



The Journal of Dress History

Volume 1, Issue 1, Spring 2017

Front cover image: *Marie Antoinette in a Chemise Dress*, Élisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, 1783, oil on canvas, 898×720mm, Hessische Hausstiftung, Kronberg, Germany.

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The Journal of Dress History

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Contents

Welcome	1
<i>Jennifer Daley</i>	
Foreword	2
<i>Aileen Ribeiro</i>	
Articles	
Truth and Imagination: How Real Is Dress in Art?	3
<i>Aileen Ribeiro</i>	
An Analysis of Dress in Portraiture of Women at the Swedish Royal Court, 1600–1650	6
<i>Inga Lena Ångström Grandien</i>	
From Morality Play to Court Masque: A Study of Allegorical Performance Costume from Medieval Religious Dramas to Secular Theatre of the Seventeenth Century	18
<i>Toni Bate</i>	
‘What Severall Worlds Might in an Eare-Ring Bee’: Accessory and Materialism in the Seventeenth-Century Work of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle	31
<i>Alexandra Carter</i>	
To Represent a King: The Clothing of Duke Johan, Second Son of King Gustav I of Sweden, Produced for His Audience with Queen Elizabeth in 1559	39
<i>Lena Dahrén</i>	
To Cover or Not to Cover: Hat Honour at the Early Stuart Court, 1603–1642	49
<i>Kimberley Foy</i>	
Appearance, National Fashion, and the Construction of Women’s Identity in Eighteenth-Century Spain	57
<i>Laura Pérez Hernández</i>	
Out of the Darkness into the Market: The Role of Smuggling in Creating a Global Market of Textiles in Late Eighteenth-Century Sweden	66
<i>Anna Knutsson</i>	
Professional and Domestic Embroidery on Men’s Clothing in the Later Eighteenth Century	74
<i>Alison Larkin</i>	
Shedding Light with Science: The Potential for Twenty-First-Century Studies of Sixteenth-Century Knitting	83
<i>Jane Malcolm-Davies</i>	

The Négligé in Eighteenth-Century French Portraiture <i>Elise Urbain Ruano</i>	92
Clothing as a Means of Representation of Baroque Nobles in Central Europe, 1650–1700 <i>Ondřej Stolička</i>	100
Cloth of the Sixteenth-Century Yeoman: Thick, Itchy, and Blanket Like, or Carefully Engineered for Relevance? <i>Tamsyn Young</i>	107
Book Reviews	
Evelyn Welch, ed., <i>Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800</i> <i>Alison Fairhurst</i>	116
Georges Vigarello, <i>The Silhouette: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day</i> <i>Lorraine Hamilton Smith</i>	118
Timothy Campbell, <i>Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740–1830</i> <i>Scott Hughes Myerly</i>	120
Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim, <i>The Dress Detective: A Practical Guide to Object-Based Research in Fashion</i> <i>Rainer Wenrich</i>	122
Recent PhD Theses	124
Advisory Board	135

Welcome

Dear ADH Members and Friends,

We are proud to launch this inaugural issue of *The Journal of Dress History*, the academic publication of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH). This journal is part of the multipronged approach that the ADH takes to advance scholarship in dress history. I would like to thank the ADH executive committee and the entire membership for being supportive and encouraging throughout the multiyear endeavour that has been the creation of this journal. We would not be reading this today without the friendship and scholarly support of our membership, dedicated to advancing the ideals of academic dress study.

The articles published in this issue were written by speakers who presented papers on 5 November 2016 at our annual International Conference of Dress Historians, which was entitled, *Out of the Dark and into the Light? Dress in the Early Modern Period and the Age of Enlightenment, 1400-1800*. These published papers individually represent specific research topics that are both understudied and underrepresented in our field. Taken collectively, these papers provide a broader understanding of the study of dress history in an extraordinary time period.

Journals like these cannot be created in a vacuum. I have many individuals to thank who contributed to the making of this publication.

Firstly, I would like to thank the 22 speakers who presented at our conference on 5 November 2016 and those who submitted papers for inclusion in this journal. Also, gratitude is extended to our conference attendees whose questions and comments helped advance the field as well as ignite discussion.

Secondly, I would like to thank our conference keynote speaker and a long-standing patron of the ADH, Aileen Ribeiro, for her support of our interdisciplinary association and this journal. Her Foreword to this issue and her keynote address, both published in this journal, are sincerely appreciated.

Thirdly, I would like to thank the Advisory Board of *The Journal of Dress History* for their support in this new endeavour. We are fortunate to have the Board's experience and expertise on which we call. Thank you to all 17 Board members.

Lastly, I would like to thank the staff of *The Journal of Dress History*; in particular, Editor Alison Fairhurst, who has worked diligently on the editorial aspects of the journal, including the entire design and layout of the text and images. The editorial skill of Assistant Editor Kimberley Foy was instrumental. Thank you.

We confidently anticipate utilising *The Journal of Dress History* as a publication through which scholars can articulate original research in a constructive, interdisciplinary, and peer-reviewed environment. The journal will be published biannually on an Open Access platform, which illustrates our commitment to generous inclusivity.

I hope you enjoy reading the journal as much as we enjoyed producing it.

Best regards,

Jennifer Daley
Managing Editor, *The Journal of Dress History*
Chairman and Trustee, The Association of Dress Historians

Foreword

The appearance of *The Journal of Dress History* is very welcome in the context of a subject which has expanded enormously over the past two decades. CHODA (The Courtauld History of Dress Association) was founded in 1991 to be a mouthpiece for The Courtauld History of Dress Department, (established in 1965), which was, at that time, the only place for academic study and research in this area. As a result of the growth in dress studies by the beginning of this century, it was decided to create a successor to CHODA, which would widen the constituency and scope of the subject, the aim of The Association of Dress Historians (ADH) when it was set up in 2011. The success of the conference, *Out of the Dark and into the Light? Dress in the Early Modern Period and the Age of Enlightenment, 1400–1800* (2016) reflected the international remit of the history of dress and its popularity in academia and elsewhere. In particular, it revealed the importance of research and study in the history of dress before the twentieth century, and of a variety of approaches to the subject. I am confident that the content of *The Journal of Dress History* will embrace a wide time span, from classical antiquity (and before) to the present day, covering all aspects of clothing (including fashion as one strand of a multifaceted discipline), and enlarge our knowledge not just of the detail of dress (there is still a great deal to discover), but the significance of what we wear.

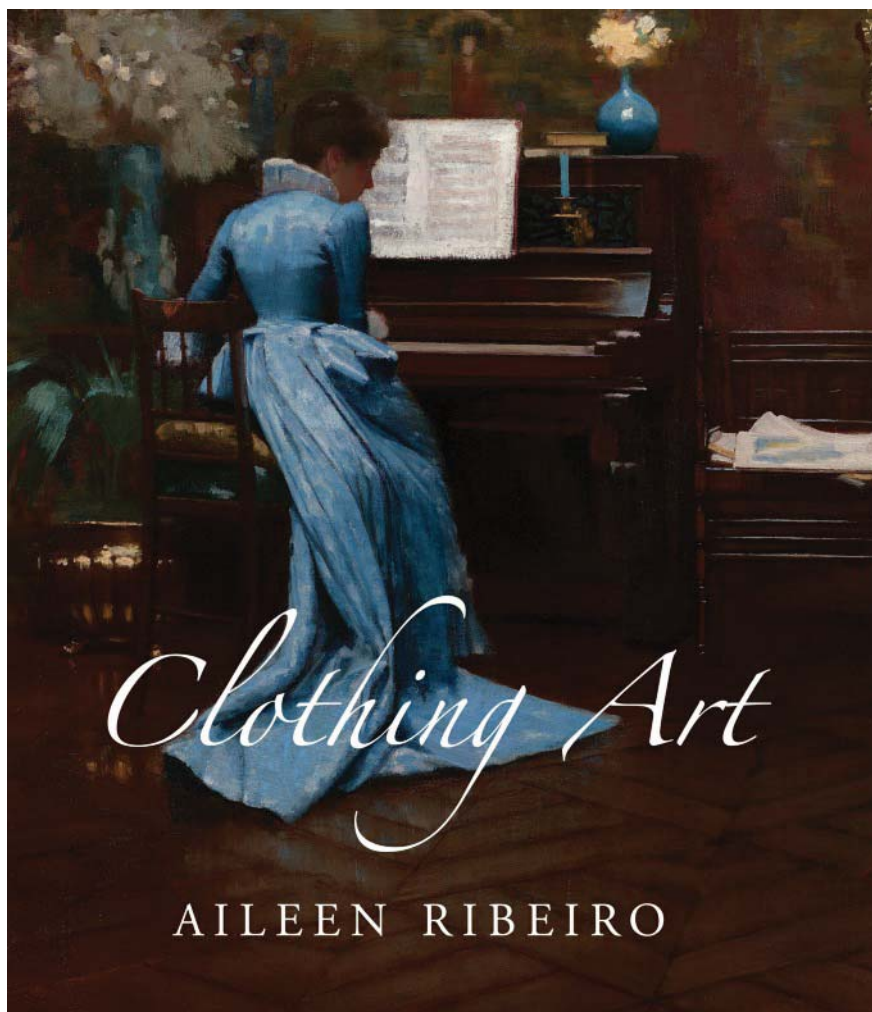
Professor Emeritus Aileen Ribeiro, PhD
The Courtauld Institute of Art, London
May 2017

Truth and Imagination: How Real Is Dress in Art?

Professor Emeritus Aileen Ribeiro, PhD

Keynote paper delivered at The Association of Dress Historians' annual International Conference of Dress Historians on 5 November 2016, entitled, Out of the Dark and into the Light? Dress in the Early Modern Period and the Age of Enlightenment, 1400–1800.

The Dispute, a 1911 painting by Georg Sauter (a German artist who moved to London in 1889) depicts two women in loose, flowing neo-medieval gowns. Is the clothing real, or fictive? In either case it is related to aesthetic clothing, then in its last manifestation; there are also links to reform dress which was popular both in England and in Germany. This kind of discourse about truth and imagination is crucial in understanding how artists see dress, and it forms one of the themes in my book *Clothing Art: The Cultural History of Fashion, 1600–1914*, in which my aim is to look at dress mainly from the point of view of the artists who represent it, during a period which begins with the seventeenth century and ends with the First World War, although this time-frame is somewhat elastic and reference is made to art



and clothing outside these boundaries. This book, therefore, is not a conventional history of fashion, but because art and dress are so closely intertwined, the major developments are discussed along with a series of case studies. The different ways in which artists see and ‘read’ dress are examined, and how we might see and ‘read’ dress in their art. I discuss the links between art and dress, what meanings can be seen in artists’ representations of clothing, and examine some of the ways in which they depict it in their art.

Inventories provide important ‘archeological’ details of clothing, its manufacture and its consumption, but art not only visualises dress but sets it in a cultural and historical context. To understand how artists depict clothing, we need to know about the history of clothes and fabrics, and to be familiar with extant garments, so that we can assess how truthful a work of art is. We need to know, in short, what the artist might have emphasized, changed, generalised, omitted or invented; art is the *via media* between what we can see, touch, and experience in actual clothes, and the ways in which they might be described in literary and documentary sources. Where the clothes in a portrait survive we are able to judge the degree of exactitude with which it is painted; when grand ceremonial or official clothing is concerned, the artist was commissioned to show this in all its rich fabrics and strange dignity, and for this reason it survives far longer than fashionable dress. An example here might be Reynolds’ *Lord Middleton* (1761–1762) in the coronation costume he wore for the coronation of George III in September 1761; examination of the velvet mantle showed that what looks like ermine in the portrait is actually white rabbit fur with black bristle inserted in imitation of ermine tails. The depiction of the gold brocade coat is a *tour de force*, although it glitters more in the real garment than on the canvas due to the fugitive nature of Reynolds’ paints.

Artists, it must be remembered, are not textile designers, and although in such portraits they may be expert in the representation of fabric, paint can never replicate the intricacies of pattern and weave. Nor should it, necessarily, for what we wish to see in a work of art is more than a photographic record of factual detail, but an imaginative and sensitive encounter with the portrayal of clothing, of the kind evident in a great artist like Velázquez. In his portrait of the eight-year old *Infanta Margarita* (1659) the artist not only gets the details of dress right – essential for a court painter – the jubón and basquiña with decorative silver braid, over the vast hoop, but the way the garments are painted, the slightly crumpled velvet, the intense softness of the sable muff, creates an image rising above the mundane to become magical. It is a portrait of truth and poetry, the essence of clothing.

Portraits usually (there are exceptions) result from encounters between artist and sitter, but we know relatively little about the way studios were organized, the visual sources (manuals of allegory, pattern books, etc.) available, the use of lay figures and assistants, all of which had an impact on what clothes and accessories were chosen and what roles they might play. We know even less about the negotiations which would have taken place with regard to the choice of clothing. Should the clothes in a portrait be a more or less direct copy of what the sitter wears, or involve a more nuanced process of selection and emphasis to create an image of dress removed, to a lesser or greater extent, from the reality of actual garments? Thus, in the latter category, van Dyck in England during the later 1630s painted simplified versions of fashionable clothes in order to ‘put Ladies dresse into a Careless Romance’ so as to create a distance from ‘the various Modes that alter with the Times’.¹

Pursued to a logical conclusion, increasingly generalized variants of informal fashion turned into loose draperies (as popularised in portraits by Lely), which had little connection with reality except perhaps for the shining silks from which they were contrived in the studio. So, a *Careless Romance*, for at least the following hundred years or so, turned women into pastoral nymphs, classical goddesses and supposedly ‘timeless’ beings. By the eighteenth century this trend had become increasingly formulaic (see, for example, Reynolds’ *Grand Style* portraits of the 1770s), creating costume which to us may appear anaemic and unconvincing, but which to theorists like Jonathan Richardson in 1715 best suited serious representations of women and not mere images of fashion.² Another kind of ‘fanciful’ dress, inspired by the historical and the popularity of the masquerade, was the creation of a number of artists in eighteenth-century England. Some portraits were pedestrian images of actual masquerade costume,

others studio copies, the work of drapery painters, no longer real dress but an artistic convention. The only artist who managed this genre successfully was Gainsborough, combining a sense of the 1620s/1630s with a contemporary fashion aesthetic. It does not really matter whether his beautiful portraits of *Mary Graham* (1775–1777) and *Frances Duncombe* (1777) are real fancy dress or Gainsborough's own invention, they are magical and imaginative recreations of the past and the recognisably present.

However artists play with truth (and there are shades of reality due to the painter's skills and imagination and the cultural context in which the work is created), clothing in art always relates to real clothes. Even what Jonathan Richardson describes as 'arbitrary loose dress' follows the lines and character of the clothing of the period in which it is created; 'timeless' dress really does not exist. When we acknowledge and interpret the varying degrees of truth both factual and imaginative which artists employ to depict clothing in their work, art becomes a superb and intellectually sustaining way to understand and appreciate the history of dress.

Endnotes

- ¹ Sir William Sanderson, *Graphice, the Use of the Pen and Pensil, or, The Most Excellent Art of Painting: in Two Parts*, Robert Crofts, London, 1658.
- ² Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting*, Printed for A. C. and sold A. Bettesworth, London, 1715.

Biography

Aileen Ribeiro read history at King's College, London, followed by postgraduate study (MA and PhD) at The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was Head of the History of Dress Section at The Courtauld Institute from 1975 to 2009; appointed Professor in the History of Art at the University of London in 2000, she is now Professor Emeritus. She lectures widely in Great Britain, Europe and North America, and has acted as costume consultant/ contributor to many major exhibitions. These include *Reynolds* (Royal Academy of Arts, London: 1986); *Winterhalter and the Courts of Europe 1830 to 1870* (National Portrait Gallery, London: 1987 and the Petit Palais, Paris: 1988); *Goya: La imagen de la mujer* (Prado, Madrid: 2001 and National Gallery of Art, Washington: 2002); *Whistler, Women and Fashion* (Frick Collection, New York: 2003). Recent contributions to exhibition catalogues include an essay on Renoir's use of fashion in his painting *La Loge*, in *Renoir at the Theatre: Looking at La Loge* (Courtauld Institute 2008); an essay on Gainsborough's portrait of Ann Ford in *Thomas Gainsborough and the Modern Woman* (Cincinnati Art Museum 2010); an essay on Gustave Caillebotte's painting *Paris Street, Rainy Day for Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity* (Paris, New York and Chicago 2012), and an essay on dress in Liotard in *Jean-Etienne Liotard* (National Gallery of Scotland and The Royal Academy of Arts 2015). In addition, she has published many books and articles on various aspects of the history of dress, including *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750–1820* (1995); *Dress and Morality* (2003); *Fashion and Fiction. Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (2006); *Facing Beauty. Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (2011) and (with Cally Blackman) *A Portrait of Fashion. Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (2015). Her most recent book is *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion 1600–1914* (2016).

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An Analysis of Dress in Portraiture of Women at the Swedish Royal Court, 1600–1650

Inga Lena Ångström Grandien, PhD

Abstract

A seventeenth-century fashion doll, known as a Pandora, dressed in Spanish style, illustrates fashion worn at the Swedish court up to 1600, when the Spanish farthingale began to be replaced by a French farthingale. This was also the time when the tight-fitting ruff was exchanged for a bobbin lace collar, raised behind the neck. Around 1635 the collar evolved, once again, into a falling lace collar. These sartorial changes can be followed through portraiture of Queen Christina of Sweden, 1626–1689. This paper addresses dress at the Swedish royal court by analysing evidence in portraiture during the first half of the seventeenth century.

The information is scant, almost nonexistent, about the way in which Swedish royal women dressed during the first half of the seventeenth century. There are no remaining pieces of clothing, and the inventories are incomplete. All we have is a handful of portraits. These show, on the other hand, that Swedish royal women were very much in tune with the fashion of contemporary courts on the continent. That awakens the question of how new ideas in fashion were transmitted to these distant parts of Europe in a period when the fashion journal had not yet seen the light of day. Probably portraits here played an important role. Ever since the development of portraiture, portraits had been exchanged between the European courts. Additionally, when a king or a prince was searching for a wife, portraits of potential wives-to-be arrived at court, where the portrayed woman's garments, just as much as her face, were scrutinized by the court ladies, who were looking for ideas for their own dresses.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, there were also fashion dolls, commonly known as Pandoras, that were created to provide an idea of the demands of fashion on a lady who wished to be up to date.¹ These carefully dressed miniature figures were not meant to be played with. Instead, they can be seen as advertisements for the latest fashions and fabrics and were as such carried throughout Europe to demonstrate changing personal appearance, from hairstyles to footwear.

The Swedish Pandora

Few dolls of this kind have survived, though, and in Sweden only one is known: a small fashion doll, only 16cm in height, in The Royal Armoury collections in Stockholm (Figure 1).² The doll is fully dressed in skirt and bodice made of purple silk and decorated with gold lace. She also has two petticoats. One of these is of cut and uncut velvet, the other of silk taffeta with a bodice of the same material. Her loose silk sleeves are embroidered with gold thread and genuine pearls. In addition to this, she also has an embroidered muff. Her hair, which is actual human hair of a dark blonde shade, is decorated with a row of pearls at the hairline and a diadem made of gold thread and pearls.

The Pandora's dress features the closed character that is typical of the Spanish fashion that dominated Western Europe from the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century.



Figure 1

The Swedish Pandora, early seventeenth century, 160x165mm, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden.



Figure 2

Archduchess Catherine Renata (or Renea) of Austria (1576-1599), Unknown Artist, 1577, Unknown Location.

The Pandora features Spanish female dress typical of the time, with a partition between skirt and bodice. The skirt is of the Spanish farthingale type and the bodice – drawn to a tip over her stomach – fits tightly to the body all the way up to the lining of the neck. This type of dress required a ruff around the neck, which the Pandora must have had at one time.

None of the other known Pandoras in my research resemble this one but in a portrait of Archduchess Catherine Renata as an infant (Figure 2) there is a doll held in her right hand, which looks very much like the Pandora (Figure 1). Their heads are very similar, and so are their garments (though the painted doll's skirt is a different colour to her bodice). It is interesting to notice that the painted doll wears a ruff, which suggests that the Swedish Pandora also had one.

According to an inventory, the doll was made by 'Carl IX's princess'.³ This probably refers to his daughter, Katarina, from his first marriage; however, the doll could not have been made by her. Instead, Katarina might have been its first owner as the Swedish Pandora originated in England. We know this through a correspondence from the beginning of the seventeenth century. A letter dated 1604 from Swedish-born Lady Helena (born Bååth, Lady in Waiting to Queen Elizabeth I of England, first married to William Parr and secondly to Sir Thomas Georges of Longford) to her sister Karin Ulfsdotter Bååth, mentioned a doll that Lady Helena had sent a servant to get for her in London.⁴ That doll can be none other than this one.

The recipient of the letter from Lady Helena, Karin Ulfsdotter, was Mistress of the Robes to Queen Christina of Holstein-Gottorp (1573-1625), the Consort of Charles IX of Sweden and the mother of Gustavus Adolphus. In this portrait (Figure 3) of Queen Christina, now Dowager Queen (as the King had died in 1611), probably painted by Jacob Elbfas, a portrait painter active in Sweden from 1622,



Figure 3

Dowager Queen Christina of Holstein-Gottorp (1573–1625), ascribed to Jacob Elbfas, circa 1623, National Portrait Collection, Gripsholm Castle, Sweden.



Figure 4

Maria Eleonora, after Michiel Jansz Van Mierevelt, 1619, The National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden.

there is however very little left of the Spanish style of the Pandora.⁵ The dress has a heart-shaped décolletage and, instead of a ruff, there is an elaborate Venetian bobbin lace collar composed of double, petal-shaped layers attached to fine linen fabric. Behind the neck there are loop-shaped panels held up by wire or possibly mounted on card. The bobbin lace of the collar is replicated on the cuffs at the wrist.

The Queen wears a deep purple, two-piece velvet gown. As purple was the colour reserved for mourning royalty, she is probably dressed in mourning for her husband.⁶ The skirt is of the French farthingale type, the partition between the skirt and the bodice marked by lace and strings of pearls.

In this portrait (Figure 4) of Queen Maria Eleonora (1599–1655), wife of Gustavus Adolphus and mother of Queen Christine, we find a Venetian, bobbin lace collar in double rows but here it is simpler than the above and makes a more elegant impression. The huge cone-shaped cuffs, made of the same kind of lace and assembled in three rows, extend almost up to the elbow. The large, chubby sleeves consist of four to five slotted ring-shaped puffs, possibly padded or supported by steel wire to maintain the correct convex shape.

The portrait was painted in 1619, before she was married to Gustavus Adolphus in 1620, but the dress as a whole still bears the character of the late sixteenth century.⁷ It is made in two parts, bodice and skirt separately. The hard, narrow bodice is reinforced with whalebones and busk (a pocket on the inside where a broad wooden or whale bone piece was inserted), and ends in a narrow, sharp tip. This sharp tip was a typical feature in the gowns of Queen Elizabeth and was seen as a symbol of virginity.⁸ The bodice is buttoned in the front but is probably also corseted at the centre back. It is adorned with jewelled bands in a grid pattern, which also follow and mark the waistline.

The skirt is of a French farthingale type, the top edge covered by a short frill. The Queen's blonde hair is finely curled and highly combed. On her left shoulder there meanders a so-called cadenette, a walkaway loop of hair that was allowed to grow long and was waxed.

Queen Christina (1626–1689)

The first known image of Queen Christina is found in the church of Jäder in Södermanland, in a portrait of her father Gustavus Adolphus.⁹ Christina is seen to the left in the painting (Figure 5), holding a tablet covered by small pictures arranged in circles that represent the fortresses and towns conquered by the Swedes from 1630 to 1632.

The painting must have been made shortly before the King's death in November 1632; if Christina had already been made regent when it was painted she should have held a more prominent place. The King is not, however, painted *ad vivum*, that is impossible because in 1632 he was in Germany where he had been since 1630 with his troops.

The portrait was painted by the above-mentioned portrait painter Jacob Elbfas, who seems to have put great effort into underlining the girl's resemblance to her father. Their heads are shown in the same three-quarter profile, their broad lace collars are of the same type and Christina's hair is almost as short and combed back from her forehead as his.



Figure 5

Gustavus II Adolphus, Jacob Elbfas, 1632, Church of Jäder, Södermanland, Sweden.

In the collections of the Royal Armoury there is a bodice (Figure 6) and a shirt (Figure 7) worn by Christina at three years of age, donated in the nineteenth century by the descendants of a woman named Sara Larsdotter, who had been Maid of the Bedchamber to Christina until 1631, when she had left her post to get married. It was probably then she was given these garments. But that is not all she received as parting gifts. In her portrait (Figure 8), painted in 1632 in Stralsund, where she then lived, she is shown holding a pair of pearl-embroidered gloves.¹⁰ Such fine gloves (Figure 9) could only have belonged to Queen Maria Eleonora. These leather gloves were also donated to the Royal Armoury in the nineteenth century.



Figure 6

Bodice worn by Princess Christina, 1628–1629, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden, LRK 9378–9379.



Figure 7

Shirt worn by Princess Christina, 1628–1629, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden, LRK 9378–9379.



Figure 8

Sara Larsdotter, Unknown Artist, 1632, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden.



Figure 9

Leather gloves depicted in the portrait of *Sara Larsdotter* (Figure 8), 1628–1629, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden, LRK 10685.



Figure 10
Riksdaler coin, 1633, The Royal Coin Cabinet,
Stockholm, Sweden.



Figure 11
Maria Eleonora, Jacob Hoefnagel, 1624,
miniature painting, The National Museum,
Stockholm, Sweden.

In March 1633 Christina was confirmed by the four estates as successor to the throne and a Riksdaler with her image was minted (Figure 10). This coin shows Christina standing behind a table on which the crown and the sceptre are laying; in one hand she holds the orb. She is wearing a dress with slit puff-sleeves, a deep décolletaged bodice pointed in the front and a broad lace collar that is raised behind her neck. She has round cheeks and an upturned nose; her forehead is heavily rounded under her up-combed, curly hair. The difference to the portrait in Jäder is great. Here it is neither the Warrior-King's daughter nor a six-year-old girl but an elegantly dressed, young lady that is depicted.

A comparison to a miniature painting of Christina's mother Queen Maria Eleonora from 1629 (Figure 11), shows that Christina this time was modelled after her mother and that it is from her that the head with its high forehead is fetched. Also the coiffure and the dress's high collar, deep décolletage and puff-sleeves resemble her mother's style.

Early in 1634, the above-mentioned Jacob Elbfas was made court painter to Maria Eleonora. Although over a year had passed since the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the court was still in mourning. According to the account books, Elbfas painted Christina only on two occasions, in 1637 and 1641, but he probably portrayed her more often than that.¹¹ His first portraits of Christina might have shown her in mourning but no painting with that motive has been found.

There is, however, a copper engraving of Christina dressed in mourning (Figure 12) that was issued by 'Le Blond', the engraver and art-connoisseur Michel Le Blon in Amsterdam.¹² The six-year-old girl is in 'deuil blanc' or 'white mourning'.¹³ She wears on her head a white Mary Stuart cap covered by a thin white veil hanging down over a plain black, collarless dress, whose upper part is trimmed with white linen. Here, also, the resemblance to her father is underlined.¹⁴

An example of the printers' free use of each other's images is an engraving issued in 1633 by Friedrich Hulsius in Frankfurt, in which Le Blon's image of Christina in mourning is placed inside an oval frame or medallion on a postament.¹⁵ Above the frame, two putti hover, one with a laurel wreath and a crown in his hands, one with a palm branch and a sword. In the postament there is an inscription in Latin, which underlines the likeness to, and thereby the continuity with, her father.¹⁶



Figure 12
Queen Christina in Mourning, Michel Le Blon, copper engraving, circa 1633, Unknown Location.



Figure 13
Queen Christina, Lukas Kilian, copper engraving, 1634, Unknown Location.



Figure 14
Queen Christina, Unknown Artist, 1635–1636, Unknown Location.

Later the same Hulsius issued another version of the engraving.¹⁷ The framing is the same but Christina is no longer in mourning. She now wears a dark dress with a broad white, laying lace collar and slit puff-sleeves; her hands hidden behind a screen. Neck and shoulders are covered by a thin scarf whose ends are held together by a large brooch. Her hair is short and curly (maybe a peruke). She has a short pearl necklace and pearl earrings. The same portrait – but mirrored and with the addition of a small ray-crown at the back of her head – was used in 1634 in an engraving by Lukas Kilian in Augsburg (Figure 13). The text in the postament, now in German, is also different. Instead of stressing the succession from her father, it underlines that Christina's power is sanctioned by God and that she herself is God's representative on Earth. This thought took root in Christina and never abandoned her. To her the monarchy was an earthly mirroring of an order that had been founded by God; a line of thought that resembles the iconography that was created around Elizabeth I; her power was also seen as sanctioned by God.¹⁸

In this unsigned full-length portrait formerly at Fånö in Uppland, Christina (Figure 14) is wearing a dark, gold-embroidered dress with a low lace collar turned up behind her neck, slit sleeves, marked hip section and a low cut, pointed bodice.¹⁹ In the middle of the décolletage there is a large brooch. Around her neck she has a broad gold chain and on the back of her head a ray crown.

A comparison to an engraved portrait of Maria Eleonora from 1633 (Figure 15) shows that Christina here is made to look like her mother: their coiffeurs are similar and both wear a low lace collar that is turned up behind their necks – a transitional form between the earlier high, upturned collar and the broad, laying one. We also see that Christina (from her mother as much as from her father) inherited not only the high forehead and the large eyes but also the big nose.

Seeing that the similarity to her mother here is underlined, the portrait may have been made on Maria Eleonora's initiative. It has been dated 1635 or 1636. In the case of Maria Eleonora having had something to do with it, it cannot have been made later than in August 1636 when she, having been deemed an unsuitable guardian, lost custody over Christina.²⁰

Figure 16 is a portrait of the young Queen dressed in a white silk robe embroidered with flowers in bright colours, open in the front over a gold-embroidered red slip.²¹ It has a high waist, a low cut bodice decorated with table-cut-stones on black folio and a low lace collar raised behind her back. The skirt

and the wide, slit sleeves are edged with lace. The regalia are lying on a table next to her. She has one hand on the orb; in the other hand she is holding a white oyster fan.

Steneberg dated the painting till 1634 but because of Christina looking a little older than in the above discussed portraits, it may have been executed in 1635 or in the early months of 1636, before her mother was bereft of all influence over her.²² That this had a hand in the composition of the portrait may be surmised from the dress and especially from the upraised collar, which by now had become old-fashioned but which Maria Eleonora, as can be seen from a portrait from the late 1630s (Figure 17), continued to favour.²³



Figure 15
Maria Eleonora, Lukas Kilian, copper engraving, 1633, Unknown Location.



Figure 16
Queen Christina, Unknown Artist, late 1635-early 1636, Unknown Location.



Figure 17
Maria Eleonora (detail), Jakob Elbfas, circa 1635, National Portrait Collection, Gripsholm Castle, Sweden.



Figure 18
Queen Christina, Jakob Elbfas, circa 1637,
 Strängnäs Gymnasium, Strängnäs, Sweden.



Figure 19
Catherine of Sweden, Countess Palatine of Kleeburg,
 circa 1635, miniature painting,
 The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden.

A hip-portrait of Christina in the Gymnasium in Strängnäs is probably a workshop copy after a full-length portrait by Elbfas executed in 1637, as one of the two paintings by him that are mentioned in Stockholm Castle's account books. In the portrait we find clear proof of Maria Eleonora's lost influence over her daughter (Figure 18). Gone are the upraised collar and the strict coiffure. Christina's hair is now worn in loose waves to the shoulders on the sides. At the back of the head a ray crown is fixed. Over her shoulders lay a broad lace collar and a thin décolletage cloth. On her bust she has a large brooch. She has a short pearl necklace round her neck and a long pearl necklace across her shoulders. The collar and also the deep lace cuffs are decorated with reticella or point coupé, a needle lace dating from the fifteenth century and remaining popular into the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

The change in Christina's appearance from earlier portraits could possibly be explained by the appointment in the autumn of 1636 of a new guardian. Gustavus Adolphus's half-sister Catherine of Sweden, Countess Palatine of Kleeburg (mother of the future Karl X Gustav) became official guardian and foster mother to Christina. As can be seen from this portrait of Catherine (Figure 19), which must have been painted at about the same time as the portrait of Queen Maria Eleonora (Figure 17), she seems to have been more up to date with the latest fashions than Maria Eleonora (or more willing to follow them). She wears a broad collar which is laying down over her shoulders, as it had been *à la mode* for some time, and in the same way as in Christina's portrait.

In November 1641 Jacob Elbfas was paid 108 Taler for a portrait of Queen Christina. Because of the large sum this must have been a full-length portrait which is probably identical to a full-length portrait in the City Hall of Stockholm (Figure 20).²⁴ It shows Christina standing on a black-and-white stone floor next to a brown-red velvet curtain, wearing a yellow-green dress made of gold brocade with applications of gilded lace. The sleeves, trimmed with lace cuffs, are shorter than in earlier portraits. Over her shoulders lie a lace collar and a thin décolletage cloth.



Figure 20
Queen Christina, Jakob Elbfas, 1641, Stockholm City Hall, Stockholm, Sweden.



Figure 21
Queen Christina, Sébastien Bourdon, 1652, The National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden.

This painting was the last portrait Elbfas painted of Christina or of any other member of court, where for some time it was felt that his style had become old-fashioned. In 1641 Axel Oxenstierna had written to Le Blon in Amsterdam, asking him to find a painter who knew about perspective in painting, but it was only in 1647 that the Dutch David Beck came to Sweden.

The portraits Beck painted of Christina are filled with symbolism. In the portraits by the French painter Sébastien Bourdon, who arrived in 1652, the symbolism is however gone. Christina has changed her appearance completely and in the portrait (Figure 21), she wears a loose-fitting white shirt under a low-cut black gown, its collar held together by a black ribbon, an unconventional way of dressing that is best described as a compromise between male dress and the tight fitting gowns women in her time were forced to wear, a radical change that reflects a likewise radical shift in her own life. We know that in 1652, when the portrait was painted, she had already decided about her abdication from the Swedish throne in 1654, her conversion to Catholicism and her moving to Rome the same year.²⁵

Endnotes

- ¹ Valerie Cumming, C. W. Cunnington, P. E. Cunnington, *The Dictionary of Fashion History*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2010, p. 79.
- ² Anna-Maja Nylén, 'Dräktdocka från Karl IX:s tid', *Livrustkammaren* Vol. XI:1, 1967, pp. 1-24. For the lace details, see Lena Dahrén, *Med kant av guld och silver*, Västerås 2010, pp. 123-124.
- ³ Nylén, op. cit., p. 1.
- ⁴ National Archives, Stockholm, *Säfstaholm Collection*. Letter to Karin Ulfsdotter Bååth from Helena Northampton, Longford, 1604.
- ⁵ Inga Lena Ångström Grandien, 'Elbfas', *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, Bd. 32, Leipzig 2002.

- ⁶ Cumming, op. cit., p. 136.
- ⁷ Carolina Brown, *Mode. Klädedräktens historia genom fem sekler*, Kristianstad 1991, pp. 49.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Inga Lena Ångström Grandien, 'Hur såg Kristina ut?', *Bilder av Kristina: drottning av Sverige – drottning i Rom* Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, 2013, pp. 78–81.
- ¹⁰ Dahrén, op. cit., p. 186.
- ¹¹ Karl Erik Steneberg, *Kristinatidens måleri*, Malmö 1955, p. 42.
- ¹² Ibid., pp. 59–76. Le Blon was also Sweden's political agent in England.
- ¹³ Lena Ragnström, *Dödens teater. Kungliga svenska begravningar genom fem århundraden*, Livrustkammaren, Stockholm, 2015, p. 76.
- ¹⁴ Nathan Popp, *Beneath the Surface: The Portraiture and Visual Rhetoric of Sweden's Queen Christina*, University of Iowa Press 2010, p. 15, <http://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1761&context=etd>, accessed 4 December 2016.
- ¹⁵ See Emmanuelle Coquery, 'Le Portrait en Tableaux', *Visages du Grand Siècle. Le Portrait Français sous le Règne du Louis XIV 1660–1715*, Nantes 1997, p. 122.
- ¹⁶ Karin Sidén, *Den ideala barndomen. Studier i det stormaktstida barnporträttets ikonografi och funktion*, Uppsala 2001, p. 72.
- ¹⁷ Sidén op. cit., pp. 72–73; Sixten Strömbom, *Index över svenska porträtt*, 3. Stockholm 1943, p. 213.
- ¹⁸ Sidén, op. cit., p. 72. Cf. Marie-Louise Rodén, *Drottning Christina – en biografi*, Stockholm 2008, pp. 25–26.
- ¹⁹ In a painting in Tallinn's City Museum, dated 1638, Christina's dress is of the same model but has a broad, laying lace collar. Pia Ehasalu, *Painting in Tallinn during the Swedish Modern Period (1561–1710)*, Tallinn 2007, pp. 148–150.
- ²⁰ Rodén, op. cit., p. 56.
- ²¹ A similar version is in the Nationalmuseum.
- ²² Steneberg, op. cit., p. 44, p. 194.
- ²³ Ibid., pp. 43–44. The original was probably painted by Elbfas, who remained in Maria Eleonora's duty until she left Sweden in 1640.
- ²⁴ Formerly at Romrod Castle, Hessen, Germany, as part of the portrait collection that Margareta Brahe had brought with her after her marriage in 1661 to Fredrik II of Hessen-Homburg. Steneberg, op. cit., p. 44.
- ²⁵ Maybe a first attempt at what we would today call cross dressing? Queen Christina would later in life prefer men's dress to women's. See Vern L. Bullough, *Cross Dressing, Sex, and Gender*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993, p. 97.

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Biography

Inga Lena Ångström Grandien, PhD, is an independent scholar based in Stockholm. Formerly at the Department of Art History at Stockholm University and the Department of Art History at Dalarna University, her research expertise is Swedish post-Reformation art and the Renaissance in general. She has an interest in portrait painting and has, among other things, written an article on the portraits of Charles XII (1682-1718) to be published in Rotterdam in 2018. She has also published an article about the early portraits of Queen Christina in *Images of Christina, Queen of Sweden – Queen in Rome* (2013), published by The Royal Armoury, Stockholm.

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From Morality Play to Court Masque: A Study of Allegorical Performance Costume from Medieval Religious Dramas to Secular Theatre of the Seventeenth Century

Toni Bate, MA

Abstract

This paper will explore the development of theatrical costume from the religious mystery and morality plays of the Middle Ages to the secular court masque performances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With an emphasis on colour, decoration, symbolism and allegory, the progression from ecclesiastical stoles and simple colour association to highly decorative and extravagant costumes will be analysed. Used to convey a moral or political message, these performances and their costumes epitomised the occupation with allegory at this time and provide examples of the obvious one dimensional characterisation prevalent in early European theatre. This examination will demonstrate how religious and secular theatre of this time, often compartmentalised in historical dress and costume literature, were interconnected and inextricably linked in terms of their performance costume.

Although rooted in Greco-Roman antiquity, allegory became a powerful mode of religious expression during the Middle Ages. Secular and political allegories during the medieval period often involved figurations of Justice, Injustice, Peace, Fortune, time, and the seasons, but Renaissance and Baroque art revitalized such allegories with a renewed interest in Classical conventions and myth. Frequently, artists combined stories and figures from antiquity with the Christian allegorical tradition.¹

This quote demonstrates the link between the Middle Ages and the renewal of the classical influence of the Renaissance period in terms of the importance of allegory as a tool for storytelling and propaganda. This metaphorical relationship is carried through to the costumes worn for both the religious and secular theatrical performance of this era where the concept of the allegory is used to define character through the performer's clothing. It is clear from original sources from this period that the notion of the allegory was prevalent throughout society at this time and can be seen in the art work and literature from the Middle Ages and throughout the Renaissance in the personification of theoretical concepts and qualities (Figure 1).

