

## **NOTE TO USERS**

**The original manuscript received by UMI contains pages with light print. Pages were microfilmed as received.**

**This reproduction is the best copy available**

**UMI**



Lord Clive's Suit? A Material History Study of a Suit from The  
Clothing and Textiles Museum at the University of Manitoba.

By

Jillian C. Condra

A Thesis  
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment  
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Clothing and Textiles  
University of Manitoba  
Winnipeg, Manitoba

(c) January, 1998



National Library  
of Canada

Acquisitions and  
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale  
du Canada

Acquisitions et  
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file Votre référence*

*Our file Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-32081-2

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
\*\*\*\*\*  
COPYRIGHT PERMISSION PAGE**

**LORD CLIVE'S SUIT? A MATERIAL HISTORY STUDY OF A SUIT FROM THE  
CLOTHING AND TEXTILES MUSEUM AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA**

**BY**

**JILLIAN C. CONDRA**

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University  
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree**

**of**

**MASTER OF SCIENCE**

**Jillian C. Condra ©1998**

**Permission has been granted to the Library of The University of Manitoba to lend or sell  
copies of this thesis/practicum, to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis  
and to lend or sell copies of the film, and to Dissertations Abstracts International to publish  
an abstract of this thesis/practicum.**

**The author reserves other publication rights, and neither this thesis/practicum nor  
extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's  
written permission.**

**Lord Clive's suit? A material history study of a suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum at the University of Manitoba**

**Abstract**

In the late 1980's the University of Manitoba received a donation of two pieces of a suit that is purported to have belonged to Lord Clive. Robert, Lord Clive (1725-1774), Baron of Plassey, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Bath was among the most notable Generals of the British Army in India. He was also known as one of the wealthiest subjects in Britain, hailing from the county of Shropshire in North West England. The provenance accompanying the donation suggested that Clive was married in the suit in 1753. This study aimed to learn the provenance and verify the age of the suit.

Reilly (1979) suggests that material evidence is one of the most useful and least used sources of information for social historians. From clothing, as material history, we can learn about individuals and about cultures. A revised model for the study of clothing as material culture was devised based on the seminal work of Jules Prown (1982) and E. McLung Flemming (1974). The new model is clothing specific, allowing for more detailed comparative analysis with other clothing artifacts, to help in establishing a correct date for the Clothing and Textiles Museum suit. The new model allowed for the suit to be studied within the context of eighteenth century men's fashion, eighteenth century social history of the British aristocracy, the East India Company and the life of Lord Clive.

Research at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Costume Museum in Bath, the McCord Museum in Montreal, and the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, verified that the date was compatible with the period of Lord Clive's adulthood. The research also suggests that the suit is likely not wedding dress, and presents other possible uses. The Clive archives at the National Library of Wales, the India Office Records at the British Library and the Clive Museum in Powis Castle provided some important information from which to postulate on the provenance of the suit.

This eighteenth century suit is unique in the Province of Manitoba, and its museums. It has presented an exciting mystery and an opportunity to test a new model of research where the goal is to learn the provenance, and accurately assign a date to a clothing artifact.

## **Acknowledgements**

Many people provided me with support and guidance throughout my thesis research and I would like to extend my appreciation and thanks to them.

I would like to thank Dr. Cecile Clayton-Gouthro, my advisor, and my other committee members Dr. Susan Turnbull-Caton and Dr. Edward Moulton. Thanks to the donor of the suit, Mrs. Wiley, without whom this project would not have been possible. There were many other people, curators and academics who guided me in my research, namely; Dr. Martin King at the University of Manitoba, Dr. Alexandra Palmer and Shannon Elliot at the Royal Ontario Museum, Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross at the McCord Museum, Avril Hart at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Penelope Roddock at the Costume Museum in Bath, Edward Maeder, Nancy Bryant at Oregon State University and all the archivists at the National Library of Wales, and the India Office Records at the British Library.

I am indebted to my family and friends who knowingly and unknowingly assisted in the process. I would like to thank Jess Dixon for his help with photographs. Thanks also to everyone in England who helped to make my research trip so productive and enjoyable.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  | <b>Page</b> |
|--|-------------|
| ABSTRACT   | i           |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS                                 | ii          |
| LIST OF FIGURES                                  | vii         |
| LIST OF TABLES                                   | viii        |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS                            | ix          |
| CHAPTER  |             |
| I. INTRODUCTION                                  | 1           |
| Objectives                                       | 2           |
| Justification                                    | 3           |
| Theoretical Framework                            | 3           |
| Definitions                                      | 4           |
| Scope  | 4           |
| I. LITERATURE REVIEW                             | 5           |
| Material Culture and Costume Methodology         | 5           |
| Costume History and Material Culture Methodology | 8           |
| Historic Costume Artifact Studies                | 9           |
| Eighteenth Century Men's Costume in Britain      | 13          |
| Fabric   | 13          |
| Style Changes throughout the Century             | 14          |
| Breeches   | 14          |
| Coats and Waistcoats                             | 15          |
| Wigs   | 16          |
| Stockings and Shoes                              | 16          |
| The Eighteenth Century                           | 17          |
| Establishing Links                               | 20          |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| III. RESEARCH APPROACH  | 21 |
| Original Research Models  | 21 |
| New Model of Analysis   | 21 |
| Procedure   | 23 |
| Implementation  | 24 |
| Pilot Study   | 26 |
| Conclusion  | 27 |
| IV. FINDINGS  | 28 |
| Robert. Lord Clive. Baron of Plassey. and Knight of the Bath                                | 28 |
| V. FINDINGS   | 41 |
| Description of the Suit   | 41 |
| Silhouette  | 43 |
| Construction  | 48 |
| Signs of Wear   | 48 |
| Suit from the C & T Museum in Comparison with other<br>18th century Waistcoats and Breeches | 49 |
| Comparing the Waistcoats  | 50 |
| Comparing the Breeches  | 52 |
| Fabrics   | 53 |
| Applied Design  | 54 |
| Embroidery  | 54 |
| Lace  | 54 |
| Ruching   | 55 |
| Provenance  | 55 |
| Fabric Origins  | 55 |
| Provenance of the Suit  | 56 |
| Clive's Last Will and Testament   | 56 |
| Tailor's Log Book   | 60 |
| Possible Uses for the Suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum                            | 61 |
| Knights of the Bath   | 61 |
| Robes of the Knights of the Bath  | 62 |
| The Uniforms of the British Military in India and England                                   | 64 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Portraits and Images of Clive               | 68  |
| National Portrait Gallery Clive Portrait    | 68  |
| Powis Castle Clive Portrait                 | 70  |
| Clive House Museum Clive Portrait           | 72  |
| Expert Opinions                             | 74  |
| Other Clive Clothing                        | 75  |
| Summary of Findings                         | 75  |
| VI.    CONCLUSIONS                          | 77  |
| An Artifact in Time                         | 77  |
| The Waistcoat                               | 78  |
| The Breeches                                | 80  |
| Authentic or a Reproduction?                | 81  |
| Function                                    | 82  |
| Wedding Suit                                | 82  |
| Military Uniforms                           | 84  |
| Ceremonial Dress of the Knights of the Bath | 85  |
| Inventory of Valuables and the Will         | 86  |
| Further Interpretation and Analysis         | 87  |
| The Log Book and the Ticket Compared        | 87  |
| Is it Clive's Suit?                         | 89  |
| Critique of the Research Model              | 90  |
| Further Questions and Future Research       | 91  |
| REFERENCES                                  | 93  |
| APPENDIX A                                  | 101 |
| APPENDIX B                                  | 103 |
| APPENDIX C                                  | 105 |
| APPENDIX D                                  | 108 |
| APPENDIX E                                  | 110 |

|                   |     |
|-------------------|-----|
| <b>APPENDIX F</b> | 112 |
| <b>APPENDIX G</b> | 115 |
| <b>APPENDIX H</b> | 117 |
| <b>APPENDIX I</b> | 119 |
| <b>APPENDIX J</b> | 121 |

## List of Figures

|           |  | Page |
|-----------|--|------|
| Figure 1  | Identification Ticket  | 1    |
| Figure 2  | Identification Ticket  | 41   |
| Figure 3  | Front view of the jacket   | 42   |
| Figure 4  | Back view of the jacket  | 43   |
| Figure 5  | Curved sleeve of the jacket  | 43   |
| Figure 6  | Pocket with covered buttons and ruching detail   | 44   |
| Figure 7  | Rosette and knee ties from the breeches  | 45   |
| Figure 8  | Close-up view of the front closure of the breeches   | 46   |
| Figure 9  | Full front view of the breeches  | 46   |
| Figure 10 | Side view of the breeches  | 47   |
| Figure 11 | Close up of the back waistband   | 47   |
| Figure 12 | National Portrait Gallery portrait of Clive  | 69   |
| Figure 13 | Close up of the pocket detail from the NPG Clive portrait<br>by Nathaniel Dance              | 70   |
| Figure 14 | Powis Castle Portrait of Clive<br>by Nathaniel Dance   | 71   |
| Figure 15 | Clive in his Robes of the Bath, from the Clive House Museum<br>in Shrewsbury, by Henry Clive | 73   |
| Figure 16 | Sample of writing from the Tailor's log book   | 88   |
| Figure 17 | Sample of writing from the ticket on the jacket from the<br>Clothing and Textiles Museum     | 88   |

## **List of Tables**

|         |  | page |
|---------|--|------|
| Table 1 | New model for the study of costume as material culture   | 22   |
| Table 2 | A list of the complete dress for the Knights of the Bath | 63   |

## **List of Abbreviations**

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <b>NPG</b>                 | <b>National Portrait Gallery</b>   |
| <b>R.O.M.</b>              | <b>Royal Ontario Museum</b>  |
| <b>V &amp; A</b>           | <b>Victoria and Albert Museum</b>  |
| <b>C &amp; T Museum</b>    | <b>Clothing and Textiles Museum</b>                                      |
| <b>C &amp; T suit</b>      | <b>Suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum</b>                        |
| <b>C &amp; T breeches</b>  | <b>Breeches from the Clothing and Textiles Museum</b>                    |
| <b>C &amp; T waistcoat</b> | <b>Waistcoat from the Clothing and Textiles Museum</b>                   |
| <b>EIC</b>                 | <b>East India Company</b>  |
| <b>UNB model</b>           | <b>Stuart Smith's model developed at the University of New Brunswick</b> |

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

In the late 1980's the Clothing and Textiles Museum at the University of Manitoba received a two-piece man's suit to add to its collection of artifacts. The previous owner of the suit claimed it was from the eighteenth century, and that it was the wedding suit of Lord Clive (1725-1774), of Shropshire, England.

After initial investigation of the suit a limited provenance was pieced together in part from the donor's story, and from intrinsic evidence within the suit itself. When the suit was accessioned into the collection the board of directors at the Clothing and Textiles Museum examined the suit and dated it circa 1770-1780. This conclusion was based on a comparison of construction and design details with other documented sources of eighteenth century suits.

The assigned date was supported by outside experts in costume history. In 1990, Edward Maeder then from the Los Angeles County Museum, analysed the suit and suggested that the suit is fancy dress, and agreed with the dating of 1770-1780.<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1. Paper label attached to the left shoulder.

---

<sup>1</sup> Fancy dress refers to a popularity of masquerades and exquisite decoration in costume of the eighteenth century. There was an interest in "dress of the exotic present and historic past", which was popularly depicted by portrait artists such as Gainsborough. Ribeiro, A. (1983) *The Elegant art of fancy dress. An Elegant Art*. Los Angeles County Museum: Los Angeles, California.

One of the most explicit clues that the suit was worn by Lord Clive, is a paper label attached to the left shoulder of the jacket (see figure 1). The label simply but clearly says "Lord Clive". The paper is thick and yellowed; it has become bent and folded over time, and it appears to be deteriorating. The ink is brown and is darker in some spots suggesting it is fading. This is the only inherent clue about the suit that connects it to Lord Clive. This evidence, together with the established dates, was the starting point for an investigation to determine if it was possible that Lord Clive could have actually worn this suit and for what occasion, and to determine if the assigned dates were correct.

There is some controversy over the suit. The donor, Mrs. Wiley was an antique shop owner in Dorval, Quebec, at the time she acquired the artifact. While visiting Elizabeth Newell, an antiques dealer in Westmount, Quebec, Mrs. Wiley came upon this suit. Mrs. Newell relayed the story that this suit was passed down through generations of her family from her great great great grandfather, who was Lord Clive's solicitor. The story told to her was that the suit was worn by Lord Robert Clive (1725-1774), who is well known as 'Clive of India'. He was married in 1753 to Margaret Maskelyne. His wedding date does not coincide with the dates established for the suit on initial accession into the collection at the Clothing and Textiles Museum.

By comparing the suit to other extant garments it was possible to establish more accurate dates, which then helped in solving the mystery of who could have possibly worn this suit, and for what occasion. Details in construction techniques, measurements, silhouettes and decorative applied design were all key in assigning a date to the C & T Museum suit. Through consultation with experts in eighteenth century dress from various museums in Canada and in England the research took many twists and turns which have led to numerous suggestions as to the use of the suit.

### Objectives

There were two objectives to this study. The first objective was to determine the accurate date for the cream colored silk man's suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum at the University of Manitoba.

The second objective of this study was to determine if the man's cream colored silk suit,

now located at the Clothing and Textiles Museum, at the University of Manitoba could have belonged to Lord Robert Clive (1725-1774).

### Justification

Sharon Reilly suggests that for social historians one of the most useful and least used sources of information is material history evidence. She points out that traditionally social historians have ignored material history as less useful than documentary research. This study of a piece of material culture from the eighteenth century, thus contributes to the advancement of knowledge for social historians.

This study is a valid exercise in substantiating the historical basis of the claim that the suit belonged to Lord Clive. This attempt to substantiate ownership is largely reserved for art, according to Edward Maeder, and is less often a part of the study of costume history. It is however seen in the study of material culture as one of the more important aspects of an artifact study.

The present study is also significant in that the 2-piece suit is the only one of its kind in the province of Manitoba, according to Glenda Peterson at The Dugald Costume Museum, Anne Hinley at The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, and Irene Romaniou at Manitoba Parks and Recreation (1996, personal communication). Thus, it provides a unique piece of material culture for researchers and students in a province where a relatively brief history does not otherwise offer such examples.

The fact that this suit could possibly have been worn by a member of England's wealthiest aristocracy also adds value to the study. The Clive family were very well known in both India and Britain. To have a piece of the heritage of such a notorious family provides further intrigue regarding the garment as an object of study.

### Theoretical Framework

The study of this suit was based on a material culture approach. A combination of two material culture methodologies were used to develop a new methodology for this study of an eighteenth century suit. One approach was developed by the students in the class of Dr. Stuart

Smith, of the department of History at the University of New Brunswick, in 1983-84. The class developed a methodology for the analysis of artifacts suitable for many types of material history research.

The second material history approach used was from Severa and Horswill, and was more costume oriented, taking into consideration the intricate and intimate nature of clothing as artifact which is different from other forms of material culture. This methodology is described in Chapter Three.

### Definitions

Costume will be used in this study to refer to dress, or wearing apparel, that reflects a certain time period in history (Calasibetta, 1975). The man's suit in this study consists of two pieces in the same fabric and color. Costume history suggests that a suit from this period would have had a waistcoat, jacket and breeches (Payne, 1992). Breeches are short knee length pants. In the 1770's these were usually worn with stockings (Payne 1992). A waistcoat, between the 16th and 19th centuries, was a man's waist-length under-doublet with or without sleeves. The coat was worn over the waistcoat (Calasibetta, 1975). According to Boucher (1983) it is from the Louis XVI period, that waistcoats were worn under all men's outer garments. Decorative designs and ornamentation, as applied to the jacket in this study, refers to any excess detail applied to the structural design of the garment. This could mean such things as beading and embroidery (Payne, 1992).

### Scope

The scope of this research was limited to men's suits of the aristocratic classes of Britain. Extensive comparisons were made between the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum, and other museums' suits from 1750-1790. The purpose of this comparison was to attribute accurate dates for this suit. Once this was done, the life of Robert was studied in order to try and determine if he indeed could have worn this suit, and for what occasion.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The survey of literature relates to the many aspects of the study including material culture, costume history methodologies, a survey of eighteenth century men's fashion and social history of the upper classes of eighteenth century England. The review of literature was inherently based on what was known about the suit at the beginning of the study.

The study of material culture, and its various methods of research are summarised and discussed in the first part of this chapter. What material culture is, and what it can do as a valid way to study history, and especially the history of costume, is addressed. A number of articles related to the study of specific costume artifacts show the various, but common goals of different costume historians.

Trends in fashion are outlined in a section devoted to literature on eighteenth century dress. Some of the literature is more specific than the general survey books which often address many thousands of years of fashion in the whole western world.

A general understanding of the events of the eighteenth century is necessary in order to make some judgments on the C & T Museum suit. With documentation by many authors on the topic of the eighteenth century in Britain, different facets of life in Britain are addressed. The *Industrial Revolution* increased movement to urban centres such as London, the 'age of aristocracy', and enlightened views on culture are all discussed. New economic prosperity and colonial domination are also addressed.

#### Material Culture and Costume Methodology

Known as 'hardware history' or 'pots and pans history', the study of material culture has recently gained new recognition as a field of study that is unique. Those who study material culture seem to have a challenge on their hands. Although it has been studied for most of the twentieth century, there is still little support for research in material culture as a valid field of academic study (Pocius, 1991, Etterma, 1991, Schlereth, 1991, Herman, 1991, Condon, 1991, Glassie, 1991). "The study of objects continues in many ways to be hampered by a focus on

disciplinary concerns. In spite of whatever claims for co-operation that are made, methodological constraints seem to insist that much artifact research take established academic paths" (Pocius, 1991, p. xv). Archaeology, anthropology, cultural geography and history are all related to the study of material culture, but they have dominated the field as longer-established academic disciplines. According to Dell Upton (1991), one of the problems is a lack of study of artifacts with reference to the relationship between the human or social dimensions and the object. The artifacts are simply examples of social and historical phenomenon that have already been established by those in other disciplines. The artifact then is simply studied to justify what has been previously written about a subject by historians.

According to Grant McCracken (1986), "cultural meaning is drawn from a culturally constituted world and transferred to consumer goods" (p. 71). There is meaning derived from the object and transferred to the individual. So the study of cultural meaning through history is useful and necessary in understanding the past. The study of material culture encompasses not only those disciplines interested in history but also in the realm of sociology and psychology.

What conclusions can be made from the study of artifacts? Fabrication, trade routes, mercantilism and colonialism can all be better understood through the study of material culture. (Hood & Ruddel, 1991) According to Condon (1991) ultimately there is a relationship to a larger historical context. The artifact study should not stop with the maker, user and the physical properties within the artifact, but the internal content must also be read. "Beneath manifold varieties of human expression there exists an underlying pattern, network of affiliations- be they economic priorities, political loyalties, aesthetic values, neurotic needs, or spiritual ideals-that provides values, basic unity to a person and a culture" (Condon, 1991, p. 96). The study of the artifact, then, should be beyond the immediately visible intent of the producer. A deeper look at other aspects held within the object is necessary (Condon, 1991, Prown, 1991).

According to Etterma (1991), material culture has no issues particular to it, except methodology. Because there is such a vast base of material things to be studied, from cars to clothing, the only possible unity comes from how these artifacts are researched. Methodology has been part of the on-going debate about material culture as a field and as a discipline. According to Schlereth (1991), the two best known methodologies by Prown (1982) and Fleming (1974) were developed borrowing concepts from both archaeology and art history. These

models have been criticised for their narrowness, formality and limitations on applicability (Schlereth, 1991, Smith, 1984).

Jules Prown's (1982) and E. McClung Fleming's (1974) models have been used and manipulated to suit the needs of researchers. Fleming (1974) divided basic artifact properties into categories such as history, construction, design and function. Within each of these there were four analytical standards to be looked at with respect to the artifact. Analysis included a factual description of the artifact, evaluation and judgments, cultural analysis, and interpretation or significance. This framework has been criticised by others attempting to create a more user-friendly model for artifact research. Stewart Smith and his 1974 graduate level history class developed a model based on that of Fleming, and manipulated the categorisation and analytical interpretation to better suit the goals of the class. For a detailed look at the methodology from Smith's class, see chapter three of this study.

Prown's (1982) model was also used in the development of Smith's newer model, but was criticised, in the view of the class, for sloppy categorisation of artifacts. Prown saw a need to categorise artifacts only because of the vast range of human-made artifacts. He categorised artifacts based on function, from utilitarian to decorative. Prown proceeded to analyse the artifact based on the artifact category, and progressed in stages throughout the study. The analytical stages were description, deduction and speculation, and were followed by comparison with other similar artifacts. The speculation stage was criticised by Smith and his class, because it called for theories and hypotheses to be formed based only on physical evidence within the artifacts. Smith's class also criticised the model as having unanswerable questions, and a classification system that was redundant and limiting for the scope of applicability to different artifacts.

The wide variety of those who study the material culture of specific artifacts further add to the problems faced by material historians. Costume historians have been studying clothing and fashion for a long time, from a similar perspective as the material historian. Costume historians however feel that due to the intimate nature of clothing artifacts, a different and more specialised methodology is needed (Welters, 1981, Jasper & Roach-Higgins, 1987, Schlick, 1988). Clothing is the most personal artifact and serves as an extension of the body, both as physical protection and also as a communicator of social ideas, and personal values (Severa, Horswill, 1989). So while material historians are trying to unite into a recognised discipline of study, there are groups

from other established fields who are trying to remain separate.

### Costume History and Material Culture Methodology

Although costume historians and material historians essentially look at artifacts with similar intention, there is still an underlying need to be unique and establish separate fields of study. Clothing is the most intimate of objects that a person can use. From it we can tell much more about the individual than we can from a table or chair or any other source of material history. The clothing artifact historian must be aware of many aspects of the study of clothing (contemporary and historic) which include not only concrete construction techniques, but the psychology of clothing behavior as well. At present methodologies tend to be very similar for costume artifacts as for other artifacts. Just as material historians question their place in the academic world, so do costume historians. There is uncertainty according to Welters (1981) about who they are and where they belong. With these fundamental questions, both costume history and material culture continue to experience identity crises. Roach-Higgins and Jasper (1987) have attempted to guide the study of costume history with theory and instruction pertaining to dating clothing artifacts and teaching courses in costume history.

Pamela Schlick (1988) has also attempted to classify alternative research methods for costume historians. She developed a classification system taking strategies from archaeology and instructional design. This immediately relates to the work of material historians who also borrowed from archaeology to develop their methodologies. Schlick's classification system is only a beginning for distinguishing costume history from other forms of material history. As she concludes, it has to be tested before it can be adopted as the only system of classification for clothing artifacts.

Paoletti, Beeker and Pelletier (1987) did a content analysis of men's jacket styles from 1919-1941, where they combined content analysis and artifact study methodologies. They established a scope for the study, in this case menswear from 1919-1941. Categories were then established which divided menswear into workable groups such as evening wear and outerwear. Each category was analysed for the characteristics present within the clothing. For instance, an evening wear fashion was a three piece suit or a tuxedo style. The data were summarised

graphically showing the frequency of occurrence in chronological order. The findings were then evaluated and conclusions were made. It was concluded that this attempt at combining two approaches to costume history provided more information and deeper insights into menswear fashions at that time. (Paoletti, Beeker, Pelletier, 1987) They conclude that further manipulation of research approaches will reveal different things about specific topics in costume history. Deeper and more meaningful conclusions may sometimes result from the use of new methodologies.

Severa and Horswill (1989) developed a methodology for studying historic costume as material culture. They borrowed from the well-established methodologies of Prown (1982) and Fleming (1974) and adapted their own classification in more clothing-specific terms. In order to make the study more directed to costume they also borrowed from social-psychological aspects of dress thereby helping to clarify cultural attributes of clothing. Combining parameters related to clothing with those established by Prown and Fleming, Severa and Horswill's methodology is much like most material history studies, but includes clothing-specific terminology appropriate to this kind of research.

With so much uncertainty within the realm of material culture and costume history, there seems to be room for scholars to create an academic niche. If it is solely a methodology that will unite material historians, then perhaps that is enough. Certainly the field of artifact research is unique, affecting many different areas of academic study. One area of material culture is not the same as all others. Clothing, with its intimate nature serves a dual purpose of protection and communication and deserves its own specific methodology which considers the differences from other types of material culture.

#### Historic Costume Artifact Studies

Over the past ten years, costume historians have researched costume as material culture artifacts using various methodologies. Generally the artifacts are held in museums, or in private collections. They are studied in detail for their construction and significance as costume artifacts with regard to the place and time in which they were made. Studies in costume history are helpful in determining the best process of proceeding with the present research study.

Studies in costume can be descriptive in nature, or can encompass other aspects of the study of material culture, such as comparing it to other similar artifacts, or looking in detail at the social history surrounding the artifact. According to Edwards (1985), "costumes that survive in museums are often studied mainly for their cut and construction without regard to their social or economic history" (p. 85). She notes the importance of studying costume in its proper context. Not only is close observation of the clothing important but its provenance is equally so. In her article on the suits of Edmund Verney from 1660-62, Edwards traces the history of his family, using journals and correspondence, in order to try and determine if Edmund actually could have worn the suits. She concludes that it is likely that he did wear these garments, as they were of a particular cut which was meant for someone with a slight handicap, which Edmund Verney had.<sup>1</sup> Suits such as the two rare seventeenth-century examples studied by Edwards often remain because they are special and unusual in some way (Edwards, 1985).

