts moving to London

The impact on the king's clothes of his transfer to London was minimal in terms of his personal style with his wardrobe reflecting the look he had developed in Scotland. However, there were clear differences between James's clothing in Edinburgh and Westminster on a number of practical and administrative levels. Financially, moving to England meant that James had considerably more money to spend on everything including clothes, although not necessarily as much as he thought there would be. This was reflected in a marked increase in the number of items ordered, and the cost, because the bills were now in pounds sterling, rather than the Scottish pound that was worth a twelfth of sterling. There was also a change in the pattern of when things were ordered but this was a continuation of changes that had begun in Scotland. From an early age, orders were placed when the king required new things and the frequency of orders increased as the reign progressed rising from 7 in 1579 to 54 in 1591. Equally, up to 1590 the king's clothes were listed in the Treasurer's accounts. After that, the impact of the king's marriage was felt and between 1591 and 1600 the materials supplied by Robert Jousie for 'the king's and queen's apparel' were listed in a separate volume of accounts, at the instigation of Sir George Hume, master of the wardrobe. In England the king followed the established pattern used by the officers of the Great Wardrobe and the wardrobe of the robes since the 1520s, with James placing orders twice a year, in the spring and autumn, as the Tudors had before him.

James's tailor, Alexander Miller, travelled with his employer and adopted this new working pattern. In Scotland, the materials required to make the king's clothes were delivered to Alexander Miller, so the king acted like other Scottish clients in that he (or a member of his household) supplied the fabrics. On occasions when the royal household had not bought enough, they looked to other suppliers to make up the difference, as on 22 June 1587 when Patrick Nimmo supplied Robert Jousie with fustian, linen, a dozen green silk points and four dozen green silk buttons 'for his majesties grene claithis'. In the Great Wardrobe the king's tailor supplied all of the fabrics and charged their royal client for them and Miller did likewise.

There was also a change in the range of materials used, especially those used for linings and stiffening. Up to 1603 these had been Scottish fabrics or fabrics that were regular imports into the country. Most notable was the use of plaiding, stenting, caddas and Scottish linen alongside imports including Naples taffeta, Spanish taffeta, and Florence ribbon. After 1603 these changed to fabrics produced in England or to those the merchants imported into London. As noted above, some English cloth had featured in James's pre-1603 wardrobe as on 29

September 1591 when Alexander Miller received 6 ells of London cloth columbine colour to be his majesty's winter riding clothes, cloak, coat and breeches at £8 the ell. In tandem with this, there was a change in the measurement from the Scottish ell (37 inches/94 cm) to the English yard (36 inches/91.5 cm). Finally, the language of the accounts changed from middle Scots and French to English or Latin. As a result many French terms for colours (such as rouge brown, fleur de peche, and cramosie), or garments (for instance a French joup and hose) found in the Scottish accounts disappeared, as did Scots terms such as shanks, and sarks. While the James and Miller might influence the style of the clothes being made, English administrative systems forced changes in the way that Miller worked and supplied his king.

The Scottish male elite south of the border

Many of the Scots who travelled with James to his southern kingdom had worked hard to see him succeed Elizabeth. They fell into two groups with the first consisting of courtiers such as John Erskine, earl of Mar, who was known as Jock o'the Slaters (1558-1634), and Thomas Erskine, 1st earl of Kellie (1566-1639) who was captain of the Guard and groom of the stool from 1604. The second was made up of civil servants and politicians including George Hume, noted above, and the lawyer, Edward Bruce, 1st lord Kinloss (1548-1611). As Jenny Wormald has observed, James gave most of his Scottish supporters money rather than office, at a time when, in Alexandra Shepard's view, individuals assessed themselves primarily in terms of their wealth and moveable goods. As a result, these Scots had the means and motive to buy clothes in the style favoured by their king at his new court and in so doing helped promote the Stuart look.

Appointed as master of the wardrobe in 1601, George Hume played an important role in the king's court at Westminster. Dunbar's influence was evident at the wedding of John Ramsey, viscount of Haddington and lord Ramsey of Barns (c.1580-1626) to Lady Elizabeth Radclyffe on 9 February 1608. While the royal children ate with the bride, and the king offered a substantial gift, 'Dunbar's went beyond all, being valued between four and five hundred pounds'. With this present, Dunbar, an established royal favourite, demonstrated his support for another royal favourite and fellow Scot. More importantly Dunbar represented James in Scotland, because the king gave him almost vice-regal powers there. In order to maintain this role, James gave Elizabeth I's 'inestimable Wardrobe' to Dunbar, who, according to Thomas Astle, keeper of records at the Tower, 'wickedlye transporting them to the Low Countryes, sold them for above One Hundred Thousand Pounds'. This was a significant windfall for Hume and added greatly to his standing.