During the Middle Ages, having been hostile to previous forms of theatre, the Christian church developed their own dramatic representations of bible stories to promote Christian doctrine to a mostly illiterate congregation. The actors were originally members of the clergy and the pieces were performed in church, but by the fourteenth century they were being performed outside the church by members of guilds and considerable amounts of money were spent on staging and costuming the performances (Figure 2).²

The costumes for the mystery and miracle plays began as ecclesiastical stoles in various liturgical colours, the clergy playing the roles originally and holding emblems in their hands to suggest their character and its attributes.³ As conventions were developed, specific colours and garments were designated to



Figure 1
Allegory of April, Francesco del Cossa, 1470, painting-fresco, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, Italy.

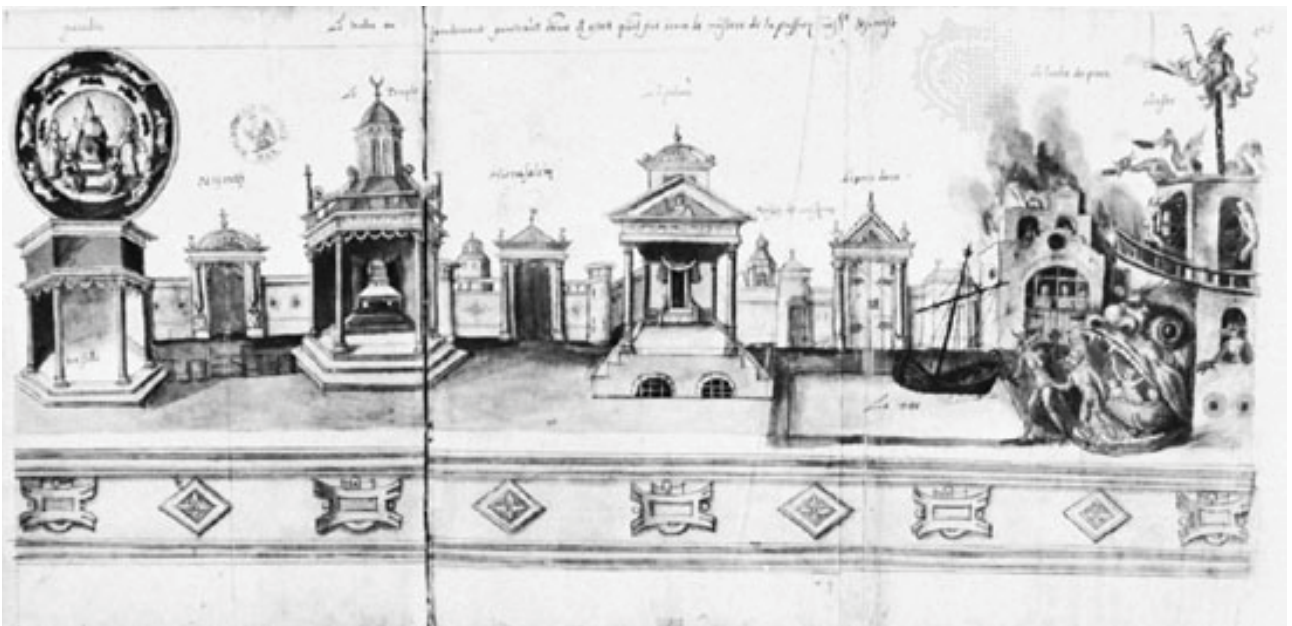


Figure 2
Setting of Valenciennes Mystery Play, Hubert Cailleau, 1547, miniature, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France, MS Fr. 12356 f. 2.

particular characters. For example, Thomas wore a silk tunic, Daniel wore green, Christ appeared in purple and red, and Mary in various shades of blue depending on which part of her life was being portrayed.

In *Costume in the Theatre*, James Laver cites an original source from Smith's company of Coventry where it is clear that Pilate (at least in Coventry) always wore a green coat, Herod a gown of blue satin and that the angels wore wings, vestments and suits made of gold skins.⁴ In another Coventry pageant the saved souls wore long white tunics and the damned souls black. Adam and Eve sometimes wore white leather to suggest nudity, the murderer Cain wore red, Truth wore green, judges were depicted in yellow and white was associated with Abel and with Mercy.⁵ As the costumes became more sophisticated symbols were developed to help the audience recognise the characters, such as God being represented in white with a golden face and, while still ecclesiastical in origin, they were made of expensive materials and heavily embellished with symbolic details.⁶

In the article *Stage Presentation of Allegorical Characters in Skelton's play Magnyfycence*, Olena Lilova discusses allegorical characters from the early sixteenth century and how their costumes were part of the symbolic code interpreted by the audience as part of their experience of the performance,

The moment an allegorical character appeared on the stage dressed in a certain way and fitted out with certain objects that revealed its inner essence, it evoked a whole range of associations with the viewers. Sloth, for instance, was usually presented as an untidily dressed, unkempt lazybones in sagging breeches with a pillow under his arm to have a rest whenever he wanted. The character's visual dimension was an essential pre-condition for the creation of a dramatic allegory, with every element of its outward appearance making its contribution into conveying an allegorical meaning.⁷

The one character which was not ecclesiastical was the devil who wore a character costume. One description of such a costume from the thirteenth century discusses its scaly skin and its two faces where one of the mouths is also an anus. It compares the costume to the classical furies, again suggesting the link between the classical ancient world and the religious imagery of the Medieval period.⁸ This is further supported by James Laver who suggested that, 'Sometimes the devil was shown covered with hair as if to demonstrate his lineal decent from the ancient satyrs, sometimes he wore leather, sometimes black cloth or a mixture of black and red to suggest the flames of hell' (Figure 3).⁹



Figure 3

Devil's Costume, Unknown Artist, thirteenth century, available at <http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Library/SLT/stage/early%20stages/medievalcostume.html>.



Figure 4

Allegory of the Seven Deadly Sins,
Unknown Artist, circa 1500, print,
395x276mm, British Museum, London,
England, BM 18650708.92.



Figure 5

Allegory of Music from Les Echecs Amoureux,
Robinet Testard, circa 1500, Bibliothèque Nationale de France,
Paris, France, 143, detail of f. 65v.

Morality plays arose during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and explored the duality and fallibility of mankind. The main character was representative of the common man, his struggle for salvation and the battle between good and evil. Other characters were represented as personified abstractions of vices and virtues and would compete for man's soul. The most famous of these plays include *Everyman* and *The Castle of Perseverance*.

While there is little visual contemporary evidence of the costumes worn in these plays there is an abundance of medieval art which demonstrates the preoccupation with allegorical personification (Figures 4 and 5). Characters in these plays included the Seven Deadly Sins (who would also carry objects such as sword for wrath and a mirror for lechery), Knowledge, Mischief, Understanding, Perseverance and the four daughters of God; Mercy, Justice, Temperance and Truth.¹⁰ Other characters included Poverty, the World, the Soul, Death, Strife, Patience, Vice, Conscience, Hypocrisy, Tyranny and Avarice as well as the different desires and characteristics of man such as Greed, Pride, Vanity and Good Will. As well as the addition of comical characters, dances and songs, to liven up the performances the costumes were made as elaborate as possible.

In *Costume of the Theatre* Komisarjevsky states that the costumes,

were either modern or ecclesiastical with allegoric touches added to them. For instance, the Soul wore a white brocade dress decorated with precious stones and a black cloak, Consolation was dressed in blue, Pieta in white and Whoredom wore a wonderful mask. Venus had a dress of yellow silk painted with hearts with silver wings. Sometimes the allegorical characters had inscriptions or were accompanied by boards or flags to make their meaning plainer to the audience.¹¹

A costume change was also frequently used to symbolise the conversion from sin to salvation. In the 1513 play *Hickscorner*, the character of Wisdom represents Christ while Amima, representing the soul

with her three powers Mind, Will and Understanding, is dressed in black and white to represent her mixture of reason and sensuality (Figure 6). The three powers are tempted into sin and adopt the clothing of town gallants, but reappear later in their original clothing to show redemption.¹²

The morality plays are significant as they mark the end of the biblical cycle of drama and form the link between medieval theatre and the beginnings of the modern play. They were ‘an intermediate step in the transition from liturgical to professional secular drama, combining elements of each’.¹³

Possibly the best primary visual source we have to demonstrate this link are the 1615 paintings of the *Ommenganck* (Figure 7). Preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, they depict an annual procession, which began in Brussels in the fourteenth century to honour a statue of the Virgin Mary. It consisted of a parade of guilds, clergy, magistrates and religious orders accompanied by symbolic cars depicting various biblical scenes such as the Nativity but with other cars portraying classical figures such as Apollo and the muses. Devils and angels are also represented and although the paintings are from a later date the origin of the costumes in medieval drama can still be appreciated.¹⁴



Figure 6

Contemplation, Pity, Freewill, Imagination, Hickscorner, Perseverance, page 132 of *Six Anonymous Plays*, Unknown Artist, circa 1510–1537, University of California Libraries, California, United States.



Figure 7

Details from *The Ommenganck*, Denys van Alsloot, 1616, oil on canvas, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England, 5928-1859.

In the fifteenth century the church power which had mostly dominated the Middle Ages began to be overtaken by more secular influences and during the Reformation, which began in 1517, religious drama was suppressed and Henry VIII subsequently banned any drama which was a threat to Protestantism.¹⁵

The court entertainments of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I developed into the elaborate court masques of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The masque performances had their origins in ancient folk ceremonies known as disguising or mumming but were inspired by the elaborate staging and costumes of medieval drama. In *Costume on the Stage* Diana De Marly states that, 'Real gold and silver lace were used with velvet, brocade and ermine. Where a company could not afford real gold then copper was used, while rock crystal would do if they could not afford diamonds.'¹⁶

The court masque performances were used to celebrate important occasions such as weddings, as well as being used as a propaganda tool, promoting the virtues of the people in power and illustrating wealth and authority in visual and theatrical terms. During this time decorative motifs contained many symbolic meanings which would have been easily read by illiterate members of the audience or by those who did not understand the language at a period when 'allegory and illusion were literary and artistic conventions'.¹⁷

The role of costume became part of the governing powers' message, representing 'visual political currency' heavy on symbolism, promoting the current monarch (who often played a god or hero) as the personification of a deity come to earth, just as costume had helped to promote the church's message of morality in earlier times through the depiction of personified virtues and vices (Figure 8).¹⁸



Figure 8
Allegory of Cornelis Tromp as Neptune, Jan van Vianen, 1691, engraving, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, United States, 1963.30.10763.

Louis XIV of France is still referred to as the Sun King – his performances as the Sun god Apollo reinforcing the link between the monarch and his chosen emblem. His golden costume became a symbol of his power, wealth and status as ruler; a golden and radiant king reminiscent of the representation of God with a golden face in the earlier mystery plays. This iconic image, heavy on decoration and symbolism, epitomised France's seventeenth century golden age of art, literature, music and fashion (Figure 9).

In Britain the Stuart kings, James I and Charles I, promoted peace and prosperity through characters who, at first, represented chaos and despair and then transformed to represent the harmony of a Stuart rule. In this scenario colour could be used as a unifying tool, cancelling out any political differences between aristocratic performers and highlighting the power of their royal leader.¹⁹

In *Four Centuries of Ballet*, Lincoln Kirstein discusses how characters were weighed down with figurative decoration including musicians whose costumes would be adorned with instruments and the character of Folly being covered in tinkling bells (Figures 10 and 11).²⁰ Although few of these costumes have survived, the ones that have often show a high concentration of embroidered decoration and it is known that the court masques provided employment for many professional embroiderers as can be seen in the following quote,

It is important to realise that any decoration was not simply for its own sake, but guided by allegorical and metaphysical consideration. By the middle of the seventeenth century dress had become overtly opulent, vast sums of money spent on extravagant silks, satins and embroidered fabrics and considerable use of real gold and precious stones as an integral part of decoration.²¹

Colour coding was still important in the masque costumes as it had been in the earlier religious dramas. Audiences were expected to recognise particular characters and these simple character types were represented all over Europe. For example, Diana would be represented in green with silver moon motifs, Fancy would have multicoloured garments and Night would be seen in dark blue.²²



Figure 9
Louis XIV as Apollo,
Henri Gissy, 1653,
costume design,
Chateau de Versailles, Paris, France.

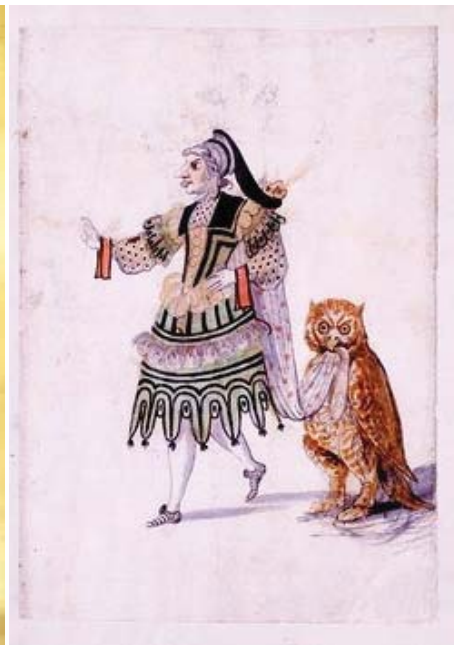


Figure 10
Jacqueline the Knowing One,
Daniel Rabel, circa 1625, costume
designs, Victoria and Albert Museum,
London, England,
S.367-1988.



Figure 11
The Entry of Music,
Daniel Rabel, circa 1625, costume
designs, Victoria and Albert
Museum, London, England,
S.1163-1986.

Pere Menestrier's 1682 treatise on ballet discusses the 'rules' of costuming a performance and the difficulties of costuming allegorical characters. Within it can clearly be seen the emphasis on symbolism and stylisation prevalent at the time. He said that,

Costumes must express, as well as they can, the nature and properties of the subject. Winds must be dressed in feathers because of their extraordinary lightness, Fortune should have a costume of changing colours, embroidered on her costume are sceptres, crowns, arms etc., Destiny should be clad in blue strewn with stars and bits of crystal because it is in the stars and crystal ball that man seeks to know his future. Cupid should be dressed in rose hued fabric embroidered with flaming hearts, Hate should wear a fiery robe, Faith ought to appear in white as a symbol of her sincerity and Poverty is recognised by her torn dress and motley rags.²³

Henri Gissey's designs from the seventeenth century clearly demonstrate the penchant for obvious character representation prevalent in the emblematic costume designs of this period (Figures 12 and 13).



Figure 12
The Magician from
The Nights of Peleus & Thetis,
 Henri Gissey, seventeenth century,
 costume design, Musée Carnavalet, Paris, France.



Figure 13
Monsieur, Le Duc D'Orleans
dressed as a Coral Fisherman,
 Henri Gissey, seventeenth century, costume design,
 available from <http://www.artnet.com/artists/henri-de-gissey/past-auction-results>.



Figure 14

Dancing Ladies, Bernardo Buontalenti, 1589, costume designs, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Italy.



Figure 15

Apollo, Bernardo Buontalenti, 1589, costume designs, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Italy.

Europe was becoming more secular and archaeological discoveries were being made, leading to a fascination with the ancient world and the classical Renaissance interpretation of the Roman Empire. Its deities and notions of triumph and heroism were revived as the artistic ideal, in both theatrical dress and performance design (Figures 14 and 15). Figures such as Joy, Hope and Fear were carried over from the morality plays but the classical influence eventually prevailed providing the excuse for ever more exotic costumes with Venus and the Graces, Juno, Mars, Amor and Neptune attended by satyrs, tritons and nymphs.²⁴ This was, however, a contemporary, imaginative interpretation of classical symbols, accessible to the audience and executed through applied embellishment, which was in turn influenced by the decorative baroque style of the interiors of the time.²⁵ This ornate style of swirling decoration was typified in its motifs of foliage, cherubs, crests and initials and its use of luxurious interior textiles such as velvet and damask, which translated into the decoration of the costumes through 'scalloped hems, tassels, pendants and animals' faces, the simplicity of a classical outline broken up into complicated compartments with a multitude of motifs'.²⁶

This classical Roman costuming style, introduced to England from Italy by the designer Inigo Jones (1573–1652) influenced stage costume for the next two hundred years, particularly in operatic and ballet productions where the costumes became more and more spectacular and extravagant; it had become the accepted code of symbolism for characters within theatrical performance (Figures 16 and 17). Jones often used animal faces in his designs; in 1611 Oberon had lion motifs to fasten on his cloak, theatrical shorthand for Hercules, enabling the audience to identify him as a heroic figure (Figure 18).²⁷

As evidenced in John Peacock's *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones*, Jones' designs were often influenced by classical engravings and sculptures depicting personified virtues, for example the design for a Naiad in Tethy's Festival of 1610 is taken from an image of *Temperance* engraved by Marcantonio in the early sixteenth century. He also used the *Allegory of Servitude* as influence for his design for an Indian Torchbearer (Figures 19 and 20).²⁸

Jones also influenced the transition of performance moving indoors. As this happened, lighting began to play an important role in the production and the style of the costumes. Candlelight deadened the colours and costumes became an extra source of light,



Figure 16
A Star, Inigo Jones, 1608,
 costume designs,
 Devonshire Collection,
 Chatsworth, England.



Figure 17
Fiery Spirit, Inigo Jones, 1608,
 costume designs,
 Devonshire Collection,
 Chatsworth, England.



Figure 18
Oberon, the Fairy Prince, Inigo
 Jones, 1608, costume designs,
 Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth,
 England.



Figure 19
The Allegory of Servitude, Adamo Scultori,
 sixteenth century, engraving,
 British Museum, London, England.



Figure 20
Indian Torchbearer, Inigo Jones, 1613,
 costume design, Devonshire Collection,
 Chatsworth, England.

Blue looks black, green darkens to brown, so it was important to use strong, bright colours such as white, yellow, scarlet or orange. Alongside the ideal that the theatre should be richly costumed was the assistance clothes could give as another source of light. Costumes were covered in spangles and sequins to make them shine all over, examples that survive are so thick with copper embroidery, sequins, braid, spangles and loops, the whole costume became an illumination.²⁹

This difference in staging from the outdoor pageants of the earlier religious plays to the candle lit indoor performances meant that to be seen and read, costumes had to be visible. Fabrics would be chosen not just for their symbolic colour but for their effect under lighting, the heavier embroidery providing further opportunities for symbolic decoration.

Although the allegorical costume prevailed at this time, as early as 1565 there were calls for a more individual approach to characterisation in terms of performance clothing. Playwright Leone de 'Sommi of Mantua felt that,

The clothing traditions of the Roman stage with white costumes for old men, colourful garments for young characters, yellow for prostitutes and twisted cloaks for pimps and parasites seemed too restrictive. He thought it important that each character should be different and individual in his costume so that the audience could recognise him without trouble. Where the ancients had stressed character types, Leone stressed individual beings.³⁰

This is clearly an important moment in the development of the role of costume in terms of representation of the individual character, however, it was not to be an interpretation based on realism as he also believed that principally, theatre should look magnificent and said that comedies could have rich and sumptuous clothing as long as tragedies were better dressed and more extravagantly decorated.

Masque scenes continued to be seen in operatic performances and allegorical characters were often seen in the Renaissance plays, for example, Rumour in *Henry IV* and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus* who is accompanied by Rape and Murder. Many plays of this time also included a masque scene such as the dance of the satyrs in *Winter's Tale* and the masque during the wedding scene of *The Tempest*.³¹ However, by the late eighteenth century, the use of allegory waned as it was subjected to both aesthetic and philosophical critique – the simplified one dimensional stock character of the morality plays and masques eventually gave way to complex characters reflecting varied personality traits.

Examining the development of performance costume at this time gives us a glimpse into the changing values and attitudes from this period of great transformation, providing a visual timeline of the change from the Middle Ages with its emphasis on authority and religion, through the cultural rebirth of the Renaissance, into the Age of Enlightenment which advocated that reason could free humankind from superstition and religious authoritarianism. As Barbara Ravelhofer states in *The Early Stuart Masque*, 'Early modern society was well aware of the cultural memory invested in clothing and the powerful statement garments made about the people who wore them.'³²

Endnotes

- ¹ Susannah Maurer, 'Master Impressions from the Uama Collections: Allegory', Feb–July 2009, <http://artmuseum.arizona.edu/events/event/master-impressions-from-the-uama-collections-allegory>, accessed 27 October 2016.
- ² Anonymous, 'Early Theatre', <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/e/early-british-theatre/>, accessed 24 March 2014.
- ³ Deidre Clancy, *Designing Costume for Stage and Screen*, Batsford, New York, 2014, p. 16.
- ⁴ James Laver, *Costume in the Theatre*, George G. Harrap and Co., London, 1964, p. 47.

- ⁵ Theodor Komisarjevsky, *The Costume of the Theatre*, Benjamin Blom, Inc., New York, 1968, p. 62.
- ⁶ Anonymous, op. cit.
- ⁷ Olena Lilova, 'Stage Presentation of Allegorical Characters In Skelton's Play Magnyfycence', *Via Panorâmica: An Anglo-American Studies Journal*, Series 3, Volume 1, 2012, pp. 5-20.
- ⁸ Anonymous, 'Costume in the Morality Plays', 1 April 2011, <http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Library/SLT/stage/early%20stages/medievalcostume.html>, accessed 27 October 2016.
- ⁹ Laver, op. cit., p. 46.
- ¹⁰ Robert Potter, *The English Morality Play: Origins, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1975, p. 26
- ¹¹ Komisarjevsky, op cit., p. 67.
- ¹² Potter, op. cit., p. 41.
- ¹³ Anonymous, 'Morality Play', 21 September 2009, <https://www.britannica.com/art/morality-play-dramatic-genre>, accessed 17 October 2017.
- ¹⁴ Anonymous, 'Explore the Ommenganck', <https://www.vam.ac.uk/articles/explore-the-ommgang>, accessed 17 October 2016.
- ¹⁵ Ibid.
- ¹⁶ Diana De Marly, *Costume on the Stage 1600-1940*, Batsford, London, 1982, p. 23.
- ¹⁷ Lanto Synge, *The Royal School of Needlework Book of Needlework and Embroidery*, The Oregon Press, Oregon, 1986, p. 33.
- ¹⁸ Barbara Ravelhofer, *The Early Stuart Masque: Dance, Costume and Music*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, p. 125.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 168.
- ²⁰ Lincoln Kirstein, *Movement and Metaphor; Four Centuries of Ballet*, Pitman Publishing, London, 1971, p. 35.
- ²¹ Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp, *Design for Ballet*, Studio Vista, London, 1978, pp. 18-31.
- ²² Ravelhofer, op. cit., p. 160.
- ²³ A. M. Nagler, *A Source Book in Theatrical History: Sources of Theatrical History*, Dover, New York, 1959, p.191.
- ²⁴ Clancy, op. cit, p. 16.
- ²⁵ Laver, op. cit., p. 143.
- ²⁶ Marley, op. cit., p. 86.
- ²⁷ Ravelhofer, op. cit., p. 146.
- ²⁸ John Peacock, *The Stage Designs of Inigo Jones: The European Context*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006, p. 131.
- ²⁹ Marley, op. cit., p. 23.
- ³⁰ Ibid., p. 10.
- ³¹ Anonymous, 'Masques in the Tempest', 23 April 2013, <http://shakespearesblog.webstarsltd.com/masques-in-the-tempest/>, accessed 27 October 2016
- ³² Ravelhofer, op. cit., p. 125.

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Biography

Toni Bate joined the University of Huddersfield in 2012 as Costume Construction Lecturer on the Costume with Textiles BA (Hons) degree. Prior to this she worked as the Costume Workroom Supervisor at the Liverpool Institute for Performing Arts. Other further and higher education teaching work includes Specialist Costume Technician at Edge Hill University, Costume Lecturer at Liverpool Community College and Costume Designer and Wardrobe Supervisor at Arden School of Theatre in Manchester. Since graduating from Liverpool Community College's Theatre Wardrobe course in 1994 Toni has also worked as a costume maker, tailor and wardrobe supervisor for theatre, film, and television.

‘What Severall Worlds Might in an Eare-Ring Bee’: Accessory and Materialism in the Seventeenth-Century Work of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle

Alexandra Carter, MA

Abstract

This essay places Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle’s self-professed penchant for fine dress in conversation with her natural philosophy by examining her use of earring metaphors in her Poems, and Fancies (1653). Looking closely at Cavendish’s figuration of fashion accessories allows us to see continuities between so-called periods in her work that might otherwise remain obscure. Specifically, I draw connections between the Poems, and Fancies and Cavendish’s utopian work, The Blazing World (1666). Furthermore, attending to Cavendish’s sartorial imagery allows insight into her positioning of the feminine sphere as a viable and valuable space of scientific inquiry and discovery.

The style of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, always turned heads. On 26 April 1667, for example, diarist Samuel Pepys recalled that he met,

Lady Newcastle ... (for the town-talk is nowadays of her extravagancies), with her velvet-cap, her hair about her ears, many black patches because of pimples about her mouth, naked necked without anything about it, and a black juste-au-corps.¹

Modern scholars have also been intrigued by Cavendish’s outlandish dress, but her pleasure in sartorial ‘extravagancies’ is most often used only as an anecdotal segue into discussions of (seemingly) loftier topics such as Restoration politics, gender critiques, or scientific inquiry.² Yet such superficial treatment of Cavendish’s love of finery combined with a general inattention to the metaphorical potential of fashion in her writing neglects the complex relationship between the sartorial and the scientific in Cavendish’s work. Cavendish was an aristocrat and a provocative dresser in Stuart England, but she was also a prolific author and natural philosopher. This essay places these aspects of Cavendish’s character in conversation with one another by arguing that whimsical figurations of fashion and accessory in Cavendish’s writing should not simply be read in terms of femininity or self-fashioning, but also as central rhetorical devices for her exposition of her quite eclectic natural philosophy.³ To that end, I consider Cavendish’s figuration of fashion accessories in relation to two of her major philosophical works: a cluster of ‘eare-ring’ poems in her first work, *Poems, and Fancies* (1653) and her short piece of speculative fiction, *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World* (1666).⁴ Taking the sartorial seriously in Cavendish’s writing yields at least two significant results. First, reading accessory in Cavendish’s writing allows us to trouble the critical periodisation of Cavendish’s work. Second, Cavendish’s sartorial metaphors present the feminine sphere as a viable and valuable space for scientific discovery and call attention to her playful alignment of feminine materials and philosophical materialism.

My emphasis on accessory is intentional. I align myself with Bella Mirabella's definition of accessories as 'multivalent objects, with multiple uses and meanings mediated by practice and content' and not merely, as the *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests, 'adjunct,' 'additional,' 'subordinate,' or 'non-essential.'⁵ For Mirabella, 'the word, and the notion of, access dominates accessory,' accessories allow the wearer unique and privileged access to various social, political, and, in the case of Cavendish, scientific spheres.⁶ The paradoxical status of accessories as supplemental and yet powerful makes them especially rich in metaphorical potential, particularly in a materialist discourse that values even the smallest particles of our universe. The power of Cavendish's use of earrings as a metaphor for the depth and dynamism of our world is that, ultimately, the world she describes inside of the 'eare-ring' is not a metaphor at all, but a poetic representation of the plurality of our natural world. Through such images, Cavendish pushes the boundaries of the fanciful and scientific, the imagined and the real.

Cavendish's materialism is most conventionally divided into two periods: early atomism and later holistic materialism.⁷ In the *Poems, and Fancies*, Cavendish devotes the first section of the collection to a poetic exploration of atomism, and she describes matter as composed of indivisible parts of uniform material. Such celebration of the autonomous individual comprising the whole, however, came too close to an endorsement of radical republicanism, and in 1655 Cavendish wrote 'A Condemning Treatise of Atomes.'⁸ As time passed and the monarchy was restored, Cavendish produced more philosophical writings that shifted toward a theory of matter as a single, extended, self-moving substance. At the core of this revised theory of matter is what one critic deems 'fusion and unity.'⁹ Though Cavendish's philosophy becomes more legible when organized as such, marking stark distinctions in Cavendish's thinking proves problematic, if not impossible. The principles of 'fusion and unity' and of a harmonious world of infinite matter that are said to dominate Cavendish's later materialism are similarly crucial to her early atomist work. For example, at one point in the *Poems*, Cavendish offers a prose clarification:

Thus the Fancy of my Atomes is, that the foure Principall Figures as Sharpe, Long, Round, Square, make the foure Elements; not that they are of severall matters, but are all * one matter, onely their several Figures do give them severall Proprieties.¹⁰

Not only does this explication reinforce Cavendish's theory of unity, but her characteristic use of asterisks within her writing highlights her sustained interest in ornamentation. In fact, the 1653 edition of the *Poems, and Fancies* contained marginal notes, indicated with an asterisk, that elaborated upon and clarified some of Cavendish's theoretical claims. In this moment, the "*" leads to the following marginal note: 'The severall Elements are al but one matter.'¹¹ The use of an asterisk underscores Cavendish's astute understanding of ornamentation as a complex and meaningful discursive system; the asterisks accessorize her theory in that they literalise the 'eare-ring' that adorns the concluding poems of this section of the collection. In Cavendish's above clarification, the asterisk calls attention to her chief philosophical contention — 'but are all * one matter' — by graphically tethering 'all' and 'one' together and insisting on their sameness. Imposing neat categorization on Cavendish's philosophy thus elides her emphatic insistence on unity, and the supposition that we can classify her thinking into formal periods contradicts the premise of her work: Cavendish's philosophy demands the disintegration of categorization and the privileging of interconnectivity.

While we may mark changes in Cavendish's thought, I am suggesting we focus on continuity, connection, and unity, and the 'eare-ring' poems provide a rich site for such an investigation. For example, the 'Ladies Eare-ring' that appears at the end of the poem 'Of Many Worlds in this World' becomes the subject of the following poem, 'A World in an Eare-ring.' The image of the 'Ladies Eare-ring' straddles two poems, itself providing a connection between seemingly discrete units of poetry and formally illustrating the core principle of her materialism. Thus, the organisational premise of the *Poems, and Fancies* is its unity as a collection. Not only are the 'eare-ring' poems a series, but also, as this essay will demonstrate, they speak to Cavendish's later work, *The Blazing World*, in important ways.

In the poem 'Of Many Worlds in this World', Cavendish nestles the conventionally masculine discourse of scientific inquiry into ladies' necks and, in so doing, grants a power of discovery to the feminine realm. The poem concludes:

If foure Atomes a World can make, * then see,
 What severall Worlds might in an Eare-ring bee.
 For Millions of these Atomes may bee in
 The Head of one small, little, single Pin.
 And if thus small, then Ladies well may weare
 A World of Worlds, as Pendants in each Eare.¹²

Cavendish begins to imagine a universe within the ‘eare-ing’ that ‘Ladies well may weare.’ The poem performs the paradox of infinity in singularity that is fundamental to Cavendish’s philosophy: ‘For Millions of these Atomes may bee in/The Head of one small, little, single Pin.’ The lines play upon the diminution characterizing Cavendish’s theory: gazing into the ‘Ladies eare-ring,’ we can locate ‘Millions’ in the ‘small, little, single.’ The use of conditional language such as ‘if,’ ‘might,’ and ‘may’ suggests the limits of what we can empirically know; Cavendish’s emphasis on this limitation contrasts with contemporary (meaning masculine) science’s posturing of empirical certitude. In Cavendish’s philosophical poetry, Fancy facilitates knowledge beyond the limits of Reason. The ‘severall Worlds’ that ‘might in an Eare-ring bee’ are beyond the scope of human perception, and Fancy intervenes to guide Reason toward scientific conclusions. As Cavendish brings the poem to a close, the phrase ‘And if thus...’ signals her repositioning of scientific discourse; she gestures toward conditional language of uncertainty (‘if’) before concluding with her own vision of the world (‘thus’). Cavendish slyly reminds the reader that not only is she constructing a fantastical world in poetry, but also that her project is at the same time explaining how our own world functions. Cavendish’s language carefully allows Fancy and Reason to exist simultaneously and harmoniously as she reimagines the limits of knowledge.¹³

The two ‘eare-ring’ poems serve as an ornament adorning a series of atomist poems, and the image of the ‘Ladies eare-ring’ highlights Cavendish’s integration of the feminine/domestic sphere into the masculine/scientific realm. In fact, her choice of accessory resonates with trends of her own time: earrings were hot on the sartorial scene of mid-seventeenth century England. Fashion historians Daniela Mascetti and Amanda Triossi explain that ‘It was only in the seventeenth century that change in both hair and dress fashions determined the reintroduction of large pendent earrings.’¹⁴ But earrings are also perfectly suited to the slippery multiplicity of Cavendish’s philosophy; as the final line of ‘Of Many Worlds in this World’ suggests, women have infinite worlds ‘as Pendants in each Eare.’ Earrings, of course, come in pairs, but they are, importantly, a pair in their sameness. Rather than possess a sense of opposition, earrings mirror each other so perfectly that they are both interchangeable between ears and indistinguishable from one another. Yet earrings were especially difficult to render identical because of the precious stones used in their designs. As Mascetti and Triossi explain,

Very large pearl drops were one of the favourite [styles in the seventeenth century].
 The difficulty of finding two beautiful pearls matched in size, shape and colour made
 these earrings extremely valuable and sought after.¹⁵

The symmetry of earrings mirrors Cavendish’s philosophical notion of nesting worlds that seem the same but are unique unto themselves. This accessory, then, more than others is well suited to Cavendish’s multivalent philosophy.

Earrings also possess a peculiar linguistic significance. Because ‘earring’ is a compound word, it calls attention to itself as an accessory that joins and integrates independent units – ‘ear’ and ‘ring’ – and thus highlights continuity and connectivity. In her reading of these poems, Claire Jowitt suggests that Cavendish,

creates a fantasy world out of what [she] sees as a linguistic discrepancy. Both
 the physical ‘eare’ which the poem describes and the ‘ring’ which holds the jewel
 on to the wearer seem to have no connection to the artefact, the ‘Eare-ring’ –
 a word made of these two linguistic components.¹⁶

Building from Jowitt’s assessment, I am suggesting that not only does Cavendish’s poem imagine a world more vast than these linguistic parts seem to allow, but she also materializes the space between these units. That is, while the ‘eare’ and the ‘ring’ may ‘seem’ to have no connection to the ‘Eare-ring’ a

materialist reading suggests the opposite: the force uniting these two words is *not* nothing, but rather an illustration of Cavendish's philosophy at work. The 'eare-ring' materializes the connection between body and adornment, and it demonstrates the concept of material unity. Cavendish's choice of earrings thus underscores her larger philosophical point that when there seems to be nothing in the world, there is, in fact, something; the space between these two words is not a vacuum, but rather packed with scientific significance. The question is not about the presence of life and matter, but human perception. The 'Ladies' ear – and the lady herself – has no idea that a world is bustling within the confines of the 'ring.'

Cavendish imagines a universe thriving within the 'Ladies Eare-ring': planets orbit, earthquakes tremble, kings reign, lovers die, all without the wearer realizing that anything is astir. 'A World in an Eare-ring' begins:

An Eare-ring round may well a Zodiake bee,
Wherein a Sun goeth round, and we not see.
And Planets Seven about the sun may move,
And Hee stand still, as some wise men would prove.
And fixed stars, like twinkling Diamonds, plac'd
About this Eare-ring, which a World is vast.
That same which doth the Eare-ring hold, the hole,
Is that, which we do call the Pole.
There nipping frosts may be, and Winter cold,
Yet never on the Ladies Eare take hold.
And Lightnings, Thunder, and great Winds may blow
Within this Eare-ring, yet the Eare not know.¹⁷

As the poem builds toward descriptions of the world within the 'Eare-ring,' the language shifts to a passive construction: 'And fixed stars, like twinkling Diamonds, plac'd /About this Eare-ring, which a World is vast.' On one level, this line contributes to a sense of Republican potential: there is no grand ordering agent present in this sentence. On another level, though, this line recalls the idea associated with Cavendish's later materialism – namely, that matter is one substance divided only by its own motion. Here, the diamonds seem to place themselves 'About this Eare-ring,' seemingly acting by their own accord. While the opening four lines are end-stopped, this line is enjambed, creating a sense of momentum, which in turn assigns motion to the diamond/stars. This sense of movement collapses the distinction between the material circumference of the 'Eare-ring' and the vast world within the 'Eare-ring.' Read without the interjected simile of 'like twinkling Diamonds,' the line suggests that 'fixed stars' are 'plac'd /About this Eare-ring' and furthermore, that the 'Eare-ring' is, literally, 'a World.' The inclusion of the simile highlights the accessory as figure rather than a reality – natural phenomena, not diamonds, embellish the 'Eare-ring.' The simile, though, is oddly reversed: rather than diamonds in an earring being like stars, in Cavendish's formulation stars in an earring are like diamonds. The boundary between accessory and nature, the literal and metaphorical, slowly dissolves.

While the poem presents a highly sensationalized world, it simultaneously mourns the constraints of human sense. Cavendish begins this poem by stretching the limits of the reader's perception: the 'Eare-ring' might be as expansive as an entire celestial sphere. And while this comparison establishes a certain infinity, the second line turns to reaffirm human limitation: 'and we not see.' Through its repeated refrain, 'and yet... and yet...', the poem insists that the wearer remains oblivious to the vibrant world within her 'Eare-ring.' Such sensory limitations speak to Cavendish's philosophical conviction that simply because humans cannot sense something does not mean that it does not exist or, furthermore, that it does not have sense and reason unto itself. Fantasy, then, enables understanding beyond the constraints of human sense; through poetic fancy, Cavendish materializes the linkage between 'eare' and 'ring' and, by extension, the interconnectivity of seemingly disparate forms of matter. Cavendish mobilises conditional language (the 'Eare-ring' 'may' be a Zodiac and the planets 'may move' about) to conjure a sense of opportunity in uncertainty, and she embraces the unknown as a site of scientific possibility. She mocks the 'wise men' who observe the natural world and endeavour to 'prove' its function. Here

she alludes to contemporary scientists proving Copernicus' heliocentric theory of the universe, but the line also hints at a combativeness toward the masculine scientific realm that Cavendish's philosophy counters. We can see this clearly in her use of the word 'see.'¹⁸ By juxtaposing what we cannot see and yet what 'some wise men may prove,' Cavendish unsettles dominant (masculine) modes of scientific knowledge in favour of a fanciful (feminine) mode of comprehension.

This poem provides an early testing ground for the satirical attacks against male scientific inquiry in Cavendish's utopia, *The Blazing World*, wherein she mocks the Bear-men – who represent seventeenth century scientists – and their telescopes. While the Bear-men believe this tool will yield new knowledge, the Empress (who resembles Cavendish herself) believes that these 'Glasses are false Informers.'¹⁹ 'Instead of discovering the truth,' the Empress claims, telescopes 'delude your senses.'²⁰ Rather than using devices to mimic the sense of other beings, the Empress orders the Bear-men to destroy their tools and allow each individual to comprehend the world 'by the motions of [his] own sense and reason.'²¹ Here Cavendish suggests that the harmony of the world depends upon each creature's unique sensory capabilities; borrowing the senses of another creature via technology leads us toward falsehoods. 'A World in an Eare-ring' marks a subtle and early iteration of Cavendish's exploration of this same tension. The first four lines ponder the order of the universe and slyly sneer at the 'some wise men' who 'prove' through a reliance on seeing what, as Cavendish says, 'we not see.'