Helen Bennett emphasises the descriptive study of costume, as well as including social history and provenance of the clothing artifacts. One of the main tasks for historians interested in costume artifacts is the assignment of the correct dates. Often this is a main reason for engaging in the research in the first place. Bennett begins her discussion of a Scottish sword dance costume by concentrating on the history of the Perth Glovers, who would have worn this type of costume.

Bennett compared the costume with other similar artifacts (and evidence) showing design details of costume in 1633. The comparative elements in fashion of this time, such as length, did not support the tentative dates given to the sword costume. She did not consider this as too serious a problem, as the sword dance costume was used for special occasions, and would not necessarily adhere to the fashion trends of the time.

The actual artifact Bennett studied was used for theatrical performances throughout the nineteenth century. It was handled and worn a great deal and suffered much damage in the process. She gives a detailed description of the costume and all the accessories such as shoes, ruff, stockings and cap, including the main garments like the bodice and pants.

The restoration methods used on the suit comprise a great part of the article. Pattern

---

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Verney had scoliosis, or a curvature of the spine. His suits were tailored showing padding in places where a brace would have been worn. Edwards, L. (1985). 'Dres't like a maypole': A study of two suits of c. 1660-62. *Costume*, 20, 75-93.

pieces were shown, and construction and design details were closely analysed. In the study, conclusive dates were not established. Bennett questioned whether the suit could have been worn in 1633, and then altered later for use in the theatre. No evidence is presented that proves or disproves that the suit was from 1633.

In 1980 Bennett studied another Scottish suit from the mid-1700's. Her interest again was in assigning a date to the artifact. The suit was said to have predated proscription and the Jacobite uprising of 1745-46. She hypothesised that the suit has survived because it belonged to an Englishman (not a Scotsman) named John Hynde Cotton. Had it belonged to a Scot it would no doubt have been destroyed because the use of traditional Scottish dress was forbidden in order to subdue the highlanders of Scotland during proscription.

The suit was made up of three pieces which Bennett described in detail. She includes a photograph of the artifact, which was stored at the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland. Bennett included pattern details in this study which would allow reconstruction of the same style. This suit is another example of a costume that survived because it was rare, and unusual. It belonged to a very large man who was mocked by cartoonists at the time for his 6'4" height. It is an example of a surviving costume which is out of the ordinary and special in its design and construction.

Bennett concentrates on the biographical history of John Hynde Cotton (1668-1752), and looks at the social and political history of his time. He was a Jacobite, for example, and thus was sympathetic to James II and his Catholic family, the Stuarts. Studying the life of the man presumed to have worn this costume gives context and allows supportable conclusions to be made about its provenance.

Bennett's conclusions were that the costume did belong to John Cotton. She based her decision on several points. The suit had to have belonged to an Englishman in order to have survived proscription. The suit is a very large fit, and John Cotton was known to have been 6'4" tall. His lifestyle, and political affiliations, do not rule out the potential that he could have owned such a suit. This said, it is still hard to prove that it belonged to any one person, but she was able to conclude that it was a strong possibility.

Similarly, Janet Arnold's (1980) article about the mantle, or cape, of Jane Lambarde, gave a detailed description of the costume. It is rare in the study of costume to find a portrait and

costume that match. Arnold succeeded in this with her study of this mantle, and showed an example of the portrait and pictures of the actual mantle. In the same study Arnold investigated aspects of a jacket c. 1710-15. She had photographic evidence of a jacket held in a private collection, and a portrait from 1710-15 of Margaret Laton, wearing the jacket as part of her costume. The author discussed the use of portraits as primary sources from which to study clothing artifacts. Often there is skepticism as to the accuracy of clothing depictions in portraits. Historians suspect that painters may have varied the garment's details in order to make the costume and portrait more appealing. In the case of the portraits of Margaret Laton's jacket, the portrait depiction is almost photographic, it is so well represented. The design details of Jane Lombarde's mantle were accurate. The color was not the same. The author was unclear as to why the color would have been changed.

Arnold's 1980 article on a mantua c. 1708-9 describes a mantua which happens to be from the Clive House Museum in Shropshire, England. She compared the artifact with engravings of other mantuas, and looked at how they were draped in comparison with the artifact. Arnold paid particular attention to the pleating and train which showed off the pattern in the material and she examined how the garment was made.

In her analysis of the mantua, Arnold referred extensively to advertisements for mantuas of all kinds. She referred to pricing as advertised, and to the types of fabrics that were available. She concluded that the mantua must have been quick and easy to make, with its uncomplicated cut and adjustable pleats. Based on her findings she also suspected that it was likely a ready-made garment, rather than one specially made for one person. The advertisements she cited led to this conclusion.

Barbara Ann Caron (1994) studied a dressing gown that was thought to have been worn by the Empress Eugenie of France. This author wanted to determine if the Empress actually could have worn this robe. She too looked closely at the construction and design details of the robe, and compared these with what is known about Empress Eugenie. She tried to determine, based on the body shape described, if Empress Eugenie could have fit into this robe. Caron presented detailed measurements of the robe and decided that it would not have fit Eugenie at the time the garment was said to have been worn. In attempting to decide if the Empress could have worn it, Caron set out to determine the correct dates for the robe. She could not

conclusively prove that the Empress did or did not own the garment, but concluded that it was not likely.

Studies such as these are interesting for their use of primary and secondary materials and for understanding how similar studies in costume history are carried out. Understanding the purposes behind these types of studies helped in forming my own research project.

### Eighteenth Century Men's Costume in Britain

Generally most costume historians agree on what was worn by well-to-do men in the 1700's. There is a significant body of knowledge and research that guides us throughout the century, identifying trends that occurred in men's fashion. Buck (1979), Byrde (1979), Ribeiro (1983), Boucher (1983), Tortora and Eubanks (1989), and Kohler (1963) tend to agree on the basic changes in fashion, such as a slimmer silhouette nearer the end of the century than at the beginning. There are small differences among writers however, with regard to changes in design detail. It is important to understand when the designs changed in order to accurately date a costume such as the suit in this study. Some authors provide more detailed descriptions of men's costume and are thus more useful for the establishment of dates.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, men of the elite classes dressed similarly to men from the previous century. Still dependent on France for high fashion, the English adopted the three piece suit (Ribeiro, 1983, Boucher, 1983). The suit was a precursor to the three piece suit worn by men today in the 1990's. In the 1700's the three pieces remained constant throughout the century, with small design changes as the 1700's moved on. A man's complete outfit consisted of more than just the three main suit pieces. He would have worn linen underdrawers, a shirt, a waistcoat, an outercoat, breeches, hose, shoes and a wig or hat. The biggest change was in silhouette, which overall became slimmer and less exaggerated by the end of the century (Boucher, 1983, Ribeiro, 1983, Payne, 1992, Byrde, 1979).

### Fabric

Generally in England the three main garments of the suit, the coat, the waistcoat and the breeches were made of the same fabric (Buck, 1979, Ribeiro, 1983, Payne, 1992, Boucher,

1983). "A contrasting waistcoat often appeared in court and dress wear and was likely to be the most richly patterned and ornamented garment of the three" (Buck, 1979). The contrasting coat would have heavy brocade of gold or silver, or would be made in rich colorful damasks or plain and figured velvets. Corded and flowered silks were also used for the contrasting jackets. Often, all three pieces were in the same fabric but the coats would have gold or silver trim along the outside edges (Tortora & Eubanks, 1989). Embroidery was used although it was less common. It was more likely used to highlight the suit's edges and pocket flaps (Kohler, 1963). "Embroidered suits often had a coat and breeches in colored silk and a waistcoat of white or cream repeating the embroidery of the coat but in contrasting colors" (Buck, 1979).

Silk production was worldwide by the eighteenth century. The traditional silk road from China and the Far East was much less important as Europeans and the British became silk producers. In France, Lyons was the center for silk of very high quality. In England, silk from Spitalfields, in London's East End, rivalled that of Lyons and Genoa for its high quality. Figured silks were the specialties for Spitalfields producers, and they became fashionable in England in the eighteenth century (Flanagan, 1954).

World silk production was still high, especially in China, Japan and India. Fine quality plain weave silks from the traditional silk producers in Asia and India competed with the newer European producers. Restrictions were implemented mid-century to protect the growing textile industry in England.

### Style Changes Throughout the Century

#### Breeches

The coat, waistcoat and breeches changed slightly from the beginning of the century to the end. At different times during the 1700's, the breeches knee closure changed. They were tied with a string or ribbon before 1760 or, as button making became more popular in England in the second half of the century, they were buttoned. Buckles were also used mid-century as knee closures (Kohler, 1963, Payne, 1992, Byrde, 1979). As coats shortened around 1740-50, breeches became more visible and the front closure became a more important design feature. Breeches had a single vertical button opening at centre-front at the beginning of the century. A flap, or front-fall was later added to cover the vertical opening. This flap could be either a narrow

piece of fabric which was buttoned at the corners, or it could reach from one hip to the other (Buck, 1979, Tortora & Eubanks, 1989).

In 1745 breeches were made with holes in the back, where strings were crisscrossed to allow for tightening and loosening of the waistband (Buck, 1979). Before 1745, back straps would have been used for this function. Breeches were loose and bagged in the seat, with extra fabric (Payne, 1992, Tortora & Eubanks, 1989). The waist was made higher in the early part of the 1700's, which marked a slight change from the 1600's. Breeches were made longer for riding, and near the end of the eighteenth century, extended over the calf (Payne, 1992).

### Coats and Waistcoats

Under the waistcoat and coat men wore white shirts, with pleated shirt frills, until the 1790's. After this the frills and ruffles at the neck and wrists disappeared. Cravats were replaced in the 1730's with 'stocks', or linen squares. These were folded into a neck band and left to hang down the front of the waistcoat (Tortora & Eubanks, 1989).

Coats were worn over the shirts and waistcoats. These changed the most drastically of all the three main components of the suit. In the early part of the eighteenth century, before 1730, the coat was full-skirted and often padded at the hips. The skirt was knee-length. The silhouette was similar to that of women, with accentuated wide hips. The coat was buttoned all the way to the bottom until the 1720's, when it was buttoned only from the top to the waist (Kohler, 1963, Tortora & Eubanks, 1989). Mid-century the pleats of the coat were moved further back and the padding, similar to that seen in woman's dress, was removed. By the 1790's, the skirt of the coat had been pushed so far back that essentially what was left were two slim tails hanging down the back (Buck, 1979, Kohler, 1963, Tortora & Eubanks, 1989, Ribeiro, 1983). The coat had scalloped pockets, placed around hip level, which remained constant throughout the century. Around the 1770's the sleeves became longer and the lace ruffles disappeared. Until 1776, lace ruffles at the sleeve cuff varied in length. Cuffs varied in width also. They could be turned up and were known to reach the elbow, but as the century progressed this detail also became smaller (Tortora & Eubanks, 1989). Buttons were used to close the coat and waistcoat, becoming larger as button production became increasingly important in England. They were made of silk and goat

hair, and later metal (Kohler, 1963).

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the waistcoat was a jacket with sleeves; it was worn under the coat. It too was longer at the beginning of the century and underwent changes as the century progressed. By the 1730's waistcoats shortened to hip length, and were cut away in a triangle in the front (Boucher, 1983, Buck, 1979, Tortora & Eubanks, 1989.) By the 1780's, however, they were cut straight across the hips. Also by the 1770's, a small standing collar could be found on the waistcoats and coats in England (Buck, 1979). Generally the sleeves and backs of the waistcoats were made of one fabric, different from that in the front. Sleeved waistcoats were only sometimes worn, and at that were only worn in the first half of the eighteenth century (Payne, 1992, Buck, 1979, Tortora & Eubanks, 1989). In the latter half the sleeves were removed, and vests were created. The fabric on the back of the waistcoat and vest could be different and of lesser quality than the front which was more heavily decorated. The coats and waistcoats could either be single or double breasted (Tortora & Eubanks, 1989). As the front of the coat was worn open, the waistcoat was more elaborately decorated with brocades, and embroidered silk (Tortora & Eubanks, 1989, Payne, 1992, Boucher, 1983).

### Wigs

Powdered wigs, popular in the 1600's, carried over into the 1700's, at least in formal dress (Byrde, 1979). The large, full-bottomed wig passed out of fashion at the beginning of the 1700's. Throughout the century it was only worn for very formal occasions and by professionals such as lawyers and doctors. In the first half of the century, men could also wear their natural hair, but it was in the same style as the wigs; and was powdered (Byrde, 1979, Buck, 1979). In the second half of the century wigs were more popular, though smaller in size. Wigs went out of fashion in the 1780's and 1790's, and men wore their hair naturally, covering it with a hat (Byrde, 1979).

### Stockings and Shoes

Stockings covered the calf and ankles. These were tight-fitting tubes that tucked into the bottom of the breeches or were sometimes rolled just under the breeches. In the first half of the

century, stockings were dyed to match the suit. In the second half they were basically all white (Payne, 1992). "An elegant leg in a white silk stocking was an important part of fashionable appearance" (Buck, p. 31).

On their feet, men wore dark colored leather shoes with varying sizes of silver buckles. At the beginning of the century, the toes would have been squared, and the heels high, but near mid-century, the toes were rounded, and the heels were lowered (Payne, 1992). Near the end of the century the silver buckles became larger (Buck, 1979, Kohler, 1963).

All aspects of eighteenth century men's dress changed throughout the century. These changes were often subtle, but they could also be drastic. Because the costume details changed, it is essential to understand when the design elements were changing, in order to accurately date a costume. While most authors tend to agree on the general details of men's costume, some authors concentrate on different aspects. For example, the cuff and lace ruffle were looked at by Tortora and Eubanks, in detail, but not by the other authors. There is more detailed information on British fashion in books by Buck (1979), Ribeiro (1983), and Byrde (1979) as they concentrate on England. Others, such as Payne (1992), Boucher (1983) and Tortora and Eubanks (1989) study fashion throughout many centuries, and in most of Europe. The frustration with these costume survey texts is the lack of detail in men's fashion.

### The Eighteenth Century

The eighteenth century is commonly referred to as the age of Enlightenment. During this period, there was a movement away from traditional ideas of authority and towards new political theories. More and more people engaged in trying to scientifically prove what had up until then been mysteries of the world. Many of the uncertainties of previous centuries became explainable, thus less frightening. Scientific knowledge gained in previous centuries was put to practical use in the 1700's. Britain led the way in economic expansion, fast money, industrial expansion and overseas trade (Harris, 1963, Carswell, 1973, Owen, 1974). Cultural achievement was also notable during that century. Expansion of the human mind, increased comforts in lifestyle, literature and ethics were all important to the changing society (Harris, 1963).

Economically, Britain and the rest of Western Europe moved throughout the century from

a rural lifestyle to a more urban existence. The City of London experienced unprecedented growth in this century (Carswell, 1973). Many factors contributed to this shift in lifestyle. Agricultural innovations and improved sanitation reduced the threat of famine and disease. All this led to increased population with a declining death rate. English estate owners learned new techniques for farming (Cowie, 1978). They taught these to their tenants and financially subsidised the necessary changes to the land. New kinds of crops, brought from all over Europe, were planted in England. With new machinery, hunger was less of a problem. The improved business in agriculture, and industrial development, meant that there were more people able to make money (Bowden, 1979, Carswell, 1973, Cowie, 1967). The common people were then able to buy consumer goods such as better clothing.

For Great Britain, the eighteenth century was a time of increased power on a world-wide scale. With superior sea power, and the ability to travel long distances over oceans, colonial rule allowed the English to dominate world trade, in goods as well as slave labor (Owen, 1974, Harris, 1963, Carswell, 1973). In Africa, the British used their power to export labor to the American colonies, where they would be put to work on plantations. These plantations produced goods that were then shipped back to England for final distribution. Similar trading was taking place in East India (Webb, 1970, Cowie, 1978).

At the beginning of the 17th century Queen Elizabeth I had granted a Charter to London merchants for a trading monopoly to Asia. Soon known as the East India Company it gained a foothold in India and the British traders envisioned and eventually realised massive profits. The establishment of such a powerful company eventually led to imperial domination by the British in India. Raw materials were shipped from the colonies, manufactured in England and then shipped back to colonial markets. Profits were large, and paid for military activity, while at the same time keeping the money supply limited in the colonies (Harris, 1963, Carswell, 1973). France, who had been powerful in previous years as a colonialist, was stripped of territory in North and South Asia, and England dominated imperial trade. Britain also surpassed countries like Spain and Holland, and dominated the colonial nations of the New World.

For the British monarchy, the eighteenth century was a period of relative stability in comparison with previous centuries. The accession of George I, and the House of Hanover, marked the beginning of the German line of monarchs. To avoid conflicts such as the Catholic and

Protestant split and the Jacobite Revolution of the 1600's, English monarchs were required to be members of the Church of England, making the King Protestant. Additionally, the divine right of kings was replaced with rule by consent of Parliament (Harris, 1963). Politics became even more important, and some outstanding leaders such as Robert Walpole and William Pitt were in charge of military exploits that allowed England to gain its position of power in the ever-expanding world. Essentially, the 1700's saw the beginning of party politics in Britain (Harris, 1963, Carswell, 1973, Owen, 1974).

Society turned away from a rather blind faith in religious doctrine that had guided every facet of their lives, and relied more heavily on the sciences, which were assumed to be able to solve all problems (Harris, 1963, Owen, 1974). There was an outright rejection of religion, and the pursuit of secular knowledge gained new importance. Sir Isaac Newton and his group concentrated on what could be proven by experiment and mathematical methods. The universe was understood as never before (Webb, 1970).

Regardless of this move towards rational thinking, strict class divisions within society between the aristocracy and common people continued to exist in Britain. The eighteenth century is also known as the Age of Aristocracy, and refinement. Great country houses with exquisite architecture, and landscapes glorified the owners and reflected their material wealth (Harris, 1963). People of wealth in Britain included the aristocracy, or greater land owners, and increasingly throughout the century with the progression of the Industrial Revolution, lesser gentry who were able to make money in business. These monied people mixed to a certain extent with the aristocracy, but were never fully accepted into that elite grouping. The winter social season was spent in London as the House of Lords sat at that time. As many of the wealthy took part, they were expected to spend time in both London and at their country estates. Springtime saw movement from London to the country, where the landed estates could be watched and recreation enjoyed (Carswell, 1973, Owen, 1974).

The end of the 1700's was a time of upheaval worldwide. The American (1776) and French (1789) revolutions promoted quick and drastic changes to society and its structures, while the Industrial Revolution contributed to both the success and empowerment of the common people. The right to personal liberty and freedom of speech and politics developed in the 1760's, and were put to great use during that time. People felt freer to fight against injustices of a

dominant upper class and fought for equality among the masses (Carswell, 1973). A desire in the colonies for independence, and British mismanagement of colonial affairs led to the War of Independence in the American colonies in 1775, with the outcome of an independent nation headed by George Washington in 1789 (Carswell, 1973). The British were less of a world-wide threat after this event. However, the French, who were allied with the Americans against the British, gained strength from the success of the colonies in North America, and after their own violent revolution ended in 1799, Napoleon became France's dictator.

### Establishing Links

By understanding the various methods for studying histories and material culture, there is a context in which to study the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. Understanding what was happening in England and the colonies in the eighteenth century helps to establish a path of research that can lead to important discoveries about the suit. Prevailing issues of the eighteenth century, with the age of enlightenment, in a climate of industrial and economic expansion provide the backdrop for the study of an artifact of the time.

By understanding how material culture is studied and why, it was possible to create a model of research that addresses the issues that were raised as a result of the survey of literature. A more clothing specific approach to the study of material culture, which addresses the intimate nature of the artifact helps us learn from the artifact in a systematic fashion, and allows the maximum amount of information to be gained and interpreted while putting the artifact in context. All of these things allow for systematic progress to be made toward the goal of establishing a date for the C & T Museum suit. With enough background information of eighteenth century social history and fashion history it is also possible to put the suit into some perspective with relation to the time and place where it might have been worn.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH APPROACH

In the study of material culture, it is essential for the researcher to develop a grammar to 'read' an artifact, as the most important source of information is the artifact itself. In this study, the most information was gained from the suit housed at the Clothing and Textiles Museum at the University of Manitoba. Research of the social history surrounding the suit was essential in order to gain some contextual basis, however the study weighs equally on the material evidence as it does on the supplementary data. Patterned on some already existing models of material history research outlined below, a grammar was developed based on examination, comparison and evaluation of the artifact.

#### Original Research Models

The first research model guiding my research was developed and tested at the University of New Brunswick by a graduate class in the department of history, under the supervision of Dr. Stewart Smith. This model will be referred to as the UNB model. It was based on the seminal work of Jules Prown and E. McLung Flemming. See appendix A for a summarised chart showing the essential flow of the research procedure. It is not clothing specific.

The second model was developed by Joan Severa and Merrill Horswill, in 1989, to better suit the study of costume as material culture. In their study of dresses, the authors also borrowed from Prown and Flemming's models, to come up with a methodology that takes into account the intimate nature of clothing as a unique object of study in material history. Severa and Horswill's model requires analysis in categories of study uniquely related to clothing. See appendix B for a summarised chart showing the essential flow of this model.

#### New Model of Analysis

In order to best suit the present research, parts of both of these models were taken and combined. Table 1 shows the new model which was used in this study. I decided that the UNB

model had complete categories for each step in the process. The Severa/ Horswill model had broader categories which seemed to lack the necessary detail that I thought would be important in this study. The UNB model, with more detailed categorisation allowed for more detail on the provenance and therefore more conclusions could possibly be made from the research. The provenance category was seen as important for this study.

The four step procedure was followed from the UNB model. Observable data, comparative data, supplementary data/secondary sources and conclusions are categories which are closely related to those in the UNB model. However within each step, the observations are a combination of the two original models. Design and construction, function, cultural analysis, provenance and interpretive analysis will be assessed at each step in the process. The relevant questions to be answered within each of the categories are outlined in Appendix C.

Table 1. The new model for the study of costume as material culture shows the categories and steps involved.

| Analysis  | Material | Design + Construction | Function | Cultural Analysis | Provenance | Interpretive Analysis |
|---|----------|-----------------------|----------|-------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Observable<br>Data/<br>Identification                       |          |                       |          |                   |            |                       |
| Comparative<br>Data of other<br>eighteenth<br>century suits |          |                       |          |                   |            |                       |
| Supplementary<br>Data/Secondary<br>sources                  |          |                       |          |                   |            |                       |
| Conclusions   |          |                       |          |                   |            |                       |

**Design and construction** refer to the details within the suit. The pattern and construction techniques that were used in this suit were analysed in depth. The types of applied design and stitching techniques were assessed. Silhouette and style were observed. What types of fabric were used and the textile design details will also be looked at here.

**Function** refers to the reasons for the suit being produced and its uses.

**Cultural Analysis** refers to the usefulness of the artifact to contemporary society at the time. It may also include how the artifact was viewed by the users and makers of such artifacts.

**Provenance** is the artifact's geographic place and time of origin, its maker, its owner and its history. This category includes any changes that have been made to the artifact since it was originally constructed.

**Interpretive analysis** is the judgment that I made through analysis of the artifact. This includes a value judgment about the artifact to the individuals who used the artifact, as well as the maker. It also includes my analysis of the skill involved in producing such an artifact. The social role the artifact played, and its effectiveness were also evaluated here.

Within each of these categories the four steps were followed. Due to limitations beyond my control there was some information that was not found. However, following the model and based on the artifact itself in comparison with other existing eighteenth century men' suits, enough information was pulled from the study to make some conclusions.

#### Procedure

The above analysis was applied to each step as follows:

**Step 1: Observable data/ Identification:** Through mainly visual and tactile means, the material design and construction, function, cultural analysis, provenance and interpretive analysis was recorded, guided by the questions outlined in Appendix C.

**Step 2: Comparative data of other eighteenth century suits:** By comparing details in material, design and construction, to those of other suits from the 1700's, similarities and differences were noted. These comparisons were recorded on data collection sheets shown in appendix D. A chart, shown in Appendix E was then used to record the individual details for easier comparisons with the suit housed at the University of Manitoba, Clothing and Textiles Museum.

**Step 3: Supplementary data/secondary sources:** Written and printed resources of a primary and secondary nature were consulted and the results can be seen in Chapters 2 and 4. Sources,

such as archival material, family correspondence and visual representation in the form of portraiture were studied. Secondary sources such as fashion history books and social history books were used. The data compiled in this research provided additional information concerning the properties of material, design and construction, function, cultural analysis, and provenance (most emphasised in this step), allowing for interpretive analysis.

**Step 4: Conclusions:** Conclusions were reached on each of the functions based on the 4 step procedure. General conclusions about the suit were reached in order to fulfil the objectives of the study. These are discussed in Chapter 5.

At any time it was possible to go back into previous steps to fill in information as it became available. This model does not prohibit backtracking if it means a more complete result will emerge.

### Implementation

In order to meet the objectives of this study, many resources were used. I consulted as much written material as is available in Winnipeg. This was mainly secondary research material on other examples of like studies, and the general social history of the eighteenth century and of the Clive family.

