Dressed to Kill

BRITISH NAVAL UNIFORM, MASCULINITY
AND CONTEMPORARY FASHIONS,
1748–1857

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***Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, 1772–1853*, John James Halls, c. 1817. BHC2619.**
Cockburn is shown wearing rear-admiral's undress coat and hat, 1812–25 pattern, hessian boots and dark green breeches. In the background are the burning Capitol buildings in Washington.

Introduction

Hail! Tars of England, brethren, hail!
Hail, lads of the *true blue*!
The tree may fall, the stream may fail,
But *never* COMRADES you!
Imperishable shall ye be,
Creatures of immortality!

Gentleman's Magazine of Fashions[1]

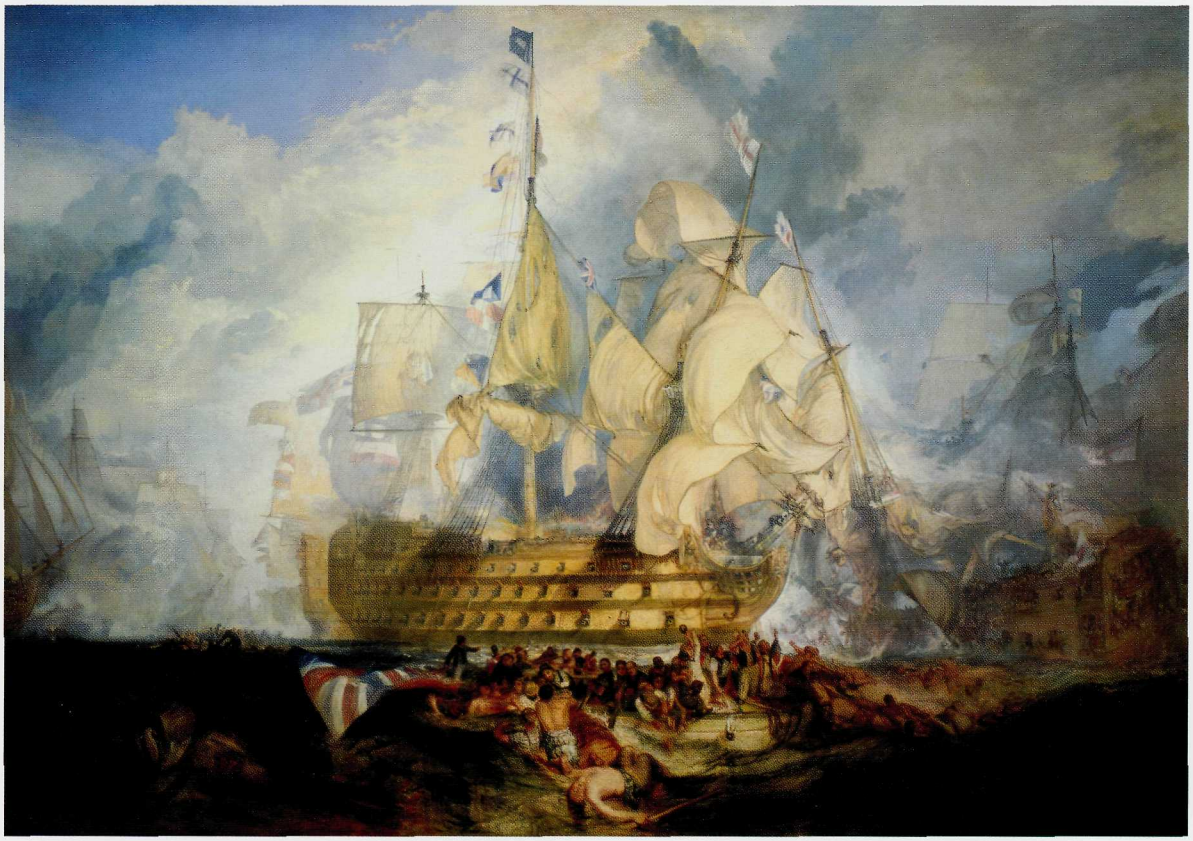
The uniform of the Royal Navy, the 'true blue' that was so firmly associated with it in 1828, when the passage above was written, was not by that time a tradition, certainly not one that stretched back to the days of England's victory over the Spanish Armada. Instead, it was only eighty years old. Regulated naval uniform had been worn only since 1748; before that the naval officer wore his own clothing, although there were certain occasions when royal livery was worn by specific officers. One of the earliest dates from 1604, when James I provided red and gold livery to six Principal Masters of the Navy.[2] Their rich clothing was detailed in a royal warrant, being made from 'two yards of fine red cloth ... two yards of velvet ... two dozen buttons of silke and golde'[3], the whole 'richlie imbrodered with Venice golde, silver, and silke, and with spangle of silver and silke'.[4] Clearly such clothing would have had limited use, being suitable only for court attendance and ceremonial functions. It is telling that, in 1676, the Masters Attendant, as they had become known, petitioned to be paid a cash allowance in lieu of livery.[5]

In comparison with other nations, the Royal Navy was quite slow in adopting a uniform. The French navy was granted theirs during the second half of the seventeenth century, although Sweden and Spain got theirs in the late eighteenth century. While military uniform was not a particularly innovative concept, what is interesting is that the desire for it within the navy emerges during a period when a brilliance and correctness in dress was perceived as exercising a civilizing influence. As Joseph Baretti pointed out in 1760, 'People well dressed have in general a kind of respect for themselves.'[6] As the navy had a chronic image problem during the course of the eighteenth century, when sailors were perceived as crude and coarse, it is likely that uniform was seen as one way of addressing this issue.

The aim of this catalogue is to explore the relationship between uniform and contemporary fashions, which in turn not only allows for a greater understanding of the navy itself, but also of the complicated social messages encoded in its clothing. An examination of the amendments to uniform in conjunction with period literature, pamphlets and tracts gives a sense of the changing public perceptions of the Royal Navy during the period 1748–1857 and the role that uniform played in visually reinforcing these views. Male dress, particularly something so heavily regulated as uniform, illustrates the shifting standards of masculinity and provides insight into what British society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries valued as the 'ideal man'.

1

Detail of the undress coat of a captain over three years' seniority, 1774. UNI0012 / F2210.1.
Rank was distinguished by the buttonholes outlined in silver, grouped in threes, and the buttons with their fouled anchor motif.



2
The Battle of Trafalgar, 21 October 1805, Joseph Mallord William Turner, 1822–24.
BHC0565 / BHC0565.

The uniforms introduced in 1748 developed in part out of a need to provide a clear visual definition of rank and status within the navy and to society at large. This stemmed from growing concerns – especially in Britain where society was more fluid – that the appearance of a higher social rank was easier to attain, as noted in a London paper in 1744: 'Every illiterate coxcomb who had made a fortune by sharpening or shop-keeping will endeavour to mimic the great ones.'[7] Definitions of class, particularly of the term 'gentleman' were rapidly changing in the second half of the eighteenth century. The concerns about social mobility were expressed in period literature and were apparent in the navy, where the subtleties of rank and status were not as clearly delineated through dress as some would prefer. The new uniform, worn only by commissioned officers and featuring a dress and undress coat, codified naval rank and status. The dress uniform, which took as its source French-influenced court clothing, implied that the wearer either moved in the company of those who frequented court or had occasion to be there himself. It not only served to reinforce the social rank of the commissioned officer but also created a clear social division within shipboard society.

As styles and tastes changed throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, the uniform changed with them, albeit at a slower pace. Both dress and undress – that is, normal working uniform – reflected some of the major fashion trends in eighteenth-century Britain, specifically the impact of the 'macaronies', young men lately returned form the Grand Tour of the Continent, who favoured very tight clothing in flamboyant colours. In the 1770s, the macaronies were marked not only by their effeminacy of dress and manners but by their links with

homosexual scandals which, by the time the navy adopted the cut and tailoring of the macaronies (cat. 12), seem to have been overlooked – if not completely forgotten. In addition, the trend toward informality in late-eighteenth-century fashions is seen in the undress styles of the 1795–1812 patterns (cat. 25). Yet, while naval uniform followed contemporary fashion throughout the eighteenth century, by the early decades of the nineteenth the two were on divergent courses as uniform regulations changed very little and retained the styles of the late eighteenth century. This old-fashioned costume, so out of step with contemporary fashion, immediately marked the wearer as a naval officer.

The identity of the British naval officer himself was something that had undergone a great deal of change in the course of the second half of the eighteenth century. In the middle decades, officers were largely seen as base, coarse and unrefined, but by the end of the century they were viewed as desirable masculine types. This change was due in part to the fact that, by the end of the eighteenth century, the navy had become the largest employer in Britain when its status was further reinforced through a series of important naval victories against the French, Dutch and Spanish which firmly established British supremacy of the seas. Trafalgar (see Figure 2), one of the last great naval battles of this period, ensured that the navy held an iconic status within British society. However, the newly desirable social status of the naval officer was also due to changing perceptions in ideals of manliness. Representations of the officer in the popular fiction of the early nineteenth century show him as both a moral and masculine antidote to the overly refined gentleman or macaroni-type of the eighteenth century.

In 1827, the Admiralty introduced a radical change in naval uniform, replacing an outmoded style with one that drew directly on contemporary fashions. The new uniform was only to be worn by commissioned officers; (cat. 43) warrant officers would continue to wear the old uniform, and ratings did not have a regulated uniform. While the causes behind the change are unclear or unknown due to a lack of documentary evidence, it is probable that one factor behind the change was linked to concerns about morality, as the old uniform, drawn from the clothing worn in the late eighteenth century, was by the 1820s associated with the dissipated, spend-thrift lifestyle of the Prince Regent, later George IV, whose attempted divorce in 1820 engendered a scandal that was at odds with the increasing entrenchment of evangelical ideals within mainstream society. The large number of public pamphlets and tracts produced in the 1820s on the subject of morality in the navy indicate that this was a growing concern. While a connection between morality and dress was one issue which may potentially have influenced the uniform changes of 1827, a more prosaic reason might have been that the navy was undergoing rapid technological change with the transition from sail to steam. Like the uniform of the 1780s, which drew on tailoring made popular by the macaronies, the new uniform featured the wasp-waist styles associated with the dandies of the 1820s and '30s. However, while the debt owed by naval tailoring to the macaronies may have been overlooked in the late eighteenth century, the relationship between the new uniform of 1827 to the clothing of the effeminate dandies did not go unnoticed and was the subject of caricatures questioning the masculinity of the naval officer (see Figure 3).

The uniform change of 1827 also occurred at the same time that the navy was being forced to redefine its role during the prolonged period of peace in the first half of the nineteenth century. Instead of being a predominately military force, there was an increased emphasis on polar exploration. The explorers came to provide an appropriate construct of masculinity for the navy and one that served as an antidote to the feared 'dandifying' effects of the new uniform. Amendments to the uniform in the 1840s which added to its expense generated criticism among the officers of the navy that were linked to the longer-running issues of pay and promotion. During this period, several changes were introduced to give the uniform a more splendid appearance. These changes included the addition of gold lace to the skirts of the dress coat as well as extending the epaulette to more junior ranks. However, the cost associated with these alterations was a concern not only to those within the Admiralty, such as Secretary George Gillott, but to officers who saw no promotion or increase in salary but were forced to buy a more expensive uniform.

In 1855, the Crimean War brought with it naval hopes for a return to military glory. This proved not to be the case, as both the army and the navy came under criticism. However, in the ensuing enquiries, the navy appeared better organized, supplied, and more humane than the army. Furthermore, the masculine type of the naval officer was now a fixture within Victorian society: he was seen as brave, humane and resourceful – a construct of an ideal

3

Detail *Things as they were. 1783* and *Things as they are. 1823*, Charles Joseph Hullmandel (artist), F.W. Ommanney, 1823. PAF3721 / PW3721.
This detail illustrates the effeminised, dandy midshipman.

hero who was immediately recognized by the uniform he wore. At around the same time, in 1857, ratings were given a regulated uniform. Although the sailor had always been a familiar figure within society through his occupational dress, naval supply systems in place from the early eighteenth century had also ensured a certain uniformity in his appearance. The introduction of the uniform for ratings, which was based on that worn by sailors on the Royal Yacht, served to put all seamen in regulated clothing. While this in part reflected the increasing professionalism of the organization, it also meant that there was a clear codification of rank and status: the world of the ship mirroring the increasing stratification of mid-Victorian society. This brief overview of the social history of naval uniform reflects not only the way in which the image of the naval officer was conveyed through his appearance, but the relationships between contemporary fashion and uniform, and the mutual influence they exerted on each other. How this evolved in greater detail will be seen in what follows.

1 *Gentleman's Magazine of Fashions, Fancy Costumes, and the Regimentals of the Army,* vol. I, no. 4., 1 August 1828, p. 1.

2 Originally there were six Principal Masters who received a salary from the Royal Navy. However, in 1618, two were found to be also in the employment of the East India Company and were removed from their posts.

3 British Museum, MSS5752f19, quoted in Commander W. E. May, *The Uniform of Naval Officers*, NMM typescript, n.d., 3 vols., vol. 1, p. 2.

4 *Ibid.*

5 May, *The Uniform of Naval Officers*, p. 3.

6 J. Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain and France*, 2 vols. (London, 1770), vol. 1, p. 10 quoted in Aileen Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-century Europe, 1715–1789*, revised edition (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 6.

7 Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-century Europe*, p. 6.

28

Miniature of Charles James Fox, by Thomas Day, 1787. National Portrait Gallery, NPG6292. (Enlarged; actual size of miniature 67 × 51 mm)

Fox is shown here in the blue coat and buff waistcoat which he wore as a sign of sympathy with American Revolutionaries.

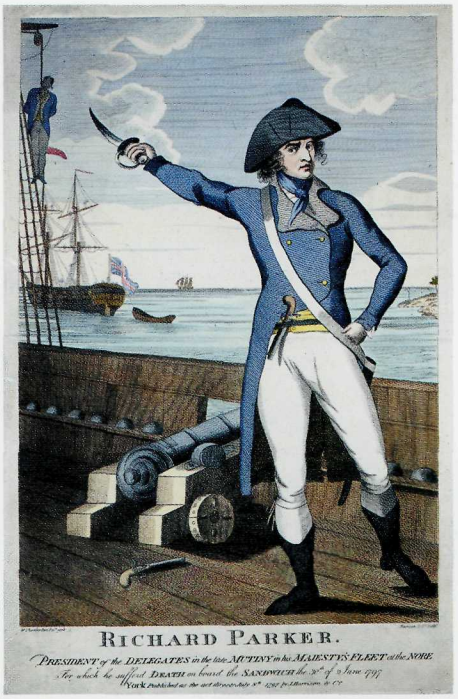
CHAPTER II

War and Revolution

By the last decades of the eighteenth century – particularly during the period of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars (1793–1815) – codes of dress came to represent much more than social aspirations or constructions of rank. In Britain, politician Charles James Fox adopted the plain blue coat, buff waistcoat and breeches worn by the American revolutionaries (see Figure 28). This soon became a symbol of Whig support, as did wearing hair simply without either powder or in a cropped style. Naval uniform, as part of the identity of the officers, came to hold particularly potent associations in this period of social and political upheaval, as first the French Revolution led to worries over social unrest, followed in the early nineteenth century by widespread fears of a potential French invasion. The Royal Navy was seen as Britain's strongest line of defence, as the *Gentleman's Magazine* declared: 'We are the barrier between civilization and barbarism; our naval superiority is the only security left that mankind shall not again be reduced to savage tribes of the desert.'[1] (See Figure 29.)

It was during this period of prolonged conflict that the navy became the largest employer in Britain, maintaining an infrastructure of dockyards, suppliers and administrators. Its public popularity was further enhanced through a series of victories such as the Glorious First of June (1794), which sought quite literally to starve the French Revolution by capturing grain transports, the battles of Cape St Vincent and Camperdown, both in 1797, in which the Spanish and Dutch, respectively, were defeated and the Battle of the Nile in 1798, which decimated the French fleet (see Figure 30). It was after the latter that the *Morning Post and Gazetteer* noted 'Almost all the noble families in this country have sons or brothers in the navy. It is now become more fashionable to enter that service than to enter the army.'[2] The greatest naval victory of this period, the Battle of Trafalgar on 21 October 1805, effectively defeated the combined French and Spanish fleets and forced Napoleon to abandon his maritime ambitions. As a result, Britain held supremacy over the seas and the navy was seen as the saviour of both trade and empire. However, Trafalgar came at a cost: the loss at the moment of victory of the man many considered to be Britain's greatest naval hero (see Figure 31). Following the death of Horatio Nelson, the country was plunged into national mourning and the officers of the navy who, in a break with protocol, were represented as the chief mourners at Nelson's state funeral by Admiral of the Fleet Sir Peter Parker, were viewed as both the heirs to his genius and national heroes. However, this new elevation was difficult to reconcile with the popular image which still saw the naval officer as someone whose behaviour was of a 'different and grosser cast'[3], as Mary Wollstonecraft wrote in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792).

While attempts to refine the behaviour and image of the naval officer were not new, society itself was undergoing a change, particularly with the rise in and influence of evangelicalism and a rejection of the ideals of aristocratic behaviour as defined by Lord Chesterfield (as discussed in the previous chapter). Even as the naval officers were being recast as more palatable heroes, societal concepts of masculinity were also changing, and on this basis the officer was becoming a more desirable masculine model even before Trafalgar thrust him into the role of national



29

***Richard Parker. President of the Delegates in the late Mutiny in his Majesty's Fleet at the Nore. For which he suffered Death on board the* Sandwich *the 30th of June 1797*, Harrison after William Chamberlain, published 8 July 1797 by J. Harrison and Co. PAH5441 / A3700.**

Richard Parker, the leader of the naval mutiny at the Nore in May and June 1797 was court-martialled and hanged on his ship. The principal figure in this print is not Parker, but an idealised and heroically cast naval officer who points to the figure of Parker as a warning for future subversives.

30

***The Destruction of* 'L'Orient' *at the Battle of the Nile*, 1 August 1798, George Arnald, 1825-27. BHC0509 / BHC0509.**

The Battle of the Nile was fought at night at Aboukir Bay. At the height of the battle, the French flagship the *L'Orient* exploded and fighting ceased for a full ten minutes. The Nile secured British control of the Mediterranean and decimated the French fleet.