As the poem progresses, the boundaries between accessory and other world continue to disintegrate. The pierced hole of the 'Ladies' ear becomes the 'Pole' around which the world rotates. The poem foreshadows the beginning scene of *The Blazing World*, where a man absconds with a beautiful maiden; they were 'carried as swift as an Arrow out of the Bow, towards the North-pole, and in a short time reached the Icy Sea, where the wind forced [their small boat] amongst huge pieces of Ice.'²² Trapped in this polar storm 'all were frozen to death, the young Lady onely, by the light of her Beauty, the heat of her Youth, and Protection of the Gods, remain[ed] alive.'²³ Similarly, 'There,' in the 'Pole' of the 'Eare-ring' do we find 'nipping frosts,' 'Winter cold,' and tempestuous 'Lightnings, Thunder, and great Winds.'²⁴ Furthermore, in *The Blazing World*, the surviving young woman travels not only 'to the very end or point of the Pole of that World, but even to another Pole of another World' and ultimately becomes Empress of this new world.²⁵ Individuals can travel between worlds through the Poles, just as in 'A World in an Eare-ring,' the hole that forms the pole of the world in the 'Eare-ring' is the reader's first point of access to the other world that exists within the accessory. Read together, it seems that the world the young lady slips into in *The Blazing World* is the world of the 'Eare-ring' – *The Blazing World* begins where the atomist poems leave off.

To understand the continuities between the so-called periods of her work, we must read Cavendish's feminine rhetoric of accessories with as much critical rigour as we do the conventionally masculine rhetoric of scientific inquiry. Cavendish elevates the feminine realm of fine dress, transforming the potentially frivolous into nuanced rhetorical devices through which she animates and explains her natural philosophy. By integrating sartorial imagery into her writing, Cavendish challenges conventional models of scientific discourse; she asks us to reevaluate our understanding of matter by reconceptualising our own relationships with material culture. Through the 'Ladies eare-ring,' Cavendish asks us to imagine the depth and liveliness of the world around us. Indeed, she dares us to imagine the possibilities within the objects of our everyday, and to concede that yes, perhaps there is another universe dangling from our ear lobe.

Endnotes

- ¹ Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, Vol. 8, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1974, pp. 186–187.
- ² While scholars no longer dismiss Cavendish for her sartorial and authorial extravagance (for example, G. D. Meyers' comment that Cavendish was 'too extravagant to be epitomised as the first scientific

- lady,' *The Scientific Lady in England, 1650-1760*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1955, p. 2), her sartorial language does not receive sustained critical attention. Instead, scholars typically use Cavendish's interest in fashion as an enticing anecdote. For example, Katie Whitaker begins her biography of Cavendish by remarking that '[Margaret] loved to dress finely in costly materials: clothes, for her, were an outlet of imagination and creativity, and an important form of self-expression.' *Madge: The Extraordinary Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, The First Woman to Live by Her Pen* Basic Books, New York, 2002, p. 1.
- ³ Cavendish spoke of 'singularity' in regard to self-fashioning in her autobiographical memoir, *A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding, and Life* (1656), wherein she professed: 'I did dislike any should follow my Fashions, for I always took delight in singularity, even in acoutrements of habit.' See *A True Relation*, in *Paper Bodies: A Margaret Cavendish Reader*, eds., Sylvia Bowerbank and Sarah Mendelson, Broadview Literary Texts, Ontario, 2000, p. 60.
- ⁴ Because no modern edition of the *Poems, and Fancies* exists, quotations are taken from the 1653 manuscript. All other citations from Cavendish are from Bowerbank and Mendelson's anthology, *Paper Bodies*.
- ⁵ Bella Mirabella, 'Introduction,' *Ornamentalism: The Art of Renaissance Accessories*, ed. Bella Mirabella, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 2011, p. 1.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, emphasis original.
- ⁷ See Anna Battigelli, 'World and Mind in Conflict: Cavendish's Review of the New Atomism,' in *Margaret Cavendish and the Exiles of the Mind*, The University of Kentucky Press, Lexington, 1998, pp. 39-61. More recently, see Lisa Sarasohn, 'The Politics of Matter,' in *The Natural Philosophy of Margaret Cavendish: Reason and Fancy during the Scientific Revolution*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2010, pp. 100-125. My resistance to the early atomism and later holistic materialism distinction is primarily in response to Sarasohn.
- ⁸ For the relationship between Cavendish's materialism and the political climate of seventeenth-century England, see Lisa Walters, 'Introduction,' in *Margaret Cavendish: Gender, Science and Politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014, pp. 1-36.
- ⁹ Sarasohn, op. cit., p. 104.
- ¹⁰ Cavendish, 1653, 'A World made by foure Atomes.'
- ¹¹ Interestingly, the notes are absent from the 1664 and 1668 editions.
- ¹² Cavendish, 1653, 'Of Many Worlds in this World,' pp. 11-16.
- ¹³ For discussions of ways of knowing in Cavendish's work, see Jay Stevenson's 'Imagining the Mind: Cavendish's Hobbesian Allegories,' *A Princely Brave Woman: Essays on Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle*, ed. Stephen Clucas, Ashgate Publishing Limited, Hampshire, 2003, pp. 143-155, and Bronwen Price, 'Feminine Modes of Knowing and Scientific Enquiry: Margaret Cavendish's Poetry as Case Study,' *Women and Literature in Britain, 1500-1700*, ed. Helen Wilcox, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 117-139.
- ¹⁴ Daniella Mascetti and Amanda Triossi, *Earrings: From Antiquity to the Present*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1990, p. 37. Earrings were primarily a feminine accoutrement, though not exclusively. See, for example, the Chandos Portrait of William Shakespeare (circa 1600-1610) that features the playwright's gold hoop earring. Mascetti and Triossi explain that 'At various stages of history men, women and children have been subjected to the ordeal of ear-piercing, though the male fashion for earrings has been mysteriously intermittent and sometimes a national rather than a cultural phenomenon,' *ibid.*, p. 7.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 23.
- ¹⁶ Claire Jowitt, 'Imperial Dreams? Margaret Cavendish and the Cult of Elizabeth,' *Women's Writing* Vol 4, Issue 3, 1997, p. 384.
- ¹⁷ Cavendish, 1653, 'A World in an Eare-ring,' pp. 1-12.
- ¹⁸ In her reading of another poem, Bronwen Price suggests that 'it is the ocular in particular that is placed in doubt as a key source of knowledge... knowledge is removed from the visual arena of sense and located within the realms of the visionary — that of non-sense.' Price, op. cit., pp. 128-130.
- ¹⁹ Cavendish, 1666, *The Blazing World*, p. 170.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*

- ²¹ Ibid.
²² Ibid., p. 154.
²³ Ibid.
²⁴ Cavendish, 1653, 'A World in an Eare-ring,' pp. 9-11.
²⁵ Cavendish, 1666, op. cit., p. 154.

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Biography

Alexandra Carter is a PhD candidate in English at Tufts University in the United States. She works on early modern literature and drama, with a particular interest in figurations of fashion in the period. Her research interests include gender, sexuality, desire, transvestitism, and the relationship between sartorial language and rhetoric, law, and early modern scientific writing.

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To Represent a King: The Clothing of Duke Johan, Second Son of King Gustav I of Sweden, Produced for His Audience with Queen Elizabeth in 1559

Lena Dahrén, PhD

Abstract

In 1559 Duke Johan (1537-1592), Prince of Sweden, sailed to England with the mission of negotiating a marriage between his elder brother, Duke Erik, and Queen Elizabeth. This study focuses on Duke Johan's purple-coloured dress with golden embroidery, prepared for his entrance into London. No clothing belonging to Duke Johan is extant and the depictions of him in portraiture show an older man. However, the documentation of his travel to England in 1559 is immense and provides information on the production of the Duke's dress. Additionally, his costume can be analysed in the context of depictions of contemporary nobility.

In May 1559, the Swedish Prince Johan, Duke of Finland (1537-1592) later to become King Johan III (reigned 1568-1592) personally offered to lead a delegation to England with the dual mission of negotiating Russian trade and negotiating a marriage between Queen Elizabeth and his elder brother, Duke Erik, (1533-1577) soon to become King Erik XIV (reigned 1560-1568). The repeated Swedish delegations in London in the period 1555-1565 are studied by Swedish and foreign scholars due to the marriage negotiations and the ambassadors' inexperienced behaviour.¹ The focus of this study is a costume made for Duke Johan in London. His dress is of such prestige, in quality of colour, fabric, and workmanship, that it is possible to follow in the Royal accounts kept for the Swedish diplomats' travel, stay, and accommodation in London.

Sources are the documentation, accounts, and correspondence, concerning the Swedish missions in London 1559-1560 that are kept in Swedish and English archives. In 1563, three years after his return from London, Duke Johan was imprisoned by his elder brother, King Eric XIV, and a thorough inventory was made of all the possessions of both Duke Johan and his wife, Duchess Katarina Jagellonica, a Polish princess. Comparisons are also made with a few contemporary depictions of European royalty and aristocrats and some contemporary extant garments that belonged to European princes and aristocrats.

Duke Johan's Trip and Arrival in Harwich

After a stormy voyage over the North Sea, Duke Johan arrived at Harwich on 16 September 1559.² As soon as his arrival was known at the English court, Queen Elizabeth sent the 16th Earl of Oxford, John de Vere (1512?-1562), Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577), Sir Francis Knolles (1511-1596), and Lord Robert Dudley (1532-1588) to entertain Duke Johan and to help him with whatever he might need for arranging his further trip to London.³

Preparations for Duke Johan's arrival in London had been ongoing for months. The Bishop of Winchester's palace, on the south side of the Thames, was rented and furnished for the Duke. State beds were arranged and the Duke's bed was decorated with golden fringe; a red silk quilted bedcover was made; there were also nine feather-beds of different sizes and 19 sets of bed sheets and pillowcases.⁴ Tables and chairs were brought to the palace and for the table 33½ yards of linen damask were made into 13 dozen serviettes; 23 yards of linen were prepared into tablecloths; 46 yards of broad linen cloth were made into tablecloths, towels, etc. There were also rooms arranged as workshops [schrädderestuga] for the Duke's tailors and embroiderers for which tables and wooden embroidery frames, needed to perform their professions, were produced.⁵ At least three costumes were made for Duke Johan during his visit to England in 1559. One black, one grey, and one fiolenbrun costume. The focus for this study is to construct a picture of the fiolenbrun costume made for Duke Johan in London.

The Colour Fiolenbrun

Fiolenbrun, a specific shade of purple, was a frequently recorded colour in the Swedish royal silk chamber during the sixteenth century concerning purchase of silk for production of garments to be worn by the royal family. In Germany, it was known as violenbrun. As many merchants delivering silk to the Swedish court were German speaking, it is possible that the Swedish clerks recorded the colour as it was pronounced, which would explain the change of the initial letter of the word.

The only contemporary fiolenbrun garment preserved in Sweden is the coronation robe of King Erik XIV made in 1561 (Figure 1). It is dark violet velvet, almost black, and is described in the English catalogue as purple.⁶ A dark violet coachman's coat from 1620 with yellow ribbons (Figure 2) is mentioned in the 1654 Royal Wardrobe inventory. It is described as violet and yellow and might follow the colour scheme of Gustav II Adolf's mother, Queen Kristina of Holstein-Gottorp: purple and gold.⁷ The coat is recorded as a kuskappa or kuskekiortel. A fiolenbrun gold brocade fragment, from a pair of unpicked breeches from the 1620s (Figure 3), is recorded in the 1661 Royal Wardrobe inventory as a clothing remnant of King Gustav II Adolf (1594-1632). It is dark violet in colour, not as dark as the earlier mentioned, and described in printed English catalogues as mauve.⁸

There is no known analysis made from the colour pigment of the garments to confirm if they are true purple. It seems as if the term is used as a name for the colour and not the pigment. By these means,



Figure 1

Coronation Robe of King Erik XIV, 1561, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden, Gnr. 3340.



Figure 2

Coachman's Coat, early seventeenth century, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden, Gnr. 3945a (21492).



Figure 3
Gold-brocaded fragment, 1620s,
The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, Sweden, Gnr. 3367b (19859).



Figure 4
'Seydensticker', *Ständebuch*, Jost
Amman, 1568, Wikipedia
Commons, accessed 28.11.2016.

it is plausible to state that *fiolenbrun* was a very dark violet, purple-like colour; probably a replacement or substitute for true purple. Instead of being a term for a specific dye pigment, the word, purple, seems to have become a term for the colour.⁹ In this text I will henceforth refer to *fiolenbrun* colour as purple.

The Purple Costume

The preparations for the purple costume had been going on for several weeks before the arrival of Duke Johan in England. As there are no records for the purchase of the large amounts of purple silk fabric needed to make such a costume in England before the Duke's entrance to London, it is plausible that the fabric was part of the 79 yards of purple silk given to Duke Johan in Sweden, from Duke Erik's silk-chamber in July 1559.¹⁰ The fabric then may have been transported to England by the Swedish delegation arriving into London in late July of that year. If this assumption is correct, it is reasonable to believe that the embroiderers who prepared the fabric had already started their work in August and were finished in early September as the first payment for their work was made on 11 September 1559.

Fabric to be embroidered for costume was usually mounted on a wooden frame first. Then, the parts of the fabric to be used for the costume were embroidered (Figure 4). When the embroidery was finished, the fabric was handed over to the tailor who cut the fabric according to the client's measurements into the different pattern pieces, which were then sewn together.

Embroiderers

Seven embroiderers worked on the Duke's costume. Five male embroiderers included Master Gregorj or Gregorius, Master Willem Breslet or Breslot, 'the Queen's embroiderer' Master Willem or Wilhelm, Hans Pärstickare, and Jacob Pärstickare (*pärstickare* is the Swedish term for embroiderer).¹¹ Two female embroiderers worked on the Duke's costume, and they are recorded in the archives as, simply, 'Doctoris Peteri wife' and a 'woman'.¹² According to the payments, the masters made the most advanced and prestigious work on the costume. On 11 September 1559, Master Gregorius received 40 daler for an embroidered trimming for a tabbort. Master Willem Breslet embroidered a purple velvet collar for which he received 12 daler by 29 September 1559.¹³ The Queen's embroiderer, Master Willem, made unspecified work for which he was paid 78 daler which is almost double the amount Master Gregorius received for his embroidered trimming.

Tailors

According to the accounts, six tailors had been preparing the Duke's costumes for two weeks before his arrival to England.¹⁴ This means that the Duke's measurements either were known to the tailors or might have been forwarded to them by the same delegation which is assumed to have brought the purple fabric to London.

From the time of the Duke's arrival until his entrance into London, the six tailors continued working on the Duke's costumes and in the end they worked night and day to finish the Duke's purple and black costumes.¹⁵ Who and how many of the tailors who were actually working on the purple costume is not specified. However, there is one record concerning a tailor who sewed together his Lordship's purple clothing, and another of a Hennich Tailor [Schräddar] receiving payment for the work he made during the nights for the clothing our Lordship wore while riding into London.¹⁶

Johan's Costume

According to the payment of the master embroiderers, the purple costume consisted of several garments. The ensemble included a tabert trimmed with golden embroidery, a kiortel trimmed with golden embroidery, an embroidered velvet collar, a doublet, and trunk-hose.

Tabard

Master Gregorius made a trimming for a tabard [tabert] for which he was paid 40 daler, and at least two more embroiderers received 12 daler for work they made on the Duke's tabard.¹⁷ So, what was a tabard? The Swedish term tabert was used in the sixteenth century for an overgarment often open in the sides, later a wide mantle, for ceremonial use.¹⁸ During the sixteenth century, Duke Johan's peers – kings, princes and aristocracy – in northern Europe, were depicted wearing a cloak or short mantle trimmed with embroidery or fur. Henry VIII was not a contemporary of Johan. His clothing was old fashioned but impressive in colour, material, and execution. Interesting for the comparison to Duke Johan's costume is the golden geometric embroidered trimmings on the king's cloak in Moresque design (Figure 5).



Figure 5
Henry VIII, Hans Holbein the younger,
1537, Walker Art Gallery,
Liverpool, England.



Figure 6
Edward VI, unknown artist, 1546,
Wikipedia Common.



Figure 7

Cloak, 1560–1575, Museum of London, England, C2116.

Edward VI is, like his father, depicted wearing a large cloak with broad embroidered trimmings, fur-lining, and hanging sleeves (Figure 6). Both cloaks are of a reddish-brown colour, not as dark violet as the colour of Duke Johan's costume is assumed to be.

Several cloaks are preserved from the late sixteenth century. One with broad embroidered trimmings and without sleeves is part of the Museum of London Collection but is unfortunately without provenance (Figure 7). The broad embroidered trimming has the initial M under an open crown in each corner. The colour is mentioned as crimson, and it is redder than Johan's costume is assumed to be.

In the 1563 inventory of Duke Johan's belongings is noted a purple velvet mantle worn in 1561 by the Duke during the coronation of his brother, King Erik XIV.¹⁹ Can a mantle worn at a coronation be made from a used garment that was embroidered and sewn in England? It is, of course, impossible to determine. The tabard made in England was of purple silk, the colour and fabric signalling high social rank of the wearer. If this mantle was used, it was of a colour and material of high dignity and, if it had been worn at the court of Queen Elizabeth in London 1559, the mantle would have had a prestigious history which in itself could have provided sufficient reputation to be remade into a mantle suitable for Duke Johan to wear at the coronation. The discussion of the mantle being made of reused material is supported by another record in the 1563 inventory. A purple velvet trimming, embroidered with golden thread in Moresque design, was stored in a chest.²⁰ It is reasonable to assume that this trimming was made for the tabard made in London in 1559.

Kiortel

According to the accounts, the Duke's purple costume had a kiortel with embroidered trimming and fur-lining which cost 20 daler.²¹ A kiortel is a Swedish term for a cloak, jerkin, or doublet.²² The earlier



Figure 8

Alessandro Farnese, Sofonisba Anguissola, circa 1560, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, Ireland.

mentioned coach-driver's coat was recorded as kiortel in the Royal Wardrobe inventory. In 1563 Duke Johan had a purple kiortel with trimmings of broad Moresque-embroidery of golden thread, lined with black fox fur, with long sleeves.

Edward VI was depicted wearing a half-long, all-over embroidered doublet with golden embroidered trimming under his cloak (Figure 6). Another wide doublet or jacket with sleeves, broad embroidered trimmings and fur lining, was worn by Prince Alessandro Farnese (1545-1592), depicted in circa 1560 (Figure 8). These two wider doublets or jackets might be of the same kind as Duke Johan's kiortel.

Doublet and Trunk Hose

The only trace of a doublet and trunk hose made for the Duke in London is the record of the master embroiderer receiving the payment of 38 daler for working them.²³ In 1563 Duke Johan owned a doublet [tröija] made of purple silk satin, embroidered all over with golden thread in Moresque design, and a pair of purple velvet trunk hose, embroidered all over with gold in Moresque design.²⁴ The hose were under-coated or lined with purple satin, and laid with golden lace. There was also a pair of purple silk stockings.

This garment can be plausibly compared with the painting of King Erik, who was depicted in 1561 wearing a red costume with an embroidered sleeveless doublet and trunk hose of velvet with panes embroidered in geometric, Moresque pattern (Figure 9). Under the doublet he has another garment with silk satin sleeves. The costume is assumed to have been made for King Erik in London during 1560-1561. If so, it might even have been made by the same artisans who embroidered the purple costume of Duke Johan. Duke Johan's hose were of velvet and Moresque patterned so they might have



Figure 9

Erik XIV, Steven van der Meulen, 1561, The National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden.

been of a similar design to those his brother was wearing in the portrait. The doublet made for the Duke was of silk satin, which also is the case in the painting of his brother.

Collar

In September 1559, Master Willem Breslet, embroiderer, prepared a purple velvet collar.²⁵ When imprisoned in 1563, the Duke owned 14 collars, of which one was made of purple velvet, embroidered all over with golden thread in Moresque design, lined with purple 'skillert', which is likely to have been a silk taffeta in two colours, one in warp and one in weft, which made it shimmer. No comparable sources could be found to provide a visual impression of the collar.

The most costly preparation for the Duke's costume was the work executed by the Queen's embroiderer, Master Willem, who received 78 daler for the preparations of the purple clothing.²⁶ The master's work is unspecified embroidery unattached to any special garment. According to the depictions compared with Duke Johan's dress, the surfaces of the costumes are usually completely covered with embroidery. My hypothesis is that the Queen's embroiderer, Master Willem, made such all-over embroidery for the mantle, and all the other parts needed to be embroidered for the garments.

The total amount paid for the embroidered work (labour only, not materials) was approximately £10,403 in the currency of 2016.²⁷ Such a large amount of money indicates that it was highly skilled workmanship made in a complicated design with precious materials. It was embroidery made for a very prestigious costume made for a socially high-ranking client. It is reasonable to assume that the masters did not do the work all by themselves but at their workshops with the help of employees, apprentices, and other unknown members of the workshop and household. In addition to the cost of the embroidery, there is the value of the fabric, silk satin and velvet, silk and golden thread, which was not declared. The purple silk was of different qualities, velvet and satin. A reason for choosing different qualities in one and the same garment is that the different surfaces are contrasting, matte and shiny.

Conclusion and Epilogue

When Duke Johan and his entourage entered London in early October 1559, he was accompanied by John de Vere, the 16th Earl of Oxford, and Lord Robert Dudley. Watching the procession was the First Lord Marquess of Northampton, William Parr, Lord Ambrose Dudley, and other gentlemen and ladies. Duke Johan had a train of approximately 50 people all dressed in black.²⁸ It is not clear if the Duke wore the purple costume with the golden embroidered trimmings during the procession. However, the entrance into London was a very important occasion for the Duke, and significant people were standing along the road watching him. If he, the Duke of Finland, Prince of Sweden, second in line to the Swedish throne, was wearing a shimmering dark purple, velvet costume, covered completely with golden embroidery he must have stood out from the dark crowd, as the most prominent person in the procession, a true representative for his father, the King of Sweden, and his brother, the elected King, Duke Erik. Without doubt, this purple and gold dress was the costume he wore when received by the Queen Elizabeth at court.

Written sources concerning costume are hard to interpret. They hardly ever tell about cut or appearance. However, written sources can provide details of significance of economic value for recognition in inventory and accounts including precious fabrics (silk, cloth, velvet, fur) or colours (purple, crimson, black) or jewellery (gold, silver, pearls) or execution (embroidery, damask, satin). The value of the material is important for the record, and makes it possible to trace it through the accounts. Unless there is an identified garment preserved, or a portrait known to depict the sitter in a special costume, it is impossible to know what the dress in the written sources looked like. One can only assume and compare the garment with its peers.

In this case, the costume made for the Duke was remarkable. The colour of the material, even though it is not true-purple, is similar to purple, and it is covered all over with gold embroidery in a Moresque pattern. The fabric is velvet, silk, and gold. If the garment made for Duke Johan was true-purple, the colour itself would raise the value to an extremely high level. Even fiolenbrun was highly prestigious and a symbol of rank. The all-over embroidered Moresque-pattern in gold thread made the garment even more prominent. The value is supported by the thorough notation in the accounts during the production and in the later inventories made in a way that there is no doubt which garment it is.

Acknowledgments

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Endnotes

- ¹ See Andersson, Ingvar, *Erik XIV's Engelska Underhandlingar: Studier i Svensk Diplomati Och Handelspolitik*, Gleerup, Lund, 1935; Ericson Wolke, Lars, *Johan III: En Biografi*, Historiska Media, Lund, 2004; and Martin, James Nathan, *Anglo-Swedish Foreign Relations during the Reign of Elizabeth I*, University of Nebraska at Lincoln, PhD Thesis, Nebraska, 2008.
- ² Andersson, op. cit., p. 25.
- ³ Calendar of State Papers: Foreign Series: Reign of Elizabeth, 1559-1560, Norwich, 1901, #4:4, #5, #6:1-2.
- ⁴ Slottsarkivet (SLA), *Resor*, 1559, vol. 2, Stockholm, pp. 97, 110, 111, 114, and 115.
- ⁵ Riksarkivet (RA), *Diplomaträkenskaper*, vol. 3:2, opag; (SLA), op. cit., pp. 38 and 46.
- ⁶ Rangström, Lena, ed., *Modelejon: Manligt Mode 1500-tal 1600-tal 1700-tal*, The Royal Armoury, Stockholm, 2002, p. 16.
- ⁷ Ibid., pp. 107-108 and 331.
- ⁸ Ibid., pp. 83 and 317.

- ⁹ Gösta Sandberg, *Purpur, Koschenill, Krapp: En Bok om Röda Textilier*, Tiden, Stockholm, 1994, pp. 36–39.
- ¹⁰ Slottsarkivet (SLA), *Kungliga Klädkammaren*, Vol. A:24:8, p. 18r; Gustav I and Johan Axel Almquist, eds., *Konung Gustaf den Förstes Registratur*, Vol. 29, 1559, 1560, Stockholm, 1916, pp. 212–213; More study of the purchase of purple silk is needed.
- ¹¹ His surname is difficult to read in the handwritten accounts. It might be Bruneo or Grunea.
- ¹² The Royal Palace Archives, *Voyages*, op. cit., pp. 34 and 81.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 107–109.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- ¹⁷ Op. cit., pp. 107–108; The Swedish National Archives, op. cit., vol. 3:3 opag.
- ¹⁸ *SAOB*, <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/>, accessed 3 December 2016.
- ¹⁹ Reinhold Hausen, ed., *Förteckning öfver Hertig Johans af Finland Och Hans Gemål Katarina Jagellonicas Lösegendom 1563*, Helsingfors 1909, p. 20.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.
- ²¹ The Royal Palace Archives, op. cit., p. 108.
- ²² *SAOB*, <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/>, accessed 3 December 2016.
- ²³ The Royal Palace Archives, op. cit., pp. 108 and 109.
- ²⁴ Hausen, op. cit., pp. 23 and 26.
- ²⁵ The Swedish National Archives, op. cit., vol. 3:3 opag; The Royal Palace Archives, op. cit., p. 109.
- ²⁶ The Swedish National Archives, op. cit., vol. 3:3 opag.
- ²⁷ Rodney Edvinsson and Johan Söderberg, *A Consumer Price Index for Sweden, 1290–2008, Review of Income and Wealth*, Vol. 57 (2), 2011, pp. 270–292; *Online Currency Transformer, The Royal Coin Cabinet*, Stockholm http://www.myntkabinettet.se/fakta/rakna_ut_penningvardet, accessed 1 December 2016.
- ²⁸ Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Tailor of London from AD 1550 to AD 1563*, London, 1848, p. 214.

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Biography

Lena Dahrén graduated with a PhD in Textile History from the Art History Department at Uppsala University in 2010. Her dissertation explored the technique, production, use, and reuse of bobbin-made borders and edgings of gold and silver during the period 1550–1640. Previous to this, she worked as a handicraft consultant specialising in traditional Swedish bobbin lace with a special interest of the so-called free hand lace. Her current research concerns the flow of luxurious textiles into Sweden in the mid-sixteenth century and contemporary dress reflected in extant church vestments.

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To Cover or Not to Cover: Hat Honour at the Early Stuart Court, 1603-1642

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Abstract

Hat honour, the act of donning headwear in the presence of social inferiors, combined a rich language of materials with careful choreography. An important ritual of court societies, it allowed international ambassadors to effectively navigate the intricacies of status negotiation between monarchs, and was an essential framework in which to establish diplomatic introductions. Through the study of this cultural practice at the court of the Early Stuart kings, this paper seeks to show how dress etiquette was critical to the functioning of early modern courts, particularly with regard to international relations.

At her wedding to the Elector Palatine in February 1613, Elizabeth Stuart wore a spectacular dress. The decorative additions alone cost £1700 – over ten times the price of building a property in Covent Garden, then a hugely fashionable neighbourhood in the London of her father, James I.¹ Membership of the elite was proclaimed by expensively sourced, expertly-crafted materials and dyes, complicated construction methods, and the mind-numbing intricacies of embroidered detail, not to mention statement jewel or pearl accessories.² Exaggerated levels of consumption, which implied financial plenty, were synonymous with political ascendancy and, as Lawrence Stone has demonstrated, explains the instinct of the Stuart aristocracy to outspend rivals to the point of bankruptcy.³ Headwear played its part in the important language of elite consumption. From 1566 onwards, velvet hats were reserved for those above the rank of son of a knight or Lord.⁴ With such a pronounced emphasis on *seeing* power, monarchs sought to repeatedly remind their subjects of the nature and extent of royal authority via ceremonial entries or grand religious ceremonies.⁵ James I understood the importance of looking the part. In February 1613, Antonio Foscarini, the Venetian ambassador, remarked at a meeting of English courtiers that they were ‘...so gorgeously dressed that the imagination could hardly grasp the spectacle.’ However, along with the Queen’s glittering outfit, it was ‘a rope and jewel of diamonds also in [the King’s] hat, of inestimable value’ which ultimately stole the show.⁶

This huge monetary investment necessarily imbued materials, particularly clothing, with huge communicative significance. Colours, textures, symbols, and the impact of structured dress on the body gave rise to a multitude of subtle messages, an essential mechanism by which political and religious views could be broadcast and exchanged.⁷ Along with materiality, space has recently come to be understood as an important medium through which the politics of the diplomatic encounter manifested, and a means by which access to the monarch could be controlled.⁸ Careful movements of the body also presented visual cues for the contemporary viewer. The performance of public rituals, repeated actions instilled with associated meaning, functioned to reinforce the premier status of the monarch in wider society.⁹ In the audience chamber, deference to the monarch could be shown through bowing or the kissing of the royal hand.¹⁰ The key interaction, and the one most observed, involved the removal and replacing of headwear.¹¹ The interdependency between hats and authority has been in place since the Ancient Egyptians, who were the first to use the association to project power visually.¹² Scholars have positioned

the coronation as an essential ritual act in the creation of a monarch, in which the covering of the head can be interpreted as an accession to supreme authority. In the oldest English coronations, a helmet rather than a crown was bestowed on a new king, a practical reminder of his duties in battle.¹³ Headwear appeared in different forms but consistently denotes the superlative. The superstar status of James I is marked was also by his hat. In 1603, the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Scaramelli noted that:

‘From his dress he would have been taken for the meanest among the courtiers, [due to] a modesty he affects, had it not been for a chain of diamonds round his neck and a great diamond in his hat; they say it is the one Don Antonio of Portugal pledged for eighty thousand crowns, but is now valued at two hundred thousand.’¹⁴

Meetings between monarchs at the supranational level only amplified the preoccupation with outward demonstrations of power and status already fierce in a local court context. Competition between rulers, physical personifications of the political nation according to medieval political theory, was implicit in every action which took place.¹⁵ The right to wear a hat was granted between equals, so all parties had to be covered to preserve their dignity. Precise choreography was essential. The instructions for the meeting of Henry VIII and the Emperor Charles V in April 1520 included clear instructions regarding hat removal, ‘As soon as the two Kings arrive ... they will take off their hats, and proceeding on horseback to the very centre, they will there salute and embrace one another and enter into conversation.’¹⁶ Appropriate display was widely seen as the most fundamental diplomatic duty.¹⁷ The ambassador represented a temporary devolution of monarchical authority and a slight against him was taken as an offense against the sovereign. The question of precedence was a key battleground in the competition between ambassadors:

The crux of the matter was that appearances – the right to a place of honour in public ceremonies of any kind... the right to receive rather than make the first visit when two diplomats had had to deal with each other... clearly and brutally symbolised power and status.¹⁸

At the Stuart court, ambassadors fought constantly for the ‘sight’ of the king at public events. In 1619, in the days before a ‘running of the tylt’ to commemorate James’ accession, the French extraordinary ambassador, the Maréchal de Cadenet, made clear to John Finet, the Master of Ceremonies, the importance of a position, already given to Gondomar, in the line of sight of both the king and the public. He complained, ‘... the Spaniard might seem to have the better place, as being most in the kings and peoples sight.’¹⁹ In an atmosphere where outward action conveyed considerable meaning, a misunderstanding of local customs represented great danger to the ambassador’s reputation, and that of his master. Therefore, complex ceremonial and social etiquette provided a recognizable set of behaviours that allowed ambassadors to operate without fear of causing unintended offence. The act of removing or replacing headwear in the presence of a monarch was a neat and visible language. There was considerable safety in this choreography. After all, the ambassador’s movements, and those of their entourage, were closely scrutinised, ‘The [Spanish] Ambassador’s Jesuit confessor put on his hat during the prayer for the King.’²⁰

A myriad of signals could be declared through the position of headwear, ‘Aggression, defiance, salutation, respect, submission, entreaty, and emotion were all readily conveyed by adroit handling.’²¹ Skillful manipulation of the language gained diplomatic prestige for the ambassador and had the potential to improve international relations. In 1605 the brother of Queen Anne, Ulrik, Duke of Holstein, remained bareheaded in the presence of the Venetian ambassador Nicolò Molin, who he had offended earlier that day during a disagreement over precedence at a wedding:

... the Duke of Holstein walking in front uncovered ... a stool was prepared for me on the King’s right, and another for the Duke on the Queen’s left, but he would not sit down; he preferred to stand uncovered for the three hours the masque and ballo lasted.²²

For our purposes, the first important function of the hat honour ritual was simple: to acknowledge the illusion that another sovereign of Europe was present at the audience. Ambassadors were not permitted to enter to participate as private individuals. In 1629, a Dutch gentleman by the name of Monsiuer Brassert, who was 'not qualified as joynt and full commissioner wyth the other but deputy only for some particular affayr', was rebuked for covering without the appropriate qualifications, so that 'the Kyng himselfe...found falt with and spake of to the Secretary'.²³ In 1629 Charles declared that Sir James Spence, a 'Scottish man borne and [Charles'] natural subject...should receive all the honours and respects given any other ambassador, and be permitted to cover in his presence'.²⁴ As a representative of King Gustavus Adolphus, Spence's personal status was overruled in favour of his representative persona. Secondly, the invitation to cover from an already covered monarch provided a sense of balance in the room. In September 1619, '...after [James] had invited him to cover, [the French ambassador, the Comte de Tillieres] obeyed, but uncovered [immediately] holding his hat all the time after (except one little instant) in his hand.'²⁵ While the act of covering by the French ambassador was brief, it allowed a moment of mutual respect and reverence to occur between James and the theoretical presence of the French King. Both monarchs could leave the appointment without insult or harm to their respective reputations.

James casual approach to court life in Scotland contrasted the relative formality of the later situation in England, where he dined in state:

[The King] ... would probably hardly have changed his modest habit of life which he pursued in Scotland, where he lived hardly like a private gentleman, let alone a sovereign, making many people sit down with him at table, waited on by rough servants, who did not even remove their hats, treating all with a French familiarity ...²⁶

He was a political realist with a clear foreign policy agenda – to unite Europe's disparate Protestant and Catholic factions and leave a legacy as the great 'Peacemaker' of Europe.²⁷ However, he cannily understood the importance of fluency in *all* diplomatic languages to a successful brokering of positive international relations, despite a preference for argument and debate.²⁸ The king would even sit uncovered himself as a gesture of sincere friendship.²⁹ In 1613, at his daughter's wedding celebrations, James excused his unusual neglect of the custom when in the presence of his new son-in-law:

At dinner the King pledged the Palatine without removing his hat; adding, however, with great affection, that on any other occasion he would have treated the Elector as a Prince and removed his hat, but now he wished to treat him as a son and without ceremony.³⁰

In December 1603, in an act that demonstrated his great esteem for them, James greeted the Venetian ambassadors, Niccoló Molin and Piero Duodo, bareheaded before the trio covered simultaneously.³¹ Giovanni Scaramelli, the Venetian Secretary, also noted James' pronounced politeness to him, though as an ambassador, he was not vested with the same authority:

His Majesty rose and took six steps towards the middle of the room, and then drew back one, after making me a sign of welcome with his hand. He then remained standing up while he listened to me attentively. At the opening and at the close he held his hat in his hand a while.³²

The Spanish took things rather seriously, as this report from the Venetian Ambassador Foscarini shows:

In Spain when Royal Ambassadors enter the presence the King raises his hat and then causes them to be covered...The King does not raise his hat to the Ambassadors of Archdukes, or Dukes or Grand Dukes, nor are they invited to be covered ...³³

Endymion Porter could empathise with the Archduke's ambassador. A gentleman of Charles' bedchamber, he accompanied the then Prince of Wales on his ill-fated journey to the Spanish court at

Madrid in 1623 to pursue a match with the Infanta Maria. When Porter attempted to impart his congratulations to the Cardinal-Infante, Ferdinand of Austria, regarding the union, 'that prince never so much stirred his hat or vouchsafed one look of courtesy when he first came into his presence.'³⁴

Charles returned from his adventure much affected by the formal culture of the Spanish court. With their restrictive clothing, members of the royal family were rendered as statues and worshipped from afar as religious idols. During his brief encounters with the Infanta, the Prince found her 'as immovable as the image of the version Mary,' while the gravity of royal presentation prevented the pair from conversing in a casual manner.³⁵ As king, Charles adopted a level of careful formality, unknown in the previous reign. He was 'sensitive even to the smallest details' and demonstrated a pronounced concern for minor actions.³⁶ Regulations demanded that courtiers stay a safe distance from the royal family. Ambassadors were no longer admitted to sit with the king at public events, accepted practice under James.³⁷ Charles finally returned the insult to Porter by the Cardinal-Infant, when, in 1635, his ambassador Tejada was taken aside by both Finet and a gentleman usher of Charles' Presence Chamber and reprimanded for covering during an audience.³⁸ Tejada was not unique, however. When advising the Venetian ambassador, Angelo Correr, on proper hat etiquette in the same year, Finet warned him of 'other ambassadors censured for their much forwardnesse to cover'.³⁹ Only those who refused the honour pleased the king. In 1629, the ambassador to the Duke of Mantua was praised for his outright refusal to cover.⁴⁰ This reverent approach became the standard for Caroline ambassadors, even those who represented monarchs.⁴¹ When the Swedish ambassador, Sir James Spence, was refused to cover in the presence of the queen he received 'more praise' than other ambassadors, namely the Dutch and Danish.⁴²

The right to cover was an essential component of hat etiquette between kings and visiting envoys, and it was quite standard that the ambassador should be invited to it, having first removed his hat.⁴³ Placing the onus on dignitaries to refuse the invitation denied them an essential opportunity to affirm the prestige of their sovereigns in the presence of another hatted monarch. As Michael Auwers and others have shown, 'reciprocity was regarded as a fundamental mechanism' of diplomacy.⁴⁴ Relations between ambassadors involved a careful game of checks and balances — any favour, gift or kindness bestowed on one had to be returned by the other. In December 1603, Molin and Duodo offered a dinner invitation in return for those they had received from the ambassadors of France and Tuscany for this reason.⁴⁵ Meeting any action with a counteraction guarded against insult and ensured that no debt of gratitude was owed. This places Charles' actions in a questionable light.

When Charles Louis, the Prince Palatine, Charles' nephew and the son of the exiled King of Bohemia, visited in 1632, he was readily permitted to cover in the presence of his uncle.⁴⁶ Although the Prince's family could no longer reasonably claim to hold the Bohemian crown, Charles actively sought to force others to show him the kind of deference due to a monarch. Seeing the French ambassadors arrive in the Presence Chamber, he 'put on his hat and caused [Charles Louis] to put on his, which was thought to be done by designe'.⁴⁷ The Prince's covering insultingly equated his status with that of the French King, explicitly declaring his claim to Bohemia. For a moment, the illusion was real.

James had understood that the best way to cement positive relations was to underscore the dignity of visiting ambassadors. Charles was politically naïve, interested only in reverential display. This kind of approach rendered Caroline hat honour an unsafe practice for diplomatic operators, forcing them to perform outside the normal boundaries of accepted diplomatic ritual and, even, into recognising long-dormant political realities.