#### **Step 1:**

The initial observation of the suit began in the proposal stage of this thesis. Further details were then recorded before progressing to step 2 when more detailed observation of the construction and structural techniques were made. Photographs and slides were taken of the most intricate details of the suit.

#### **Step 2:**

Investigation of other suits was essential to determine correct dating of the C & T suit. The artifacts available in Canada were researched in a pilot study of English eighteenth century men's costume at the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto and The McCord Museum in Montreal.

This pilot study allowed me to refine my data collection techniques and thus contributed to the present data collection system in Appendices D and E. The original data collection sheet is outlined in Appendix F.

In order to have a sufficient number of suits for comparison, I travelled to England and Wales where many examples of eighteenth century suits remain. This process of research and observation involved comparing the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum with other suits from the last half of the 1700s. The second half of the century covered the adulthood of Lord Clive, and so it made sense to restrict the research to this time frame.

While in England many different resources were used. There is pertinent information at a number of British museums and libraries. The Victoria and Albert Museum in London has an extensive collection of eighteenth century costume. Appointments at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Costume Museum in Bath were arranged in advance of travel, and meetings were set up for me to speak with the curators at those institutions. Using Appendix D, 22 examples of waistcoats and 13 examples of breeches were observed at four museums; The Victoria and Albert, the Costume Museum in Bath, the McCord Museum, and the Royal Ontario Museum. Secondary sources were also consulted at the Art Library at the V & A. Further information was gathered from curators at the National Army Museum in London and the Ceremonial and Court Dress Collection at Kensington Palace.

### **Step 3:**

Initial correspondence with Barbara Allen of the Clive House Museum in Shrewsbury, Shropshire proved to be quite helpful in establishing the locations with the most information on the Clive family (see Appendix F). The Clive House Museum itself did not hold much information relevant to the Clives. I was advised by Ms. Allen, that there is a Clive Museum in Powis Castle, Welshpool, Powys, Wales. At that location there are many artifacts that belonged to the Clives, though none of them clothing related, but which were rather more like souvenirs which were brought back from India. Most of the family records and correspondence are held at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, Wales and at the India Office Records in London. All of these institutions were visited in hopes of finding information that more directly mentioned the suit, and its construction, buying and fitting. Further supplementary information was gathered at the Public

Records Office in London where the Last Will and Testament of Lord Clive is held.

The National Portrait Gallery in London holds many portraits, mainly of the more affluent and important people in British history. I saw the only portrait of Clive held at this gallery, and used the Heinz Archives which is affiliated with the NPG to find more information on the portrait itself.

Based on the general information gathered using the four step model developed for this project, many of the questions regarding the provenance of this suit were addressed. Accurate dating was established, using the data collection sheets in Appendix E, through comparisons with other eighteenth century suits, and substantiated by other supplementary information gathered from the archives and libraries in the United Kingdom.

### Pilot Study

In order to be sure that the method of data collection was suitable for this research, a pilot study was done prior to travelling to the United Kingdom. In June 1996, I arranged a meeting at the McCord Museum in Montreal and the Royal Ontario Museum (R.O.M.) in Toronto. Each of these museums have examples of eighteenth century men's suits.

The McCord has one full three piece suit dated c. 1760, and a waistcoat dated c. 1765. Both these suits were worn by British settlers in Lower Canada (Quebec). Photographs of the suits were taken and the costume curator, Jacqueline Beaudoin-Ross was consulted. Using the data collection sheets in Appendix F, measurements were taken on the McCord's suits. As I was observing the suits, I realised that it would be easier to draw a simple sketch of the suit, and fill in the appropriate information directly on a sketch. I rejected the original data collection sheet after the meeting at the McCord, and proceeded to the R.O.M with a new idea of measurement collection.

At the R.O.M. six full suits were studied. These suits ranged in dates from 1770-1790, and were all British. Again, sketches were made for each, and measurements were taken. Photographs were taken of all the suits and the costume curator, Alexandra Palmer, and the Textile technician, Shannon Elliot were both consulted.

Upon return to Winnipeg, the necessary changes were made to the data collection sheets. The present outline of methodology for this study is an outcome of this trip.

## Conclusion

*This chapter outlined the method of inquiry used for this research, giving specific information about the model and how it was used in the study. A comparison of the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum at the University of Manitoba with extant examples from collections of the most prominent institutions housing costumes in Great Britain assisted in establishing a firmer provenance of the artifact. Details of the investigation are contained in Chapter 4.*

## CHAPTER FOUR

## FINDINGS

Robert, Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, and Knight of the Bath

The process of archival research was divided into searching for indications of dress in three time periods in Clive's life. There are thousands of surviving documents in the Clive archives, and I looked specifically at several hundred letters, log books and journals. Once the date for the C & T Museum suit had been established, by comparison with other eighteenth century suits, as dating from the 1760's to the 1770's, I determined that Robert Clive's life was the important source for clues about the suit. I concentrated on the time period before his marriage to Margaret, from 1740-1753. I had hoped that there would be some support to back up the claim of the donor that this was a suit worn for Clive's wedding in 1753. With new direction suggested by Avril Hart of the Victoria and Albert Museum, I also concentrated on the time that Clive was made a Knight of the Bath in 1764 as well as the time that he was officially installed in 1772. I searched within three years of each of these times for indications of dress with relation to Lord Clive. As indicated previously I also searched through the remaining records after Clive's death, from November 1774 to the end of 1775. With the numerous inventories that were taken at the time of his death I hoped to find reference to his clothing.

The manuscripts that remain are in many forms. There are thousands of letters between Clive and his friends, colleagues and family, spanning his entire life. The letters took a very long time to move from India to England and vice versa. Some of the letters took up to a year to arrive. This is indicated on the envelopes or recorded by secretaries, on the letter directly. The date the letter was written, sent and received was recorded on each letter.

The most important reference in these letters depended on the time period through which I was searching. For example all the correspondence and log books that indicated clothing were considered important throughout the entire process. In the early years, although the letters describing his military successes were interesting, they were largely ignored in favour of those which indicated something about his personal life, from the time he arrived in India to the time he returned to England as a married man in 1753. All letters that discussed his marriage, and Lady Clive were viewed as important.

The Order of the Bath was the key reference for the time period starting in 1763 until 1767, and then again from 1770 to 1772. Not only were letters found in the Clive manuscripts at both the India Office Records at the British Library, and the National Library of Wales, but there were also letters in manuscript collections of some of the other important individuals who were particularly close to Clive. At the India Office records I also searched through the Sutton collection and the Orme Papers. Each of these contained letters Clive had written to his colleagues General Carnac, and Robert Orme, the official historian for the East India Company in the late 1700's. The primary resources have been combined with secondary literature to piece together a biography of Clive, which helps to put the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum in context. A biographical outline has been compiled from archival sources and literature already existing about the life of Lord Clive.

There have been a number of biographies written about the life of Robert Clive. These biographies concentrate almost entirely on his military successes in the colonisation of India by the British in the eighteenth century (Malleon, 1900, Arbuthnot, 1899, Gleig, 1907, Wilson, 1925). Perhaps because Clive was such a prominent military leader, very little information about his personal life is included in the available literature. Interest in Clive's life seems to have been studied in phases. In the early part of the twentieth century a number of biographies were written with careful attention paid to his military life, and very few references to his personal and social life. The biographies written later in the 1960's and 1970's also concentrated for the most part on the military life of Robert Clive (Lawford, 1976, Bence-Jones, 1974, Edwardes, 1977). These biographies did however offer some clues about aspects of his life off the battlefields. Although there is more social history in the biography by Edwardes, it should be viewed with some care. Edwardes, though seemingly thorough, is considered a popular historian. His information and interpretation of Clive's life could be less accurate than a purely academic study. With only one book in minimal circulation about the Clive collection of artifacts at the Clive Museum in Powis Castle, distributed by the National Trust in England, there are more detailed references to Clive and his family. There is still a void to be filled.

Robert Clive has primarily been a topic of interest for military historians, who trace his career from its meagre start as a clerk with the East India Company, through the many successful battles in India in the name of Britain. Generally there is agreement, chronologically and otherwise

on key points about the events that led to his financial and military success. Further study of Clive at the *Oriental and India Office Records* at the *British Library* and the *National Library of Wales* uncovered more information that is relevant to the study of Clive's life. There are thousands of letters between Clive and his family and friends that allow for deeper insight into Clive, as a family man and friend, rather than as a General. There are also dozens of journals, inventories and log books which reveal aspects of Clive's more private life. These show what clothing he wore, what he had in his five households, how much he spent on his rather extravagant lifestyle, and much more.

Robert was born in 1725 to Richard Clive and Rebecca Gaskell, of Styche Hall in the village of Morton Say near Shrewsbury, Shropshire. He was the eldest son of a country lawyer, and by some accounts had a troublesome youth with a penchant for fighting. He had a chequered scholastic career as a child and moved from school to school. It appears that his family gave up on him at an early age when he was sent to live with his aunt and uncle.

At the age of eighteen Robert was appointed to the East India Company (hence forth known as the E.I.C.) as writer/clerk. His father had a contact within the company, and that is how it is thought he gained the appointment. There is discrepancy as to the date of this appointment however. He either joined the company in 1742 at age 17 or a year later in 1743. In any case he left England in 1743 for a fourteen month journey to India (Lawford, 1976, Chaudhuri, 1975, Bence-Jones, 1975, Malleson, 1900, Arbuthnot, 1899, Wilson, 1925, Gleig, 1907, Edwardes, 1977). He arrived in India in June 1744.

As a writer for the EIC, Clive was paid a salary of five pounds per year. He also received room and board, and an allowance of 3.10 pounds per month (Bence-Jones, 1975). At first Clive is known to have written to his father on occasion indicating that he was depressed, and unhappy in India. He did not know anyone at the beginning of his stay in India. He is said to have attempted suicide at this early stage in his life. There is only a brief mention of this in the biography by Bence-Jones, and it is not followed up with much detail. None of the other authors seem to have looked at Clive's life in greater detail than did Bence-Jones, therefore there is no other mention of this aspect of his life in any other biography.

The Company encouraged its employees in their individual entrepreneurial pursuits while in India, and private trading was popular. Clive was an ambitious employee and eager for

promotion. For entertainment there was little to do in Madras but play cards, drink alcohol and frequent brothels. Clive's job was not exciting, and he apparently had ambitious ideas about his future. In his early years with the EIC Clive was reprimanded for his insubordination and had trouble dealing with his superiors in the Company. The excitement of military duty was not far off for Clive when in 1746, a conflict erupted between the French and British trading companies in India. This conflict was in some respects seen as an extension of the war for Austrian succession in Europe (Chaudhuri, 1975, Bence-Jones 1974).

The eighteenth century was a time of intense competition between France and England for colonial and trading power in India, and many battles were fought between the two. When France captured Madras from the British in 1746, Clive launched his military career. As prisoners of Dupleix, the French governor, Clive and his friend, Edmund Maskelyne, escaped disguised as natives (Edwardes, 1977, Bence-Jones, 1974). Clive's bravery and leadership was noted in battles that followed at Fort St. David, and in the attempts to secure Pondicherry which was French held. Clive's most notable successes were in Arcot in 1751 and Plassey in 1757. Clive's military career became one of great distinction and he was subsequently referred to as the 'heaven born general' by William Pitt. With battles won by the British in India, and the French becoming less of a threat, Clive turned much of his attention to making his fortune (Lawford, 1976, Bence-Jones, 1975, Malleon, 1900, Arbuthnot, 1899, Wilson, 1925, Gleig, 1907, Edwardes, 1977, Cowie, 1967). Each of the biographies goes into great detail about all the battles he fought, and their military consequences.

Margaret Maskelyne, the sister of Clive's good friend Edmund, was one of eleven young women who arrived in India in 1752. A letter from Charles Boddam, in Fort St. David, alerted Clive to the fact that eleven English women were en route to India, listing the names of each one. He advised Clive that "after such a campaign as you had, these beauties will have a wonderful affect upon you." (IOR mss eur G39/box 20). Having been successful in his battle at Arcot, Clive was, it seems, ready to marry. Margaret was seventeen years old. Edwardes speculates that the women were shipped to India in order to find men to marry, but Margaret also had relatives in India. Indeed in letters to his sister, Edmund Maskelyne encouraged Margaret to come out to India to make a suitable match (IOR mss G39/ box 20). Though there is little information about the courtship of Clive and Margaret, Bence-Jones and Edwardes speculate that Clive was an obvious attraction to

her. By the time she arrived in India, Clive was relatively wealthy and distinguished for his military successes. "He was rich - the profits on the commissariats had now reached around £40,000." (Bence-Jones, p. 76). He apparently had an aura of success, but he was not a particularly handsome man. Bence-Jones notes that Clive was able to afford fine clothing that covered his robust figure.

At this time of his marriage he had among many other things:

- coats in brown and blue which were trimmed with silver lace
  - 15 pairs of silk breeches
  - 36 plain shirts
  - 54 ruffle shirts
  - 20 shirts with lace ruffs
  - 40 pairs of stockings
- (IOR Eur mss G39/box 17)

He was also known to have traditional Indian dress such as gold coats and turbans, and silk pantaloons (Bence-Jones, 1975).

The year Clive was married he was 28 years old. Evidence shows that Clive had planned a trip back to England for February 1753. An interesting detail is that "...as late as 15 of February he had booked himself a single passage." (Edwardes, 1977). Speculation is that he did not plan to marry even up to a short time before he left for England. Three days later on the 18th of February, he married Margaret and they set sail shortly after that for England. What could have happened in those three days that caused him to change his mind and marry? It was apparently a surprise to many of Clive's friends who wrote to him while he and his new bride sailed back to England. Letters from Stringer Lawrence, Clive's mentor and superior officer upon his arrival in India, and his friends Gardener and Rapington exclaim their joy and congratulate Clive on the occasion of his marriage (IOR Orme mss collection 287). Few details surrounding his marriage are available. Records show that the ceremony was performed by a Danish missionary, Reverend John Fabricius, who was well paid for his services (Edwardes, 1977). The newly married couple sailed to England on the Pelham, and arrived to find there was great interest in Clive's exploits in India; Clive had become a hero to the English (Bence-Jones, 1975, Edwardes, 1977, Lawford, 1976).

Clive was prone to sickness and depression, and again fell ill while they were in England (Lawford, 1976, Bence-Jones, 1975, Malleson, 1900, Arbuthnot, 1899, Wilson, 1925, Gleig, 1907, Edwardes, 1977). It is not certain what his lifelong illness was. He suffered from severe stomach pains and fever which, it is speculated, could have been dysentery, gall bladder problems or malaria (Edwardes, 1977). The pain and fever were accompanied by depression, which usually followed his more active times and physical exertion. He often fell quite ill and became depressed after his military campaigns. A prescription from a doctor in India was given to Clive before he set out for his journey to England in 1753. It advised Clive to take "three deobstruent pills every night" and to combine this further with wild Valerian (IOR Orme mss collection 287). Valerian is also an herbal anti-depressant. Though many think that he became an opium addict, this is not confirmed. He took opium to dull the pain, and he appears to have only taken it during his bouts of depression (Edwardes, 1977, Bence-Jones, 1975, Lawford, 1976).

While in England, Clive was recognised by the British military elite as a great success in India. The EIC was impressed by his ability as well and he was offered a governorship upon his return to India. Biographers concentrate to a large extent on his attempts at gaining a seat in Parliament at this time. While in England he spent £5000 on a failed attempt for a seat in the house. He had the support of important men such as the Earl of Sandwich, but the Prime Minister hated the earl of Sandwich, and was therefore not in favour of Clive holding a Parliamentary seat (Bence-Jones, 1975, Lawford, 1976, Arbuthnot, 1899, Chaudhuri, 1975, Malleson, 1900). Clive and his wife returned to India the day after losing in his Parliamentary attempt. They set sail in the early part of October and arrived in Bombay at the end of October (Arbuthnot, 1899). He later went on to take up his new post as governor of Fort St. David, in the Madras Presidency.

They left behind two children, Edward, 'Ned', and their second newborn child, in England. They took with them two of Clive's cousins and one of Margaret's cousins who had previously lived in Bengal. Though one might think that Margaret regretted leaving her two babies, letters written daily from their ship seemed happy (Bence-Jones, 1975, Lawford, 1976, Edwardes, 1977).

Clive's military successes and subsequent wealth was in part due to his victory at the Battle of Plassey in June 1757. It is for this battle that Clive is best known in military history. He won praise from King George and William Pitt who was the Foreign Secretary and Secretary of

War. Clive though already wealthy and powerful became even more so when he was given a legacy of £234, 000 by the Mir Jafar. He was also given the land on which the EIC had offices and storage facilities in India. Clive was awarded this money for his support of the Mir Jafar in his bid for seizure of the Nawabship from its existing ruler, Siraj-ud-daula in Bengal. He received, as his private jagir or estate, the entire district of "twenty-four paraganas" which was some 880 square miles with annual land rental values of £30,000 (Wolpert, 1993, 180). Mir Jafar was essentially a puppet for the EIC, and as he owed his success to the Company (and Clive) was under their complete control. Wolpert (1993), a prominent, historian writes of Clive's financial coup as follows: "overnight, at the age of thirty-two, he became one of England's wealthiest subjects, first of the reviled 'nabobs', soon to return to London with bags of Indian jewels and gold that he used to buy up shares of company stock and rotten borough seats galore in Parliament" (p.180-181).

In July of 1760, Margaret and Robert returned again to England. This time they left behind a sick child in India. This child did not survive the year. In England, more wealthy and successful than he had been the last time, Clive was even more highly regarded by EIC officials. On July 14th Clive had an audience with the King and in the same month received an honorary degree from Oxford University (Edwardes, 1977).

There is some confusion as to how wealthy Clive was. He was certainly filthy rich, though his exact worth is not agreed upon. In an apparently exaggerated register of 1759, his wealth was listed at £1, 200,000. "People spoke of him as the richest subject in Europe." (Bence-Jones, 1974, p.188). He spent money freely, and was generous (Edwardes,1977). He had a house in Styche where his parents lived. He and Margaret had a house in Berkeley Square in London, and a Shropshire estate worth £70, 000. Even with all this wealth he was never socially accepted by the English aristocracy. This is an interesting problem that was faced by many of the families who made a lot of money in the colonies or in the rapidly industrialising society of England. With new economic prosperity within a society of distinct class divisions the newly wealthy were not considered as part of the aristocracy. He was recognised by all the most powerful men in England, including the King. One of Clive's daughter's was named Charlotte after the Queen, who was also the girl's Godmother; A letter to Doctor Hancock on February 27, 1762 states: "Lady Clive I daresay will write to Mrs. Hancock, she has been lately brought to bed of a daughter, and we are in a great hurry in making preparations for the Christening as the Queen is to be Godmother" (IOR

mss eur 39/box 15). This shows a certain amount of importance in England, and to King George. He was given titles, that would make him equal to the longer established aristocracy but he was never considered one of them. Margaret was never "taken up by aristocratic English society, not even when her husband was very rich and a peer, one doubts if she received many smart invitations at this time." (Bence-Jones, 1975, p. 77). The Clives seemed to have socialised mainly with others who had spent time and were important in India. As they all spent time in both England and India they were in close contact at all times. On the surface he seems to have been rich enough and well enough established in the higher ranks of society, but Bence-Jones and Edwardes both insist that he and Margaret were never accepted by the establishment.

In 1759 Clive set out once again to attain a seat in Parliament. This time he was successful. His father and a colleague also ran for and secured seats in the House (Lawford, 1976, Bence-Jones, 1975, Malleon, 1900, Arbuthnot, 1899, Wilson, 1925, Gleig, 1907, Edwardes, 1977). By 1761 they were fully entrenched in British Parliament. Clive became more interested in British politics in these years. With tension between George III and William Pitt, Clive supported the King. In return for this favour, Clive was named Baron Clive of Plassey.

In the 1760's there were problems in the Indian Colony which required Clive's expertise and attention. The stock of the EIC shareholders was falling quickly in part due to a loss of control in India by the Governors, and by a renewed French threat. The Sepoys, or Indian soldiers, were beginning to rebel, and mass executions were considered to be the only way to keep order (Lawford, 1976, Bence-Jones, 1975, Malleon, 1900, Arbuthnot, 1899, Wilson, 1925, Gleig, 1907, Edwardes, 1977).

By 1764, India was in turmoil. In 1760, having given up on his bankrupt kingdom, Mir Jafar had resigned in favour of his son-in-law, Mir Kasim, who found the control over him by the EIC intolerable. He sought the help of other Nawabs, and fought a number of unsuccessful battles with the English in the summer of 1764. Back in England news of anti-British sentiment reached EIC directors who saw Clive as the most capable man to deal with the crisis. He was appointed Governor of Bengal to return to India. By the time he arrived in May 1765 the battles were largely over (Majumdar, Raychaudhuri, Datta, 1961). The Mir Jafar was restored to power for the second time in 1765. Clive himself described the situation in the following manner; "such a scene of anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption, and extortion was never seen or heard of in any

country but Bengal; nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust and rapacious a manner" (Wolpert, 1993, p. 81). Of course Clive and other EIC officials were among those who made their fortunes in this way. While in India a great political coup was masterminded by Clive obliging the Moghal Emperor to confer on the EIC the right to collect taxes and thus to administer the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (Majumdar, Raychaudhuri, Datta, 1961). This marked the territorial foundation of what eventually became British control over the entire South Asia subcontinent.

Before Clive was sent to India he was made a Knight of the Bath. It was thought that he would hold even more power if he returned to India as a Knight with the crimson sash. He had been disillusioned, years earlier, when he had been overlooked for appointment as a Knight of the Bath. In a letter in 1762, to his friend Mr. Vansittart, referring mostly to the Jagir money, Clive showed his concern over not being named an English Peer. He said in this letter "...if after the battle of Plassey I had stay'd in India for my self as well as the company or acquired the fortune I might have done and by this time I might have been an English Earl ... instead of an Irish Peer (with the promis of a red one) however the recognition of the Jaggeer money for a few year will do great things" (IOR mss eur G 39/box 15). Upon receiving the blue ribbon of lesser importance (an Irish Peerage), he complained in letters to his friend General Carnac in 1764, "If health had not diverted me on my first arrival in England in all probability I had been an English peer instead of an Irish one with the promise of a red ribbon, I know I could have bought the title (which is usual) but that I was above, and the honors I have obtained are free and voluntary." (IOR mss Eur F128/26). Apparently Clive was very aware of the power money would hold for a future in England, and in a letter to Mr. Wyatt in 1762 he referred again to his honors. "I shall not say much to you on the subject of honors, I have his majesties promise for a Red Ribbon in addition to the Irish peerage, for further honors I refer you to the Jaggeer, Riches begets Parliamentary interest, which is only prevailing interest in this Kingdom." (IOR mss eur G39/box 15) In another letter to General Carnac, Clive informed the General of his plans for his trip to India in 1764. "Upon this occasion I describe his majesty would make me a Knight of the Bath which was immediatly comply'd with, I have his majesty's promise of an English peerage whenever it may be thought proper. I shall have private audience before I leave England which will be in a week..." (IOR mss eur F 128/26). On April 25, 1764 Clive received the King's disposition telling him that he was elected as a Knight of

the Bath (Powis Collection, box "Clive of India"). He was one of only two who was installed as Knights of the Bath in that year. He was not formally installed however until 1772 (Bence-Jones, 1975, Edwardes, 1977).

By the time he had returned to India the major military challenges to the EIC position in Bengal had been overcome. Peace was still insecure and Clive contented himself with control of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and relying on alliances to the west with the Nawab of Oudh and the much weakened Mughal Emperor. After twenty two months of trying to establish administration over the Bengal territories, Clive became ill once again and returned to England (Bence-Jones, 1974, Edwardes, 1977). He returned to criticism from his enemies at India House and the House of Commons, who felt some of his changes would only hurt British interests in India. He had not furthered his own financial interests on his last trip to India and returned to England poorer than when he had left. By this time many people had turned against the Nabobs of India, such as Clive. "Public opinion--the opinion, that is, of that minority of society which made up public opinion in the eighteenth century- was conditioned by lampoons, satirical cartoons, and even a play, to relish attacks on Clive as a symbolic Nabob." (Edwardes, 1977, p.200).

In 1772 a Parliamentary committee was set up to inquire into the state of affairs in India. By then so much wealth had been plundered from Bengal that the EIC was having financial trouble and required government assistance to continue running the company in India. Nevertheless, Clive was officially installed in the traditional ceremony as a Knight of Bath in a ceremony at Westminster Abbey in June 1772. It had taken many years for this official ceremony to occur, though Clive had had his crimson ribbon and had been acting as an official Knight of the Bath. In October he was appointed Lieutenant of Shropshire, showing that he was apparently in favour with both the monarchy and the government.

A Parliamentary committee drafted three resolutions regarding inappropriate behavior by Clive regarding finances in India. The first indicated that all Indian acquisitions made by force or military threat belonged to the state. The second said that any such acquisitions were illegal. The third alleged that Clive had partaken in such acquisitions. Clive gave a notable speech in the House clarifying his position with regard to this matter, with great emotion he tried to persuade the committee that he could have done much worse, and he left the room with tears in his eye. The committee met to determine if Clive was guilty of these misdeeds and a vote went declaring that

he had received some £234,000 out of the acquisition of Bengal was passed by the House of Commons (Lawford, 1976, Bence-Jones, 1975, Malleson, 1900, Arbuthnot, 1899, Wilson, 1925, Gleig, 1907, Edwardes, 1977). However, in a supplementary motion, the House added that "That Robert Clive, Lord Clive did, at the same time, render great meritorious service to his country." (Bence-Jones, 1974, p. 288).