Like George Hume, the king was well aware of the importance placed on the male body when he observed that should anyone 'set another leg as well made beside mine, I warrant you... [Northampton] will swear the King's sweet leg is the finest'. Sir James Hay, 1st earl of Carlisle (1580-1636), was also blessed with fine legs and his first patron was Charles Cauchon de Paupas, baron du Tour, a French diplomat sent to Scotland in 1602 [Fig. 1.14]. Hay's European elegance ensured that James sent him to greet ambassadors in London. He also served as an ambassador and in 1616 he was made an extraordinary ambassador to Louis XIII of France. Hay ordered twenty new suits which needed to be changed to keep in line with French fashion. His wardrobe included a white cloak and hose embroidered with gold and silver thread, a doublet of cloth of gold, also embroidered, and a white beaver hat. As one onlooker observed, he 'furnishes himself very sumptuously, and purposes to appear in that court with as much magnificence, as good clothes, and embroideries can give, being accompanied with Sir Harry Riche, Sir George Gowring, and many others of that humour'. For his 1621 embassy to France Hay bought his clothes in Paris to ensuring that he was stylish.

1.14 Hays' love of clothes is evident from his sumptuous doublet, and a flamboyant collar supported by a pickadil, Unknown artist, James Hay, earl of Carlisle, 1628, oil on canvas, 194.6 x 120 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 5210.



In 1617 James VI told the Scottish council that his 'salmonlyke instinct' had drawn him back to his homeland. James's approach to the visit is summed up in his request to receive his robes in advance. It was ordered that 'His Majesties robe royall be send up to his Majestie with all convenient [haist] to the effect his Majesite may provyde him self of ane new robe efter the fassioun of the auld'. He intended to wear his Scottish robes but their condition had to reflect his dignity as king of three kingdoms and of Scotland. His visit was carefully planned but could never truly make up for his prolonged absence. Even so, he used the opportunity to promote the union of the crowns and while there he noted how many of his fellow Scots 'had learned of the English to drink their healths, to wear coaches and gay clothes, to take tobacco, and to speak neither Scottish nor English'. How much weight should be attached to the phrase 'gay clothes' is debateable because his attire prior to 1603 was brightly coloured and showy without any English intervention, although the quantity of clothes he owned had increased significantly. While James had always worn a range of colours, bright shades did not suit all tastes as indicated by



the portrait of Alexander Seton, 1st earl of Dunfermline (1555-1622). Seton was Lord Chancellor of Scotland from 1604-1622 and Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland. When he sat for Marcus Gheeraerts, Seton selected a black, fur lined gown over a black doublet and hose [Fig. 1.15] that added gravitas to his place in Scottish government.

1.15 Seton's expensive accessories included a four-layered ruff, gilt sword hilt, gilt fittings on his girdle, and the ring on his right hand, Marcus Gheeraerts the younger, Alexander Seton, 1st earl of Dunfermline (1555-1622), 1610, oil on canvas, National Galleries of Scotland, PG 2176

James did not go back to Scotland alone. Sir Robert Gordon (1580-1656), who had been appointed as a gentleman of the privy chamber in 1606, returned to James' northern kingdom with him in 1617 where he won the silver arrow in the archery competition at Holyrood. Archibald Armstrong (d. 1672), who was either from Scotland or Cumberland was court jester to James VI and I and he accompanied the king on his visit to Scotland in 1617 where he was a great success. More importantly, the visit was an opportunity for James to meet his subjects and these included James Hamilton, 2nd marquis of Hamilton (1589-1625) who rapidly became James' new favourite replacing Carr. James delighted 'at the conquest I have made in drawing in this man to wayte upon me... that I assure myself his service will repaye my liberallitie with a double interest' [Fig. 1.16]. As his portrait reveals, Hamilton expressed his loyalty by dressing in Jacobean court fashion.