Endnotes

¹ Malcolm Smuts, 'Art and the Material Culture of Majesty' in *The Stuart Court in Europe: Essays in Politics and Political Culture*, ed. Malcolm Smuts, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996, p. 92.

- 2 See Anna Reynolds, *In Fine Style: The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion*, Royal Collection Trust, London, 2013.
- 3 Lawrence Stone in *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1965, particularly Chapter 10, pp. 547–588, characterises the English nobility as a revolving door of families, as older stock run aground financially and are replaced by those on the rise.
- 4 Charles Knight, *The Popular History of England: An Illustrated History of Society and Government From the Earliest Period to Our Own Times*, Vol. III, Bradbury and Evans, London, 1857, p. 246.
- 5 See David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1988; Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987; David Dean, 'Image and ritual in the Tudor Parliaments', *Tudor Political Culture*, Dale Hoak, ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 243.
- 6 *CSPV*, Volume 12, March 1613, #775.
- 7 Susan Vincent, *Dressing the Elite: Clothes in Early Modern England*, Berg, Oxford, 2003; For rigid dress as a feature of Spanish Hapsburg display, see G. Redworth and F. Checa, 'The Courts of the Spanish Hapsburgs, 1500–1700', in *The Princely Courts of Europe, 1500–1750*, John Adamson, ed., London, 1999, pp. 43–65.
- 8 Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400–1625*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010, particularly 'Meeting with Ambassadors', pp. 76–102; See Brian Weiser, *Charles II and the Politics of Access*, Boydell Press, Woodbridge and Suffolk, 2003.
- 9 See Clifford Geertz, 'Centres, Kings and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power', *Culture and Its Creators: Essays in honor of Edward Shils*, Joseph Ben-David and Terry Nichols Clarke, eds., University of Chicago Press, London and Chicago, 1977, pp. 150–171.
- 10 For a detailed account of diplomatic choreography, see the commentary of John Finet, Master of Ceremonies to James and Charles in *Finetti Philonexis: Som choice observations of Sir John Finett knight, and master of the ceremonies to the two last Kings, touching the reception, and precedence, the treatment and audience, the punctilios and contests of forren ambassadors in England*, James Howell, ed., London, 1656.
- 11 Both Finet and the Venetians are focused on this aspect of diplomatic exchange. See *Ibid.* and *CSVP* generally.
- 12 Tom Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt: The History of Civilisation from 3000 BC to Cleopatra*, Bloomsbury, London, 2010, p. 44.
- 13 Roy Strong, *Coronation: A History of Kingship and the British Monarchy*, Harper Collins, London, 2005, p. 22.
- 14 *CSPV*, Volume 10, July 1603, #65.
- 15 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1967, *passim*.; Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- 16 *CSPSp*, Volume 2, April 1520, #274.
- 17 M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450–1919*, Longman, New York and London, 1993, p. 41.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 18.
- 19 *Finetti Philonexis*, p. 64.
- 20 *CSPD*, Volume 149, July 1623, #48.
- 21 Vincent, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
- 22 *CSPV*, Volume 10, January 1605, #323.
- 23 A. J. Loomie, ed., *Ceremonies of Charles I: The Note Books of John Finet, 1628–641*, Fordham University Press, New York, 1987, p. 129.
- 24 *Ceremonies*, p. 57.

- ²⁵ *Finetti Philonexis*, p. 60.
- ²⁶ *CSPV*, Volume 10, July 1603, #72; For examples of the King dining in state see *Finetti Philonexis*, generally but p. 25 and p. 30, in particular.
- ²⁷ For more on this policy, see W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997.
- ²⁸ James was a relatively prolific writer, who set out his ideas of kingship point by point in several works. See *The Political Works of James I*, ed. Charles Howard McIlwain, Humphrey Milford, London, 1918.
- ²⁹ *Finetti Philonexis*, p. 43.
- ³⁰ *CSPV*, Volume 12, January 1613, #734.
- ³¹ *CSPV*, Volume 10, December 1603, #164.
- ³² *CSPV*, Volume 10, May 1603, #66.
- ³³ *CSPV*, Volume 12, March 1612, #461.
- ³⁴ *Ceremonies*, p. 180.
- ³⁵ Redworth, 'The Courts of the Spanish Hapsburgs', p. 84.
- ³⁶ See Kevin Sharpe, "'A Rule of Order in His Own House: The Reformation of the Court and Administration' in *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1992, pp. 209–274, and D Stevenson, 'The English Devil of Keeping State: Elite Manners and the Downfall of Charles I in Scotland,' *People and Power in Scotland: Essays in Honour of TC. Smout*, Roger Mason and Norman McDougall, eds., John McDonald, Edinburgh, 1992, pp. 126–144; *Ceremonies*, p. 5.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.
- ⁴¹ For more examples see *Ibid.*, p. 135, p. 165.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 58.
- ⁴³ Samuel John Klingensmith, *The Utility of Splendour: Ceremony, Social Life and Architecture at the Court of Bavaria, 1600–800*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993, p. 193.
- ⁴⁴ Michael Auwers, 'The Gift of Rubens: Rethinking the Concept of Gift-Giving in Early Modern Diplomacy,' *European History Quarterly*, Volume 43, Issue 3, July 2013, p. 421; Maija Jansson, 'Measured Reciprocity: English Ambassadorial Gift Exchange in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,' *Journal of Early Modern History*, Volume 9, Issue 3/4, August, 2005, pp. 348–370.
- ⁴⁵ *CSPV*, Volume 10, December 1603, #167.
- ⁴⁶ *Ceremonies*, p. 188
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 189.

Abbreviations

- CSPV* *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, eds. Brown, Hinds et al., Volumes 10–14, Mackie and Co. et al., London, 1900–1912.
- CSPSp* *Calendar of Letters, Despatches and State Papers Relating to the Negotiations Between England and Spain, Preserved in Archives at Simancas and Elsewhere* Volume 2, ed. G. A. Bergenroth, reprint by Kraus-Thomson, London, 1969.
- CSPD* *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of James I. 1623–25*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green, Longman, London, 1859.

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Biography

Kimberley Foy is currently a Leverhulme Doctoral Scholar at Durham University, where she studies Visual Culture. Her work considers the relationship between dress and diplomacy at the early Stuart court, specifically how national, political and religious identity, as well as the values and assumptions of the wearer, are expressed in the clothing of visiting diplomats. Having previously curated exhibitions in Dublin, she is also interested in how extant materials can play a role in diplomatic studies.

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Appearance, National Fashion, and the Construction of Women's Identity in Eighteenth-Century Spain

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Abstract

The main goal of this article is the analysis of the construction of women's identity. Firstly, it analyses commentaries about female luxury and how these affected female appearance in the age. Secondly, it examines how new trends were created in Spain and how they affected female identity. The influence of French and English fashion will also be analysed as well as the introduction of a new local movement called 'majismo'. Finally, the spread of fashion trends to Spanish society during the eighteenth century via two means of advertising, namely the press and tarasca, will be explained.

Appearance in Eighteenth-Century Spain

We might define appearance as an external aspect of something or somebody. It is a condition that relates to manner and style, projecting the image that individuals want to show in public. According to Michel Foucault, appearance is composed of two elements: the body, referred to as the physical body, and the cover of the body, which is the outfit imposed by social pressure.¹ The last element of appearance defined by Foucault pertains to identities. In the case of female identity, women, it is said, wear clothes as a means of achieving their own singularity and so, they have been characterized as supporters of fashion.²

There have been various discussions about the connection between fashion and women in the eighteenth century. According to some authors, such as Thorsten Veblen, the connection between fashion and women originated in the first economic stage, when women were defined as the property of men, meaning that they had different responsibilities such as maintaining the appearance of the house.³ The first commentary appeared in a classical work of Tertullian, *Cultu Feminarum*, where the author condemns the use of decoration by women.⁴

From the eighteenth century on, the pairing of women and fashion acquired a greater significance. The culture of appearance had appeared in the century before, generating a particular interest in fashion and beauty. Certainly, in Spain, it began with an interest in articles and objects coming from France. This was when the theory of emulation, supported by George Simmel, was confirmed in Spanish society, and it was the first time that the imitation of fashion was perceived as a threat to the order of things.^{5&6}

The development of the culture of appearance and the interest in new objects of fashion, promoted the birth of a consumerist revolution characterised by women known as 'petimetras.' Those women were focused on the desire to consume and, in particular, in the consumption of imported products.⁷ In their behaviour, they cultivated fashion and pleasure instead of following their social obligations and their moral responsibilities. Petimetras used to show their opinions in spaces of sociability and they were criticised in the discussions of the age started by economist, philosophers and religious authorities, also in some copies of the Spanish press of the time. This is the case of 'La Pensadora Gaditana.' A 'petimetra'

is defined as a woman who is predisposed to ostentation, her husband's fortune being her source of living and also having the tenacity to achieve the fashion of the upper classes and exceeding them in fashion, leisure and elegance.⁸

Some of the popular discussions of the age centred around the issues of luxury and beauty. The main topic was what the consequences of luxury in society could be. There were two opposing positions.

The first supported the view that luxury had positive effects in society because it promoted social progress and contributed to the improvement of the economy. Authors such as Bernard Mandeville supported this theory, which defined luxury as a positive incentive for the economy and the development of arts and science. According to Mandeville and his work, whenever an individual buys a variety of dresses, he is providing work to the poor and promoting commerce. In short, luxury contributes to the welfare of the country.⁹

The second supported the view that luxury had negative effects on society because it was a vice that promoted social disorder and generated corruption or discordance between vassals.¹⁰ According to some authors, this situation was the result of the adoption of new tendencies coming from France and England. For instance, Campoo de Otazu in his work *Sermon against profanity in the dress and ornaments of Christian Women* explains how the new uses of fashion were against what was established by God. According to Campoo de Otazu, there were two types of luxury: the luxury that came from Spain, he defined as the correct luxury and the luxury that came from international style, which for him generated vicious inclinations. Through this luxury, women played the game of emulation, creating an important issue as they constantly imitated the higher classes, which in turn meant constantly changing their styles to make a difference.

All of this created exaggerations in fashion that were perceived as a form of disorder and therefore, luxury was construed as a dangerous evil for the nation and one that resulted in the loss of souls. Campoo de Otazu included advice for women,

They had to dress up in accordance to the taste of God and not fulfilling the taste of the world, they should never follow the example of the crowd because it is a large and spacious road which condemns their souls to the cliff.¹¹

The eighteenth century, therefore, brought new tendencies that affected female dress creating a new social type that occupied the centre of the discussions of the age. After these reflections, the utility of the garments was put into question.

The Construction of Women's Identity in Eighteenth-Century Spain

International Influence

The first tendency that affected Spanish fashion came from France and it had its origin in 1660 when Versailles became the centre of European fashion. Spanish authors, such as Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, considered France as the vehicle of fashion and Paris its engine.¹²

The first latent influence in Spain appeared in 1679, at the wedding of Maria Louise of Orleans and Charles II of Spain. This event produced the first rupture with Spanish dress code. The King hired the service of a French tailor, commissioning him to make garments that gave colour to the Spanish fashion.¹³ An example of this was the dress of María Luisa of Orleans at the wedding (Figure 1). It was made of purple velvet and she combined it with a crown of diamonds. All the information was published in a French newspaper called *Mercur Galant*.

However, the type of outfit that was introduced from France into Spain was based on different garments. It derived from military attire and coincided precisely with the triumph of new dynasty in Spain during the last years of the century.¹⁴ In the case of female dress based on military attire, it comprised 'the habit a la française,' a coat and a skirt. The first covered the upper part of the body, was open in the front and

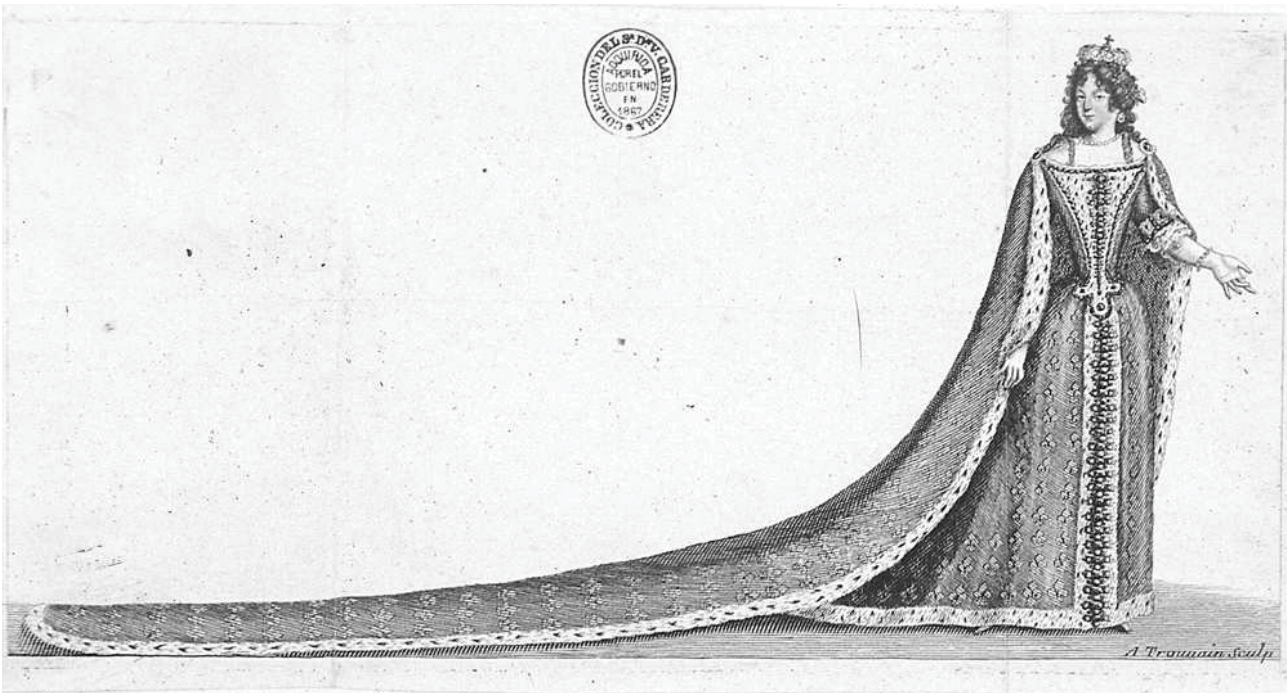


Figure 1
Marie Louise of Orleans, Antoine Trouvaine, 1679, engraving,
 published in *Mercure Galant*, National Library of Spain, Madrid, Sapin, 5381-4.

had triangular sleeves. For the lower part of the body, they used shirrtails that were cut to the height of the hips. In addition, shirrtails were covered by a skirt that used a pannier as a frame which was less rigid than the old ‘guardainfante’.

The French fashion greatly affected the extremes of the body ie shoes and hairstyles. They added more artifice to the female silhouette. Shoes became more ornamental, being the first time that the lower skirts left them visible.¹⁵ They used a type of shoes called high-heeled mules which left the heel uncovered. Hairstyles grew giving height and thus more slenderness to the female figure. The new forms of the hairstyles resulted in an increased demand by women for French hairdressers who knew the last trends in the art of hairstyling. These ideas were reflected in some copies of newspapers like *El Pensador*; ‘The hairdresser should dress the hair following the fussiest rule of art, know if they had to apply a lot or a little make-up powder and they had to decorate hair, for instance, with flowers, with the new symmetry.’¹⁶

The second influence on Spanish fashion came from England and in two distinct phases. The first was at the beginning of the century and had no aesthetic influence on Spanish fashion which was only affected by the introduction of French garments. However, we can talk about an influence over the methods by which fashion trends became known. As has been shown, a general interest in appearance experienced a change at the beginning of the century in Spain. The country started to adopt strategies for spreading news about fashion in urban centres like London. Periodicals such as *The Spectator* served as a precedent for Spanish newspapers such as *Diary of Madrid* or *Diary of Valencia*.^{17&18}

Articles in *The Spectator* show that England adopted the same fashions as Spain in relation to the introduction of French ornamentation to the extremes of the body. In the following extract a man talks about the change in women and how the ornaments affect their natural dimensions, ‘I do not love to be insulted by women who are taller than myself; I admire the sex much more in their present humiliation which has reduced them to their natural dimensions.’¹⁹

The second phase was more of an aesthetic influence and it was introduced after 1770. From this time, the English style was introduced in Spain, consisting of simple and functional garments. The type of dress introduced was the robe à l’anglaise. It is characterized by a dress open in front, with an interior

skirt below, the name of which changed depending on the fabric. If it was made of silk it was a rich silken skirt, and in the case of cotton, it was known as petticoat. The use of this gown is reflected in art, for instance in the portrait of the Duchess of Osuna by Francisco de Goya in 1785.

National Fashion

The last trend that impacted Spanish fashion in the middle of the century was the majismo. This movement was defined as a reaction against international conventionalities. Majismo comes from popular quarters of Madrid like Lavapiés, Sol and Maravillas, pretending to demonstrate an extreme purity in traditions.²⁰ The majismo went beyond fashion because it had the peculiarity of being the upper classes who began to frequently dress like lower classes, even imitating some of their habits. That produced an inverse process of emulation which not only created a social confusion, but also meant that appearance no longer defined the social hierarchies with the aristocrats now imitating the popular fashion.

The maja suit (Figure 2) is composed of two pieces: on the upper part of the body they wore a doublet that was tight in the waist and with tight sleeves. Over the doublet, they wore a tight jacket and over this a white or black shawl which also covered the head, known as a mantilla. On the lower body, they wore a skirt that reached to the heel known as guardapiés. This was adorned with braids and flounces and was shorter than the skirt previously described. Women's hairstyles were much simpler than the ornaments in French fashion. Majas basically kept the hair upswept by wearing a headdress called gandaya.



Figure 2
Elegant Maja, Juan de La Cruz y Olmedilla,
1777, engraving, National Library of Spain, Madrid, Spain, ER/3933(6).

Ways of Advertising Fashion: Press and Tarasca

The Press

The first reason why the press acted as such a diffuser of fashion was its interest in spreading the ideals of beauty and the discussion of the age. For instance, it spread the belief of an inner connection between fashion and women. This connection is reflected in the press through the new definitions of luxury. Luxury is defined as the use of objects beyond need.²¹ There were two levels of luxury: necessary luxury and the luxury promoted by delight or unnecessary luxury. This is promoted by female inventions and it is called 'luxury of ostentation'. In a *Diary of Madrid* copy, the association between fashion and women is considered as something from nature, as it was a common belief that females had more inclinations towards corruption.²² Deriving from their pride and gallantry, this quality was considered as implicit in their character. On the other hand, women could only acquire a fortune by their beauty; it is their way to achieve a good social position and a profitable marriage.²³ The second reason is that the spread of the dress code of the age happened through the assimilation of international tendencies. We can see an example where the new tendencies affected everyday life and economy: in one copy of the *Diary of Madrid*, it is explained how a housemaid who earned a salary of 40 reales had to improvise to buy the full suit because, for instance, the shoes alone cost 24 reales not to mention other accessories such as white silk socks.^{24&25} The third reason is that the press had also a normative function in society. In some cases, the press was meant to establish the behaviours of the different social classes. The impact of new tendencies had changed female identity and therefore some newspapers established the way women had to dress. According to the 6 June 1796 edition, women should dress in full-length clothes of only one colour, which had to be tight below the chest. Also, they had to wear shoes without heels, clean hair with their natural colour and arms deprived of trinkets.²⁶

Tarasca

The tarasca is a dragon with a female figure above, which was brought out in the procession of Corpus Christi. However, we cannot understand its transcendence without explaining its origin. It is told in the legend of Saint Martha that, in the first century AD, a dragon, half fish-half terrestrial, attacked the boats sailing the river Rhone, devouring the wretched crewmen on board. The legend explains that it was a woman who managed to kill the dragon using sacred water and showing it the holy cross. The dragon received the name of 'tarasca' because of the territory where it was killed according to the tale, the current French commune of Tarascón.

Through the medieval age this legend was represented in the successive processions of Corpus Christi across the centuries, showing a woman with a white dress and a dragon. From the seventeenth century, the representation began to change, placing the female figure on the top on the dragon and dressing her with different clothes. Furthermore, there is literary evidence about the procession such as the work of Francisco Santos, where the tarasca is described as a female monster that fed herself with the souls of blind people of the world.²⁷

In the Spain of the eighteenth century, the tarasca acquired a new dimension. At first, the female figure on top of the dragon was called 'tarasquilla' and they began to dress her with diverse clothes and ornamentations. In that time, the tarasca was not only a symbol for a moral lesson with a religious character, but also a festive parade of dressing models. Each year, the tarasquilla indicated the changes and novelties in the female fashion of the time. For example, they reflected the introduction of French gowns or the coexistence between different styles that appeared in the representations. The tarasquilla was mounted on the dragon, and also appeared with other accessorial elements, for example, the decoration of the monumental complex or the character which was used to represent the local population.

There are many representations of the tarasca throughout the eighteenth century. Figure 3 is an example selected to explain how the tarasca became a fashion icon and acquired a value by means of propaganda. This is the tarasca of 1711, composed of a series of characters; a tarasquilla is situated in an elevated



Figure 3

Tarasca with bullfighting, 1711, drawing, Archive of the Town of Madrid, Spain, 2-201-14.

position in relation to the other characters. She wears a French gown like a French casaquin and a skirt. The French influence is reflected in the 'V' form of the upper gown, in the pronounced neckline, in the disposition of the sleeves and also the shoes are showing below the skirt, indicating a significant shortening of the skirt compared to the Spanish dress. In respect of the hairstyle, we cannot see any evolution as the tarasquilla is represented wearing a hat with a visor. The hat had a mechanism that made it easy to move the visor up and down, thus covering and uncovering the female's face during the procession. This artifact also had another symbolic value explained in the description: by covering the face of the tarasquilla, they revealed a purpose of female fashion which was to cover a woman's flaws, as the figure showed an old face when the visor was removed. The second character is a man defined as the oldest in the description, who signals the coexistence of two styles of dressing as he wears a typical Spanish suit made using the technique of 'acuchillado' on the breeches and sleeves, neck ruff and a simple hat. The companion of the tarasquilla at the representation of a bullfighting scene could possibly be an allegory of the Iberian part of the Spanish War of Succession. The representation of the sword-man epitomizes the wretched Iberian bull ring, in the words of Bernaldez de Montalvo.²⁸

The tarasca was forbidden by a royal document by Charles III of Spain in 1780.²⁹ The main reason of the prohibition was the consideration that these types of figures promoted social disorder, diverting from the main objective of the procession that should be devotion.

Conclusion

The alterations in fashion throughout the eighteenth century affected female identity. Firstly, on the form of the body, they had a direct impact on their silhouettes. The replacement of the 'guardainfante' by the pannier gave more slenderness to the female body. Such lightness would be greater with the type of skirt used by majismo as it did not have a frame. Furthermore, the French influence gave even more slenderness to the female figure, with the introduction of ornamentation to shoes and hairstyles.

However, the most important alterations were those that affected women beyond aesthetics, as new ornaments were connected to their brand new needs. Changes were due to the large visibility that they progressively gained in society, mainly by their prominence in the new discussions and social gatherings. All of these alterations constituted a means of propaganda about fashion, and women became the main dictators. Certainly, in Spain, two types of women came onto the scene as social stereotypes and supporters of fashion: the petimetra (as a result of French influence) and the maja (as a result of a local movement). They could be considered as referees in respect to the social costume of the age. The majismo movement was the first national expression in fashion after the decline of the Spanish dress, and, furthermore, acquired a national transcendence being used by aristocrats as a means of demonstrating their patriotism. As we have said before, there was a reversal in the emulation process, which fixed as a main objective the establishing of a national fashion to unify Spanish appearance, against the fear caused by the progress of international fashion.

Endnotes

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- 22 Ibid., p. 542.
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- ²⁴ Nipho, op. cit., p. 632.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Ibid., p. 1293.
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Biography

Laura Pérez Hernández studied history at Universidad Complutense de Madrid and then earned a Master of History of Hispanic Monarchy degree, where she began research into the history of dress. This began with an expositive project about the image of women through the analysis of clothing in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries within the historical library of the university. This was followed by her Master's project about dress in sixteenth century – From Modesty to Ostentation: A Study of Women's Clothing in the Sixteenth Century. Currently, she is studying for a doctorate in modern history at Universidad Complutense researching the different models of women's dress in the eighteenth century and its representation in artistic and journalistic productions.

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Out of the Darkness into the Market: The Role of Smuggling in Creating a Global Market of Textiles in Late Eighteenth-Century Sweden

Anna Knutsson, MA

Abstract

This article builds on material from Anna Knutsson's PhD thesis on smuggling in late eighteenth century Sweden. The article offers a short introduction to the sale of contraband and opens up different ways to approach both the seller and the consumer of illegal goods. It argues that by studying the modes of transfer of contraband it might be possible to understand how people related to it, which in turn contributes to an understanding of the relationship between the legal and illegal market.

‘In all the shops which I have seen, and I have been in a great number, I have met with foreign commodities of every kind; and most of the articles in the houses of the opulent and the great are of foreign manufacture. Native productions are in general coarse, clumsy, and far from cheap. The prohibition of foreign commodities is of little use; means are found to introduce them, and certain merchants know how to carry on this branch of trade in such a manner as to render it a monopoly.’¹

When German traveller Carl Gottlob Küttner visited Stockholm 1789–1790 he was struck by the prominence of illegal goods in the shops and the homes of the city dwellers. He was not alone in observing the presence of contraband among the population. During a visit to Jämtland in 1805, Ernst Moritz Arndt, observed that ‘In the houses of many peasants it is possible to buy wine, coffee, silk and cotton cloth, along with many other fripperies, which a peasant should never know.’²

This type of account, declaring the almost universal presence of contraband in the consumer culture of eighteenth century Sweden, should clearly be approached with care. However, in comparing them with studies of local costume, it appears not only that the demand for such goods existed, but also that some wardrobes already contained clothes sewn, at least in part, from illegal cloth.^{3&4}

The desire for more ‘exotic’ fabrics and a wider choice of wares was part of a general shift of demand towards greater variation and exclusivity during this period.⁵ This perceived change in consumption patterns towards a more international wardrobe at the end of the eighteenth century, also coincided with increasingly tight import regulations. The peak was reached in 1771, with 871 types of goods being banned from import, a large quantity being textiles, and even though the restrictions were lifted, they did so slowly and many remained into the nineteenth century.⁶ The presence of foreign fabrics was nothing new, as cheap foreign cloth for the mass market had already been imported in the seventeenth century.^{7&8} What was different, was the mode of its entry and distribution. Despite the fact that there is no way of calculating how much of the consumed fabric was smuggled, it is nevertheless possible to appreciate the role smuggling had in people’s lives. Whilst Leif Runefelt warns that historians should

not become complacent and assume descriptions of consumption to be proof of the rise or fall in consumption of a specific good, a comparison between these narratives and court records indicate that contraband was prevalent both in the mental as well as the physical world in late eighteenth-century Sweden.⁹ This article looks at the vendors of illicit goods, and uses them as a starting point for thinking about what smuggling was, how it worked and what people thought of it. These issues are important in order to understand the role of the smuggled good in the wardrobe.

Two types of traders in particular will be considered in this article, the 'rural' Westgothian peddler and the 'urban' town merchant.¹⁰ This is a crude division and as will become evident there are many overlaps between the areas outside and inside the tollgates.

It has been noted that it was more difficult to tackle smuggling in rural areas than in towns due to the lack of control, and governmental agency, in the remoter areas.¹¹ Control of illegal trade predominantly issued from the tollgates around towns, which meant that it could, to an extent, be avoided through keeping to the countryside. This is something which would have favoured the wandering peddlars known as the Westgothian peddlars, (*westgöta gårdfarihandlare*). Their trade has been thoroughly investigated by Pia Lundqvist, who notes that their varied range of stock was an important contributing factor to the success of the peddlars, as they were able to cater for changing tastes quickly.¹² This group of wandering peddlars originated in Sjuhäradsbygden and had long been trading across the country under particular privileges, which were finally ratified in 1776.¹³ These traders played an important role as conveyors of minor conveniences and luxuries, as local shops were not established in the countryside until 1846.¹⁴

Merchants, as well as the government, frequently voiced concerns about these wandering salesmen and attempts were made to infringe their freedoms.¹⁵ How effective these restrictions were is uncertain, but the Westgothian peddlars certainly continued to frequent the Sea Customs Court throughout the eighteenth century.¹⁶ This indicates that the fear of pedlar involvement in the circulation of stolen goods was justified.

A particularly extensive contraband operation was exposed when the royal constable Gyllberg in 1795 confiscated 16 packages of smuggled goods from five peddlars who had taken flight in Marks Härad. Gyllberg was prevented in his attempts to transport the contraband back to the confiscation warehouse in Warberg by numerous Westgothians who gathered around him to reclaim the goods. Unable to resist, Gyllberg was forced to abandon the confiscated items. A week later six of the packages were rediscovered in a pile of manure and would be auctioned off for export, reaching a sale price of 942 Rdr 35 shilling.¹⁷ The significance of this episode becomes more apparent when considering that peddlars usually travelled in caravans. In 1803 a limitation of six peddlars in each travelling group was introduced to avoid disturbances.¹⁸ It shows that large groups of peddlars were able to cooperate in moving considerable quantities of contraband and could also defend their goods against officials. As Marks Härad is also located in the county of Älvsborg, it is uncertain whether the group of assembled 'Westgothians', were peddlars or not. However, it appears that people joined up to thwart the duty of the government official in order to retain the illegal goods in the market and to support the peddlars. Despite the danger of entering towns with contraband, peddlars tried to sell their wares in these attractive environments as they could wield a higher profit and they were able to sell directly to shops and thus quickly relieve themselves of large quantities of products.¹⁹

The temptation to enter into towns was probably aided by the many issues that the land-customs officers had in restricting access to the town centres. A list of complaints from the period 1780–1805 included that it was possible to climb over the toll fence stretching around the city (Borås), it was open towards the lake (Mariestad, Vänersborg etc.), and the toll fence had been torn down by delinquents (Falköping).²⁰ In addition to this there seem to have existed personnel issues that could severely decrease the efficiency of the customs surveillance. Based on personnel ledgers and private stories, alcoholism was a particularly common problem among the customs officers.^{21&22} In addition, there was the issue of general corruption. Despite the decree from 1756 restricting the time a customs visitor could stay in one location in a year, in order to prevent them from becoming too friendly with the locals, there were clearly many logistical

problems with the system and many remained in place for a long time.²³ In 1771 Merchant Öhring who had been named Overseer of smuggling in Calmar by the Customs Authorities, used his close ties to them to smuggle his own wares into the town.²⁴ Evidently, to get illegal wares past the customs officers into towns was by no means impossible.

The Westgothian pedlars certainly played an important role in distributing illegal wares around the countryside as well as presenting an opportunity for the more remote consumers to indulge in fashionable luxuries, legal as well as illegal. Whilst the pedlars did sell in the towns, these spaces presented more diverse opportunities for the person in the market for contraband fabric.

On 12 August 1803 Märta Helena Reenstierna, married to Cavalry Captain Henrik von Schnell, wrote in her diary, 'From Merchant Théel I let Nyström collect Sitz 9 3/4 ells for a dress'.²⁵ Less than four months after this purchase, on 7 December 1803 silk merchant, John Abraham Théel was arrested for the possession of contraband at his shop at Mynttorget 4, just outside of the Royal Palace in Stockholm.²⁶ At this point Mrs Reenstierna had been a client at Théel's shop at least since 1794, when she made her first recorded purchase of a grey silk shawl. Already in June 1804 she was back at Théel's buying a brocherad muslin neckerchief for her brother.²⁷ Whilst it is not clear that Mrs Reenstierna knew about the arrest it seems very likely that she did as she not only was an avid shopper but also acquainted with several Customs Officers.²⁸

Following the Royal Anti-Smuggling Decree 6 April 1799 offenders came to be shamed in the newspaper *Inrikes Tidningar*.²⁹ However, the early lists are quite erratic and not until 1804 did the lists start to occur regularly, but even then all convictions do not appear to have been announced in the newspaper. Théel is one of the people who fell through the net and whose involvement in illegal trade was not exposed to the readers of *Inrikes Tidningar*.

Nor is it possible to know for certain whether Reenstierna purchased illegal goods from Théel. However, out of the 135 types of fabric that were confiscated in his shop, 657 Rdr Banco 15 shilling was contraband and about 217 Rdr Banco was deemed to be legal after thorough investigations.³⁰ Several of Reenstierna's purchases agree with the fabrics in the confiscation list, but it is impossible to definitely say that she was buying illegal goods from him. What can be said with some certainty is that if she did buy illegal fabrics she would have been aware of it. Between 1722 and 1846 all cloth produced in Sweden had to be hallmarked by the government body Hall-och Manufakturkontoret,³¹ and during the early 1740s a similar stamp legislation was introduced for imported cloth.³² This meant that it was evident that any unstamped textile was either homespun, smuggled or otherwise sold unlawfully.

Reenstierna relates one particular episode in her diary where it is evident that she was buying contraband fabric. On 12 February 1802 she relates,

I baked gingerbread, wheat- and ryebread and then I travelled to Town to a Sea Captain by the name Klingström, where I bought Mousselin for a dress, and carelessly I had not brought Money but I was allowed to take the fabric home. I was also given Coffee and they showed me an indescribable politeness, for a person completely unknown to them.³³

This account of the Sea Captain selling fabrics is intriguing as it links together some elements visible in the court records. In 58 out of the 110 cases of smuggling to Stockholm in 1803 the culprit was titled Sea Captain (or skipper).³⁴ This does not include the numerous first mates and able seamen who also figure in the list. Their confiscated contraband is most frequently a mixture of fabrics and coffee, which was classed as illegal for import during several periods, including between 1 July 1799 and 6 April 1802.^{35&36} This combination of products can be seen both in records from 1769 and 1803. Thus, the 'genre' of products in demand appear to be consistent although there is a fluctuation in the specific 'types'.

Another noteworthy feature of this encounter is the ‘politeness’ of the encounter. The necessity of such polite behaviour is explained in a newspaper article from 1788. The author points out that to become successful at smuggling it is necessary to be generous with money and careful in order not to be caught or handed in.³⁷ People involved in the contraband trade were always working in the uncomfortable space between the market and the law, and as such it was necessary to maintain good relationships with the clients as they could otherwise both lose their business and in addition risk high fines.

Returning to Reenstierna, we can see that she clearly did not mind crossing legal boundaries. This silent acceptance of the smuggling trade can also be discerned in a slightly different situation. On 7 February 1801 a man called Kindberg who had long been involved with the family arrived at Reenstierna’s home Årsta at seven in the evening and related that the same evening four bags of coffee beans had been confiscated at his house at Zacrisberg, and he had immediately fled from the customs officials.³⁸ This incident was followed by Kindberg moving into one of the small houses in the grounds of Årsa. By April he appears to have failed in yet another smuggling venture. This time he had tried to traffic textiles, which he had hid in the barn but had from there been stolen.³⁹ It is clear therefore that by the time she went shopping from the Sea-Captain and buying goods from Théel, she not only knew a self-confessed smuggler intimately, but had even housed him on her own property.

The focus on Märta Helena Reenstierna is intended to show how people could relate to and interact with this forbidden world. Her diary allows us to see the traders of contraband in action, described by her, the client. Her sentiments towards smuggling seem to be very similar to those expressed in a women’s journal a few years later,

The smuggler is, far from being branded with the common distain as the Laws would have wished him, and many exist, who without shame admits what he has done. ...The smuggling is considered, by the main part of people, as an excusable infringement on a detestable ban, as the only means for individuals to achieve the pleasures, which the State refuses them.⁴⁰

Looking at the court records, it becomes clear that merchant Théel was by no account alone in his illicit trade. Only a week after Théel’s encounter with the authorities, merchant Jan Sundbeck, was visited in his lodgings, which were found to contain circa 404 Rdr worth of foreign unstamped goods in two packets. The wares included among many other things, cashmere in different colours, muslins, angora shawls and silk waistcoat fabric. Under questioning, he was unable to deny that he was the owner and was thus fined the full value of the goods, which he accepted without protest.⁴¹

This is by no means an exhaustive overview of smuggling but is intended to suggest a way of thinking about smuggling and what its inclusion might add to our understanding of early modern clothing, not only in terms of fabric types and prices, but also in terms of cultural and social norms. In attempting to understand popular conceptions of smuggling it might also be possible to understand attitudes to the contraband, which in turn is an important step towards appreciating the ‘psychology’ of the wardrobe itself. It has been noted that in many cases the smuggled textiles could be more expensive than the domestic textiles which indicates that these goods had something extra which the Swedish manufactures lacked; it might have been pattern, quality or some other feature which made the contraband so special.⁴² At the same time, a ‘normalisation’ of smuggling appears to be underway. If the local shop did not stock illegal wares, a pedlar could still stop by and provide the desired contraband. Pia Lundqvist has argued that the confiscations show that Sweden was part of the larger world.⁴³ At the same time, the consumption of contraband indicates that Sweden was changing also at a deeper level; the relationship between the State, the Law and the Citizen, was being challenged by consumption habits and the strive for personal choice.⁴⁴

Endnotes

- ¹ Carl Gottlob Küttner, *Travels Through Denmark, Sweden, Austria, and Part of Italy, in 1798 and 1799*, R. Phillips, London, 1805, p. 86.
- ² Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Resa Genom Sverige år 1804*, trans. J. M. Stjernstolpe, vol. 3, Carlstad, 1808, p. 108.
- ³ Sigfrid Svensson, *Bygd Och Yttervärld. Studier över Förhållandet Mellan Nyheter Och Tradition*, Nordiska Museets Handlingar 15, Stockholm, 1942.
- ⁴ Marie Tengroth Ulväng, 'Kattunspår I Härjedalen 1750 till 1850', in *Dolda Innovationer. Textila Produkter Och Ny Teknik under 1800-Talet*, ed. Klas Nyberg and Pia Lundqvist, Kulturhistoriska Bokförlaget, Stockholm, 2013.
- ⁵ Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, 'Rural Retailing of Textiles in Early Nineteenth-Century Sweden', in *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe*, ed. Jon Stobart and Bruno Blondé, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2014, p. 108.
- ⁶ Pia Lundqvist, 'Förbjudna Tyger – Textilsmuggling till Sverige under 1700- Och 1800-Talen', in *Dolda Innovationer. Textila Produkter Och Ny Teknik under 1800-Talet*, ed. Klas Nyberg and Pia Lundqvist, Kulturhistoriska Bokförlaget, Stockholm, 2013, p. 192.
- ⁷ Hanna Hodacs, *Silk and Tea in the North: Scandinavian Trade and the Market for Asian Goods in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016, p. 109.
- ⁸ Lili-Annè Aldman, 'Customers and Markets for "New" Textiles in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sweden', in *Selling Textiles in the Long Eighteenth Century: Comparative Perspectives from Western Europe*, ed. Jon Stobart and Bruno Blondé, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2014, p. 46.
- ⁹ Leif Runefelt, *Att Hasta Mot Undergången. Anspråk, Flyktighet, Föreställning I Debatten Om Konsumtion I Sverige 1730-1830*, Nordic Academic Press, Lund, 2015, p. 13.
- ¹⁰ Other types of traders and trading venues, such as female *månglerskor* and pubs will not be dealt with here due to lack of space.
- ¹¹ Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, op. cit., p. 109.
- ¹² Pia Lundqvist, *Marknad På Väg. Den Västgöta Gårdfärihandeln 1790-1864*, Göteborg Universitet, Göteborg, 2008, pp. 208, 211, 228.
- ¹³ Pia Lundqvist, op. cit., 2008, p. 68.
- ¹⁴ Anna Brismark and Pia Lundqvist, op. cit., p. 101.
- ¹⁵ See for example: Johan Liljenkrants, *Kongl. Commerce-Collegii Circulair Til Samtelige Tull-Rätter, Angående Widtagne Anstalter Emot Mißbruk Af Den Allmogen I Wiåa Händer Af Ellsborgs Län Tillåtne Gårdfäri-handel*, 1792.
- ¹⁶ The Sea Customs Court was the court in charge of dealing with all offences to the smuggling acts. Consequently, all errands which concerned illegal foreign wares were passed on to the Sea Court whether the culprits had been apprehended at a sea toll or a land toll, or even during a house visitation.
- ¹⁷ '1795 Berättelse', Äldre centrala arkiv, Överdirektören vid sjötullen, Huvudarkiv Liggare över föredragna mål D1:7, National Archives of Sweden. pp. 49-50.
- ¹⁸ Pia Lundqvist, op. cit., 2008, p. 146.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 221.
- ²⁰ Bertil Fridén, 'På Tröskeln till Marknaden. Makt, Institutionell Kontext Och Ekonomisk Effektivitet I Västsverige 1630-1800', Göteborgs Universitet, Goteborg, 1991, pp. 336-337.
- ²¹ '26 June 1795', Äldre Centrala Tullarkiv. Generaltullarendesocietetens Skrivelser Från Land och Sjötull, E10:37, 1795, National Archives of Sweden.
- ²² Märta Helena Reenstierna, *Årstadagboken*, ed. Gunnar Broman, vol. 1, 3 vols, Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalts Förlag, Stockholm, 1946, p. 273.
- ²³ Bertil Fridén, op. cit., p. 335.
- ²⁴ *Accis-Rättens Änteliga Utslag, Uti Det Af Tull-Fiscalen, Ädel Och Högaktad Herr Johan Aron Borg, å ämbetes Wägnar, Emot Handelsmannen Herr Axel Hinric Öhring*, Lars Lindeblad, Calmar, 1771.
- ²⁵ Märta Helena Reenstierna, op. cit., p. 103.