Though Clive was not indicted for his personal acquisitions in Bengal, he continued to experience periods of great depression and sickness. He tried to gain relief from his pain in the waters of Bath and by taking a trip through Europe where he thought the climate more appealing. Eighteen months later, on November 22, 1774, Clive died. The events surrounding his death are still uncertain. There seems to be much discrepancy about how he died. It is thought that he committed suicide one afternoon at his Berkeley Square house by thrusting a pen knife into his throat, which had been causing him great pain and discomfort. In a letter of December 17, 1774 after Clive's death, Miss Ducarel, a companion to Mrs. Clive, wrote that his Lord was very ill with a cold and stomach ailments and he "took opium two or three times against Frothingill's consent. In short he had all the restlessness of a dying man, grew worse and worse till the next day at noon, when he was taken with an epileptic fit after the operation of medicine, expired immediately" (Powis collection, Clive of India Box). No matter how he died the evidence suggests that it was indeed suicide, as his body was taken in the middle of the night from London to Shropshire where, with no funeral, Clive was buried in the cemetery in the village of Morton Say near Market Drayton, in an unmarked grave. <sup>1</sup>

A marker was later placed on the wall of the church in Market Drayton, indicating that Clive was buried there (Garrett, 1976, p.213). There are many clues that Clive committed suicide. His wife, a woman known for her strict faith, would certainly have been sure that Clive had a funeral, had he died naturally. There was no funeral. There were other indications from numerous sources, including the Prime Minister, indicating that Clive did not die naturally. Eye witness reports of Clive plunging a pen knife into his throat circulated, though they were denied by the family. The debate continued, and at the National Archive of Wales there is a newspaper clipping from as late as the 1920's in which the debate of Clive's death continued. The death of such a

---

<sup>1</sup> Those who commit suicide were not allowed to be buried in a church graveyard according to strict high Anglican faith (Garrett, 1976).

prominent and rich man is not without mystery and in this case it appears that the true story will remain buried. Nonetheless Clive is immortalised at Westminster Abbey where there is a bust relief of him, in good company on the walls that honor all good British citizens who have done exceptional service in the name of the British Empire.

Margaret Clive was only 39 years old when Clive died. She lived until she was 82 years old after dedicating her life to furthering the success of her children. Edward, or Ned as he was called, grew to be a strong man. Upon the death of his father in 1774, Edward succeeded to the Irish barony of his father. He was an underaged member of Parliament for Ludlow until 1794 when he was given a British peerage Baron Clive of Walcot. He was politically very active, and at the same time was Lord Lieutenant of Shropshire from 1775-1798 and again from 1804-39. In between these terms in office, he was the governor of Madras from 1798-1803. He served well in India, and was commended for, and thanked by the members of the Houses of Parliament (Edwardes, 1977).

In 1784, Robert's eldest son Edward married Lady Henrietta Antonia Herbert who was the daughter of Robert Clive's old friend, the Earl of Powis, Henry Arthur Herbert. The title Earl of Powis was passed to Edward Clive when Henry's son, who would have rightfully inherited the title, died unmarried. The Herbert estate went to Edward and Henrietta's oldest son, who took the Herbert name. He inherited Powis castle as per his uncle's will. Of Edward's children, the descendants of his youngest son eventually became Earls of Plymouth when Oakley was passed to them (Edwardes, 1977)

Clive, in his short life, became a very influential and wealthy man. He was one of the modern men of the eighteenth century, not having come from old money, but rather making his fortune himself, and far surpassing the wealth of many of the old aristocracy in Britain. Clive was politically important, with control of a considerable number of seats in the House of Commons and was favored by the King. He was one of the key people in eighteenth century colonial history who helped to pave the way for British control of not only Bengal, but the South Asian continent as well. Though some might question and criticise Clive for how he made his fortune, it is impossible to dispute that he was an incredibly important historical figure, whose life deserve close study. With the large number of books that chronicle his military success it seems there is still plenty of other information about Clive and his family which needs to be written. With the masses of records

remaining in the Clive Archives in Britain it would be possible for a complete study of Clive to be made which includes more than just his military life.

## CHAPTER FIVE FINDINGS

The results of this research will be presented in relation to the model. The immediate observable details are presented in the description of the suit. Comparative data of the other eighteenth century suits is shown on chart form. Based on several key measurements on the chart it is possible to see the evolution of the waistcoat from the 1750's to the 1790's. This information is summarised in a condensed form comparing the range of some select measurements with the C & T suit.

Based on information gained through comparison of other extant eighteenth century garments and from the C & T suit, I determined that the suit was likely used for a ceremonial purpose, and thus the direction of research was established. In pursuit of finding the suit's ceremonial function I have placed an emphasis placed on the dress worn by the Knights of the Bath and the military uniforms worn in the eighteenth century.

### Description of the Suit

The suit consists of two pieces; a pair of knee breeches, or knee length pants, and a sleeved jacket with a jewel neckline. The only marking that suggests that this is a suit that once belonged to Lord Clive is a paper tag that is attached to the left shoulder of the jacket. This paper tag is made of yellowing paper, with fading brown ink. It simply says, in distinctly eighteenth century script, 'Lord Clive' (see figure 2).



Figure 2. The paper tag is attached to the left shoulder of the jacket, and simply states Lord Clive.

The suit is made of three different silks, with a woollen lining (King, 1996, personal communication). The main silk fabric is a cream colored 6/1 warp faced satin weave of remarkable fineness. Dr. Martin King, of the University of Manitoba, concluded that there are 28 repeats per centimetre, or 196 warp ends per centimetre. According to Edward Maeder<sup>1</sup>, this seemingly fine thread count is typical of the time(1996, personal communication).

The suit has been completely lined with wool flannel. The wool fabric structure is a basic plain weave, square construction. There are 14-15 ends/cm in both the warp and weft directions. There is a slight nap to the fabric surface, which has pilled slightly over time and with use. The yarns are coarse and carded in both directions (King, 1996, personal communication).

There are two other silk trimming fabrics. One is the red rosette ribbon fabric, found at the knee of the breeches. It is a 1/1 plain weave taffeta fabric with 40 ends/cm in the warp direction and 32-33 ends/cm in the weft direction. The other is a silk lining fabric that is found inside the edges of the jacket and breeches. It is a plain rib weave with fine warp ends, and appears to be a 'bengaline de soie' fabric (King, 1996, personal communication). This silk is in poor condition as compared to the satin fabric. There is a lot of shattering, leaving large holes.



**figure 3.** Front view of the jacket.

---

<sup>1</sup> Edward Maeder, formerly of the Bata Shoe Museum and the Los Angeles County Museum, is an independent consultant to the Royal Ontario Museum and other institutions.

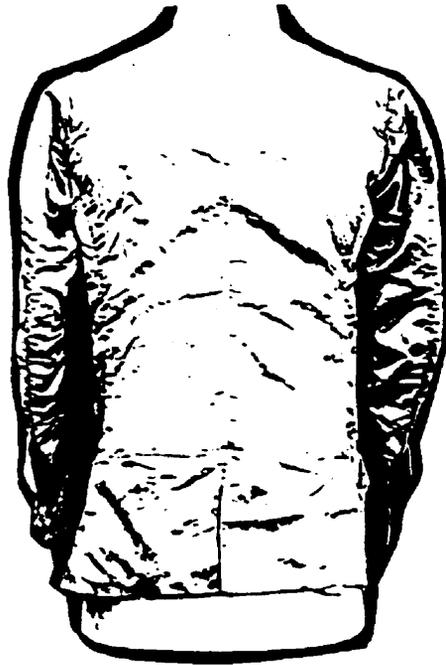


figure 4. Back view of the jacket.

#### Silhouette

The jacket has 11 buttons down the centre front of the garment, and is cut away at the bottom front to form points on each hip (see figure 3). The jacket is shorter at the back, than the front. There is a centre back seam with a 5 inch slit at the bottom (see figure 4). There are also two 5 inch slits at the sides of the back of the jacket. These slits overlap with fabric that continues around from the front of the jacket. The jacket is shaped slightly to fit the body.



Figure 5. Curved sleeve of the jacket from the Clothing and Textiles Museum.

Each sleeve is curved to contour to the natural shape of the arm (see figure 5). At the wrist of each sleeve there is a long, hanging cuff of cream colored lace. Edward Maeder speculates that the lace was likely added after the garment was completed and is therefore an alteration to the original. The lace is machine made lace and this therefore proves that it would have been added later, as machine made lace was not commonly used until the mid 1830's (Earnshaw, 1994).

There are two rectangular flap pockets at the front of the jacket (see figure 6). They are designed with three points; one on each end of a rectangle, and one in the middle. At each point, there is an embroidered line, which looks like a mock button hole, but is in fact just decorative. Under each of these points on the pockets, there is one button (three in total). These buttons are the same as the ones on the front of the jacket. They appear to be covered wood buttons, often referred to as Dorset buttons (see figure 6). Silk yarn has been wound around the buttons, forming a pattern on each one.<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 6.** Pocket, covered buttons and swirling applique design.

Under the pocket flaps and buttons, there is a swirling applique design. The design is formed by cut out silk ribbon, of the same fabric as the jacket, applied in a winding pattern (see

---

<sup>2</sup> Dorset buttons, originated in the English county of the same name, and were commonly used in eighteenth century dress. The buttons are covered wood or other material, that is decorated. Decoration on the button ranges from very ornate to quite plain.

figure 6). The design is similar to ruching which is more commonly seen on women's dress of the eighteenth, than on men's. There are small holes deliberately punched into the ribbon. These appear to be intended as part of the design. The bottom of the jacket front has a self-fabric appliqued design, similar to ruching. This is stitched on with large tacking stitches, perhaps in order to make it easier to remove for washing. This decorative design detail has been referred to as ruching in this study.

The breeches are knee length, with vivid crimson red rosettes at the outside edge of each knee (see figure 7) The rosettes are formed by one long ribbon, manipulated into a flower design. It is ribbed grosgrain ribbon with slightly tufted edges. Each of the knees also has a slit and a tie which allow the wearer to tighten or loosen the closure at the knees.



Figure 7. Rosette and tied knee closure of the breeches from the Clothing and Textiles Museum.

The front flap closure at the top of the breeches is typical of breeches from the eighteenth century (Payne, 1992). There are two sets of buttons on the hips, equidistant from centre front. (fig 8 & 9) There are also 3 buttons under the front fall at centre front. The buttons are the same as those on the jacket.



Figure 8. Close-up view of the front closure.



Figure 9. Front view of the breeches, with the front fall closure.

The back of the breeches have a lot of excess fabric. This baggy seated look was popular in the 1700's, allowing for more comfortable horseback riding (Payne, 1992) (see figure 10). The centre back waist has a slit and holes through which linen ties have been threaded in a crisscross pattern. This is also presumed to allow for loosening or tightening the waist band (see figure 11).



figure 10. Side view close-up view of the breeches.



Figure 11. Close up view of the waistband

### Construction

The construction of the Clive suit is of very high quality. The stitching, being very fine and even, was done by hand. The stitches are evenly spaced, showing the care used by the sewer. Some of the stitches are so small they are almost impossible to see. The button holes were done by hand. The buttons are attached with great care and held strongly in place by thread.

The sleeves are set into the jacket with great precision. The shoulder seam is set back slightly, which was common to the time. The back seam is very straight and the stitches are well hidden. Under the flaps at the bottom of the jacket is a silk lining. Wool flannel lines the rest of the jacket, including the sleeves. The fact that this garment is fully lined indicates that it is of high quality. With extra fabric used to line the entire jacket, the costs of production would have been higher. Also the fact that the back of the jacket is of the same fabric as the front shows that extra expense and effort was made with this garment. Waistcoats commonly had linen or fine wool backs. Very few had the same fabric on the front as on the back.

### Signs of Wear

Although the suit is in very good condition, there are some signs that the suit has indeed been worn. It seems, however, that it was not used very often. The silk is such that it would likely pull very easily, with its long fine floating yarns in the 6/1 satin construction. This weave structure often tends to snag but there are few, if any signs of this type of pulling of the fabric. On the seat of the breeches, there is no pulling or evidence that the wearer sat very often. There is no sign that the wearer walked very much while wearing this suit, as the inside of the thighs do not show signs of rubbing at all. There are very faint perspiration stains on the wool lining at the underarm. No signs of perspiration around the collar and the cuffs are evident and elbows are clean. There are some rust colored stains on the lace at the bottom of the sleeve. Despite these signs of decay and wear, it seems obvious that the keepers of this costume took very good care to preserve it over the past 250 years. There are some signs of insect damage. Holes are visible, mainly in the wool lining. Some holes are also found in the silk on the seat of the pants. The trimming silk at the knee opening is shattering, which often happens with age

The Suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum in Comparison with Other  
Eighteenth Century Waistcoats and Breeches

By comparing the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum to other suits from the eighteenth century held at the McCord Museum in Montreal, the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, and the Costume Museum in Bath, both similarities and differences can be seen. It was assumed that the dates assigned to the artifacts at the various museums were accurate for the purposes of this study.

A total of 22 waistcoats were studied for stylistic details. The same measurements were taken on each of the artifacts. These details have been summarised in a chart in appendix H. The suits have been divided by date with the earliest piece from the Victoria and Albert Museum dating from 1755-65. The latest waistcoat comes from the V&A dating 1790-1800. These findings are very important in the process of assigning an accurate date to the suit.

A total of 13 breeches were studied for their stylistic details. As with the waistcoats, the same measurements were taken on each pair of breeches. These details have been summarised in a chart in appendix I. The breeches in the museums did not necessarily match the waistcoats making, for example, a complete suit. They were still useful for contrasting the stylistic details which were helpful in assigning an accurate date to the C & T breeches. The museum collections often had various pieces of eighteenth century garments which did not necessarily match, leading me to appreciate that it is a rare and good thing to have two matching pieces of a suit together in one collection.

The information found about the breeches and waistcoats from the V&A and the Costume Museum in Bath is more complete than the data collected from the McCord and the R.O.M. The latter two museums were used as a pilot study for the project to test the original model of research. As a result of that pilot project, the data collection process was revised prior to work done at the V&A and in Bath. It is for this reason that there is more complete measurement in the charts from the museums in England than from the R.O.M. and from the McCord Museum. Nevertheless, the inclusion of all four museums in this study allow for more complete comparative data. In no way do I try to generalise about the fashion of eighteenth century menswear based on these few examples. I do however try to use these as a tool for helping to assign a more accurate

date to the C & T Museum suit by comparing the information found at the two museums in Canada and the two in England with the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum.

### Comparing the Waistcoats

The silhouette of the waistcoat from the Clothing and Textiles Museum is similar to others found at the R.O.M., McCord, the V&A and the Costume Museum in Bath. The C & T waistcoat is fitted to the body and fits tightly around the waist, while flaring slightly at the hips. Of all the waistcoats the silhouette is similar to those from the mid 1750's to the 1770's. The waistcoats from the 1780's and later are shorter and straighter across the bottom, which is often at waist level. The C & T coat is cut away at the bottom, as are many of the waistcoats in this study. The angle of the cut away bottom became less drastic after the 1770's as the waistcoat became shorter.

The sleeve shape of the C & T jacket is rounded from the shoulder to the wrist. Eight of the waistcoats studied had sleeves. These dated from the 1740's-1760's, suggesting that sleeved waistcoats were only falling out of favor in the mid-eighteenth century, after being more popular in the previous century. The sleeve shape did not vary within the eight examples, and were similar to the C & T waistcoat. The biggest difference between the sleeves on the C & T coat and the others was the cuff detail. None of the sleeved waistcoats had turned back cuffs, instead the sleeve had an extra piece of fabric attached to the bottom which was not turned back, and was often made in different fabric from the top part of the arm. This would make it easier to fit the sleeve inside an outer coat.

Waistcoats did not commonly have collars until the 1780's. If a collar was part of the design, it was later in the century and was a stand collar. There was one example in the 1780's with lapels. There were 19 of 22 waistcoats with the same style of neckline as the C & T coat (see appendix H).

All the waistcoats had buttons down the front. The number of buttons varied between 7 and 18, but more commonly they had between 12 and 14 buttons. The styles of button also varied in design and size, mostly covered with fabric, and often decorated with metallic threads. There were four waistcoats with exactly the same style and size of button as those found on the

C & T coat.

The pocket styles on the waistcoats from the other museums were generally of the same shape as those on the C & T coat. The scalloped shaped pockets varied in size between 16 and 21 cm long and 7 to 9.5 cm high. The C & T coat pockets are slightly longer than the other waistcoats (by 2 cm), but are within the range of height. Of all the waistcoats studied, five out of twenty-two had buttons placed in the same way as on the C & T coat (under each point on the scalloped pocket flap).

Measurements have been used with caution in this study. A comparison of measurements was mainly used to establish that the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum was not drastically larger than others from the 1700's. If it was much different this might suggest that it was a later replica, when people were larger. Measurements were taken with the full knowledge that they are specific to the person who would have worn the suit, which is very individual.

Based on looking at the photographs it was suggested that the jacket from the Clothing and Textiles Museum had particularly wide shoulders.<sup>3</sup> An effort was made to measure all the shoulder seams from the neck to the armscye in order to see if indeed the C & T Museum's coat had far wider shoulders than other eighteenth century examples. The measurements ranged from 10 cm to 15 cm. The same measurement on the C & T coat was 14 cm. The shoulder width was measured along the back of all the waistcoats at the same place on each one, where the dropped back shoulder seam met the armscye seam. The measurement ranged from 27 cm to 40 cm. The C & T coat measured on the large side at 40 cm.

The measurements have been summarised in a chart showing the range of the twenty suits as compared to the C & T suit. From this chart it seems that the C & T suit is at the larger end of the range of measurements for eighteenth century suits. However it is not drastically larger than any other artifact studied, but falls within the range.

---

<sup>3</sup> This suggestion was made by Alexandra Palmer, who is the curator of costume at the R.O.M., and was substantiated by Avril Hart of the V&A Museum in London.

### Comparing the Breeches

Of the 13 pairs of breeches, the silhouette was generally consistent from the 1750's to the 1790's, becoming slimmer in the leg and hips by the 1790's. The seat style was consistently puffed, but was less exaggerated nearer the end of the century. The C & T breeches have an exaggerated puffed seat as well. The museum sample of breeches reached from the waist to just under the knees, as do the C & T breeches.

All the breeches from the four museums had button closures at the knees, and there were generally 4-5 decorated Dorset buttons running up from the knees. The breeches tended to have knee bands with varying degrees of decoration on them. The applied decoration often matched the waistcoat's design (where comparisons allowed), and usually consisted of heavily embroidery or metallic braided edging. The C & T Museum breeches are not decorated in the same way as the breeches from the four museums. There is no fancy embroidery or metallic applique to be found. The only form of decoration is in the rosettes which are sewn onto the outside of the knees. The knees of the C & T breeches are tied, rather than buttoned.

All the breeches had a front fall closure. The front fall piece varied in width, some wider than others. In each sample the front panel covered a centre front button fly which normally held 2 or 3 buttons and buttonholes. This front fall is consistent with the C & T breeches. A separate closure was found at the backs of all thirteen breeches. The types of closures in the back ranged from ties (as on C & T Museum's breeches), to buttons and buckles. Of the thirteen pairs of breeches dated between 1750-1790, seven had ties which were often the same linen tape as on the C & T breeches. Buttons were used on three of the breeches to close the back, and buckles were found on three pairs of breeches.

Pockets were found on many of the breeches. On all but one pair of breeches, there was a fob pocket inserted in the front right waistband. These pockets were usually made of rough buckram fabric<sup>4</sup>. Seven pairs also had side pockets. The C& T breeches has one fob pocket, also made of buckram and inserted into the right waistband.

The measurements of the breeches were used as a guide to help establish some basis

---

<sup>4</sup> Buckram was a rough brown linen stiffened with paste and used for interfacing in the eighteenth century.

for comparison of the artifacts. It was important in this study to measure the inseam, outseam, waist measurement and the rise. The waist measurements ranged from 70 cm to 92 cm, compared with those from the C & T Museum where the waist measured 84 cm. The inseam measurements ranged from 38 cm to 48 cm, with the C & T inseam at 41 cm. The outseam measurement for the C & T Museum breeches was 60 cm, while the range for other breeches was 49 cm to 76 cm. The rise, I felt, if measured correctly could show how much fabric was used to create the puffed seat, and therefore could be used to see if there was a trend to less exaggerated puffiness by the end of the century. It seems from this small and inconclusive sample that no generalisation can be made. The range was from 61 cm to 84 cm. The largest rise was on a pair of breeches from the 1790's, from the McCord Museum. The measurements of the breeches have also been summarised on a chart showing the range of all the breeches, compared to the C & T breeches. The measurements of the breeches from the Clothing and Textiles Museum fall within the range, almost consistently in the middle.

### Fabrics

Of all the examples of eighteenth century waistcoats and breeches it was rare to see one with such plain fabric and lack of decoration as the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. Most of the fabrics used were plush and often textured velvets, elaborately embroidered silks, and heavy brocades. There were ten examples, however, where the basic undecorated fabric was the same silk as on the C & T Museum suit. The silk weights varied but the weave was similar. Of these fine silks six were cream colored. The fabric differences lay in applied design. While there were similar fabrics used for other eighteenth century suits, most of them were heavily embroidered with floral sprays, or gold braiding.

As was previously mentioned the waistcoats frequently had more than one fabric in their construction. Often the backs of the waistcoat were not the same fabric as the front. Only two of the waistcoats had the same fabric on both front and back. It would have been more expensive to use the finer and more ornamental fabrics on the back, especially as it was normally covered by a coat. From my sample of eighteenth century waistcoats, they were made of silk or velvet in the front, with the backs made of coarse wool or linen.

The breeches construction and use of fabric was the same for all the breeches including the C & T Museum breeches. The outside of the breeches were always made of finer, more elaborate fabric than the lining. Most of the breeches observed were lined, normally with linen or wool. Buckram pockets were common in the eighteenth century. If there were ties on the breeches they were of the same quality and thickness as the ties on the suit from the C & T Museum and generally made from a linen tape.

### Applied Design

#### Embroidery

The embroidery found on the other eighteenth century pieces was far more ornate and elaborate than that found on the C & T Museum suit. Other suits had very intricate, complicated and colorful embroidery on the fronts of the waistcoats, and around the knees of the breeches. The embroidery was often in light and pretty colors in botanical themes with flowers and birds. The designs were embroidered in silk threads. If the waistcoat did not have embroidery, then they were made of textured fabric to add to the richness of the garment. The C & T Museum coat has some embroidery, but only on the pockets. The three straight lines on the pockets are the same color cream as the fabric. These are not in keeping with the elaborate embroidery of fashionable dress of eighteenth century men's dress.

#### Lace

Lace was not found on any of the waistcoats in this sample. One coat, however, from the Bath Costume Museum, had lace on the sleeves. This was not a waistcoat but a jacket which would have been worn over top. The lace on this particular example was added later and was very badly tacked on. Waistcoat samples with sleeves did not have any lace. The lace seen in the portraits of eighteenth century men was actually on the cuffs and necks of the linen or cotton shirts that they wore underneath the waistcoats and coats (Payne, 1992, Ribeiro, 1983, Boucher, 1983). The lace at the sleeves of the C & T coat was added later as well. This lace was machine

made lace, which was not produced until later in the next century (Earnshaw, 1995).

### Ruching

The ruching found on the C & T Museum coat was not found on any other men's apparel from the eighteenth century. Similar ruching was seen on women's dresses of the time, and examples were observed at the Royal Ontario Museum. At the Victoria and Albert there is an eighteenth century domino, or hooded cape, that had the same decorative ruching around the edges. Of all the extant examples of eighteenth century men's dress, none had this type of applied design. The ruching on the C & T coat is only vaguely similar to that found on the examples of women's dress. The ribbons on women's dresses were much larger and gathered together to look very elaborate, creating texture and a much fancier effect. On the C & T Museum suit, this detail is badly sewn on to the bottom of the coat and the stitches are very visible, making it look as though it was added in haste. The stitches are also visible on the inside, piercing the lining.

### Provenance

### Fabric Origins

It is not certain where the silk and wool fabrics on the C & T Museum suit originated. By the 1760's Clive had made a habit of ordering fine silks and other fabrics from India.<sup>5</sup> The practice of importing fabrics is recorded in letters to Clive where bolts of fabric were discussed for their financial worth (Clive MS 23, 1762ii). With the trading of the East India Company (E.I.C.) between England and India, certainly the fine fabrics would have been in demand. In England however, with the thriving Spitalfields silk industry, protectionist policies were implemented. Though it was possible to import Indian, Chinese, Italian and French silks, it was not encouraged and in some cases it was illegal. The silk used in the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum could have

---

<sup>5</sup> By the 1760's Clive had made a fortune and returned to England a wealthy and important General, as well as a shrewd business man. He was sent back to India in 1764, where he was needed to stabilise a volatile Calcutta. While he was there he continued to pursue his own business interests, one of which was the trade of Indian fabrics. (Bence-Jones, 1979)

originated in any of these places. It is likely that the wool was not from India. No wool industry existed in the East Indies. England produced wool and that is likely where the wool lining on the Clive suit originated.