1.16 Hamilton's black suit, striped with silver demonstrates how fancy black could be, workshop of Daniel Mytens, James Hamilton, 2nd marquis of Hamilton, c.1622-24, oil on canvas, Lennoxlove, East Lothian

Englishmen at James' London court

Not all of the men who found favour at James VI's court were Scots. One of James' English favourites was Roger Aston who was born in Cheshire but had lived in Scotland since he was a boy. He was a trusted servant of James, serving as a private courier to Elizabeth, and he had become the king's master huntsman by 1580. In January 1604 Aston received two suits of clothing as a gentleman of the bedchamber. However, Aston was in a minority and most of James's English supporters, such as Robert Cecil, 1st earl of Salisbury (1563-1612), first met him in 1603. While Cecil was vital to James' government, he was not a fashion leader yet his response to Stuart flamboyance is telling. Determined not to be outplayed, in 1603 Cecil bought himself a large diamond ring of 53 carats so ensuring he looked the part at the new king's court with further purchases of jewels from Sir John Spilman in 1606 costing £1,257. In contrast, Thomas Howard, 21st earl of Arundel, adopted 'so ordinary a habit' but it was not to his detriment because 'his garb and fashion drawing more observation than did the rich apparel of others, so that it was a common saying of the late Earl of Carlisle, here comes Arundel in his plain stuff and trunk hose...that looks more like a nobleman than any of us'. James' Scottish supporters recognised that Arundel's style provided a distinctive counterpoint to their court dress.

James' court also attracted a competitive group of younger men, such as Richard Sackville, 3rd earl of Dorset (1589-1624), who wore expensive, flamboyant clothes in a bid to stand out. Their ornate attire was, arguably, the product of competitive male dressing at the Stuart court where there was a need to be noticed by the king. James was certainly appreciative of well dressed, young men and this resulted in a continuation of the role taken by Robert Devereux, earl of Essex and the earl of Southampton as taste makers under Elizabeth where the need to gain female royal approval had created the same competitive environment. The popularity of tight, white hose can be seen in Elizabethan garter portraits by men who Castiglione described as wanting to 'cut a figure'. Cutting a figure was the key to male success at James VI and I's court, regardless of whether it was in Scotland or England.

There were ways to resist what was seen as Stuart style and in the view of Malcolm Smuts this was to adopt the Spanish fashion. Based on an analysis of courtier portraits in the 1610s Smuts considers that the increasing quantities of black, in tandem with less brocade, reflected a move towards Spanish style, and gravitas. However, to see Spanish style as the model of understatement needs to be tempered by other viewpoints such as that of Matthew Bruninge in November

1608. Writing from Madrid, Matthew excused his request for money to buy clothes by explaining that 'here the very shoemakers go in their velvet'. Even so, at times all things Spanish were in vogue as in early 1617. Sir John Throgmorton reported that while 'the Spanish treaty is not so forward as reported...the Spanish tongue, dress, &c., are all in fashion'. As Lesley Miller has shown, Prince Charles briefly promoted Spanish style in 1623 after his return from Madrid but while there were moments, such as these, when Spanish dress was a politically and economically prudent move, it could also be a risky option as a visitor to the capital noted that 'Foreigners are ill regarded, not to say detested, in London, so sensible people dress in the English fashion, or that of France, which is adopted by the whole court'. This fondness for French fashion and French tailoring is reflected in the accounts of Lord Ross who was supplied with clothes by John Jackson from a tailor in Paris. A bill dating from April 1614 includes details for 'shkerlet clois', 'your lordships tawny satin clois', and for 'the reid camelet clois'. As noted before, France rather than Spain was the significant European influence on James' fashionable look.

Guising: costumes and disguises as an integral part of Stuart clothing culture

Dress played an important part of the Scottish royal guising culture with the accounts for December 1579 listing an entry for masque clothes requiring 28 ells of red and yellow taffeta, 6 ells 'tock' of silver, and 10 ells of buckram along with six swords and six daggers. While often the primary member of the audience for a masque, James also wrote masques including those performed at the wedding for the earl of Huntly and the duke of Lennox's sister in 1588 and at the baptism of prince Henry. Occasionally he participated as in June 1591 when James dressed in a suit of 'maskerie' clothes of incarnadine Spanish taffeta at a marriage, possibly that of Lilius Murray, daughter of John Murray, the laird of Tullibardine. For participants, the value of attracting the admiring royal gaze was priceless and tight-fitting clothes on a lithe male body helped to achieve this. Lord Hay recalled how 'the mode was to appeare very small in the wast' so he was 'drawne up from the ground by both hands whilst the tayler with all his strength buttoned on my doublet'. While James appreciated the merits of the masque, he was not a keen joustier. Even so, he did run at the ring on important family occasions such as the visit of Christian IV of Denmark in 1606 and in 1613 to celebrate his daughter's wedding as a display of Stuart family pride.

