V. *Observations on Female Head-dress in England, chiefly subsequent to the date of Mr. Strutt's Remarks in his "Habits of the People of England:"* by JOHN ADEY REPTON, *Esq. F.S.A.* in a *Letter to* NICHOLAS CARLISLE, *Esq. K.H. F.R.S. Secretary.*

Read May 7, June 19, Dec. 3, 1835, Jan. 14, 1836.

AS Mr. Strutt, in his "*Habits of the People of England*," has already given us a very full account of the female head-dress from the earliest periods, accompanied by many curious and interesting engravings, I shall confine my observations on the subject to those of a subsequent date.

The heads represented in the drawings (Plates III. to X.) are taken from old tapestries, brass-plates, early prints, &c. Many are well-known to the Society. They are only to be considered as slight sketches to give a general idea of the form and character of the dresses; but of those which are copied from well-known portraits, the faces are omitted, as it would have been difficult to procure correct likenesses.

In examining a collection of old paintings or prints, great caution is required to ascertain whether they be genuine: we have several portraits of Anne Boleyn, without any similarity in the likenesses.

Many portraits are imaginary, as in some of Houbraken's heads; and many unknown portraits have names given to them to which they are not entitled.

That some of the portraits, by the most celebrated painters, may be considered correct likenesses as early as the reign of Henry VIII. may be proved in one instance. Some years since, I was much struck with a portrait of a lady at Woburn, and felt assured I had seen it somewhere; but could not recollect where. On examining the name, I found it to be Jane Seymour. It imme-

diately occurred to me to be the same as that in the picture of King Henry VIII. and his family, which formerly stood in the room of the Society of Antiquaries ; but this does not accord with the date, as Edward VI. is represented as a young man in the picture. If a conjecture be allowed, the Queen was painted for Catharine Parr, and the young King had the face taken out, and his own mother inserted.

Mr. Strutt tells us, that the "horned head-dress" which prevailed during the 14th and 15th centuries, was highly reprobated by John de Meun, who also condemns the excessive width of their head-dresses, and speaks of the quantity of fine linen which was used to decorate them with much disapprobation. A holy bishop also preached against the high horns of the ladies of the day, by comparing them to horned snails, to harts, and to unicorns ; but in spite of all the remonstrances from the pulpit, that fashion maintained its ground nearly two centuries.

Paradin, in his "*Memoire de L'Histoire de Lyon*," (1573), gives a curious account of the female head-dress which prevailed in 1461. As that work is not often to be found in this country, the following quotation may be worthy of notice :

"La mutation & variété d'habits a tousiours esté naturelle aux François, plus qu'autre nation ; en quoy ils reçoivent plus de reputation d'inconstance, que de profit. Car in ceste année mille quatre cens soixante un, les dames de Lyon qui auparavant portoyent des longues queues en leurs robes, changèrent, & mirent aux bors de robes de grands & larges pans, les unes des gris de laitices, les autres de martres, les autres des autres semblables choses, chacun selon son estat, & possible passoyent aucunes plus outre ; & en leurs testes chargèrent certains bourrelets pointus com̃e clochiers, la plus part de la hauteur de demie aulne, or trois quartiers : & estoient nommez par aucuns les grand papillons, parcequ'il y avoit deux larges aisles deçà & delà, comme sont aisles de papillons (see Plates III. IV.) ; & estoit ce haut bonnet couvert d'un grand crespé trainant jusques en terre, le quel la pluspart troussoyent autour de leurs bras. Il y en avoit d'autres, que portoyant en accoustriment de teste, qui estoit parti de drap de laine, partie de drap de soye meslé, & avoit deux cornes, comme deux donjons, & estoit ceste coiffure decoupée & chiquettée, comme un chapperon d'Allemant (Plates III. IV.), ou crespée comme un ven-

tre de veau ; & celles portoyent des robbes ayans des manches tres étroites depuis les espaulles jusques vers les mains, quelles s'élargissoient & decouppées à undes. Les dames mediocre maison portoyent des chapperons de drap, facts de plusieurs larges lais, ou bandes entortillées autour de la teste, & deux aisles aux costez, comme oreilles d'asne. Il y en avoit aussi d'autres des grandes maisons, qui portoyent des chapperons de veloux noir, de la hauteur d'une coudée, lesquels bon trouveroit maintenant fort laid & estranges. L'on ne pourroit bonnement monstrier ces diverses façons d'accoustremens des dames en les escrivant, & seroit besoing qu'un peintre les representast. L'on en void plusieurs façons exprimées, estapisseries à Lyon, & aux verrières des églises, faites de ce temps là. Au surplus les filles, depuis qu'elles estoient fiancées, jusques après un an entier des leur nopces, portoyent un ornement de teste, qu'on nommoit à Lyon *Floccard*, lequel elles laissoient, estât l'année revolve, & prenoient les chapperons susdicts."^a

In a manuscript of the "Stimulus Conscientiae" is mentioned the horned head-dress :

" and wemen in the same wyse
usit mony a quiente gyse,
now beth her clothes forrud wyt oute
summe fot, summe halfot, all aboute,
sūme beth nakyd al ye breste
& sūme beth *horned as a beste*."

In the Widkirk play, entitled "Judicium," Tuttivillus, in the course of his speech, gives a description of a lady whose head-dress is "horned like a cowe."^b

The high steeple head-dress (though sometimes used by the English ladies) is chiefly represented in *French MSS.* thence we may be inclined to believe that this fashion was mostly adopted by that nation, rather than by the ladies of this country. It is curious to observe, that lofty head-dresses prevail in Normandy

^a The horned head-dress may be found as late as the reign of Elizabeth, but covered in the middle by a kind of cloth, or drapery. See a specimen, as worn in one of the French provinces (Pl. VIII. fig. 17) published by Boissard in 1581.

^b Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. ii. 224.

at this present day, but with some small variation from those of the 14th and 15th centuries. (See a few specimens in Plate III.)

"France Painted to the Life," 1656, (written by Dr. Heylin, who visited that country in 1625) mentions the dames of Paris; "their habit in which they differ from the rest of France is the attire of their heads, which hangeth down their backs in fashion of a vail. In Rouen and the greater cities it is made of linen pure and decent, but here and in the villages it cannot possibly be any thing than an old dishclout turned out of service, or the corner of a table-cloth reserved from washing."

Plate III. figg. 7 to 18 contains various head-dresses from Edward IV. to Henry VII.; these may be compared with the wood-cuts in the Nuremburg Chronicle (Plate IV.)

Before the reign of Henry VII. a kind of dress was worn formed at the top of the head like the ridge of a roof, and continuing down each side of the face, as in the portrait of Margaret Countess of Richmond and Derby, and also in that of Anne Duchess of Exeter, sister of Edward IV. of which a sketch is given (Pl. V. fig. 6.)

In the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII. the head-dress assumed a different character, having long lappets or ear-pieces hanging down on each side of the face, and extending below the shoulders, of which a single specimen from a brass-plate^c in Writtle Church near Chelmsford, may be sufficient to give an idea (see Pl. V. fig. 10.)

The lappets were sometimes made narrow at the temples and broad below the shoulders (see Pl. V. figg. 1, 2, and 5; Pl. VI. fig. 8.)

Pl. V. figg. 1, 2, and 3; Pl. VI. figg. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, are from some old tapestry of the date of Henry VIII. and give us the detail of the ornaments, as jewels, drops, and spangles. The lappets were sometimes made of dark velvet, and studded with pearls and jewels.

Pl. V. fig. 3, is a cap with an ornamental dress twisted round at the back of the head.

^c It is a common practice to take off impressions from brass-plates by means of rubbing with lead, or black leather upon paper; but this is a great error, as may be seen by fig. 9 and 10, which give the real appearance of the plates, while figg. 11 and 12 are representations of the impressions from the plates, the beautiful ornamental traceries of which are formed by accident.

1400. — 1450.

1820.

Blickling, Norfolk.
1487.

1471.

Braxburn, Herts.
1473.

Tapestry in Painted Chamber.

Between 1439 and 1491.

14

15

16

17

18

Fig. 1. from a M. S. of Froissart's Chronicle in the British Museum.

Fig. 2 & 3. from the Engravings of Johnes's Monstrelets Chronicle

Fig. 4, 5 & 6. from Modern French Engravings.

Fig. 7, 8 & 9. from Brass Plates.

Fig. 10. from a Sketch by M. J. Carter.

Fig. 11, 12 & 13. from a M. S. in the British Museum of the Life & Death of the Earl of Warwick.

Fig. 14, 15, 16 & 17. from Dr Dibdin's Spenceriana.

Fig. 18. from La Nef des folz du Monde. 1497. & 1499.

L.A. Repton, del.

J. Basire, sc.

From the Nuremberg Chronicle. 1493.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. April 23rd 1837.

Figs. 1.2.3. From some Ancient Tapestry in the possession of John Adey Repton.

from the Squire of Lowe Degree.

from "Le Calendrier
des Bergers." 1493.Duchess of Exeter,
Sister to Edward IV.
1475.

La Grande Danse Macabre (ab. 1500.)

Dorseton, Suffolk

from a Brass-plate. Writtle, Essex.

From some Ancient Tapestry in the possession of John Adey Repton.

L.A.R. del.

J. P. sculp.

F. Bastre, sculp.

Specimens of Head dresses in the reign of Elizabeth & James I.

Lady Throgmorton. Ob. 1590.

Lady Ramsay. 1577.

From a Monument in Westminster Abbey. 1596.

J.A. Repton. del.

J. Bastre. sc.

Figs. 2. 3. 4. 5 & 6. from Hollar's Prints.—1625 to 1649.

from a print of Rubens.

from Gods revenge against Murder.

from a print of Vandyke.

a satyirical print of Cromwell.

Bulwer's Artificial Changeling.

from G. B. Falda Roma. 1660.

from Engravings of Family Portraits.

Nieuhoff's Travels. 1662.

Specimens from the reign of William III. to 1720.

Q. Mary II. by C. Valok.

Plats Staffordsh. 1686.

Memoires &c. Angleterre 1698.

Kip's Views 1715.

from Le Theatre Italien. 1717.

from D'Hypolite Comte de Douglas. 1713.

from Le Theatre de La Foire. 1721.

Religious Ceremonies by Picart. 1721-3. (French Edit.)

from Family Portraits.

from a set of prints of Richardson's Pamela. 1745.

Moore's Fables. 1744.

Taste A-La-Mode. 1745.

Figs. 1 to 11. from Sketches by H.R. 1779 to 1784.

H. Bunbury 1784.

J.S. Baskin. sc.

The lappets, which hung down on each side of the face, were frequently made to turn up, as in Pl. VII. figg. 4, 14, 17, 18, and 21. Fig. 21 is from a print of Anne Boleyn, by Hollar.^d

The head-dresses during the reigns of Henry VII. and the early part of Henry VIII. as seen in many of the portraits, appear to be formed by four straight lines, the upper lines like a flat gable of a roof. The head-dresses of Anne Boleyn and Lady Surrey were formed by two rows of beads.

Another peculiar fashion of the head-dress, is the *Frontlet*, which was made by folding over to shade the face from the sun. Frontlets in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were of considerable breadth. Pl. VI. figg. 1, 2, 6, 7; Pl. VII. fig. 3. This fashion continued to the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. as may be seen in several monuments, &c.; but they became narrower, as in Pl. VIII. figg. 3, 4, and 5, from Westminster Abbey, and fig. 19; they were sometimes highly enriched, as seen in a monument in the south side of the Abbey. That the *frontlet* was sometimes very costly we gather from an item of expense in the reign of Henry VIII.

“ Payed for a *frontlet* loste in a wager to my lady Margaret iiij.li.^e

The cap (as well as the lappets) was frequently very highly enriched with jewels, and generally formed into net-work, from whence it derived the word *caul*. Dr. Johnson says, “ *caul*, of uncertain etymology, the net in which women inclose their hair, the hinder part of a woman’s cap.”^f

The webs of spiders are sometimes called *cauls*, as in Clitus’s Whimzies, page 7.