Certainly, trade patterns in fabric, between India and England were evident. The mid-eighteenth century was a time when Europeans were all vying for better relationships with India in order to profit from the many desirable raw and manufactured materials it produced. Traders were becoming increasingly wealthy due to the successful trade between India and Europe.

### Provenance of the Suit

According to Mrs. Wiley, the donor of the suit, it was given to her by a Mrs. Elizabeth Newell. Mrs. Newell was a dealer of antiques in Westmount, Quebec and sold goods to Mrs. Wiley, who owned an antique shop in Dorval. While visiting Mrs. Newell, Mrs. Wiley admired the suit which was on a mannequin, in her living room. Mrs. Newell told her that the suit had belonged to Clive of India, an eighteenth century hero of the British Army, who had started the colonisation of India. She said that the suit had been left to her Great Great Great Grandfather, who was employed by Clive as his solicitor. The suit had been passed through the generations of Newell family. There had also been a pocket watch which had accompanied the suit, which was now owned by Mrs. Newell's brother (personal Communication, 1995).

### Clive's Last Will and Testament

Based on the donor's story I found Clive's Will at the Public Records Office in London hoping to find some reference either to important clothing he might have left to his solicitors, or at least their names. Though the Will was difficult to read, I was able to transcribe it. From the Will I was able to learn that Clive did not specifically leave his clothing to anyone. He left his sizable estate to his family.

Thousands of pounds were left to his sons Robert and Edward, and to his three daughters Rebecca, Charlotte and Margaret. He left money to his cousin George and brothers William and Henry. His numerous houses and manors were left to his wife Margaret, along with the



|                                   |            |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| Hat and feather}                  |            |
| Gloves}                           |            |
| Sword and speers}                 |            |
| A collar of the Order of the Bath | £107, 5, 6 |
|                                   | £193.7, 6  |

(Clive mss, Powis Collection, 'Clive of India' Box)

The items of notable interest in this inventory include the complete dress of the Knights of the Bath. What is most intriguing about this is that it includes a waistcoat and breeches but no coat. It also refers to shoes with roses, but does not clarify how the roses were worn. It is also very interesting to note what monetary value was placed on such things as the gold collar of the Knights of the Bath. The complete dress for the Knights of the Bath was obviously very valuable.

In one of the attorney log books already mentioned, from after Clive's death, there is specific reference to both the diamond hilted sword and star of the Bath, combined with the above list of other valuables used by Lord Clive. In a meeting dated March 17, 1775 where Lord Edward Clive, John Walsh, George Clive and Henry Strachey were all present, their discussion was of household goods, furniture and linens as bequeathed to Lady Clive (Clive MSS 79, 1775). These goods were inventoried from each house, some were valued and some were yet to be assessed. The above list is mentioned as being prepared by a Mr. Crisp.

"Mr. Crisp delivers in a list of Indian curiosities, also a list of the watch, buckles sword and other valuables used by the late Lord Clive all which the present Lord Clive is desirous of having reserved for him at a proper evaluation ordered that they be appraised and delivered over to Lord Clive." The Lord Clive referred to here, is Edward. The connection between the list which includes the complete dress of the Knights of the Bath, and the Will, was therefore found to have been bequeathed to Lord Edward Clive after his father's death (Clive MS 69). There was no mention of what Edward intended to do with this set of clothing.

In a later meeting of the executors of Clive's estate where George Clive, Lord Edward Clive, Henry Strachey and Christopher D'Oyly were all present, there is an entry to the log book, dated March 24, 1775 in which Mr. Crisp delivered another list and evaluation of further goods:

"Mr. Crisp delivers in the valuation of such things as are left by the Will to the Lady Clive and to the Lord Clive with a list thereof viz.

Lady Clive's jewels the cost £13 439, 15,

Lord Clive's sword and badge valued £1006,

Books, maps, valued books of prints £850, 16

Pictures prints £7876, 17, 6

Ordered that the same be delivered over to Lady Clive and to Lord Clive upon receipts given by them conformably to the will and that the personal estate." (Clive MSS 69).

This document continues by stating the value of the liquors found at the homes, as well as Indian curiosities. The 'watch, buckles and other valuables' are mentioned again, with the corresponding value of £193, 7, 6 respectively (Clive MS 69).

Further to the inventory discoveries, while sifting through the material held in the Clive manuscript's Powis Castle Box, I found a declaration from King George III dated April 25, 1764. This was a disposition for Lord Clive which informed him of his nomination and appointment as a companion of the most honorable Order of the Bath. As is well documented in the numerous biographies, and the records kept by Clive himself, he was not actually installed as a Knight of the Bath until 1772. The ritual ceremonies were foregone in order to confer Knighthood on Clive before he left England to return to India as commander of the forces. It was thought that Clive would wield more power if he wore the crimson sash upon arrival in India in 1764. Until his formal installation as a Knight of the Bath, he was given permission to wear the crimson sash and diamond star of the Bath on his upper garments (Clive MSS, Powis Castle, Box Clive of India).

What is most intriguing about this letter from King George III is the letter itself. The bottom of the letter has a crimson ribbon attached, bearing the King's seal. This ribbon is strikingly similar to the ribbon on the knees of the breeches of the suit from the Clothing and Textiles museum. The ribbon is grosgrain, appears to be approximately the same width as the ribbon found on the knees of the breeches from the Clothing and Textiles Museum, and is a similar color

The Tailor's Log Book

The Tailor's log book was an account book which detailed the clothing made by Thomas Harris. Harris not only made clothing for Clive and his family, but he also made the uniforms worn by Clive's staff. The record shows that Harris sewed for Clive's cook, footmen and the hunting groom. There is a trend of yellows and brown in the uniforms which could indicate the color scheme for Clive's households. This is outlined in the records kept in the Tailor's account book, from 1760-1761. This book outlines the type of suit that was made, and for whom. The specific dates related to the making of these garments, accompany the entries. Harris describes the suit in a general way (i.e. the blue silk suit), lists the fabrics that were used, and how much of each was used to make the garment. The tailor lists the trimmings and buttons, and details such as wadding. An example of an entry in this book is as follows:

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| Making a silk suit                        | £1, 11,6  |
| 13 1/2 yds of white silk serge dusoy silk | £ 4, 1, 0 |
| breeches lining                           | £ 0, 5, 0 |
| Body lining x2                            | £ 0,4,0   |
| Materials for the suit                    | £ 2, 2, 0 |

(Clive MS 23, 1762i)

Dozens of suits are recorded in this way, with all the details of each one. Many things could be learned by studying this log book in great detail. It proved to be a year off for this study. If the log book had been from the year 1753, it might have had some indication of a suit made for his wedding. If it had been from 1772, it might have referred to the dress for Clive's installation as Knight of the Bath. No other records were left by Clive's tailor. However the account book does show that Clive did have suits made of cream and white fabrics, but he mostly had suits made in yellow, blue and brown, which were popular colours at the time.

## Possible Uses for the Suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum

### The Knights of the Bath

The motto of this noble order in Latin is 'Tria Juncta In Uno' (three joined in one). In its original form, the Order of the Bath was started by Henry IV in 1399 at the time of his coronation. The Knights wore long fur lined crimson mantles with sleeves. The ancient order was so named for the ceremony which was followed at the installation of the Knights. The new knights took up residence at the Tower of London at the time of the royal coronation which itself took place at Westminster Abbey. Each new knight was expected to bathe, in a cleansing ritual, followed by a night of prayer, where the following day the official investment took place. This form of the order was stopped at the coronation of Charles II (Mansfield, 1980, Shaw, 1906, Milton, 1972).

After a short break, from 1661, the Order was revived by George I on May 18, 1725. In its new form the ritualistic bathing no longer occurred as part of the ceremony, though the name remained. According to the warrant issued by King George this was to be a military order limited to officers of the Army and the Navy. Support for the Order came mostly from Robert Walpole, with the sovereign head of this and all Orders of Knighthood in England. The Grand Master of the Knights of the Bath and Knight Grand Cross is the Prince of Wales (Shaw, 1906).

In 1815 the Order was enlarged to include three different classes marking the rank and degree of dignity. In 1847 Queen Victoria expanded the Order once again, this time to include civilians. There is still a distinction made between those who are in the military division and those in the civilian division. The three classes are the Knights Grand Cross (GCB), the Knights Commander (KCB) and the Companions (CB), which include the largest number in both military and civilian divisions. The Chapel of the Order of the Bath is the Henry VII Chapel at Westminster Abbey in London.

## The Robes of the Knights of the Bath

In 1730 the ceremonial dress for the Installation ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath was recorded by John Pine (Mansfield, 1980). The complete dress of the Knights was a crimson surcoat, which was lined with white silk, as well as a white lined silk crimson mantle with white, gold and crimson tassels. On the left breast there was a large embroidered star where the three imperial crowns were featured. <sup>6</sup>

Variations in dress occur within the ranks of the Order of the Bath. The right to wear the mantle, hat and collar, for example is restricted to Knights Grand cross. It is unacceptable for the knights to wear the collar and riband of the Bath at the same time. It must be one or the other, and so portraits are often seen where only the collar is worn, or for that matter, only the riband. The dress of the Knights of the Bath is clearly outlined by Milton (1972) in his book on the history of the robes and ceremonial dress of Britain. In the new Order of the Bath, the robes for the Installation Ceremony are as follows:

---

<sup>6</sup> The three crowns were originally supposed to refer to the three kingdoms of England, France and Ireland. Later they were said to refer to the three kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. It has also been suggested that these crowns were in reference to the Holy Trinity (Taprell, Dorling, Guill, 1974)

Table 2. The complete dress worn by the Knights of the Bath.

---

**The surcoat:** White Satin

**The mantle:** Crimson satin lined with white taffeta. On the left side is embroidered a large representation of the star of the order.

**The hood:** Crimson satin lined with white taffeta (a casting hood).

**The collar:** Gold 30 oz. troy weight. It is made up of nine imperial crowns, eight roses, thistles, shamrocks 'issuing from a gold spectre' and enamelled in proper colors. These are linked by seventeen gold knots enamelled white.

**The badge (military):** A rose, a thistle, and a shamrock issuing from a scepter between three imperial crowns, surrounded by the motto in gold letters on a red enamelled field. The whole device is surrounded by a green enamel laurel wreath. At the base is a dark-blue enamel scroll bearing in gold letters the words 'ich dien'.

**The badge (Civil):** A gold oval containing the same device as the military badge, but surrounded by a solid band bearing the motto of the order. The badge is normally worn suspended from the collar as in the Garter and the Thistle (both Orders); but it may be worn on a narrow crimson riband round the neck when mantles and collars are not worn. Thus it is worn by the classes of the order not entitled to mantle and collar.

**The star (military):** A star with silver streamers on which is super-imposed a gold Maltese Cross with three imperial crowns of the badge. There are no other charges, but the motto surrounds the crowns, as on the badge.

**The star (Civil):** A star of eight points silver with three imperial crowns at the centre surrounded by the red circlet bearing the motto. The star is worn on the left breast by both military and civil Knights Grand Cross, and by Knights Commander.

**The hat (GCB):** Stiff black velvet with ostrich feather plume.

**The hat (Officers):** Crimson velvet without plume. Since 1935 no hats have been worn by either Knights Grand Cross or Officers. Neither has the levée dress, which until that date was worn under mantles.

**The riband:** Of crimson silk, it is worn over the right shoulder and secured on the left hip by the badge used as a clasp. The is never worn with the collar.

---

(Milton, 1972, p. 167)

The history of the underdress is more difficult to trace. According to the decree in 1725 by King George I, the underdress was to be white doublet, white breeches, stockings, and white boots (Mansfield, 1980). The heels of the boots were trimmed in crimson. Other accessory pieces accompanied this underdress. A white sword-belt and scabbard with a plain cross-hilt sword and gold spurs were also prescribed dress. Throughout the eighteenth century the new Knights were expected to buy the majority of the dress for their installation into the Order. The only piece that was provided by the office of Lord Chamberlain was the Mantle.

The official robe maker for the Orders of England has been the same for centuries. *Ede and Ravenscroft* have provided the official ceremonial dress for thousands of knights over the centuries. Though I contacted this company in London, it was impossible for them to know what the under-dress was at the time of Clive's instalment as a Knight of the Bath. They would have provided only the official mantle, and Clive would have had his underdress made to his specifications by his own tailor.

In a portrait featured in the book by Mansfield (1980), Sir William Hamilton is wearing the Robes of the Knights of the Bath. This is a portrait from the National Portrait Gallery. The under-dress is shown quite well as light colored breeches and a waistcoat (or doublet), similar to the Clive breeches and waistcoat. It appears to be a sleeved waistcoat, with a braid applied to the cuffs. He also appears to have rosettes on both his knees and shoes. He is not wearing the prescribed white boots, and perhaps this shows the liberty taken with the ceremonial dress at the time. There would no doubt have been less control over the uniformity of the dress, considering the Knights were responsible for buying their own under-dress and accessories. Each would have had a distinct style.

### The Uniforms of the British Military in India and England

Much has been written on the British military and their presence in India from the seventeenth century on. The presence of such a strong colonial power, where military strength meant the success or indeed the demise of a colony, has meant that the British military and every facet of their success has been dealt with by numerous military historians over the years, from many different perspectives, and in many different ways.

Little however has been written about military dress of the eighteenth century officers who spent much of their careers in India. Information prior to 1775 is especially scarce. Speculation on eighteenth century military dress has been made by many and is often based on studies of portraits and paintings, rather than extant artifacts. Records kept by the East India Company regarding the conduct and dress of the army before 1775 are difficult to come by. The records, kept by the East India Company whose power extended to the military deal very little with the officers, and concentrate more so on the types of clothing worn by the different Indian troops. No official records were kept, and no standard issue was implemented for British officers in India until the late 1700's.

According to The Guide to Records at the EIC Office Military Department by Anthony Farrington, the first troops in India were "armed, clothed and drilled according to European Standards". The first of these troops were raised by Robert Clive at Calcutta in January 1757 (Farrington, 1982, Mollo 1981). The military department for the British was created in Madras in 1752. With three departments, the leaders reported back to the court of directors in London. Eventually, nearer the end of the eighteenth century the Governor General of India was in charge of military activity for the colony, as the Queen's representative (Mollo, 1981).

Most of the literature on the Indian Army under British Rule, deals in a limited way with uniforms and clothing from the 1700's. Mollo's 1981 work on the Indian Army deals more with the native regiments and less with the English who were in charge. In his section on the early years from when the EIC was established in 1611, when the company garrison was to protect the factories from local hostility, he discusses the strategic use of troops, but not the uniforms they wore. By the eighteenth century, once the Europeans arrived, local troops were raised to protect British interests in India for colonial power. Clive was key to winning many of the battles that led to the successful colonisation of India for England and many different cavalry and artillery units were raised because of his success. The East India Records after 1775 become clearer with color and distinctions made with respect to uniforms of different brigade's and officer's dress. The later uniforms are recorded in great detail. Unfortunately this does not help to trace the officer's uniforms from the early part of the eighteenth century.

There was less distinction between the ranks of the officers than between the troops and the officers. It was not uncommon for the colonels to be wearing the same uniform as the

Brigadier General in the King's service. The uniform waistcoat and breeches for all officers as late as 1786 was different for hot and cooler weather. In summer, the officers wore white linen, and in the cooler weather, they wore broadcloth or wool kerseymere.<sup>7</sup>

Philip Mason's book A Matter of Honor: an account of the Indian Army its officers and men, refers to Clive and his mentor Stringer Lawrence. Clive was noted as convincing the Sepoys to wear a uniform made of European clothe. This was heavier wool than the Indian troops would have been used to. The use of English material was partly to convey authority, but also to use up the stores of wool being held in the moist Indian climate, where it would otherwise rot in the heat. According to Mason, it was also an attempt to increase the sales of wool that had been imported to India. The Sepoys were expected to pay for their own uniforms out of their earnings. The higher officers set up and contributed to a fund to cloth the Sepoys. Unlike the regular Indian soldiers British Officers supplied their own uniforms (Mason, 1974). With no regulations or rules there was no need to record what standard military uniforms looked like, which could then explain the lack of records on British Officer's uniforms before 1775.

Though authors have attempted to write about the uniforms of the eighteenth century, again it is difficult to find one who addresses the issues in enough detail. Carmen (1961, 1969) has written two books on military uniforms in India from the 18th century to the 20th century. In Carmen's 1961 survey of military uniforms in India, he covers the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in detail, but has very little information on the early 1700's. His brief section on the eighteenth century is lacking in detail, especially on Officer's uniforms from before 1775. Carmen's 1969 book suggests that the Officers wore crimson colored jackets, white or buff colored waistcoats and breeches, and crimson sashes over their right shoulders. This is in keeping with portraits of Officers seen at the National Army Museum in Chelsea, and also with the portraits of Clive at the NPG and the Clive Museum in Powis Castle. He also suggests that the British Colonels in the Nawab's service, had no regimental uniforms and they wore the same thing as the Brigadier Generals in the King's service. These were the same uniforms as British Officers wore in England. These uniforms consisted of white or buff colored breeches and waistcoats, and either blue or red coats with different colored collars. Carmen suggests the reason for the dearth in information on the Officer's uniforms is that they were under the employ of the Nawab, and not

---

<sup>7</sup> Kerseymere is a fine woollen cloth of twill weave.

the East India Company, and by extension, Britain (Carmen, 1969). According to the author the *Officers were released from the EIC in 1758 to protect the ruling Indian Nawabs. According to Carmen (1961) the officers wore crimson jackets, white or buff breeches and waistcoats, with crimson sashes over their right shoulders. Carmen (1969) outlines the uniforms of some specific artillery engineers and infantry regiments. Of specific interest to this study is the Bengal Foot artillery, which was formed in Clive's time. The little that is known of the dress suggests that "no doubt the European officers followed the regular dress of the artillery which was in 1770 a blue coat with scarlet facings, white waistcoat and breeches, gaiters and red leather belt with swivels, black stockings and buff gloves."* (Carmen, 1969, p.21) There is mention once again of the crimson sash over the right shoulder.

A painting of officers of the Bengal Army in Calcutta from 1783 at the National Army Museum in Chelsea, shows six officers and some servants. The officers are all in white breeches and waistcoats with scarlet coats with blue collars. By this time the white breeches and waistcoats had, for the most part, replaced the buff color. The coat styles seem to be in keeping with the changes in fashionable men's dress in the late 18th century, with turned back collars and lapel and short style waistcoats. One officer in this painting is still wearing a buff colored uniform, highlighting the lack of uniformity in dress. Another painting by Robert Home at the National Army Museum in Chelsea shows a scene depicting the death of Colonel Moorehouse in Bangalore in 1791. Painted eight years later than the other, it shows all the men wearing white breeches and waistcoats with different colored coats over top. This suggests that by the 1790's, the buff colored breeches and waistcoats had been replaced by white.

What can be gained from the available literature and by studying the paintings with images of the officers? Even while in the heat of India, the English officers were prone to copying or maintaining the uniform they would have worn if they were still in England (Carmen, p.103, Mason, 1974). "They stuck to thick woollen cloths, high stiff collars, leather stocks and tight breeches" (Mason, p.63). They felt it was essential to distinguish themselves from the perceived apathy of the Indian people they met when they arrived (Mason, 1974). The heavy wools and chamois or buff leather fabrics were used for the breeches and waistcoats, and were often lined with wool. This would no doubt have been extremely warm in the Indian climate, but it has been suggested that by keeping some of the British military uniform they would maintain some authority and pride.

## Portraits and Images of Clive

There are a few remaining portraits of Clive that are available for public viewing. Statues, bust forms, and coins also exist in England. In order to establish Clive's approximate size I sought out as many of these portraits as possible. The three that show best his stature are from the National Portrait Gallery in London, the Clive House Museum in Shrewsbury, and in the Clive Museum in Powis Castle, Wales. Each of these paintings shows Clive in some form of ceremonial dress, and each painting clearly shows that he was indeed a large man.

### National Portrait Gallery Clive Portrait

The National Portrait Gallery in London, has a portrait of Clive wearing his military uniform. The portrait was painted in 1772, by Nathaniel Dance. This artist also painted Clive and his wife at other times. The National Portrait Gallery image shows Clive with a powdered wig and a scarlet military coat that is cut away quite drastically toward the back. This coat has a black panel with gold button holes down the front. There are gold epaulets with gold fringes hanging over the shoulder. White lace which is visible from underneath the cuff of the coat. He is holding a black hat in his left hand and the sword hilt is visible behind his left hand. The right hand is placed on his hip, with the fist clenched. Clive is wearing the crimson sash of the Knights of the Bath under his coat, but over the waistcoat, which crosses from this right shoulder to his left hip (see figure 12). Clive also has the star of Knights of the Bath on his left coat breast. The cream colored breeches and waistcoat are of particular interest here.

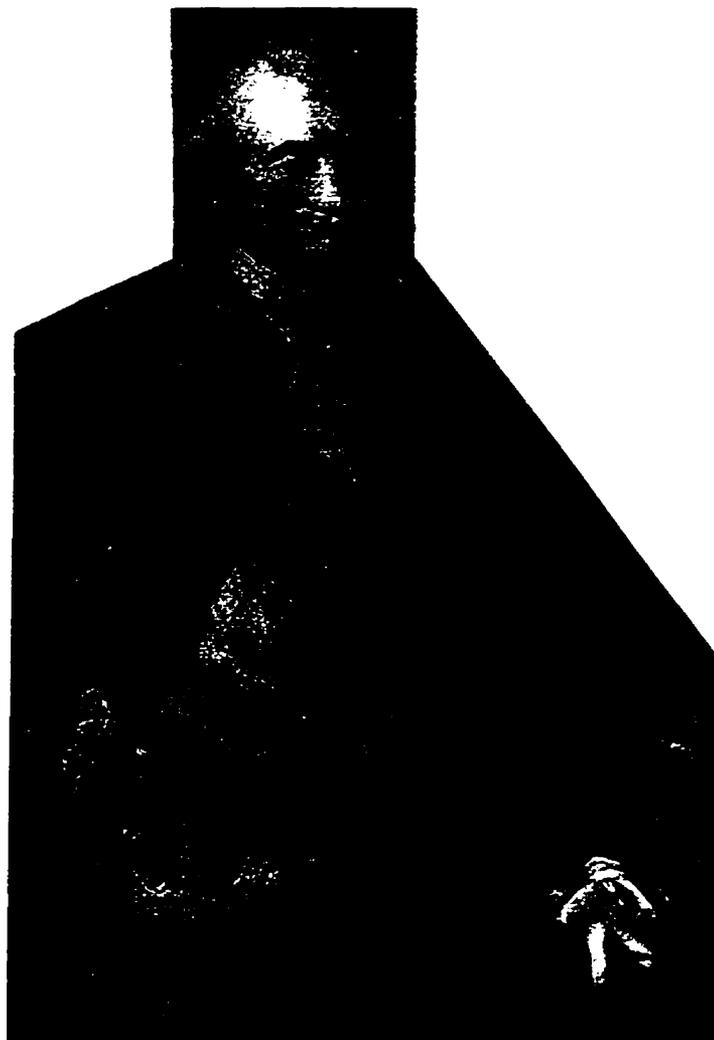


figure 12. The National Portrait Gallery Portrait Reproduced on the cover of Watney's book.

The waistcoat has a simple jewel neckline and buttons running down the front. It is difficult to count exactly how many buttons there are due to the crimson sash which crosses over his front. When measured, the estimated number of buttons is 12 or 13. The buttons appear to be either brown or gold and the fabric around them is straining against his rather large stomach

There are two pockets on the front of the waistcoat (see figure 13). The pocket style is common to the eighteenth century with a straight top and scalloped bottom. At each point of the

scallops there is a button placed directly under. On the pocket flaps, there is an embroidered line on each scallop. There is a striking similarity of the waistcoat in the NPG portrait to the waistcoat from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. The cream colour of the C&T Museum waistcoat and breeches is the same as the suit in the NPG portrait. There is a lack of applied design to both the suits, except for the one straight line of embroidery on the pocket flaps.