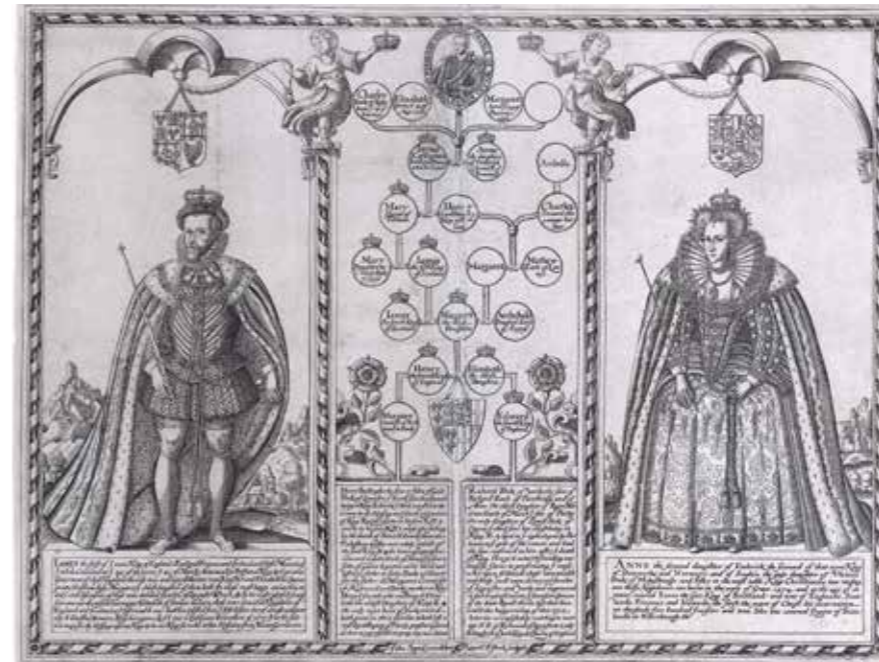
Such occasions also saw use of the Stuart livery colours of red and yellow, which was also employed for making clothing for royal

household servants. One disadvantage with livery was that anyone wearing it was accepted as being a legitimate member of the royal household, so much so that the conspirators engaged in a foiled plot in November 1603 planned ‘after the slaughter of many guards to put on their coats’. However, when Sir Randal MacDonnell issued his troops with crimson and yellow taffeta in 1625 he did so for very different reasons. His stated aim was to ensure that they would not look ‘like kernes’, the traditional lightly armed Irish foot soldiers, by dressing them in the colours and style of loyal supporters of the Stuart monarchs.

Clothes often served as a cover for something else. According to Sir Anthony Weldon, James was ‘more corpulent through his cloathes then in his body’ because ‘his cloathes [were] ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great pleats and full stuffed’. While James did have anxieties about his safety, men’s suits in the early seventeenth century were padded, so Weldon’s comments reflect the fashionable trend as much as a specific royal foible. While it is not easy to assess whether the king’s doublets had more padding than usual, he was certainly not out of step with mainstream fashion. For instance, a black and green velvet doublet made for the king in 1604 was lined with lined with taffeta, Holland and bombast, while the hose were lined with Holland, frieze and horse hair. This compares favourably with a doublet of rose colour satin ordered for prince Henry in 1607-08 that was lined and padded with 2¼ ells of Holland, 5 yards of baize, 2 ells of canvas, 2 yards of rug, 1½ lb of bombast, 4 yards of fustian, and 2 ells of crine (a type of hair cloth). This is another example of how Weldon’s view has coloured James’s reputation and while James may have been keen to prevent more attacks on his safety, his clothes expressed his sense of fashion rather than fear.

Conclusions

James VI and I was certain that, in spite of what Castiglione and others might say, ‘if your mind be found occupied upon [clothes], it will be thought idle’. Nevertheless, his mind regularly did dwell upon clothing because it was central to his own self-representation as a Stuart king and that of his court and countries. James aspired to set the style in Scotland through his personal example backed up with the use of sumptuary law however he was inconsistent in its application. While present in both countries prior to his accession in 1603, 1604 saw the end of sumptuary legislation in England but not in Scotland. On occasion the king’s influence could be negative, as in when James expressed his disapproval of women wearing masculine styles. Notable is how James sought to fashion his own



1.17 Placed between his fashionable father and mother, sits prince Henry, the hope of Stuart fashion, Renold Elstrack (engraver), James I and Anna of Denmark, engraving, 1651, 28.3 x 37.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, acc. no. 28.7.13, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1928

image and reputation with words because the king often expressed his frustration by reference to clothing or nudity. For example, the constant petitioning of suitors caused James to exclaim on one famous occasion ‘God’s wounds! I will pull down my breeches and they shall also see my arse’.