^d Figg. 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, and 22 are copied from Holbein’s Portraits, published by Chamberlaine. Figg. 17, 20, and 23, from Hollar; 15, 16, and 24, from other prints. Figg. 15, 16, and 17 represent three different head-dresses of Anne Boleyn; fig. 18 the head-dress of the Marchioness of Dorset, of an earlier date than the engraving of her published by the Society. Figg. 19 and 20 Anne of Cleves; figg. 24, Catharine Parr. Figg. 21, 25, the head-dress of Queen Mary at different periods.

^e Ellis’s Letters, vol. i. 273.

^f A *cowl*, a monk’s hood, derived, according to Dr. Johnson, from *cuzle*, Saxon: *cucullus*, Latin. It may be observed that this word and *caul* both allude to the covering of the head. The language formerly used at the English court, and among the higher ranks of society, was Norman-French, and of course with the French pronunciation, as in the diphthong *au*, pronounced *ou* or *ow*, as in *Pauls*, which was formerly pronounced *Powles*.

“His shelves, for want of Authors, as subtilly interwoven with *spider's caules*.”

The following quotations relating to the caul or net-work with jewels, &c. may be worthy of notice.

In the romance of Kyng Alexander,

“Hire yelowē heer was faire atyred

“With riche stringes of gold wyred.”

It is unnecessary to give every passage from our early romances, or even to quote Chaucer's prologue to the legend of Goode Women, as

“A fret of golde she had next her heere.”

There is a print of the Lady Abergavenny (who died in 1525) in which she is represented with a rich caul, with the Gothic and the Roman letters A in octagon patterns; she was sometimes called Bergavenny, which is incorrect. “Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the Lord Abergavenny, was arrested in 1538,” thus the name is spelt in Sir H. Ellis's Letters, cxxxv.^g

“In the Visit of the Duke of Najera to England,” is mentioned, that the Princess Mary wore “a head-dress of many rich stones” [el tocado de muchas piedras ricas]. All the other ladies were dressed in different silks, with splendid head-dresses.” [Archæologia, vol. XXIII.]

Holinshed describes the procession of Queen Mary in 1553, and says, that she had “on her head a *kall* of cloth of *tinsell* beeset with pearle and stone, and above the same upon her head a round circlet of golde beeset so richly with pretious stones that the value thereof was inestimable; the same kall and circle being so massie and ponderous that she was faine to bear up her head with her hand,” &c.

We may form some idea of the richness and splendour of the jewels of the head-dresses from the engravings in Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, and also from a highly finished print of the Marchioness of Dorset [published by the Society, plate IV.] This portrait, with the curved lines formed by wires on each side of the forehead, which superseded the four straight lines round the

^g That the initial letter of the name was worn about the time of Henry VIII. we find by a portrait of the Lady Monteaule; she has the letter M ornamented with pearls, &c. at the end of her neck ace.

face, reminds us of a poem, entitled, the "Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen," 1595.

"These flaming heades with staring haire,
These *wyers turnde like horns of ram*,"—Again,
"These glittering *caules* of golden plate
Wherewith their heads were richlie dect,
Makes them to seeme an angel's mate
In judgment of the simple sect."^b

A letter to Cecil, Lord Burleigh, gives an account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, that "on her head she had a dressing of lawne edged with bone lace,"—"a vail of lawne fastened to the *caule*, bowed out with wyre and edged round about with bone lace."

In the various pictures of Mary Queen of Scots, in one she has auburn hair, in another black, and in another yellow. We have in Hayne's State Papers, p. 511, a letter from Mr. White, servant of Queen Elizabeth, to Mr. William Cecil, mentioning his having seen her at Tutbury: "*she is a goodly personage*, says he, &c. *her hair is black*, but Mr. Knowles told me, she wears hair of sundry colours."ⁱ

The following quotation from the Letters edited by Sir H. Ellis [ccxxxvi. 2nd series] relates to the wardrobe of Queen Elizabeth, 1587.

"When Hentzner saw Elizabeth in her 67th year, she wore false hair, and that red. In the jewel book here mentioned we have a long list of her Majesty's *wigs*, or rather *head dresses*; they are called at the head of the page *Attiers*.

"Item, one cawle of hair set with pearls, in number xliij.

"Item, one cawle of hair set with pearle of sundry sort and bigness, with seed pearl between them chevron-wise, cxcj.

"Item, a caule with nine true loves of pearl, and seven buttons of gold; in each button a rubie."

Among the MSS. in the British Museum there is a curious letter from James I. to his son in Spain, describing the different jewels, &c. which were

^b Restituta, vol. iii.

ⁱ See Gent. Mag. for Oct. 1790, review of Gilpin's Picturesque Views of Scotland.

sent for the Infanta ; “ a head-dressing of two and twenty great peare pearles ; and ye shall give her three goodlie peare pendant dyamonts, qwhair of the biggest to be worne at a needle on the middeth of her foreheade, and one in everie eare.” (Macauley’s History of England, vol. i. 202.)

Stubs likewise alludes to the *Caules* and the extravagance of the head attire of his time :

“ They have also other ornaments besides these to furnishe forthe their ingenious heades, which they call (as I remember) *caules*, made netwise, to the ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of golde, clothe of silver, or else tinsell (for that is worst wherewith their heads are covered and attired withall underneath their *caules*) may the better appeare and shew itself in the bravest manner, so that a man that seeth them (their heads glister and shine in such sorte) would think them to have golden heades. And some weare lettice cappes with three hornes, three corners I should say, like the forked cappes of priests, with their perriwinckles, chitterlinges, and y^e like apiste toyes of infinite varietie.”

Likewise “ Willobie his Avisa,” &c. 1605.

“ Silke gownes and velvet shalt thou have,
With hoods and *caules*, fit for thy head,
Of goldsmithes worke a border brave,
A chain of gold ten-double spread.”

British Bibliographer, vol. iv.

These *caules*, however richly ornamented, seem not to have prevented bonnets from being worn over them. Hall describes “ The Ladie Marie, doughter to the king, and with her seven ladies, all appareled after the romayne fashion in riche cloth of gold of tissue and crimosin tinsel bendy, and their heres wrapped in *calles* of gold, with bonets of crimosin velvet on their heddes set full of pearle and stone.”

Hall also gives a minute description of the meeting of the King with Anne of Cleves, and throughout the whole account we hear no complaint of her want of beauty, or of being called the *Flanders Mare*. The King conducted himself in every respect as a well bred man ; he met her at Rochester, when she “ received and welcomed him on her knees, whom he gently took up and kyssed, and all that afternoone communed and devised with her, and that night supped with her.” Without entering into the detail of the dress of Anne of

Cleves, I shall merely describe her head-dress; she had “on her head a *kall*, and over it a round boñet or cappe set full of orient perle of a very proper fassyon, and before that she had a cornet of blacke velvet, and about her necke she had a partelet set full of riche stones which glistered all the felde.” Notwithstanding all these splendid jewels upon the head-dress, the English or French fashion seems to have improved her appearance. “On whiche daie she was appareiled after the Englishe fassion, with a French whode, which so set forth her beautie and good visage, that every creature rejoysted to behold her.” Again: “O what a syght was this to see so goodly a prince and so noble a kyng to ride with so fayre a lady of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenance, and in especial of so good qualities, I think no creature could see them but his hearte rejoysted.”

In the Rolls of Provisions upon the marriage of the daughters of Sir J. Nevil, temp. Henry VIII. we have the prices of a bonnet:

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
“Item, 3 black velvet bonnits for women, every bonnit 17 <i>s.</i>	51	0
Item, a frontlet of blue velvet,	7	6
Item, a millen ^k bonnit, dressed with agletts	11	0
Item, a bonnit of black velvet	15	0
Item, a frontlet for the same bonnit	12	0”

In the Household accounts of the Lestranges we find that the Milan bonnets were worn by *gentlemen*.

“Item, p^d the same daye for ij *Myllen* cappes for Mr. Hamonde le Strange iiij. *s.* viij. *d.*”

Sir Thomas Elyot said it would be ridiculous to see an apprentice of the law, or pleader, to come to the bar with a Millayne or French bonnet on his head set full of aiglettes.

Hall likewise speaks of these Millen bonnets; ten ladies had “on their heades square bonnettes of damaske gold with lose golde that did hang doune at their backes,” &c. “Ten other ladies had Myllaine bonettes of crimosyn sattin drawn through with clothe of golde.”

In addition to the bonnets and caps, there was another article for the female

^k Milan, a city in Lombardy, whence our milliner.

head attire, called a *hood*. In early writers, this word was sometimes spelt *hoke*, and this has led to the mistake of imagining the word *huke* may have the same meaning; but this is a different dress from the hoke or hood, as explained in vol. XXI. of the *Archæologia*, as derived from *hucca*, *hucque*, or *heuque*,¹ a mantle. Cole's Dict. 1724, says, it is a Spanish or German mantle covering the whole body.

We see by the following quotation, that this mantle was worn by Elinor Rummin; the last ten lines only, allude to her head-dress. Mr. Strutt, in giving the same extract, has inserted the word *duke* for *huke*, probably a misprint :

<p>“ Her <i>huke</i> of Lincole greene, It had bene hers, I weene, More than fortye yeare, And so it doth appeare, And the grene bare thredes Looke like sere wedes, Withered like haye, The wool worne awaye, And yet I dare saye She thinketh herself gay Upon a holyday When she doth araye And girdeth in her getes</p>	<p>Stitched & pranked with pletes. Her kirtell bristow red With clothes upon her heade That they way a sowe of leade Wrythen in a wonder wise After the Sarazins gise With a whim wham Knit with a trim tram Upon her brayne panne Like an Egiptian Capped aboute When she goeth oute.”</p>
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A portrait representing her (dated 1620) with a broad brimmed hat and a small peaked crown is probably imaginary, but it seems from the above quotation that her head-dress was as magnificent as her superiors, and similar to the specimens of those from the Nuremburg Chronicle, or that from a single head in the Cowdray picture. [See Pl. VII. fig. 11.]

What was the distinguishing difference in the form of the *French hood* from that of the English, I have not been able clearly to ascertain; but that the French hoods were worn from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I. by the ladies of the court, appears from the following quotations :

¹ In “the Ladies’ Dictionary,” the *huke* is thus explained: “A Dutch attire, covering the head, face, and all the body.” From this it appears, that the mantle and the hood sometimes formed one dress, which may account for the hood being confounded with the huke.

In "A mery play betwene the Pardoner and y^e Frere, the Curate and neybour Pratte," written before 1521, mentioning the various rilics, the Pardoner says :

" And here is of our Lady al relyke full good,

Her bongrace, which she ware with her *French hode*." ^m

In the household and privy-purse accounts of the Lestranges of Hunstanton we find the following :

" 1530. It'm, pd the xvijth day of December to Mrs. Brograve, by the hand of Bartyllmew Skyppon, for ij. *French hoods*, wt the byllym^{ts} for Kat'yne and Anne xxxs.

Edw^d. VI. " a hatte for my ladye, and a hatte for my lady Hastings, of velvett xxviijs.

" ——— for a *French hoo*de xiijs. and for ij cornetts of velvett xs. for my ladie xxiijs."

And the ladies in the lower grades of society, we find in those days were no less emulous of copying the fashions of their superiors than in the present times. This vanity is satirized in a passage of Stubs :

" Then on toppes of their stately turrets (I mean their goodly heades wherein is more vanitie then true philosophie now and then) stand their capitall ornaments, as *French hood*, hatte, cappe, kercher, and such like, whereof some be of velvet, some of taffatie, some (but few) of wooll ; some of this fashion, some of that ; some of this colour, some of that ; according to the variable phantasies of their serpentine mindes. And to suche excesse it is growne, as every artificer's wife (almost) will not sticke to goe in her hat of velvet every day, every merchant's wife, and meane gentle-woman, in her *French hoo*de, and every poore cottager's daughter in her taffatie hat, or els of wooll at least, &c."

And again, " The Golden Fleece, divided into three parts, &c. by Orpheus junior, 1626," says :

" In France the meaner sort of women weare hoods of taffata, others of sattin, and the better of velvet. No man intrudes upon another's vocation. But with us, Joane is as good as my lady ; citizens' wives are of late grown gallants," &c.ⁿ

^m Collier's Annals of the Stage, vol. ii. 387.