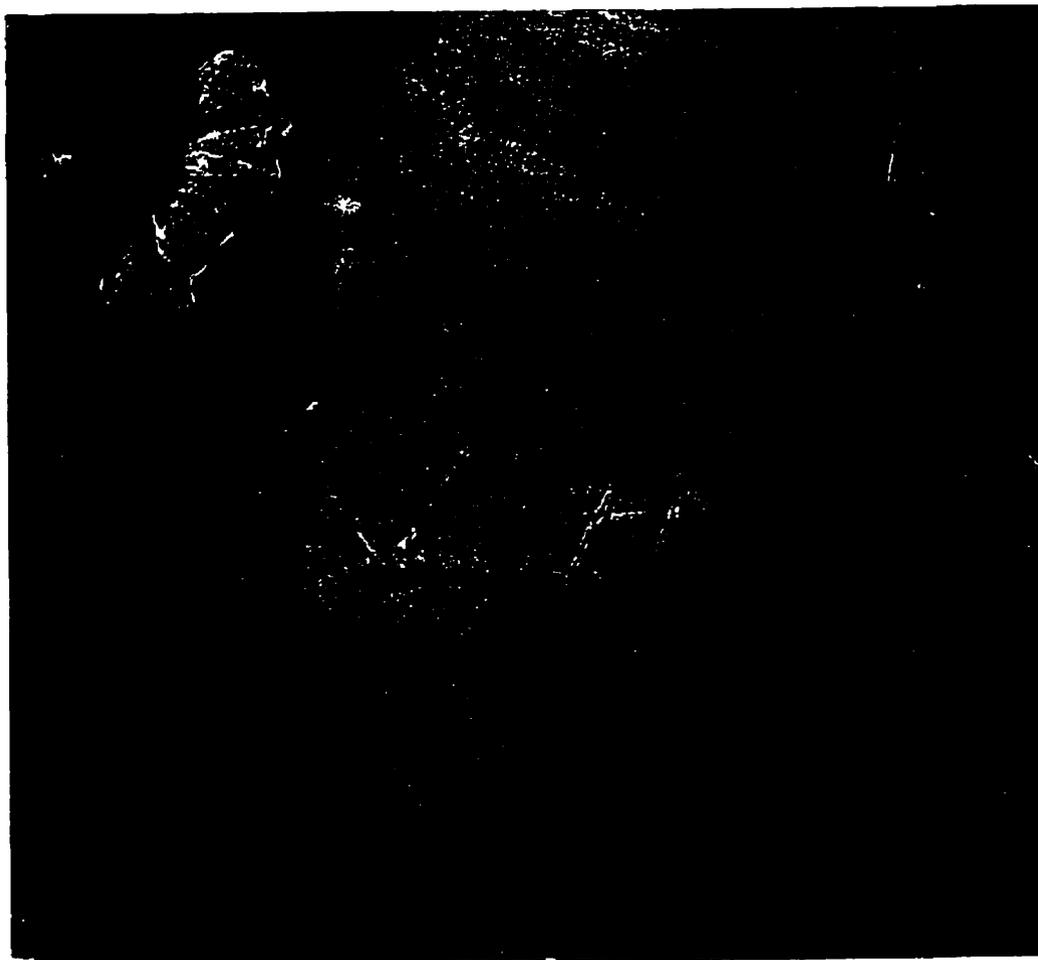


figure 13. Shows the pocket detail from the portrait from the National Portrait Gallery.

#### The Powis Castle Clive Portrait

While the portrait at the NPG shows Clive from the head to his hips, at Powis Castle, in Welshpool, Wales, there is a similar painting, also by Nathaniel Dance, which is full length (see figure 14). Clive stands with his weight on one foot, holding a black hat in his right hand and a

walking stick in his left hand. He is wearing the same red coat with gold and black military decorations, the crimson sash of the Knights of the Bath, and a similar cream colored waistcoat and breeches.

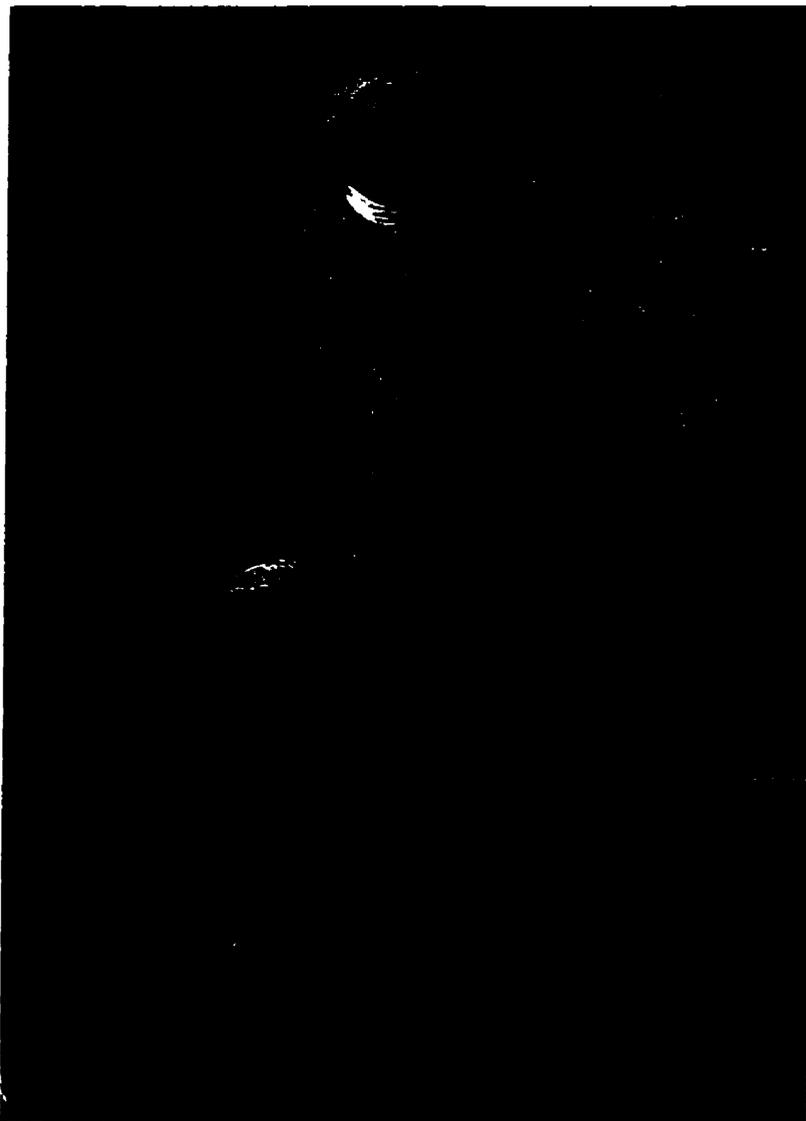


figure 14. The portrait from Powis Castle, Wales.

The waistcoat is similar to the one at the NPG, with the same jewel neck line, and 12 or 13 buttons down the front. Again because of the crimson sash it is difficult to count the exact number of buttons. The buttons on this waistcoat have a high sheen and appear to be gold. The pocket style is the same with the same scalloped edge. There are no buttons at the points of each of the scallop, and the embroidery is not visible. The painting is from a distance however,

and thus the details are harder to see.

Or perhaps it is possible that this is a different suit from the NPG portrait. The Heinz Archive at the NPG holds information pertaining to this painting, and many other paintings and sculptures of Clive. The information records the verbal report given by Major Dawnay in October of 1951, regarding the clothing worn by Clive in this portrait.

"Major General's uniform. Clive had four lacings on the cuffs and buttons in pairs. There was no order that the lacings should be in the shape of chevrons until 1802, but they may have been used before then. Is his waistcoat intended to be buff or white? The color was changed from buff to white in 1772." (Clive box, National Portrait Gallery Heinz Archive, 1951) According to Mollo (1981) and Barnes (1960), the white breeches and waistcoat had indeed replaced the buff colored military uniform in 1772, and buff was rarely seen after that time.

Again this suit looks like the suit from the C & T Museum, however it is not possible to see the detail as the portrait was painted at a distance. The length of the waistcoat and of the breeches, as well as the styles and silhouettes of both articles of clothing are similar to the suit in question. The colour of the waistcoat and breeches in the portrait is similar to that of the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum.

#### The Clive House Museum Portrait

Another portrait of Clive is housed at the Clive House Museum in Shrewsbury, Shropshire. This museum, though named after Clive, is not so much a museum dedicated to his life, as it is a house museum that shows the lifestyle of people who lived in the area in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The museum is so named because Clive lived in the house while he was mayor of Shrewsbury. On the landing between the main and second level there is a large portrait of Clive that was painted by his brother Henry in 1774. In this portrait Clive is wearing an extravagant crimson robe with ermine collar. It is belted at the waist. Around his neck he is wearing the collar (gold chain with a medal) of the Bath. The crimson sash is not worn in this portrait as the collar and sash were never to be worn together. From under the robe Clive's arm is visible. He is wearing a gold colored coat, with very wide and loose cuffed sleeves. Under this the is a white lace cuff presumably from his shirt. In the background of the portrait there is a crown on a

table with a crimson velvet top, and gold rim with jewels embedded in it. On Clive's left hip lies his sword in a crimson holder (see figure 15).

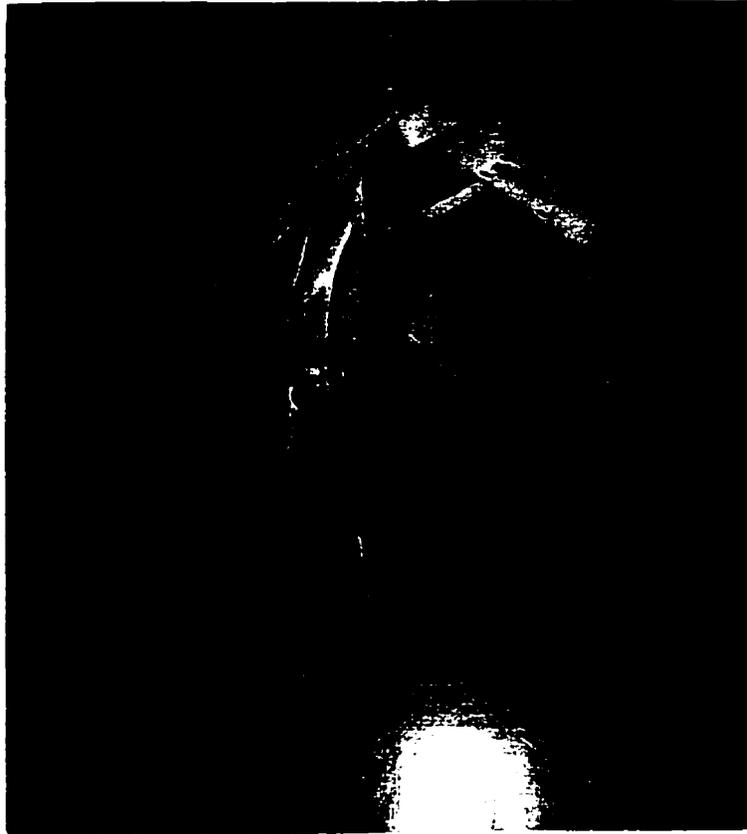


figure 15. The portrait from the Clive House Museum in Shrewsbury, England.

Based on other descriptions it is assumed that this is a version of the Robes of the Bath. Peter Boyd, the Keeper of Collections for the Clive House Museum in Shropshire, has no more information about this portrait besides what was written on the bottom of the huge painting. It only says that Henry Clive (Lord Clive's brother) painted the portrait in 1772. Mr. Boyd agrees that indeed Clive is wearing his robes of the Bath.

### Expert Opinions

While at the museums in England and in Canada, I showed pictures of the suit to all the costume curators and recorded their expert opinions about it. Their feedback and opinions on the suit were helpful in directing the study, and in establishing the data collection sheets. According to what they noted I ranked the importance of certain aspects of the suit. The curator of costume at the Royal Ontario Museum, Alexandra Palmer, noticed the oddness of the sleeves and seemingly wide shoulder width as being slightly wrong for the time period. She thought the shoulder width was wider than it should be for the size of people in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the angle of the photographs was off as it seems, after measuring and comparing other eighteenth century waistcoats, that the C & T waistcoat was only slightly larger than the norm. Appendix J shows the measurements for the C & T waistcoat and breeches and compares it to the range of measurements for the suits observed in this study. From the portraits and images of Clive, he was however a rather robust figure, which could explain the slight difference in shoulder widths.

Avril Hart, curator of men's costume at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, was very helpful. She was also concerned about the sleeves, as the sleeved waistcoats were not "de rigueur" at the time (though they did exist). It was not so puzzling that C & T Museum coat has sleeves as it is that the sleeves have turned back cuffs, which it seems would be difficult to wear under another larger coat, unless they had very wide cuffs. This is not impossible. She suggested that it was indeed an eighteenth century suit, based on her observation of the photographs of the fabric, and on the suit's structural details. She was not convinced that the suit would have been used for a wedding. She suggested that it would more likely have been worn under a mantle, cloak or domino as underdress. This would help to explain why the sleeves have such detail as turned back cuffs. She suggested that it could have been used for some ceremonial occasion such as receiving the Order of the Bath or perhaps that it could have been used under the mantle of the robes of the Bath. On Ms. Hart's suggestion, I wrote to and sent pictures to Joanna Marschner's office in Kensington Palace's Ceremonial Dress Collection.

Ms. Marschner is an expert on ceremonial and court dress. She could not confirm that this

could have been used for receiving the Order of the Bath. Maxine Smitheran, her colleague wrote to suggest that I look more closely at what other notable British people wore while in India.

#### Other Clive Clothing

Unfortunately no other clothing was left by Clive. There is no way to determine for certain if the suit at the University of Manitoba is similarly sized or not. The only visual evidence comes from the portraits. The portraits only give a general idea of Clive's body type and shape. He was a large man, and rather robust in the middle.

The other indicator of Clive's size is a reference of Clive's uniform orders at the India Office Records. His suits and shirts were ordered in size large. In the East Indian Army Uniform Regulations Book from the late 1790's, military clothing is shown to have been sized in Small, Medium and Large. These were not garments that were made to measure (Clive MS 122).

The range of measurements in appendix J which was collected from the comparisons of other suits gives some idea of size of eighteenth century men's dress. This is not considered conclusive evidence of sizing, though it is an indication. It was considered beyond the scope of this study to proceed in a detailed manner to determine average sizing. No other research was uncovered which helped in this matter.

#### Summary of Findings

Based on the model (see table 1) and its structure, research was carried out in England, Wales and Canada. An extensive analysis of the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum was done where information was gathered on material design and construction, function, analysis of the culture of the eighteenth century, the provenance of the suit and its fabric, while interpretative analysis was applied throughout the process. Each section was considered with relation to observable data, comparative analysis, and was strengthened by secondary source research.

In the process of researching the suit, and in talking to numerous experts in historic dress, the importance of the possible uses for the suit became evident, which then helped to guide the research process. The research into the Robes of the Knights of the Bath was guided by

suggestions that the suit might have been used for a ceremonial purpose. After seeing the portraits at the NPG in London and in Powis Castle I was prompted to further try and understand military dress, as the suit from the Museum in Winnipeg is quite similar to that in those portraits. Through comparative research of other extant garments I was able to further guide the research toward plausible explanations for the uses of this suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. This comparison also proved to place the suit with regard to other dated artifacts, and shows that there are features within the suit that can help in assigning a date.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter conclusions regarding the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum will be outlined in detail. One of the most important questions in this research was whether this suit actually belonged to Lord Clive. This question has helped to direct the research and conclusions will be addressed in the first part of this chapter. The artifact date will be established for both the waistcoat and the breeches, which will be discussed separately. The question of the possibility that this suit is a reproduction will also be addressed here. The occasion for which this suit may have been used guided this research throughout the project. Three possible uses will be presented and discussed. The tailor's log book from the National Library in Wales proved to be an interesting source of information and it will be discussed in relation to the ticket that is attached to the left shoulder of the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. Further questions will be presented which could help to solve the mystery of the suit from the Clothing and Textile's Museum.

#### An Artifact in Time

Through comparison of other eighteenth century suits, and with the help of the donor's story, a date has been attributed to the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. Both the breeches and the waistcoat have been assigned a date of 1760-1770. Details in construction and design of waistcoats and breeches have been summarised in charts that reveal several interesting stylistic and structural details comparable to the cream silk suit. The waistcoat and breeches were analysed separately so that the artifact dating was specific to each. There is always the possibility with a two-piece suit that they were made independently of one another, possibly at different times. There is the possibility that the fabric was saved from a special bolt of material in order to remake part of the suit as it wore out, or as the styles changed.

### The Waistcoat

Though men's dress changed quite drastically from 1700-1800, the changes occurred slowly throughout the century, and were mainly in details, such as length, width and decorative design. Cumulatively, the changes in details over time made for quite a different style from the beginning of the century to the end. Some trends in eighteenth century men's fashion have been detected from the research and comparison of 22 waistcoats in this study. The second half of the century is the main focus in this discussion. Understanding the trends has helped in assigning a date to the cream coloured waistcoat. The more drastic changes in waistcoat design took place later in the century when the style became shorter, lapels were added and the cut away design at the bottom virtually disappeared. Coats that were worn over the waistcoats were longer, and had long tails at the back, while the front was short and cut straight across. Essentially by the beginning of the nineteenth century the coat and waistcoat were similar to what we now recognize as morning dress.

Comparisons of the measurements of waistcoats dated 1750-1800 showed quite obvious trends and changes in style. By recording these changes over time with the 22 waistcoats and comparing them to the waistcoat from the Clothing and Textiles Museum, conclusions about the date of the artifact have been made. A change in length is one of the most notable alterations made to the styles over the last half of the century. The length of the waistcoats from the four museums showed that in the 1750's and 1760's the average centre back length was 78 cm, while later in 1770-1800, the waistcoat was shorter at an average length of 66 cm. The length of the C&T Museum coat, at 72 cm falls in between the two time periods.

If only judging by the length of the waistcoat and assuming that this is a regular fashion garment, then the waistcoat could be placed in between the two distinct time periods at 1760-1770. It is difficult to be sure with such a small sample, but there is some indication based on the 22 waistcoats that they became shorter and this is supported by literature on eighteenth century fashion (Payne 1992, Ribeiro, 1983, Buck 1979).

There are some odd design details in the suit from the Clothing and Textiles museum which make it difficult to compare with the regular fashion that I observed at the museums. One of the odd details is that the waistcoat has a sleeve with a turned back cuff. Sleeves were not

common in eighteenth century waistcoats, though a few examples existed in the late second half of the century. The basic silhouette and style of the waistcoat, without the sleeves, can be judged in comparison with the 22 waistcoats studied. The silhouette of the suit in question is similar to those in the 1750-1770's. The slightly fitted bodice of the C & T Museum waistcoat, with button straight down the front, the jewel neckline, the angle of the cut away design at the bottom, and the side slits are all common details in those waistcoats from 1750-1770.

Oddities in the design, such as the sleeves of the waistcoat from the Clothing and Textiles Museum, confused the task of assigning a date. The sleeve style and construction are different from regular men's fashion of the eighteenth century. The turned back cuff with its finished look is not common design practice. It would have been hard to fit the sleeve of this waistcoat into a coat sleeve, as it would have been too big. The finished look of the cuff leads me to concur with Avril Hart who suggested that the sleeve may well have been visible, while worn under a cloak or domino. Studying the details of the sleeve does not help in assigning a date to this waistcoat, but rather allows for speculation on the use of the suit, which will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter.

The Clothing and Textiles Museum suit lacks the elaborate embroidery seen on the 22 suits that were used as a comparative sample in this study. There were no trends evident in the style of embroidery. A larger sample would have to be studied in order to detect a trend. The lack of decorative design on the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum, when compared with the elaborate design of the other waistcoats does not aid in dating the suit as much as it does in speculating as to its use.

Despite some of the disparate elements, the larger number of common features, such as silhouette, between the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum and the sample of 22 waistcoats allow for a definitive assignment of a date between 1760-1770. The breeches have been studied in isolation in the following section.

## Breeches

The task of assigning a date for the breeches was undertaken separately from that of the waistcoat. Fewer examples of breeches were available for study and therefore the sample of 12 pairs seems small in comparison with that of the waistcoat. Even with a small sample and with the information given in secondary sources about other eighteenth century breeches, it is possible to make some generalisations in style and design which allow me to place the breeches from the Clothing and Textiles Museum in a particular time period. Though trends in design and silhouette can not be summarised as easily in a chart form, some general observations were possible.

The style and shape of the breeches is consistent to a certain degree throughout the second half of the century. Breeches were knee length, becoming more fitted near the end of the century, with varying widths of front fall closures. The general shape changed from being quite baggy in the 1750's-1760's, to fitting snugly nearer the end of the century. Comparing these features to the C & T Museum breeches, we can see little difference in the basic style from the breeches from the mid 1700's. The seat of all the breeches were quite loose and baggy. The C & T Museum breeches are particularly baggy to a degree comparable to breeches from the 1750's and 60's. As the century progressed breeches became more fitted and the seat became more fitted. In keeping with this general trend, the C & T breeches appear to be from the 1750's or 60's.

The length of the breeches was measured on each artifact. There is a change in length from the earlier garments to those made at the end of the century. On average the length measured somewhat shorter in the 1760's as compared to the 1770's and later. The Clive breeches measured closer to the average length of breeches from the 1750's and 1760's. The length measurement was from both the inseam and outseam.

Details such as the button closures at the knees and the type of back waist closure did not seem to follow any trend. The most common knee closure was with buttons, but secondary literature supports that breeches were indeed closed at the knees with ties as well as buttons in the eighteenth century (Bryant, 1988). There are two main differences in design on the C & T breeches that do not follow the general trends of other breeches from the time. The rosettes at the knees and the piece of extra fabric that has been inserted in the knee opening make this pair

of breeches odd in comparison with the others.<sup>1</sup> If we ignore these details, and assume they have something more to do with the use of the garment, then we can compare the breeches with other extant artifacts.

In length, fullness and general silhouette, where a trend was evident and supported by secondary literature, the C & T Museum breeches were consistent with the earlier time period. The breeches have been assigned a date of 1760-1770.

#### Authentic or a Reproduction?

It is impossible to be sure if this is a reproduction of an eighteenth century suit. Most of the evidence within the suit points to it being a genuine eighteenth century garment. The silhouette, the type of fabric, the construction details and the techniques used are in keeping with technical expertise in the eighteenth century. The stitching detail is similar to other garments observed in this study. The stitching was carefully done by hand, and is evenly spaced and very tidy. The silhouette of both the breeches and the waistcoat are in keeping with the other examples of mid-eighteenth century dress. At this time the breeches had not yet become tighter and remained comfortably gathered in the back suitable for the frame of someone as large as Clive. The silhouette of the waistcoat, was similar to other extant examples as well as matching the descriptions from secondary sources. In the opinion of Avril Hart the suit's construction details are consistent with eighteenth century techniques. The fabric type, stitching and construction techniques, and the type of button used in both the breeches and waistcoat are all consistent with eighteenth century men's costume.

It is still possible, though in my opinion not likely, that this is a reproduction. If it is, it would have been from the nineteenth century. The condition of the garments show that they are indeed old, and there are signs of age on the wool and silks. There are stains and small holes as well as some shattering of the silk fabrics. The wool lining on the waistcoat and the breeches have been affected by insects. This type of aging on garments does not necessarily place the suit at a

---

<sup>1</sup> Rosettes were seen on breeches in the seventeenth century, and minimally at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but disappeared shortly after the turn of the century. (Boucher, 1983) One possible explanation for the added decoration is that it was placed on the breeches for some special occasion. This will be addressed in this chapter on what the suit was used for.

certain date, but in comparison to the condition of other eighteenth century suits from the four other museums, the suit is in similar condition to the majority of other eighteenth century suits.

Another factor that indicates that the suit is authentic is the high quality of workmanship and fabric. With the full wool lining and silk back matching the front it would have been an expensive suit to make, indicating that the owner was wealthy and concerned with quality. The odd details about the suit like the rosettes and the cuffs on the sleeves all add to the garments cost, making it less likely that it was a reproduction. If the suit is a reproduction, I would venture to speculate that it is still a very old piece, probably from the nineteenth century.

### Function

The occasion for which this suit was made is not clear. The special nature of the added design details and the structure of the sleeves suggest that the suit was made for use in a specific ceremonial function. Several suggestions have been made as to the uses of this suit. The lack of elaborate applied design combined with the finished looking sleeve and turned back cuff, lead me to concur with the opinion of Avril Hart, that this was a suit used for some ceremonial occasion. It has been dated as 1760-70 despite the anomalies in its design. As a garment used for special occasion the design need not necessarily conform to the fashion trends of the time. This can be illustrated by looking at the contemporary wedding gowns of the late twentieth century. Though these gowns may have some elements of contemporary style, the silhouette is reminiscent of historic dress. They do not necessarily conform to style of the 1990's. In the same way, the C & T suit has some design details which conform to the 1760's, which make it stylish to the time. At the same time it has some essential differences which make it different from other extant garments of the time.

### Wedding Suit

The donor's story suggests that this was a suit made for the wedding of Robert Clive in 1753. Through extensive research of the Clive papers at the National Library of Wales and the India office Records at the British Library, references to Clive's clothing showed no indication of

what he would have worn at his wedding. Men's wedding dress was not commonly cream coloured in the eighteenth century (Avril Hart, personal communication, 1996). It seems that men's wedding costume followed the styles of the times, and were not specifically different from other formal dress. Considering Clive was relatively wealthy, even in 1753, and he had a large wardrobe, as seen from archival inventories, he would have had the choice of many more elaborately decorated garments. It seems unlikely that he would have chosen something this plain.

From what is evident about Clive's life, he married Margaret Maskelyne hastily. He had booked passage for himself from India to England, just two weeks prior to his departure. This shows that he intended to travel alone. Between the time he booked his passage and the time he set sail for England, he married Margaret (Edwards, 1985). There appears to have been little time to prepare for a large celebration of his marriage, and little time to produce a suit specially made for the occasion. There were numerous seemingly surprised colleagues of Clive, who wrote congratulating him on his marriage in the weeks and months following his marriage which also indicates that the marriage was not a fancy affair with family and friends in attendance.