31

***Apotheosis of Nelson*, Scott Pierre Nicolas Legrand, circa 1805–18. BHC2906 / BHC2906.**

Although the victory at Trafalgar on 21 October 1805 was a cause for celebration in Britain, it resulted in the loss of Nelson. His death at the height of his fame inspired a cult of hero-worship. Legrand's interpretation hovers between the romantic and heroic and adapts a classical reading of an apotheosis, depicting a deified Nelson being received into immortality among the gods on Olympus.

hero. This chapter explores the construct of the naval officer during this period and the way in which the uniform played a role in creating his visual image.

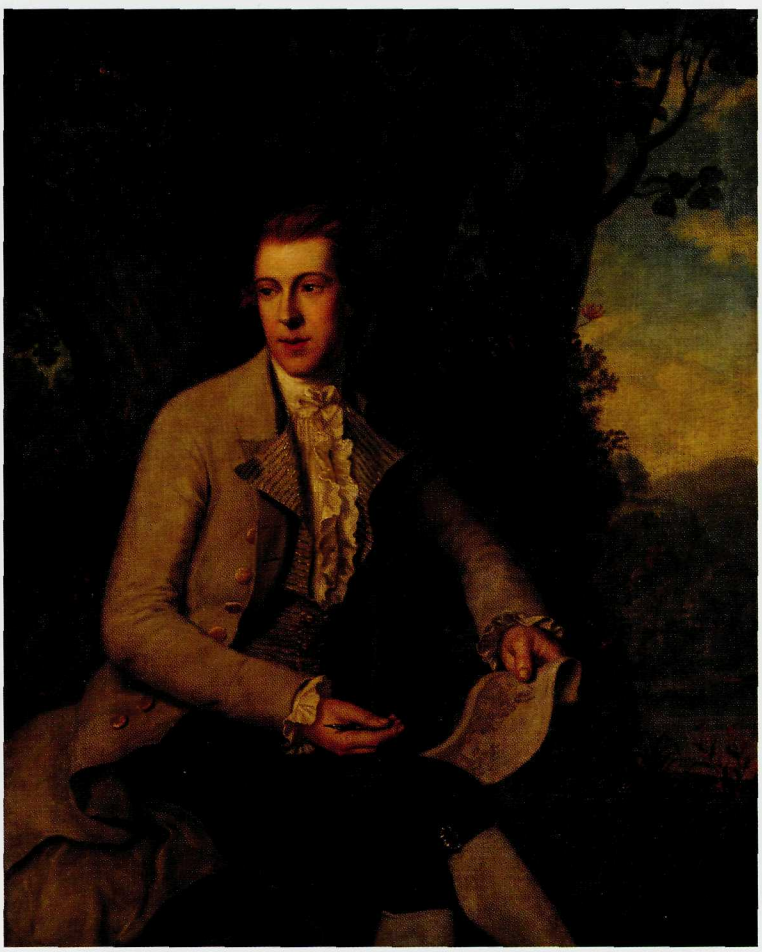
Naval uniform and contemporary fashion 1787–1812

When regulations were first introduced in mid-eighteenth century, the style of the dress uniform was taken directly from the formal clothing worn at both French and British courts, while the undress uniform followed the British 'sporting styles', particularly in the use of the frock, which was favoured for day dress. As uniform evolved throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, the formal suit coat, with its overt relationship to court dress, was discarded in favour of the frock, which was adopted for both dress and undress, and was more in keeping with the increasingly prevalent British taste for informality (cat. 21). The uniform retained its gold lacing, which was indicative of rank but, following contemporary fashion, the waistcoat became shorter and lost all

32

***Detail*, waistcoat of a flag officer, 1795–1812 pattern. UNI0028 / F2149.2.**

Gold lace was no longer in use in the waistcoat patterns of 1795. Instead, rank was indicated by the pattern of the button. This waistcoat features the buttons worn by a flag officer which have an outer border of a laurel wreath. The buttons are of gilt brass.



33

***Robert Pollard*, Richard Samuel, 1784. National Portrait Gallery NPG1020.**

Pollard's portrait epitomizes the sober hues and informality of dress favoured in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

34

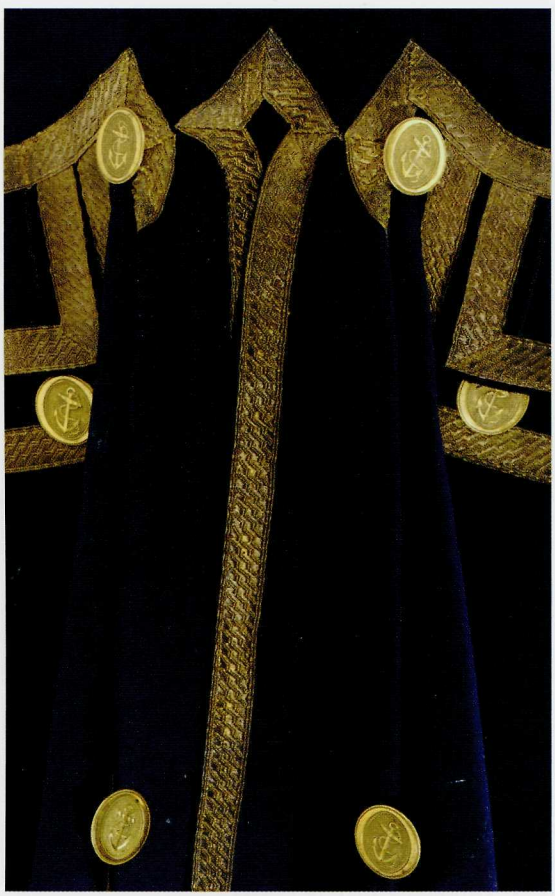
***The Pantheon Macaroni, [A Real Character at the Late Masquerade]*, Philip Dawe, printed for John Bowles, 1773. British Museum BM Sat 5221.**
The outrageous fashions of the Macaronies were also used as fancy dress for the masked balls at both the Pantheon and Teresa Cornelys' Carlisle House. The infamous Captain Jones reportedly frequented the latter.

embellishment (see Figure 32). During the 1780s, as part of the trend towards more relaxed styles, suits of plain wool in sober or drab colour were worn with very plain but good quality starched linen instead of lace, which was still retained for court wear. This fashion for a simpler style of dress can be seen in a 1784 portrait of the painter Robert Pollard, who wears a grey coat and waistcoat of the same fabric, with a linen cravat (see Figure 33).

Further changes in fashionable dress for men in the final decades of the eighteenth century included the growing importance of a much leaner, longer and tighter silhouette, which costume historian Aileen Ribeiro points out places the 'emphasis on a slim figure [that] helped to improve the quality of tailoring and the shape of the average man'. 'No longer, by the 1780s,' she continues, 'could a moderately fashionable man be pot-bellied in baggy breeches'.[4] One social group in particular had a great impact on this shift in fashion: the macaronies (see Figure 34). Coming to prominence in the 1770s, they were a group of young men who had at various times been on the Grand Tour of the Continent; their nickname was said to come from the Italian word *maccherone* – 'a boor'. They dressed in exaggerated styles that featured brightly hued, tightly cut clothing with large buttons and wigs of enormous height set off with tiny hats. Horace Walpole mentioned them in 1764 as 'The Maccaroni Club [although they were not a formal organization] (which is composed of all the travelled young men who wear long curls and spying glasses)'. This dress was seen as extreme and foppish, prompting Giuseppi Baretti to comment

in his 1775 publication, *Easy Phraseology* ...: 'Strange, that this word has so much changed of its meaning in coming from Italy to England! that in Italy it should mean a block-head, a fool; and mean in England a man fond of pompous and affected dress!'[5] Further, the macaronies as a group were, in the case of Captain Robert Jones, associated with homosexual scandal. Jones was at one point dubbed a 'military macaroni.' Convicted of sodomy in 1772, he was sentenced to death but the sentence was eventually commuted; it was later reported in *The Times* in 1788 that 'The Grand Seignior has a Captain Jones ... in his service. He was formerly an officer in our artillery, but being convicted of a certain crime, more congenial with the Turkish climate, than ours, was transported for life.'[6]

The impact of the macaronies is apparent in the naval uniform of the late 1780s. A 1787 dress coat for the rank of captain with three years' seniority, belonging to Alexander Hood (1758–98), clearly demonstrates this relationship, with its extremely tight sleeves and small round cuffs with very large, flat, gilt-brass buttons



35

Detail of a dress coat for a captain over three years' seniority, belonging to Captain Alexander Hood (1758–1798). UNI0018 / F2212.1.

This detail highlights the impact of popular fashion on the naval uniform, with both the narrower cut of the skirts and the large flat buttons. However, the uniform still retains the three-point pocket flap, popular in the mid-eighteenth century.

36

Detail, *The Sailor's Journal. Sung by Mr Incledon at Covent Garden Theatre, &c*, Robert Laurie & James Whittle (publishers), 28 Sep 1805. PAD4777 / PU4777.

This illustration emphasises the trend for extremely tight and fitted clothing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

(cat. 12.) However, in keeping with general fashion trends not solely associated with the macaronies, the coat also illustrates the lean figure of the later part of the century. Unlike the first uniform patterns, the lapels are extremely narrow and the skirts less full-cut from significantly less fabric (see Figure 35). The front of the lapels have an extreme curve back from the waist, making it no longer possible to button the coat; instead hook-and-eye fastenings were used. An additional element that indicates the relationship with contemporary fashions is the rather high-standing collar. The only aspect of this coat to recall the early patterns of 1748 is the large three-point pocket flap. Among the fashionable, the pocket had moved to the interior of the coat by the late 1770s, so as not to spoil the line.

By adopting this very tightly fitted clothing, the navy was following the lead of fashion, rather than practicality (see Figure 36). An anecdote concerning the uniform worn in the 1780s in the memoirs of Sir Thomas Byam Martin describes the clothing he was expected wear as a young midshipman on the *Andromeda* under Prince William, '... the boy of twelve years old was to be rigged out as a man, and so squeezed into a tight dress as to leave no chance of growing unless, perchance, nature's efforts should prove more than a match for tailor's stitches'.[7] Climbing rigging did prove more than a match for his tailor's work, and after spending more than two hours aloft, he found that 'the rents in the lower garment admitted more of the sharp north-west wind than was agreeable'.[8] When he returned to the deck, he went to his commanding officer to show him the effect activity had on fashionable tight clothing and was sharply told to inform his tailor that in future he should 'get better materials, and sew them stronger'.[9] However, by way of contrast and perhaps indicative of the pervasive taste for informal clothing, in 1805 Edward Codrington wrote to tell the father of a young midshipman, George Perceval, who was soon to be in his care, that

37

Detail of the undress coat for a vice-admiral, pattern 1795–1812, worn by Horatio Nelson at the Battle of the Nile. UNI0022 / F2148-2.
This narrow sleeve features a small slit to enable the hand to pass through and a self-covered button to secure the fit. The single stripe indicates the rank of vice-admiral while the three buttons are the pattern worn by a flag officer.

in regard to clothing 'the putting of youngsters into perfect uniform with large cocked hats ... [was] in my opinion improper and ridiculous'.[10]

By the early 1790s, the sober shades worn by Robert Pollard became the uniform of the British gentleman, which consisted of 'a short white waistcoat, black breeches, white silk stockings, and a frock, generally of a very dark blue cloth which looks black'.[11] This blue-black colour would actually infiltrate naval uniform, as the coats of the 1790s and early nineteenth century became progressively darker. Because there is nothing in regulations to indicate that this was a deliberate choice made by the Admiralty, it would appear to be an almost unconscious following of a fashion trend. It is not the dress coat, with its abundance of gold lacing, that reflects the sober changes in male fashion, but rather the undress which eschews almost all ornament. An example of the undress of the 1795–1812 pattern, worn by Horatio Nelson at the Battle of the Nile in August 1798, reveals a relatively plain garment (cat. 22). Its chief embellishments – the large brass buttons stamped with a fouled anchor (that is, an anchor tangled in a cable) and laurel wreaths, and the narrow stripe of gold lace on each sleeve – are solely to designate rank (see Figure 37).

While undress may have followed the prevalent fashion for plain but well-cut clothing, the dress uniform kept all the associations of court finery, as can be seen in Nelson's uniform for the rank of vice-admiral. It is heavily embellished with gold lace in what was known as the 'vellum and check' pattern (cat. 21). The gold lacing outlines certain elements of the coat: the lapels, collar, cuffs, pocket flaps and buttonholes. Again, this quantity of lace corresponds directly with rank. Nelson's coat also features his chivalric orders, which include the Order of the Bath, the Order of the Crescent, St Joachim and the Order of Ferdinand and Merit – all of which are embroidered with

38

Detail of full dress coat worn by Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson, pattern 1795–1812. UNI0023 / F2147.3.
Nelson's orders of chivalry (clockwise from top): the Order of the Bath, the Order of the Crescent, the order of St. Joachim and the Order of St. Ferdinand and Merit. Orders and even peerages were given as a reward for military services. Nelson constantly wore his on his uniforms, as was the custom.

metal threads, spangles and coloured silks (see Figure 38). However, practical elements of uniform have also been discarded; one very obvious example of this is in the lapels of Nelson's uniform. Three of the orders are sewn over the lapel, making it impossible to fasten them across the chest for extra warmth. Oddly, though, the back as well as the front of the lapel is still edged with gold lace.

The dress uniform is also an amalgamation of stylistic elements both new and archaic. For example, the back of the uniform reveals a further retention of an old-fashioned style, seen in male dress in the early to mid-eighteenth century, which was, in effect, a hold-over of a late-seventeenth-century style: that of buttonholes and buttons along the edges of the back vent. Vestigial buttonholes, which originated in this seventeenth-century style, were retained in male coats until the mid-eighteenth century. Like the pocket flaps, this outmoded element recalls the fashionable styles of the period when the first uniforms were introduced. Yet, in keeping with prevailing fashion, the sleeves of both Nelson's full dress and undress uniforms are extremely tight. In both coats, the cuffs have a small slit to allow the hand and shirt cuff to pass through. However, in the undress, in addition to the slit there is a small self-covered button to ensure the fit.

The undress uniform worn by Nelson when he was fatally wounded at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805 shows very little change stylistically from his undress uniform worn seven years before: with the exception of the insignia of rank and the inclusion of his chivalric orders, he does not appear to have altered his uniform to accommodate any changes in civilian fashions (see Figure 39). His undress still retains the sloping lapels, long, narrow tails and standing collar. The fashion-conscious Prince William, the future William IV, commented on Nelson's appearance as a young captain of twenty-four:

> I had the watch on deck when Captain Nelson of the *Albemarle* came alongside in his barge. He appeared to be the merest boy of a captain I ever beheld, and his dress was worthy of notice. He had on a full laced uniform; his lank unpowdered hair was tied in a stiff Hessian tail of extraordinary length; the old-fashioned flaps of his waistcoat added to the general quaintness of his figure, and produced an appearance which particularly attracted my attention, for I had never seen anything like it before, neither could I imagine who it was or what he came about.[12]

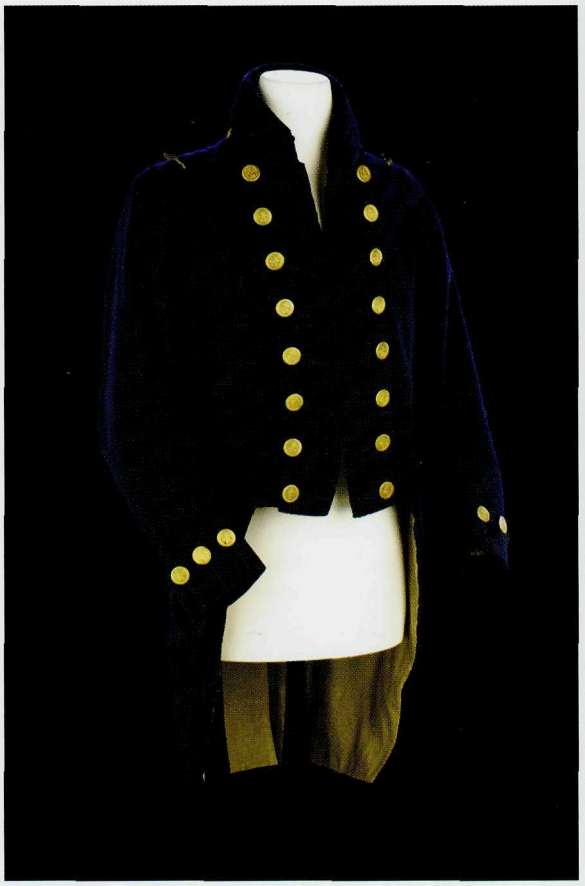
While Nelson may not have been sensitive to changes in fashion, others in the navy were. Although uniform regulations remained unchanged for nearly twenty years, it is apparent that officers could not resist having their uniforms tailored along more stylish lines. A captain's undress coat from the early years of the nineteenth century features a notched roll collar and the beginnings of a cutaway front as well as slightly shorter, more squarely cut tails (see Figure 40).

The uniform patterns of 1795–1812 reflect issues other than just the changing relationship between uniform and contemporary fashion. They are also indicative of the economic patriotism prevalent in this period, specifically in regard to the woollen cloth used to make the uniform. The late eighteenth century was a period of economic competition between Britain and Spain in the wool market. The latter led the market in the manufacture of superfine wool, the very type of wool that was now dictated by fashion to be an integral part of male dress and which, extant uniforms in the National Maritime Museum collection reveal, was also favoured for the naval uniform. During the early nineteenth century, Britain was attempting to manufacture a superfine wool to rival that of Spain. Beneath the economics was the underlying patriotic contradiction of clothing Britain's navy in Spanish imports. One pamphlet, published in 1800 and titled *Facts and observations tending to shew the practicability and advantage of producing in the British Isles clothing wool equal to that of Spain*, stressed the perceived economic detriment caused by the British consumption of this product: 'We find, that on an average of three years, ending January 1799, there has been imported into this country from Spain wool, which at the Custom-house value of 3s.6d. per lb. has amounted to £621,420.'[13] The author queried, 'Does Spain take any of our superfine clothes in return for its fine wool, from which they are fabricated?'[14] The article concluded that 'It is evident that every affirmation of the dependence of our prosperity on the woollen manufacture proves the necessity of securing to ourselves, beyond the reach of external accident or design, an abundant supply of the raw article.'[15] This was a similar situation to the debate in the mid-eighteenth century about wearing French styles, particularly as at this point Spain was allied with France

39

Undress coat for a rear-admiral, pattern 1795–1812, worn by Horatio Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805. UNI0024 / F2160.5.

Unlike other officers, Nelson appears not to have altered the style of his uniform to reflect changes in civilian fashions.



40

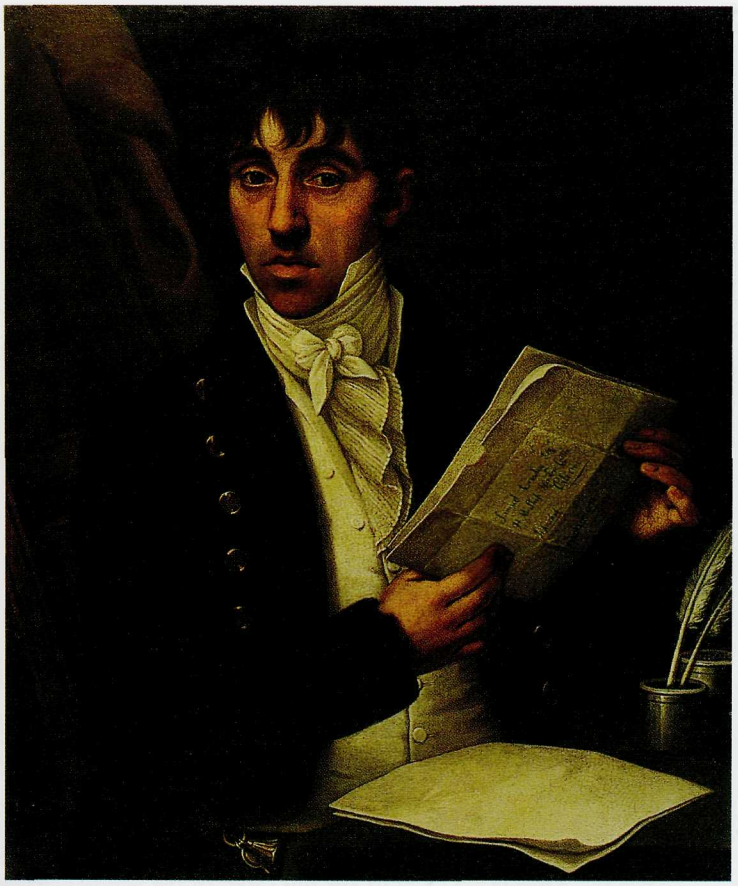
Undress coat for a captain over three years seniority, pattern 1795–1812. UNI0042 / F2151.0.

The wearer of this uniform was much more fashion-conscious than Nelson. He had a roll-collar, cut-away front and shorter, more squarely cut tails.

against Britain. It underlined the idea that the consumption of Spanish imports was not only potentially crippling to domestic industry, but could finance Spain in its endeavours against Britain.

A uniform for warrant officers

The warrant officer was essentially a specialist designation, and included surgeons and pursers, carpenters and gunners. Unlike commissioned officers, who were commissioned by the Admiralty and were executive officers, the warrant officer was issued a warrant by the Navy Board. By 1787, the uniform was no longer to be worn solely by commissioned officers, because warrant officers, with the exception of physicians and surgeons, were also given a uniform. However, like that given to midshipmen in 1748, it consisted of a single coat without the option of dress or undress. The uniform coat featured lapels and a fall-down collar and was of blue wool lined with white (see Figure 41). Additionally, the coats of masters' mates were edged in white. This new uniform



41

***Samuel Crowley, Purser*, attributed to Italian School, 1807–8. BHC2639 / BHC2639.**

In 1806 masters and pursers were given an undress as well as a dress uniform. However, they were not laced and the ranks of master, purser and surgeon did not have three buttons on their cuffs in undress.

was in part a recognition of the importance of the role performed by the warrant officer and an indication of a growing degree of professionalism within the navy. It also reflected a deeper societal change as prior to 1787 those who wore the uniform were commissioned officers with the exception of midshipmen, although they were specified as having the rank 'of a gentleman'. By having uniforms, warrant officers were also acknowledged as holding that rank.

Changes in the concept of what a gentleman was had been gaining ground since the early eighteenth century, with the steady expansion of the middle classes and the rise of mercantilism. This is reflected in publications of that period, particularly Addison and Steele's *Spectator*, which contributed to shifts in the perception not only of rank, but of British masculinity, as social historian Shawn Maurer notes in *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth Century English Periodical*:

> By challenging the belief that aristocratic birth entails noble behaviour as well as the view that the well-born are the only people capable of virtuous thought and action, their [Addison

42

Button, purser, 1806. UNI7154 / F2169.1.
A new button was introduced in uniform regulations of 1806 for both pursers and masters. That worn by the purser had the arms of the Victualling Office while those worn by the master had the arms of the Navy Office.

> and Steele's] works redefined masculine excellence, and thus contributed significantly to the codification of a new form of masculinity.'[16]

This was based on mercantile principles of honesty and credibility which, by the later half of the century, were compatible with the rise in religious virtues advocated by the evangelicalism that had been gaining ground since the latter part of the 1780s. However, while being more than just a visual construct of the identity of the gentleman, there is another interpretation of the new uniform for warrant officers. In *Command of the Ocean*, historian Nicholas Rodger points out that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, 'Just as the French navy abandoned its tradition of choosing officers from the nobility in favour of the career open to talent, the British navy started moving in the opposite direction.'[17] The introduction of a uniform for warrant officers served to further visually codify rank. Their uniforms were not embellished with gold lace, nor did they have a full dress evocative of court clothing, but instead a relatively simple blue coat with brass buttons (see Figure 42). The visual associations are therefore linked with the middle classes. While the uniform indicates a recognition of the importance of the warrant officer and deeper societal change, it also reflects the increasing stratification of the Royal Navy by visually reinforcing the place of the warrant officer to be firmly below that of the commissioned officer.

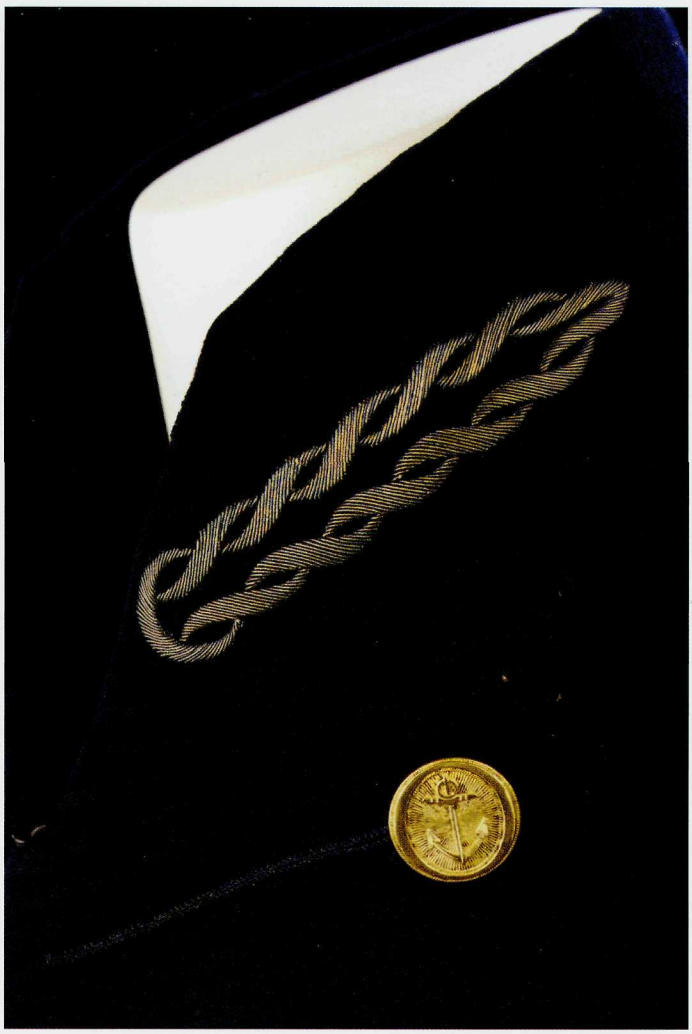
Uniform for medical officers

In 1805, medical officers (physicians, surgeons, dispensers in hospitals, assistant surgeons and hospital mates) were given a regulated uniform. This was in response to an 1804 petition from a group of officers who felt that they 'should wear a distinguishing Uniform and have a similar rank with the officers of the same class in His Majesty's Land Service...'[18] . The group included a pattern of the proposed uniform with the petition. An additional letter dated April 1805 from the physicians and surgeons of the Royal Hospital at Haslar clarified

43

Detail, surgeon's collar, pattern 1805. UNI0076 / F2153.2.

This uniform was worn by Joshua Horwood (died 1850). Rank is indicated by the twist on the collar, embroidered with metal thread, and the warrant officer's button which features an anchor on a rayed ground.



the need for a uniform and epaulettes as '... the claim We have, as field Officers to wear Epaulettes as have been awarded to Officers of similar Rank in the Staff of the Army'.[19] There was also a particularly pressing need to have epaulettes as '... from our being daily liable to meet with Army Medical Officers'.[20] It is interesting to note that physicians and surgeons tended to be educated men who, in terms of their roles outside the navy, would have been considered gentlemen. In keeping with their status, they were given full dress and undress uniforms, which featured velvet collars and silver-twist embroidery. However, dispensers in hospitals and assistant surgeons had only one uniform that was slightly superior to that worn by warrant officers in that it had a velvet collar and cuffs. Further, all medical officers had epaulettes. Because this new uniform was supplied at the wearer's expense, it may have been more than a surgeon's wages could bear, as evidenced by an extant uniform worn by Joshua Horwood (cat. 30). The fabric is not superfine wool, but is much rougher in quality and tailoring; the work on the collar is particularly clumsy and not of the best quality (see Figure 43). What is interesting is that Horwood appears to have spent most of his money on his hat, which is not the beaver felt usually worn by officers in the navy but is instead the more expensive French plush, a type of velvet (cat. 31).

The naval officer in society

By 1800, the old-fashioned aspects of naval uniform, particularly that of the full dress uniform, marked it out as a completely distinct costume within society and one that was representative of a certain type of masculinity. The officers of the navy were popular figures within British society, not least due to their celebrated naval victories in the last decade of the eighteenth and early years of the nineteenth centuries. There are myriad examples of objects of daily domestic use such as mugs, jugs, and punch bowls (see Figure 44) as well as glass pictures and furnishing and dress textiles commemorating not only the great battles, but also heroes such as Duncan, Howe, Jervis, Rodney and, of course, Nelson (see Figure 45). The importance of the navy was reinforced by journals such as *The Lady's Monthly Museum* which, when comparing the navy with the local militias formed for the defence of Britain against potential French invasion, stated: 'The first wish I can form in their favour, is, that – protected as we are by the wooden walls of old England – they may never be called upon to prove their skill and courage in any real engagement.'[21] They occupied an increasingly important place within society, and in fact their image was not stagnant, but progressively evolving.

In popular literature, the novel *The Post-Captain: A View of Naval Society and Manners*, first published in 1805 before the Battle of Trafalgar, illustrates the evolving image of the naval officer. The naval characters of the novel could be rough: Lieutenant Tempest was 'a man of unsubdued confidence'. 'It was not in the power of female modesty to call a blush to his cheeks, or suspend the volubility of his tongue.'[22] While Tempest does not measure up to the idea of a Chesterfieldian gentleman, this is clearly meant as an asset to his character. The continued comparisons throughout the novel are not to cast the officers of the navy negatively, but to highlight the hypocrisy

44

Tea bowl and saucer commemorating Admiral of the Fleet, Adam Duncan (1731–1804) and Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson (1758–1805). AAA4401 / E5701.

Inside the saucer is an unrecognisable portrait of Duncan. These commemoratives were incredibly popular and covered a wide economic range. Nelson's image appears on the outside of the bowl.

45

'Trafalgar Chintz', printed calico furnishing fabric commemorating Vice-Admiral Horatio Nelson. TXT0119 / F4322.
The design features monuments to Nelson including urns and obelisks commemorating his victories, specifically the Battle of the Nile (1798) and the Battle of Trafalgar (1805), interspersed with large floral motifs. Inscriptions include: 'To the memory of the hero of Aboukir, Copenhagen and Trafalgar', 'The Nile', and 'Lord Nelson's last Signal / England Expects every man to do his Duty'.

inherent in the mode of manners advocated by Chesterfield. When Chesterfield's volume of letters was published posthumously in 1774, it was for an audience whose values had altered from the 1740s when he began writing, as evinced in initial criticisms which noted the absence of religion and morality.[23] In March 1775, the *Gentleman's Magazine* published 'Lord Chesterfield's Creed':

> I believe that hypocrisy, fornication, and adultery, are within the lines of morality; that a woman may be honourable, when she has lost her honour, and virtuous when she has lost her virtue... This, and whatever else is necessary to obtain my own ends, and bring me into repute, I resolve to follow; and to avoid all moral offences, such as scratching my head before company, spitting upon the floor, and omitting to pick up a lady's fan.[24]

Inexpensive editions of *Letters written ...* meant that Chesterfield was within economic reach of a larger section of society, thus making the approximation of aristocratic manners and attitudes available to the working classes, specifically servants. It was thought that this would have a disastrous effect on the already questionable morality

of these individuals. The idea that Chesterfield was studied by all was picked up in *The Post-Captain*, as Captain Brilliant interrogates one of his midshipmen: 'Damnation! I thought you had read Lord Chesterfield! I am sure you had it in your berth.' He is told in reply, 'No sir; it belonged to the boatswain.'[25]

The moral and behavioural codes advocated in *Letters* were at odds with the growing evangelical movement and what has been termed the increasing 'middle-class sensibility of morality'[26] that was evident in the final decades of the eighteenth century. This changing view in society can be seen in the terminology used: the idea of 'honour', a code used by the aristocracy, has been replaced by 'honesty', which holds more of a mercantile connotation. Although the characters of *The Post-Captain* lack aristocratic refinements, they are honest and have rejected the ideals of Chesterfield. Further, part of the effeminate behaviour popularized by the macaronies gave way in the 1790s to what Jenny Davidson in *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness* describes as a 'crisis in the concept of gender': manliness was perceived to be under attack as feminine behaviour such as blushing and tears was advocated for men as a polite show of sensibility. The officers of *The Post-Captain* illustrate these warring behaviours of manliness and sensibility. The character of officer Factor is easily moved to tears and, as a result, the legitimacy of his emotion falls into question. In contrast, there is the manly example of the newly promoted Captain Tempest, who tells his wife: 'Now go to your father. Make him my compliments. Tell him the husband of his daughter, an officer in the navy – a man that dares do all that becomes a man – tell him Captain Tempest desires his company.'[27] Tempest, a naval officer, represents a masculinity that is the antithesis to the morally doubtful, foppish and overly refined behaviour that is the legacy of the macaronies.

The naval uniform worn by the characters of *The Post-Captain* is also associated with this new sense of masculinity. The blue coat is contrasted with the red worn by the local militia, whose members are portrayed as being chiefly interested in drilling and parties but who are firmly not men of action. Initially, as the comparisons to Chesterfield suggest, it is the navy that is seen to be wanting, as for example in an exchange between Captain Brilliant and the father of Caesar, an officer in the militia:

> 'Between you and me and the post, he has recruited lately to some purpose; he has enlisted the heart (whispering) of Miss Spa, the young lady who sits next to my eldest daughter. It was his red coat did this. Woman, like mackrel [*sic*], (raising his voice) ha! ha! ha! are caught with a red bait.'
>
> 'True, sir,' said Captain Brilliant, 'The blue jacket stands no chance.'[28]

Yet, when this novel was published, the uniform of the navy and its representation of a desirable masculinity prove far more attractive than that of the foppish militia, as noted at the close of the novel, 'notwithstanding the vaunted powers of a red coat, you preferred a true-blue to it'.[29]

The role of the officers – really the military man in general – held within it a contradiction that placed it at odds with the societal changes of the early nineteenth century. The growing emphasis on morality and religion in British society and the ideals of honesty and duty which, in *The Post-Captain*, are also part of the identity of the naval officer, meant that the expected role of the officer became to a certain extent less palatable. The officer and his uniform become inextricably linked with what nineteenth-century art historian Charles Blanc referred to as '... their original purpose, as shown in their style of dress, of slaying their fellow creatures'.[30] How does a society, where morality and religion are placed at a premium, reconcile the image of officers as national heroes with their necessary role? Mary Julia Young's 1807 novel *A Summer at Brighton* provides one attempt to make this role not only acceptable, but celebrated, as a disabled sergeant attempts to explain this morality to the wife of his commanding officer:

> Do you know, when I received this wound that your brave spouse, madam, was wounded in the sword arm? I will tell you how it happened, for it is to his honour. It was in the battle of ----, which though very desperate, turned out at last, as thank God, our battles generally do, glorious for old England: it was in the very heat of our attack that my noble young Captain beheld a

> French officer aiming at the life of our valiant General, whom he rushed forward to defend, and his sword fell from his brave hand; I saw it fall, recovered it, he took it in his left hand, and gave the French officer a mortal stab, which brought him to the ground; I cried 'huzza!' and he had strength enough left to give me this fatal wound above my knee, as a check to my triumph. It was just; I ought not to have exulted over a vanquished foe; I deserved my fate: we must kill in the defence of our country; but it is inhuman to express joy at the death of a fellow creature.[31]

Sergeant Remnant is punished for not adhering to this moral code: he is left disabled, and is taken in by his commanding officer as a family servant. This relates to societal perceptions of naval officers in that their actual role – to defend their country from its enemies, which implies killing – can be reconciled with the idea that they are also fast becoming exemplars of a desirable masculine type.

Uniform patterns 1812–25

There were two significant additions to the uniform regulations of 1812. The first was the introduction of a uniform for the Admiral of the Fleet, which included an additional row of distinction lace on the sleeves (making it five laces) and having white lapels instead of blue in undress, while flag officers were given white lapels in their dress uniform. The other important change was allowing captains of under three years' seniority and commanders to wear full epaulettes (see Figure 46), while lieutenants were granted one to be worn on their right shoulder. Previously a captain of under three years' seniority had a single epaulette on his right shoulder, while a commander wore a

46
***Captain Frederick William Beechey*, George Duncan Beechey, circa 1822. BHC2543 / BHC2543.**
This portrait shows Beechey in the captain's full dress uniform 1812-25, which features white lapels.

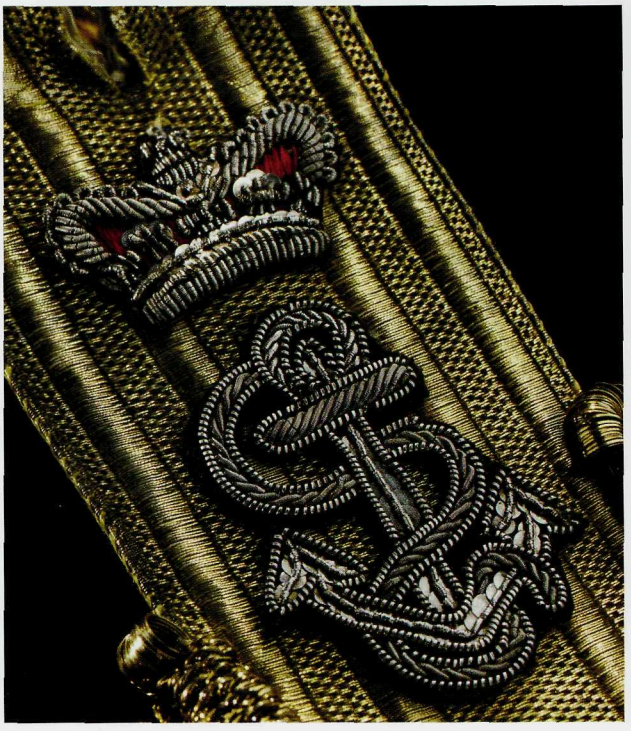
single one on his left shoulder. The epaulettes of a captain of over three years' seniority were now distinguished by the addition of a crown over the silver anchor on his epaulettes, while captains of under three years' seniority were allowed silver anchors on theirs (see Figure 47).

The new regulation for epaulettes, issued in March 1812, was to take effect in August of that year; however the order came with the caveat that 'such Officers of the Royal Navy as may have occasion, before this period, to make up New Uniforms, are at liberty to have them made up according to the New Patterns'. As the order came on the birthday of the Prince Regent, verses in his honour were published in *The Naval Chronicle* 'addressed to the Lieutenants of the Navy, upon the change of uniform, adopted August 12 1812'[32]; one stanza in particular highlights the importance of the epaulette to an officer's social standing, not only in comparison to the army, but in society:

> No longer at the splendid ball,
> Or party, or assembly, shall
> The haughty fair-one scorn you;
> For now, as well as soldier fine
> Or of militia or the line,
> Shall golden 'swab' adorn you,
> Now with slash'd-sleeve, and epaulet,
> And rim cock'd hat, with neat rosette,
> You yield the palm to no men:
> With regulation sword and knot,
> So bold and smart, – you will, I wot,
> Be the delight of women.[33]

Captain John Harvey Boteler noted in his *Recollections of my Sea Life from 1808–1830*, that several were quick to take up the Admiralty order before August: 'The first two or three days some lieutenants began to mount the swab. The signal man would report a post captain coming and the guard turn out to received him, when it proved to be *only* a lieutenant.'[34]

Because the regulations changed little between 1812–25, there was less expense connected with the uniform. The tailor's bills for Captain Palmer RN survive in the records of Meyer & Mortimer.[35] In March 1811, Palmer ordered a full dress uniform and, as in Borlase Warren's expenditures in the 1770s, the most expensive element of the uniform was the lace: 15 1/2 yards of 'rich gold Navy lace' was required for his dress uniform at a cost of £10.17s. By contrast, the 'superfine blue cloth' was only £3.11.3d, while the lining of white silk serge was £2.5. Overall, the cost was still substantially less than that spent by Borlase Warren when he was a captain. Further, in 1815, Palmer's only bills were for altering the



47

Detail of a captain's epaulette, pattern 1812–25. UNI0098 / F2179-3.

While the silver anchor is worked in metal thread and spangles, it would later feature a cast base metal anchor or, if the wearer could afford it, an anchor embroidered in silver plate.

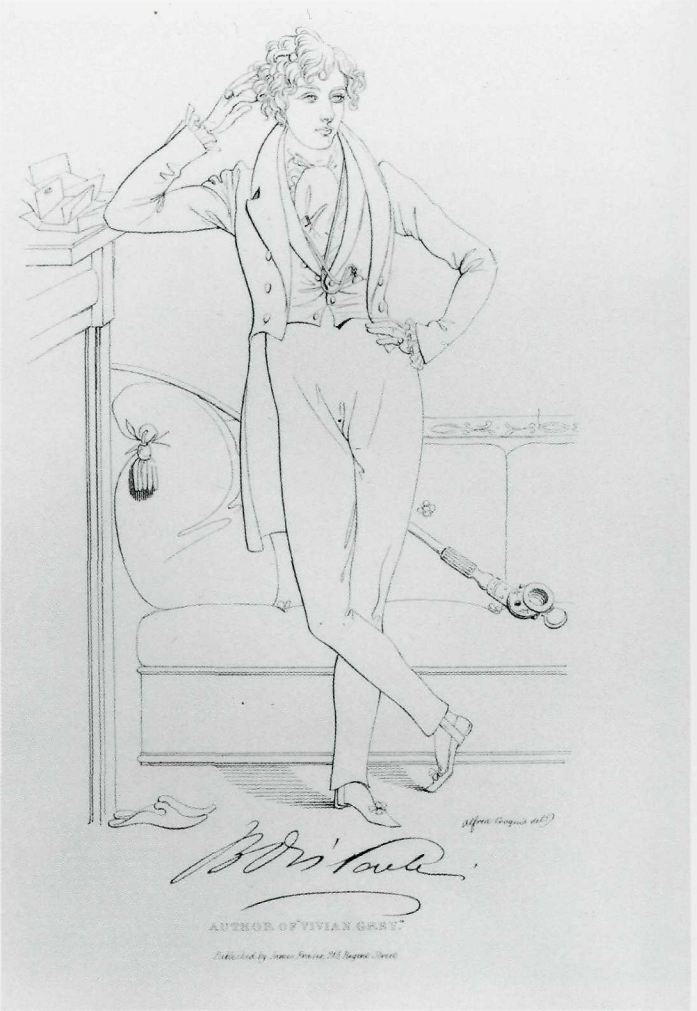
48
***Dandy midshipman 1819*, William Henry Smyth. PAF0613 / PW0613.**
Uniforms of the period feature padded chests, to achieve a more rounded shape as well as extremely tight wasp-waists which could really only be achieved with a corset.

lapels of a dress uniform coat, for 16s.6d., and for ordering two frock uniform coats, most likely undress, at a cost of £7.15s.10d. each.

With regard to the relationship between uniform and civilian dress, by 1812 breeches, still part of uniform, were going out of fashion for civilians, with choices being either for pantaloons, which were skin-tight and could extend as far as the ankle, or trousers worn tight to the knee with a strap across the instep to ensure a perfect fit. Captain Palmer appears to have preferred pantaloons to breeches and had several orders for them made of stockinette, a knitted fabric.[36] Further changes to be seen in coats of the period are the rolled notched collar and, in terms of the male body shape, a very full chest was now favoured. This could be gained by padding the breast of the coat, which can be seen in extant uniforms of the period. This is also caricatured in a drawing of a 'Dandy Midshipman' of 1819 (see Figure 48), who is nearly bent in half from the great weight of his padding. Both the styles favoured in the early part of the nineteenth century and their relationship to dandyism owes much to the taste of Beau Brummell. George Bryan Brummell, or 'the Beau' as he was known, favoured the informal 'country styles' of male dress, but was not, according to costume

49

***George 'Beau' Brummell*, Robert Dighton, Caricatures of Notable Englishmen, 1805. Private collection.**
This image of dandy Beau Brummell illustrates all the elements of elegant masculine dress in the early nineteenth century.



50

***Benjamin Disraeli*, Daniel Maclise, circa 1833. National Portrait Gallery, NPG D1032.**
Instead of the restrained elegance advocated by Brumell, Disraeli favoured a more flamboyant style of dandified dress.

historian Nora Waugh, 'an innovator, but a perfectionist'. He 'set the seal on the new fashion by removing the odour of the stables. He had the floppy cravat starched, the muddy boots polished and, above all, he demanded perfect cut and fit'.[37] (See Figure 49.) Yet, while Brummell may have set the standard of male dress in Britain, and in a sense, contributed to its standardization, dandyism itself was against uniformity. Although Brummell favoured an understated and elegant style, some of his followers, like the young Benjamin Disraeli could be flamboyant (see Figure 50).

Dandyism was not solely about dress; it encompassed an attitude. The dandy did not work, he was not married and above all he was a social snob, although he himself did not necessarily come from an aristocratic background. Further, the lifestyle of the dandy was an expensive one; Brummell himself spent his inheritance of over £40,000 by the time he was 38. Forced to flee to France to escape his debtors in 1819, Brummell died in a sanatorium in 1840, in abject poverty and mentally unstable. In Britain, in his absence, a backlash against the dandies steadily

51
Undress coat of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, pattern 1825–7. UNI0122 / F4835-001.
This coat, which was worn at the Battle of Navarino in 1827, clearly shows the influences of Brummel, with its rolled, notched collar and very high standard of tailoring.

52
***Englishman in Court Dress*, Carle Vernet, 1817. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.**

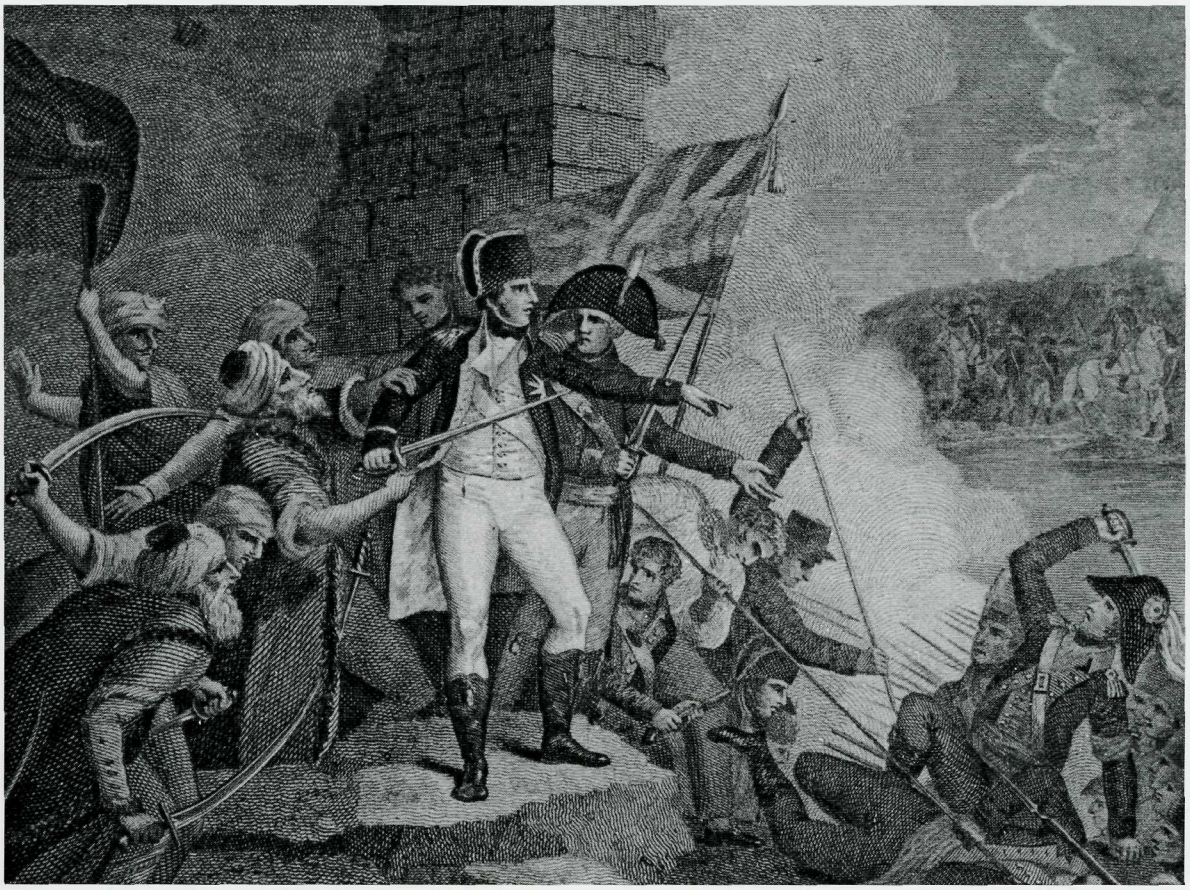
gained ground; among its advocates were writers like Thackeray and Carlyle, whose commentary focused on the uselessness of the dandy and 'puffery' of his appearance. However, there was another element to the dandy which, when paired with his seemingly useless lifestyle, was at odds with the increasingly pervasive evangelicalism: this was his inherent effeminacy which carried with it an undertone of homosexuality. Despite these connotations, Brummell's influence was felt in naval uniform, but not until the regulations of 1825, as can be seen in an undress coat worn by Admiral Codrington (see Figure 51) which, when compared with Dighton's caricature of Brummell, contains all the elements advocated as necessary for a truly stylish figure, including the cut-away front and roll collar. Yet, by this time Brummell had ceased to be a fashion leader and was living in increasing decline in Caen.

The lag between uniform in the 1820s (even undress) and fashionable clothing is not unique to naval dress, but can be seen in the court dress of this period as well. While formal evening wear for the stylish consisted of a dark frock coat, dark pantaloons buttoned at the ankles, and a waistcoat of a contrasting colour and fabric, court dress owed much to the eighteenth century and in some cases still featured a vestigial wig-bag sewn firmly to the back of the collar – despite the fact that cropped hairstyles were now worn (see Figure 52). Full dress uniform, like court dress, also recalled outmoded fashions. The coat of a rear-admiral from this period has a cut-away front and the old-fashioned elements

53

***Vice-Admiral Sir George Cockburn*, Sir William Beechey, 1820. BHC2618 / BHC2618.**

Cockburn is shown in full dress, which has clearly diverged from civilian fashion. The full dress uniform of the 1820s was neither practical nor fashionable, but instead, with its exaggerated lapels, recalled the clothing of Nelson's navy.



54

***Sir S. Smith Defending the Breach of d' Acre, against Bonaparte*, Laffert (artist), A Smith (engraver), Richard Evans (publisher), 12 March 1815. PAD5622 / PU5622.**

Sir Sidney Smith is the central figure in this print. His image as a dashing and heroic officer is completed by his tasselled hessian boots, against which the Admiralty fought so hard.

of buttonholes on the skirts, three-point pocket flaps and a standing collar. The lapels have become much wider but are firmly stitched to the coat, creating the visual effect of a breastplate as can be seen in a portrait of Sir George Cockburn painted in 1820 (see Figure 53). Like court dress, the full dress uniform retains breeches and a waistcoat that is not cut straight across, as had been done in popular fashions since the late eighteenth century, but instead ends in two points, recalling a style that was popular in the 1770s and had in fact been worn by the Royal Navy since that time. By this point, uniform had become something that was, visually, completely separate from contemporary fashions.

In 1814, Prince William, Duke of Clarence and Admiral of the Fleet, sought to add more changes to the naval uniform, which included white pantaloons and gold-topped boots. However, the Admiralty was firmly against this and one of the board members wrote to Vice-Admiral Thomas Foley, noting:

> Bickerton [Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton] has very properly transmitted to us a letter he has received from the Duke of Clarence enclosing a Memorandum intended to be issued by him, relative to alterations in the uniform, or perhaps *amendments*, as some may call them.

> We have given directions to Bickerton not to permit anything of the sort without a regular order from this board. I think it right to mention it to you that in case anything of the sort should come to you, you should not encourage the officers expending their money on things which will not be permitted to be worn.[38]

The Duke of Clarence had actually attempted to drag the navy forward in terms of updating some of the clothing worn to keep in step with contemporary fashion. It appears that the main point of contention with these proposals was the gold-topped Hessian boots that he recommended. Certainly they were the height of fashion in this period, and George August Sala, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, paid tribute to them as 'mirror-polished, gracefully-outlined, silken tasselled Hessians'.[39] (See Figure 54.) They were also recommended by Beau Brummell, who claimed to have spent hours having his polished to attain a mirror-like surface. Perhaps they were deemed to require too much maintenance, or their associations were with the wrong type of élite society: both the dandies and the high-living coterie of the Prince of Wales.

The old navy versus the new navy

By the 1820s, due in part to the lasting public memory of the Battle of Trafalgar as well as to changes in society, the naval officer had become a socially desirable figure. While the officers of *The Post-Captain* were portrayed as honest and manly yet still rough, those officers depicted in the novels of Jane Austen have become sought-after figures. This is clearest in *Mansfield Park*, which contrasts the less savoury aspects of the 'old navy' with the social desirability of the 'new navy.' Austen began writing *Mansfield Park* in 1809, and it was published in two editions in her lifetime, in 1814 and 1816. In the novel the character of the Admiral is an officer who rose through the navy in the eighteenth century and, although he is never seen, accounts of him lead to the conclusion that his behaviour owes more to Chesterfield than to the moral and religious tracts of Hannah More, a writer and philanthropist, popular in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Admiral is credited with having ruined the characters of his wards Mary and Henry Crawford, as Mary herself makes clear when she comments on the company he keeps:

> Post-captains may be very good sort of men, but they do not belong to *us*. Of various admirals I could tell you a great deal: of them and their flags, and the gradations of their pay, and their bickerings and jealousies. But, in general, I can assure you that they are all passed over, and all very ill used. Certainly, my home at my uncle's brought me acquainted with a circle of admirals. Of *Rears* and *Vices* I saw enough.[40]

In contrast to the Admiral and the 'old navy' is William Price, a 'young man of an open, pleasant countenance, and frank, unstudied, but feeling and respectful manners...'[41] which allow him to move within polite society. Yet his behaviour and stories of his profession also contrast him not only with the Admiral, but also with the vain and wealthy Henry Crawford:

> To Henry Crawford they gave a different feeling. He longed to have been at sea, and seen and done and suffered as much. His heart was warmed, his fancy fired, and he felt the highest respect for a lad who, before he was twenty, had gone through such bodily hardships and given such proofs of mind. The glory of heroism, of usefulness, of exertion, of endurance, made his own habits of selfish indulgence appear in shameful contrast; and he wished he had been a William Price, distinguishing himself and working his way to fortune and consequence with so much self-respect and happy ardour, instead of what he was![42]

The character of the naval officer is still a foil, but it is no longer the bluff Captain Mirvan tormenting the foppish Lovel as seen in *Evelina* (see Chapter 1, page 29) or the rough manliness of Captain Brilliant against the effeminate

Lord Fiddlefaddle in *The Post-Captain*; instead it is the correct behaviour of William Price compared to the devious vanity of Henry Crawford. The naval officer has evolved to illustrate the qualities of refined sentiment, hard work and high principles. Naval officers have been refined, but not feminized and are suitable examples not only of national heroes, but also of models of masculinity.

Austen's final novel, *Persuasion*, written in 1816 and published posthumously in 1818, is set at the end of the Napoleonic Wars when the officers of the navy, rich with prize money, are being paid off and returning to British society. In the early chapters of the novel, the foolish and spendthrift baronet, Sir Walter Elliot, an echo of the Chesterfieldian aristocrat, decries the organization that allows those without birth to attain rank. Although his daughter, Anne, notes that they 'have done so much for us'[43], he persists:

> ... it [the Navy] is in two points offensive to me; I have two strong grounds of objection to it. First, as being the means of bringing persons of obscure birth into undue distinction, and raising men to honours which their fathers and grandfathers never dreamt of; and, secondly, as it cuts up a man's youth and vigour most horribly: a sailor grows old sooner than any other man. I have observed it all my life. A man is in greater danger in the navy of being insulted by the rise of one whose father his father might have disdained to speak to, and of becoming prematurely an object of disgust himself, than in any other line. One day last spring, in town, I was in company with two men, striking instances of what I am talking of: Lord St Ives whose father we all know to have been a country curate, without bread to eat: I was to give place to Lord St Ives, and a certain Admiral Baldwin, the most deplorable looking personage you can imagine; his face the

55
The Bombardment of Algiers, 27 August 1816, George Chambers, Senior, circa 1836. BHC0615 / BHC0615.

> colour of mahogany, rough and rugged to the last degree, all lines and wrinkles, nine grey hairs of a side, and nothing but a dab of powder at top.[44]

Captain Wentworth, in contrast to the weak and vacillating Sir Walter, is an exemplar of early nineteenth-century manliness. However, while naval officers are seen as desirable, particularly as husbands for the daughters of the landed gentry, Austen's representations are not to be seen as blind hero worship. Wentworth and his friends have their shortcomings – particularly inconstancy of feeling, as Captain Benwick demonstrates by rapidly forgetting the heartbreak of the premature death of his fiancée and quickly becoming engaged to another. This example stands out in stark contrast to Wentworth's prolonged attachment to Anne Elliot, but also brings to mind the character of Factor from *The Post Captain*, who was often and quickly moved to tears, which made the depth of his feeling suspect. During the early decades of the nineteenth century, the officers of the navy were often seen as ideal men, yet they are not completely unblemished. While Wentworth is ultimately shown to possess all the desired masculine qualities, he has also proven his merit within the navy, rising in his profession and becoming moderately wealthy as a result of his successes – the very type Sir Walter Elliot denigrates. Yet, while the lure of prize money and potential elevation in social status were two of the incentives for joining the navy during the period of 1792–1815, this degree of mobility was already curtailed, due in part to a prolonged period of peace, but also to an increasing stratification of society that was tied closely to issues of morality and evangelicalism.

The conflicts of the early decades of the nineteenth century impacted on the images of the navy, particularly as seen in the lasting legacy of Trafalgar. However, events such as the War of 1812 did not enhance the reputation of the navy. As John Mitford, a former naval officer and one-time associate of Lord Byron, commented, 'The war with America certainly terminated very badly for this country ... the Americans boast that they were our Conquerors by their physical strength, courage, and seamanship, allowing not anything of their superior forces.'[45] While this may have damaged the reputation of the Royal Navy as a military power, the idea of the officer as moral exemplar can be seen in the role of the navy in the period after the Napoleonic Wars: an increasing role in anti-slavery activities following the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, and anti-piracy activities such as the Bombardment of Algiers in 1816 (see Figure 55), which saw the release of over 1,000 'Christian captives', all helped elevate them to the level of Britain's moral guardians. Yet, as a visual representation of this transformation, the uniform was synonymous with two conflicting identities: that of Nelson, whose legacy would prove difficult to live up to, and that of the period of immoderation and moral laxity epitomized by the Prince Regent. While public perceptions of the naval officer may have become more positive, that visual construction of their identity – the uniform – had stagnated.

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9 *Ibid.*
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11 C. P. Moritz, *Travels of Carl Philipp Moritz in England in 1782* (London: 1924), p. 83 quoted in Ribeiro, *Dress in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, p. 213.
12 Quoted in May, *The Uniform of Naval Officers*, vol. I, p. 29.

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16 Shawn L. Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century English Periodical* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 75.
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24 'Lord Chesterfield's Creed', *Gentleman's Magazine of Fashions* (March 1775) p. 131, quoted in Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness*, p. 70.
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26 Davidson, p. 76.
27 Davis, vol. 3, p. 199.
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31 Mary Julia Young, *A Summer at Brighton*, 3 vols. (London: J. F. Hughes, 1807), vol. 1, pp. 60–61.
32 *Naval Chronicle*, vol. xxvii, (1812), p. 334 quoted in May, *The Uniform of Naval Officers*, vol. 1, p. 63.
33 *Ibid.*, p. 65.
34 John Harvey Boteler, *Recollections of my Sea Life from 1808-1830* (Naval Record Society, 1924), p. 34 quoted in May, *The Uniform of Naval Officers*, vol. 1, p. 69.
35 All prices and entries from ledger that are quoted are in the collection of the tailoring firm Meyer & Mortimer, Saville Row, London.
36 Meyer & Mortimer.
37 Nora Waugh, *The Cut of Men's Clothes 1600–1900* (London: Faber & Faber, 1964), p. 112 quoted in Jane Ashelford, *The Art of Dress: Clothes and Society 1500–1914* (London: National Trust Enterprises, Ltd., 1996), p. 185.
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Pattern 1774

8
Breeches, captain
Wool, linen, silk, horn, brass
UNI0010

These breeches for a captain's uniform are a rare survival. In 1774, the uniform regulations were changed and the blue breeches that were stipulated in the 1748 regulations were replaced with white breeches. These have a linen gusset in the back of the waist. The eyelets on either side were for linen tapes that would have been used to adjust the fit. The four buttons on each of the knees are of horn, faced with brass that has been die-stamped with the fouled-anchor motif.

9
Dress coat, captain
Wool, linen, horn, brass, gold alloy
UNI0011

Full dress frock of a captain. The frock is of blue wool with button-back lapels faced with white and edged with gold lace. Although it is possible to wear the coat with the lapels partially buttoned across the chest, there are also three hook-and-eye fastenings so that the coat can be closed without unbuttoning the lapels. The neckband, which would later become the standing collar, is also edged with gold lace. The skirts are not as full as those of the late 1740s. The back vent is still edged with gold lace, as is the pocket, and the three decorative faux buttonholes on either side of the back vent have been retained.

10

Undress coat, captain with over three years' seniority

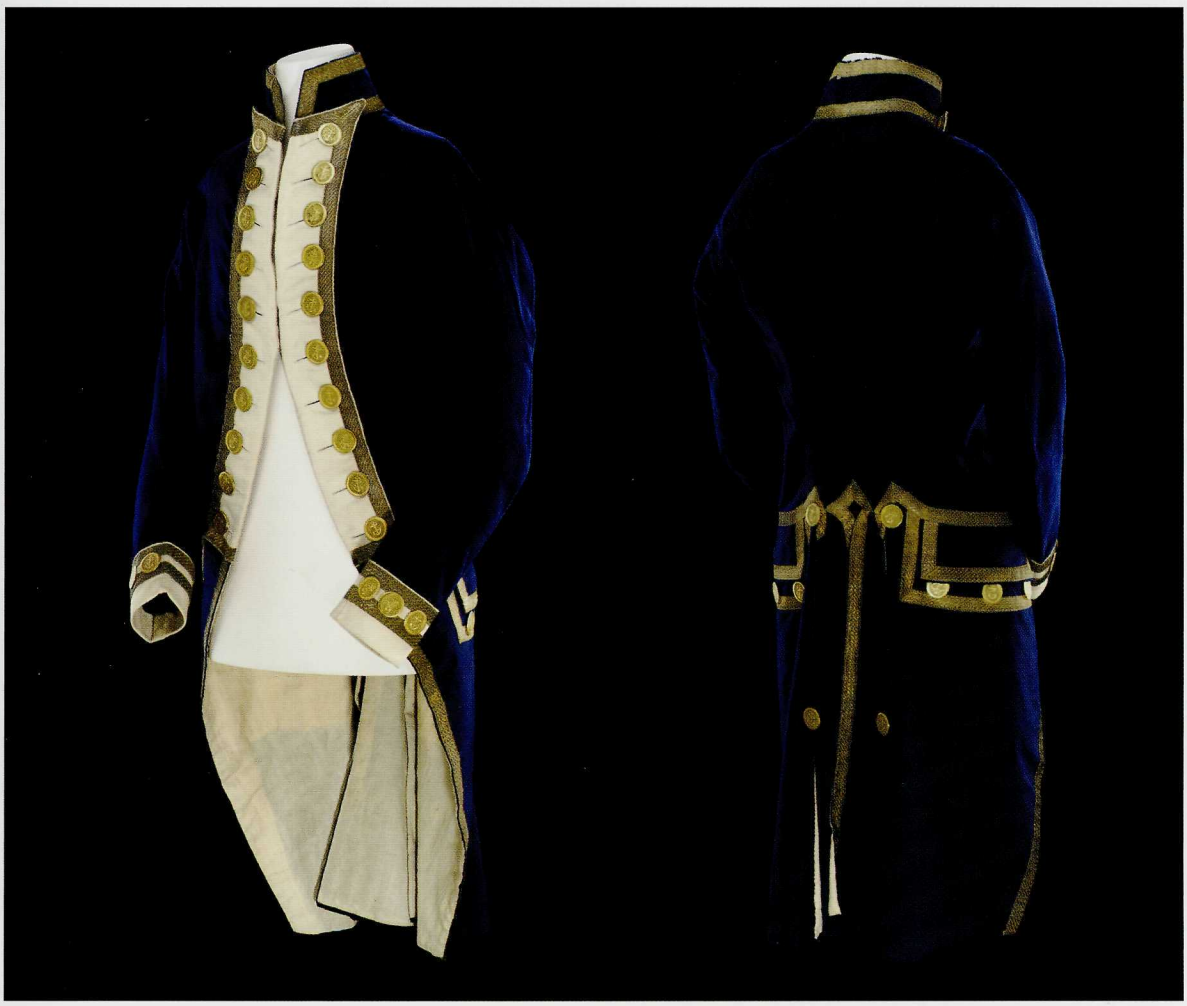
Wool, linen, horn, brass, metal alloy

UNI0012

This frock is made of blue wool fabric with a felted finish and features button-back lapels. The rank of the wearer is indicated by the groupings of the buttons on the lapels. In this case, the 12 buttons on each lapel are arranged in groups of three, which indicates the rank of a captain with over three years' seniority. The buttonholes are outlined with metal thread, and the buttons themselves are of horn or bone faced with brass that has been die-stamped with an anchor fouled with a chain instead of a cable. The coat also has a turn-down collar that fastens to the top button of each lapel. As with the dress coat of this period, the skirts are not as full as earlier in the century.

11
Waistcoat, captain
Wool, brass
UNI0013

This waistcoat for a captain would have been worn with both dress and undress uniform, as would white breeches. It is of white wool with a felted finish and fastens with 12 brass buttons which are die-stamped with the fouled-anchor motif. In common with the coats of the period, the waistcoat also features three-point pocket flaps with three buttons. The waistcoat is lined with white flannel, which would certainly have provided extra warmth.



12
Dress coat, captain with over three years' seniority
Wool, silk, linen, brass, gold alloy
UNI0018

In November 1787, the Admiralty issued the most comprehensive uniform regulations to date. These included modifications to dress and undress uniforms for captains of both over and under three years' seniority. This uniform worn by Alexander Hood (1758–98), was for a captain with over three years' seniority. A particular feature is the double row of lace on the cuff. The influence of contemporary fashion is also seen with the narrow lapels, high stand-up collar, narrow skirts and large buttons.
Reproduced with kind permission of Lieutenant Colonel I. K. MacKinnon of MacKinnon.

13
Button, warrant officer
Gilt brass
UNI6858

Large, flat brass button, engraved with the fouled-anchor motif, worn by warrant officers between 1787 and 1860. Although uniform regulations were introduced in 1748, it was not until 1787 that the warrant officer was given an official uniform. The rank of warrant officer included the master, surgeon and purser as well as the gunner, boatswain and carpenter.

Pattern 1795–1812

14
Dress coat, admiral
Wool, silk, linen, brass, gold alloy
UNI0027

This uniform, which belonged to Admiral Sir William Cornwallis (1744–1819) illustrates the principal changes to uniform regulations for the year 1795. These include the change in colour of the lapels and cuffs from white to blue and the inclusion of epaulettes. Epaulettes were a military fashion that came from France and although they were not mentioned in uniform regulations until 1795, some officers wore them anyway. In terms of contemporary fashion, this uniform reflects popular styles with its narrow sleeves, cuffs and lapels, and illustrates the leaner silhouette that was popular in male dress towards the end of the 18th century.
Reproduced with kind permission of Miss J. Wykeham-Martin.

15
Epaulettes, admiral
Gold thread, silver, metal or card
UNI0034 and UNI0035

This pair of epaulettes belonged to Admiral Sir William Cornwallis (1744–1819). It originally featured the three silver stars that indicated the rank of Admiral. Each epaulette is edged with 16 bullions, 76 mm in length. It should be noted that the third star on each does not match; it is possible that these epaulettes were originally purchased by Cornwallis in 1795 and altered when he was promoted in 1799.
Reproduced with kind permission of Miss J. Wykeham-Martin.

16
Breeches, flag officer
Wool, brass, linen
UNI0021

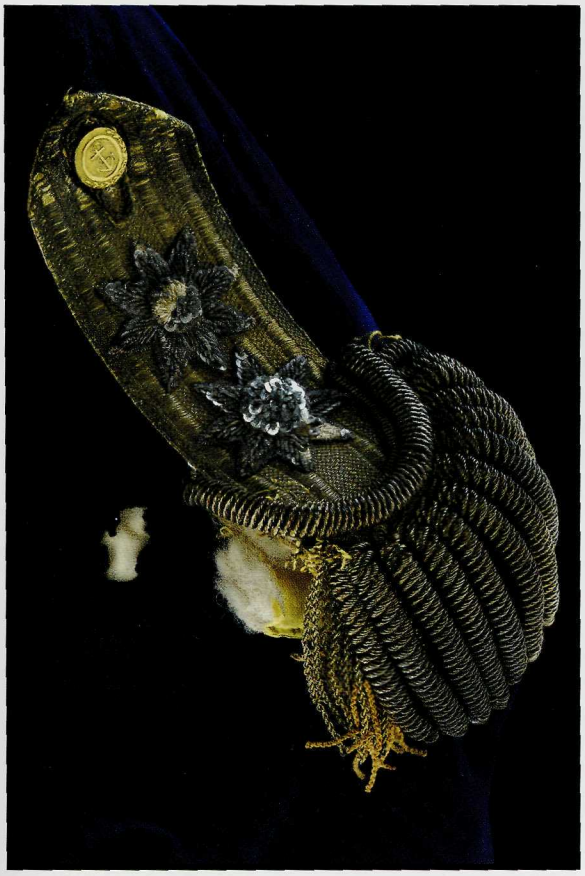
These breeches were worn by Admiral Lord Nelson (1758–1805) when he was mortally wounded at the Battle of Trafalgar. There are bloodstains to the knees and seat that probably belong to Mr John Scott, Nelson's secretary, who was killed earlier in the battle. The breeches were cut by surgeon's scissors so they could be easily removed.

The breeches are of white twill woven wool with a napped finish and feature a flap front. At the back of the breeches is a white linen gusset that was used to adjust the fit. This was done with linen tapes that were passed through eyelets on either side of the gusset. They were secured at the knee with four small gilt-brass flag officer's buttons and small brass buckles.
Greenwich Hospital Collection.

17
Undress coat, vice-admiral
Wool, silk, brass, metal thread, gold alloy
UNI0024

Vice-admiral's undress coat worn by Nelson (1758-1805) at the Battle of Trafalgar. There is a bullet hole on the left shoulder, close to the epaulette. The damage to the epaulette itself is also apparent. There are bloodstains on tails and left sleeve, which are probably those of Nelson's secretary, John Scott, killed earlier in the action. The coat is of blue wool cloth with a stand-up collar and button-back lapels. On the left side, Nelson's four orders of chivalry – Knight of the Bath, Order of the Crescent, Order of Ferdinand & Merit and Order of St Joachim – are sewn to the front of the coat and over the edge of the lapel so that it could not be unbuttoned.

The sleeves terminate in an extremely narrow round cuff with two rows of gold distinction lace and three flag-officer's buttons. The left sleeve is completely lined with black silk twill but the right is lined with the same fabric only as far as the elbow. At the end of the right sleeve is a small black silk loop which secured the unused sleeve to a lapel button. The tails and breast are lined with white silk twill and the shoulders are quilted with running stitch.
Greenwich Hospital Collection.

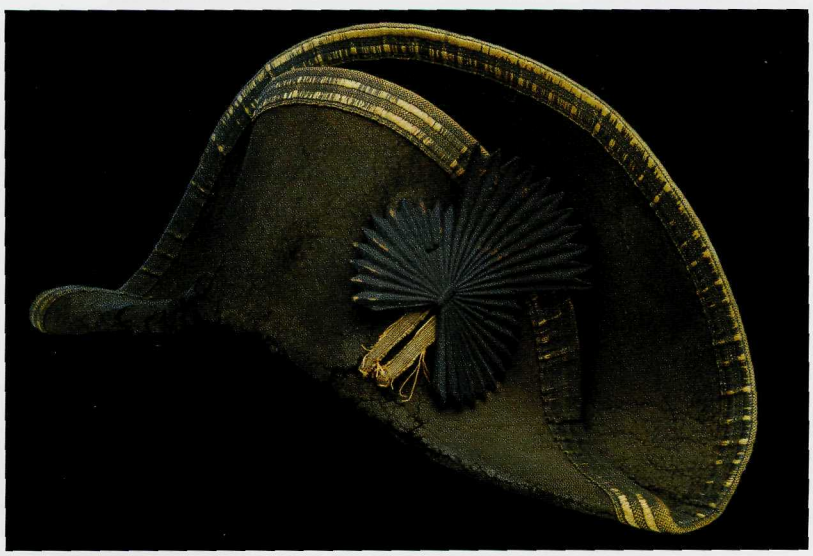


18
Epaulettes, vice-admiral
Gold alloy, silver, silk, card or sheet metal, cotton wadding
UNI0031 and UNI0032

Epaulette of a vice-admiral worn by Nelson (1758–1805) at the Battle of Trafalgar. The epaulette is of wide gold lace mounted over card or sheet metal. There are two stars, indicating the rank of vice-admiral, worked in metal thread and silver spangles. The underside of the epaulette is partially padded and covered with yellow silk. The top and side of the epaulette has been partially damaged by the bullet that killed Nelson. This caused the loss of several gold bullions as well as revealing the cotton wadding used to pad the underside of the epaulette. This item is displayed on uniform UNI0024 (cat. 17). *Greenwich Hospital Collection.*

19
Hat
Beaver felt, glazed linen, gold alloy, silk, brass
UNI0038

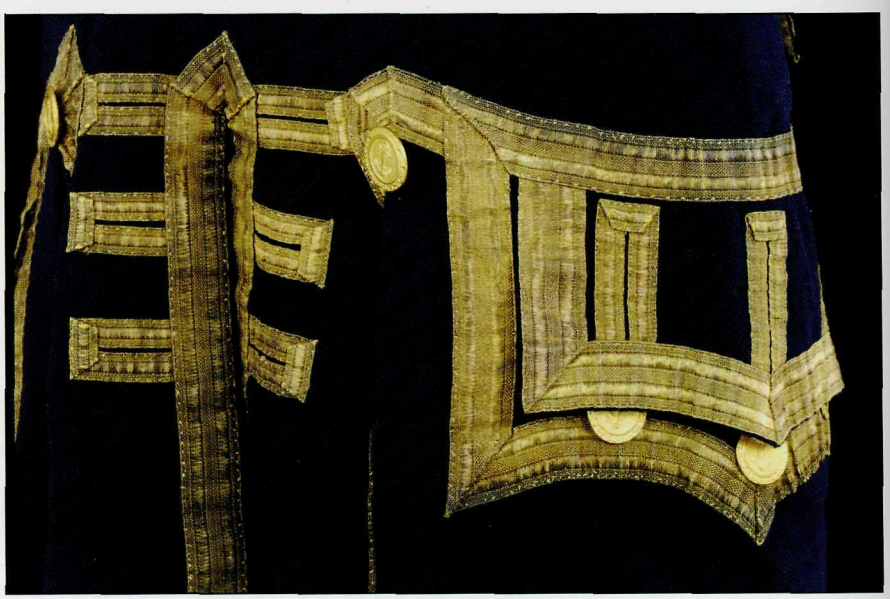
Three-cornered hat that was probably a captain's undress foul-weather hat. The hat is made of beaver felt which has been covered with a black glazed linen, or holland. This would have made the hat waterproof to a certain degree. The edges are bound in black silk and there is a gold lace loop (vellum and check pattern) secured by a gilt-brass button indicating the rank of captain. The cockade is now missing.



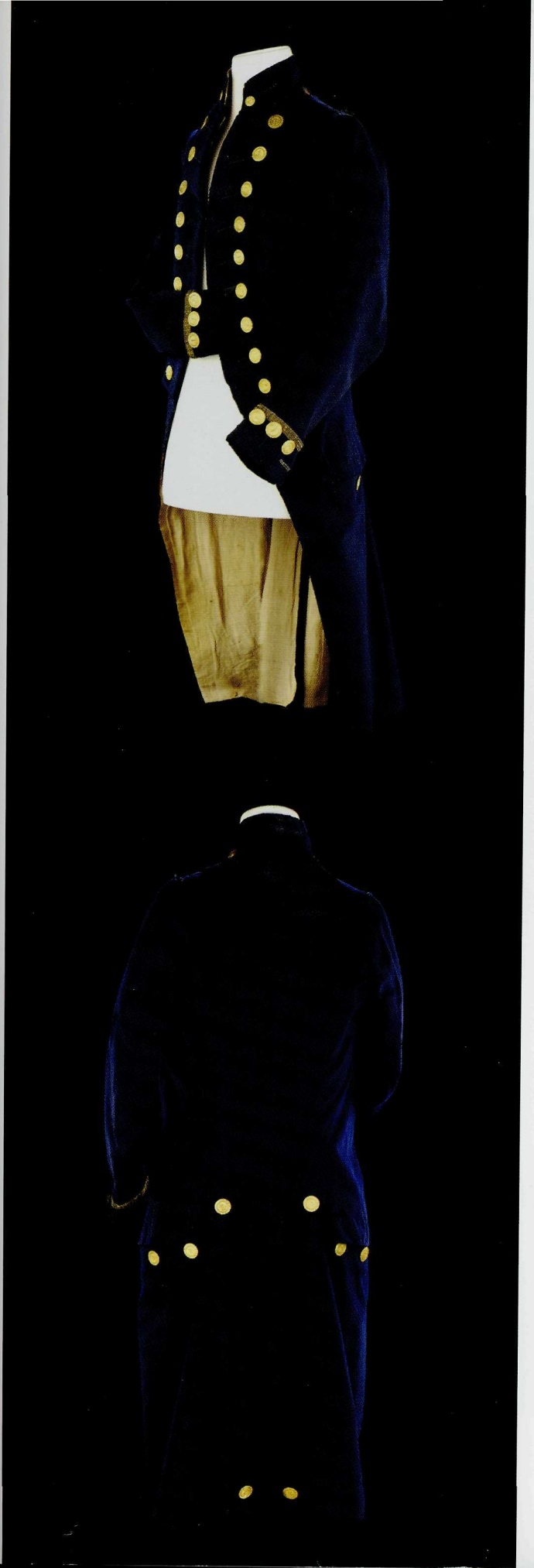
20
Hat, flag officer
Beaver felt, gold alloy, leather
UNI0058

This hat, worn by Nelson at the Battle of Copenhagen (1801), was given by him to his sword-cutler, Mr Salter of 73 The Strand, London, and displayed in the shop window with a black card cut-out which indicated where the *chelengk*, or turban badge, a gift from the Ottoman sultan, was worn.

21
Dress coat, vice-admiral
Wool, silk, linen, gold alloy, brass
UNI0023



Vice-admiral's full dress coat belonging to Nelson. The coat is of blue wool cloth with blue stand-up collar, lapels and cuffs. The collar, lapels and skirts are edged with gold lace. The buttonholes on the lapels, cuffs and pockets are also edged in gold lace. The pocket flaps and pockets themselves are edged in gold lace, as are each of the skirts. There are three faux buttonholes on either side of the central back vent that are also outlined with gold lace. The front, tail and collar of the coat are lined with twill-woven cream silk. The left sleeve is lined with white linen, while the unused right sleeve is unlined. The left sleeve, which would have been quite tight, has a small slit in the cuff. Conversely, there is no slit in the right sleeve and there are the remnants of a black silk loop at the end of the right sleeve. On the shoulders of both sleeves are narrow braids made of overstitched blue thread, and closer to the collar, on each side, are two small brass buttons: these were the means for attaching epaulettes which had been introduced in 1795. The coat has two hook-and-eye fastenings in the front. Nelson's orders of chivalry are sewn to the left-hand front of the coat.



22
Undress coat, rear-admiral
Wool, linen, brass, gold alloy
UNI0022

Rear-admiral's undress coat worn by Nelson (1758–1805) at the Battle of the Nile in 1798. The coat is of blue wool and features a stand-up collar with non-working buttonholes and two small gilt-brass flag-officer's buttons. The entire coat is lined with white linen, with the exception of the collar (which is lined with silk twill) and the unused right sleeve. The cuff of the right sleeve features a small black silk loop which was used to secure it to the front buttons of the lapels. The back of the collar and shoulders are stained with pomatum (pig-tail grease).

23
Waistcoat, flag officer
Wool, cotton, gilt brass
UNI0028

This white wool waistcoat is of the 1795 pattern. The rank and status of the wearer were indicated by the pattern of the buttons – in this case that of a flag officer. It is interesting to note that the waistcoat retains the three-point pocket flap, which would have been considered old-fashioned by 1795.
Trafalgar House Collection.

24
Dress coat, captain with over three years' seniority
Wool, brass, gold alloy, silk, velvet, linen
UNI0043

Full dress coat belonging to Alexander Hood (1758–98). The coat is of blue wool and features a stand-up collar edged with gold lace, as are the button-back lapels and front edge of the skirts. The sleeves feature the distinctive 'mariner's cuff', which has been edged in gold lace, and there are a further two rows of lace on the sleeve to indicate rank. Clearly Hood could afford a more lavish coat, as the collar is lined in white velvet and the breast and tails are lined in white silk twill, as are the interiors of the pocket flaps.
Reproduced with kind permission of Lieutenant Colonel I. K. MacKinnon of MacKinnon.

25
Undress coat, captain with over three years' seniority
Wool, linen, brass
UNI0042

This coat, with its straight waist, is of a more fashionable cut than Captain Hood's full dress coat (cat. 24). This may be because there was more latitude in undress to include fashionable elements, or it may be because the coat was made later during this period of regulations. The coat has a heavy tweed interlining, which would have provided added warmth. Although it is a fashionable cut, it should be noted that the uniform coats retain the three-pointed pocket flaps of the mid-18th century.

26
Epaulette, commander
Gold thread, silk, card
UNI0044

This is an example of a commander's epaulette. The strap is of card covered on one side with wide gold lace in the vellum and check pattern. The reverse is covered with blue silk. The epaulette has two rows of hanging bullions: the outer row features 17 large bullions and the inner row features 17 small bullions.

27 (facing page)
Boat Cloak
Wool, brass, linen
UNI0078

This boat cloak, although quite faded, is an extremely rare survival of protective or outdoor clothing from the early part of the 19th century. It is made of a hard-wearing, coarse-weave green wool and lined with a similar brown wool. The cloak, which is quite voluminous, gathers into a stand or fall collar and fastens with a small Royal Naval button at the neck. With its deep hood, it would have provided excellent protection against the elements. Its length would have also served to protect stockings and shoes in addition to clothing, all of which would have been expensive to replace.

28
Hat, surgeon
Silk plush, buckram, base metal
UNI0074

Surgeons and physicians were not given a uniform until 1805. This is representative of one of the early patterns for that rank. The cocked hat belonged to surgeon Joshua Horwood (d. 1850). Made of a silk plush that resembled the beaver felt usually used for hats, this hat would have been quite expensive. On the front is a loop of gold lace fastening to a small gilt-brass button, which is an example of the warrant officer's pattern and features an anchor within an oval order. Horwood served as surgeon's mate in HMS *Prince* at Trafalgar. He was promoted to surgeon in 1807. *Lent by P. E. Postgate.*

29
Breeches, surgeon
Wool, linen, brass, base metal
UNI0075

This pair of breeches are part of the uniform of surgeon Joshua Horwood (d. 1850), who served as surgeon's mate in HMS Prince at Trafalgar, and was promoted to surgeon in 1807. This uniform was passed down through the family and at some point was altered for children's dress. The breeches are typical of the regulations uniform of the period in that they are made of white face-cloth, a plain weave wool with a napped pile, and feature a button-and-flap front with a deep waistband lined with white linen. They still retain regulation buttons for the rank of surgeon. However, the shape has been altered, specifically the legs, which have been taken in and shortened. *Lent by P. E. Postgate.*

30
Dress coat, surgeon
Wool, brass, metal alloy
UNI0076

Full dress coat of naval surgeon Joshua Horwood (d. 1850), who served as surgeon's mate in HMS *Prince* at Trafalgar, and was promoted to surgeon in 1807. Since officers were required to provide their uniforms at their own expense, there is often a varying quality to the tailoring of the garments. This coat, of blue wool with a felted finish, is not of a very high quality and the collar is awkwardly cut and turned. It is completely unlined, except for the sleeves which are lined with white cotton. The coat features a stand-up collar, and rank is indicated by the embroidered twist motifs in metal thread on both sides of the collar, and by the buttons, which are those of a warrant officer.
Lent by P. E. Postgate.

31
Waistcoat, surgeon
Wool, cotton, brass
UNI0077

Waistcoat of naval surgeon Joshua Horwood (d. 1850), who served as surgeon's mate in HMS *Prince* at Trafalgar, and was promoted to surgeon in 1807. Made of white wool with a felted finish, it is lined and backed with cotton. The inside facings are of white wool and the stand-up collar is also lined with the same fabric. There are four linen tapes at the back to adjust the fit. The waistcoat fastens with eight small cast-brass buttons with a fouled-anchor motif. The front pockets feature a faux flap which is turned and lined with cotton. Below it are three cast-brass buttons. Written in brown ink, on the lining just below the collar, is the name 'Mr. Howard', possibly a misspelling on the part of a servant.
Lent by P. E. Postgate.

32
Button, master
Gilt brass
UNI7108

Gilt-brass master's button with a rope-twist outer border and oval inner border. In the centre, on lined ground, is a large anchor flanked by two small ones. On the reverse is the inscription 'TREBLE GILT/STAND. COLOUR.' Reference to this pattern appears in the regulations of 1807: 'Buttons worn by the masters to bear the arms of the Navy Office.'

33
Button, purser
Gilt brass
UNI7154

Purser's gilt-brass button with rope-twist outer border and raised oval border with a flat top. In the centre, on lined ground, are two crossed fouled anchors. On the reverse is a crown with the maker's inscription 'TURNER & DICKINSON'. This button is first referred to in the 1807 regulations, which note that the buttons worn by pursers are to bear the arms of the Victualling Office.

Pattern 1812–1825

34
Dress coat, rear-admiral
Wool, silk, gold alloy, brass
UNI0094

This 1812 pattern dress coat, belonging to a rear-admiral, reflects the influence of contemporary fashions on uniform. The lapels have been stitched down, the buttonholes are non-working and have been edged with bands of gold lace. The front of the coat fastens with 14 heavy brass hooks and eyes to create a very solid effect. This is further enhanced by additional padding in the lining of the chest and shoulders. The front is cut straight across and the skirts slant back in the style of the cut-away coat. The crown over the anchor on the buttons was introduced in the 1812 regulations.
Rowand Collection.

35
Waistcoat, flag officer
Wool, cotton, silk, brass, linen
UNI0095

Single-breasted waistcoat of white wool twill belonging to a flag officer. The garment is lined with white silk twill and backed with calico. It is interesting to note that it still retains the three-pointed pocket flaps, introduced with the 1748 patterns.

36

Dress coat, captain or commander

Wool, silk, cotton, linen, gilt brass, gold alloy

UNI0096

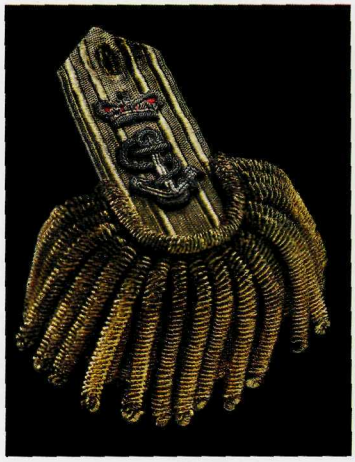
This dress coat of a captain or commander clearly shows the impact of contemporary fashions on naval uniform. The front is cut straight across in the cut-away style. The lapels are still working, but by this period it was the fashion to stitch them down so they could no longer be unbuttoned. The buttons feature the crown over the fouled anchor which was introduced with the 1812 regulations. Finally, the pocket flaps are non-functional and completely decorative as the pockets are now located in the tails of the coat, concealed by the sword pleats.

37
Waistcoat, captain or commander
Wool, silk, linen, gilt brass
UNI0104

This single-breasted waistcoat of white wool with a stand-up collar was worn by a captain or commander. It is lined with white silk, and the nine gilt-brass buttons on the front feature the fouled anchor surmounted by a crown which was introduced with the 1812 regulations.

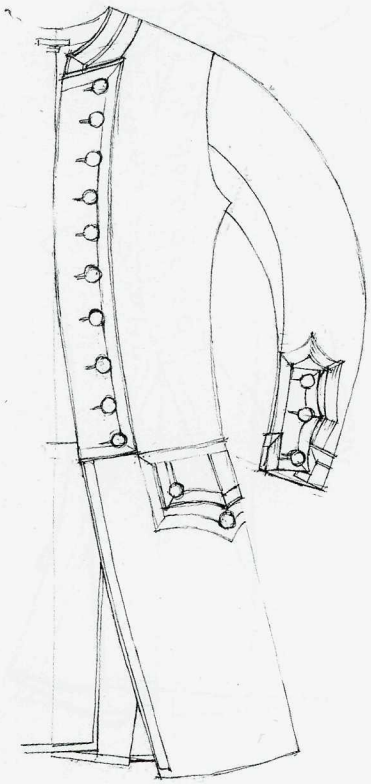
38
Hat, captain or commander
Beaver felt, base metal, gold alloy, brass, linen
UNI0102

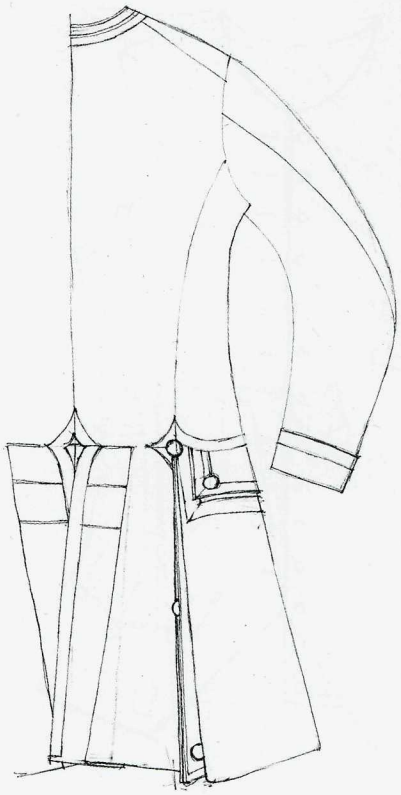
An army hat, said to be that of the Royal Horse Guards 1793–1812, but with a naval button. The cocked hat is of beaver felt and the edges are bound in gold lace. The cockade is of black grosgrain ribbon with a picot edge. Instead of the gold-lace loop, there is a band of overlapping metal plates running across the cockade. There are two tassels of gold and blue bullion on the outside corners. It is likely that, since regulations concerning hats were not clear in this period, this is a non-regulation hat with a naval button.



39
Epaulettes, captain
Gold thread, silk thread, sheet metal
UNI0098

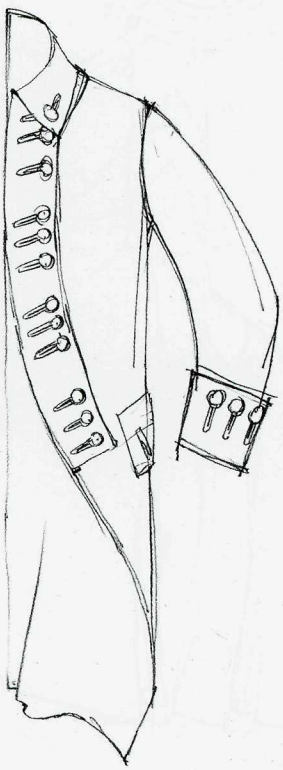
Pair of captain's epaulettes belonging to J. Stockham (d. 1814). The regulations of 1812 stipulated that captains should now wear two epaulettes with insignia that indicated their rank: the fouled anchor and a crown. The epaulettes have 20 large bullions and 17 small ones. On the shoulder-pad of each is an embroidered 'S'.

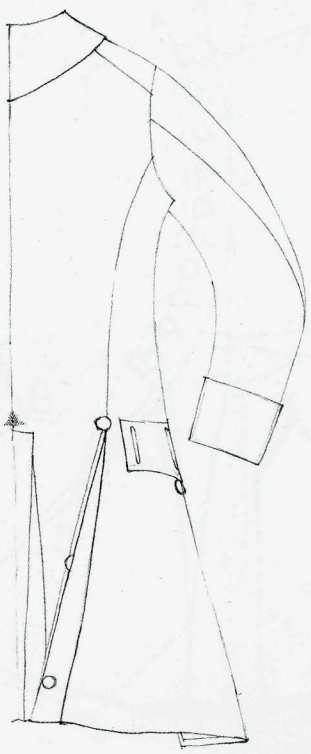




9

Dress coat, captain
UNI0011



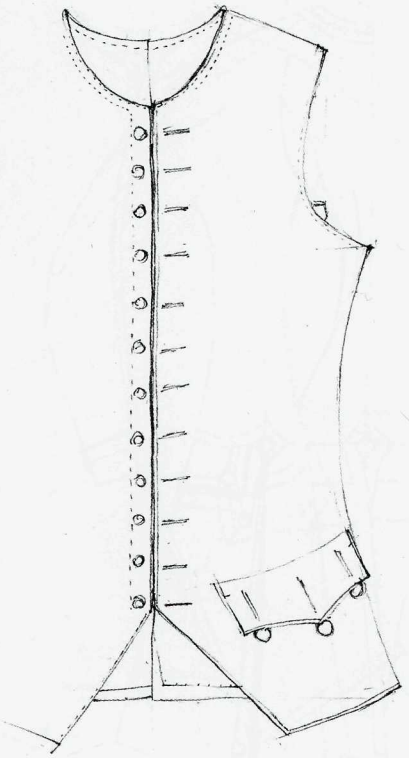


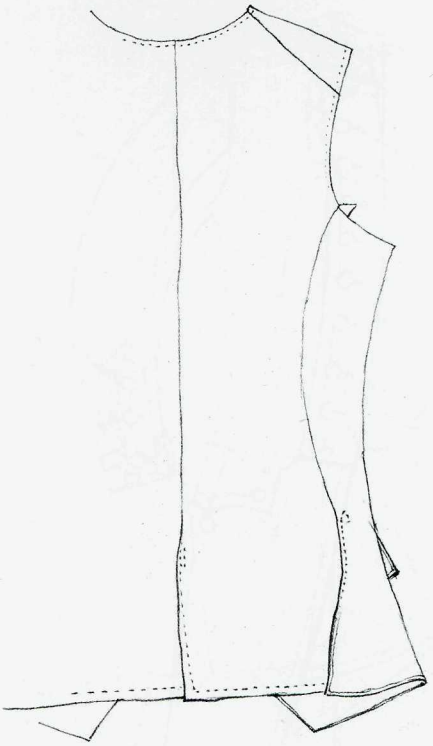
10

Undress coat, captain with over three years' seniority
UNI0012

11

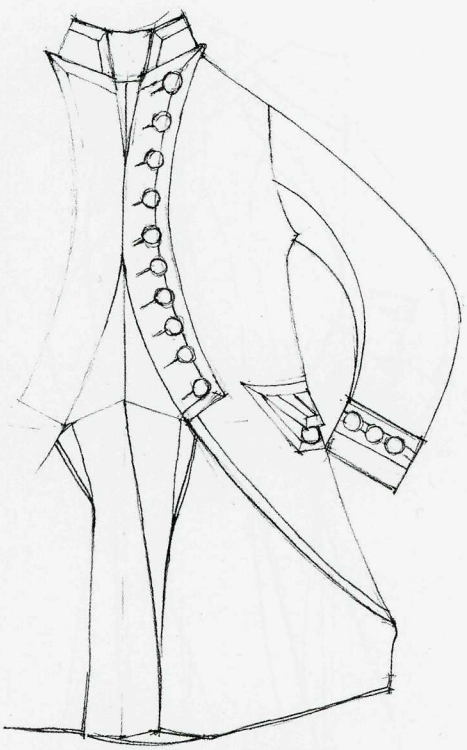
Waistcoat, captain
UNI0013

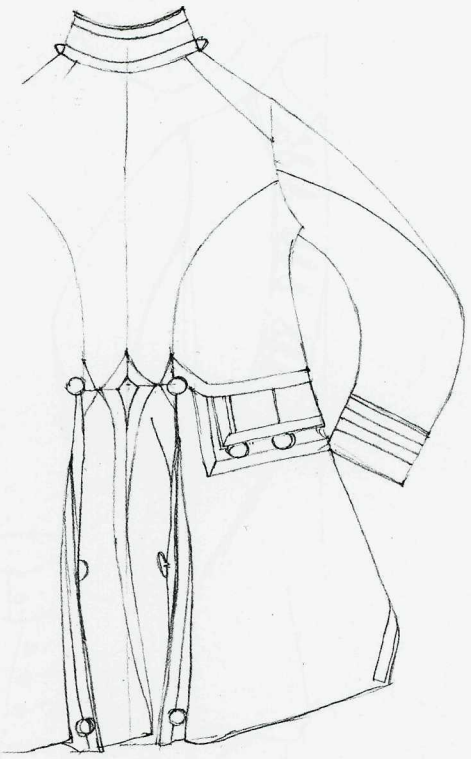


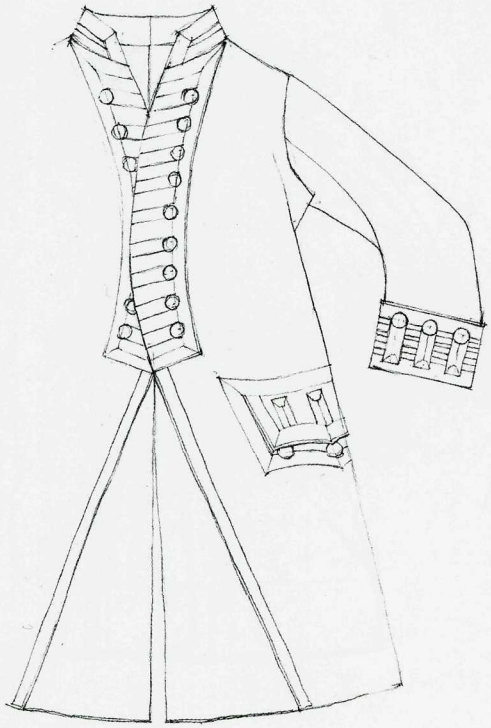


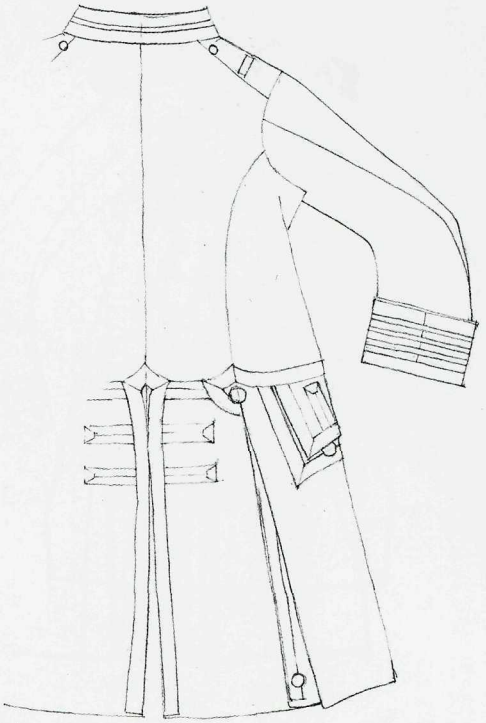
12

Dress coat, captain with over three years' seniority
UNI0018





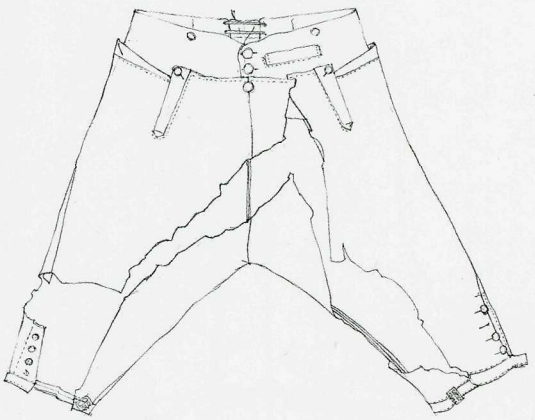




14

Dress coat, admiral

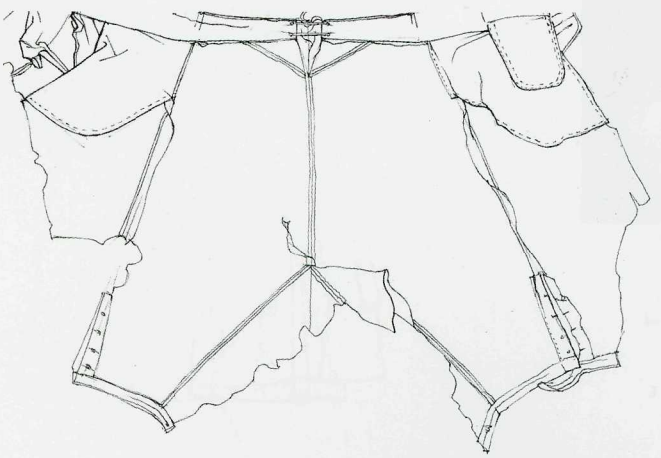
UNI0027

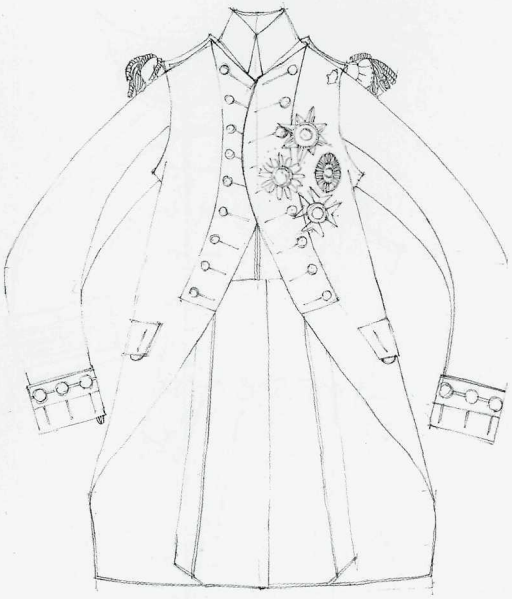


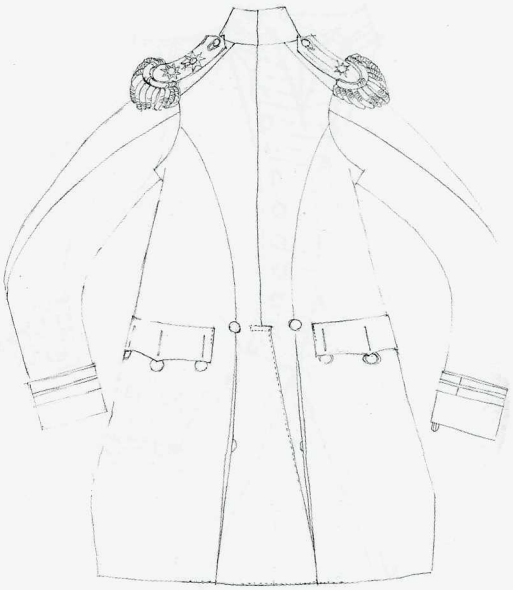
16

Breeches, flag officer

UNI0021

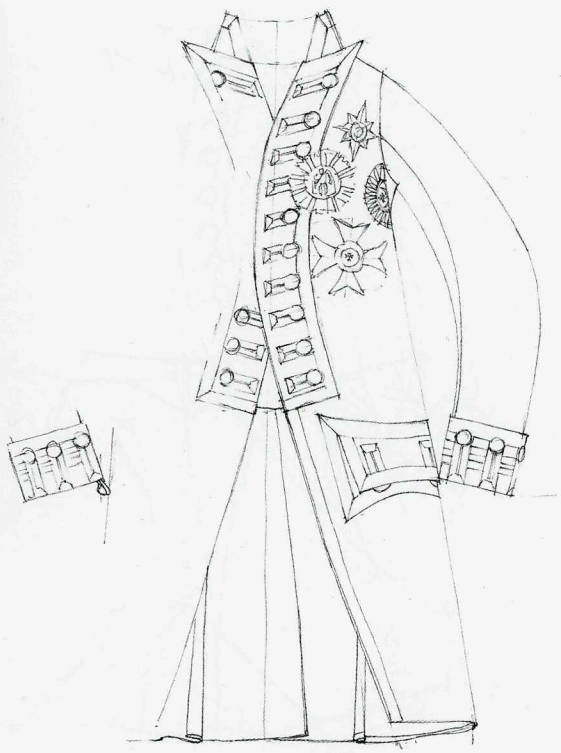


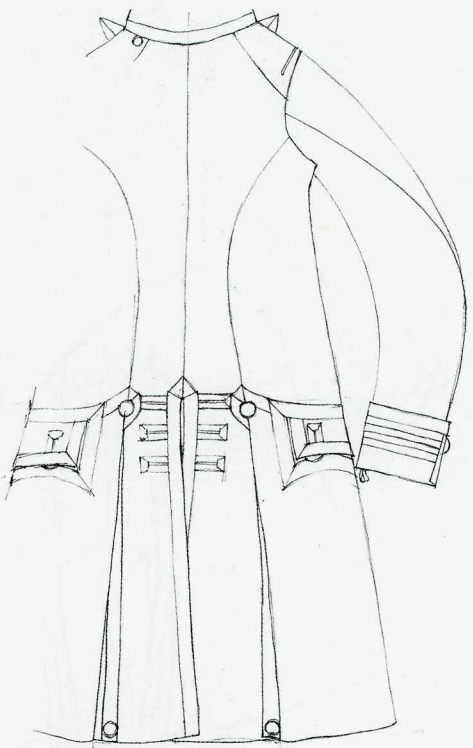




17

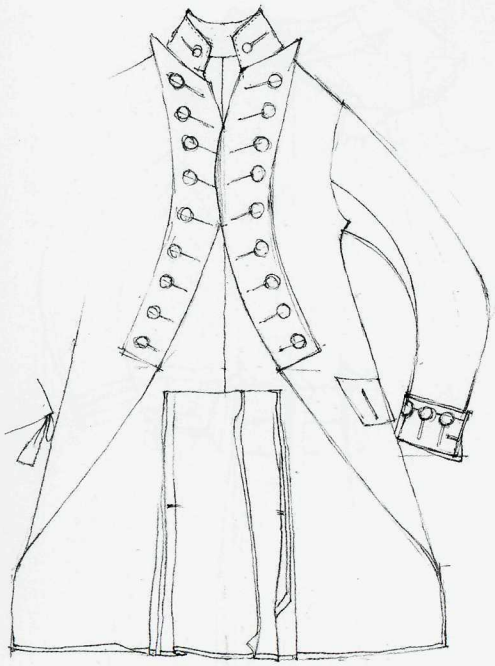
Undress coat, vice-admiral
UNI0024

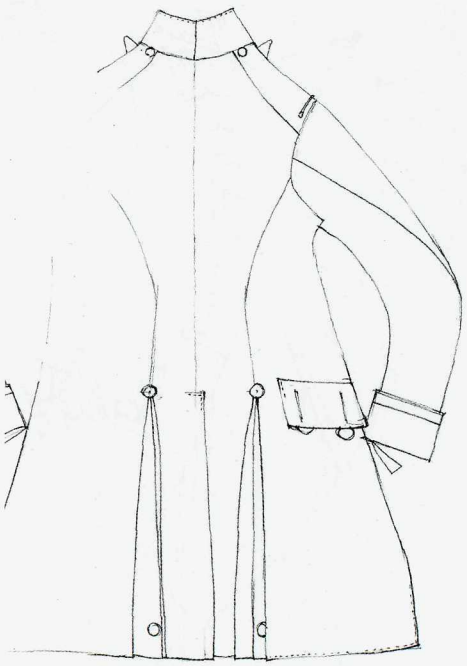




21

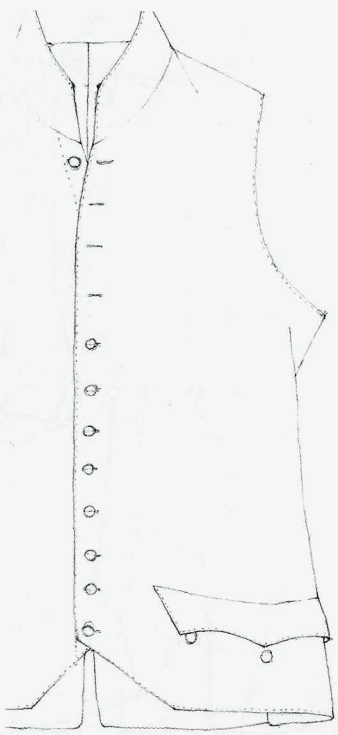
Dress coat, vice-admiral
UNI0023

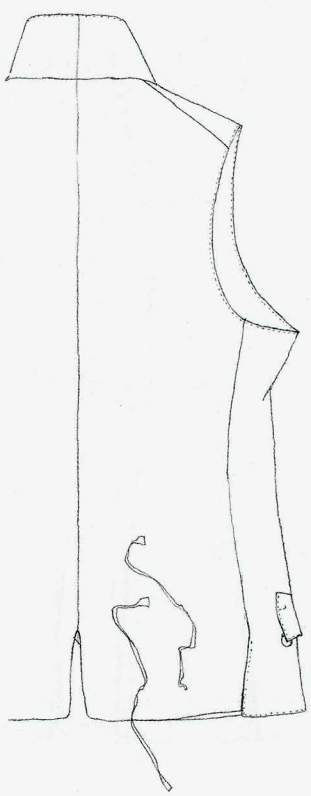




22

Undress coat, rear-admiral
UNI0022



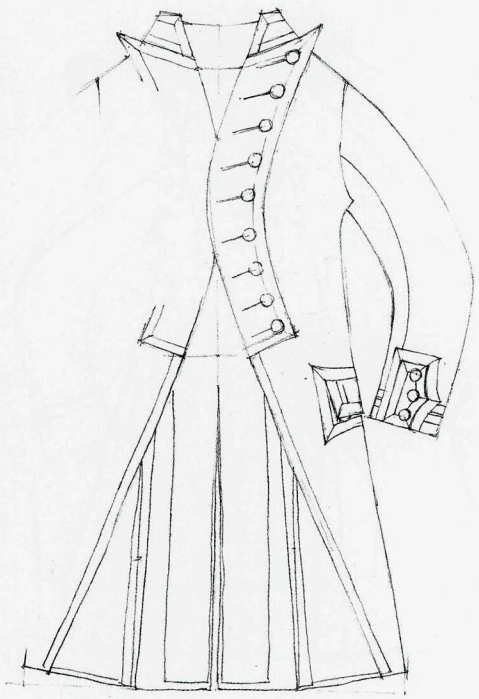


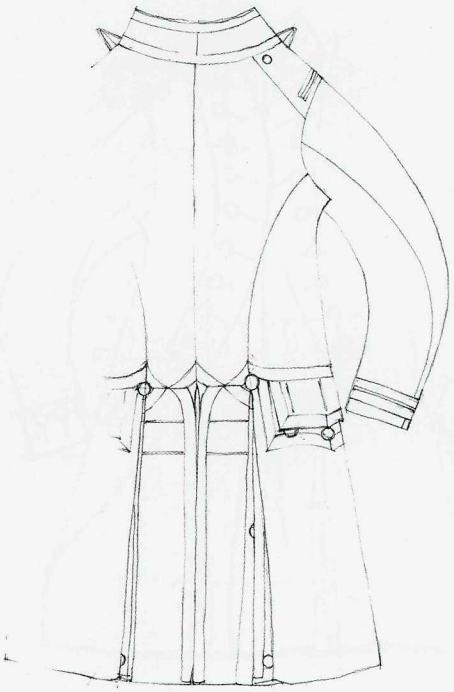
23

Waistcoat, flag officer
UNI0028

24

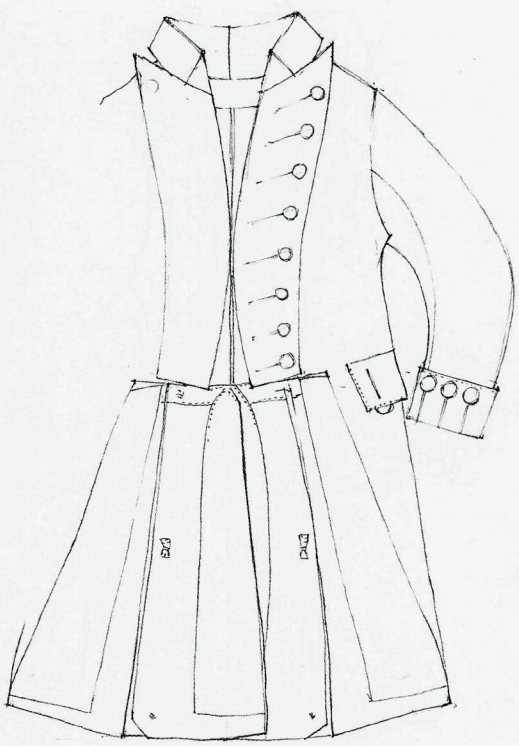
Dress coat, captain with over three years' seniority
UNI0043

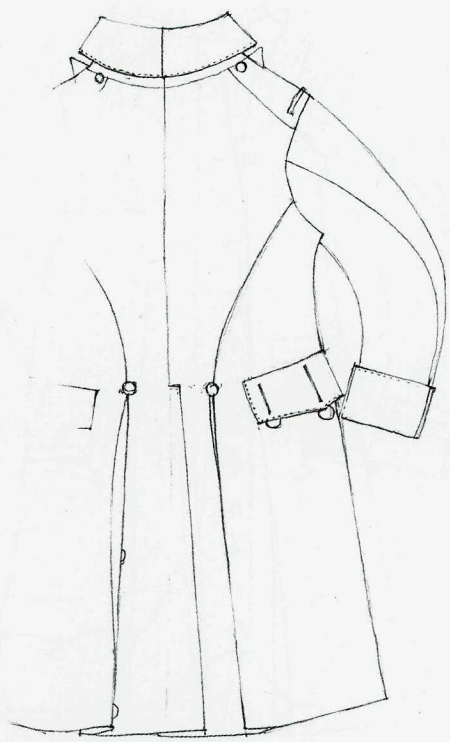


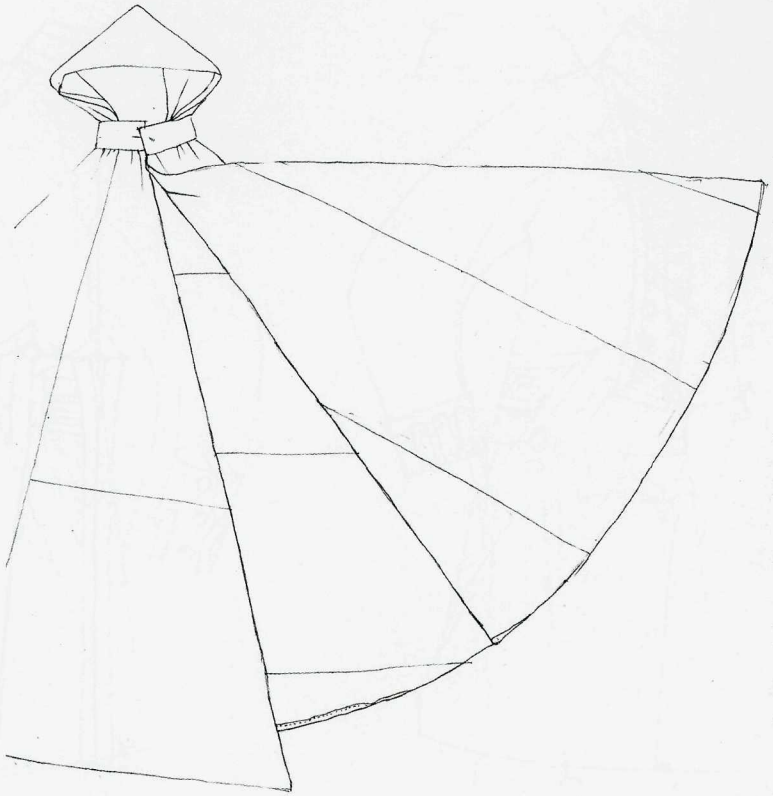


25

Undress coat, captain with over three years' seniority
UNI0042

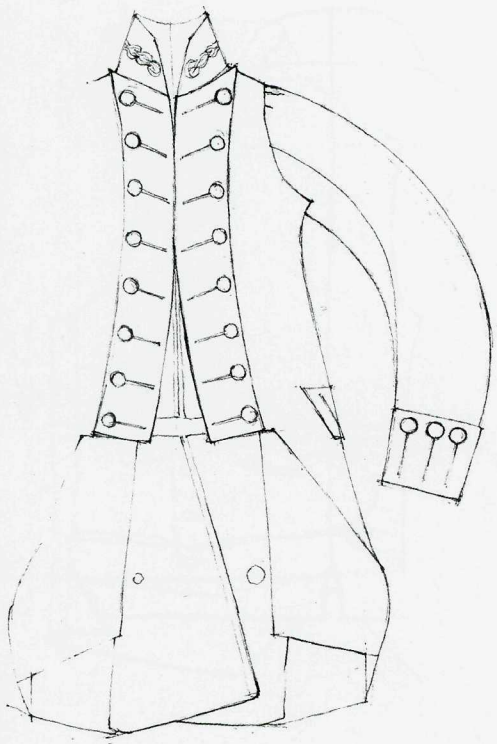


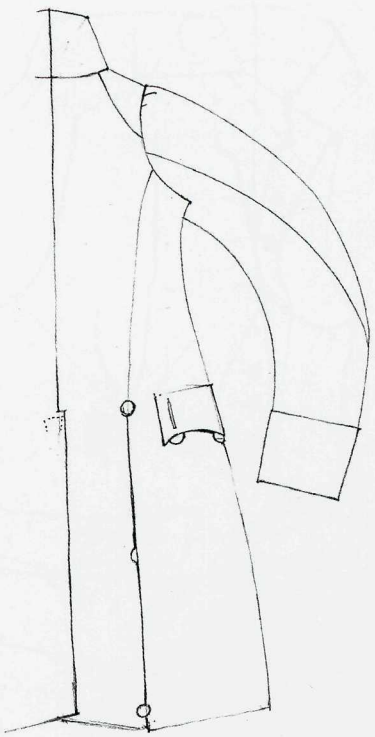


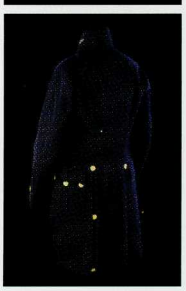


27

Boat Cloak
UNI0078





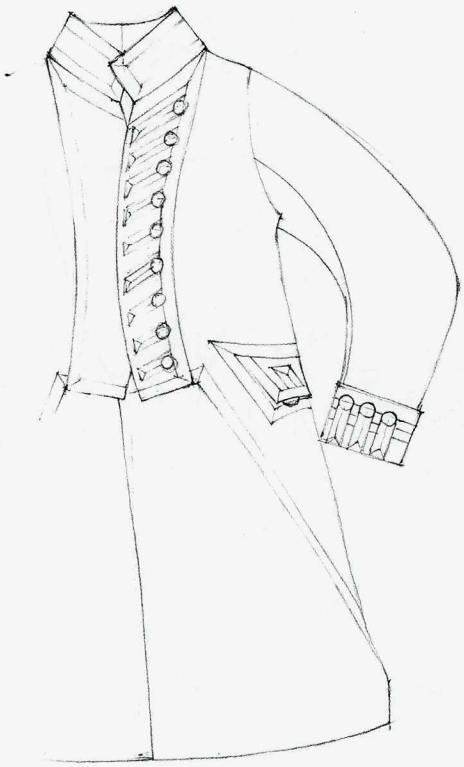


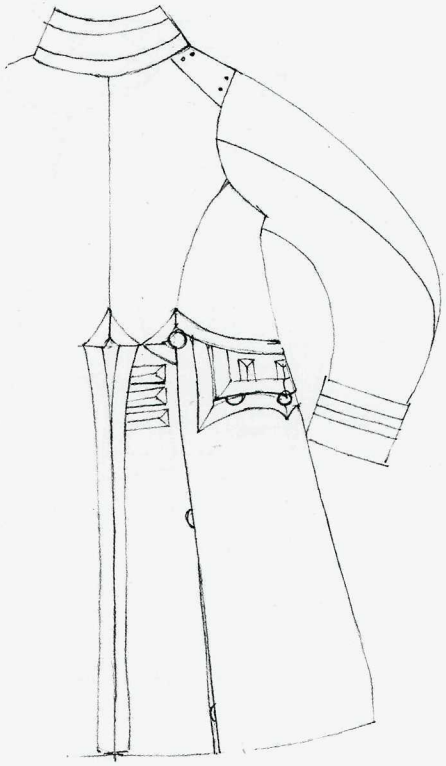
30

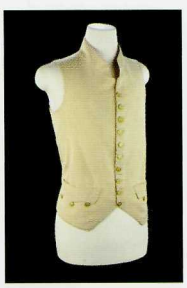
Dress coat, surgeon
UNI0076

34

Dress coat, rear-admiral
UNI0094

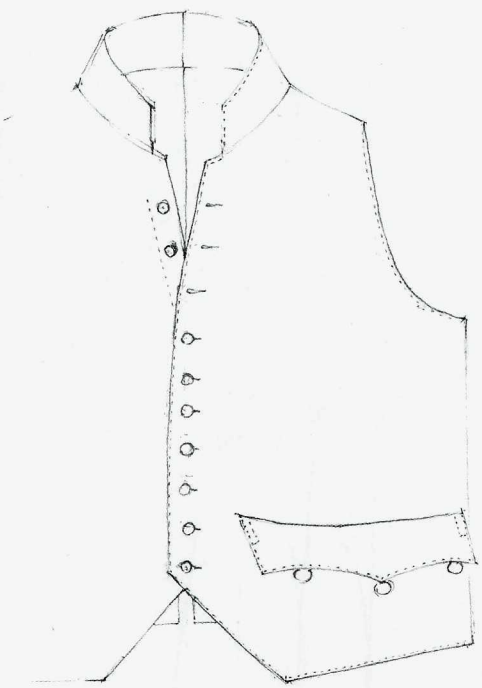


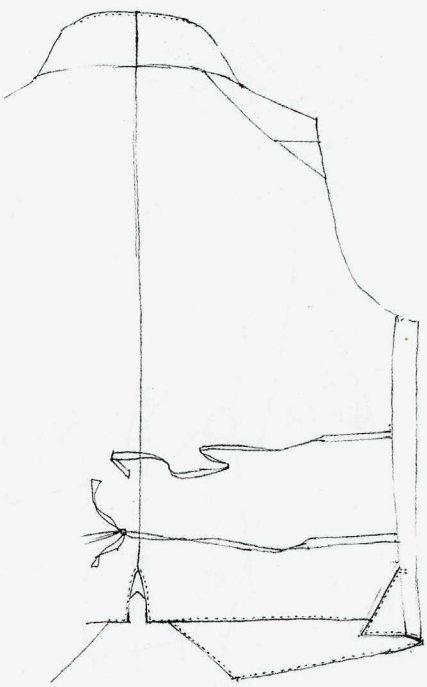


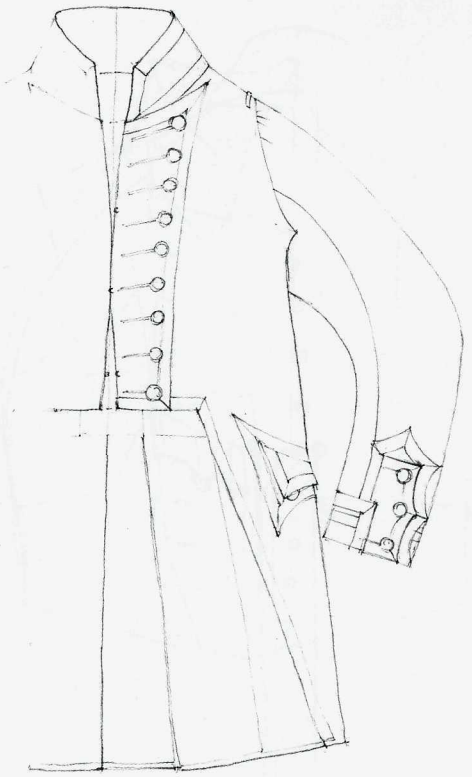


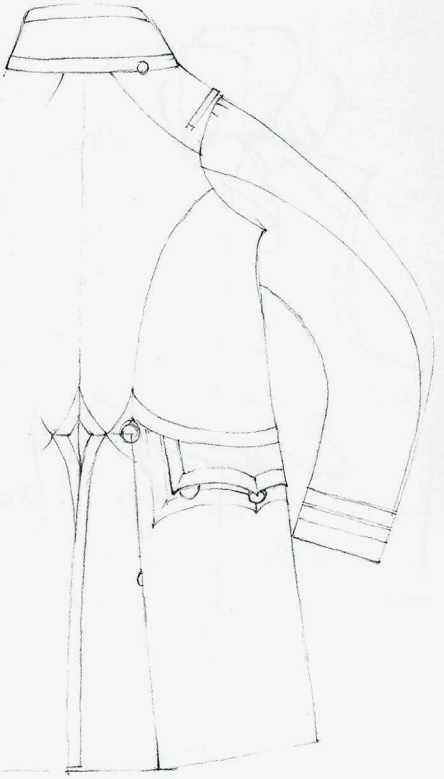
35

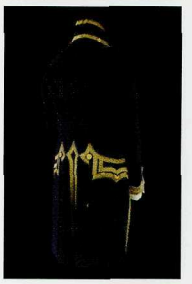
Waistcoat, flag officer
UNI0095





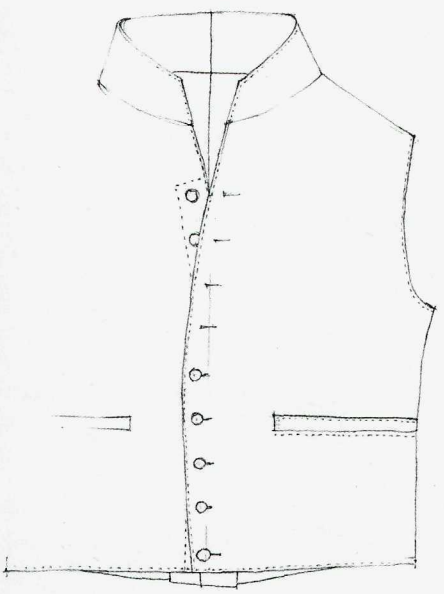


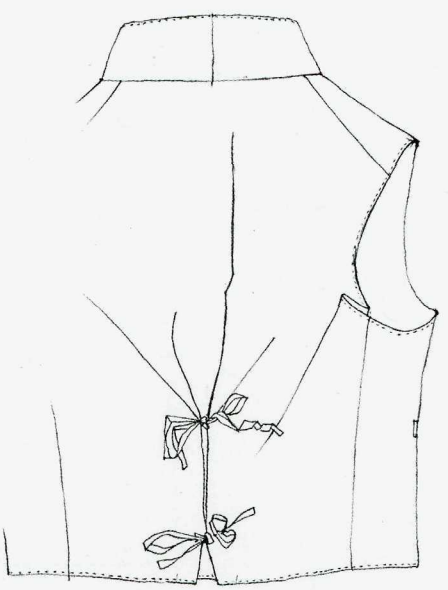




36

Dress coat, captain or commander
UNI0096





37

Waistcoat, captain or commander
UNI0104