ⁿ British Bibliographer, vol. ii.

In a collection of epigrams by Sir John Mennis and Dr. J. Smyth (about 1658) is a complaint from a lady of fashion :

“ *Lusia*, who scorns all others’ imitations,
 Cannot abide to be outgone in fashions ;
 She says she cannot have a hat or ruffe,
 A gown or peticoat, a band or cuffe,
 But that these citizens (whom she does hate)
 Will get into’t, at ne’er so dear a rate ;
 But *Lusia* now doth such a fashion wear,
 Whose hair is curl’d, and cost her somewhat dear,
 That there’s no citizen, what-e’er she be,
 Can be transform’d so like an owl as she.”

And from the “ *London Prodigal*,” 1605 (Act iii. sc. i.)

“ *Civ.* No, Franke, I’ll have thee go like a citizen in a guarded gown and a *French hood*.

“ *Fran.* By my troth, that will be excellent indeed.”

“ *Del.* Brother, maintain your wife to your estate,
 Apparel you yourself like to your father,
 And let her go like to your ancient mother,
 He, sparing, got his wealth, left it to you,
 Brother, take heed of pride, it soon bids thrift adieu.

“ *Civ.* So as my father and mother went, that’s a jest indeed ; why she went in a fringed gown, a single ruff, and a *white cap*.”—Again,

“ *Civ.* I have set down my rest, thus far, to maintain my wife in her *French hood*, and her coach,” &c.

Velvet seems to have been considered the most elegant material for the head. In the “ *City Madam*,” 1632, the knight’s lady wore “ a chain of gold,

“ A *velvet hood*, rich borders, and sometimes
 A dainty minever cap,” &c.^o

^o “ Minever is the fur of the ermine mixed with that of the small wesel (*Menuvair*) called gris or grey.” (Cotgrave.) The nobility had them of ermine and sable, the wealthy merchants of vair and grey (the dainty minever). The lower order of people, &c. of the squirrel, lamb, and above all of rabbits’ skins, &c.

“ Cornu-copiae, Pasquil’s Night-cap,” 1612, thus speaks of the velvet hood :

“ That (sure) I thinke them in their hattes as good,
As gentle-women in their *velvet hood*,
Indeed the gentlewomen looke more high,
And of the citizens will take the wall,
Yet have they but their pensions quarterly,
To keep themselves, and find their house withall.”

“ The Wits, by Sir W. Davenant,” (1636) A. ii. s. 1.

“ *Y. Pal.* Yes, and she looks like the old slut of Babylon
Thou has read of. I told her she must die,
And her beloved *velvet hood* be sold
To some Dutch brewer of Ratcliffe, to make
His yaw frow slippers.”

There is a print by Hollar, of a person leaning upon a table; he wears a mantle, upon which is represented a great variety of female heads, from which we may form a perfect idea of the fashion which prevailed during the reign of Charles I. viz. the cap, the dark-coloured hood, the small curls on the head-dress, the light-coloured hat over the cap, &c. It is extremely curious. The Vandyck lace over the shoulders, the small curls of the hair, and the pearl drops to the ears, are too well known to require any description.

Another print by Hollar, of the coronation of Charles II. represents the peeresses with their coronets. Behind them are the wives of the commoners, &c. some in their hair with small curls, others in hoods fastened under their chins.

There are also prints by Hollar, representing the four seasons; Spring and Summer with their heads uncovered, the hair in small curls; Autumn with a dark velvet hood and tippet; and Winter in the same kind of hood, with the addition of a black mask, and her shoulders covered with fur, and a fur muff.

The *Querpo Hood* (corrupted from *Cuerpo, Sp.* a dress fitting to the body,) seems to have been chiefly worn by Puritans, and by females of the lowest rank of society. In the works of Ned Ward is a dialogue between a proud termagant and her miserly husband; she says,

“ No face of mine shall by my friends be view’d

“ In Quaker’s Pinner and a *Querpo-hood*.”

The wife of Cromwell is thus described in a satire entitled "The Court and Kitchen of Elizabeth, commonly called Joan Cromwell," &c. 1664.

"She was the same recluse likewise in her habit; rather harnessing herself in the defence of her cloathes, than allowing herself the loose and open bravery thereof, as not having been used to such light armour; and her hood, till her face was seen in her highnesses glasse, was clapt on like a head-piece, without the art of ensconcing and entrenching it double and single in redoubts and hornworks. In fine, she was cape-a-pe like a baggage lady, and was out of her element in her vicinity to y^e court and city."

The Spectator, No. 265, gives some account of *hoods* at an opera. "As I was standing in the hinder part of the box, I took notice of a little cluster of women sitting together in the prettiest coloured hoods that I ever saw. One of them was blue, another yellow, and another philomot; the fourth was of a pink colour, and a fifth of a pale green. I looked with as much pleasure upon this party-coloured assembly as upon a bed of tulips," &c.

In No. 271, "I was last Thursday in an assembly of ladies, where there were thirteen different coloured hoods." Again, "She told me the other day that she heard the ladies wore coloured hoods, and ordered me to get her one of the finest blue."

In No. 273 is an "Advertisement from the Parish Vestry." "All ladies who come to church in the new-fashioned *hoods*, are desired to be there before divine service begins, lest they divert the attention of the congregation.

RALPH."

No. 517, speaking of Sir Roger de Coverley, "It being a very cold day when he made his will, he left for mourning to every man in the parish a great frize coat, and to every woman a *black riding-hood*."

Beau Nash, who was master of the ceremonies at Bath in the reign of Queen Anne, found some difficulty in preventing the country squires from dancing in boots at the assemblies. One of his contrivances was the getting up a puppet show, "in which Punch came in booted and spurred in the character of a country squire. He was introduced as courting his mistress, and having obtained her consent to comply to his wishes, upon going to bed he is desired to pull off his boots. 'My boots,' replied Punch, 'why, madam, you may as well bid me pull off my legs. I never ride, I never dance without them; and this

piece of politeness is quite the thing at *Bath*. We always dance in our town in boots, and the ladies often move minuets in *riding hoods*.' Thus he goes on, till his mistress, grown impatient, kicks him off the stage."

That the female Quakers wore hoods in 1737, we find in the following passage from Gay's *Trivia*, Book iii.

"Nay, she will oft the *Quaker's hood* prophane,
And trudge demure the rounds of Drury Lane."

Again—

"In *riding hood* near tavern doors she plies."

In the *Connoisseur*, No. 134, we have new fashions introduced into the country from London (about 1756), "a grocer's wife attracted our eyes by a new-fashioned cap, called a Joan; and at another (borough town), they were wholly taken up by a mercer's daughter in a *nun's hood*."

One of the useful appendages to the female head-dress is the *calash*. At what time it was introduced, I have not been able to ascertain; it is not mentioned as a *head-dress* in any of the editions of Johnson's Dictionary [except that of 1820]; probably it was not known when the first edition was published in 1754, nor is it noticed by Dyche 1760, nor by Barclay 1774. But from a drawing in my possession, it may be traced as early as 1776, [see Plate X. fig. 6]. Its name was probably derived from the head or hood which was added to the carriages called calashes.

The next article of the female head-dress is the *hat*. This word was anciently applied to all coverings for the head, and it is difficult to say when it was distinguished from a bonnet or cap; but it seems to be used according to the acceptation of the modern term by Chaucer, who describes the wife of Bath as wearing,

"On her hede an *hat*

"As brode as is a bokeler or a targe."

My quotations on the subject will commence with the reign of Henry VIII. About that period we occasionally meet with specimens from old tapestries, paintings, &c. some with a broad brim, but those which are without any brim, are of an earlier date. A sketch of the latter, ornamented with jewels, is given [Plate III. fig. 10,] from a drawing by Mr. J. Carter, from the old tapestry which formerly hung in the Painted Chamber.

In the 28th of Henry VIII. we find among the new year's gifts to the Lady Mary, "a *hat* from Dr. Augustine."^p

On taking up our freedom in a corporate city, we are required to be buxome and obedient to Mr. Mayor; but in the following quotation, we find that the Mayor of Chester expected the *ladies* to be obedient to his commands: "32 Henry VIII. Henry Gee, Mayor, to distinguish head-dresses of married women from unmarried; no unmarried women to wear white or other coloured caps, and no women to wear any *hat* unless when she rides or goes abroad into the country, (except sick or aged persons) on pain of 3s. 4d."^q

We rarely meet with specimens of women's *hats* in the reign of Henry VIII. Two examples are given, one from the tapestry in the Prince's Chamber [Pl. VII. fig. 7], and the other from a wood-cut 1520 [in the same Plate, fig. 2]; these have low crowns and broad brims.

But about the year 1550, the *high crowned hats* were introduced, rounded at the top like a sugar loaf; this form continued during a great part of the reign of Elizabeth; the tops of the high crowned hats were afterwards made straight, but the sugar loaf hat continued till as late as the reign of Charles I. In Webster's "Westward Ho," (Act v.), the sugar loaf is thus mentioned:

"*Sir Gos.* I would prove 'em, mother, best-betrust; why do I not know you, grannum? and that *sugar loaf*? ha! do I not megaera."

"*Bird.* I am none of your megs," &c.

Bulwer, in the "Vanity of Apparell," speaks of women wearing the sugar loaf as well as the men.

The following is from a scarce work entitled "Theeves falling out, or true men come by their goods, &c. by R. Greene, 1637." In a dialogue between a he-foyst and a she-foyst, the woman says, "suppose you are good at a *lift*, that is, shop-lifting—in mercers' shops, with haberdashers of small wares, haberdashers of *hats* and caps, &c. who be more cunning than we women, in that we are most trusted? For they little suspect us, and we have as close conveyance as you men; though you have cloakes, we have skirts of gownes, hand-baskets, the *crownes of our hats*, our plackards, and

^p Ellis's Letters, vol. i. 292.

^q Lysons's Cheshire, p. 600.

for a neede, false bags under our smocks, wherein we may convey more closely then you." [Harl. Miscel. vol. iv. 249, 8vo.]

In the "Magnetick Lady," of Ben Johnson (Act V.) a high price for a emale hat is described :—

" You shall have a new, brave, four pound *beaver hat*, set with enamel'd studs, as mine is here."

In the reign of Elizabeth and James, hats made of beaver were considered too expensive for women of inferior fortune ; they were made of cheaper materials, as described by Shakspeare :

" And there's her thrum hat, and her mufflers too."^r

In the history of George Dobson, printed 1607, a country ale-wife is described as wearing a "square thrumb'd hat."^s

The high-crowned hats, after they had been worn by ladies of fashion until they were imitated by the canaille, were exchanged in the reign of Charles I. for the more graceful fashion of the broad spreading *hat*, the crown lowered, and ornamented with feathers [Plate IX. figg. 1, 2, 8, 12, 13, and 14], and are chiefly found in the paintings of Rubens and Vandyck.

Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, (edited by Dallaway,) mentions the picture of the Queen of James I. " His Queen in a hunting dress, hat, and feather, with her horse and five dogs, at Kensington, with a view of the Palace at Oatlands, painted by Paul Vansomer."

The following passages are from the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Esq.

" 1663.—The Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies; she looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume on her *hat* (which all took notice of). I followed them up to White Hall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fidling with their *hats* and *feathers*, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beautys and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dresse, with her hat cocked and a red plume," &c.

" 1665, July 27,—But it was pretty (at Hampton Court the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess of York, and the ladies setting out for Salisbury,)

^r *Thrum*, any coarse yarn.

^s Strutt, vol. iii. p. 83.

to see the young pretty ladies dressed like men, in velvet coats, *caps*,^t and ribbands, and with laced bands, just like men, only the Duchess herself it did not become."

"1666, June 11.—Walking in the galleries at White Hall, I find the ladies of Honour dressed in their riding garbs, with coats and doublets with deep skirts, just for all the world like mine, and buttoned their doublets up the breast, with *perriwigs* and with *hats*; so that only for a long petticoat dragging under their men's coats, nobody could take them for women in any point whatever; which was an odd sight, and a sight did not please me; it was Mrs. Wells and another fine lady that I saw thus."