- ²⁶ Junbeck vs. Théel, 13 December 1803, 'Stockholms Stora Sjö-tulls-Rätts Dom-bok' 1803, Stockholms Rådhusrätt, Stora Sjö-tullen, Protokoll, A., Vol. 26, Stockholm City Archives.
- ²⁷ Märta Helena Reenstierna, op. cit., pp. 70, 81, 102, 124, 192, 275, 298, 301, 312.
- ²⁸ Reenstierna seems to have been acquainted with Over-Inspector Muhr and his wife, Controller Lewin and Lieutenant Carlén, all prominent customs officers in Stockholm. See Märta Helena Reenstierna, op. cit., pp. 274-275, 291.
- ²⁹ 'Till Underdånigste Följe Af Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Förordning till Förekommade Af Lurendrägerier Och Tullförsnilling Af D N 6 April 1799', *Inrikes Tidningar*, No. 28, 9 March 1804.
- ³⁰ 'Confiscationer I Stockholm' 1803, Överdirektören vid Sjö-tullen, Advokatfiskalen, Liggare, D3, Vol. 1-2, National Archives of Sweden.
- ³¹ Klas Nyberg, 'Stockholms Textila Handel Och Manufaktur', in *Till Salu. Stockholms Textila Handel Och Manufaktur 1722-1846*, ed. Klas Nyberg, Stads-och Kommunhistoriska Institutet, Stockholm, 2010, p. 19.
- ³² Hanna Hodacs, op. cit., p. 97.
- ³³ Märta Helena Reenstierna, op. cit., p. 264.
- ³⁴ 'Confiscationer I Stockholm' 1803.
- ³⁵ *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse Angående Förnyande Af Det Utå Förrordningen Den 1 Januarii 1794 Stadgade Förbud Emot Caffés Införsel Och Bruk.*, 1799.
- ³⁶ *Kongl. Maj:ts Nådiga Kungörelse Om Caffés Införsel Och Bruk. Gifwen Stockholms Slott Den 6 April 1802*, 1802.
- ³⁷ 'Huru Man Genom Snålhet Kan Blifwa Fattig Och Genom Förnuftig Hushållning Förmögen, Bewisa Twånne ännu Lefwande Bröders Exempel', *Fahlu Weckoblad*, 22 November 1788. pp. 1-2.
- ³⁸ Märta Helena Reenstierna, op. cit., p. 240.
- ³⁹ Ibid., pp. 242-246.
- ⁴⁰ 'Om Yppighet.', *Sofrosyne. Ett Blad För Svenska Fruntimmer.*, No. 28, 8 July 1815, p. 220.
- ⁴¹ Junbeck vs Sundbeck, 20 Dec 1803, 'Stockholms Stora Sjö-tulls-Rätts Dom-bok' 1803, Stockholms Rådhusrätt, Stora Sjö-tullen, Protokoll, A, Vol.26, Stockholm City Archives. pp. 2059-2061.
- ⁴² Pia Lundqvist, op. cit., 2013, p. 202.
- ⁴³ ibid., 2013, p. 210.
- ⁴⁴ This freedom of choice was limited by social convention and habit and should not be considered unlimited.

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Biography

Anna Knutsson is currently working as a PhD researcher at the European University Institute in Florence, writing about the role of smuggling in Swedish consumer society during the late eighteenth century. She has an MA in General History from the University of St Andrews and an MPhil in Early Modern History from the University of Cambridge, where she wrote about female involvement in medicine in Renaissance Italy. In addition to academic work, Knutsson has previously worked for the Council of Europe and Christie's Auction House.

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Professional and Domestic Embroidery on Men's Clothing in the Later Eighteenth Century

Alison Larkin, MA

Abstract

Embroidery was an important aspect of clothing in the eighteenth century. It was largely done by women, either professional workers or working in the home. Training of embroiderers was through apprenticeship or at home, and was dependent on social class and gender. The pattern sources available are also discussed, both for professional workers and domestic ones. Characteristics which may be used to distinguish professional work from domestic embroidery are examined, and examples shown. These include the regularity of the stitching, the threads and other materials used and the complexity of the patterns.

Introduction

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, fashion required considerable quantities of embroidery on clothing. Levels of embroidery, both on clothing and household items, were a sign of status in a society which was very conscious of one's position in life. The decoration indicated that the owner/wearer had either the money to purchase expensive materials or ready-decorated items, or the leisure to allow the women of the family time to work the decorative embroidery themselves.¹ For women, dresses and petticoats were heavily embroidered during the early- to mid-eighteenth century, but by the later years of the century embroidery was mainly confined to accessories, for example stomachers and white goods such as ruffles and neck handkerchiefs.²

For men, during the early part of the century both coats and waistcoats were heavily embroidered, especially in formal or court wear.³ As the century continued, however, embroidery on coats became limited to court wear, but the waistcoat retained its flamboyant decoration until almost the end of the century, although simpler styles based on 'country' fashions were gradually becoming popular. The present study focuses on the decoration on men's waistcoats during the mid to late eighteenth century.

Embroidery during the eighteenth century was carried out largely by women.⁴ The professional workshops were run or controlled by men, but many of the workers were female, trained through an apprenticeship system. This had formerly been under the control of the guilds, but during the seventeenth century the influence of these bodies began to wane.⁵ However, the standard of work in professional workshops was still controlled by the masters of the trade.⁶

Those pieces of embroidery which were not worked in professional workshops are usually identified as 'amateur' work, but this term tends to have slightly derogatory connotations, which is unfair on the sometimes very skilled non-professional embroiderers of the past. Not everyone was able to partake of the extended apprenticeships of the period, but many stitchers developed considerable abilities through interest or necessity. It has also allowed the work of those stitchers to be ignored or brushed aside in the past, as not worthy of study or collection.⁷ An alternative terminology developed by Mary Brooks

of Durham University in her work on seventeenth-century embroidery, is that of calling the work of non-professionals 'domestic,' in the sense of carried out at home, in a domestic setting.⁸ This allows for varying levels of ability while distinguishing the unpaid work carried out at home from that done in a workshop by trained workers.

Learning Embroidery in the Eighteenth Century

Learning needle skills in the eighteenth century depended very much on the gender and social status of the person.⁹ By the end of the seventeenth century, professional embroidery was seen as the work of the lower classes, with domestic work seen as a higher class activity promoting chastity and femininity.

Embroidery had an apprenticeship system, but the main difficulty for an aspiring apprentice to the trade was the fee: £5–20 or more was usual, which made it very difficult for the poorer classes to buy a place.¹⁰ However, it was a potential source of income for women, and one of the few trades considered acceptable for a woman who needed to support herself but did not want to go into service.¹¹ Needlework was very much a gender-differentiated trade – by the eighteenth century embroidery was seen as 'women's work', and boys would have learned tailoring. In general, men would not wish to risk their social status by embroidering.¹²

The main difficulty in studying the professional embroidery trades in the eighteenth century lies in the lack of records. Workshop masters were identified in trade records, and some females are known, such as Elizabeth Watson, who owned an embroidery workshop at the sign of the 'Wrought Bed' in London in the early eighteenth century.¹³ However, the extant pieces in collections are rarely ever linked to a particular workshop, let alone the actual embroiderer. Those where the worker is known are usually the result of domestic activity.

Within the working classes, apart from the apprenticeships, girls were taught fine sewing skills, including both dressmaking and making 'linens' for a household, but few were taught embroidery unless they were being trained as a lady's maid.¹⁴ However, aspiration to move up in society was expected, and those girls from the 'middling sort' who so desired might have learned embroidery as a symbol of their improving class status. Within the middle and upper classes, girls were largely taught embroidery by their mothers or governesses.

Sources of Patterns

There were a number of sources of embroidery patterns during the eighteenth century. Professional pattern designers and drawers produced patterns for use by embroiderers. Pattern design was an 'artistic' profession, and hence largely the province of men, although there were some known women designers, such as Anna Maria Garthwaite (1689–1763).¹⁵ Drawn and painted patterns were sometimes used as designs to show clients, or embroidered samples were made up instead, some of which survive in museum collections.

Printed pattern books had been around since the sixteenth century, and a number of published books were produced in the eighteenth century, especially in France and Germany. These were largely aimed at the domestic embroiderer.¹⁶ Patterns were also shared between embroiderers, particularly amongst the gentry and nobility. Letters between correspondents amongst the upper classes mention patterns borrowed or exchanged between friends.¹⁷

A new source of patterns in the later eighteenth century and beyond was the various magazines produced for the middle classes and gentry, such as the *Lady's Magazine* which started production in 1770 and continued until about 1832.¹⁸ This was a monthly periodical, which included, among other regular features, a free embroidery pattern.¹⁹ These do not survive very often, as they were intended to be pulled out and used, but where they have survived they provide a useful indication of the types of patterns the average domestic embroiderer had available to them (Figure 1).

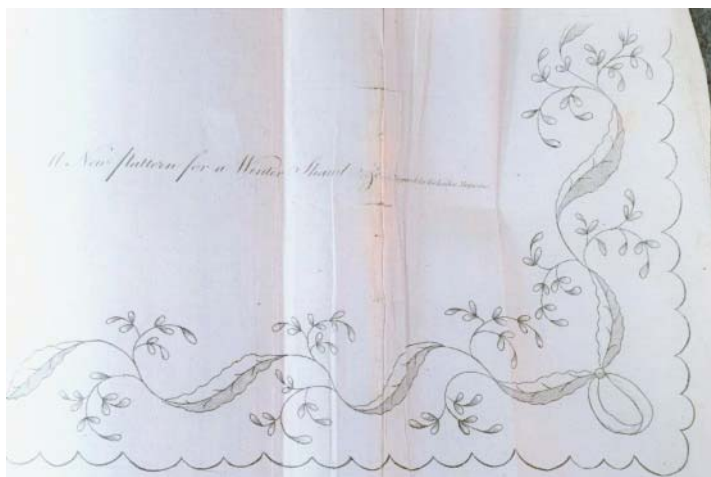


Figure 1
Pattern for a winter shawl from
the *Lady's Magazine*, 1796.²¹



Figure 2
Detail of French waistcoat, 1770–1780,
Collection of Manchester Costume Gallery,
Platt Hall, Manchester, England, ID 1952.366.

Interestingly, the patterns produced in the *Lady's Magazine* did not have any instructions or advice as to suitable fabrics or threads, such as one would see nowadays. This type of information was not added to the publications until the 1830s or later.²⁰ It is interesting to speculate whether this was an effect of the general confidence of the average eighteenth-century embroiderer in her skill and abilities, or whether it just did not occur to the (male) publishers that such information might be useful. The fact that so many of the patterns were used and hence lost to us suggests the former.

Finally, the domestic embroiderer might purchase patterns from the mercers or haberdashers. These might be paper patterns, which according to the publishers of the *Lady's Magazine* might cost a shilling or so, or even patterns ready printed on suitable fabric for embroidery.

Professional Work in the Eighteenth Century

The present research involves examination of men's waistcoats: the examples in collections vary from elaborate court garments to others which appear to be domestic, although the latter are less numerous. The waistcoats studied so far fall generally into two groups, the characteristics of which suggest the professional/domestic dichotomy. I have identified a number of characteristics of each group which allow a tentative classification of the two groups, although inevitably there will always be overlap.

Professional work has complex designs which are almost certainly the work of artists or professional pattern drawers. The patterns used include flowers, fruits, scenes of gardens, and stylised/abstract ornament. Flowers and other natural subjects are often accurately portrayed. Patterns are adapted to fit the various embroidered areas of the waistcoat itself, such as the pocket flaps. Embroidered buttons pick out a motif from the pattern, and are usually accurately matched in size and pattern.

The embroidery stitching is precise, regular and carefully done. The threads used vary, but a large proportion of them are untwisted 'flat' silks, which are harder to keep neat when stitching. Twisted threads in various different thicknesses are used to create contrasting textures in the stitching. Figure 2 shows a French waistcoat from the collection at Manchester Costume Gallery, Platt Hall, dating from the 1770s. The embroidery design is sophisticated and beautifully stitched.

Metallic materials, usually silver but sometimes gilt, are used to enhance the design and pick out details. They include passing thread or 'wyre' (as it was known in the eighteenth century), spangles/sequins, and sometime flat 'plate' or purl. Passing thread is made of very narrow strips of flattened metal, wound round a core of coloured silk or cotton thread. It is similar to modern goldwork threads, but a little less flexible: it can be stitched through the fabric more easily. After about 1760 it was often tamboured, stitched with a fine hook. 'Plate' is simply the strips of metal, couched down with silk threads. 'Purl' is

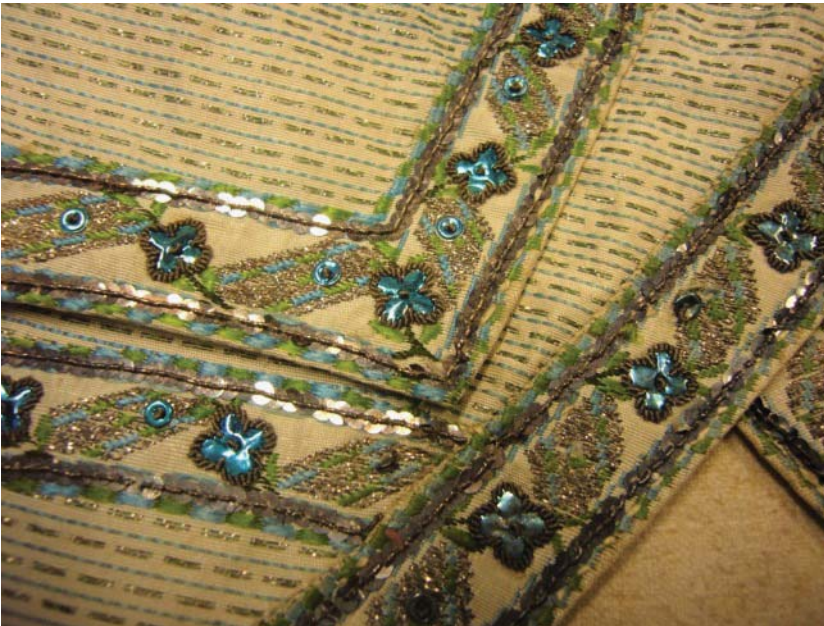


Figure 3
Detail of an eighteenth-century
waistcoat, Leeds City Museums
Collection, England, T.0020.

a coil of metal wire wound round a very fine rod to make a spring shape. It can be couched down as it is, or cut and used like a flexible bead. Spangles and sequins are also used: sequins are die-cut, and can be of various shapes. Spangles are made by wrapping wire round a rod (rather like purl) then cutting the spring lengthways to give rings of wire. These are then flattened. They can be distinguished from sequins by the presence of a tiny nick on the edge where the ends of the wires came together. This example from the Leeds Museums Trust collection, (Figure 3) dated circa 1780, shows the use of silver spangles and both convex round sequins and flower-shapes cut of turquoise coloured metal.

A further characteristic of professional work is exact matching of the patterns across the pieces of embroidery, particularly at important points like the tops of the front edge, where the patterns would come close together. Examination of Figure 2 shows the exact match across the two front edges of the waistcoat.

The professional embroiderers of the eighteenth century were very skilled. It is difficult for a modern embroiderer to reproduce their work with the same precision. One aspect of this is probably the early age at which they started their training. In *How to be a Tudor*, historian Ruth Goodman discusses the skill her daughter developed in weaving finger-loop braiding, having started at the age of eight.²² This early start allowed her to develop muscle control and movements, and a speed of working, that is very difficult to achieve by someone starting later in life. The same would apply to those eighteenth-century embroiderers, who might have started their apprenticeships at the age of ten or even earlier.

Domestic Work: By Whom and When Was It Done?

Embroidery in a domestic setting was different to that of the professional. As an occupation for a woman of gentry status or higher, embroidery was highly regarded.²³ The aspirational aspect of embroidery meant that many women of the middling sort were also keen to demonstrate their skills, by working items for the home or embroidered dress for the family. In addition, if a woman could make linens or clothing herself, it might save money when circumstances were straitened.

The study of the diaries of Mrs Anna Larpent by Mary Anne Garry shows something of how embroidery and other needlecrafts fitted into a household during the last twenty years of the eighteenth century. Mrs Larpent spent several hours most days working on needlework, varying from fine embroidery on items such as a petticoat for her sister, or a waistcoat for her husband, to stitching household linens or mending clothes when money was short.²⁴ Fine work was done during the day, and simpler work such as cross-stitch or making linens during the evenings, working by candlelight. One restriction only applied: she never did needlework on Sundays.²⁵

As the daughter of an ambassador and wife of a civil servant, Anna Larpent belonged to the 'middling sort', and her diaries are good sources for the activities of such women. The amount of time spent on needlework for someone who enjoyed the activity could be considerable, especially if the household included domestic staff so the lady of the house was free to carry out activities of her own choosing.

Another woman who moved in these types of circles and seems to have been a keen stitcher was Elizabeth Cook, wife of the navigator Captain James Cook. Little is known of the life of Elizabeth Cook: she was the daughter of Samuel Batts, an inn-keeper and property owner in Wapping, in the East End of London, and his wife Mary. Her father died shortly after she was born, and her mother carried on running the Bell Inn, Wapping, fostering Elizabeth for several years with a Quaker family, the Shepherds, who were associates of her husband, perhaps to get her out of the unhealthy air of the East End. Elizabeth married James Cook in 1762, and they lived in Shadwell, and later Mile End. After James Cook's death in 1779, Elizabeth remained a widow for 56 years, moving to Clapham in 1792, and dying in 1835 at the age of ninety three.

We cannot be sure where and when Elizabeth learned her needle skills, and she did not keep any diaries. Mrs Shepherd may have taught her plain sewing, but as a Quaker would be unlikely to teach her embroidery. She may have learned at school in Wapping when she returned to the inn as a child, or perhaps she trained towards a possible career in needlework, or as a lady's maid. Examination of her embroidery suggests a skilled amateur rather than one with professional embroidery training. However, she had confidence enough to stitch two waistcoats for her husband, one using an exotic fabric (Tapa barkcloth from Tahiti) and a new technique, tambouring, as well as a single hemisphere Map Sampler (Figure 4).²⁶ The sampler shows considerable skill in fine stitching.

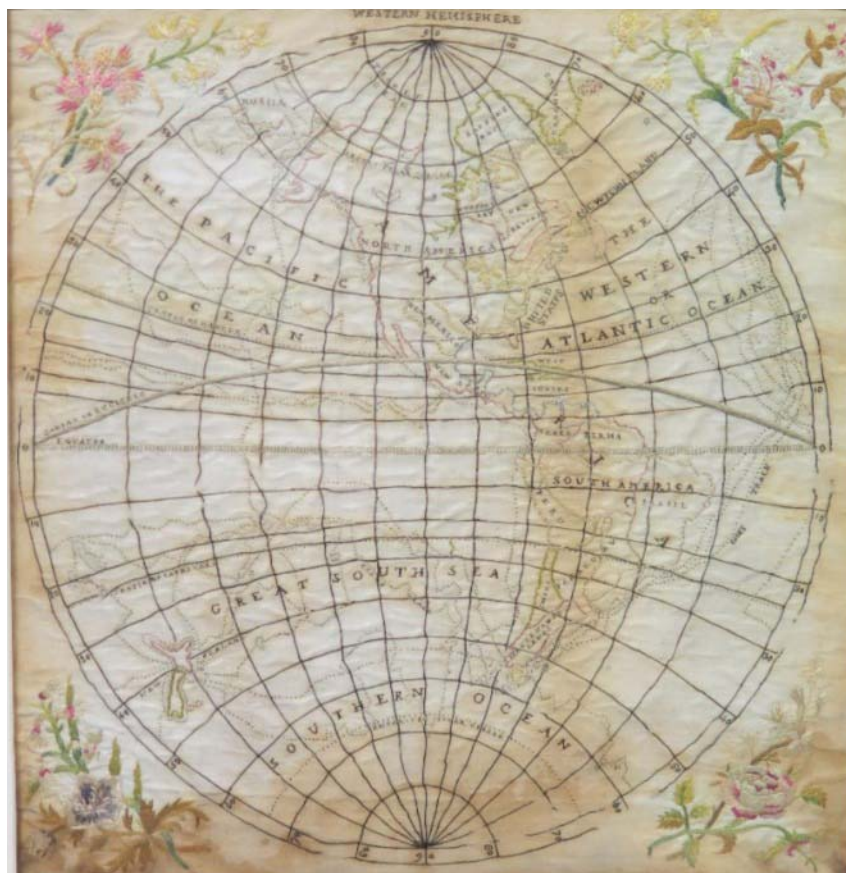


Figure 4

Embroidered map sampler depicting the voyages of Captain James Cook in the western hemisphere, attributed to Elizabeth Cook, circa 1800, ANMM Collection 00004991, reproduced by courtesy of Australian National Maritime Museum, Sydney, Australia.

Needlework and embroidery were important skills: their association with the gentry and the leisure time provided by money meant that many women sought to show off their abilities by stitching items for their home and family. A young girl learning fine needlework from her mother would also show that the family was established in the middle or upper classes, as the mother in turn must have learned embroidery herself from her mother.

Distinguishing Domestic Work

Studying the characteristics of museum items which may be identified (in all probability) as domestic work, produces a number of features which appear to be common to items in this group. The patterns tend to be much less sophisticated, showing a simpler format which is similar to the types of patterns seen in the *Lady's Magazine*. Flowers used tend to be stylised rather than accurately portrayed, and the amount of embroidery on the items is considerably less than on most of the professional court waistcoats seen. The fabrics used vary from silk to linen and wool: the more expensive the fabric, the better for what was certainly intended as the wearer's 'best' waistcoat.

Most of the embroidery on such domestic pieces is stitched using twisted silk threads, or occasionally linen or wool. Flat, untwisted silk is not used. Stitching with metallic threads is seen, but it is mainly relatively simple stitching such as tambouring of passing thread, or couched work. Spangles or sequins are used, but not in large quality, and purl is rarely seen except to hold sequins in position.

Pattern marking on such domestic waistcoats is less carefully done, with places where the pattern does not match across the two front pieces, for example. Adjusting the pattern to cope with turns of the fabric piece, or joining pattern segments together, can be carelessly done, as can be seen in Figure 5, which shows a difficult join between the pattern on the front edge and below the pocket flap. The way the pattern is joined at this point is different on the right front, and Figure 6 shows how the pattern on the top corner of the two fronts also differs. The stylistic similarity of this design to the *Lady's Magazine* pattern featured in Figure 1 is also interesting.

Stitching is generally less precise on domestic items as well. The stitches themselves are less regular, and patterns appear to be followed less precisely. Some careless stitching can be seen in Figure 5 on the pocket flap and the lower edge.



Figure 5
Lower left front.



Figure 6
Neck edge.

Waistcoat, possibly French, 1750–1775,
Collection of Manchester Costume Gallery, Platt Hall, Manchester, England, 1948.299.



Figure 7
Detail of waistcoat.



Figure 8
Detail of back of embroidery.

Waistcoat, 1760, Leeds City Museums, England, 0008.166.

Figure 7 shows a close-up view of the right front pocket flap on a waistcoat in the collection of Leeds Museums and Galleries, which is more carefully stitched than the previous example, but shows erratic stitching on both the tamboured metallic thread line, and in the spacing of the trellis stitch. This example also shows the effects of two hundred or more years of fading. Examination of the back of the stitching through a split in the lining shows the original colours more clearly (Figure 8).

Conclusion

Inevitably, the examples of waistcoats examined in the various museum collections fall into a continuum, with beautifully embroidered and elaborate silk Court waistcoats at one end and basic linen or wool garments, barely decorated, at the other. Very little of the work has the stitcher or the workshop identified, so it is impossible to be sure in most cases whether the embroiderer was a professional or a skilled (or not) amateur. However, the items examined do seem to fall into two groups which can be tentatively identified as professional work on the one hand, and domestic work on the other.

Professional work is carefully drawn and stitched, with sophisticated designs, use of both twisted and flat silk and metallic threads, and with very regular and exact stitching. Domestic work mainly uses twisted silks, with less complex use of metallics, and generally less regular stitching. The patterns are less carefully drawn and matched across important points in the design.

Pattern sources such as those emerging from the *Lady's Magazine* project have given an interesting insight into the patterns available to domestic embroiderers during the late eighteenth century. As more of these patterns come to light, it may be able to link patterns to extant examples found in museum collections.

In the few cases where the embroiderer is identified, this does allow us to determine something of the skills of the (usually domestic) worker. Examination of the waistcoat stitched for Captain James Cook by his wife Elizabeth suggests that she was a skilled embroiderer, but not professionally trained. Sadly, these examples are very rare. Perhaps more will emerge through further study.

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Biography

Alison Larkin formerly taught biology and research skills to FE and HE students at Hull College. She left full-time employment in 2013 to pursue her avocation of historical embroidery and costume research. As a practicing embroiderer, she explores traditional hand embroidery methods, and researches the designs and techniques used in historical pieces, especially from the eighteenth century. Her particular interest is the use of embroidery on costume throughout history, including the Medieval, Tudor and Georgian periods. Her current area of research is designs, materials and techniques used on men's waistcoats during the eighteenth century.

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Shedding Light with Science: The Potential for Twenty-First-Century Studies of Sixteenth-Century Knitting

Jane Malcolm-Davies, PhD

Abstract

New evidence of trade in raw materials and finished knitted garments is emerging from a study of more than 100 extant wool caps from the sixteenth century. These long-overlooked archaeological data are being re-excavated from museum collections for analysis in innovative ways. They offer an opportunity to assess the potential for scientific techniques, which are breaking new ground in textile archaeology, to pioneer insights into the history of dress. This paper reviews a selection of these approaches and discusses some of the opportunities and challenges presented.

Introduction

There is now a wide variety of innovative scientific tools available for the study of ancient and historical organic materials. These draw on pioneering work in medicine, industry and forensics to produce new findings from extant objects. Raw materials including wool, hair, flax, leather, bone, teeth and feathers are revealing revolutionary insights for scholars working in the humanities. These methods are particularly exciting given the enormous number of garments in long-established museum collections which is tentatively dated, lacks a recorded provenance or archaeological context, and with few or no details of previous conservation treatments or storage conditions over many years. Newly-applied analytical techniques offer the possibility of putting these objects back into context with clues to their era of manufacture, place of origin, and subsequent stories as museum artefacts.

Many of the analytical tests discussed here have yielded fruitful results when applied to material which has languished unnoticed for more than a century. A prime example is the Danish Huldremose woman, who spent much of her life after excavation in 1879 as a forgotten curiosity until recent re-examination revealed a great deal about her wardrobe and, in turn, the society in which she lived and died.^{1&2} Much of the evidence presented here relies – as with the Huldremose clothing – on the application of scientific techniques to ancient or archaeological material. Whether these techniques are equally revealing about clothing from later eras remains to be seen. This is the inspiration for KEME, a project focusing on early modern knitted material which is typical of the data about dress awaiting re-excavation from museum storage.^{3&4}

There are more than 100 knitted caps of the kind worn by ordinary people in the sixteenth century in museum collections (Figure 1). These are recorded as having been shipwrecked, deliberately concealed, preserved in peat bogs, or discarded as beyond use. A previous study of the caps suggested that despite the geographical spread of their discoveries, they present remarkable similarities in their materials and manufacture.⁵ The knitted caps have, in most cases, doubtful provenance and little is known about the conditions in which they have been kept (Figure 2). They are representative of much material held in



Figure 1
Simon George, Hans Holbein,
circa 1535,
The Royal Collection, RCIN 912208.



Figure 2
Knitted wool cap with neckflap and separate red lining, 1500–
1600, purchased from the estate of John Seymour Lucas in
1913 after excavation in Finsbury, possibly in 1902, Museum
of London, London, A6346.

museums which may benefit from a new research perspective. KEME's aim is to provide a benchmark for the usefulness of various scientific techniques to the study of textiles in museum collections. The knitted caps present a range of similar items from different places, discovered at different times and under different conditions, and kept in a variety of environments. They offer an opportunity for comparable data to be extracted from which some principles of good practice may emerge.

Implications of Scientific Testing

The scientific analyses available for textiles fall into three broad categories, which are differentiated by the extent to which original items must be handled or altered for the tests to be performed. These are: non-invasive tests, invasive tests, and destructive tests.

Non-invasive Analysis

Specialist photography offers new ways of presenting artefacts than conventional digital representation. Polynomial texture mapping (PTM) is a technique for illustrating surface detail and conveying its texture. A series of relatively simple conventional photographs taken around a static object are used to re-light it as though from many different angles simultaneously using reflective transformation imaging (RTI) software, which is freely available for non-commercial projects.⁶ PTM has been used to represent knitted items online at The National Archives.⁷ Relatively inexpensive software is also available for 'stitching' multiple conventional photographs into a 360 degree view of an object. The knitted caps in the KEME project have been photographed to investigate the feasibility of illustrating them online as high-quality, three-dimensional images with sophisticated representations of their surfaces (Figure 3).

Invasive Analysis

X-rays have the capacity to change the structure of textiles by, for example, damaging any DNA that may be available for analysis. They have been used to study a collection of 35 prehistoric yucca sandals found in Antelope Cave, Arizona (United States). The internal features and the toe and heel shaping



Figure 3

An early prototype for a three-dimensional representation of a knitted cap at Platt Hall, Manchester, Inventory #1952.3413, created by Theis Jensen (University of York) using Agisoft Photoscan Pro. (Go to <https://sketchfab.com/models/ef2b60d5cfbb4e67a1c78e5a77cbfa0c> to see the animation.)

are hidden inside the tightly woven objects. Radiography revealed new details about their construction, including splicing techniques and the spin and twist of the cords used in the warp.⁸ X-ray photography has likewise revealed hidden elements of seventeenth-century clothing such as the number of layers in its construction and the stitches within the layers.⁹ X-rays of a knitted eighteenth-century stocking featuring metal thread embroidery and evidence of wear and repair has enabled a close understanding of its structure and construction.¹⁰

Another technique employing x-rays is computed tomography (CAT-scanning or micro-CT scanning), which scans cross sections of objects revealing their interior structure. These can be used to build three-dimensional digital models. CT scans make it possible to examine the layers of a dressed body or figure without disturbing their structure. CT-scanning has contributed to the virtual unrolling of a charred, crushed scroll probably dating to 300 AD and the reconstruction of the writing on it.¹¹ This success with skin parchment suggests potential for scanning and understanding folded or rolled textiles too fragile to be manipulated and for examining layers of clothes packed in boxes, bags, furniture or museum storage before handling.

X-ray imaging, tomography, and digital reconstructions of the knitted caps will assist the diagnosis of how they are constructed – in particular, how the various elements are joined together, where seams and other features are hidden inside. There is also the potential for the visualisation and reconstruction of the textile's surface structure.¹² CT-scans of modern samples of knitted and fulled fabric has virtually stripped away the raised nap created by fulling to reveal the hidden loops of knitting underneath (Figure 4).

Many scientific tests rely on taking samples, and although these are not destroyed during investigation, their removal causes damage to the original object. Sample sizes vary according to the method of analysis. Material reported as removed from archaeological and historical artefacts includes 2x2mm from skin garments,¹³ 5x5mm from wool and skin items,¹⁴ 10x10mm from medieval fabric,¹⁵ and 100 single fibres of early modern wool.^{16&17} Very few studies describe the actual process of selecting and removing these, although there are a few notable exceptions, including a description of samples ranging from 0.2 to 1.5cm in length taken from Italian and Austrian textile fragments dating to the Late Bronze Age.¹⁸

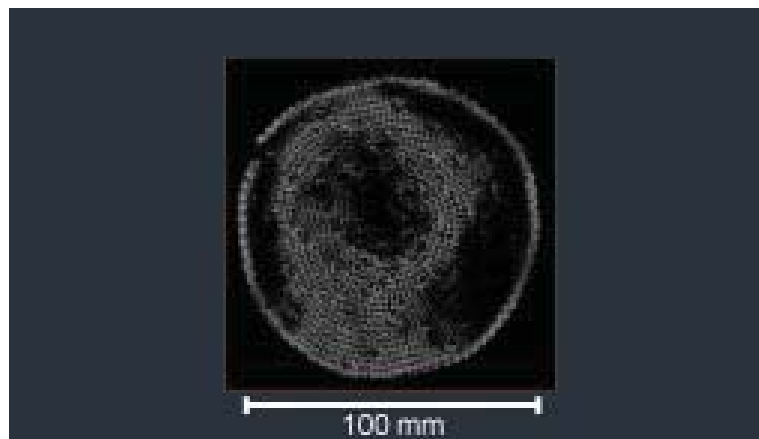


Figure 4

An animation of a CT-scan through an experimental knitted and filled circular swatch (click the image to activate it) created by Carsten Gundlach, Danish Technical University.

Destructive Analysis

Destructive tests require material to be removed from a garment, which is usually exhausted during analysis.

Proteomics

Proteomics is the study of proteins, which are built of amino acids. These are analysed via mass spectrometry, which breaks the protein down to produce a profile showing which peptides (formed by the amino acids) are present and in what quantities. This profile is compared to reference material which permits identification of the source of the proteins.

Skins and furs have been successfully identified using proteomics because they are particularly rich sources of proteins suitable for peptide sequencing (such as collagen and keratin). The traditional method of identifying hides is via microscopy but this is a highly subjective activity, especially for garments made from degraded materials in which only a selection of potentially unrepresentative fibres may be preserved. Danish hide capes from 920 BC to 775 AD were previously identified as sheep, goat, cow, otter, wolf and deerskin using these methods. However, the references used for comparison were based on modern animal fibres, which do not necessarily have the same characteristics as archaeological or historical material due to animal husbandry techniques such as selective breeding.¹⁹ Comparison of two microscopic methods (light microscopy in combination with macroscopical observation and scanning electron microscopy) with proteomic investigation showed agreement between all three for six of the 12 hide garments. For the other six, the two microscopic methods disagreed as to the identity of the animal and in four of these cases the peptide sequencing agreed with one or other of the microscopic methods.

Sheepskin was generally agreed upon but horse, goat and cow skin were particularly problematic to distinguish. Further scrutiny of the peptides permitted secure diagnosis for each garment and even identified one cow hide as that of a foetal or post-natal calf (up to three months old) owing to the presence of haemoglobin specific to that phase of life.²⁰ Clothes from about 3300 BC worn by the Neolithic man known as Oetzi, who was discovered in the Tyrolean ice in 1991, have also been investigated via proteomics. The proteins showed that he wore a range of furs and hides. His shoe vamp was red deerskin, his leggings were goatskin and grey wolfskin, domestic dog or European red fox, and his shoe sole was cow hide. There was sheep and goat skin in his coat, and his fur cap was from a carnivore species – either brown bear or a canid.²¹

Wool is hair fibre and therefore high in protein, which makes it suitable for peptide sequencing. However, the usefulness of proteomics to the study of early modern knitted material may be limited. If conventional microscopy can confirm without doubt that the fibre is wool, there is not much more that

may be discovered through protein analysis. Current reference material does not extend to proteomic spectra for specific sheep breeds and, even if these were available for modern sheep, they would not be relevant for historical material.

Isotopic Tracing

Strontium is a trace element in rock, water, and soil. It passes to plants as they grow and into animals as they feed on them. One of the natural isotopes of strontium is formed by the radioactive decay of rubidium and accumulates slowly over time. It is usually expressed as a ratio of one of the other more stable strontium isotopes as $^{87}\text{SR}/^{86}\text{SR}$. Older rocks such as granite have high value ratios, whereas newer rocks have lower values. Landscapes are composed of different distributions of rocks and therefore have identifiable, if not unique, profiles. Items made from plant or animal products in the past can be interrogated for their strontium isotopic value, which is then compared to reference ratios to determine likely source localities.²²

The remains of a high-status female of about 16 to 18 years old were excavated in 1921 near Egtved, a Danish village. Her wool and hide garments were well preserved, as was her oak coffin, which was dated to approximately 3,400 years ago by dendrochronology. A recent study investigated her wool tunic, skirt, belt, foot wrappers, and her oxhide wrap (among other items). The results showed that all of these were made from raw materials originating outside what is present-day Denmark. Comparison of the strontium isotope signature with neighbouring landscapes suggested the south-west of Germany and the Black Forest in particular as a likely source locality, although this is not the only European match available.²³

Other isotope tracing methods have used triangulated data to profile the geographical signature of a region in terms of carbon¹³, nitrogen¹⁵ and hydrogen². Archaeological material from three geographical areas (Iceland, north east England and Frisia in Germany) was identified as local or non-local with reference to the isotopic profiles of modern sheep. The study showed that keratin from modern and archaeological sheep, and bone collagen from the latter, had matching geographical signatures. These geographical profiles are dependent on differences in climate, environment and animal husbandry in the three locations.²⁴ The study included a sample from a fragment of knitting found in Newcastle and dated by archaeological context to the first half of the fifteenth century. Previous interpretation suggested it was likely to be from Spain or France since its fine fleece and the kermes with which it was dyed was thought to be little known this early in the United Kingdom.²⁵ However, the isotopic profile of the sample was consistent with a British provenance or another place of origin 'with a climate and environment relatively similar'.²⁶ Isotopic profiling of the knitted caps may produce a map of likely provenance indicating whether there was a unique centre of production or numerous places where the raw materials were produced.