In spite of the criticisms made by Weldon, James’ clothing accounts reveal a man who was keen to ensure that his clothes upheld his royal authority, whether this was while he was young and growing into his role as king of Scots or as he set about the challenge of ruling his three kingdoms. Just as Jenny Wormold has demonstrated that James was a very successful monarch as king of Scotland, the sartorial evidence reveals that he led a fashionable court there too where male dress was prized and admired. He also succeeded in transferring his style to London, in part because it had elements in common with the Elizabethan court but also because there had been a lack of a strong male fashionable lead with James’ level of influence at the court of the Virgin queen. James’ style was shared with his most of his older Scottish and English male courtiers, with a few opting out by favouring black over Jacobean opulence. However, as chapter 2 reveals, the king’s position as leader of court fashion was challenged as the reign progressed by his sons [Fig. 1.17]. The competition between the young men at court, and in particular prince Henry and the king’s young Scottish favourite, Robert Carr, soon resulted in the development of a second, rival strand of Stuart style.

Dressing, Undressing and the Significance of the Stuart Bedchamber

THE COMBINATION OF CRIMSON GENOA velvet, ivory Chinese silk damask, and silk trimmings on the state bed at Melville House, Fife, is a testament to how opulent seventeenth century Scottish bedchambers could be [Fig. 9.1]. Made in 1700 for George Melville, 1st earl Melville (1636-1707), the bed reflects the newly created earl's wealth and political standing under William III. They first met when Melville went into exile after being implicated in the Rye House plot of 1683 that aimed to replace Charles II and his brother with the duke of Monmouth. Medina's portrait of the earl presents him proudly wearing the crimson sash of a royalist over black armour [Fig. 9.2]. However, as his story reveals Melville was a royalist whose idea of monarchy was defined by his Presbyterian beliefs and his Whig politics. He was at the forefront of William's supporters in Scotland and he may have commissioned the bed in hope of a royal visit in 1700. While the visit did not take place, the bed remained as the focal point of the main bedchamber and serves as a reminder of Melville's taste and ambition.

Dressing and undressing marked the start and finish of Melville's day just as it did for Scotsmen across the social order. Putting on and taking off clothes usually took place in the bedchamber or dressing chamber and men received frequent advice on how to undertake these simple but significant acts. Richard Day stressed the moral and religious value of clothing in his *Booke of Christian Prayers*, (1578) 'Clothe me with thy self O my redeemer and sanctifier...Be thou our clothing and apparel, to keep us warme from the cold of this world'. Once undressed, Philip Stubbes exhorted his readers to 'thinke, that as thou putttest off, and laiest aside thy material garments...put off, and lay away the earthlie mansion of thy bodie'. In contrast, James VI and I was more pragmatic, commenting in the Basilikon Doron that

9.1 The height of French style, this bed asserts Melville's support of William over James, Daniel Marot, the State Bed from Melville House, Fife, 1700, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, W.35.1-61.1949