At the Duke's Theatre, Pepys speaks of an actress, "one dressed like a country maid with a *straw hat* on."

1667, August 11.—"The women had pleasure in putting on some *straw hats*, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife."

1669.—Pepys mentions "the mistress of the house, an oldish woman in a hat."

Evelyn in his Diary 1666, mentions the Queen of Charles II. "The Queene was now in her cavaliere riding habite, *hat* and feather, and horseman's coate, going to take the aire."

The following extracts from the Spectator may be thought curious :

No. 435 speaks of the ladies dressing themselves in a hat and feather, a riding coat, and a perriwig, &c. One of the tenants of Sir Roger de Coverley met a gentlewoman in a coat and hat; "who meeting this gentlemanlike lady on the highway, was asked by her, *whether that was*, Coverley Hall? the honest man seeing only the male part of the querist, replied, 'Yes, Sir;' but upon the second question, *whether Sir Roger de Coverley was a married man?* having dropped his eye upon the petticoat, he changed his note, into 'No, madam.'"

Again, the Spectator met "one of these my female readers in Hyde Park, who looked upon me with the masculine assurance, and cocked her hat full in my face."

^t Here it seems as if the hat and cap were the same.

No. 485 mentions a young woman on horseback with a mien and air of a young officer, who pulled off her hat, in which there was a feather.

No 331 says of the ladies, that "they already appear in hats and feathers, coats and perriwigs," and I see no reason why we may not suppose they would have their *riding beards* on the same occasion."

These masculine ladies are thus satirized in a French work, entitled "Le Theatre Italien de Gherardi (vol. vi. 323) anno 1696,"—"que les femmes, pour avoir quelque chose de masculin, portent au lieu de cravattes des steinkerques et le poignard au bout ; qu'elles fouettent les bouteilles de vin comme des Suisses, le ratafia, et l'eau clairette comme nos jeunes officiers ; qu'elles prennent du tabac en poudre comme des Espagnols, et que dans peu elles fumeront comme des Suisses," &c. &c.

That women were sometimes mistaken for men at a later period, we find in one of Lady Suffolk's Letters, 1743. "She has been called *Sir*, upon the road above twenty times." "The Duchess's (of Queensberry) dress occasioned her being mistaken for a gentleman."

The following is from Lady Suffolk's Letters, 1728 : "Mrs. Berkley drives herself in a chair in a morning gown, with a white apron, a white handkerchief pinned under her head like a nun, a black silk over that, and another white handkerchief over the hat."

A paragraph in one of Pope's Letters, thus speaks of the miseries of a maid of honour in 1714. "To eat Westphalia ham in a morning, ride over hedges and ditches on borrowed hacks, and come home in the heat of the day with a fever, and (what is worse a hundred times) with a red mark in the forehead from an uneasy *hat* ; all this may qualify them to make excellent wives for fox-hunters," &c.

In Nugent's Travels, 1766, the Duchess of Mecklenberg Schwerin is described in a riding habit, with a bag-wig, and a *cocked hat* with a feather."—Again, (Letter XIX.) "The ladies also wear hats and bag-wigs."

The *high-crowned hat* seems long before the reign of Queen Anne to have been out of fashion, and looked upon with contempt. Ned Ward, who

^u In referring to the "Dictionnaire de l'Academie François," 1787, we find under the word *perruque*, "Les femmes en habit de chasse portent des perruques."

flourished at that period, mentions "a fantastic lady," who says to her husband,

"I verily believe you'd have me go

In high-crown'd hat and coif, like Gammer Crow."

In one of Dryden's plays, "The Wild Gallant," Madam Isabella calls the taylor's wife in contempt, "Steeple hat." On the other hand, the common people were against any of the new fashions introduced by their superiors, as the London Spy (by Ned Ward, 1709, 4th edit.) thus speaks of the fish-women, that "their chief clamour was against high heads and patches, and they said it would have been a very good law, if Queen Mary had effected her design, and brought the proud minks of the town to have worn high-crown'd hats instead of topknots." p. 41.

In the old "Norwich Gazette, or Loyal Packet," 1712, is the following advertisement, shewing the variety of materials then in use in the formation of the hat:—

"Leonard Hirst, haberdasher of hats, between the two half-moons in Norwich market-place, has choice of fine beavers, beaverets, Carolina beavers, superfine cloth hats, and felt hats of the newest fashion. He has also fine broad beavers for the clergy, and sells by wholesale and retale, as cheap as any one. He sells hat-shavings at 18 pence, and the finest at 20 pence, double roll, rims double and single, wood hats of all sorts, bongraces, bombles, and straw-hats."

The "Dictionnaire de Commerce," 1723, gives the different materials for the French straw hats:—

"Chapeau de paille. Espèce de chapeau fait de jonc, ou de paille de seigle, dont les artisans et le menu peuple se servent en été. Il y en a aussi de fins, et d'une forme singulière, qui le dames dans quelque provinces de France, portent au lieu de parasols, contre l'ardeur du soleil. Les uns et les autres sont en forme de tissus faits de ces légères metieres diversement mises en couleur. Ceux pour les dames se doublent ordinairement de taffetas," &c.

I shall now proceed to give a few quotations from different works relating to the *straw hats*, or bonnets.

Among the collection of epigrams of Sir John Harrington, is one in commendation of a *straw hat* worn by a great lady at court.

“ That *straw* which men, and beasts, and fowls have scorn'd,
Has been by curious art and hand industrious,
So wrought, that it hath shadow'd, yea adorn'd
A head and face, of beauty and birth illustrious.”

Among the epigrams of Ben Jonson, there is one to Lady Mary Wroth on a *straw hat*.

“ He that saw you wear the *wheaten hat*
Would call you more than Ceres, if not that :
And drest in shepherd's tire, who would not say
You were bright CEnone, Flora, or May ?”

Straw hats were worn by peasants in the reign of Charles II.; the Count de Grammont when at Tunbridge, says

“ *Here*, young, fair, fresh-coloured country-girls, with clean linen, *small straw hats*, and neat shoes and stockings, sell game, vegetables, flowers, and fruit.”

Gay, in his *Shepherd's Week*, (the *Dirge*, l. 125, 6.)

“ My new *straw-hat*, that's trimly lin'd with green,
Let Peggy wear, for she's a damsel clean.”

The Gypsey hat which was worn by ladies about forty years since, was a large round bonnet, sometimes bent down on each side and fastened by ribbons under the chin. There is a curious Italian work, entitled “ *Habiti Antichi et Moderni di tutto il Mondo*,” 1589, with engravings of the costumes of all nations, and among them, is one of a gypsey apparently of a richer class than the vagrant of the present day, “ *Cingana Orientale, o' vera donna errante*”—“ *che porta in capo una diadema accommodata di legno leggiero, coperta di fasce di seta, et d'oro di diversi colori con molta bell' opera*,” &c.

That the Quakers and the Puritans assumed a peculiar plainness of attire is too well known to require any comment, but the subject is mentioned in the following quotations in a manner which may make them not unworthy of insertion.

“ A long vest and cloke of black, or some other grave colour, with a collar of plain linen called a *turnover*, and a broad band, with the hair closely cropped,

distinguished the men of every rank, and the ladies equally excluded lace, jewels, and braided locks." *

The following is from the works of Tom Brown, who lived during the reigns of William III. and Anne, till the year 1704.

"What have we here, old Mother *Shipton* of the second edition, with amendments; a close black hood over a pinched coif," &c. "A compleat *she-preacher*, fit to denounce *hell* and the *devil*; but for joys, and rewards, and the like, she looks them out of countenance."

In the Life and Actions of John Everett, 1729-30, we find "The Precisions, for the most part, though they are plain in their dress, wear the best of commodities, and though a smart toupie is an abomination, yet a bob, or a natural of six or seven guineas price, is a modest covering allowed of by the saints."

In the Old Norfolk papers, entitled the "Crossgroves News, 1739," is the following passage.

"London, May 10.—Several fine ladies who used to wear French silks, French hoops of four yards wide, *tête de mouton* heads, and white satten smock petticoats, are turned Methodists and followers of Mr. Whitfield, whose doctrine of the new birth has so prevailed over them, that they now wear plain stuff gowns, no hoops, common night-mobs, and old plain bays."

The female Quakers did not allow any ribbon to their bonnet or cap. In the "Memoires et Observations en Angleterre," 1698, is a curious engraving of a Quaker's meeting, representing men in hats, and the women in cuerpo hoods, with a female preacher standing on a tub with a *high-crowned hat* as a mark of distinction.

"Aussi-tôt que la prêchouse apperçoit un ruban, la voilà saisie de son esprit et de sa fureur; elle monte sur quelque cuve renversee, avec son chapeau pointu et sa mine pleureuse; Elle soûpire—elle gémit—elle suffle—elle murmure; et puis elle débonde en galimatias."

A letter from Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, in 1655, to John Lord Finch, says, "As for the Countess, I can tell you heavie news of her, for she is

* Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, edited by Dallaway; vol. iii. p. 212.

turned Quaker, and preaches everie day in a tubb; your nephew George can tell you of her quaking, but her tubb-preaching is come since he went I believe; she, I believe, at last will prove an Adamite.”⁷

Tom Brown has given us a minute or rather too sarcastic description of the Quakers, by saying—

“These are more just than the other Dissenters, because, as they pull not off their hats to God, so they pull them not off to men, whereas the others shall cringe and bow to any man they can get sixpence by, but ne’er vail the bonnet to God, by whom they may get *heaven*,” &c.

Again, speaking of their dress:—

“A *long cravat* or *wig* in a man, or *high topping* and *lace* in a woman, they abominate as ensigns of vanity; but they will wear the best favours and richest silks, use the leather convenience, and be prouder in their plainness, than the haughtiest lady at court in their embroideries and jewels: their religion, indeed, seems chiefly in their clothes, and so they have more need of *taylors* than *teachers*,” &c.

The Athenian Oracle says, “’Tis a great sin and error, that the levity and vanity of servants should aspire to an *equality of dress* with those that command.”—“’Tis pride and singularity in the *Quakers* to affect a *different dress* from the world.”

The following extracts may here be introduced from the “*Lettres de Madame de Sévigné* : ”

“ A Paris, samedi, 4 April, 1671.

“ Je vous mandai l’autre jour la coiffure de Madame de Nevers, et dans quel excès la Martin avoit poussé cette mode; mais il y a une certaine médiocrité qui m’a charmée, et qu’il faut vous apprendre, à fin que vous ne vous amusièz plus à faire cent petites boucles sur vos oreilles, qui sont défrisées en un moment, qui siéent mal, et qui ne sont non plus à la mode présentement, que la coiffure de la reine Catherine de Medicis. Je vis hier la Duchesse de Sully et la Comtesse de Guiche, leurs têtes sont charmantes; je suis rendue, cette coiffure est faite justement pour votre visage; vous serez comme un ange, et cela est fait en un moment. Tout ce qui me fait de la peine, c’est que cette

⁷ Archæologia, vol. xxi. 476.

mode, qui laisse la tête découverte, me fait craindre pour les dents. Voici ce qui *Trochanire*, (Madame de la Troche,) que vient de Saint Germain, et moi, nous allons vous faire entendre, si nous pouvons. Imaginez-vous une tête partagée a la paysanne jusqu'à deux doigts du bourrelet ; on coupe les cheveux de chaque côte, d'étage en étage, dont on fait de grosses boucles rondes et négligées, qui ne viennent pas plus bas qu'un doigt au dessous de l'oreille ; cela fait quelque chose de fort jeune et de fort joli, et comme deux gros bouquets de cheveux trop courts ; car comme il faut les friser *naturellement*, les boucles qui en emportent beaucoup, ont attrapé plusieurs Dames, dont l'exemple doit faire trembler les autres. On met les rubans comme a l'ordinaire, et une grosse boucle nouée entre le bourrelet et la coiffure ; quelquefois on la laisse traîner jusque sur la gorge. Je ne sais si nous vous avons bien représenté cette mode ; je ferai coiffer une poupée pour vous l'envoyer ; et puis, au bout de tout cela, je meurs de peur que vous ne vouliez point prendre toute cette peine. Ce qui est vrai, c'est que la coiffure que fait Montgobert, n'est plus supportable. Du reste, consultez votre paresse et vos dents ; mais ne m'empêchez pas de souhaiter que je puisse vous voir coiffée ici comme les autres. Je vous vois, vous m'apparaissez, et cette coiffure est faite pour vous : mais qu'elle est ridicule à certaines Dames, dont l'âge ou la beauté ne conviennent pas !"

And in a postscript is the following advice.

"Après tout, nous ne vous conseillons point de faire couper vos beaux cheveux ; et pour qui ? bon Dieu ! cette mode durera peu, et est mortelle pour les dents, taponnez-vous seulement par grosses boucles comme vous faisiez quelquefois ; car les petites boucles rangées de Montgobert sont justement de tems du roi Guillemot."

Madame de Sevigné, in one of her letters (dated 27th April, 1672), says, that she found the Countess de Lude, "la Comtesse, qui pleuroit son mari : elle avoit un chapeau gris, qu'elle enfonçois dans l'excès de sa douleur ; c'étoit une chose plaisante ; je crois que jamais un chapeau ne s'est trouvé à pareille fête : j'aurois voulu ce jour-la mettre une coiffe ou une cornette." ^z

^z "La Comtesse étoit grande chasseresse, et toujours vêtue en homme ; elle passoit sa vie à la campagne."

In a letter dated 6th of September, 1677 :

“ Je voudrois que vous vissiez jusqu'à quel excès la présence de Termes et de Flamarens fait monter la coiffure et l'adjustement de deux ou trois belles de ce pays. Enfin, des six heures du matin, tout est en l'air, coiffure *hurlupée*, poudrée, frisée, bonnet à *la bascule*, rouge, mouches, petite coiffe qui pend, éventail, corps de jupe long et serré ; c'est pour pàmer de rire.”

In a letter dated the 2nd of February, 1689, she speaks of “ Black owls,”^a a fashionable head-dress of that time :

“ Vous avez donc eu quelque peur des pauvres petites *chouettes noires* je m'en doutai, et j'en ris en moi-même : vous trouverez qu'elles ont *l'air triste* ; mais elles ne sont point *rechignées*, elles n'ont point *une voix de Mégère* ; et quand vous verrez ce qu'elles savent faire, vous trouverez qu'au lieu d'être de mauvais augure, elles font la beauté au moins de la coiffure.”

We are left to conjecture whether this was the name of a head-dress, or an ornament of some kind which she was about to send her daughter.

In the letter dated December 25, 1689 :

“ Votre belle sœur a *une souris*,^b qui fait fort bien dans ses cheveux noirs.”

In one of Shirley's plays, (the Ball, act I. sc. 2, 1632, 4to.) there is an allusion to the fashion of concealing a part of the forehead ; a small low forehead was at that period reckoned a beauty.

“ *Ros.* But I have heard your tongue exalted much,
Highly commended.

“ *Hon.* Not above your forehead,
When you have brush'd away the hairy penthouse,
And made it visible.”

A curious poem by Evelyn, entitled “ A Voyage to Marryland, or a Ladies Dressing room,” 1690, describes the different articles that a beau must provide for his mistress. I shall confine myself to the head-dress only in the following quotation ;—Evelyn has also given an explanation of the different terms, in his *Fop's Dictionary*.

^a “ Voyez la Fable de l'*Ægle* et du *Hibou*, par la Fontaine.”

^b The name of a fashion.

" *Calembuc* combs in *pulvil* case
 To set and trim the hair and face :
 And that the cheeks may both agree,
Plumpers to fill the cavity.
 The *settée*, *cupée*, place aright,
Frelange, *fontange*, *favorite* ;
Monté la haute, and *palisade*,
Sorti, *flandan* (great helps to trade),
Bourgoigne, *jardiné*, *cornett*.
Frilal next upper pinner set,
 Round which it does our ladies please,
 To spread the hood called *rayonnés* :
 Behind the noddle every baggage
 Wears bundle *choux*, in English cabbage :
 Nor *cruches* she, nor *confidents*,
 Nor *passages*, nor *bergers* wants ;
 And when this grace Nature denies,
 An artificial *tour* supplies ;
 All which with *meurtriers* unite,
 And *creve-cœurs*, silly fops to smite," &c. ^c

^c " *Calumbuc*—A certain precious wood, of an agreeable scent, brought from the Indies.

" *Polvil*—The Portugal term for the most exquisite powders and perfumes.

" *Plumpers*—Certain very thin, round, and light balls, to plump up and fill up the cavities of the cheeks, much used by old court countesses.

" *Settee*—Is only a double pinner.—*Ladyes Dictionary*, 1694.

" *Cupée*—Is a pinner that hangs close to the head. *ib.*

" *Frelan*—Bonnet and pinner together.

" *Fontange*—The top-knot, so called from Mademoiselle de Fontange, one of the French king's mistresses, who first wore it.

" *Favorites*—Locks dangling on the temples.

" *Monté la haut*—Certain degrees of wire to raise the dress.

" *Palisade*—A wire sustaining the hair next the dutchess, or first knot.

" *Sorti*—A little knot of small ribbon, peeping out between the pinner and bonnet.

“The Ladies Dictionary,” 1694, under the article “Apparel,” gives a full explanation of these names. At the end of which are the following words. “Thus much for the *dress*, but there are yet other things necessary for a *ladies*

“*Flandan*—A kind of pinner joining with the bonnet.

“*Burgoigne*—The first part of the dress for the head next the hair.

“*Jardinée*—That single pinner next the burgoigne.

“*Cornet*—The upper pinner, dangling about the cheeks like hound’s ears.

“*Frilal*—

“*Rayonnée*—Upper hood, pinned in circle, like the sun-beams.

“*Choux*—The great round boss or bundle resembling a cabbage.

“*Cruches*—Certain small curls placed on the forehead.

“*Confidants*—Smaller curls near the eares.

“*Passagere*—A curled lock next the temples.

“*Berger*—A small lock (a la sheperdesse) turned up with a puff.

“*Tour*—An artificial dress of hair on the forehead, &c.

“*Meurtriers*—Murderers, a certain knot in the hair, which ties and unite the curls.

“*Creve-cœur*—Heart-breakers, the two small curled locks at the nape of the neck.

To which a few other words from the “Fop’s Dictionary” may be added.

“*Mouches*—Flies, or black patches by the vulgar.

“*Firmanent*—Diamonds or other precious stones heading the pins, which they stick in the tour or hair like stars.

“*Ruffles*—By our forefathers called cuffs.

“*Duchess*—A knot next the hair, immediately above the tour, &c.

“*Commode*—A frame of wire covered with silk, on which the whole head attire is adjusted at once upon a bust; or properly of wood carved to the breast, like that which perruque-makers set upon their stalls.*

“*Mouchoire*—It were rude, vulgar, and unseemly to call it handkerchief.

“*Engageänts*—Deep double ruffles hanging down to the wrists.

“*Echelles*—A pectoral, or stomacher, laced with ribbon like the rounds of a ladder.”

* In the “Ladies Dictionary,” 1694, it is thus explained; “A frame of wire, two or three stories high, fitted for the head, or covered with tiffany, or other thin silks; being now completed into the whole head-dress.”

In the early French dictionaries, we meet with the word *Commode* as applied to the head-dress, from which it appears to have been out of fashion before 1761, as “Le Grand Dictionnaire Français et Flamand,” says, “sorte de coiffure de femme, que *n’est plus en usage*.”

dressing room ; which have such odd names, that a *raw lass* being entertain'd in service, and hearing her mistress one day call for some of them, she was so far from bringing any, that she verily took her to be *conjuring*, and hastily ran out of the house, for fear she should raise the devil."

Again in page 425 :

" 'Twould make a dog split his halter to hear the learned cant between the mistress and maid, when about the important affair of adjusting her ladyship's *array* on a morning ; you'd swear they were conjuring, they sputter out such a confus'd jargon of hard words, such a hotch-potch of mongrel gibberish : ' Bring me my *palisade* there,' quoth madam : you'd think she were going to encamp. ' Will it not be convenient to attack your *flandan* first?' says the maid. More anger yet ? still military terms ? ' Let me see,' says Madam, ' where's my *cornet* ? Pray *carine* this *favourite* : ' so, so, good words ; now there's some hopes of peace, till the blustering *Frilan* and *Burgoign* are called for, and then the old catterwawling begins again ? There is a clack of *settees*, *passes*, *monté la hauts*, *crotches*, and other trinkums, would make a man suspect they are raising the devil : at last comes the *sur les fronts*, and then Madam is completely harnessed for the play," &c.

In "Le Theatre Italien," (by Gherardi) in a satire upon the number of French names of fashions, there is a list of books, describing the "Bibliothèque des sots,—Dictionnaire in folio, qui contient les principales pièces qui composent la coëffure d'une femme."

One of the most fantastic fashions, which began previous to the year 1683, was the *fontange*, which is explained in "La Dictionnaire de l'Academie Française," 1787. "Nœud de rubans que les femmes portent sur leur coiffure, et qui tire son nom de Madame de Fontange."

Specimens of them are chiefly to be found in prints, but very rarely in those taken from family portraits. I have not met with any except in two prints of Mary II. One is a large engraving very highly finished, the head-dress covered with rich lace mixed with several pieces of striped ribbons. The other is a smaller print (by *G. Valck*.) with a lofty head-dress. There was lately to be seen a specimen of the fontange in Westminster Abbey, among the wax-work, commonly called the *ragged regiment*. The following quotation

from the Athenian Oracle, may explain why the fontanges or top-knots are rarely to be found in family portraits.

“*Question?*—Whether *top-knots* are not unlawful? at least very inconvenient, considering their trouble in riding, &c. and not very graceful neither; for there are few ladies, as well as they love them, who care to have their pictures drawn with them.

“*Answer.*—There will be work enough about them shortly, whereof we shall perhaps trouble the world with an advertisement, and therefore we'll not forestall the market, but leave the ladies themselves to plead their own *dearly beloveds*.”

In the Ladies' Dictionary, under the article “Topknot,” is a dialogue between *Nature* and a *Lady*. The Lady says, “In what array did the Dauphiness appear last ball? I am told, my *commode* is a tire too low, as they adjust it at the French Court.”

“*Nature.*—Am I a-dreamed, or has the multitude of years impaired my sight and judgment? The voice is woman's, but in the *prating figure*, I want a name; I see a moving pyramid of gayeties, a walking toyshop, a speaking gallimaufry of ribbons, laces, silk, and jewels, as if some upstart mimick Nature had been at work on purpose to upbraid my skill, and tell me, that in forming woman, I have left out the essentials,” &c. &c. Again, speaking of the Lady's head-dress, “Do regard her rigging above deck, and you'd swear she carries Bow steeple upon her head, or the famous tower of Severus in Rome, in which was built seven ranks of pillars one above another. Such a lofty gradation of topknots, if it proceeds, will befriend the carpenters and bricklayers, for our gentry and tradesmen in time will be forced to pull down their low-pitch'd houses, and take the height of the stories in the next structure from the elevated pageant of trinkets on their wives' and daughters' heads, lest these fine trappings should be kidnapp'd from their empty noddles by an unmannerly brush of the saucy ceilings,” &c. &c. The Lady says, “I am resolved to be in the mode, though it should put me to the charge of maintaining a negro to support the *monumental umbrella* on my head.”

There is a work which contains several engravings of the coronation of James II. in 1685; and at the end, a single plate (in the Blickling Library) of the coronation of William and Mary in 1689, representing several ladies, but not

one with a *fontange*, a dress probably considered too absurd and fantastic for so solemn a ceremony.

The following extracts from "Le Theatre Italien di Gherardi," a collection of French plays composed between 1682 and 1697, allude to this style of dress.