Given these circumstances of his wedding it seems less likely that Clive would have saved his wedding suit specifically to be passed down from one generation to the next. The odd design details, such as the cuffed sleeve and the the rosettes on the knees of the breeches do not conform to regular fashion of the time and lead to speculation of the suit being used in some other type of ceremony. The hot climate of India might lead one to suspect that it was unlikely that a wool lined suit would be worn. The British however were set on continuing their English way of life even in India where the climate is so drastically different from England. According to Carmen (1961, 1969), Mollo (1981), and Mason (1974) the military personnel who were sent to India often had their uniforms made of heavy wools suitable for use in England, but rather uncomfortable dress in the heat of India.

The seemingly hasty planning of the wedding, and the knowledge that Clive was married in the heat of India, combined with the lack of indication in literature that there was a prevailing style of men's wedding attire, lead me to conclude that the suit was likely used for some other occasion. It is more likely that he wore one of the many fancy suits he owned at the time of his marriage. Inventory lists show that Clive was well stocked in the fashions of the time in 1753, the

year before he married. It is possible that the suit was used for Clive's wedding, however it is my opinion that it is not likely.

### A Military Uniform

From the existing information from secondary sources and through observation of paintings from the eighteenth century it is evident that the military waistcoat and breeches were buff coloured before the 1780's (Carmen, 1961, 1969, Mason 1974). This would coincide with the time that Clive was in India, and suggests that he too would have worn buff coloured breeches and waistcoat under his crimson coloured coat. Portraits of Clive also show him in plain buff coloured breeches and waistcoats. The military waistcoats and breeches were plain and had no elaborate decoration. This too is in keeping with the design of the suit from the C & T Museum in Winnipeg, and suggests that it is military dress, based on the color, style, and lack of elaborate applied design, uncommon in fashionable civilian dress of the time.

It is difficult to conclude without a doubt if this suit is military dress, and it is equally difficult to determine that it is not. The lack of extant garments and information about this era in military dress make it difficult to be sure. With no military regulation of fabrics or styles, there would have been more freedom of choice for the officers to have their waistcoats and breeches specially made to their particular taste. Though there is a prevailing feeling that the fabric used in officers uniforms in the eighteenth century would have been leather (buff), linen or wool, it does not rule out the possibility that with little regulation in clothing, Clive could have had a uniform made of whatever fabric he chose. He was known to be an extravagant spender, and was extremely wealthy. He was also involved in the silk trade and imported silks from India. He may have used a special silk fabric for a dress uniform, perhaps for a special occasion or a portrait sitting.

With the similarities in style and pocket design of the portrait from the National Portrait Gallery which portrays Clive in military dress, and the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum, there are striking similarities. The color is similar. The cut is identical on the bodice, though the sleeves are invisible. The pocket detail is the most telling with similar embroidery. To determine the possibility of this suit being military dress I consulted with an expert in military dress from the National Army Museum in Chelsea. I sent a letter with accompanying pictures of the suit from the

C & T Museum. Mrs. S.K. Hopkins, head of the Department of Uniform, Badges and Medals, responded to my enquiry. In her opinion, the silk suit in my photographs would not likely be military as it is not made of the common fabrics of wool kerseymere, white chamois or buff leather. The ruching on the front of the waistcoat also caused her some concern. In her opinion these two things indicated a civilian waistcoat. Even with this opinion from Mrs. Hopkins the research suggests that there was little regulation on military uniforms in the mid 1700's, and so the question still remains unanswered.

I would venture to say that it is still possible that this suit could be part of a military uniform. The ruching on the bottom of the waistcoat could have been added after the suit served its purpose as military dress. The same can be said for the rosettes at the knees of the breeches. Regulations did not exist dictating which fabrics were required for the breeches and waistcoats, and the officers would then have had a certain amount of freedom to choose what they wore under the scarlet coats. As noted in this chapter there are many similarities between the waistcoat and breeches from the Clothing and Textiles Museum and paintings of Clive and others in military dress that suggest that it is possible the Clive wore this as military dress, all be it for a special occasion.

#### Ceremonial Dress of the Knights of the Bath

From the research carried out with respect to the robes and ceremonial dress of the Knights of the Bath, some conclusions have been reached which link certain characteristics of this official dress to the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. Though little information is available in secondary sources regarding the underdress of the dress for the Knights of the Bath, the main source of written information (Mansfield, 1980) lists a white satin doublet (a sleeved style of waistcoat) and white satin breeches. He also suggests that the Knights were not regulated in the mid-1700's as to what they had to wear for the installation ceremony. With no uniformity regarding underdress, the Knights were free to choose what they wore. In much the same way as it is impossible to prove that this suit could have been military dress, it is impossible to prove or disprove that this suit could have been worn in a ceremony of installation as a Knight of the Bath.

Crimson was the predominant color for the costume of the Knights of the Bath. In

keeping with this, the only highlight of color on the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum is the crimson coloured rosette at the knee of the breeches. The ribbon that forms the rosettes is also strikingly similar to the ribbon found on the bottom of the letter informing Clive that he was made a Knight. This leads me to think that there is a connection between the suit and the dress of the Knights of the Bath. Perhaps Clive was adding interest to the garment by adding rosettes to the knees, which matched the scarlet robes he would have worn over his waistcoat and breeches.

The portrait of Sir William Hamilton in Mansfield's book on ceremonial dress, shows roses at the knees of his breeches as well. The portrait, from 1775, shows slightly slimmer styled breeches and a light coloured sleeved waistcoat. This portrait lends itself to further speculation as to the suit from the C & T Museum, as there are such similarities between them. The color is similar, the roses at the knees are similar, and he is wearing a sleeved waistcoat, all of which give evidence that it is not impossible that a suit such as the one from the C & T Museum could have been worn under the crimson Robes of the Knights of the Bath.

#### The Inventory of Valuables and the Will

The inventory of valuables taken at the time of Clive's death has been one of the most exciting discoveries in this project. In this inventory it is of particular interest to have the complete list of the dress of the Bath. It is very difficult to find information about this eighteenth century ceremonial dress, and this piece of information could add to the general knowledge of the costume used by the Knights of the Bath. It seems, then, that there was value attached to the suit listed in the Inventory. Perhaps the suit could have been saved, and passed down through generations because it was a special article of clothing. The inventory list mentions breeches and waistcoat, but makes no reference to any other coat. Presumably Clive would have worn the robe directly over the waistcoat. This is in keeping with the information stating that The Knights of the Bath wore only breeches and waistcoats and not coats in the Installation Ceremony (Mansfield, 1980). The other point of interest is the set of roses that are mentioned in the inventory. Could these be the roses attached to the knees of the breeches of the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum?

### Further Interpretation and Analysis

Regardless of the occasion for which the suit was used, other conclusions can be reached about this artifact. Due to the nature of fine silk the suit was most certainly not used for much other than sitting or standing. Through a complete observation of the suit and the condition of the fabric, there is no indication that the breeches were used in any harsh manner. The nature of the silk, with its long floating threads, would certainly have snagged if they had rubbed against anything in the least bit abrasive. This would rule out the possibility that this suit would have been worn in battle, on the fields, for sport, or leisure activity. The condition of the silk fabric is too good indicating that the suit was not worn often. Had it been worn often there would be evidence within the fabric or seam construction to suggest wearing. It is my opinion that the suit was used infrequently and very carefully. It has also been preserved carefully over the past 250 years, perhaps alluding to the value of the suit. It was well cared for because it had value attached to it by the previous owners.

### The Log Book and the Ticket Compared

The writing in the log book, discussed in chapter 4, is assumed to belong to the tailor Thomas Harris himself. While it does not offer any obvious reference to a cream coloured silk waistcoat, or jacket, and breeches, it still provides useful information related to the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. What is relevant to this project is not what the record says (this information can be the basis for further theses), it is the writing sample in this log book that is useful information. At the end of the account listing the individual suits, and their cost, the total is summed up by the tailor as follows:

"Recvd the eighth of Augt 1761 of the Honble Conll Clive the sum of three hundred pounds of this my bill £300 Thms Harris" (Clive MS 23, 1762i).

From this sample of the tailor's handwriting, a comparison can be made with the ticket on the shoulder of the waistcoat (see figure 16). The ticket on the left shoulder of the waistcoat simply says 'Lord Clive'. It is logical that the tailor could have been responsible for this piece of paper, used as an identifier, perhaps in his workshop. I chose to compare the handwriting samples with

hopes that the two would match. This would then give even more evidence to the supposition that the suit belonged to Lord Clive. Although I am not an expert in eighteenth century handwriting styles, I feel that with the extensive amount of reading of original eighteenth century manuscripts and documents, that I can fairly say that there is a good chance that the writing on the ticket attached to the waistcoat, and the writing in the tailor's account book are very similar. Though many samples of handwriting distinctly show trends in formation of letters, the letter 'c' at the beginning of 'Clive' is important in this case (see figure 16 and 17).

The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Colonel Clive  
 July 12<sup>th</sup> 4 1/2 y<sup>s</sup> Superfine Broad  
 grain Cloth -  
 13 y<sup>s</sup> of White Serge Dress  
 Body Linen -

Figure 16. Sample of writing from the log book.



Figure 17. Sample of writing from the ticket.

The formation of the letter 'c', on both the ticket and the account book are similar. With loops at the top of the letter and also on the bottom, the 'c' appears to match, and is almost certainly authentically eighteenth century. The remaining letters in his name also share the same characteristics in the account book and on the ticket.

### Is it Clive's Suit?

This is one of the questions in the beginning of the project which was posed with great hesitation. How is it possible to prove beyond any doubt that this suit belonged to Lord Clive? Besides the evidence within the suit, such as the ticket placed on the left shoulder, there is only the story of the donor which connects the suit to Clive. The process of research has helped, however, to suggest the possibility that the suit could have been worn by Clive. By assigning a date of 1760-70 for both the breeches and the waistcoat, during Clive's life, there is an increased possibility that he could have owned it.

After extensive investigation into Clive's life, through secondary sources as well as hundreds of original documents, no conclusive evidence connects this suit to Clive. The 'List of Valuables belonging to Lord Clive' outlined in chapter 4, lists breeches and a waistcoat. Unfortunately the garments are not described in detail so it is impossible to be sure that this is the same suit as at the one at the Clothing and Textiles Museum. There is a chance that it is indeed the same, but it cannot be proven.

The suit also resembles the suit worn in the portrait from the national Portrait Gallery in London. Though the portrait shows Clive in military dress, the waistcoat and breeches are very similar in style and color to the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. The detail of embroidery on the pocket is exactly the same on both the portrait and the suit in question. The suit in the portrait of Clive is known to show him in military dress. Although it seems that the suit in the portrait is similar to the one from the Clothing and Textiles Museum there is a problem in correlating the information from secondary sources on military dress, to the extant garment I am studying. Secondary sources say that military dress was not made of silk, though it is still possible that if the suit is Clive's he very well may have had a suit made of silk as a dress uniform. there

remains the possibility that this suit is the same as the one in the portrait, though it is not possible to prove this.

A study of the tailor's log book and the portraits of Clive suggests that he favored the cream color of the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum. He ordered cream coloured silks to have suits made, and inventories list cream coloured waistcoats and breeches as part of his wardrobe. This can be used as another indication that it is possible that he could have worn this suit.

The size of the suit was an interesting clue in helping to decide if the suit from the C&T Museum could have been worn by Clive. In Appendix J the ranges of several measurements were compared with the C & T Museum waistcoat and breeches to see if they were much larger. The measurements were at the high end of the scale, however they were not excessively large so as to cause concern that the suit would have been too big to fit Clive's frame. As we saw from the portraits of Clive, he was a large man, and so the results of this comparison show that it is not impossible that the suit could indeed have been worn by Clive.

It seems then that there is no certain answer to the question of ownership of the suit. There is no certain proof that Clive wore this suit, only speculative information that helps to connect the suit to Clive. Questions remain, and further research could reveal the answers. The following section presents avenues for future investigation into this material history mystery.

There is one aspect of this study which remains a particular challenge, one which could have proven to be a key element in answering the question of ownership of this suit. The donor's story included the name of the antiques dealer in Montreal. Through numerous channels I tried to find Margaret Newell, with no success. The hope was to be able to link the family trees of Mrs. Newell's family to those of Clive's solicitor's, and in this way to link the suit to Clive. Unfortunately this proved to be impossible as Mrs. Newell could not be found.

### Critique of the Research Model

The model used in this material culture study proved to be a good source for planning and executing the necessary research. It was a combination of the two model described in Chapter Three; one a strict material culture model and the other a model which was developed specifically

for clothing as material culture. With the debate over the nature of material culture as a discipline of study, versus the notion that the study of costume is unique in artifact study, the model used in this study is useful. I tried to make the model clothing specific as is called for by clothing historians, but in so doing I found it necessary to use well established models of material culture devised by art historians and anthropologists as my basis. From this project I conclude that the model I used with its many parts from basic material culture models was very successful. It seems that it is not necessary to have such clothing specific models in order to have a complete material culture study of costume. Though in this model I have used some clothing specific questions to try and narrow down the research, I think that this model could be used for any artifact research. Depending on the artifact the questions asked of it would have to change to better show what the artifact was used for and how it was used. Every artifact will have very specific attributes that have to be addressed by the experts studying them. Even within historic costume research there would have to be slight variations if the researcher was studying men's costume, women's dress, or accessories and shoes. The questions asked of the artifact will always be slightly different, but the basic model used in this research with its four steps, comparison chart, and five categories can be a good basis for not only costume history research but material culture research of any kind.

### Further Questions

As I have pointed out throughout the research process, there are some key elements about this study of material history which have hindered chances of reaching firm conclusions with respect to the owner and use of this suit. It has been possible to assign a date to the suit from the C & T Museum with a fair degree of confidence despite some anomalies in style.

For further investigation, key questions need to be answered. The connection to Mrs. Newell needs to be addressed. Even though all listings by that name in both the Toronto and Montreal phone directory were contacted, no progress was made in finding Marguerite Newell. If the original owner of the suit could be found, perhaps tracing back the family lineage could reveal a connection between one of the family's ancestors and Lord Clive. According to the donor's story, Mrs. Newell's ancestor was said to be one of Clive's solicitors. The names of all his solicitors

are listed on his will and on official material from the archives. If one of these names could be genealogically traced to Mrs. Newell, then there would be more certainty that there is a connection of Clive and the suit in question. If this occurred, it would be further support to the claim that Clive gave this suit to her great great great grandfather.

In order to try and determine if the suit in the portraits of Clive are indeed the same as the suit from the Clothing and Textiles Museum, a closer investigation and comparison of the artistic portrayal of different textiles in portraits could be done. A number of portraits portraying silk could be compared to wool and buff leather (as on the military uniforms of the eighteenth century) for their sheen to see the differences. Then perhaps some conclusions could be made about whether or not the portraits of Clive show him wearing silk breeches and waistcoat or whether they resemble other portraits of wool or buff leather.

AMS testing and dating of the piece of paper, along with professional handwriting analysis could also help to lend support to the idea that the suit was worn by Clive. With extensive comparison of the handwriting samples taken from original documents compared to the ticket on the left shoulder of the suit, perhaps a more conclusive result could be attained.

Further investigation into men's ceremonial dress of the eighteenth century would also prove helpful as secondary information in future studies. In this study, some questions have been raised as to what types of clothing were worn by the Knights of the Bath, British military officers in India and in wedding ceremonies of the 1700's. All of these types of dress have large gaps in information which need to be filled. More in depth investigation into the different ceremonial dress styles for men in the eighteenth century appears to be one of the more important and challenging tasks for future scholars of clothing history.

## REFERENCES

- Arbuthnot, Sir. A.J. (1899). Lord Clive: The Foundation of British Rule in India. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Archer, M., Rowell, C., Skelton, R. (1987). Treasures from India, the Clive Collection at Powis Castle. London: The Herbert Press in association with The National Trust.
- Arnold, J. (1980). Jane Lombarde's Mantle. Costume, 14, 56-72.
- Arnold, J. (1970). A mantua, c. 1708-9, Clive House Museum, College Hill, Shrewsbury. Costume, 14, 26-29.
- Becker, M. (1994). The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.
- Bence-Jones, M. (1974). Clive of India. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Bence-Jones, M. (1979). The British Aristocracy. London: Constable.
- Bennett, H. (1980). Sir John Hynde Cotton's highland suit. Costume, 14, 39-46.
- Bennett, H. (1985). The Perth Glover's sword dance dress of 1633. Costume, 19, 40-57.
- Boucher, F. (1983). 20,000 Years of Fashion. New York: Harry Abrams, Inc.
- Bowden, W. (1979). Industrial Society in England Towards the End of the Eighteenth Century. New York: The MacMillan Company.
- Bryant, N. (1988). Buckles and buttons: an inquiry into fastening systems used in 18th c. breeches. Dress, 14.
- Buck, A. (1979). Dress in the Eighteenth Century. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc.
- Byrde, P. (1979). The Male Image: Men's Fashion in Britain 1300-1970. London: Batsford, Ltd.
- Calasibetta, C. (1975). Fairchild's Dictionary of Fashion. New York: Fairchild

## Publications.

Carmen, W.Y. (1961). Indian Army Uniforms Under the British from the Eighteenth century to 1947, Cavalry. London: Leonard Hill Books.

Carmen, W.Y. (1969). Indian Army Uniforms Under the British from the Eighteenth Century to 1947, Artillery, Engineers and Infantry. London; Morgan-Grplan.

Caron, B. (1994). The robe of the Empress Eugenie of France: An artifact study: Unpublished paper. ITAA Conference, 1994.

Carswell, J. (1973). From Revolution to Revolution: England 1688-1776. London: Routledge & Kegan.

Chaudhuri, N. (1975). Clive of India: a political and psychological essay. London: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd.

Chenoune, F. (1993). A History of Men's Fashion. Paris: Flammarion.

Clive MSS 9, Inventory of Household goods, 1774.

Clive MSS 23, 1762i. Thomas Harris' Inventory of Clive Family Clothing, 1762.

Clive MSS 76, Inventory of Household Goods, Furniture, China, Linen etc in Berkeley Square House, 1774.

Clive MSS 77, Inventory of Watch, Buckles, and other Valuables used by Lord Clive, 1775.

Clive MSS, 1675, 1775. Inventory and Valuation of Dead Stock, inventory of household goods, furniture and belongings to the Right Honorable Lord Clive, no date, assumed 1775.

Condon, A. (1991). *The celestial world of Jonathon Odell: Symbolic unities within a disparate artifact collection*. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 92-126.

Cowie, L. (1967). Hanoverian England 1714-1837. London: Bell & Hyman Ltd.

Dupont, J. (1991). The meaning of Objects: The poker. Living in a Material World. St.

John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1-18.

Earnshaw, P. (1995). How to Recognize Machine Made Lace. Aylesbury: Shire Publishers.

Earnshaw, P. (1986). A Dictionary of Lace. Aylesbury: Shire Publishers.

Edwards, L. (1985). 'Dress't like a May-pole': A study of two suits of c. 1660-62. Costume, 19, 75-93.

Edwardes, M. (1977). Clive: The Heaven Born General. London: Hart-Davis, McGibbon.

Etterma, M. (1991). The fashion system in American furniture. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 189-198.

Farrington, A. (1982). Guide to the Records at the East India Company Office Military Dept. London: India Office Library and Records.

Flanagan, J. F. (1954). Spitalfields Silks of the 18th and 19th Centuries. Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, Publishers Ltd.

Flemming, E. M. (1974). Artifact study: a proposed model. Winterthur Portfolio, 9, 153-173.

Garrett, R. (1976). Robert Clive. London: Barker Ltd.

Glassie, H. (1991). Studying material culture today. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 253-265.

Gleig, G. R. (1907). The Life of Robert First Lord Clive. London: John Murray.

Harrington, P. (1994) Plassey, 1757, Clive of India's Finest Hour. London: Reed International Books.

Harris, R. W. (1963). England in the Eighteenth Century. London: Blantford Press.

Herman, B. (1991). The objects of discourse: Evidence and method in material culture

study and agricultural history. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 92-103.

Hood, A., Ruddel, D., (1991). Artifacts and documents in the history of Quebec textiles. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 55-91.

I.O.R. MSS Eur F128/ Sutton Collection, Box xxiv.

I.O.R. MSS Eur F 128/26, Sutton Collection, Box xxvi, Lord Clive to General Carnac, 1764.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G37/ Clive Collection, Box xiv, Summons to Lord Clive, 1772.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G37/ Clive Collection, Box xxi, From Clive to Mr. Green and Mr. Crisp, ordering silk fabrics from India, 1755.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G37/ Clive Collection, Box xv, From Clive to Vansittart, From Clive to Dr. Hancock, 1762.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G37/ Clive Collection, Box vii, Inventory of Jewel bequeathed to Lord Clive, 1775.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G37/ Clive Collection, Box x, List of silks owned by Clive, 1775.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G 37/ Clive Collection, Box lxxix, List of clothing ordered for 54 soldiers, List of goods brought over by Clive from England to India, 1764.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G37/ Clive Collection, Box lxxv, Tailor's invoice of clothing for Clive and Mrs. Clive, 1748.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G39/ Clive Collection, Box xvii packet 56, An account of wearing apparel, old linen and new and old cloth remaining belonging to Capt. Clive, 1748.

I.O.R. MSS Eur G39/ Clive Collection, Box xx, From Richard Prince to Clive, From Edmund Maskelyne to Margaret, from John Brown to Clive, 1751.

Jasper, C., Roach-Higgins, M.E. (1987). History of Costume: Theory and Instruction. Clothing and Textiles Research Journal, 5, (4), 1-6.

- Kohler, C. (1963). A History of Costume. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- Langford, P. (1976). The Eighteenth Century: 1688-1815. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Lawford, J. (1976). Clive: Proconsul of India. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Maeder, E. ed. (1983). An Elegant Art. New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
- Majumdar, R., Raychaudhuri, H., Kalikinkar, D. (1961). An Advanced History of India. London: MacMillan and Co. Ltd.
- Malleson, G. B. (1900). Lord Clive. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.
- Mansfield, A. (1980). Ceremonial Costumes. London: Adam and Charles Black.
- Mason, P. (1974). A Matter of Honor: an Account of the Indian Army, its Officers and Men. London: Jonathon Cape Publishers.
- McCracken, G. (1986). Culture and consumption: A theoretical account of the structure and movement of the cultural meaning of consumer goods. Journal of Consumer Research, 13, 71-84.
- Milton, R. (1972). The English Ceremonial Book: A history of robes, insignia and ceremonies still in use in England. Newton, Abbott: David and Charles Publishers.
- Mollo, B. (1981). The Indian Army. Dorset: Brandford Press.
- Money-Barnes, Maj. R. (1960). Military Uniforms of the British Empire, 1742-Present. London: Seeley Service & Co.
- Owen, J.B. (1974). The Eighteenth Century, 1714-1815. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.
- Orme MSS collection 287, Letters and papers belonging to Lord Clive, 1752-54.
- Paoletti, J., Beeker, C., Pelletier, D. (1987). Men's jacket styles 1919-1941: An example of coordinated content analysis and object study. Dress, 13, 44-48.

Payne, B. (1992). History of Costume, from the Ancient Egyptians to the 20th Century. New York: Harper and Row.

Pocius, G. (1991). Researching artifacts in Canada: Institutional power and levels of dialogue. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 241-252.

Pocius, G. ed. (1991). Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, xiii-xix.

Powis Castle Clive of India 1990 Deposit, 3 Boxes of unsorted manuscripts including the the King's Dispensation for Lord Clive being named Knight of the Bath.

Prown, J. (1982). Mind in matter: An introduction to material culture theory and method. Winterthur Portfolio, 15, (3), 197-210.

Prown, J. (1992). On the 'art' in artifacts. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 142-155.

P.R.O. MSS Clive Middx Dec 426, London.

Reilly, S. (1979). Material history and the history of women. First Days Fighting Days. Regina: University of Regina Canadian Research Center.

Ribeiro, A. (1983). The elegant art of fancy dress, An Elegant Art. New York: Los Angeles County Museum of Art & Harry N. Abrams, Inc.

Ribeiro, A. (1983). A Visual History of the Eighteenth Century. London: B.T. Batsford, Ltd.

Ribeiro, A. (1984). The Dress Worn at Masquerades in England, 1730 to 1790, and its Relation to Fancy Dress in Portraiture. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Schlereth, T. (1991). Material culture or material life: Discipline or field? Theory or Method? Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 231-240.

Schlick, P. (1988). A new direction in identifying appropriate methodology classification systems for historic costume, ACPTC Workshop.

Severa, J., Horswill, M. (1989). Costume as material culture. Dress, 15. 51-64.

Shaw, W. (1906). The Knights of England. London: Sherritt and Hughes.

Singh, P. (1979). Indian Army Under the East India Company. New Delhi: Sterling Publ.

Smith, S. (1985). Research Reports, Material History Bulletin, 22. 31-40.

Sutton, A. (1984). The coronation robes of Richard III and Anne Neville. Costume, 18. 8-16.

Taprell, H., Doring, R.N., Guill, L.F. (1974). Ribbons, medals & the World's Military and Civil Awards. London: George Philip and Son Ltd.

Tortora, P., Eubank, K. (1989). A Survey of Historic Costume. New York: Fairchild Publications.