Recommendations

A protocol for the scientific investigation of archaeological textiles and potentially of historic dress is emerging. A priority test sequence, which ensures one type of analysis does not prejudice another and whereby the detection of certain chemical elements avoids analysis known to be inhibited by them, would be desirable. A sampling strategy, which minimises the material required and ensures appropriate recording of the process, is also a requirement for future good practice. Careful communication is necessary between experts crossing boundaries between the arts, humanities, and sciences. This calls for new ways of working in pragmatic multidisciplinary teams.²⁷ There is also a need to integrate the empirical results promised by scientific enquiry into the interpretive framework offered by traditional contextual studies to avoid errors caused by the dazzle of new data.^{28&29} Textile archaeology has blazed a trail for innovative cross-cultural academic collaboration.³⁰ Dress history, and the KEME material in particular, offers similarly fertile ground for new paths leading to new knowledge.

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Biography

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The Négligé in Eighteenth-Century French Portraiture

Elise Urbain Ruano, MA

Abstract

In the eighteenth century, many portraits show sitters wearing clothes known as négligés, such as shirts or nightgowns, in an apparently relaxed and casual attitude. It reflects a fashion that develops in opposition to the formal dress code of the Court. The choice of an informal wear in portraiture may not be meaningless, in a time when constraints on dress were extremely important, and when people were defined by their clothing. This article will start by defining the négligé and explore the development of this trend, in fashion and in history of art.

A new taste for clothing known as négligés emerged in France during the 1680s. The fashion rapidly spread in Europe, and by the 1780s, almost 20% of the fashion plates from the *Gallerie des Modes*, the new fashion magazine, included the word négligé. This fashion was far less studied than obviously meaningful garments such as court dresses and uniforms. The problem is that few clothes of this kind have survived, and, moreover, this fashion is representative of a lack, a negation: lack of adornment, negation of formal clothing, which may make it difficult to decode. However, many portraits show sitters wearing this type of clothing, such as shirts or nightgowns. The sitters also choose not to wear wigs and complicated hairstyles, to have their breeches untied or to abandon their stays: the négligé lies in the attitude as frequently as in the clothing. How did artists and sitters use this fashion? Was there a non-verbal message to be understood? I will try to answer these questions by defining the négligé, and show the variety of its use through case studies.

The Meaning of Négligé

The noun 'négligé', has a slightly different meaning in English and in French. The French verb 'négliger' derives from the Latin 'negligere' or 'neglegere' ('to not tie'). It had existed at least since the twelfth century and means 'not to take care of, to pay no attention to,' always with a negative connotation, often used in a moral or legal context.¹ For example, people 'neglect their duty' or 'neglect to pay their taxes.' Between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, new words deriving from négligé appear, such as 'négligement' (neglectfully), and are usually related to a state of dirtiness. From the end of the seventeenth century the word 'négligement' applied to an attitude of affected indifference or elegant casualness.² After the French Revolution, the aristocratic négligé became out of date. Gradually, the use of the word concentrated itself towards the intimacy of the interior, and then in the narrowest domain of the bedroom.³ From the twentieth century onwards, the French 'négligé' means, as the English 'negligee', a loose garment worn by women in their private space.⁴

From the 1680s through to the eighteenth century, the elegant casualness of the négligé can be directly related to the sprezzatura, which is, according to Baldassare Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*, the main quality of a courtier.⁵ It is a type of controlled detachment, a way of being at ease in all circumstances, which is the result of a lot of effort. In France, the négligé as an aristocratic behaviour was well established in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. An article in the July 1681 edition of

the *Mercure Galant* about the history of politeness at the French court relates that ‘the politeness of the ancient Court was too constrained and too affected (...) Nowadays, we are clean without difficulty, and we are neglected without being dirty.’⁶ In the 1694 *Dictionary of the French Academy*, the *négligé* is ‘the state of a woman when she is in informal wear.’ This can refer to the English notion of undress, but, according to Iris Brooke, ‘undress was an accepted term for anything that fell short of full dress. (...) Undress was worn in the morning, indoors, and outdoors’.⁷ It seems then that the English undress has a wider use than the French *négligé*. *Négligé* only exists as opposed to ‘full dress’, which in eighteenth century French was called ‘*parure*’. Consequently, it only applies to upper-class men and women, and cannot exist among lower classes who never use *négligés* nor *parures*.

During the eighteenth century, the *négligé* became a style that could be used not only in fashion and attitude, but also in literature and painting. The 1762 *Dictionary of the French Academy* defines *négligé* as follows: ‘a style *négligé* is a style which is not refined (...) It is also used in painting, with a quite similar meaning. A beautiful *négligé* is often more pleasing than a cold correctness.’⁸ At the same time, it is an artificial construction for the coquettes who try to appear elegantly neglected at their morning toilette. In painting, as in literature, the style was chosen according to the subject of the painting. For example, biblical or mythological scenes deserve a high level of technique and finish, whereas a simple daily-life scene can be painted neglectfully. But, in a perfectly painted scene, some ‘*négligences*’ should be left by the artist to prevent the painting from becoming boring because of its consistent quality. The ‘*shadows*’ caused by these ‘*négligences*’ highlight the qualities of the best parts of the painting. It is difficult to achieve such a balance and it requires much work from the artist. In conclusion, to be neglected in painting, or in one’s behaviour, or in clothing, is not a natural and innate quality, but a subtle construction.

Clothing and Portraiture

It is well known that clothes are very important when talking about portraits. In eighteenth-century France, there was intense debate about how sitters should be dressed in their portraits: should they use contemporary dress, with the risk of becoming outdated, or use classical garments and draperies, which may become ridiculous, and which extract sitters from their time? Roger de Piles does not really choose his position. In his *Cours de Peinture par Principes*, he writes that ‘rich clothes are usually not convenient to men’s gravity. Women should be neglectfully dressed, without losing their dignity and nobility.’⁹ But a portrait painter must know the art of diplomacy, and further, ‘when men and women would like to be anything else, the painter should be pleased to imitate their clothing’.¹⁰ In the second half of the eighteenth century, Denis Diderot, the philosopher missing his old nightgown, wrote much about clothes in art. Usually, he does not appreciate contemporary dress, as in his 1765 *Réflexions sur la Peinture*,

Add to the dullness of our bows, the one of our clothes. (...) I defy the genius of painting and sculpture himself to take advantage of this system of meanness. What a nice thing, in marble or in bronze, a Frenchman with his buttoned waistcoat, his sword and his hat.¹¹

He sometimes contradicts himself, however. For example, when commenting on the portrait of *Voltaire Seated* by Jean Antoine Houdon in 1781,¹² he writes, ‘This figure has some character. The attitude is found rather unfortunate; it is because we are not touched enough by its simplicity. We would prefer a nightgown rather than this voluminous drapery.’¹³ Finally, these *négligés*, such as nightgowns, are a kind of compromise between the classical draperies and the current fashion, and can be very convenient for artists.

Fashion Plates

The first fashion plates showing *négligé* clothes appear at the end of the 1670s and during the 1680s. Some engravers are well known, such as Jean Dieu de Saint Jean or the Bonnard family, and most of the plates are published alone or in the *Mercure Galant*. Some of these *négligés* look like dressing gowns, and others are black dresses that are used to go outside and visit friends. The *négligé* is widely used

during the eighteenth century and in the famous *Galerie des Modes*, which was published from 1778, almost 20% of the engravings that I found included the word *négligé*, which could apply to clothes, accessories, or hairstyles.

There are many kinds of *négligé*, for example:

- The *mantelet* is a light linen or cotton coat that women put on in the morning, during the long time they spent to get ready
- The *lévite*, or *négligé de la volupté* (which means sensual delight). During the eighteenth century, the formal dress for upper class ladies was the *robe à la française*, or sack gown, which was impossible to put on without external help. This difficulty was a guarantee of the lady's honest behaviour. On the contrary, the *lévite* was as easy to put on as it was to remove, without the help of a maid, that is why it was thought to be very convenient for discreet encounters, inspired by the dream of a sensual oriental culture.
- There was a *grand négligé*, because there are levels of *négligé*. The final level of *négligé* was about the head. Being totally neglected involved covering one's head with a scarf, a bonnet and/or a veil to hide the fact that the hair was undone.

Many of these clothes were used in portraits, and some of them, such as the *mantelet au lever de l'Aurore*, were inspired by fancy clothing: the goddess Aurora has been repeatedly used to represent young and attractive women in mythological portraits.

Mythology and Exoticism

Mademoiselle de Clermont belonged to the royal family of France. She ordered two portraits from Jean-Marc Nattier. In the first she was represented as a spring in a mythological portrait.¹⁴ The spring was a very common theme through which to represent young women. Nattier used the same white shift and the same blue drapery, the same jar and the same aquatic plants several times, for example in his latter portrait of Marie-Henriette Berthelot de Plénoeuf in 1739.¹⁵ In the bottom left corner of the painting, a putto holds an anchor, which is a marine reference, and a snake, a medical symbol: it means that this water is healthy. With her left hand, the princess shows a young woman pouring water in a glass. Her attitude is similar to Hebe, the gods' cupbearer who brings them eternal youth. Hebe was also a very popular goddess for use in young women's portraits, such as Jean-Marc Nattier's *Madame Le Fèvre de Caumartin* in 1753.¹⁶ The difference between most of the Hebes and this one is that there is a visible hemstitch line around her shoulder and the cleavage of her shirt is decorated with a lace flounce. Moreover, the purple drapery that surrounds her looks like an actual skirt. This Hebe may not belong to the gods' world, but be an actual maid serving real water. In the background of the picture, there is a building which did exist: it was a pavilion in the princess' castle of Chantilly, where people used to come to enjoy the mineral water in the gardens. Jean-Marc Nattier made a mix between fancy and actual clothes to symbolize the wonders of the Chantilly thermal springs, offered and protected by Mademoiselle de Clermont. A few years later, in 1733, the princess ordered another portrait from Jean-Marc Nattier, where she plays the role of a sultana, a role that allowed her to show her legs, which can be considered as very erotic, but was permitted in the context of a fancy oriental setting.¹⁷ With these two portraits, Jean-Marc Nattier used the conventions of mythology, exoticism, and the new fashion for *négligé* to enhance the princess' personality.

The Seductive Power of the *Négligé*

All of these neglected clothes and attitudes have a seductive power, which is illustrated in genre scenes such as *Les Quatre Parties du Jour: Le Matin (The Morning)* by Nicolas Lancret in 1739.¹⁸ When the young lady, wearing a *peignoir* over an opened shift, turns to serve coffee to the Abbé, her breasts are revealed, which she does not mind, but makes her maid smile. It is that seduction that young fashionable ladies were seeking when they had their portrait done, especially *en négligé*. For example, Laure de

Fitz-James, Princesse de Chimay, wears a morning *négligé* over her stays in her portrait by Louis Michel Van Loo in 1767.¹⁹ The princess was a close friend of Queen Marie-Antoinette, after having served Queen Marie Leszcynska, Louis XV's wife. The painting was exhibited at the 1767 Salon, with the portrait of her brother, and was harshly criticized by Denis Diderot,

Madame the Princesse de Chimay, Mr. the Chevalier her brother, you are bad, perfectly bad; you are dull, but perfectly dull. (...) Princess, tell me, do not you feel how this curtain you are lifting is heavy? It is difficult to say which one, brother or sister, is stiffer and colder.²⁰

The portrait is indeed rather artificial. The princess is dressed as if she was at her morning toilette, but her hair is done. She is lifting a red curtain with her left hand, and it seems that she is resting on a balcony, with a dark background. All these settings evoke the opera rather than the bedroom. This painting summarizes how artificially constructed and unnatural the *négligé* was among these young women. Almost fifteen years later, Louis Sébastien Mercier could not stand the fashionable young Parisian ladies and their whimsical attitude. He imagined what they would say when they came to the theatre wearing their morning *négligé*,

Since I cannot make the comedy come to my home, I want at least be free to arrive at seven, to appear in a simple undress, as when I get out of bed. I want to bring my dog, my candlestick, my chamber pot; I want to enjoy my sofa, to receive the homage of my suitors, and to leave when I am bored. To deprive me of these advantages, is to make an attempt on the freedom that good taste and wealth provide.²¹

By the end of the eighteenth century, the *négligé* came to be associated with bad morals and aristocratic depravity and consequently totally opposed to the bourgeois morality which would come to prevail in the nineteenth century.

Freedom in a Dressing Gown

The masculine *négligé* is mainly represented by the dressing gown, or night gown. A mix of the Japanese kimono and the Turkish caftan, the nightgowns were first traded by Dutch merchants in the seventeenth century. The fashion rapidly spread through Europe. In French fashion plates, it is often called 'Armenian dress': it has an exotic taste which was part of its success. Most of these fashion plates derive from a single model, probably by one from the Bonnard family. In the *Galerie des Modes* in the 1780s, the seventeenth-century model was still in use, but the fabrics, colours and accessories are adapted to current fashion. In the most famous fashion plate, a young man is enjoying a cup of chocolate or coffee, the new fashionable beverage. He is *en demi négligé* (half neglected), because his clothes are neglected, but not his hair, since he has his powdered periwig on. More than expensive, colourful and exotic, nightgowns were extremely comfortable, especially if compared to the stiff, tight and often fragile court suit, or *habit à la Française*. Although they are called nightgown (in French *robe de chambre*), these clothes were to be worn at home during the day, either before getting dressed or as informal wear. The rise of the nightgown goes with the development of the cabinet, a small room dedicated to study or work at home, where upper-class men would receive friends, suppliers, or solicitors.

It is well known that in many portraits the sitters wore the nightgown, whether they be scientists, artists or philosophers. Figure 1 is an example of how the use of nightgowns in portraiture can be related to the sitter's life. The Duke of Choiseul was one of the most important ministers of King Louis XV. He was in charge of Foreign Affairs, War and the Navy. He was very wealthy and had a sumptuous way of life. His several portraits were famous, whether painted, carved or engraved. Most of them derive from two models by Louis Michel Van Loo in 1763: one in armour, the other one showing him at his working desk.²² He wears a complete court suit made of red velvet, trimmed with fur and decorated with gold, with the blue ribbon of the Order of the Saint-Esprit, the most important Chevalric order in France.



Figure 1

Étienne-François, Duc de Choiseul-Stainsville at his Desk, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1786, oil on canvas; 1460x1140mm, Waddesdon (Rothschild Foundation), England, 155.2008.

He also shows his good taste (he was an important art collector) with precisely painted fashionable furniture.

In 1770 the Duke was banished from the Court because of his numerous enemies led by Madame du Barry, the king's mistress. He had to retire to his castle of Chanteloup, and later to his Parisian town house where he recreated a small court made of opponents to his banishment: by visiting him, which was forbidden, they were showing to the court how unfair his punishment was. A few months before he died, ruined by having maintained his expensive way of life, he commissioned a portrait from Adélaïde Labille-Guiard. She was an artist famous for having painted the royal family and some wealthy Parisians. In this portrait, finished in 1786 after the Duke's death,²³ the sitter is still at his desk, but is no longer working. He is resting, contrary to the previous portrait which showed a very dynamic attitude, as if the Duke was about to get up and leave. He was known for his constant activity and his quickness when he was in charge; he is now comfortably installed in the chair. The furniture depicted here has been updated

to the latest fashion, and the clothes have also changed: he wears a pale nightgown, underlining the fact that he does not wear the court costume anymore. But we know that full dress was worn at Chanteloup; consequently, the choice of a nightgown must be meaningful. Moreover, his breeches are obviously untied. They are red, like the ones he used to wear in his previous portraits, but the buttons have disappeared. The *négligé* of this man freed from the constraints of royal court, freed also from the official dressing code, lies in the attitude as well as in the clothing.

To conclude, *négligé* clothes, which could at first seem meaningless, were used in many ways in portraiture to convey a nonverbal message: a carefully constructed seduction, or the liberation of the body following the liberation of the mind, what queen Marie-Antoinette tried to do (and failed). She decided to wear *négligé* white cotton dresses known as *chemises à la reine*, which was not possible outside her domain of Trianon. Her portrait by Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun, wearing that dress caused such a scandal at the 1783 Salon that it had to be replaced by another one where she was painted with a formal silk robe à la Française. The image of powerful people had to be controlled, and this control obviously included clothing. The highly political meaning of dress in eighteenth-century France justifies the study of this fashion trend that lasted a century among the French aristocracy and was then reused by artists and people trying to find a way out of a rigorous morality.

Endnotes

- ¹ Jacqueline Picoche, *Dictionnaire Étymologique Du Français*, Dictionnaires Le Robert, Paris, 2002.
- ² *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 1694.
- ³ In the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, *négligé* means 'costume du matin' (morning attire) in 1878, 'vêtement qu'une femme porte dans l'intimité' (clothing that a woman wears in intimacy) during 1932–1935.
- ⁴ 'Tenue légère qu'une femme porte dans l'intimité', current definition.
- ⁵ *Il Libro del Cortegiano* or *Book of the Courtier* (Venetia, 1528) describes the ideal qualities of a courtier at the court of Urbino which was a model of politeness and refinement. The book was successful through Europe, translated in several languages and became a reference for the aristocratic life.
- ⁶ 'La politesse de l'ancienne Cour estoit trop contrainte et trop affectée. (...) à present on est propre sans peine, et l'on est negligé sans estre mal-propre', in 'En quoy consiste l'air du Monde, et la véritable Politesse, par M. de la Féverrie', *Mercure Galant*, July 1681, p. 102. Quoted by Pascale Cugy, in 'La fabrique du corps désirable: la gravure de mode sous Louis XIV', *Histoire de l'Art*, n°66, 2010, pp. 83–93. The *Mercure Galant* is considered as the first French fashion magazine, from 1678 to 1714.
- ⁷ Iris Brooke, *Dress and Undress. The Restoration and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, Methuen and Co., 1958, p. vii.
- ⁸ 'On appelle Style negligé, Un style qui n'est point châtié (...). Un beau negligé plaît souvent plus qu'une froide correction', *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*, 1762.
- ⁹ 'Les habits fort riches conviennent rarement aux hommes, et la grande chamarrure est au-dessous de leur gravité. Les femmes doivent être parées négligemment sans perdre leur dignité et leur noblesse', Roger de Piles, *Cours de Peinture par Principes*, Jacques Estienne, Paris, 1708, p. 221.
- ¹⁰ 'Quand les hommes et les femmes voudront être autrement, le parti que le Peintre doit prendre, est de se faire un plaisir de l'imitation', *ibid.*
- ¹¹ 'Ajoutez à la platitude de nos révérences, celle de nos vêtements. (...) Je défie le génie même de la peinture et de la sculpture de tirer parti de ce système de mesquinerie. La belle chose, en marbre ou en bronze, qu'un Français avec son justaucorps à boutons, son épée et son chapeau!' Denis Diderot, *Salons*, Brière, Paris, 1821, t.I, p. 359.

- ¹² *Voltaire Assis*, Jean Antoine Houdon, 1781, marble, 140x106x80cm, Comédie-Française, S0148.
- ¹³ ‘Cette figure a du caractère. On n’en trouve pas l’attitude heureuse; c’est qu’on n’est pas assez touché de sa simplicité. On lui aimerait mieux une robe de chambre que cette volumineuse draperie.’ Denis Diderot, *Oeuvres Complètes*, Garnier, Paris, 1875-1877, t.12, p. 68.
- ¹⁴ *Marie-Anne de Bourbon, Dite Mademoiselle de Clermont (1697-1741) aux Eaux Minérales de Chantilly*, Jean-Marc Nattier, 1729, oil on canvas, 195x161cm, Chantilly, musée Condé, PE375.
- ¹⁵ *Marie-Henriette Berthelot de Plénoeuf*, Jean-Marc Nattier, 1739, The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, Japan.
- ¹⁶ *Madame Le Fèvre de Caumartin*, Jean-Marc Nattier, 1753, National Gallery of Art, Washington, United States.
- ¹⁷ *Mademoiselle de Clermont en Sultane*, Jean-Marc Nattier, 1733, oil on canvas, 1090x1405mm, The Wallace Collection, London, England, P456.
- ¹⁸ *Les Quatre Parties du Jour: Le Matin (The Morning)*, Nicolas Lancret, 1739, oil on copper, 283x364mm, The National Gallery, London, England, NG5867.
- ¹⁹ Laure-Auguste de Fitz-James, Princesse de Chimay (1744-1814), Louis Michel Van Loo, 1767, oil on canvas, 865x865mm, Versailles, Château de Versailles et Trianon, Paris, France, MV 8325.
- ²⁰ ‘Madame la princesse de Chymay, Mr le chevalier de Fitz-James son frère, vous êtes mauvais, parfaitement mauvais; vous êtes plats, mais parfaitement plats. (...) Princesse, dites-moi, ne sentez-vous pas combien ce rideau que vous tirez est lourd. Il est difficile de dire lequel du frère et de la sœur est le plus roide et le plus froid.’ Denis Diderot, *Salons*, Brière, Paris, 1821, t.2, p. 36.
- ²¹ ‘Puisque je ne peux pas faire venir la comédie chez moi, je veux au moins avoir la liberté d’y arriver à sept heures, d’y paraître en simple déshabillé, comme lorsque je sors de mon lit. Je veux y apporter mon chien, mon bougeoir, mon vase de nuit; je veux jouir de mon fauteuil, de ma dormeuse, recevoir l’hommage de mes courtisans, et m’en aller avant que l’ennui me saisisse. Me priver de tant d’avantages, c’est attenter à la liberté que donnent le bon goût et la richesse’. Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Le Tableau de Paris*, Mercure de France, Paris, 1994, t.I, pp. 487-488.
- ²² *Etienne-François, Duc de Choiseul-Stainville*, Louis Michel Van Loo, 1763, oil on canvas, 948x1230mm, Châteaux de Versailles et Trianon, Versailles, Paris, France, MV 3845.
- ²³ *Étienne-François, Duc de Choiseul-Stainville at his Desk*, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, 1786, oil on canvas; 1460x1140mm, Waddesdon (Rothschild Foundation), England, 155.2008.

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Biography

Elise Urbain Ruano is a PhD candidate at the University of Lille and the Ecole du Louvre. Her thesis is about the definition and evolution of the *négligé* in French portraiture through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the relationships between France and England. Her MA dissertation about the *négligé* won the 2014 XVIIIe siècle Prize. She has recently written a chapter for the catalogue of the *Tenue Correcte Exigée* exhibition at Les Arts Décoratifs, Paris. Her forthcoming publications will be on lightness in fashion and morality in the eighteenth century, and on the question of intimacy in French portraiture.

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Clothing as a Means of Representation of Baroque Nobles in Central Europe, 1650–1700

Ondřej Stolička, MGR

Abstract

The Schwarzenberg dynasty belonged, during the seventeenth century, to the richest members of the nobility in the Habsburg monarchy. To enhance its prestige, and to maintain its high position at the Habsburg court in Vienna, it had to properly represent its members. This was necessary not only in everyday life, but also on various special occasions. This article shows how important clothing was in order for the Central European nobles to be presented in these instances.

Clothing for noblemen in Central Europe during the second half of the seventeenth century held great importance. In order to illustrate this, one of the richest families in the Habsburg monarchy, the Schwarzenbergs, has been selected, and, in particular, two members of this dynasty – Jan Adolf I of Schwarzenberg (1615–1683) and his son, Ferdinand (1652–1703).¹

Jan Adolf (Figure 1) based his increasing political power on his profitable property in the south of Bohemia.² For context, however, a few important points from his career deserve a mention. During his



Figure 1
Jan Adolf I. Schwarzenberg,
Unknown Artist, seventeenth
century, Český Krumlov Castle,
Český Krumlov, Czech Republic.³

youth he undertook a cavalier's tour through Europe from 1630 to 1636.⁴ That was an important moment in the life of this young man, as he experienced the reality of presenting himself at the various courts in Europe, and demonstrated his ability in various languages. Of course, in every country he had to assimilate to local norms not only of language and behaviour, but also norms of dress.⁵ Some of these differences were also practical matters because the weather in other parts of Europe could be quite different from his home region. During these years, Jan Adolf also learned the crucial fact that travel could be dangerous – especially at the time of the Thirty Years' War – and it was unwise to attract more attention than necessary. The roads were full of bandits, and that is why noblemen from Central Europe used special travel clothes which could not be very colourful: they used mostly black or brown colours.⁶ Formal clothing was used when it was necessary to display that one belonged to the nobility; these clothes were also more expensive than usual.⁷

Similar priorities arose as Schwarzenberg's career came into focus.⁸ First, Jan Adolf was expected to become a member of the Knights of St. John, but after the death of his older brother he had to change the direction of his career and became a member of the Reichshofrat (the Aulic Council).⁹ In 1645 he was appointed the 'Oberkammerer' (treasurer) of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria, the younger brother of Emperor Ferdinand III, and also the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1647 to 1656.¹⁰ During this time, Jan Adolf and his family lived in Brussels. The stay of Schwarzenbergs in the heart of the Spanish Netherlands was not only significant from the perspective of Jan Adolf's career; Brussels was also an important centre for the trade in various expensive commodities. During subsequent decades, after his return to South Bohemia, he used his contacts in Brussels to continue importing luxury goods. Schwarzenberg could equally have made his purchases in Prague or in Vienna, but working through wholesalers in Brussels provided less expensive access to the quality goods he sought.¹¹

Next, in the year 1650 he received the order of the Golden Fleece and became a member of the very limited circle of noblemen with privileges at the courts in Vienna and in Madrid. The symbols of the order included special clothing, to strengthen the brotherhood between the members of the order. This special outfit featured a velvet red robe and coat with golden bordering and a hat of same colour. Until the end of the sixteenth century, the only insignia from the order had been a golden chain, but then a special medal was created, hanging on a red ribbon around the neck, with the inscription 'Pretium Laborum Non Vile' ('Not a bad reward for labour').¹²

Jan Adolf's career culminated in the year 1670, when he was elevated to the rank of Prince and was named the president of the Aulic Council.¹³ In this way, Schwarzenberg gained the highest title a Bohemian noble could attain.¹⁴ His son, Ferdinand, continued his career. First, as young man, he gained experience following a cavalier's tour through Europe. From the moment he became Prince, upon his father's death in 1683, he was appointed as 'Geheimen Rat'; in 1685 was named 'Obermarschall', in 1688 he was made a member of the order of Golden Fleece and in 1702 he obtained the high office of 'Oberkammerer'. But he was famous especially for his selflessness during the epidemic in Vienna during 1679–1680, when he supervised the establishment of hygiene rules to stop the spread of the plague.¹⁵

According to what is known about the lives of these two Schwarzenberg princes during the second half of the seventeenth century, it is possible to divide their clothing into three imaginary categories. The first group consists of clothes connected with membership in the various orders and councils. In this way a nobleman would show his affiliation with other members of the circle. In the second group were the clothes the Schwarzenbergs wore for their official duties. At first glance it would be possible to say that a nobleman in this case was representing only himself in his mode of dress, but in many cases he would primarily represent his ruler, especially on ceremonial occasions that included foreign diplomats. By wearing old or cheap clothes, the Schwarzenbergs would embarrass not only themselves but also their Emperor.

The third conceptual group involves clothes for the occasions in which the Schwarzenberg title-holders would represent their family. The head of the family was the most important participant on these occasions, but his wife, his children and his servants would also complete the picture.¹⁶ As part of their

salary, servants received clothes of a quality which would not embarrass their employer.¹⁷ The Schwarzenbergs also paid for repairs to their servants' clothes.¹⁸ From their accounts, it is clear that shoes were the item most frequently in need of repair. Similarly, the Schwarzenbergs would pay to have their own clothes repaired, because they were made from high quality material and could be used for many years.¹⁹

Jan Adolf saw his wife as someone who spent too much money on new clothes, not only for her, but also for their servants.²⁰ This difference lay, in part, in the way they purchased clothes or the material for them. Jan Adolf had his merchant contacts, who sold him the best quality goods from Brussels. On the other hand, his wife was impatient and would buy at the central markets in Prague or in Vienna.²¹ The networks Johann Adolf maintained featured merchants quite prominently, and their names were mentioned frequently in documents – it seems that these contacts were able to save a lot of money for the nobleman.²² On the other hand, the names of the artisans, who made the final clothes out of the purchased material, were never mentioned; they were simply referred to as 'tailors'. Of course, the money they were paid for their services was incomparably less than that invested in the materials.²³

An example of the third category can be seen in two paintings of Ferdinand Schwarzenberg and his wife Maria Anna of Sulz.²⁴ Those paintings (Figures 2 and 3) are special because they show Schwarzenberg and his wife in wedding dress, in 1674.²⁵ The clothes were made in the French fashion, which was the trend in Habsburg lands during the second half of the seventeenth century.²⁶ The colours chosen were very important. Ferdinand wore gold-coloured clothes, which symbolically referred to their excellent financial situation and also their privileged place within the hierarchy of the Habsburg monarchy.²⁷ On his clothing the leucanthemum flower (Greek for 'white flower') represents innocence and virginity, which were connected with the wedding ritual.²⁸



Figure 2

Ferdinand Wilhelm Eusebius Schwarzenberg, Unknown Artist, 1674, Český Krumlov Castle, Český Krumlov, Czech Republic.²⁹



Figure 3

Anna Maria Sulz, Unknown Artist, 1674, Český Krumlov Castle, Český Krumlov, Czech Republic.³⁰

Anna Maria's dress contrasts with Ferdinand's clothing in the same way as the Moon contrasts with the Sun, or Venus with Apollo. The main colour for aristocratic women's wedding dress was white, in this case silver, combining the symbolic meanings of virginity, wealth, and nobility.³¹ Similarly, the same flower is present for her as well, made in this case from gold in correspondence with her husband's clothing. The importance of this wedding ceremony in the life of Schwarzenberg's family is also represented by the investment put into the clothes of their servants, who wore new uniforms in the colours of the Schwarzenberg household.³²

These categories of clothing have been introduced as possible lenses into the role of these articles, but there were no strict boundaries between categories. Jan Adolf and his son would perceive their clothing as a part of their social representation, which could be a representation of the dynasty, of their ruler, of their family, and of their individual status, all at the same time. Clothing served as one of the main elements establishing and confirming the social status of the Schwarzenbergs. Similar to the depiction of an Italian nobleman in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, the symbolic capital of a Central European noble depended on his various skills, but was signified first by his clothing, which could be seen by anyone.³³ While Castiglione did not attach the highest priority to dress, as compared to manners and deportment, and later Spanish author Baltazar Gracian devoted even less attention to clothing in his book, *The Courtier's Oracle*, the reality was somewhat different. If a nobleman in Central Europe lived in proximity to the Habsburg court, he had to demonstrate his integrity within his social group as a member of the most important and highest ranking society in the Habsburg monarchy. Many nobles wanted to reach the highest levels of the court in Vienna, and were not deterred from using every opportunity to bring disgrace on their opponents, even slander.³⁴ In that environment, a nobleman had to invest significant resources to buy high quality material for his clothing; therefore it is not surprising that the cost of clothes accounted for a large part of the total expenses of the Schwarzenberg household.³⁵

Endnotes

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- ⁵ Jiří Kubeš, *Náročné dospívání urozených: Kavalírské cesty české a rakouské šlechty (1620–1750)*, NTP, Pelhřimov, 2013, pp. 8–14.
- ⁶ Schwarzenberg Family Archive, Trebon State Regional Archive, Český Krumlov, Czech Republic, Document #357.

- ⁷ Václav Bůžek et. al., *Společnost českých zemí v raném novověku: Struktury, Identity, konflikty*, NLN, Praha, 2010, pp. 268–271.
- ⁸ A more detailed history of the carriers of Jan Adolf I and Ferdinand can be found in Smíšek, op cit.
- ⁹ Markus, op. cit., p. 12; Smíšek, op cit., p. 265.
- ¹⁰ A more detailed history of the relationship between Jan Adolf I and Leopold Wilhelm can be found in Adolf Berger, 'Studien zu den Beziehungen des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Oesterreich zu dem Grafen Johann Adolf zu Schwarzenberg,' *Berichte und Mittheilungen des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien*, Volume 21, Issue 1, 1882, pp. 52–72. See also the letters of Jan Adolf I. to Leopold Wilhelm in Schwarzenberg Family Archive, Trebon State Regional Archive, Český Krumlov, Czech Republic, Document #357.
- ¹¹ A more detailed history of the supplying strategies of the Schwarzenbergs can be found in Stolička, op. cit.
- ¹² František Lobkowicz, *Zlaté rouno v Čechách*, KPČHG, Praha, 1991, p. 183.
- ¹³ Markus, op. cit., p. 12; Smíšek, op cit., p. 106.
- ¹⁴ A more detailed history of the titles in Bohemia can be found in Petr Mařa, *Svět české aristokracie*, NLN, Praha, 2004, pp. 67–76.
- ¹⁵ Markus, op. cit., p. 12; Smíšek, op cit., p. 106.
- ¹⁶ Mařa, op. cit., pp. 542–544.
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- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Hanka Tlamsová, *Marie Justina ze Schwarzenberku: Obraz (nemocné) šlechtičny v polovině 17. století*, Bachelors thesis, JČU in ČB, České Budějovice, 2012, pp. 27–28.
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- ²² Ibid.
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- ²⁴ A more detailed history of the marriage strategy of Jan Adolf and his son Ferdinand can be found in Rostislav Smíšek, 'Die Heiratstrategien der Fürsten zu Schwarzenberg 1600 bis 1700,' *Adel in Südwestdeutschland und Böhmen 1450–1850*, Ronald G. Asch, Václav Bůžek, Volker Trugenberg, eds., W. Kohlhammer Verlag, Stuttgart, 2013, pp. 127–154.
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- ²⁸ Ibid., p. 30.
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- ³³ Baldassare Castiglione, *Dvořan*, Odeon, Praha, 1978, pp. 126.

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Biography

Ondřej Stolička graduated from the University of South Bohemia with a specialisation in the history of the early modern aristocracy. His research was focused in two fields: the first regarding the symbolism of the marriage entry of Joseph I's wife, and the second concerning the culture and economy of noble households in the second half of the seventeenth century. Now he is a doctoral student at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, where he is researching the relationships between the Spanish world and Central Europe.

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Cloth of the Sixteenth-Century Yeoman: Thick, Itchy, and Blanket Like, or Carefully Engineered for Relevance?¹

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Abstract

With the lack of tactile evidence regarding the quality of yeomen's cloth, this research amalgamates empiric knowledge and analysis of written material, poised to clarify different types, weights and intended purposes of cloth. 'Middling sorts', often portrayed dressed in drab, thick and coarse material, due to their manual labours, are neglected and their abilities to be industrious and practical are grossly underestimated. Academics, practitioners, conservators, and replicators need to merge their research and view the situation more objectively. The 'urge' to touch is inherent and necessary to fully appreciate the full potential of these cloths, or has dexterity been lost?

This paper considers what textiles were owned and used by the 'middling sort' [yeomen] in East Kent, from a practitioner's point of view. A yeoman was a 'freeman' with fewer restraints than other 'sorts' of society. They were predominately freeholders, beholden only to themselves and free from the feudal obligations to the king and were regarded as the backbone of England.² Being frugal they had more disposable income than those from other 'sorts' and their financial situation was extremely varied.³ This however, did not mean they were able to invest in a varied wardrobe; textiles needed to serve a purpose, both for work and socialising within legislation.

A yeoman required serviceable, practical fabrics for working wear and household goods, although his Sunday best may have been more extravagant, if his finances and the sumptuary law allowed.⁴ Even household goods such as curtains were constructed of a cloth to withstand draughts and keep dust at bay; however, in poorer homesteads any fabric would be better than nothing.⁵ For any cloth to be successful, construction must be considered from conception to conclusion with a focus on the final product – a vital consideration. This was even more paramount for cloths of the sixteenth century than the present day, owing to the limitations of the period; for example, the availability of raw materials, financial restraints, and for survival.

Yeomen of East Kent were an invisible 'sort' not readily advertising their status; possibly due to Kent being invaded and conquered throughout history, to which it owes much of its individuality. Trade also played an important part due to the close proximity with Calais and the continent. These yeomen were therefore open to a number of marketable opportunities and influences which other parts of the realm might not.⁶ Refraining from being documented, the 'private' yeoman just worked harder to better himself and his family. Consequently little information regarding clothing survives about this 'sort'; 5% of the inventories studied mentioned yeoman, with sums ranging from £53 to £120. However, 26% recorded sums over £40 including sums of £260 with no mention of their 'sort'.⁷ Clothes would have been worn and repaired until there was no life left in them, with the 'best garments' bequeathed for services rendered, possibly to a devoted relation or a faithful servant, and quality was reported.⁸

Principally clothing offered dignity and warmth, with comfort and style taking second place, following the lifecycle of the individual and carving out one of its own. Yet, when establishing any cloth requirement the end purpose was paramount – a point which cannot be stressed enough. Of the natural fibres at the disposal of the yeoman, there were two with specific qualities pertaining to this ‘sort’: wool, from sheep the yeoman was probably farming, and linen, from the flax grown in his fields or locally.⁹ With these readily available fibres many contrasting cloths could be made.

Homemade cloths could all have been made of the same fibre, yet just one fabric would not fit the purpose of each garment required, even for a limited wardrobe. With clothing of the time being worn until it was repaired, recycled and finally expired, as was the English tradition, there is little tactile evidence available for analysis which is related to the date and area under study. Maria Hayward states in *Dress at the Court*, ‘The simple truth is that there are no known surviving garments from Henry VIII’s wardrobe.’¹⁰ So, if few, to no clothes of this quality have survived, there is very little hope of any ‘lesser sorts’ of clothes surviving the tests of time. Maria Hayward continues to note something may be found in the future, yet fabric does not survive well and realistically, we cannot rely on such a discovery.

Actual textile evidence is sparse due to its perishable nature, surviving only in the correct environmental conditions per fibre. Therefore any find needs to be viewed in context with previous and later finds to comprehend the development of techniques and fibres.¹¹ Fortunately there have been remarkable discoveries throughout the world; some have become the skeleton on which these samples have evolved. Wool samples from the Mary Rose have been central to this work, even though they pertain to life on the open sea and warfare. As a range of remnants have been analysed and combined with scientific documentation, the ability to visualize the qualities and production of cloth for the garments of the period is slowly being realised.¹² Academic work has been invaluable in piecing the discoveries of actual textile fragments with the construction of these preliminary samples.

Janet Arnold, in her studies of apparel for both men and women including shirts, smocks and neckwear, detailed many linen items, giving patterns and in some cases the assessed amount of threads in the weave.¹³ However, most of these garments befit the ‘upper sorts’. Therefore, this constitutes a better quality than that available to the ‘middling sorts’, and again, assumptions can only be made as no evidence substantiates this theory. Descriptions of finds, such as those from the Thames Waterfront – fragments from tailors and possibly pieces from the Great (Royal) Wardrobe – aid the understanding of cloth of the period.¹⁴ An interesting rare textile fragment classified as a lightweight ‘new drapery’, being analysed by Frances Pritchard, was recovered from a pit in Canterbury which is fortunately at the extremity of the period in question.¹⁵ John Wild analysed a significantly fine twill cloth from Syria which is inspirational but completely out of period. All have been researched and are important for this and continuing research.¹⁶

With limited textile evidence other sources need to be considered to investigate this practical question. Portraiture was only available to the wealthy, was created to impress, and its reliability is questionable. A yeoman may have aspired to such, giving evidence of the textiles pertaining to the upper end of the ‘middling sorts’. Yet portraits for this era are rare and portray the finest of garments, not ‘the warts and all’ enabling fair analysis. We are therefore indebted to painters who found pleasure in painting ‘real’ scenes and depicting all types of life; not a course for most artists as it was not lucrative. Holbein (circa 1497/8–1543), well known for his royal patronage, painted the nobility. However, pieces like *The Artist’s Wife* and *The Artist’s Family* do give insight into fabric colour and drape. Giorgione (circa 1476/8–1510), and Bruegel (circa 1525/30–1569), although not English, did portray life of the ‘middling’ and ‘lesser sorts’; the latter being referred to as ‘Peasant Bruegel’ due to the subject matter of his paintings.¹⁷ Marriage Feasts (1566) and Peasant’s Wedding (1568) again depict village scenes giving a sense of colour and form, whereas Giorgione’s *La Vecchia* (1508) is a perfect example of detail showing cloth and drape. This helps to consider the quality of linen that may have been available to the ‘lesser sorts’. Illustrations, wood cuts and brasses can also offer a visual image of the period but again caution is needed as these normally depict the wealthier yeoman or a stylised version symbolising drape and form to depict wealth and status.

Establishing what constituted the dress of the yeoman may appear insignificant but in its turn supports the possible cloth, cut, and dress of the other 'sorts'. Initial thoughts were: had the Yeoman been portrayed correctly and could it be conceivable that all 'sorts' below Gentleman or Esquire dressed in coarse, drab cloth? Perhaps with such a portrayal the emphasis would indicate the grandeur of the 'upper sorts' creating an obvious distinction. Would anyone affronted by such a depiction defend a misrepresentation of status? Evidence has shown, not only did the Yeoman have the capacity to have more disposable income than the Gentleman farmer, he actually did.¹⁸ This comes mainly from indentures, also wills and inventories, where, in one instance, it has been stated that a wealthy yeoman has bought land from the gentleman farmer saving him from ridicule and financial disaster.¹⁹ This illustrates that finance was not necessarily a prohibition where the purchase of cloth was concerned, yet sumptuary laws were. Legislation did not have such an impact on the names of colours as it did for cloths. Colours could be cleverly renamed as the sumptuary laws referred to specifics, for example purple renamed as violet.²⁰ However the same principle could not be applied to fibres; legislation had denied the 'lesser sorts' the use of the better quality fibres such as cotton and silk.

The yeoman we know had wool and linen easily at his disposal, both may be classed as by-products. This enabled the yeoman some freedom to experiment, obviously within legislative restrictions, and produce cloth that could emulate those of the upper classes, without falling foul of the law, and to follow a thrifty lifestyle. Gervase Markham states in *A Way to Get Wealth* that 'Our English housewife after her knowledge of preserving and feeding her family must learne also how out of her own endeavours, she ought to clothe them outwardly and inwardly; outwardly for defense for the cold and comeliness to the person.'²¹ He continues to explain the family cloth production duties, 'for it is the greatest art of housewifery to mix these wools right and to make the cloth without blemish.'²²

Dated shortly after the period in question, this publication pertains to the husbandman and his wife, the 'sort' immediately lower than the yeoman, demonstrating the expectations of providing for the family to better oneself, a principle close to the heart of the yeoman. To endorse this notion of home-produced yarn, inventories for the area were found to detail a wealth of spinning equipment and raw material (wool, flax, both tow and line, plus hemp), implying households were using the production of yarn to generate income. Spinning obviously took place in the home, with the warp delivered to the local weaver for completion. An assumption made on Gervase Markham's evidence was that only weaving equipment was recorded on the inventories of known weavers.²³ Also according to Gervase Markham, the housewife was well aware of the yardage per pound of the threads she had spun, classing the best cloth of all as made 'even and even'; the warp and weft containing the same amount of threads per inch, a balanced cloth.²⁴

So, can we still assume all woven cloth was itchy and coarse when authors of the time state such care over preparation? Twentieth-century literature concerning cloth is often contradictory; descriptions seem to be the extent of the academic, with debatable understanding for the practical, for example woollen cloth made of worsted yarn, the true meaning of a mixed or 'union' cloth.²⁵ How fine is fine and what qualifies coarse; therefore how do we quantify the unquantifiable? The relationship between today's perception of tactile knowledge would undoubtedly be disparate to that of the 'middling sort' five centuries ago. So without examples of yeoman cloth there is no true knowledge of their handle, drape or colouring.

Generally wool cloth may be categorised into three types; woollen, worsted and hybrids – a mixture of woollen and worsteds. These form the basis for the named cloths. It is at this juncture that samples began to be created establishing thick, coarse and blanket like, or not.

The decision to handspin and weave actual samples, proving tactile qualities, as accurately as possible was encouraged by an article in *Costume* considering conservation versus reconstruction of a seventeenth-century doublet.²⁶ This work follows closely the 'expressive authentic' approach, that of being faithful to the original purpose of the art; keeping the same audience and by using one's artistic values to be faithful in the production.²⁷



Figure 1

Sample based on Mary Rose fragment, Tamsyn Young, 2016, Ryeland woollen 's' spun singles for both warp and weft, 180x180mm.

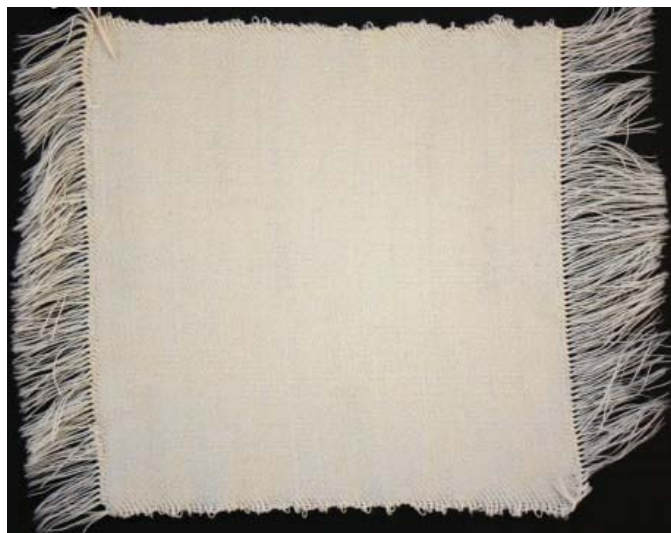


Figure 2

Sample based on Say research, Tamsyn Young, 2016, worsted 'z' spun 's' folded warp and weft, 170x170mm.

The underpinning knowledge for the initial samples was based on a garment fragment from the Mary Rose (81 A 1669). This wool piece was constructed of 's' twist spun woollen singles yarn 28th.p.i (circa 11 th.p.cm) and 24 p.p.i. (circa 9 p.p.cm).²⁸ It was well napped covering the tabby weave, originally red in colour, possibly from madder. Silt remains within, which demonstrates the extra friction the cloth has undergone while in the sea.

Based on Michael Ryder's invaluable information; regarding the impact of evolution and nutrition upon the diameter and quality of the wool staple; the fleece used for the sample was a Ryeland; having a short staple and finer diameter (20–30 microns), it would hopefully produce a close fabric and nap well. Initially 20gm of Ryeland was carded and spun with an 's' twist on an 8 t.p.i. whorl trying to maintain a thickness of 28 threads per inch and a 33° angle.²⁹ This produced a yarn of 51yds (circa 47m). A tabby weave was sett as per the fragment. The results produced a pleasing feel but unfortunately the weft would not beat enough to produce a balanced cloth and only managed on average 18/19 p.p.i.³⁰ The weight of the finished sample was 600gm per m². Further pieces were produced with a small change in the weave and finishing. Using this knowledge all samples have proven a good foundation to evaluate the calculations of other works and produce tactile comparisons.

Therefore the samples, so far, produced are only the beginning of the research into the practical understanding of the yeoman's cloth. By amalgamating information from numerous academic sources these, and other pieces, have been created. Research into the well known broadcloth has not clarified dentage amounts; they range from 19–56 th.p.i. The weave is questionable with three quarters of the references referring to tabby, others twill. Fortunately there is information regarding lengths for such cloth along with final weights, which through mathematical analysis has given a basis for comparison with the new samples. John Munro states broadcloth made in Essex weighs 782g m² whereas Joseph Strutt has a general broadcloth at 778g m² and a Kentish, regarded as a coarse heavy woollen cloth, at 996g m².³¹ For comparison Figure 1 has a weight of 788g m². A contrast to this is the worsted twill woven say, a cheaper cloth owing to low cost in raw materials and production processes, with a weight of 144g m². Figure 2 is 403g m², over twice as heavy.

To add to this confusion there is the myriad of cloth names which proved quite a task and appear to be a mystery for the period too. John James considers differing names for the same type of cloth due to the art, skill and craftsmanship of one workman compared to another, yet the basic product remained the same, for example 'a worsted cloth'.³² It may even have been a marketing ploy to encourage sales. One must also consider the word 'homespun' which, in itself, over time, has caused an anomaly. It is generally considered anything spun 'at home' is homespun, which has no bearing on quality. Research

quoted has shown that home spinning was a skill at which the housewife was adept, knowing weights and requirements to make good cloth from the raw material with which she was faced. For thrifty yeomen, poorly constructed yarn would be a misuse of time and valuable resources, if the cloth produced did not live up to expectations. According to a Frank Bennett publication, *Worsted and Woollen Fabrics Glossary*, fabrics referred to as homespun were made from medium grade wool to apparently 'imitate as close as possible the product of the old spinning wheel and hand loom'.³³ He continues to state a process which would 'imitate quite closely the rough thread as spun by hand'.³⁴ This appears a far cry from the fine details of cloth that have been analysed from distant times and all written evidence. William Lambarde, when discussing the virtues of Kent, states that:

as touching the artificers of this shire, they be either such as travell at the sea, .. or be makers of coloured woollen clothes; in which last feat they excell, as from whome is drawne both sufficient store to furnishe the weare of the best sort of our owne nation at home, and great plentie also to be transported to other foreine countries abroad.³⁵

Evolving mainly from the Mary Rose fragment, broadcloth quality will be considered next. The local breed of fleece, the Romney, possibly the most primitive long-wool, will be used.³⁶ However, today a Romney fleece, from as pure a strain as possible, produces a staple of 25–38 microns compared to a Roman find of true fine wool circa 17 microns.³⁷ Obviously this increase in thickness will have an impact on the final diameter of the finished yarn and subsequently the final cloth.

A recent article by David Wilcox regarding finds from the Barrock Estate, again out of the period, notes these were discovered fairly complete on a corpse in a peat 'grave'. David Wilcox continues to valuably state: 'bodies recovered from wetlands are often found wearing the clothes of their last hours and these remain a valuable record of how clothes were worn as much as a record of the garments of the past'.³⁸ Furthermore he notes the deceased was wearing a pair of cloth hose, two pairs of breeches and two short jackets. If, as it appears, the deceased died naturally or was murdered, the wearing of apparel was obviously a natural occurrence. To make this possible one must consider the weight and thickness of the cloth to make movement feasible. If this quantity of clothing was normal, as it seems, then we must naturally assume the cloth for these breeches would certainly not be the weight of the Kentish broadcloth for the man would never have been able to walk, let alone work. There is also the consideration that a set of clothes was used virtually all year and as the weather became inclement more layers were added, eventually replaced when they expired. A napped cloth garment with a further napped cloth reversed inside would have trapped a larger amount of air creating much better insulation than one thick layer. Alternatively an outer garment that still has some or all of the natural grease remaining would form an effective waterproofing.

With a lack of literacy skills in this period, written evidence, either as an art form or as an idle pastime, was not prevalent, especially in this 'sort' leaving a number of unanswered questions.³⁹ This practical research is in its initial stages and there are a number of avenues in which it could follow. Some questions have been answered, others will be concluded at a later date. Some may never be reached except by supposition for which I hope this practical approach may play a part. Although with references to cloth produced in the third century AD as having 26 th.p.cm in the warp and 168 p.p.cm in the weft, constructed of a two and two twill, it is hard to image that such cloths were ever made so fine and by hand or contrarily that we conclude fabrics for this 'sort' were of only one thickness or type. However the main question remains: were the cloths of the yeomen, thick, itchy, coarse, and blanket like or fit for purpose? After all he was the working man with aspirations and a practical ability.

Endnotes

- ¹ This research focuses on the sixteenth century which was dominated by masculinity. It is therefore important to clarify the use of gender. Women were not included in sumptuary legislation during this period due to a lower social standing than that of men. Social categorisation was founded on the male's social position and his wife and daughters would conform accordingly. Therefore when the word yeoman is used, masculine gender will automatically refer to the head of the family. It must also be appreciated that jobs were allocated by gender and women were frequently not able to participate in particular occupations. A woman may dye yarn at home but if she were to put the work out, the dyer would be male. The weaver was a male and the females in the house were the spinners, hence the term 'spinster'.
- ² Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman*, Merlin Press, London, 1983, p. 4.
- ³ William Lambard, *Perambulation of Kent*, Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, London, 1826, pp. 7-8.
- ⁴ Campbell, op. cit., p. 252.
- ⁵ Iris Brooke, *Four Walls Adorned*, Methuen and Co. Ltd., London, 1952, p. 17.
- ⁶ Campbell, op. cit., p. 192.
- ⁷ Research from local inventories referring to yeomen: CCA PRC 21/16/225 Nicholas Leggatt; CCA PRC 21/16/234 Lawrence Omer; Not referenced yeoman but valued between £40 and £260 CCA PRC 21/13/422 Thomas Tucker; CCA PRC 21/2/288(289) Thomas Taylor; C.C.A. PRC 21/14/384 Edward Rose; CCA PRC 21/10/325 Robert Moyne; CCA PRC 21/13/93 Thomas Maye; CCA PRC 21/6/98 Stephen Crambroke; CCA PRC 21/7/60 Thomas Baxe; CCA PRC 20/5/356 Thomas Hatcher.
- ⁸ Campbell, op. cit., pp. 251-252; CCA PRC 32/35/120b John Dubesses; CCA PRC 32/34/220 Stephen Crambroke; CCA PRC 32/34/249a Thomas Baxe.
- ⁹ Campbell, op. cit., p. 251.
- ¹⁰ Maria Hayward, *Dress at the Court of Henry VIII*, Maney, Leeds, 2007, p. 37. Hayward records the English had a tendency to recycle their clothes rather than collect and store as other monarchs did.
- ¹¹ John Wild, *Textiles in Archaeology*, Shire, Aylesbury, 1988, pp. 7-12.
- ¹² Mary Rose Trust, *Textile Fragments*, pre 1545, The Mary Rose Museum, Portsmouth: 81 A 1669; 81 A 2480; 81 A 2539; 81 A 2995; 81 A 4258; 81 A 4574; 81 A 4693; 81 A 4694; 81 A 4744 and 81 A 4919.
- ¹³ Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion 4: The Cut and Construction of Linen Shirts, Smocks, Neckwear, Headwear and Accessories for Men and Women circa 1540-1660*, Pan Macmillan, London, 2008. pp. 65 and 76.
- ¹⁴ Elisabeth Crowfoot, Frances Pritchard and Kay Staniland, *Textiles and Clothing*, HMSO Publication, London, 1992, pp. 1-5.
- ¹⁵ K. Blockley et al. *Excavations in the Marlowe Car Park and Surrounding Areas. Part II The Finds*, Canterbury Archaeological Trust, Canterbury, 1995, p. 1177.
- ¹⁶ David Jenkins, *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles I*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 110-113.
- ¹⁷ Peter and Linda Murray, *A Dictionary of Art and Artists*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1973, p. 67.
- ¹⁸ Campbell, op. cit., pp. 373-382.
- ¹⁹ William Harrison, *The Description of England*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca N.Y., 1968, p. 118. According to Mildred Campbell there are many unwritten and unpublished histories of families who rose from the yeomen statues so only remain as family documentations. Campbell, op. cit., p. 424. See also endnote 12.
- ²⁰ Maria Hayward, *Rich Apparel*, Ashgate, Farnham, 2009, pp. 96-97.

- ²¹ Gervase Markham, *A Way to Get Wealth*, Roger Jackson, London, 1625, p. 154.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- ²³ Sourced from inventories held at Canterbury Cathedral Archives; CCA PRC 21/5/189 Richard Scotte; CCA PRC 32/31/320 Richard Stupple; CCA PRC 21/16/254 Richard Haslocke.
- ²⁴ Markham, *op. cit.*, p. 161.
- ²⁵ Hayward, *Rich*, *op. cit.*, pp. 385–386.
- ²⁶ Susan Payne, et al. ‘A Seventeenth-Century Doublet from Scotland,’ *Costume*, Volume 45, 2011, pp. 39–62.
- ²⁷ Denis Dutton, ‘Authenticity in Art,’ *The Oxford Handbook of Aesthetics*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2005, pp. 259–267
- ²⁸ To clarify th.p.i refers to the number of threads per inch in the cloth once woven; an allocation should be given for shrinkage. Whereas ends per inch refer to the number of threads in the reed during weaving therefore prior to any shrinkage. Th.p.cm is the metric version of the above: threads per centimetre.
- ²⁹ The direction in which the yarn is spun is denoted by either an ‘s’ twist – anti-clockwise direction and a ‘z’ twist – clockwise. The abbreviation t.p.i. refers to twists per inch of a yarn.
- ³⁰ To clarify p.p.i refers to picks (a weft thread) per inch.
- ³¹ Munro, John, ‘Three Centuries of Luxury Textile Consumption in the Low Countries and England, 1330–1570: Trends and Comparisons of Real Values of Woollen Broadcloths (Then and Now),’ in Kathrine Vestergård Pedersen and Marie-Louise B. Nosch (eds.) *The Medieval Broadcloth: Changing Trends in Fashions, Manufacturing and Consumption*, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2009, pp. 1–73: 10–11. Joseph Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England*, Nichols, London, 1796, pp. 195–198.
- ³² John James, *History of the Worsted Manufacture in England*, Longman, London, 1857, p. 144.
- ³³ Frank Bennett and Co., *Worsted and Woollen Fabric Glossary*, Frank Bennett, New York, 1914, p. 86.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ Lambarde, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- ³⁶ Michael Ryder, The History of Sheep Breeds in Britain, *Agricultural History Review*, Volume 12, 1964, p. 11
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.
- ³⁸ David Wilcox, ‘Scottish Late Seventeenth-Century Male Clothing: Some Context for the Barrock Estate Finds’, *Costume*, Volume 50, Issue 2, June 2016, p. 152.
- ³⁹ Campbell *op. cit.*, p. 221.

Abbreviations

CCA Canterbury Cathedral Archives
 PRC Probate Records for Canterbury Diocese

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 CCA PRC 21/10/325 Robert Moyne;
 CCA PRC 21/12/198 Barthelomew Pettit;
 CCA PRC 21/13/67 Widow Foat;
 CCA PRC 21/13/93 Thomas Maye;
 CCA PRC 21/13/107 Elizabeth Turner;
 CCA PRC 21/13/215 Margart Moyne;
 CCA PRC 21/13/422 Thomas Tucker;
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 CCA PRC 21/14/384 Edward Rose;
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Biography

Tamsyn Young's early exposure to textiles gained through family weaving and tailoring lead to further education in the Arts. At Winchester School of Art she completed a BA (Hons) in printed and woven textile design. The next six years were spent working for a commission printers, entering as a technician progressing to manageress, producing Koda traces for a varied client base, from fashion to furnishing. A period of freelance work followed recreating antique printed fabrics while working alongside children with disabilities and studying for a research degree. These activities raised her awareness of the importance of 'touch', a key theme in her studies.

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Evelyn Welch, ed., *Fashioning the Early Modern: Dress, Textiles, and Innovation in Europe, 1500–1800*, Oxford University Press/Pasold Research Fund, Oxford, 2017, Index, 90 Colour Illustrations, 456pp., £50.

This book results from a three-year project – Fashioning the Early Modern: Creativity and Innovation in Europe 1500–1800 – funded by Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA). Consequently it considers objects and research from all over Europe. It is also part of the Pasold Studies in Textile History series.

The book is divided into two sections, each with a number of chapters interspersed with ‘Objects in Focus,’ shorter articles concentrating on particular items. The general approach is that of object-based research in line with current thinking.

Part I centres on innovation and includes five chapters. John Styles recognises that studies of fashion are more often focused on issues of identity so instead he concentrates on fashion as a process of change and the emergence of the annual fashion cycle. Giorgio Riello looks at fashion and innovation from the viewpoints of those involved other than the consumer such as producers, traders, guilds, and the state using eighteenth-century France as an example. Evelyn Welch and Juliet Claxton examine the difficulty for manufacturers of keeping new innovations and trade secrets from competitors while at the same time creating demand for their products. They illustrate this using the twist (a simple wristband), the zibellino (a jewelled fur stole) and masks and vizards. Amanda Wunder considers innovation and tradition at the court of Philip IV of Spain focusing on the development of the golilla (a man’s under-collar) and the guardainfante (a stiff, bell-shaped farthingale). Paula Hohti stresses the significant period of change in Italian fashions during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries particularly observing the effect on artisans as well as the elite. Their limited resources enforced the development of their own fashions which, in turn, influenced those of the elite.

Part II covers reputation and dissemination with eight chapters investigating how fashions became known and adopted in different countries across Europe crossing geographical, cultural and political boundaries. Corinne Thépaut-Cabasset reviews the work of Gaultier, a merchant and retailer to the court in seventeenth-century Paris and his influence on retailing innovations. Lesley Ellis Miller concentrates on silk designers in Lyon from 1660–1789. Peter McNeil focuses on the world of print in the eighteenth century but stretches the reader beyond the more obvious fashion plates to fashion journals, dolls and the use of print on accessories such as gloves; furniture and porcelain. Patrik Steorn addresses the issue of how fashions spread from Europe, particularly France, into Sweden in the eighteenth century and in particular the role of print. The concern over such influences led to the introduction of the Swedish national costume in 1778 which utilised the same media for dissemination. The final three chapters draw attention to Denmark. Maj Ringgaard writes about early modern knitting, both the product and the process. Mikkel Venborg Pedersen looks at how fashion (not just clothing but other household items) was disseminated and utilised in everyday life during the eighteenth century. Finally, Peter Andreas Toft looks at the spread of European commodities to Greenland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The ‘Objects in Focus’ articles examine a wide variety of items namely; a robe à l’Anglaise retroussée; the mouche or beauty patch; an eighteenth-century campaign wig; a miniature suit; John Kelly’s counterpart book of patterns; a fan; the knitted sugar-loaf hat; Gustav Vasa’s cinnamon cane and a man’s banyan. These allow a much more detailed review of items that might otherwise be bypassed. However, some descriptions are very detailed relying on observations that would be clearer with greater

illustrations. The images provided are often limited to one angle or a close up without even giving an overall view so that what is described in the text is left to the imagination.

There is an impressive list of authors involved in the project, several of whom have contributed to the Pasold Studies in Textile History series and others to field of dress history more generally. Despite the number of authors, the articles are well linked and often refer to each other. However, a certain level of knowledge is assumed with little explanation of some terms – a glossary would have been a helpful addition for a wider audience. The use of non-textile objects, which may not usually be seen as a resource, to provide evidence for dress history e.g., ceramics gives much food for thought and opens up a much wider scope for research.

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Georges Vigarello, *The Silhouette: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day*, Bloomsbury Visual Arts, London, 2016, Index, Notes, Bibliography, 120 Colour Illustrations, 164pp., £30.

This hardback book looks at one of the many areas where art and dress history meet, tracing the origins of the word silhouette through to its twenty-first-century meaning. It is well structured, fully illustrated and delightfully easy to read.

Chapter one begins with the invention of the word silhouette in eighteenth-century France and the practice it described. Vigarello explores the way in which artists examined and studied physical characteristics, from early shadow portraits to line drawn caricatures. He then goes into further detail on the art of silhouetting, its popularity, and how silhouetting progressed from faces to figures.

Chapter two explores how artists in the second half of the eighteenth century went on to depict a person's rank and status via physical distinctions in a silhouette. Here Vigarello also explores older artworks, including some by Leonardo da Vinci, which could be viewed as precursors to the eighteenth-century silhouette. The chapter moves on to address the silhouette as a precursor to photography and the appeal of the mechanical process involved in making it, plus the emergence of morphological study.

Chapter three covers innovations in graphic art, including the use of simple figures for immediate impact. The mechanisation of press in the nineteenth century meant that widely circulated newspapers and books now combined text and image, using a simple bold illustration style. Gradually, the word silhouette began to refer to metaphorical representation. Human bodies were divided into physical types by artists, objects were anthropomorphised, and diversity was surprisingly popular.

Perhaps the most interesting section for a dress historian will be the short one which describes the 1820s, where 'silhouette' and fashion first meet. Vigarello looks at how tailoring followed the physical form of the male body, whereas women's fashion focused more on exaggeration. What follows is continued discussion of the simplification of line in the art of the silhouette, mainly in satirical drawings from newspapers and posters by graphic artists such as Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec.

Chapter four begins by looking at the silhouette in late nineteenth century photography – particularly those who were using the medium to analyse movement, such as photographer Eadweard Muybridge and scientist Étienne-Jules Marey. The discussion then returns to fashion in the early twentieth century, addressing both the slimmer shape of women's clothing and the S-bend corset, which led to the word silhouette being used to describe the fashionable outline of the body.

With the advent of a new definition of silhouette, Vigarello notes that 'women's entry into the public sphere changed both their physical contours and their mobility.' This physical transformation accompanied a cultural shift in the 1920s with women urged to focus on a lean figure – the silhouette was now personal rather than external. The quest for the ideal figure began, through devices like girdles and also via exercise. This pursuit of slenderness also applied to men around this time and there was a fascination with changes to the body due to ageing, plus a continued classification of body types. From the 1930s, fashion introduced a new silhouette each season and psychological exploration of the perfect physique was popular.

Although, chapter five looks at the contemporary silhouette, it is short and adds little in the way of historical detail compared to the first four chapters of the book. It discusses the silhouette in a more theoretical way, looking at society versus the individual, covering the obsession with low body weight

and its impact on our quest for an ever more polished appearance. Sadly, this chapter never goes into enough detail about what these changes in the ideal fashionable figure can tell us about Western society.

The *Silhouette* is a fascinating and well-illustrated book that helps the reader take a fresh look at an often overused word. Bringing together fashions in both art and clothing, with a look at how Western society perceives the human body, Vigarello has succeeded in creating an engaging and accessible academic book. However, despite what the title might imply, this is not a fashion history book. If your interest is purely in dress history, I'm afraid there may not be enough relevant content to warrant the price.

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Timothy Campbell, *Historical Style: Fashion and the New Mode of History, 1740–1830*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2016, Index, Bibliography, Illustrations, Photographs, 363pp., £54.

This is a work of literary theory with the thesis that the British public's notion of history was altered by strengthening consumerism, the emergence of the fashion press, clothing prints and caricatures, and the new, annual production of the latest fashions; it argues that the cumulative effect was to generate a vision of seriality that transformed the public understanding of history and reduced it to mere novelty.

Campbell divides his book into two parts; the first focuses on the 'new visual order' created by the rise of printed fashion images that shaped a new sense of the past as being culturally defined (p. 17). Chapter 1 links the proliferating fashion prints of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the rise of historical fiction. Chapter 2 examines portraiture's role in shaping British ideas about historical dress and focuses on the work of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Part II examines the ways in which fashion-as-history was used by authors and novelists. Chapters focus on the dress controversy between Jean-Jacques Rousseau and David Hume, the emergence of the modern historical novel which utilized commercialism to define epochs, Sir Walter Scott's innovative and influential use of fashion in his novels, and William Godwin's critique of commercialism as a means of understanding history. Campbell includes a 'Coda' analysing a contemporary example of fashion art and historical understanding through the designs of Alexander McQueen. Campbell's evidence largely consists of fashion as depicted by illustrators, portrait painters and popular authors; he does not analyse this era's fashions though he notes the tendency to embrace similar, antiquated styles, like the Regency Tudor revival, which visually projected the present onto the past.

Campbell makes a persuasive case that the new fashion publications promoted the idea that the styles became emblematic of their eras and that this helped to promote a sense of the present as being distinct from the past, thereby fostering a new sense of history based on material goods. Campbell argues that this new understanding constituted 'historicism,' and a 'peculiar historicism' (p. 17), yet just what this means and its implications are never discussed in any meaningful way.

Campbell's argument presumes that the evolution of fashion is essentially devoid of meaning, and thus embraces Roland Barthes' notion that 'history does not produce forms' (p. 2) which buttresses the claim that serialized fashion is essentially just a back-and-forth sort of novelty. Some dress specialists will question this presumption; the sometimes acute sensitivity in constructing the outward guise of self-identity can be both obvious and subtle, and it is somewhat premature to embrace this as a final verdict. He cites Barthes' questionable claim that fashion 'is the result neither of a gradual evolution . . . nor . . . collective consensus . . . [but] born suddenly and in its entirety every year by decree' (p. 203), as if the public is forced to buy every style. Also largely absent is the 'story' dimension of history which always stands behind the images which only form its outer aspect. Is the 'story' largely irrelevant in this phenomenon?

There is a distinct tendency towards the use of very elaborate and even somewhat obtuse language, with unnecessarily and sometimes jarringly convoluted sentences to link disparate concepts together. A more straightforward writing style with additional clarification of these complex notions might have strengthened the impact of those ideas.

This is a provocative, innovative and iconic perspective, but some historians may be unconvinced by the heavy literary emphasis and expect additional sources to establish the thesis. Yet despite these

criticisms, the abundant evidence cited is essentially convincing in this original, thoughtful and important work, which is amply buttressed by the analysis of literary scholars. In some ways this book reads more like the first stage of an analysis which leaves unanswered questions, yet this is less a criticism than a call for more work, especially considering the subsequent, massive proliferation of electronic images.

This book is relevant for literary, cultural, fashion, art, publishing and iconological history, and historiography, media studies and philosophy. It may be stimulating for graduate seminars though readers would benefit greatly by having an acquaintance with the relevant literary secondary literature. But this is probably too heavy going for most undergraduates.

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Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim, *The Dress Detective: A Practical Guide to Object-Based Research in Fashion*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2015, Index, 150 Colour Illustrations, Appendices, 224pp., £24.99.

If you have ever looked at a garment, focusing on the traces of the wearer, feeling like Sherlock Holmes, then you have landed in the middle of Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim's *The Dress Detective: A Practical Guide to Object-Based Research in Fashion*. With their colourful and amply equipped publication, Ingrid Mida, curator and coordinator of Ryerson University's Fashion Research Collection, and Dress Historian Alexandra Kim present an exciting journey through the wide field of exploring a garment's history. The authors look through the lens of the curator, conservator, dress historian, and fashion researcher simultaneously and at eye level. Their approach is precious in a time where we, as dress researchers, are confronted with dress artefacts made out of different, more often unorthodox materials, and two- or three-dimensional fabric that is neither easy to store, present, nor preserve.

The book is a long-anticipated guide to object-based dress research with the baseline of a high standard but still readable for students, scholars, and all who are interested in the adventure of reading clothes and learning from a garment's history. The very idea of introducing dress research as an investigation, and by doing this following the tradition of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's famous protagonist, is more than refined. And, as a fashion studies researcher, you are taken by it from the very first moment of reading garments through the magnifying glass.

The volume opens with a brief history of object-based research with dress artefacts, which is helpful but impressive, in particular, because you not only learn about the research history but gain insight into research methods. These methods were developed to enable the reading of garments by interpreting all their obvious (e.g. cut and colour), hidden (e.g. construction), literal (e.g. gown), and abstract (e.g. style) information. In this chapter you will find references to well-known researchers including Anne Buck, Doris Langley Moore, Valerie Steele, Alexandra Palmer, and Lou Taylor. It is remarkable to read about Jules David Prown, who with his evidence-based research of objects, opened doors for analysing material culture more than thirty years ago. Valerie Steele followed his track and refined Prown's method for the study of dress artefacts.

The following chapter provides tools to enable us to read a dress artefact. This is crucial for researchers. The book utilises a body of methods from literary studies and foremost linguistics. Some internationally established fashion studies and dress history researchers have a scientific background of this kind. If you look at a garment and understand it as a text that contains a full range of information, then the most important thing to do is to organise your approach by regarding the steps of observation, reflection, and interpretation. Here, Prown's method is again leading the way. In this process of converging, Mida and Kim quote Merlau-Ponty's idea of 'inhabiting an object' while looking at it. Why this is important becomes clear instantly as all garments have so much information to offer for investigation. Here, once more, the authors' efforts bear fruit because of their step-wise presentation of all these aspects.

I dived into the subsequently presented case studies where Mida and Kim applied the rolled-out methods by choosing a selection of garment masterpieces. These included the likes of a yellow woollen pelisse, a grey-blue sateen corset, a brown velveteen and wool bodice, a man's evening tailcoat with trousers, a Lanvin wedding dress, and a wonderful Dior ruby red velvet jacket.

Each of the analyses is clearly described in detail. You can really study them and learn from them. Included in the book are absolutely useful checklists for observation and reflection. Those are the kinds

of resources you often forget to prepare although they are so important and ensure a successful research project.

Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim's publication is extremely valuable as they also had a good hand in selecting appealing illustrations that attract all kinds of readers. Even if you are not a dress researcher, you will be delighted by these wonderful images, full of details in high resolution. I recommend this outstanding volume to students and faculty alike.

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Recent PhD Theses

The Association of Dress Historians is proud to support the study of dress history through its biannual conferences, events such as curators' tours, and *The Journal of Dress History*. We are passionate about sharing our knowledge with you – our mission is to start conversations, encourage the exchange of ideas, and bring new and exciting research in the field to all who appreciate the subject. The following is a select list of recently completed dissertations and theses. All of these titles are searchable on the British Library's ETHOS portal, which is free to use for this purpose and can be visited at <http://ethos.bl.uk>. Full texts or pdfs are often available alongside titles, and are free to download once researchers have registered. Fees apply where a thesis has not been digitised. Our list is not exhaustive and we kindly invite ADH members and friends to contact us with additional titles to include at emailjournal@dresshistorians.org.

Altınay, Rustem Ertug, *Dressing for Utopia: Fashion, Performance, and the Politics of Everyday Life in Turkey (1923-2013)*.

PhD Thesis, New York University, 2016.

This dissertation analyses a diverse array of everyday and artistic performances to demonstrate the role fashion has played in regulating the gendered politics of citizenship and belonging in Turkey. The project argues that the concept of the nation-state, imagined as a site where a nation formed by individuals sharing a history, cultural and ethnic heritage coincides with a sovereign territorial unit, is by definition utopian. Nation-states depend on a constructed history to legitimise their existence and the continuous investment of individuals living in the present to create a desired future. Hence the regulation of everyday life as well as the bodies and subjectivities of people is a key concern for the sustenance of nation-state utopias. As a temporally defined and continuously changing set of practices that produce affect and knowledge in and through bodies, fashion plays a key role in these processes. As a mode of embodied historiography, fashion also reproduces or challenges specific formulations of national history, and shapes individuals' desires and imaginations for the future. This case study of Turkey, exploring the tensions between different interpretations of secularism and Islam, Orientalist and Occidental fantasies, and nationalist and imperialist desires that have characterized the country's past, demonstrates that even in the histories of individual states, nation-state projects are neither static nor monolithic. These grand political utopias are prone to change consequent to the reconfiguration of power dynamics. As both dominant and alternative utopias of the nation-state multiply and evolve, the body of the desirable national subject is also contested and redefined, continuously creating failures. Because gender plays a central role in the regulation of citizenship, the failure or resistance to invest in the hegemonic formulations of desirable citizenship may imply a conflict with the dominant modes of embodiment and subjectivity as well as the normative temporal organization of the world. Such conflicts can thus produce queer affects and identifications even in ostensibly heterosexual bodies, and inspire alternative visions for the future. Using performance as a lens, this dissertation shows how the body of the desirable national subject been defined in relation to the multiple and shifting formulations of the nation-state utopia, and the role fashion has played in regulating the gendered politics of subjectivity and belonging throughout the republican history of Turkey. With the aid of a queer reading practice, the project proposes an alternative approach that emphasizes the significance of sexuality and affect for understanding the history of the nation-state as well as the contemporary political conflicts in the country.

Atkin, Susan, *Loose Fit?: The Impact of the Manchester Music Scene on Youth Fashion 1986 to 1996*.
PhD Thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2016.

This thesis questions the stereotype of the loose fitting silhouette of the Mancunian music scene from 1986 to 1996, exploring the links between the city's music scene and local youth fashion. It establishes

the important contribution of fashion to culture in the music scene and the distinct local 'looks' that resulted. The thesis explores the literature of subculture and identity, enriched by the concepts of bricolage and local fashion. The contributory influence of the Manchester music scene is investigated in its public and private sites of creation and consumption. Combining cultural studies, dress history and fashion theory, the research is based on oral evidence in the form of active interviews, supported by analysis of contemporary images. Interviewees were pre-identified for their role in Mancunian fashion and music. These revealed previously unidentified aspects of Mancunian dress, which inform a discussion of the nature and context of local fashion in the period. Salient findings included the eloquence with which men can talk about clothes, and the sources and methods of the quest for authenticity through 'looks'. The thesis repositions subculture, in the light of the shift toward more mutable groupings, and affiliations that can change with site. These formed a multifaceted movement that was able to embrace both mainstream culture and its subversions. The contribution to knowledge centres on: (1) the importance of authenticity in subcultural movements; (2) identification of the several looks coexisting under the banner of Madchester; (3) establishing that these looks were understood differently from inside the movement because experiences shared by participants depended on tacit understandings rather than purely visual judgements; and, (4) the concept of fashion in motion to describe the interrelationship of garment and wearer in movement and its connection with identity. This led to (5) the addition of 'attitude' to Brake's practical aspects of subcultural style. Attitude is the outward expression of the inward state produced by dress upon the body, sometimes visually sensed (as swagger on the Madchester scene) but also encompassing less tangible projections.

Bass-Krueger, Maude, *The Culture of Dress History in France: The Past in Fashion, 1814-1900*.

PhD Thesis, The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, 2016.

'The Culture of Dress History in France: The Past in Fashion, 1814-1900,' studies the role of historic dress and dress history in creating knowledge about the past in nineteenth century France. This research examined how the practice of writing about, collecting, exhibiting, making, and representing historic and historicising dress helped the French visualize their past. The conceptual questions raised by looking at the way that people observed and used historic artefacts not only expands the history of studying artefacts but also contributes to our thinking about how to study an artefact. Chapter One reveals the role played by Jules Quicherat (1814-1882), the first professor of medieval archaeology at the École des Chartes, in helping clothing to be seen as a valid material source within the writing of French history. Drawing on a critical analysis of texts, visual sources, and material culture to support an overarching theoretical argument on the role of the fashion industry in French history, this dissertation argues that Quicherat's *Histoire du Costume en France* was first modern history of French fashion. Chapter Two looks closely at the debates that arose over display practices, exhibition politics, groups of organizers, and authenticity within the first exhibitions of historic dress. By 1900, the practice of dress history had shifted from the hands of scholars and historians such as Quicherat to artist-collectors such as Maurice Leloir (1853-1940). This shift was accompanied by a spectacularisation of dress history that was part of the wider cultural interest in historic dress reenactments, fashion historicism, and historical romanticism. Chapter Three explores the symbolic function of dress reenactment within the historical imagination of nineteenth-century France. The practice of recreating and wearing historic dress to fancy dress events and in local historical pageants allowed participants to actively explore the French past in order to resolve social or political conflicts and create emotional attachments to the nation or the pays. Chapter Four examines historic travestissement, or fancy dress, within the broader context of dress historicity. The donning of fancy dress allowed its wearers to enact the past and play a role. It also allowed working-, middle-, and upper-class men and women to become amateur historians, antiquarians, and costumers. This chapter explores elite fancy dress balls, popular carnival balls, local historic pageants, and private family photographs of costumed tableaux. Chapter Five looks at the use of historic dress in fashion, notably the transformation of eighteenth-century garments into nineteenth-century fashionable dress. Here the issue of authenticity, a leitmotiv of the previous chapters, comes to a fore: these transformed garments, were perceived as more 'distinctive' than historicising fashions because they were made from

authentic historic dress. ‘Authenticity’ was opposed to ‘fakeness,’ a cultural phenomenon tied to the industrialization of goods and the rise of mass-produced objects of consumption.

Berriman, Cheryl A., *Outfitted for Modernity: Clothing and Identity in Russian Modernism*. PhD Thesis, Northwestern University, 2016.

From fur coats to corsets, the Russian Revolution and Civil War erased many of the most commonplace articles of clothing from society. Years of war combined with the introduction of Socialism made fashion practice irrelevant and even dangerous under the Bolshevik regime. Where dress once asserted individuality, wealth and status, it suddenly became a way to indicate unity and belonging; to look like everyone else showed a commitment to the revolution and improvement of society. My project establishes radical ways to deal with the familiar code of clothing in Russian modernist literature after the Russian Revolution, including how it creates and dismantles identity while marking, sometimes misleadingly, social and political affiliations. Clothing’s ubiquity places it at the centre of modern life like no other visual art, yet its complexity is often diluted in literary criticism, and has been completely overlooked in Russian literary studies. This is puzzling, as dress serves a myriad of purposes; besides serving as a cultural sign, or just a tool differentiate characters, it is also evidence of social identity, political and historical processes and aesthetic values, while even offering insight into a character’s psychology and spiritual status. Most importantly for this project, clothing accounts for the slipperiness of changing ideals, especially relevant at times of sudden change, like after a revolution. This project explores the intersection between material and literary cultures, as well as political and cultural history, using key texts from the realist and modernist periods of Russian literature. This project analyses four common topoi to be discussed in this project: the ‘little man’ and his coat, the feminine ideal, the home in family epic, and the production novel. Each of these topoi transcend genres and literary movements, illuminating modernist’s interest in their literary heritage, complete with now taboo political and social values inherent in each sartorial reference.

Burr, Elizabeth, *Dye Analysis of Archaeological Peruvian Textiles Using Surface Enhanced Raman Spectroscopy (SERS)*.

PhD Thesis, 2016, University of California, Los Angeles.

Surface-enhanced Raman spectroscopy (SERS) is an emerging technique for the identification of colorants at low concentrations, making it ideal for degraded and irreplaceable archaeological materials. Using silver nanoparticles (AgNPs) as the SERS platform, this research on the identification of textile dyes compares direct on-the-fibre extractionless analyses with micro-extraction methods employing hydrofluoric acid vapor, formic acid, and hydrochloric acid solutions. Seven red samples from Wari and Malena textiles from the site Huaca Malena in Peru and reference yarns dyed with Relbunium and cochineal were analysed using individual fibre samples. Complementary analysis of archaeological samples was conducted with fibre optics reflectance spectroscopy (FORS). Carminic acid, the primary colorant of cochineal, and pseudopurpurin and purpurin, the main colouring compounds of Relbunium were detected in the reference samples. Three archeological samples provided potential matches for carminic acid and two may contain purpurin and pseudopurpurin. FORS, data indicate that all the archaeological samples contained cochineal.

Cabrera Arus, Maria A., *Dressed for the Party: Fashion and Politics in Socialist Cuba*.

PhD Thesis, The New School, New York, 2016.

‘Dressed for the Party: Fashion and Politics in Socialist Cuba’ explores the articulation of fashion and politics in post-revolutionary Cuba, principally focusing on the period of ‘real socialism’ between 1976 and 1985. Fashion is presented as a political tool of the Cuban state, and as a practice through which individuals constructed their own identities both in harmony with and against official political values, in

particular by drawing attention to spaces and practices of negotiation between the state and society in socialist Cuba. This dissertation follows an interpretive socio-historical methodological design based on quantitative and qualitative, primary and archival data. The resulting narrative constitutes a cultural history of post-revolutionary Cuba that explores untapped dynamics and archives from one of the less studied periods of recent Cuban history. The sources researched include 'dark' archival material obtained from the archives of the National Bureau of Industrial Design (ONDI), the Cuban Bureau of Industrial Property (OCPI)'s department of commercial trademarks' records, and the Cuban Institute of Research and Orientation of Internal Demand (ICIODI); individual interviews; blogs and other social media platforms; and images and physical items of clothing, footwear, and accessories mostly collected during the research process. This dissertation concludes that fashion shaped mechanisms of logistical power based on connotative and denotative dynamics, and figured worlds of power shaped around the values of modernity, equality, and nationalism that contributed to legitimise the Cuban state socialist regime while simultaneously generating opposition and radicalisation. The evidence gathered for and presented in this dissertation indicates that fashion gave shape to a hybrid symbolic order through which both citizens and the state were able to sort out the Cuban political system's internal and external contradictions.

Cohn, Caitlin S., *Wheelwomen: Women's Dress in a Transatlantic Cycling Culture, 1868-1900*. PhD Thesis, University of Minnesota, 2016.

The purpose of this study is to understand the relationship between women's cycling and cycling dress from 1868-1900, by examining three periods of cycling: The velocipede (circa 1868-1869), the tricycle (circa 1880s), and the safety bicycle (1890s). My research examined intersecting discourses relating to women's dress and bicycling. Bicycle technology was in tension with women's dress, as the bicycle was difficult to ride without adapting women's dress. However, the bicycle also was adapted in relation to dress in the late 1880s. The study of extant bicycling garments has been neglected in previous research. My research addressed both women's actual clothing, including extant garments, images, and written descriptions, and the significance of women's cycling clothing. The way I approached my research varied depending on the period I was researching, due to differing availability of sources. My research on bicycling dress is not exhaustive, nor is it possible to determine whether or not the existing examples are 'typical' of the period in which they were worn. My interdisciplinary methods included the study of extant artefacts, material culture, cultural studies, and literary sources along with visual analysis of different types of images. I developed a process for how to find, keep track of, and analyse written materials. I took notes and wrote memos, roughly basing my data coding on a qualitative social science method. I integrated my analysis of extant garments with analysis and interpretation of other period sources, particularly articles and bicycling guides that women wrote during the period under analysis. Using material culture methods, I analysed extant bicycling garments from the 1890s, following the basic steps of identification, classification, analysis, and interpretation. I utilized a variety of American and British bicycling magazines, along with popular magazines and newspapers. For visual analysis, I looked primarily at fashion illustrations and photographs from the periods in my study. Each type of cycle (velocipedes, tricycles, and safety bicycles) necessitated different clothing, which was determined both by the structure of the machine and by which types of clothing were fashionable at the time. Women riders who were successful at convincing others of their legitimacy as cyclists often did so by dressing in a manner that was sufficiently modified to make cycling physically possible, but not so modified as to appear too out of place when the rider was off the machine. Their dress and behaviour was meant to show others that women who cycled were just ordinary women. Written and illustrative materials that argued in favor of cycling must be understood as creating an ideal concept of how women should dress for cycling, not as providing a comprehensive description of what all women actually rode in. My most important finding is that writers from 1868 to 1900 had similar discussions about women's dress, with recommended styles tending to be adapted from fashionable dress. In the late 1860s, writers grappled with how women could ride a velocipede in a ladylike manner. By the 1890s, cycling was both more common and more acceptable, but writers still wondered as to how women could best dress in order to both be able to safely manoeuvre a bicycle while still looking feminine. Women's dress was one of the most significant aspects of cycling, both because well-to-do women were expected to have costumes

for many activities and because the physical structure of cycles necessitated adaptations. My central argument is that discussions of women's cycling dress were meant to legitimise the idea of women as cyclists. Proponents of bicycling believed that women who dressed both practically and appropriately, that is following the precepts of fashion just enough but not so much as to appear frivolous, served as positive examples that could both help other women become cyclists and convince sceptics of cycling's benefit to women.

Dolan, Alice Claire, *The Fabric of Life: Linen and Life Cycle in England, 1678-1810*.

PhD Thesis, University of Hertfordshire, 2016.

'The Fabric of Life: Linen and Life Cycle in England, 1678-1810' is structured around the human life cycle to draw out the social and cultural importance of linen for all ranks of society. Human and object life cycles are juxtaposed in the thesis to analyse codependent activities and processes rather than focusing on one facet of daily life. For thousands of years flax was a staple fibre, used for textile production in many parts of the globe. Cotton only overtook linen as the most popular textile in England at home and on the body during the nineteenth century. This thesis examines the preceding century to reveal why linen remained a daily necessity in England between 1678 and 1810, a period which encompassed a series of significant changes in the production, trade and use of linen. Linen was ubiquitous as underwear, sheets, table linens and for logistical purposes therefore it provides a unique insight into the early-modern world; a means of understanding the multifaceted experiences of daily life, of integrating understandings of the body, domestic, social, cultural and commercial activities. This thesis is social history through the lens of linen, reading a society through its interactions with a textile.

Garrin, Ashley R., *Hair and Beauty Choices of African American Women During the Civil Rights Movement, 1960-1974*.

PhD Thesis, Iowa State University, 2016.

This research examined the Civil Rights Movement, specifically focusing on hair and beauty choices of African American women who were emerging adults (ages 18-25), between the years 1960-1974, which bridges both the classical period of the Civil Rights Movement and that of Black Power politics (Wilson, 2013). The specific time period corresponds with the adoption of African American hairstyles that were more Afrocentric, following the social climate of Black Pride (Walker, 2007). To achieve understanding of African American women's perspectives, seven participants were interviewed using Seidman's (2013) protocol for which a three-part, in-depth interview series was conducted. The successive interviews concentrated on the themes of: 1) hair history throughout their lives, 2) details of experiences during the Civil Rights Movement years 1960-74, and 3) creating reflections on the meaning of hairstyle choices in the participant's life. This dissertation followed a non-traditional format that allowed for the completion of two scholarly articles related to African American women's hair. Article one: Ages and stages: African American women and their lives through their hair, examines participants' presentations of self. Communication of meaning and values associated with dress were negotiated between the participants and others, which resulted in their choices of presentation. Goffman's (1959) discussion of the presentation of self was used to explain how marginalised groups strive to act appropriately or ideally to dominant standards and power groups. Participants described how they chose their hairstyles and dress for varying audiences and settings. Their presentation of self was highly influenced by the intersectional subject positions held by the participants, reflecting larger hegemonic norms in U.S. Society. Article two: Collective resistance of the natural: An exploration of African American women's exhibition of Black pride through their hairstyles, explored aspects of new social movement theory to explain how the participants formed a collective identity associated with the Civil Rights Movement, specifically in aspects of Black Pride and solidarity during the 1960s and 1970s. Participants discussed how their hair choices reflected the movement's ideology and the newly adopted Black aesthetic. Their activism, traditional and less overt, informed and mirrored the construction of a collective identity through aspects of identifying with ideologies of the Black Pride/Power Movement, a raised conscious-

ness toward the African American status in U.S. society, and changing associations and interactions as a result of the movement and other shifts in politics and social aspects. The findings of this study offer insight into African American women's relationship with their hair and the effect of the Civil Rights Movement on their hair throughout their lives.

Jablon, Sara. *Historical Accuracy in Costume Design: Experiences and Perceptions of Broadway Costume Designers*.

PhD Thesis, Iowa State University, 2016.

The purpose of this study is to systematically explore one aspect of costume design, the role of historical accuracy in American theatre, according to contemporary Broadway costume designers. Using the grounded theory methodology, this study investigated the characteristics Broadway costume designers believe are essential for historical accuracy in costume design; the significance they place on historical accuracy for the success of the costume design; and how they approach and incorporate history into their costume designs of historically set productions. Sixteen Broadway costume designers were interviewed for this study. Based on the analysis of interview responses and guided by Hillestad's (1980) appearance model, an operational definition for historical accuracy in costume design was developed: A historically accurate costume is one in which historically accurate articles made using historically accurate materials and processes are assembled about a historically accurate body. Several points about historical accuracy in costume design were widely acknowledged: (a) the presentation of history on stage is essential to theatre's mission of communicating with the audience; (b) the narrative takes precedence over historical accuracy; and (c) the importance of historical accuracy is conditional, dependent on production factors grouped into three classifications: applicability, attainability, and performability. Consideration of these factors leads to the iterative strategies in a costume designer's approach to a historically set production. These strategies are incubation, research, role-playing, and historical manipulation. This final strategy, in addition to the designer's personal inclination towards historical accuracy, results in a design that can then be situated on a historical accuracy continuum between artefact and invention. The factors, designer inclination, and design strategies are illustrated in the model of the creative process of incorporating history into theatrical costume design. Stemming from development of the model and further analysis of the data, a substantive grounded theory and its corollary were derived: The higher designer inclination towards historical accuracy and the more favourable the production factors (i.e., applicability, attainability, and performability), the closer costumes will be situated to artefact on the historical accuracy continuum. The lower designer inclination towards historical accuracy, regardless of the production factors, the closer costumes will be situated to invention on the historical accuracy continuum. The model and theory emerged from the study's data, but the theoretical perspectives of dramaturgy, symbolic interactionism, and semiotics were utilized to aid in explaining these results. This project sought to provide a framework for evaluating the importance of historical accuracy in costume design and a tool to guide novice designers facing historically set productions. Thus this study contributes to the scholarship of both the costume and apparel fields and forges connections between them.

Jing, Han, *The Historical and Chemical Investigation of Dyes in High Status Chinese Costume and Textiles of the Ming and Qing Dynasties (1368-1911)*.

PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2016.

Costume colour held special significance in Chinese history. This thesis pioneers the multiperspective exploration of dyes in high-status costume and textiles of the Ming and Qing Dynasties using the dual approach of history and chemistry. Through the examination and comparison of four important historical manuscripts of dye recipes (Chapter 1) and dyes in high-status historical and archaeological textiles (Chapter 4), dyes and dyeing techniques used during the Ming and Qing Dynasties are revealed. Results show that nine natural dyes were commonly used, and synthetic dyes were used from the late 19th century. Dyes were used according to specific rules to obtain various shades. Further research improves

the understanding of some of the textiles including better knowledge of ownership and more accurate dating, as well as the role of dyeing in the social and global contexts (Chapter 4). Meanwhile, the botanical provenance, names and preferences for the significant dyes in Chinese textile history are clarified for the first time (Chapter 2). A database for the chemical composition of 22 reference Chinese dyes using ultra high performance liquid chromatography coupled with photodiode array detector and Mass spectrometer (UHPLC-PDA-MS) and UHPLC-PDA is first established, and the understanding of the chemical constituents of several dyes is improved. The investigation of dyes and dyeing techniques of the Li minority group in Hainan Province marks the start of the chemical research of ethnographic dyeing in China (Chapter 3). The accelerated light ageing study of reference dyes improves the knowledge of the light fastness of the dyes. Suggestions on the conservation, preservation and exhibition of the dyes are provided (Chapter 5). This research contributes significantly to dyeing history, textile history and colour history both of China and the world.

Rumball, Hannah Frances, *The Relinquishment of Plain Dress: British Quaker Women's Abandonment of Plain Quaker Attire, 1860-1914*.

PhD Thesis, University of Brighton, 2016.

This thesis discusses how British Quaker women negotiated relinquishing their religiously prescribed Plain dress from 1860 to 1914 in the context of developments in Quaker feminine identity. This thesis approaches its subjects by examining the primary source of surviving Quaker garments in British dress collections. These items provide the basis from which research methodologies and the personal narratives of Quaker women and their case studies are developed. Surviving garments, alongside historical letters, diaries, religious texts, department store catalogues, photographs and period dress illustrations are analysed in order to understand how women Quakers practised their religion and organised their public appearance through dress during this period. The original quality of this research is the outcome of an interdisciplinary approach. No other research project in the international dress history or religious history fields has discussed and critically considered the identity of British Quaker women through an analysis of their surviving clothing between 1860 and 1914. This aspect of British social history and therefore British identity has until now remained unexplored and unacknowledged. By 1860 Quakerism had undergone extreme doctrinal upheaval, which had led to the abandonment of those rules which enforced Plainness of speech and apparel that same year. Even prior to 1860, this thesis reveals that some women were incorporating fashion into their religious Plain dress, by using fashionable silhouettes and high-quality fabrics albeit eschewing bright colours and ornamentation. After 1860 however, male and female Quakers had complete individual freedom of choice in their clothing. During this period of religious turmoil, female Victorian Quakers vocalised a range of opinions on women's emancipation, education and welfare, on their role within the religious society and their opinions concerning dress through published correspondence in Quaker journals. This thesis identifies a variety of views concerning dress between 1860 and 1914, as Quaker women negotiated their individual freedom of choice in attire in a ternary manner. Moreover, this thesis proves that this ternary interpretation was acknowledged by Quakers themselves and discussed within Quaker journals in the 1860-1914 period. Quakers of the period identified these ternary interpretations as ascetic, moderate and fashionable. This thesis proposes a new set of classifying terms, Non-Adaptive, Semi-Adaptive and Fully-Adaptive, in reflection of the extent to which Quaker women adapted their religious clothing to incorporate fashion alongside their differing interpretations of Quaker belief. Four case studies illustrate further these three adaptive interpretations, and show how individual Quaker women chose to present themselves to their religious community and wider society.

Runyan, Amanda Blair, *The Dress and the Colonial Body in Transatlantic Texts, 1767-1853*.

PhD Thesis, Northeastern University, 2017.

My dissertation, 'The Dress and the Colonial Body in Transatlantic Texts, 1767-1853,' argues that the appearance and presentation of women in colonial spaces is used to make colonizing powers visually

explicit. This project analyses the presentation of colonial bodies through the garment of the dress, a piece of clothing which both constructs and reifies gender. I argue that colonial subjects are visually defined, and racial categories are both constructed and stabilized, through the garment of the dress. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literature is particularly relevant for an analysis of dress because emerging fashions or habits of dress are directly linked to social and economic events in the larger Atlantic world. The colonization of the new world, as well as the implementation of the institution of slavery, are both political realities which sought to stabilize the categories of gender and race by restricting or legislating the clothing practices of colonized people. Tracing sartorial depictions through a number of visual and textual mediums, I begin by reading narratives of Pocahontas and the novel *The Female American* (1767). Other chapters read the novel *A Woman of Colour: A Tale* (1808) depicting a biracial Jamaican woman visiting London, and the textile osnaburg and the novel *Clotel; or, The President's Daughter* (1853). Through an analysis of literary texts and archival materials, I reveal the dress and dresses of colonial women as performative constructions and attempted stabilisations of the categories of gender and race that highlight the extension of the colonial project to the body of the colonial subject.

Schoppe, Ashley D., *Divisive Threads: Politicized Fashion, Elite Women, and Eighteenth-Century Literature*.

PhD Thesis, The University of Tulsa, 2016.

My dissertation argues that eighteenth-century discussions of clothing encode specific political anxieties related to party politics, gender, the role of monarchy, class boundaries, and nationalism. I analyse discussions of the clothing of politically active aristocratic women, including references to their fashion choices in correspondence, newspapers, diaries, graphic satire, and the periodical press. I then demonstrate the ways in which similar themes pervade the literature of the period; literary descriptions of clothing broadcast to a contemporary reader a number of cues regarding a character's political affiliations, social status, and morality. My first chapter reveals the ways in which Whig and Tory allegiances underlie politically motivated criticisms of Queen Anne's wardrobe. I then analyse a number of works by Delarivier Manley, a Tory, and Susanna Centlivre, a Whig, asserting that their distinct political philosophies can be detected in their disparate treatment of clothing. My second chapter examines the role of textile manufacture in British national identity, in particular the anxieties provoked by the popularity of foreign textiles. I survey contemporary responses to the wardrobes of Prince Frederick and Princess Augusta, who publicly championed British textiles, along with pamphlet literature of the period that viewed imported fabrics as a threat to the domestic economy. I then turn to the works of Eliza Haywood and Samuel Richardson, both of whom explore the consumer desires and nationalist pride motivating individual fabric selections. My third chapter explores media attention paid to the dress of Georgiana Cavendish, Fifth Duchess of Devonshire, who used fashionable accessories to promote the Opposition Whigs. I then examine Georgiana's negative representation of modish clothing in her novels *Emma: or The Unfortunate Attachment* (1773) and *The Sylph* (1778), representations that complicate traditional gender assumptions about women's inherent interest in fashion. I conclude in my fourth chapter by surveying criticisms of Queen Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whose simplistic dress was criticized for failing to uphold the dignity of monarchy. I then turn to Frances Burney's *Camilla*. Composed after serving as Charlotte's Keeper of the Robes, *Camilla* exposes the tension between fulfilling societal expectations for appearance and being financially prudent.

Shaw, Carol, *The Development of Early Imperial Dress From the Tetrarchs to the Herakleian Dynasty*. PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2016.

My thesis traces developments in the early imperial dress of the emperors and empresses as depicted in art from Diocletian's reign to Justinian II's; my analysis includes examples ranging in size from large monuments to small coins. Two theses have been written on the later period but none on the earlier one when the most change occurred. I demonstrate that the emperor's dress differed from other forms

of elite male dress because several symbols of rule, such as the purple cloak and sceptre were associated with it. During this time period, the emperor wore three types of dress: military costume consisting of a cuirass and cloak; civic dress consisting of such garments as a purple cloak called a chlamys, a tunic and jewelled slippers; and ceremonial dress consisting of several types of togas and an under-tunic. The empress' dress consisted of several forms of Roman dress, the chlamys and tunic, and finally bridal dress. In my analyses, I first place the items in their historical context, describe the dress portrayed, and finally analyse how they are used in each work of art. I also provide information on such subjects as the history of imperial purple and the types of crowns.

Sweeney, Jennifer Francis, *Narrating the Sartorial: Reading Fashionable Resistance in the Literary Archive*.

PhD Thesis, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2016.

This dissertation argues that the novels and short stories of early twentieth century women writers relied upon and manipulated the aesthetics and temporality of the emerging fashion industry to rethink women's place in the public sphere, especially for lower class and raced individuals. Fashion provided these writers and their characters with the means to reimagine feminine identification as women began to enter into the modern public sphere. It uses an intersecting methodology of material culture analysis, fashion studies, and close reading to explore how the novel and short story form archives women's relationship to the modern, transatlantic fashion industry. By focusing on form and content, it attends to both descriptions of characters' fashions and the formal dimensions of the fiction itself. In doing so, the dissertation uncovers a relationship between the modern novel and short story form and the modes of identification made possible to women via the emergence of ready-to-wear fashion in the early parts of the twentieth century. It holds that the development of the modern fashion industry not only provided women with new ways to imagine themselves in the public sphere, but also changed the way that women writers constructed and formulated their novels and short stories. Like their fashionable characters that use their attire to construct, although often fleeting, moments of feminine liberation, the authors that this dissertation studies manipulate the novel and short story form through fashion to rethink how to narrate and imagine feminine identity. Starting with Jean Rhys's high modernist novels, moving through the transatlantic black literature of Nella Larsen and Jessie Redmon Fauset, and ending on New York's Lower East Side with Anzia Yezierska's Yiddish fiction, this dissertation traces the emergence of a fashionable literary archive that takes into account the limiting and productive potentials of fashion as it narrates the lives of each author's characters. Character description and literary form come together in each of the works studied to produce an archive of fashion as it informed and created women's modern identification.

Urban, Monica Bowerman, *Fashion Sense: Surfaces, Aesthetics, and Urban Space in U.S. Literature and Culture, 1843-1928*.

PhD Thesis, University of Miami, 2016.

My dissertation argues that fashion operates in a wide range of nineteenth- and twentieth-century texts to reveal a new form of perception and a mode of resistance predicated on fashion. Rather than being a tool of manipulation, fashion cultivates a conception of self. I take my cue from Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus' theory of surface reading to suggest that the authors of novels and advice literature produce a mode of reading the surfaces of others. The key to understanding the role of fashion in the novel depends on what I am calling 'fashion sense'. Fashion sense becomes a focal point of nineteenth-century aesthetic culture, providing a new way of feeling outside of hegemonic norms and prescriptive sentiment. This dissertation examines aesthetic strategies for resistance in etiquette manuals, periodicals, and novels. I consider the theories of Walter Benjamin, Michel de Certeau, and Jacques Lacan to account for the tactical method of surface reading exhibited by authors such as Edgar Allan Poe, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Dreiser, Edith Wharton, and Nella Larsen. By tracing the nineteenth-century debates surrounding conduct and dress, I demonstrate that fashion

is part of a larger philosophical discourse. Ultimately, the mass reproduction of both fashion and the novel underscores the way in which intersubjective desire informs industrialization and the use of urban space. I conclude with a discussion of aesthetic activism in new media using fashion.

Wongkaew, Manrutt, *Terpsichore in Jimmy Choo: A Visual Reading of Relationships Between Dance and High Fashion Economies*.

PhD Thesis, University of Surrey, 2016.

Terpsichore in Jimmy Choo sets up a relationship between high fashion bodies, material/fabric and theatre dance choreographies. It argues that these relationships have been crucial in twentieth- and twenty-first-century art dance and fashion practices. It examines the complex web of consumption, negotiation and reappropriation between dance and fashion. It investigates the relationship between performance, shape, form, fabric, haute couture, modern dance and the bodies that set all of these into motion. The thesis includes a series of visual materials carefully tailored to deliver the overall argument of the thesis: a genealogy of high fashion bodies, material/fabric and theatre dance choreographies has always existed. To answer how contemporary dance, a 'product' rich in cultural capital, feeds, affects, is transformed and appropriated by the socio-political economy of high fashion, I provide collections of visual materials in thematic groupings which include excerpts from fashion films, advertising campaigns and live catwalk or fashion performances. I use visual analysis, art history, and detailed movement analyses while paying particular attention to textile and costume construction, image composition, and the role of the camera. Whilst movement analysis informs my work in several chapters, other chapters draw upon other aspects of comparative dance analysis. I establish a kinetic language to read fashion performance through modern and post-modern dance choreography. This language can then be used to develop new trends in dance and fashion practice. I argue that fashion choreographies are influenced by shapes, forms, and the mobility of fashion materials. I utilise the concepts of dynamic flow, tensile elasticity and experimental shapes in space in order draw links between the modern dance choreographies of Loïe Fuller, Martha Graham, and Merce Cunningham and current fashion editorials. In later chapters, I engage with how punk aesthetics and attitude in British fashion was appropriated to subvert normative bodily representation in mainstream high fashion. I examine multiple collaborations between fashion designers and established dance companies in order to unpack the negotiations that occur when dealing with corporate art sponsorship. *Terpsichore*, the muse of dance, inspires these pages. I envision her dancing alongside the models, the photographers; I see her whispering inspirations to the choreographers and fashion designers. I would like to think she choreographs new ways of thinking about dance, fabric and the fashion industry. Her movement is either tensile or fluid, depending on what she wears. Dance scholar Sally Banes (1987) put her in sneakers. I put her in Jimmy Choos.

Wood, Eleanor, *Displaying Dress: New Methodologies for Historic Collection*.

PhD Thesis, The University of Manchester, 2016.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century British costume museums were failing to attract audiences; consequently, all but the Gallery of Costume, Manchester and the Fashion Museum, Bath were closed to the public. This thesis has sought to examine the traditional display methodologies of historic costume museums, using the Gallery of Costume as its primary case study of practice. This investigation problematises the theoretical assumptions upon which the gallery's display methodologies are founded and compares its approaches to those taken in contemporary displays of historic dress. The findings of this investigation have been used to propose new approaches to the display of historic dress that aim to engage contemporary audiences. Using the research methods of participant observation, interviews and archival research the first chapter of this thesis outlines the development of the Gallery of Costume's display methodologies, highlighting the agency of individual curators. The next two chapters explore the ways in which curators of dress reconstruct the bodies and personalities that give form to worn dress in the museum. The thesis moves on to examine both the methods by which the Gallery of Costume's constructed history in its displays of history and the theoretical assumptions underlying its

historiography. This chapter is followed by an exploration of the performance of fashion within the museum, attending to the way in which exhibitions can express dress as 'living' concept within accepted conservation guidelines. Finally, this thesis outlines a framework upon which reflexive exhibitions of historic dress can be built.

Advisory Board

The following biographies represent the members of the Advisory Board of *The Journal of Dress History*, in alphabetical order.

Sylvia Ayton, MBE, *Independent Scholar*

Sylvia Ayton received a very thorough training at Walthamstow School of Art and Royal College of Art. Her early work as a fashion designer included designing BEA air hostess uniforms in 1959, clothing for B. Altman and Co. (New York), Count Down and Pallasades stores (London). In 1964, she formed a partnership with Zandra Rhodes to open Fulham Road Clothes Shop in London. She joined Wallis Fashion Group as outerwear designer in 1969 and remained until 2002. In 1990 she was awarded the MBE for services to the fashion industry, whilst continuing to work as an external examiner and part-time lecturer to many BA (Hons) fashion courses. In 1980 she became a Fellow of the Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts Manufacture and Commerce, and was a Member of the Jury of RSA Student Design Awards (Fashion). She is also a former Chairman of the Costume Society.

Cally Blackman, MA, *Central Saint Martins*

Cally Blackman is the author of *100 Years of Fashion Illustration* (2007), *100 Years of Menswear* (2009) and *100 Years of Fashion* (2012) and coauthor of *Portrait of Fashion* (2015) for the National Portrait Gallery. She has published articles in peer-reviewed journals *Costume* and *Textile History* and contributed to exhibition catalogues for The Victoria and Albert Museum and Palais Galliera. She has written for *Acne Paper*, broadcast on BBC Radio 4 and lectured widely. She has taught on the Fashion History and Theory BA Pathway at Central Saint Martins for over a decade, contributes to MA programmes at CSM, London College of Fashion, Sothebys Institute, and the The Victoria and Albert Museum Education Department. She was Chairman of CHODA (Courtauld History of Dress Association) 2000–2005 and a Trustee of the Costume Society, 2005–2010.

Penelope Byrde Ruddock, MA, FMA, *Independent Scholar*

Penelope Byrde Ruddock read Modern History at St Andrews University before specialising in the history of dress for her MA from the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was a curator at the Museum of Costume and Fashion Research Centre in Bath for almost thirty years until she retired in 2002. She was joint editor of *Costume*, the dress studies journal published by the Costume Society, for five years and she is an Associate Lecturer at Central Saint Martins, University of the Arts, London where she specialises in dress in eighteenth-, nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature. She has written several books on the history of fashion: *The Male Image. Men's Fashions in Britain 1300–1970*; *A Visual History of Costume: The Twentieth Century*; *Nineteenth Century Fashion*; and *Jane Austen Fashion*.

Caroline de Guitaut, MA, MVO, AMA, *Royal Collection Trust*

Caroline de Guitaut is currently Senior Curator of Decorative Arts, Royal Collection Trust, London. She is a curator with more than twenty-five years' experience of caring for, displaying, and researching one of the world's greatest art collections. She is curator of high profile exhibitions of decorative arts and fashion at The Queen's Galleries in London and Edinburgh and at Buckingham Palace since 2002.

Her publications include books, exhibition catalogues, and articles in peer-reviewed journals. She is a regular lecturer in museums and galleries in the UK and internationally. She is a Member of the Victorian Order, an Associate of the Museums Association, and a Trustee of the Royal School of Needlework.

Thomas P. Gates, MA, MSLS, MAEd, *Kent State University*

Thomas P. Gates attended the Cleveland Institute of Art and Case Western Reserve University, receiving a bachelors' degree in art history from the latter. He received a masters' degrees in art history and librarianship from the University of Southern California. He also received a masters' degree in art education from the University of New Mexico. After receiving a Rockefeller Fellowship in museum and community studies at the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, he assisted with exhibitions at the museum's Downtown Center and curated a mobile exhibition for the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976 sponsored by the California Historical Society. In 1996 he developed the June F. Mohler Fashion Library for the School of Fashion Design and Merchandising, assuming responsibilities as head librarian when it opened in 1997. He achieved rank of tenured associate professor in 1998. Gates' interest in the history of the built environment and American mid-century high-end retail apparel resulted in published as well as invitational papers in scholarly organizations such as The Society of American City and Regional Planning History; Western Reserve Society of Architectural Historians; The Costume Society of America; The Art Libraries Society of North America/Ohio Valley Chapter; The Association of Architecture School Librarians; and The Association of Dress Historians.

Alex Kerr, PhD, FBS, *The Burgon Society*

Alex Kerr has spent much of his career as a lecturer in medieval studies, later combining this with academic administrative roles. He holds a BA in medieval and modern languages from Oxford University, and an MA and a PhD in medieval studies from Reading University. Since 2001 he has also been Director of a consultancy providing training courses in communication skills. From 2001 to 2013 he was Managing Editor of the journal *Contemporary Review*. So far as dress history is concerned, he is an independent researcher and has published several articles on the history of academic dress. He is a Trustee and Fellow of The Burgon Society, an educational charity for the study of academic dress, its design, history and practice. He was Editor of its *Transactions*, an annual scholarly journal, from 2003 to 2010, and is now the Society's Secretary.

Jenny Lister, MA, *Victoria and Albert Museum*

Jenny Lister is Curator of Fashion and Textiles at The Victoria and Albert Museum, from 2004. She has curated their exhibitions *60s Fashion* (2006) and *Grace Kelly: Style Icon* (2010). Her publications include *The V&A Gallery of Fashion* (2013), with Claire Wilcox, *London Society Fashion 1905-1925: the Wardrobe of Heather Firbank* (2015) and *May Morris* (2017), with Anna Mason, Jan Marsh, et al. Her other research interests include the British shawl industry and Mary Quant.

Timothy Long, MA, *Museum of London*

Timothy Long is Curator of Fashion and Decorative Arts at the Museum of London. His career began at the Chicago History Museum in 1999 as a costume collection manager, before becoming curator of costume in 2006. In 2011, He returned to school for an MA, History and Culture of Fashion at London College of Fashion. Following the completion of his degree, he became a curator at the Museum of London in 2013. His publication record includes Chicago History Museum exhibition catalogues – *Dior: The New Look*, *Chic Chicago*, *Charles James: Genius Deconstructed* and *I Do! Chicago Ties the Knot* – investigations on Etruscan dress for the British Museum Technical Bulletin (2014). More recently, he wrote a book titled *Charles James: Designer in Detail*, and a chapter on the same designer

for *London Couture: British Luxury 1923–1975*, both through V&A Publishing (2015). For more information, please visit www.Timothyalong.com.

Jane Malcolm–Davies, PhD, *University of Copenhagen*

Jane Malcolm–Davies is a Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellow at the Centre for Textile Research, University of Copenhagen. She is codirector of The Tudor Tailor, which researches and retails publications and products aimed at improving reproduction historical dress for pedagogical projects. She was a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of the Highlands and Islands (Centre for Interpretation Studies) and the University of Southampton. She lectured in entrepreneurship and heritage management at the University of Surrey, introduced costumed interpreters at Hampton Court Palace (1992 to 2004), coordinated training for the front-of-house team at Buckingham Palace each summer (2000 to 2010) and is currently coaching guides for the new National Army Museum.

Scott Hughes Myerly, PhD, *University of Southern Indiana*

Scott Hughes Myerly was born in Des Moines, Iowa and has a Bachelor's Degree in European History from the University of California at Los Angeles. He earned a Master's Degree in American History and Museum Studies from the University of Delaware, and a Doctorate in Military History from the University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign. His book *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Harvard University Press, 1996) was a finalist for the Longman/History Today Book of the Year. He is now retired and specialises in British Army dress, circa 1783–1857.

Susan North, PhD, *Victoria and Albert Museum*

Susan North is the curator of fashion before 1800 at The Victoria and Albert Museum. She has a BA in Art History from Carleton University in Ottawa, an MA in Dress History from the Courtauld Institute and a PhD from Queen Mary, University of London. She worked for the National Gallery of Canada and the National Archives of Canada, before joining The Victoria and Albert Museum in 1995. She has coauthored several V&A publications relating to early modern dress, as well as cocurating *Style and Splendour: Queen Maud of Norway's Wardrobe* in 2005.

Martin Pel, *Royal Pavilion and Brighton Museums*

Martin Pel is curator of fashion and textiles at Royal Pavilion and Museums in Brighton and has curated for them a number of exhibitions, including *Subversive Design* (2013) and *Fashion Cities Africa* (2016). He has published on dress and fashion history including *The Biba Years 1963–1975* (2014, V&A Publishing) and has just coedited with Professor Amy de la Haye *Gluck: Art and Identity*, to be published by Yale in 2017 to accompany an exhibition of the same name.

Anna Reynolds, MA, *Royal Collection Trust*

Anna Reynolds is Senior Curator of Paintings at Royal Collection Trust, where she has worked since 2008. She is part of the curatorial team with responsibility for temporary exhibitions at The Queen's Gallery in London and The Queen's Gallery in Edinburgh, as well as the permanent display of approximately 8,000 paintings across royal residences including Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle and the Palace of Holyroodhouse. Her exhibitions and accompanying publications include *In Fine Style – The Art of Tudor and Stuart Fashion* (2013), *Royal Childhood* (2014), *A Royal Welcome* (2015) and *Portrait of the Artist* (2016). In 2017–2018 she will be the Polaire Weissman fellow at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York studying John Singer Sargent and fashion. Anna holds an

undergraduate degree from Cambridge University, a Diploma from Christie's Education, and a Masters in the History of Art from the Courtauld Institute.

Aileen Ribeiro, PhD, *Courtauld Institute of Art*

Aileen Ribeiro read history at King's College, London, followed by postgraduate study (MA and PhD) at The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. She was Head of the History of Dress Section at The Courtauld Institute from 1975 to 2009; appointed Professor in the History of Art at the University of London in 2000, she is now Professor Emeritus. She lectures widely in Great Britain, Europe and North America, and has acted as costume consultant/ contributor to many major exhibitions. These include *Reynolds* (Royal Academy of Arts, London: 1986); *Winterhalter and the Courts of Europe 1830 to 1870* (National Portrait Gallery, London: 1987 and the Petit Palais, Paris: 1988); *Goya: La imagen de la mujer* (Prado, Madrid: 2001 and National Gallery of Art, Washington: 2002); *Whistler, Women and Fashion* (Frick Collection, New York: 2003). Recent contributions to exhibition catalogues include an essay on Renoir's use of fashion in his painting *La Loge*, in *Renoir at the Theatre: Looking at La Loge* (Courtauld Institute 2008); an essay on Gainsborough's portrait of Ann Ford in *Thomas Gainsborough and the Modern Woman* (Cincinnati Art Museum 2010); an essay on Gustave Caillebotte's painting *Paris Street, Rainy Day for Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity* (Paris, New York and Chicago 2012), and an essay on dress in Liotard in *Jean-Etienne Liotard* (National Gallery of Scotland and The Royal Academy of Arts 2015). In addition, she has published many books and articles on various aspects of the history of dress, including *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France 1750-1820* (1995); *Dress and Morality* (2003); *Fashion and Fiction. Dress in Art and Literature in Stuart England* (2006); *Facing Beauty. Painted Women and Cosmetic Art* (2011) and (with Cally Blackman) *A Portrait of Fashion. Six Centuries of Dress at the National Portrait Gallery* (2015). Her most recent book is *Clothing Art: The Visual Culture of Fashion 1600-1914* (2016).

Georgina Ripley, MA, *National Museums Scotland*

Georgina Ripley is curator of modern and contemporary fashion and textiles at National Museums Scotland (NMS). Her research interests currently include Jean Muir (fl. 1962-1995), contemporary menswear, and new technologies in fashion. She is working towards a major temporary exhibition for NMS in 2020. She was the lead curator for the permanent Fashion and Style gallery which opened at the museum in 2016 and cocurated *Express Yourself: Contemporary Jewellery* (2014). She has contributed to exhibitions at NMS including *Jean Muir: A Fashion Icon* (2008-2009) and *Mary Queen of Scots* (2013), and *The House of Annie Lennox* (2012), a Victoria and Albert Museum Touring Exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. She has previous experience working with the Royal Academy of Arts, the Warner Textile Archive, Museums Galleries Scotland and the National Galleries of Scotland.

Gary Watt, MA, NTF, *University of Warwick*

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