"Moi ! que je demeure d'avantage dans Paris, dans ce tripot eternel, ou les femmes sont des ripopés de jeu et de coquetterie ? Et comment y feroit-il sûr pour les hommes, quand les oiseaux sont a peine en sûreté dans l'air, contre les attentats des coiffures des femmes." Vol. ii. 313.—Again,

"*Mezz.*—Comment nommez-vous ces obelisques que les femmes d'ici ont sur leurs tetes ?

"*M. Gr.*—Elles appellent cela des palissades," &c. (Vol. ii. 341.)

In the play "La Fille Savante," Isabella dresses herself as a "capitaine d'infanterie," says "O ça, de bonne foi, mon pere, ne conviendrez vous pas qu'un chapeau retroussé me coiffe infiniment mieux, qu'un attirail impertinent de rubans et de cornettes ? qu'une plume a toute autre grace que les montagnes de rayons qui allongent la taille des femmes ?" Vol. iii. 70.

"*Le Comte.*—Je veux qu'elle soit propre, mais je ne veux pas qu'elle soit étalée comme la maitresse d'un vieux abbé. Je consens qu'elle soit coiffée avec des pallisades et des rayons ; mais je ne veux pas qu'elle se coiffe aussi haut qu'une marchande de la foire." Vol. v. 218.

Page 227 speaks of "une coiffure à triple étage rend d'une taille gigantesque," &c.

The *fontange* was frequently condemned by the clergy. In one of the sermons (on several occasions) by John Edwards, 1698, is the following passage :

"This is the daring pride which reigns among our very ordinary women at this day, they think themselves highly advanced by this climbing foretop. All their rigging is nothing worth without this wagging topsail ; and, in defiance of our Saviour's words, endeavour, as it were, to add *a cubit* to their stature. With their exalted heads they do, as it were, attempt a superiority over mankind ; nay, these Babel-builders seem with their lofty towers to threaten the skies, and even to defy heaven itself." In another place in the same discourse, the author gives the ladies the following caution, that "especially upon days of fasting and humiliation you would wholly lay aside your gawdy dress. It is

fitting at such a time that you should lower your topsails, and strike your flags."

Horace Walpole mentions, that about the year 1714, Louis XIV. admired the superior taste of the low head-dress of two English ladies; in consequence of which, the ladies of his court immediately began to adopt the new form. But it appears by the following quotation from "A Supplement to the first part of the Gentlemen Instructed, with a word to the Ladies, 1708," that the change in the lofty head-dress was begun before 1714.

"The received fresh advice that the French King had forbid the wearing of gold lace, and that all below a countess lay under a prohibition; that he had clipt commodes, and taken the sex a story lower; that the Dutchess of *Burgundy* immediately undrest, and appeared in a *fontange* of the new standard; that his Majesty had a design against topknots," &c.

Again, in p. 38, the writer shows how a fine lady spends her time at her toilet: "And now her ladyship brandishes the combs, and the powders raise clouds in the apartment. She trims up the *commode*; she places it ten times; unplaces it as often, without being so fortunate as to hit upon y^e critical point; she models it to all systems, but is pleased with none. For you must know, some ladies fancy a vertical, others an horizontal situation; others dress by y^e northern latitude, and others lower its point to forty-five degrees," &c.

Page 108 mentions how much better the ladies might employ their time. "At *Paris*, I have seen the topping ladies of the court, in *l'Hotel Dieu*, help and comfort the sick with great charity. They refresh'd those poor creatures not only with words, but with cordials and julips. I could wish the *mode* would sail into *England*. It edifies, I am sure, and would become quality, and sit as gentilely on ladies as *French fontanges*."

There is a whole paper in the *Spectator* (No. 98), 1711, which relates entirely to the female head-dress, too well known to require insertion, but it seems to point out the date of the lofty *head-dress*. "About ten years ago (*i. e.* in 1701) it shot up to a great height," &c. &c. "I remember several ladies who were once near seven foot high, that at present want some inches of five," &c.^d

^d A paper in the *Spectator* says of Paradin's History of Lyons, that it mentioned the *Fontange*. This is an anachronism, as the history was published nearly a century before Madame Fontange was born.

A similar observation occurs in the "Lettres Persanes," 1717. "Quelquefois les coëffures montent insensiblement, et une revolution les fait descendre tout à coup. Il a été un tems que leur hauteur immense mettoit le visage d'une femme au milieu d'elle-même ; dans un autre, c'étoit les pieds qui occupoient cette place, les talons faisoient un piedestal qui les tenoit en l'air. Qui pourroit le croire ? Les Architectes ont été souvent obligés de hausser, de baisser et d'élargir les portes, selon que les parures des femmes exigeoient d'eux ce changement, et les règles de leur art ont été asservies a ces fantaisies."

Addison (who died in 1719) thus mentions the *Fontange*, "Those old Fontanges rose an ell above the head. They were pointed like steeples, and had the long loose pieces of crape, which were fringed and hung down their backs."—(Johnson's Dictionary.)

During the reigns of William III. and Anne, we find that ladies sometimes wore plumes of feathers piled up in stages. There is a good specimen in a print of Lady Mary Radcliffe, who is represented with two tiers of ostrich feathers with a tuft above. (Pl. IX. fig. 21.)

In an additional volume of the Spectator (No. 20), dated 1715, this fashion of wearing a quantity of feathers is satirized :

"I pretend not to draw the single *quill* against that immense crop of *plumes*, which is already risen to an amazing height, and unless timely sing'd by the bright eyes that glitter underneath, will shortly be able to overshadow them. Lady *Porcupine's* commode is started at least a *foot and a half* since Sunday last," &c. Again, "In what condition the *feather manufacture* now stands, shall be inquired at leisure."—"But so long as the commodity circulates, and the outside of a fine lady's *head* is converted into the inside of her *pillow*, or if fate so order it, to the top of her *herse*, there is no harm in the consumption ; and both the *milliner*, *upholsterer*, and *undertaker* may live in an amical correspondence, and mutual dependence on each other."

In the periodical papers of the middle of the last century, there are many observations made on the fashions of ladies' head-dresses, a few of which I have copied as illustrative of the subject and of the sketches accompanying these remarks.

In the *World*, (a periodical paper, 1753) there is a letter condemning the

ladies for wearing their *hats* in the church during divine service, as transgressing against the laws of decency and decorum.^e

In the same work, (No. 39) is a letter which describes the bad taste of a lady who has “a most disconsolate length of face, which she makes absolutely frightful by wearing the poke of her cap quite back to her pole.”

No. 66, speaks of caps from the size of a China plate having dwindled away to the breadth of a half-crown, and then entirely vanished.—Again,

In No. 88, “They wear no cap, and only substitute in its room “variety of trumpery ribbands, tied up with no other propriety than the present fit shall happen to direct.”

The Connoisseur, No. 36, (1754) mentions that “of all the branches of female dress no one has undergone more alterations than that of the head. The long lappets, the *horse-shoe cap*, (see Pl. X.) the *Brussels-head*, and the prudish *mob* pinned under the chin, have all of them had their day. The present mode has rooted out all these superfluous excrescences, and in the room of a slip of cambrick or lace, has planted a whimsical sprig of spangles or artificial flowrets, &c.” And again, “If the caps have passed through many metamorphoses, no less a change has been brought about in the other coverings contrived for the head. The diminutive high-crowned hat, the bonnet, the hive, and the milk-maid chip-hat, were rescued for a time from old women and servant girls, to adorn the heads of the first fashion. Nor was the method of cocking hats less fluctuating, till they were at length

^e This is a strange contradiction to the rule so universally allowed from the earliest times of the Apostles, of the propriety of women being covered in the churches, an allusion to which we find in Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, (vol. v. 267). that the men “prayed with the head uncovered, according to the Apostles' direction, as esteeming it a great indecency to do otherwise.” “Tertullian adds another reason in his *Apology to the Gentiles*. We pray uncovered, because we are not ashamed to appear with open faces; making a sort of testimony and symbol of their innocency in their addressing God without covering. On the other hand, as both nature and custom had made it decent for *women* to be covered, so they were precise in requiring this to be observed, especially in religious assemblies,” &c.

Again—In the arraignment of Anne Turner, at the King's Bench, in 1615, on the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, “The Lord Chief Justice told her that women must be covered in the church, but not when they are arraigned, and so caused her to put off her hat; which done, she covered her hair with her handkerchief, being before dressed in her hair, and her hat over it.”

settled to the present mode; by which it is ordered, that every hat, whether of straw or silk, whether of the chambermaid or mistress, must have their flaps turned up perpendicularly both before and behind (see Pl. X.) If the end of a fine lady's dress was not rather ornamental than useful, we should think it a little odd, that hats, which seem naturally intended to screen their faces from the heat or severity of the weather, should be moulded into a shape that prevents their answering either of these purposes: but we must, indeed, allow it to be highly ornamental, as the present hats worn by the women are more bold and impudent than the broad-brimmed staring *Kevenhullers* worn a few years ago by the men. These hats are also decorated with two waving pendants of ribband, hanging down from the brim on the left side," &c.

No. 77, mentions a female wearing "*a hat smartly cocked up behind and before in Broad Saint Giles,*" &c. (see Pl. X.)

No. 112 is a letter, describing the fashion of a lady's head-dress in 1756, "that instead of a cap, the present mode is for every female to load her head with some kind of carriage," &c. Again, "The curiosity I had of knowing the purport of this invention, and the general name of these machines, led me to make enquiry about them of a fashionable milliner, at the court end of the town. She obliges me with a sight of one of these equipages, designed for the head of a lady of quality, which I surveyed with much admiration, and placing it on the palm of my hand, could not help fancying myself *Gulliver* taking up the Empress of *Lilliput* in her state-coach. The vehicle itself was constructed of gold threads, and was drawn by six dapple greys of blown glass, with a coachman, postillion, and gentleman within, of the same brittle manufacture," &c.

The milliners called them *cabrioles* or *caprioles*—"a polite female would no more fix her affections on a man who drives but a beggarly pair, than she would be contented with being tumbled down to his country seat, like Punch's wife to *Rumford*, in a wheelbarrow."

There is a poem called a "Modern Morning." Celia says to her maid,

"Nelly! where is the creature fled?

Put my *post-chaise* upon my head."

"Your chair and chairman, Mame, is brought," &c.

The same poem speaks of ladies wearing the *broad-wheel'd waggon* as an improvement to the above fashion (see Pl. X.)^f

In a note, "*Post-chaise*—Be it remembered, that in the year 1756, many ladies of fortune and fashion, willing to set an example of prudence and economy to their inferiors, did invent, and make public, without a patent, a machine for the head, in form of a *post-chaise and horses*. And another imitating a *chair and chairman*, which were frequently worn by people of distinction. I have been more particular in noting the exact time of the rise of this invention, first, because no foreigner should attempt to rob us of the honour of it, and secondly, that it may serve as an æra or epocha to future chronologers."^g

Bulwer, in his "*Artificial Changling*," has given us a curious wood-cut of a lady wearing a variety of *patches*, one of which is the form of a carriage and horses (see Pl. IX. fig. 11). From the various passages of early writers relating to patches, a few quotations may be deemed worthy of notice. The following is from the *Ladies' Dictionary*, p. 362.

"They had no doubt got a room in the *Chronicles* among the prodigious and monstrous births, had they been born with *moons, stars, crosses, lozenges*, upon their cheeks; especially had they brought into the world with them a *coach and horses*."

In "*Wit Restored*," 1658, is a poem, entitled, "*The Bursse of Reformation*."

"Her patches are of every cut,
For pimples and for scarrs,
Here's all the wandring planett signes,
And some o' th' fixed starrs,
Already gum'd to make them stick,
They need no other sky,
Nor starrs for *Lilly* for to veiw
To tell your fortunes by," &c.

The "*Memoires et Observations, &c. en Angleterre*," 1698, mention

^f The sketches at the bottom of Plate X. (one head excepted) are taken from the drawings of my late father, who was a great observer of the fashions of his time.

^g *Wise Men's Wonderful Discoveries*.

“ L'usage des *Mouches* n'est pas inconnu aux Dames de France, mais il faut être jeune et jolie. En Angleterre, jeunes, vieilles, belles, laides, tout est *emmouché* jusqu' à la decrepitude ; j'ai plusieurs fois compté quinze mouches et davantage, sur la noire et ridée face d'une vieille de soixante et dix ans. Les Angloises raffinent ainsi sur nos modes.”

The “Lettres Persanes,” 1717, says,

“ Le role d'un jolie femme est beaucoup plus grave que l'on ne pense ; il n'y a rien de plus serieux que ce qui se passe le matin à sa toilette, au milieu de ses domestiques ; un General d'Armée n'emploie pas plus d'attention à placer sa droite, ou son corps de reserve, qu'elle en met à placer une *mouche* qui peut manquer ; mais dont elle espère ou prévoit le succès.”

In the Spectator, No. 323, is a Journal of a Lady.

“ From 8 to 9, shifted a patch for half an hour before I could determine it. Fixed it above my left eye-brow.”

Again, in No. 81, is an account of ladies being divided into parties, as Whigs and Tories, by the wearing of patches, those spotted on the right side of the forehead being distinguished from those who placed them on the left.

Who has ever heard of *white* patches on a black face, as thus described in Lovelace's “Posthumous Poems,” 1650.

“ But as a Moor, who to her cheeks prefers
White spots t' allure her black idolaters,
Methought she look'd all o'er bepatch'd with stars.”

The Spectator mentions that patches were worn by men ; this is also mentioned by Gherardi in the following lines.

“ Que les jeunes gens de bel air sont par les plaisirs, par les mines, par les promenades, par les *mouches*, et par les manières, moins hommes que femmes.” vol. vi. 322.

The Athenian Mercury, (1693) by John Dunton, speaks of a “ whole *box-full of half-moons and lozenges.*”

The following is from the London Chronicle for 1762, (vol. xi. 167) on the History of Fashions.

“ *The French Night-cap.*—Our fine women have by covering their cheeks by this fashion, put their faces into an eclipse. Each lady, when dressed in this mode, can only peep under the lace border. Perhaps, they are intended like

blinds to a horse's head harness, to teach ladies to look forward. A good hint, however. It has been whispered, indeed, that this mode is an introduction to Popery, it is to bring in the veil by and by, a sort of trial to see how our English Toasts will take it.

"Some ill-natured persons, indeed, go so far as to say, that every woman who wears these visage-covers, has done something she should be a little ashamed of, and, therefore, don't care to shew much of her face.

"The Ranelagh Mob ; or the Hood from Low Life.

"This is a piece of gauze, minionett, catgutt, or Leicester webb, &c. which is clouted about the head, then crossed under the chin, and brought back to fasten behind, the two ends hanging down like a pair of pigeon's tails.

"This fashion is copied from the silk handkerchiefs, which market women tie over their ears, roll about their throats, and then pin up the nape of their necks.

"They were first wore in the Inner Square of Covent Garden Market, among the green-stalls ; it was from thence introduced into the outward squares or piazza's, among the stalls there.

"Mrs. Douglas (of procuring memory) who was a very great market-woman in her way, was the first who made a Scotch-lawn double neckhandkerchief into the mob abovementioned. Her female boarders would do as the mistress did, to be sure, and after a little cut and contrivance, away they whisked in them to Ranelagh.

"The ladies of fashion there, who sometimes dress almost like ladies of the town, immediately took the hint. The fashion flew abroad upon the wings of whim, and, as Schioppius observes, instantly spread itself over the face of the land.

"The Mary Queen of Scots' Cap (Pl. VIII. fig. 15), edged down the face with French beads, was very becoming to some complexions ; but as the cap was made of black gauze, and saved washing, it has too much housewifery in it, ever to be immense taste.

"The Fly Cap.—This is fixed upon the forehead, forming the figure of an overgrown butterfly, resting upon its head, with outstretched wings ; 'tis much worn at present, not that it either adds to the colour or outlines of the face ; but, as their caps are edged with garnets, topazes, or brilliants, they are very

sparkling, and a side-box-appearance is not now altogether the consultation of elegance, but ornament.

“ Therefore, those ladies who make the most show, are looked upon to be the finest women.

“ It is become a very interesting dispute among the connoisseurs in general, whether the present turban roll, which is now wore round the Mecklenburgh caps, was taken from the Ægyptian fillet, the Persian tiara, or Wreath round the eldest Faustina’s temples ? ”

Goldsmith, describing his “ Cousin Hannah ” (aged 66), says that “ her cap, if cap it might be called that cap was none, consisted of a few bits of cambric, and flowers of painted paper, stuck on one side of the head.”

The fear of having trespassed too much upon the patience of the Society, makes me unwilling to extend my observations to the various fashions of dressing the hair ; yet a few quotations may not be deemed unworthy of notice by those who have so far favoured me as to bestow their time upon the foregoing observations ; for, however curious it may be to trace the various fancies and fashions of our ancestors in the invention of the head-dress, the disposal of that ornament which has been bestowed by nature upon the fair sex, must always be of more interest than the artificial adornment which can be constructed by human invention. I begin with the reign of Henry VII. On viewing the various pictures of head-dresses of that date, and during the greater part of the reign of Henry VIII., it appears that the hair was hardly visible, or, if seen, it was parted on the forehead and uncurled ; this fashion continued as late as the end of Henry VIII., as worn by Catharine Parr (see Pl. VII. fig. 24).

In the reign of Mary, the hair was still parted, but was arranged in a different manner (see her portrait in fig. 52,) and this continued till as late as the middle of the reign of Elizabeth, (see specimens in Pl. VIII. figs. 9, 11 & 15,) but before the end of her reign, the hair was made to stick up and curled, and sometimes formed into a circle or an oval (see Pl. VIII. figs. 3, 4, 10, 12, 20, 31 & 32). This bad taste continued during the whole reign of James I. Figs. 21 and 22 are head-dresses, as worn in Italy.^b

^b Even the whole dress worn in the *beginning* of Elizabeth’s reign was superior in taste to that of James I. Fig. 12, from Fox’s Book of Martyrs, may be compared with fig. 13, from a print in Roland Furieux, 1619.

But soon after that period, and during a great part of the reign of Charles I. the hair was arranged with better taste, consisting of many small curls, hanging down on each side of the face, combed from the forehead and braided into a knot at the back of the head, which knot was frequently ornamented with jewels and pearls; and sometimes a black or a white feather was placed to hang down on one side (Pl. VIII. fig. 15); it is likewise to be seen in the portraits of Dorothy Countess of Suffolk, M. Countess of Essex, and as late as 1656, by Beatrix de Cusance; but soon after, and during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. the hair was made either to hang in long curls resembling corkscrews, or with long locks flowing down below the shoulders as in fig. 16 and 18; or it was cut short, and curled in rich clusters, as in fig. 17.

Among several religious plays, one of the most remarkable is "The Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalen," 1567, from whence is taken the following quotation relating to her head-dress.

"Your haire, me thynke, is as yellow as any gold;
Upon your face layd about have it I wold;
Sometime on your forehead the breadth of a hand;
Sometime let your attire upon your crowne stand,
That all your haire for the most part may be in sight.
To many a man a fayre haire is a great delight.
In summer time now and then to keep away flies,
Let none of that fayre haire hang in your eies.
With a hotte nedle you shall learne it to crispe,
That it may curle together in manner like a wispe."ⁱ

Stubbes makes the following complaint of the female hair as worn in 1585:—"Then follow the trimming and tricking of their heades, in laying out their haire to shewe, which of force must be curled, frised, and crisped, laid out (a world to see) on wreathes and borders, from one ear to the other. And least it should fall down, it is underpropped with forks, wiers, and I cannot tell what, like grim sterne monsters, rather than chaste Christian matrones. Then on the edges of their boulstred haire, (for it standeth crested rounde about their frontiers, and hanging over their faces like pendices or vailles, with glass windows on every side,) there is laid great wreathes of golde and silver curiously wrought, and cunningly applied to the temple of their heades. And for feare

ⁱ Collier's Annals, vol. ii. 243.

of lacking any thinge to set forth their pride withall, at their haire thus wreathed and crested, are hanged *bugles* (I dare not say *bables*), *ouches*, *rynges*, *gold*, *silver*, *glasses*, and such other childishe gewgawes," &c.

Many readers have heard of Prynne's curious work entitled "The Unloveliness of Love-lockes," 1628, but few have seen the book itself, and very few, I believe, have had the patience to read it through. It is a long, dull, prosy work. He speaks of the "womanish, sinfull, and unmanly crisping, curling, frounching, powdering, and nourishing of their locks and hairie excrements;" and again, "to frizle, powder, nourish, and set out our haire and lockes in the most lascivious, amorous, proud, effeminate, ruffianly, and vainglorious manner, &c.; or to hear the illiberal abuse against the fair sex for cutting off their hair, as audacious, brazen-faced, shamelesse (if not unchaste and whorish) English hermaphrodites, or man-women monsters, whose prodigious and blushlesse impudency bids battle and defiance unto Heaven itselfe, and dares the Lord to smite or to controule them."

The love-lock was a single lock hanging on one side, and sometimes ornamented by a ribbon, as in the portrait of the Duchess of Richmond by Vandyck. The Lady E. Shirley has a long braided lock on one side, and ornamented with pearls twisted round.

The poets in their writings give the preference to the female hair when allowed to flow naturally, as in the following quotations.

The first from Chalkhill's *Thealma and Clearchus*.^k

———"her loose haire
Hung on her shoulders sporting with the air,
Her brow a coronet of rose-buds crown'd,
With loving woodbine's sweet embraces bound,
Two globe-like pearls were pendants to her ears,
And on her breast a costly gem she wears."

Even braiding the hair seems to be condemned, as from the following passage in Lovelace's *Lucasta* (printed in 1649).

"Amarantha, sweet and fair,
Oh, braid no more that shining hair!

* * * *
* * * *

^k Published by Isaak Walton.

“ Let it fly as unconfined
As its calm ravisher, the wind,
Who has left his darling th’ east
To wanton o’er that spicy nest.

“ Ev’ry tress must be confest
But neatly tangled at the best ;
Like a clue of golden thread,
Most excellently ravelled.

“ Do not then wind up that light
In ribands, and o’er-cloud in night,
Like the sun in ’s early ray,
But shake your head and scatter day.”

Hamilton, in his *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont*, has given a spirited account of his sister. “ Her forehead was open, white, and smooth ; her hair was well set, and fell with ease in that natural order which is difficult to imitate.”

The same author thus gives a description of a country wedding :—“ The little that was seen of the bride’s face appeared not without beauty ; but no judgment could be formed of the remainder. Four dozen of patches, at least, and ten ringlets of hair on each side, most completely concealed her from all human eyes.”

Lady W. Montague, describing in one of her letters the coronation of 1727, says, “ the poor Duchess of M***se crept along with a dozen of black snakes playing round her face.”

In former times a distinction appears to have been made between the head-dresses of married and single ladies, the latter being uncovered. On one side of the tomb in Hedingham church, four ladies are represented kneeling. Three of them have caps ; two have the ring on the wedding finger, the third has the ring on the forefinger (see Pl. VII. fig. 4), but the fourth has no ring, and her hair hanging down, confined only by a fillet ornamented with jewels (see fig. 5).

In the ceremony of marriage in former days, the bride walked to church with her hair hanging loose behind. A plate in Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Paint-*

ing represents the marriage of Henry VI., where not only the bride, but also the bride's-maid is seen with dishevelled hair. The hair of Ann Boleyn is likewise so described when she went to the altar with Henry VIII.

On the marriage of Carr, Earl of Somerset, with the daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, "the bride was married in her hair, that is, with her hair hanging loosely down, as the Princess Elizabeth had been."

In the "*White Devil*, or *Vittoria Corombona*," by Webster, 1612—

"Come, come, my lord, untie your folded thoughts,
And let them dangle loose, as a *bride's hair*."

Anne of Cleves on the day of her marriage was "attired in cloth of gold embroidered with flowers in pearl, on her head a coronet of gold and precious stones, set full of branches of rosemary. Her long *yellow hair*, no longer confined by a caul, hung over her shoulders."—The Loseley MSS. edited by A. J. Kempe, Esq.

In former days, yellow hair was reckoned a great beauty; it is frequently mentioned by early writers, and still to be found in old paintings:

"The *her* schon upon her hed
As golde wyre that schynyth bryght."

Romaunce de Launfal.

Again:

—— "Hur fayre faxe
That was yelow as the waxe,
And schone also as gold redd."

Le Bone Florence of Rome.

From the reign of Charles II. to Queen Anne, a fine long head of hair was considered a great ornament to the female head, and frequently fetched a high price, and was often sold by women of inferior fortune, particularly at a time when perriwigs were worn by gentlemen of rank and wealth. It is said of the Countess of Suffolk, who married Mr. Howard in the reign of Queen Anne, "She and her husband were so poor, she was forced to sell her hair (to furnish a dinner for some friends). Long wigs were then in fashion, and her hair being fine, long, and fair, produced twenty pounds." *Mirror*, vol. xv. 192.

The enormous wigs of the beaux were a constant subject of ridicule to the writers of the day. Tom Brown, in his *Letters from the Dead to the Living*,

speaks of a person who complained against a weaver of hair for cheating him in a wig. He was recommended to the Chelmsford barber, who has nineteen unmarried daughters, who are virtuous girls, "besides, all the clergy round him are his customers, because he makes up their wigs without any mixture of other hair." This barber once in four years "mows the family round, never failing of a plentiful crop; much about this time, I reckon, his harvest is ripe, and all the neighbouring gentlemen are flocking to bespeak their perriwigs; some are fair girls, some brown, some black, so that he can mix up a colour to suit any complexion." (Vol. ii. 176-8.)

Even in the time of Queen Anne¹ and George I. wigs were considered of some value, and liable to be stolen. Gay, in his *Trivia*, gives the following warning concerning them:—

"Nor is the flaxen wig with safety worn;
High on the shoulder, in a basket born,
Lurks the sly boy, whose hands to rapine bred,
Plucks off the curling honours of thy head."

But perriwigs were not worn by gentlemen alone, for they had long before

¹ The following quotation gives a curious specimen of a fine gentleman in the time of Queen Anne, from "The Levellers, a Dialogue between two young Ladies, concerning Matrimony," edit. 1703. Harl. Misc. vol. xi.—"They (the men) sit in monstrous long perukes, like so many owls in ivy-bushes; and esteem themselves more upon the reputation of being a beau, than on the substantial qualifications of honour, courage, learning, and judgment. If you heard them talk, you would think yourself at a gossiping at Dover, or that you heard the learned confabulation of the boys in the piazzas of Christ's Hospital. Did you ever see a creature more ridiculous than that stake of human nature which dined the other day at our house, with his *great long wig to cover his head and face*, which was no bigger than a Hackney-turnip, and much of the same form and shape? Bless me, how it looked! just like a great platter of French soup with a little bit of flesh in the middle. Did you mark the beau tiff of his wig, what a deal of pains he took to toss it back, when the very weight thereof was like to draw him from his seat? Did you not take notice how he replenished his snout with snuff, and what pains he took to let us know that it is *Vigo*? Did you not wonder at his learned discourse of the women's accoutrements, from the top-knot to the laced shoe; and what lectures he read on the fan, masque, and gloves? He understood ribbons and silk, as well as a milliner and mercer, and was a perfect chemist in beauty-washes and essences," &c.

In the additional volume of the *Spectator* (No. 20) 1715. We find "that Bean Hatchet made so wretched a figure about seven years ago, with his *three inches of face diameter*, under the intolerable load of *perriwig*, which was then imposed upon the necks of our people."

this period been used by ladies, as in a letter of Knollys to Cecil, published in Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots—

“ So that now here are six waiting women, although none of reputation but Mistress Mary Seaton, who is praised by this Queen to be the finest *busker* that is to say, the finest dresser of a woman's head of hair, that is to be seen in any country ; whereof we have seen divers experiences since her coming hither, and among other prettie devices, yesterday, and this day, she did set a curled hair upon the Queen that was said to be a *perewyke*, that shewed very delicately ; and every other day she has a new device of head-dressing, without any cost, and yet setteth forth a woman gailie well.”

This *perewyke* of Mary's I conceive to have been mere ringlets of false hair, for we know that it was the fashion of those days to wear borrowed locks, and of different colour. Mary's hair was black. Again, “ Hentzner describes Queen Elizabeth that she wore *false hair*, and that *red*. The ladies *dyed* their hair of various colours, but particularly of a *sandy* colour, in compliment to the Queen, whose natural locks were of that tint.” *Heraldic Anomalies*.^m

The following quotation relates to the Masks and Revels (1 Edward VI.) ; among the articles we find,

“ 8 coyffs of venys gold, wth thr perukes of here hanging to them, & longe labells of coleryd lawne.

“ 5 coyffs of venys golde with peruks of here.” Loseley MSS. p. 77.

In the verses against the gentlewomen of Sicilia by Robert Green (ed. 1593),

“ Hair by birth as black as jet, what art can amend them ?
A perriwig frounc'd fast to the front, or curl'd with a bodkin,
Hats from France, thick pearled for pride, and plum'd like a peacock.”

In the “ Two Gentlemen of Verona,” Act IV. s. 3.

“ Her hair is auburn, mine is perfect yellow ;
If that be all the difference in his love,
I 'll get me such a coloured perriwig.”

^m By a letter from Dr. John London to Cromwell, it appears that before the Reformation, images of saints were sometimes dressed up with *caps*, *wigs*, and other artificial ornaments.

“ I have pullyd down the image of our Ladye of Caversham, whereunto wasse great pilgremage. The image ys platyd over with sylver, and I have putte it in a cheste,” &c.—with her “ cotes,”—“ *her cappe and here*.”—Ellis's Letters, cxxix.

In the account of the revels in the reign of Elizabeth is mentioned "a perri-wigg of heare for King Xerces' syster." See Collier's Annals of the Stage.

And W. Vaughan, in his "Golden Grove, Moralized in Three Books," (1600-1608,) speaks of hair-powder and perriwigs being worn by women, and that they "frizle and ley out their hayre in borders," &c.

From the following passage in the Diary of Samuel Pepys, it seems that in 1662 the custom of wearing perriwigs was again in vogue:

"By the by, comes La Belle Perce to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of *peruques* of hair, as the *fashion now is* for ladies to wear, which are pretty, and of my own wife's hair, or else I should not endure them."

Again, in 1665, "This day my wife begun to wear light-coloured locks, quite white almost, which, though it makes her look very pretty, yet not being natural, vexes me, that I will not have her wear them."

That perriwigs were worn by ladies as late as 1717, we find from one of Lady Suffolk's Letters:

"My brother is very much yours, and begs you will be so kind as to bespeak two periwigs for him, a degree or two lighter than mine, and something bigger in the head."

The author of "Plocacosmos" (1781) says, that soon after the year 1745 the "French curls made their first appearance in Paris, &c. They look like eggs strung in order on a wire, and tied round the head. At the same time appeared the French crape toupee, and also the strait, smooth, or English dress. All these the English made in false hair, from a notion of cleanliness, which they improved by being first averse to powder; but soon after they had all their hair drest in all the different fashions. Some time after came up the scallop-shell or Italian curls, done back from the face in their several shapes. The German were a mixture of scollop-shell and French in the front, curled all over behind, or *tête de mouton*."

The same author recommends that the ladies' hair "should never be combed at night, having almost always so bad an effect as to give a violent head-ache next day;" he also gives the ladies a caution about buying cheap hair, which is made by mixing up with old hair, which perhaps has been upon twenty different people's heads, either as old braids, men's old false tails, or the old tails

of gentlemen's wigs, which people are daily buying up whenever they are found."

One of the most detestable of fashions was the introduction of Hair-Powder. We all know that white powder was formerly worn. The above author mentions hair powder of various colours, and gives receipts for making yellow, rose, pink, and also black powder.

Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World" mentions "blue powder and black powder for the hair, and a red powder for the face," &c.

The following quotation is a satire upon the wearing of powder, from "Wit Restored," 1658 :—

" And at the devill's shop you buy,
A dress of powdered hayre,
On which your feathers flaunt and fly,
But i'de wish you have a care,
Lest Lucifer's selfe, who is not prouder,
Do one day dresse your haire with a powder," &c.

That the servant-maids aped their mistresses in the time of Charles II. is seen in the following quotation from "The Blind Lady," by Sir Robert Howard, 1650, (Act II. s. 2.)

" *Peter.* Why, *Mrs. Quinever*, sure you once had
Better opinion of me, though you now
Wash every day your best handkerchief
With yellow starch, and your laced quoiff,
Till it now hangs as if the devill
Had frighted you through quicksetts ; not a post
But must be beaten for the rotten powder
To make your hair sit well," &c.

The ladies of the present day, who bestow so much time on their hair every night, will perhaps be astonished to find the uncleanly habits of the middle of the last century, as in "The World," a periodical paper (No. 158).

" I consent also to the present fashion of curling the hair, so that it may stand a month without combing ; though I must confess (and I believe most husbands and lovers are of my opinion), that I think a fortnight or three weeks might be a sufficient time ; but I bar any application to those foreign

artists, who advertize in the public papers that they have the secret of making up a lady's head for a complete quarter of a year."

In a periodical paper entitled "The Old Maid," 1756—(No. 16 and 17,) is a letter from a correspondent, describing his meeting a young lady to whom he "was impatient to present an ode written in honour of her lovely tresses, her hair being the finest that ever floated on a lovely neck, when he is shocked at beholding the object of his admiration transformed into 'old mother *Cybele*, the *Berecynthian* Goddess, with all her turrets on her head' One of the company, after admiring the crispness of her curls, asks how long her hair had been dressed? 'Three weeks last *Tuesday*,' replies Miss Fanny. 'Three weeks, Madam,' said I, 'ha'n't you been a'bed since that?' 'Regularly every *day*.'—'Pray, Madam, don't that lay you under the necessity of dressing your hair every *evening* when you rise?'—'Oh Lord, Sir,' says Miss, smiling at my ignorance, 'a head properly *made up*, with pins, paste, and pomatum, will *keep* a month very well.' As she talked of her head in the style of pickled pork, I ventured to ask her whether the paste and pomatum would *keep* as long?—'Certainly,' said she, 'if prepared with the *veritable eau de fleur des arbres*?'—'I ~~sup~~pose, Miss,' said I, 'this fashion is peculiar to the young ladies, as the married are more liable to have their locks discomposed.' 'Not at all,' says she, 'Lady *Lazy* dresses her hair but once a quarter; tis true we are enjoined to lie on one posture, which to be sure is an inconvenience; last night I went to bed somewhat earlier than usual, and was consequently restless, so happening to turn on one side, *deranged* the right wing a little, but *Betty* has *racommoded* it *passablement bien*.' 'I perceive, Madam,' said I, 'that a comb is a very unnecessary ornament on a modern toilette; and so retired full of indignation, with my poem in my pocket,' &c.

" Her hair

Unty'd and ignorant of artful aid,

Adown her shoulders loosely lay display'd

And in the jetty curls ten thousand Cupids play'd."

"Thus I had engaged a band of Cupids in her service; but this poetical machinery is destroyed; for alas! the Cupids, who are plump chubby boys, could never penetrate her paste-works; and should they escape dashing out their brains against her perpetual curls, they must infallibly be transfixed,

as you have seen flies by school-boys, on those enormous pins, which rival her hairs in number."

The following is from one of Lady Suffolk's letters dated 1737: "Mrs. Floyd, to be sure, hath left off combing her head above once in a fortnight or three weeks. I beg she will leave off her *tête de mouton* and her *pannier*, till I can be *charmée* and *ravie* to see her."

I will no longer intrude upon the time of the Society, but will only add one more quotation, taken from "The Italian Taylor and his Boy," by R. Armin, 1609:

"Fooles make bookes for wise men to laugh at. I have known some, that have loved the writer for the worke, how ever weake; the *will pleaded so powerfully*; and the partie presenting it, had (at the least) thanks for his labour."

JOHN ADEY REPTON.