Glossary

- Almain** – German, in the German style
- Apron** – protective, linen garment, worn by boys prior to breeching
- Band, falling band** – a standing neckband with a collar attached, available in a variety of styles, including a falling band or turned down collar, along with wide and deep versions
- Band strings** – linen tasselled ties to fasten a shirt, ruff or falling band
- Beaver** – the fur of the beaver was felted to make hats known as ‘beavers’
- Bobbin lace** – also known as pillow and bone lace; the individual threads are pinned to a pillow and attached to a bobbin and by manipulating the bobbins the lace is formed by crossing and intertwining the threads
- Bombazine** – a silk and wool mix or silk and cotton
- Bonnet** – very popular soft form of men’s headwear, with a brim and crown, often knitted and felted
- Boothose** – linen over-stocking often with decorative tops, worn to protect the stockings/hose from rubbing when wearing boots
- Boots** – footwear, usually made of leather, usually to the knee or just above
- Brandenburg** – a loose overcoat or surtout
- Breeching** – ‘ceremony’ marking a boy’s transition from wearing coats to a doublet and hose
- Breeches/breikis/breeks** – short, often close fitting garment worn on the lower body, coming to just below the knee, front fastening
- Buckram/buckasie** – a coarse fabric made stiffened linen or hemp, used as a stiffening and a lining
- Cadis/caddas** – a light weight wool fabric
- Calico** – printed cotton fabric
- Cambric** – a lightweight, fine, plain weave linen
- Camlet** – mixed fabric often combining goat hair with wool or silk
- Canions** – extensions to the hose that extended down the thighs, could be various lengths
- Capotains** – ‘sugar loaf’ shaped hat with tall crown, made from blocked felt
- Cloak bag breeches** – 1620s-1630s
- Clocks** – vertical decoration on the ankle of a stocking
- Cloth** – plain weave woollen fabric
- Coat/cote/coit** – upper body garment, front fastening with long or elbow length sleeves
- Codpiece** – attached at the front of the hose by points to conceal the front opening
- Cramosie** – crimson
- Cravat** – strip of linen wrapped round the neck and tied with a bow or a know
- Crepe/crape** – thin silk gauze or silk and worsted mix used for mourning
- Damask** – A patterned textile with a warp and a weft and the pattern is created by contrasting binding systems. It can be reversible.
- Dillweeds** – mourning clothes
- Doublet/dowblet** – short, fitted upper body garment with long sleeves worn over the shirt
- Doublet** – a composite gemstone sometimes used to imitate more expensive gems
- Dule** – mourning
- Ferandine** – made from silk and wool
- File** – silver, silver gilt or gold strip wrapped round a silk or linen core
- Filemot, feuille morte, philmote** – a colour, that of a dead leaf or faded leaf
- Frisé** – silver, silver gilt or gold strip wrapped round a core, one end of which is twisted more than the other resulting in a crinkled effect
- Fustian** – a union cloth with a linen warp and a cotton weft
- Garters** – ribbon, or a length of fine silk fabric tied round the knee to hold up stockings;
- Gridelin, gridalin, grizelin** – from the French gris de lin, grey of flax, flax grey; the name of a colour – a pale purple or grey violet, occasionally a pale red
- Grosgrain** – a silk (or silk and wool/silk and hair) fabric with a ribbed effect created by using a thin silk warp and a thick weft of silk or cotton; often used for ribbons
- Hangers** – supports for the sword attached to the sword belt
- Hanging sleeves** – a false sleeve on a doublet or gown
- Harden** – a coarse/heavy weight linen
- Harn** – coarse linen made from refuse hemp or flax
- Holland** – medium weight linen cloth
- Hose/hois** – covered the male body from the feet to the waist, or to above the knees, could be knitted or cut from cloth on the bias
- Jerkin/jupe** – sleeved or sleeveless garment, often worn over a doublet

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SP8 State Papers Office, King William’s Chest

SP14 State Papers Domestic, James I

SP16 State Papers Domestic, Charles I

SP29 State Papers Domestic, Charles II

Brotherton Library, Leeds

MS dep. 1984/3/5

Lincolnshire Record Office, Lincoln

I-Worsley/6

British Library, London

Additional MS 4,177, 5,750, 8,126, 10,118, 12,528, 24,928, 25,348, 29,975, 37,047, 38,854, 69,883B, 75,303, 75,391

Cotton MS Faustina E.1

Egerton MS 2,542, 2,816

Harley MS 293, 589, 6272

Royal MS 18.B.IV

Stowe MS 555, 563

London Metropolitan Archive

AM/P1 (1) 1673/33.

CLA/024/06/002 - MCD2/30

National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

MSL/1935/320

Royal Collection, London

Inventory of Charles II’s pictures at Whitehall and Hampton Court

Society of Antiquaries, London

MS 129

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Clarendon MS 60, 109

Christ Church, Oxford

Cathedral Register

Northamptonshire Record Office, Northampton

Isham correspondence, 1379

Nottingham University Library, Nottingham

MS PwV92

Portland MS Pw V 93

Scotland

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

MS 83

National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh

B34 Records of Inverkeithing Burgh

B59 Records of Perth Burgh

CH2 Records of Church of Scotland synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions

CH12 Records of the Episcopal Church of Scotland

E18 Commissions for the exchequer and treasury, for offices concerned with the revenue and for auditing accounts