Upton, D. (1991). Form and user: Style, mode, fashion, and the artifact. Living in a Material World. St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 259-268.

Watney, J. (1974). Clive of India. Westmead: Saxon House.

Waugh, N. (1945). The Art of Men's Clothing. London: Faber and Faber.

Webb, R. K. (1970). Modern England: from the Eighteenth Century to the Present. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company.

Welters, L. (1981). Historical research in textiles and clothing: a position paper.

Wilson, Sir C. W. (1925). Lord Clive. London: MacMillan and Co.

Wolpert, S. (1993). A New History of India, 4th ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

### **Manuscripts and Printed Primary Sources**

IOR MSS Eur; Clive Collection, India Office Records European Manuscript Collection.

Clive MS; Clive Papers at the National Archive of Wales in Aberystwyth. (The number after Clive MS refer to a series of manuscript volumes; The numbers after Clive Papers refer to a series of individual papers).

Orme MSS; Orme India MSS. the two series of volumes of manuscripts that constitute the Orme Collection in the India Office Library, London.

P.R.O. MSS; in the Public Records Office, London.

Powis Castle Clive of India Collection 1990 Deposit; A collection of Clive family manuscripts at the National Archive of Wales, Aberystwyth.

**APPENDIX A**

A Model for the Study of Material Culture  
From the Class of Stewart Smith at UNB

---

| Analysis | material | construction | function | provenance | value |
|----------|----------|--------------|----------|------------|-------|
|----------|----------|--------------|----------|------------|-------|

---

step 1  
observable  
data of the  
suit.

---

Step 2  
Comparative  
data of other  
suits from  
the 1700's

---

Step 3  
Supplementary  
data from other  
sources

---

Step 4  
Conclusions

---

**APPENDIX B**

A model for the Study of Costume as Material  
Culture by Severa and Horswill

---

|          |          |                         |             |
|----------|----------|-------------------------|-------------|
| Analysis | material | design and construction | workmanship |
|----------|----------|-------------------------|-------------|

---

Identification

---

Evaluation

---

Cultural Analysis

---

Interpretation  
+ Intuitive Analysis

---

**APPENDIX C**

Adapted from the UNB model (1985) and that of Severa and Horswill (1989).

### Questions

#### Material Design and Construction of the suit

- 1/ Of what material is the artifact constructed? What quality are these materials?
- 2/ Did the material influence the object's final form?
- 3/ Are the materials used in similar objects?
- 4/ Where did the unworked material originate?
- 5/ Do the materials suggest trade patterns/practices?
- 6/ How was the object's appearance affected or influenced by the construction techniques employed?
- 7/ Is any form of ornamentation or decoration present? If so, what type?
- 8/ Are there any signs of wear or repair to the suit?
- 9/ Are there any markings or inscriptions present?
- 10/ Does the construction of this suit differ greatly from others similar in age and style?
- 11/ Is its design comparable to like objects?
- 12/ Does the design aid in dating the artifact?
- 13/ Is the artifact a reproduction?

#### Function

- 1/ Why was the suit produced?
- 2/ What function was the suit?
- 3/ Was it actually used for its original purpose?

#### Cultural Analysis

- 1/ What was the suit's value to the original owner?
- 2/ Did ownership of such a suit reflect the social or economic status of the original owner?
- 3/ What value was placed on such a suit at the time it was originally used?

- 4/ What cultural values does the suit reveal?
- 5/ What value does such a suit have to the original society?

#### Provenance

- 1/ Where and when was the suit produced?
- 2/ Who was the maker/tailor?
- 3/ Where and how was the suit worn?
- 4/ Who was the original owner of the suit?
- 5/ Where and when did the original owner live, and what was their social status, occupation and history?
- 6/ Who were the subsequent owners and where were they from? How did they use the suit?

#### Interpretation and analysis

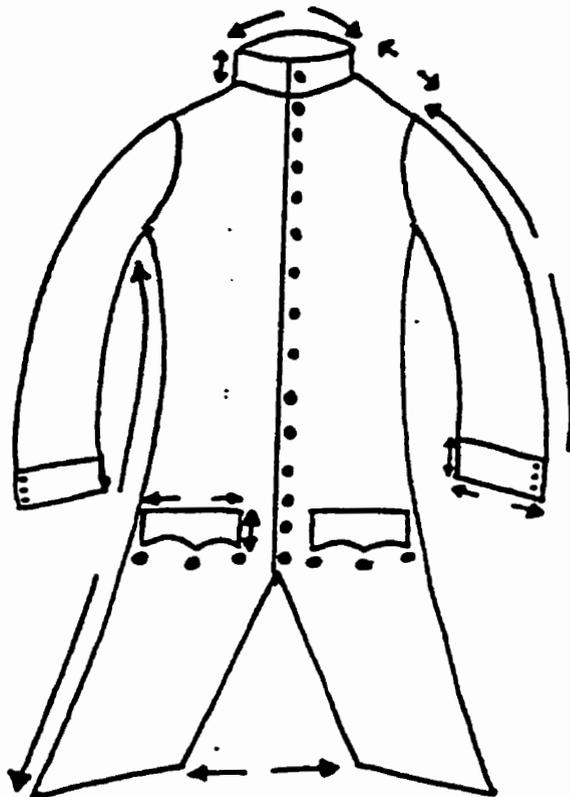
- 1/ What construction methods/technology would have been required to produce this suit?
- 2/ What quality is the construction?
- 3/ How was the object's appearance affected or influenced by the construction techniques employed?
- 4/ How does the ornamentation or decoration affect the suit's appearance?
- 5/ What degree of sophistication is represented by the suit? (judged by style, method of construction, etc...)
- 6/ Was the suit's wearability influenced by its design, materials, construction methods or ornamentation?

**APPENDIX D**

APPENDIX D

MUSEUM NAME: \_\_\_\_\_  
ACCESSION NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_  
ARTIFACT DATE: \_\_\_\_\_

COAT  
FRONT



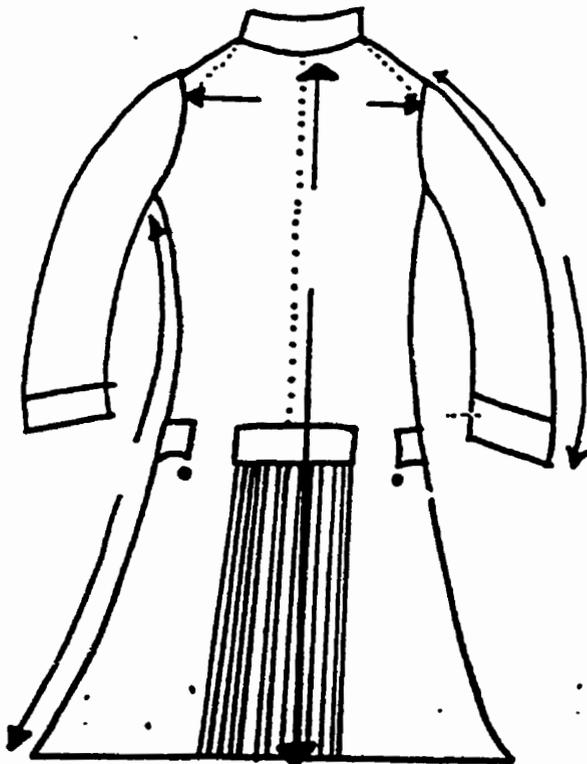
# BUTTONS: \_\_\_\_\_

POCKET STYLE: \_\_\_\_\_

FABRIC: \_\_\_\_\_

DECORATION: \_\_\_\_\_

COAT  
BACK



FABRIC: \_\_\_\_\_

DECORATION: \_\_\_\_\_

**APPENDIX E**

| waist-coat                      | museum #1 | museum #2 | museum #3 | museum #4 | museum #5 | museum #6 | museum #7 | museum #8 | ... |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----|
| fabric: front<br>back<br>lining |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           | ... |
| applied style                   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| side measure                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| fit narrow/close                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| cut away y/h                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| flared skirt y/h                |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| rounded sleeve                  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| collar y/h                      |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| jewel neck                      |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| shoulder width                  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| @intersection                   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| spread @ bottom                 |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| center back                     |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| buttons #                       |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| sleeve length                   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| cuff height                     |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| cuff width                      |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| pocket height                   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| pocket width                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| pocket button y/h               |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |
| pocket style                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |     |

Appendix E

This is an example used for eighteenth century men's costume, but can be adapted to any costume artifact. Choose important details to compare with other similar artifacts.

**APPENDIX F**

Data Collection Sheets

|   |         |                          |
|---|---------|--------------------------|
| Details to be studied                               | 1780-90 | suit from the C&T Museum |
| Waistcoat:  |         |                          |
| Cut/style   |         |                          |
| Narrow/close fit<br>cut away<br>flared skirt        |         |                          |
| Neckline  |         |                          |
| Jewel<br>V-neck                                     |         |                          |
| Shoulder width                                      |         |                          |
| Shoulder intersection<br>(of front and back bodice) |         |                          |
| Button shape/<br>style (Dorset)                     |         |                          |
| Sleeve:   |         |                          |
| armscye join<br>shape/<br>style<br>sleeve join      |         |                          |
| Sleeve length                                       |         |                          |
| Cuff style  |         |                          |
| Cuff size   |         |                          |
| Decorative<br>design/trim                           |         |                          |
| Pocket shape/<br>style                              |         |                          |
| Pocket size   |         |                          |
| Slits- number/<br>size                              |         |                          |
| Center-front<br>measurement                         |         |                          |
| Center-back<br>measurement                          |         |                          |

**Breeches:**


---



---

Waist style/size  
measurements  
Back  
Front

---

Closure type  
at waist front/  
back

---

Closure at knees

---

Seat style

---

Length at inseam

---

Length at out seam

---

Rise measurement

---

Decorative design

---

**Fabric:**


---



---

Outer fabric

---

Color

---

Lining fabrics

#1  
#2  
#3  
#4

---

Lace style

Workmanship/Treatments  
seam finishes  
shaping methods  
fullness control  
hem techniques

Level of skill

selection of materials  
cutting  
finishing  
effect

**APPENDIX G**

Telephone 0743  
 361196 : Rowley's House Muscum  
 354811 : Clive House Museum  
 362947 : Coleham Pumping Station  
 358516 : Shrewsbury Castle

Jill Condra  
 507 Rosedale Avenue  
 Winnipeg  
 Manitoba  
 Canada  
 R3L 1M4



Geraint Morgan  
 Director of Health, Tourism  
 and Leisure

Rowley's House Museum,  
 Barker Street,  
 Shrewsbury. SY1 1QH.

Fax No. 0743 358780

## APPENDIX G

Dear Jill Condra

Thank you for your letter enquiring about Lord Edward Clive. Your letter has been passed to me as Vivien Bellamy retired in 1994 and the post of Curator 'replaced' by that of Collections Manager.

I am sorry to have to tell you that the only reason for the Clive House branch of the Shrewsbury Museum Service having that name is because Lord Clive of India rented it when he was mayor of Shrewsbury in 1762, and it has kept the name ever since.

We do not have anything at all belonging to Lord Edward Clive and only the mayoral robe worn by his father.

There is a Clive Museum at Powis Castle, Welshpool, Powys, Wales SY21 8RF (telephone 0938 554338) where they have many items of ceramics, ivory, metal work and other things which Lord Clive brought back from India. They would be able to supply you with a copy of the catalogue. I have given you name to to the administrator, Neville Williams. He is willing to help you in any way that he can. Any family papers or letters which they had have been sent to The National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth, Dyfed, Wales.

The largest costume collection in the UK is at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London but unfortunately their study facilities are closed from July to October due to the re-organisation of the offices. There are always a few eighteenth century costumes on display in the costume gallery.

I enclose a list of museums which have examples of eighteenth century costume.

I hope this will be of some help to you. We would be very interested to hear about your research and wish you every success with it.

Yours sincerely

*Barbara Allen*



**APPENDIX H**

## Waistcoat Comparisons from the Four Museums

| waist-coat                      | V&A 1<br>1755-<br>1765  | V&A 2<br>1740-<br>1750  | V&A 3<br>1750-<br>1760  | V&A 8<br>1750-<br>1760  | V&A 4<br>1750-<br>1760  | V&A 5<br>1750-<br>1760  | V&A 6<br>1755-<br>1765  | V&A 7<br>1755-<br>1765   | V&A 12<br>1760's  | V&A 16<br>1780's  | V&A 13<br>1780's  | V&A 10<br>1780's  |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|---|---|---|---|
| fabric: front<br>back<br>lining | Black<br>silk<br>satin  | red wool<br>floral<br>uncut<br>velvet   | fig. silk<br>velvet<br>Brown/<br>Beige  | brown<br>silk<br>gm<br>sleeve   | fig. silk<br>ribbed<br>flannel  | blk/yellow<br>check<br><br>black<br>linen   | cream<br>silk<br>satin<br>wool<br>lining  | silk<br>satin<br><br>wool<br>lining  | cream<br>silk<br>blue<br>brocade  | cream<br>satin<br><br>none  | marseil-<br>leses<br>cotton   | black<br>silk<br>satin  |
| applied detail                  | embroid-<br>ery.  | textured<br>fabric<br>only  | textured<br>fabric<br>only  | textured<br>fabric<br>only  | textured<br>fabric<br>only  | textured<br>fabric<br>only  | embroid.<br>in silver<br>thread   | silver<br>embroid  | gold<br>floral<br>embroid.  | colored<br>silk<br>embroid.   | silver<br>embroid.  | none  |
| side measure                    | 62  | 67  | 75  | 66  | 60.5  | 57  | 51  | 63   | 60  | 41  | 40  | 46  |
| fit narrow/ close               | narrow   | narrow  | narrow  | narrow  | narrow  |
| cut away y/n                    | yes  | yes   | yes   | no  | yes   |
| flared skirt y/n                | yes   | slight   | slight  | slight  | no  | slight  |
| rounded sleeve                  | yes   | yes   | yes   | yes   | yes   | yes   | no sleeve   | no sleeve  | yes   | no sleeve   | no sleeve   | no sleeve   |
| collar y/n                      | no   | no  | no  | lapels  | no  |
| jewel neck                      | yes, 14   | yes 17  | yes 12  | yes 20  | yes 15.5  | yes 13  | yes 15  | yes 13   | yes 13  | yes 10  | no  | yes 12  |
| shoulder width                  | 33  | 36  | 31.5  | 34  | 33.5  | 31  | 29  | 31   | 36  | 30  | 28  | 29  |
| @intersection                   | 13  | 15  | 12.5  | 10  | 15  | 12  | 11  | 13   | 14  | 12  | 10  | 11  |
| spread @ bottom                 | 22  | 24  | 32  | 14  | 28  | 18  | 19.5  | 16   | 16  | 36  | none  | 27  |
| center back                     | 83.5  | 85  | 84  | 85  | 76  | 71  | 73  | 77   | 80  | 60  | 60  | 68  |
| buttons #                       | 12  | 14  | 14  | 14  | 13  | 14  | 12  | 14   | 14  | 12  | 7   | 12  |
| sleeve length                   | 59  | 58  | 56  | 56  | 61.5  | 61  | n/a   | n/a  | 61  | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   |
| cuff height                     | none  | 9.5   | n/a   | n/a   | 22  | n/a   | n/a   | n/a  | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   |
| cuff width                      | none  | 14  | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   | n/a  | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   | n/a   |
| pocket height                   | 8.25  | 9   | 7   | 7   | 9.5   | 9   | 10  | 9  | 9   | 9   | 1   | -   |
| pocket width                    | 19  | 21  | 18  | 20  | 21  | 21  | 21  | 18   | 18  | 19  | 16  | -   |
| pocket button y/n               | yes   | no  | no  | yes   | no  | yes   | yes   | yes  | no  | no  | no  | no  |
| pocket style                    |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |







**APPENDIX I**

APPENDIX I  
Breeches comparisons of measurements from the four museums  
All are compared with the breeches from the Clothing and Textiles Museum

| Breeches             | v&a 1<br>1750           | v&a 2<br>1750s                              | v&a 3<br>1750-<br>1760          | ROM<br>1757   | McCord<br>1767 |  |  | v&a 4<br>1770s                    | ROM<br>1770             | v&a 5<br>1780s                  | v&a 6<br>1780 | McCord<br>1780-<br>1790 | Bath 1<br>1780-<br>1790  | ROM<br>1790       |  | CLIVE                   |
|----------------------|-------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---------------|----------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--|-------------------------|
| fabric               | pink +<br>cream<br>silk | brn silk<br>cut +<br>uncut<br>velvet<br>cln | rust<br>wool<br>gold<br>buttons | red<br>wool   | cream<br>silk  |  |  | silk fl<br>weight<br>laine<br>cut | cream<br>corded<br>silk | brown<br>flg<br>striped<br>silk | green<br>silk | Navy<br>Velvet          | maroon<br>corded<br>silk | silk              |  | Cream<br>silk<br>sateen |
| lining               | linen                   |   |                                 | flannel       | flannel        |  |  |                                   |                         |                                 | linen         | linen                   | linen                    | linen             |  | wool<br>flannel         |
| decorative<br>design | floral<br>sprays<br>emb | none  | none                            | gold<br>braid |                |  |  | none                              | floral<br>embroid       | none                            | none          | floral<br>embroid       | none                     | floral<br>embroid |  | none                    |
| waist measure        | 78                      | 92  | 70                              | 87            | 86             |  |  | 84                                | 80                      | 78                              | 68            | 84                      | 70                       | 72                |  | 84                      |
| front closure        |                         |   |                                 |               |                |  |  |                                   |                         |                                 |               |                         |                          |                   |  |                         |
| front fast           | yes                     | yes   | yes                             | yes           | yes            |  |  | wide y                            | yes                     | yes                             | wide y        | yes                     | yes                      | yes               |  | yes                     |
| button fly           | yes                     | yes   | yes                             | yes           | yes            |  |  | yes                               | yes                     | yes                             | yes           | yes                     | yes                      | yes               |  | yes                     |
| pulled seat          | yes                     | yes   | yes                             | yes           | yes            |  |  | yes                               | yes                     | yes                             | yes           | yes                     | yes                      | yes               |  | yes                     |
| knee closure         | button                  | button                                      | button                          | button        | button         |  |  | button                            | button                  | button                          | button        | button                  | button                   | button            |  | ties                    |
| knee band            | yes                     | yes   | yes                             | yes           | yes            |  |  | yes                               | yes                     | yes                             | yes           | yes                     | yes                      | yes               |  | yes                     |
| back closure         | button                  | ties  | ties                            | ties          | buckle         |  |  | ties                              | tie                     | button                          | tie           | button                  | tie                      | buckle            |  | ties                    |
| inseam               | 40                      | 39  | 40                              | 41            |                |  |  | 42                                | 38                      | 48                              | 38            | 45                      | 43                       | 45                |  | 41                      |
| oulseam              | 60                      | 64  | 57                              | 61            | 76             |  |  | 57                                | 49                      | 75                              | 56            | 73                      | 59                       | 70                |  | 60                      |
| rise                 | 79                      | 71  | 63                              | 68            | 70             |  |  | 61                                |                         | 77                              | 66            | 84                      | 75                       | 84                |  | 76                      |
| pocket lob           | yes                     | yes   | yes x2                          | yes           | yes            |  |  | no                                | yes                     | yes x2                          | yes           | yes                     | yes                      | yes               |  | yes                     |
| pocket side          | 2 side                  | 2 side                                      | 1 right                         | yes           | no             |  |  | no                                | yes                     | no                              | no            | no                      | no                       | yes               |  | no                      |
| waistband width      | 9                       | 8   | 5                               | 9             |                |  |  | 5.5                               | 7                       | 6                               | 13            |                         | 10                       | 4                 |  | 7                       |

**APPENDIX J**

**Range of measurements of eighteenth century waistcoats from other Museums**

**C & T Suit measurements**

---

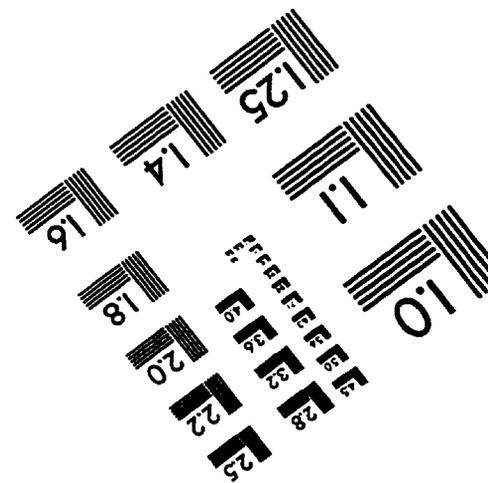
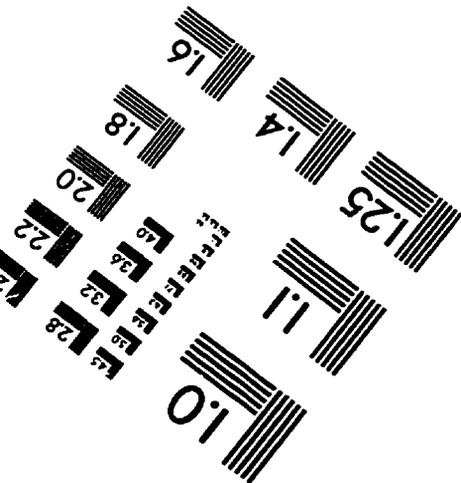
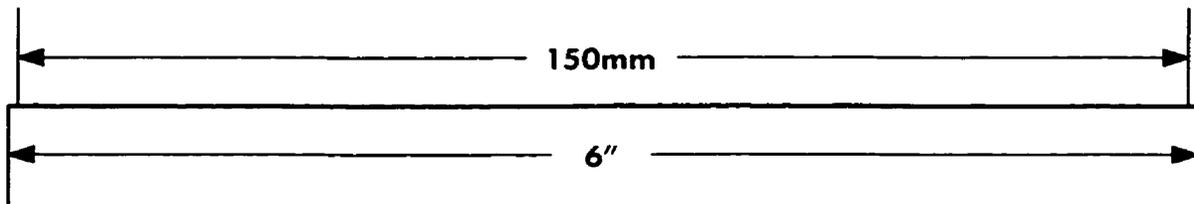
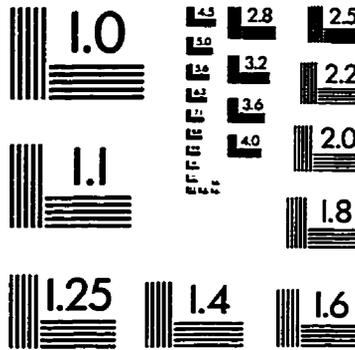
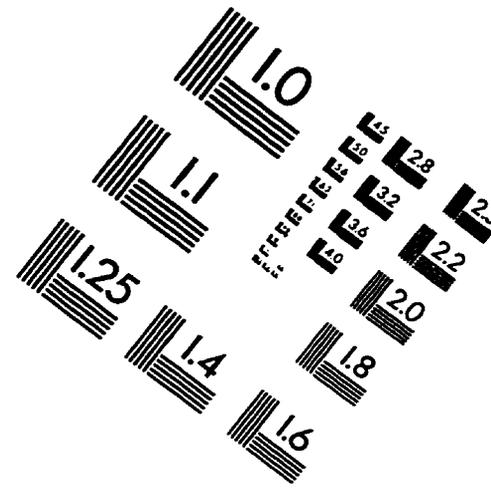
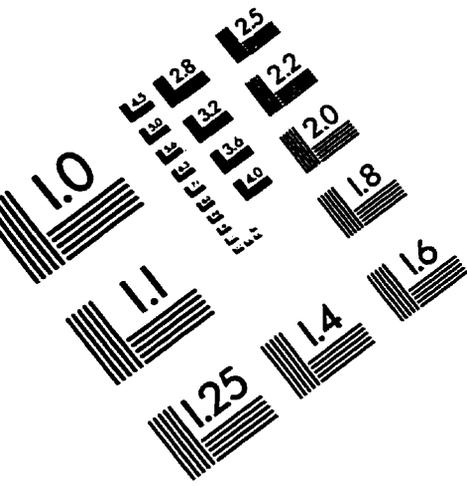
|                          |          |       |
|--------------------------|----------|-------|
| <b>side measure</b>      | 40-75 cm | 55 cm |
| <b>shoulder width</b>    | 28-40 cm | 40 cm |
| <b>@ intersection</b>    | 10-14 cm | 14 cm |
| <b>center back</b>       | 60-85 cm | 72 cm |
| <b>number of buttons</b> | 7-18     | 13    |
| <b>sleeve length</b>     | 56-63 cm | 63 cm |

**Range of measurements of eighteenth century breeches from other museums**

---

|                           |          |       |
|---------------------------|----------|-------|
| <b>waist measurement</b>  | 68-92 cm | 84 cm |
| <b>front fall closure</b> | yes      | yes   |
| <b>inseam</b>             | 38-48 cm | 41 cm |
| <b>outseam</b>            | 57-76 cm | 60 cm |
| <b>rise</b>               | 61-84 cm | 76 cm |
| <b>waistband width</b>    | 4-13 cm  | 7 cm  |

# IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE, Inc  
1653 East Main Street  
Rochester, NY 14609 USA  
Phone: 716/482-0300  
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved