THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY UPON BRITISH AMATEUR EMBROIDERIES : WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COLLECTIONS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS OF SCOTLAND

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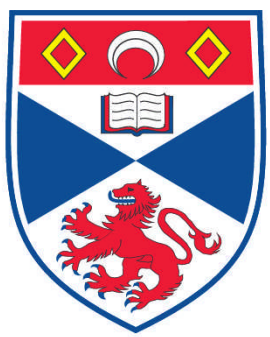

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The Effects of Economic and Social Developments in the Seventeenth Century, upon British Amateur Embroideries, with Particular Reference to the Collection in the National Museums of Scotland.

Part One.

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I Charlotte Elizabeth Jane Mayhew hereby certify that this thesis which is approximately 53,000 words in length has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of M.Litt. on 12.10.86; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St.Andrews between 1987 and 1988.

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fufilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate to the degree of M.Litt. Gallery Studies of the University of St.Andrews and that she is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

ABSTRACT

The seventeenth century in Britain produced a distinct and unique genre of embroideries; embroideries that were the work of women who have, in general, maintained historically a low profile. In recent years, with an increased 'female consciousness' attention has been given to these textiles, and much of what has been said is a matter of some controversey. The concerns of this thesis are therefore two-fold: to look at the women, and their work, and in so doing to attempt to clarify some of the arguments surrounding them.

No art form exists independently of it's creators, and they in turn are the product of their society, so a section of this work is concerned with the place of women in seventeenth century society. Differences in this position from one period to another may indicate the reasons for corresponding changes in the work they created. Similarly, these attitudes and aesthetics do not spring fully fledged into a new century, so it was necessary to pick up the threads of the sixteenth century, and then to look at trends that were to be more fully developed in the eighteenth century. The scope of the objects covered in this thesis is therefore wide; a major part of the study being concerned with pattern sources of the period, in an attempt to understand the true context of the embroideries in the general aesthetic of the seventeenth century. In doing so one may also gain an understanding of personal concerns, economic changes and political tensions of the period, as they affected the embroiderer, as well as that of the economic and sociological power bases of the period - and in the seventeenth century the influence of religion on both.

I would like to thank Naomi Tarrant and Amanda Scott of the National Museums of Scotland for their help and time, David Jones of the Dept. of Art History for his advice and patience, Susan Lowe of the University Library without whose skill in tracing publications this study would have been impossible, all the many curators and members of the general public who gave me their time and access to collections, Margaret Swain and Roger Burford for their interest in this work, and my parents, without whose unending support the research would never have started.

INTRODUCTION

In the field of seventeenth century embroidery the holdings of the National Museums of Scotland must today be ranked amongst the top half-dozen such specialised collections in Great Britain. Whilst not numerically the largest, quality of execution, technical range and condition of the exhibits are all exceedingly high. Within this collection are items illustrative of the principal sources of production of embroideries during this period: professional workshops, continental work, ecclesiastical vestments, panels etc., but it is with the group of amateur, domestic embroideries that this research is concerned. However, the undoubted influence that the very existence of these other pieces exercised on amateur work may not be ignored.

The origins of the collection now date back over a century; the earliest piece with which this work is concerned having been acquired in 1883[1]. With an active collecting policy, further items have come through the usual diverse channels, with pieces acquired through the dissolution of two major collections - one in the 1930's and another in 1987[2]- materially enhancing the whole. Indeed, the collection is still in an active state of development with the aim of both enhancing the quality of the individual examples available and the scope of the items represented.

Thirty-one items within the collection fall into the category of British amateur work, with the addition of one panel that, though

possibly of continental origin, has been included because of the typicality of the work for the period.[3] Within this number are caskets with, in some cases, their contents, pictures, small bags, boxes, bookbindings, beadwork, stomachers etc. Since the stomachers were not originally designed for this use, but have been cannibalized from other embroideries, they have been included in this catalogue as indicative of stylistic trends. It is to be regretted that one major application for embroidery during this period is not represented in the collection - that of mirror frames - but since thematic and technical considerations in this field are ably represented within other pieces in the collection, this omission does not substantially detract from the archival nature of the whole.

Illustrative work on the caskets and other boxes[4] between them show most major design themes of the seventeenth century[5], and demonstrate a variety of the techniques and devices employed by the Stuart embroiderer to give a personal interpretation to her work. The principal stylistic variants typical of the period (roughly 1630-1690 though similar works can be dated later than this), as well as some customising of the standard engraved sources, are also shown within this collection. Conversely, close adherence to those same sources is also displayed. The personal items and bags are worthy of particular attention as they are illustrative of stylistic work in the first half of the century that owed much to the continuing legacy of the previous century. Such a legacy, often loosely termed 'Jacobethan' will be discussed in a later chapter.

The growth of the design ethos most characteristic of the seventeenth century, together with developments within the style, plus the ensuing reaction to its conventions at the end of the century, are charted within this group of embroideries. Thus this collection offers a chance to study almost the entire repertoire of the embroiderer over a period of some eighty or ninety, often turbulent, years.

This last is perhaps what makes the period one of such interest to the textile historian. Amateur embroidery during this period, as we shall see, was subject to great growth and change. This development was not as strikingly paralleled in related areas of design as one might initially assume, and so the work of the amateur is of all the greater interest. Indeed it can be considered as one of the first visible expressions of an aesthetic, emerging at an indigenous domestic level, to be subsequently taken up by designers in other areas of the decorative arts. Such considerations make this field of embroidery a primary focus for a study of the period.

British embroideries, despite an almost complete lack of any reliable provenance[6] (see Fig.1), demonstrate stylistic characteristics and concerns that may be read as a purely 'ethnic' response to social, political and economic conditions; though undeniably subject also to developments in Europe and Asia. This will be reviewed in a later chapter, but for now it is sufficient to say that these embroideries create a stylistic unity that make them an ideal body on which to work.

This study will attempt to clarify some of the many areas of what often amounts to mis-information surrounding the subject. with a few exceptions, much of the existing literature of this subject must now be considered out-dated, or else as dealing with the work on a fairly superficial level. Many of the publications dating from the last century can be thus categorised, but are none the less worth including in a bibliography for both historical interest and, more importantly, the collections, now often dispersed, that they catalogue.

This study therefore will attempt moreover to bring the differing theories together and consider their validity in the light of more recent research, and the empirical evidence offered by the collection of the National Museums of Scotland, and others. Direct documentation from primary sources in this area is almost non-existent, the majority of the records kept by the Broderer's Company or Guild[7] having been destroyed in the Great Fire of London, 1666. Thus many of the conclusions that we draw about this period, must be based on evidence offered from study of allied disciplines and trades, household account books, diaries, paintings etc.

As this study was dealing with empirical evidence the first priority was to establish the representativeness, or otherwise, of the material held within the collection. To this end a survey was undertaken of the major, and not so major, collections of seventeenth century textiles in this country and America. Attempts to trace work in continental Museums and Galleries did not meet with success.

An analysis of the National Museums collection within a group of other embroideries was however possible. Thus, too, was a practical consideration of such points as thematic recurrancy, casket design, materials and techniques etc., such as would not have been possible if one had attempted to draw conclusions from so small a sample as is represented by any one collection.

A major concern also of the study has been to try and trace some of the themes employed by the embroiderers to their source or sources. A few of the more common themes are known to be based on certain paintings or engravings, but there are others, often sub themes or varients, that had not been traced. The criteria upon which these choices were made was also of fundemental importance in trying to understand the relevance of these embroideries to their period. This search necessitated a study of emblem books, printers devices, page headings, herbals, bestiaries and manuscripts from both the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries[8]. Common themes employed in other decorative arts contemporary with the era were as important as the embroideries themselves, as it is often as important to know what was <u>not</u> thought to be suitable as a subject, as to know what <u>was</u> so considered. Both are equally illuminating of the contemporary mind.

The second source area to study was that of the prepared materials, threads, moulds etc. Records of silk and needlework suppliers have not commonly survived, and such evidence as there is must be pieced together from merchants accounts, advertisements, customs records,

port books, household accounts and petitions to the Crown.

Foreign trade patterns and developments have also been cited as factors influencing the choice of motif, and indeed the underlying aesthetic of this work, though this is sometimes disputed. A study of the economy in the light of this, leads to the consideration of the dye trade during this period, and the role that imported dyestuffs had on the contemporary aesthetic; though the scale of such a study makes any but a passing reference impractical within the constraints of this thesis.

Thus if the real significance of these embroideries is to be understood, we must address ourselves to more than pure embroidery techniques. Rather than a curious and localised whim of textile history, this work can be read then as in some sort a mirror of the society in which the pieces were created, even though the identities, for the most part, of the creators has been lost.

The first section of this thesis is a catalogue of that portion of the collection in the National Museums of Scotland with which the study is concerned. The main text is designed to interact with the catalogue, and while this may entail frequent referrals to the catalogue, the information should be more readily accessible than if it were immersed within lengthy areas of data. In doing this it is hoped that the catalogue will orientate the reader within the main subject, and raise questions and comparisons that will then be dealt with in the main text.

References to Introduction

1. R.S.M.1883.79. See Catalogue.

2. Belonging to Sir Richard Lorimer and Lady and Sir Fredrick Richmond , respectively.

3. 1945.4549. See Catalogue.

4. 1961.502, 1961.595, 1961.1096, 1907.321, 1935.764. See Catalogue.

5. For a list of thematic material employed during this period please refer to Chapter Two, Table One.

6. Very few caskets have retained details of their makers. Two notable exceptions exist, worked by Martha Edlin and Hannah Smith. The former, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is dated 1671, and accompanied by a sampler dated 1668, a cut-work sampler dated 1669, and various small items known to have been given as gifts to the child. There is also a beadwork box from the same period. The latter casket, c.1654-6, in the possession of the whitworth Gallery, is complete with a letter signed by Hannah Smith stating that the cabinet was finished in Oxford when she was twelve, and that it was made up in London. Other caskets and boxes are occasionally initialled or dated, but such information as given above is extremely rare.

7. See Appendix Three.

8. See Appendix Two.

CONTENTS

Catalogue of the collection of British Amateur Embroidery of the Seventeenth century in the National Museums of Scotland.

Catalogue of the collection of British Amateur Embroidery of the seventeenth century in the National Museums of Scotland.

Country Theme Writing Casket

c.1650-1660.

1961.502

h.270mm x w.175mm x 255mm.

Embroidered casket with hipped double lid. Flat silk embroidery. Recessed interior of top lid section fitted with removable mirror. Base of compartment designed to hold writing materials and (?) perfume or sand in two silver mounted glass bottles. Pin cushion section with concealed drawer beneath. Lock. Internal concealed compartments in secondary 'lid' area, behind sliding panel. Lock. Double door panels to front of casket reveal three tiers of drawers; the two upper rows of three drawers each, the lower tier of one long drawer. Top tiers have concealed ring[1] etc. drawers behind centre and right-hand compartments. All interior surfaces lined with pink silk. Edges of panels faced with silver braid. Casket stands on four turned oak bun feet, oak carcase.

Caskets of this period generally fall into two groups depending on their exterior form, though the interior arrangements are usually similar in both groups. A third group may more accurately be termed embroidered boxes than caskets. This casket with the typical hipped lid of the period, is a fine example of the genre both in form and decoration, displaying a number of recurring features of embroideries during the seventeenth century.

Though the top lid is primarily fitted to store writing materials

in common with other caskets it has a secondary function as a jewel case; concealed drawers to hold rings (see Fig.II) are a feature of these items, usually built to a standard format, and as such can never have been very secure hiding places. The lid panel shows a man and woman in contemporary dress with the period of construction (Fig. III) seated either side of a pool in a landscape setting, respectively engaged in playing a pipe and fishing. In the distance are two identical houses of a design often seen in these embroideries. Above them the sun 'in splendour' emerges from behind a layer of cloud; again this is a motif frequently employed throughout the century.

The front panels depict one of the most common of all casket decorative themes, and one which, it has been suggested, points to the caskets having been worked as betrothal or wedding gifts. However, these figures, based on a design to be seen in The Needles Excellency are also said to represent the Protestant ideal of the family. A man and woman are shown in a landscape setting surrounded by over-large flowers so predominant in amateur work of the seventeenth century. (A sense of true perspective is often an indication of professional work or compositional influence.) In the distance are three buildings, that on the right generally being thought to represent the palace of Nonsuch. Similar buildings are represented on furniture of the sixteenth century. The detailing of the building on the far left is agin common in this work. These have been ascribed to a number of sources, which will be discussed in chapter Four.

The motifs that decorate the raked and narrow panels of the front are even more commonly employed by the embroiderers of the period. (see A1987.143) The lion and leopard (often the same motif is shown without spots, and thus becomes a lioness) are usually shown seated, though there are a number of varients on the positions of the head and tail. The hound pursuing a hare or rabbit is the most favoured motif of all the repertoire; see chapter Four. The arches and swags of clouds that appear in all the pictorial panels of the casket are a device commonly employed in many of the illustrative arts of the period; see chapter Four.Figs.IV,I.

The rear, side and interior panels are covered with silk threads in a variety of geometric and semi-floral designs. This was a common form of supplementary decoration for caskets, and there are a few examples entirely so decorated. The technique is based on a support of card or parchment and is related to laid-work and pattern weaving techniques. Other panels carried out in laid-work.

Other typical features of the casket include the carnation pink silk lining to the drawers and doors, the stamped silver borders to drawer edges, the trimming of panels with metal braid, and the bun feet on which the casket stands. The latter were a favoured shape for larger furniture of the period, and as such are a logical extension for these pieces; not all caskets however are so fitted. The detachable mirror, in a period when mirror glass was at a premium, is also typical. The base of the casket is finished with

plain paper. See figs. V - X.

Together with this casket are a number of typical 'conceits' of the period: Fig.XI.

1961.502(A)- Purse.

Square panel decorated with geometric pattern weaving, lined with crimson silk. Silk concertina-folded inner compartment is placed diagonally across the panel, with the selvedge turned and hemmed flat. Plaited silk drawstring. Mica spangles. Edging of gold braid. Tassels of polychrome silks, wrapped with silver wire. Silver wrapped loops at top corners are strung with plaited cords of polychrome silk and silver thread.

1961.502(B)-Stag.

Colied purl thread (bare metal) over stuffed silk core, crimson.

1961.502(C)-Snake.

Coiled purl (bare metal) over inner core of carnation silk and yellow silk thread. Binding of black silk thread.

1961.502(D)-Dog.

Colied purl(bare metal) over inner silk core. Buttonholed ears and collar.

1961.502(E)-Flower Spray.

Polychrome silks, plaited braid and buttonhole stitches.

1961.502(F)- Flower Spray.

Stem of wire wrapped with silk floss. Polychrome silk threads. Plaited braid and buttonhole stitches.

1961.502(G)-Bodkin.

Silver wire couched in spirals of blue, green and carnation pink silk thread, with plaited braids falling from centre of each roundel. Handle of purl thread over silk core, supported on metal shaft. Paper tape is wound around this within the ball. Ends decorated with silk tassels. The tapes bear the inscription,

> The God above vouchsafeth store. To him in fault that prayeth therefore::/ But for his quifts you thankless run: Their wealth shall waste as wax in Sunn...
>
> and
>
> Aske what thou wilt and though shalt have; if though in Christ.y^{u} same doe crave:/ For Christ thy mediator sees when tough to him doest fall in knees.

1961.502(I)-Purse.

Drum shaped carnation pink velvet edged with silver braid. Front panel gathered with plaited silk drawstring.

Embroidered Casket; Life of Abraham

c.1660-1670.

1961.595.

h.273mm x w.419mm x 330mm.

Flat topped casket decorated with raised and flat embroidered panels, framed with tortoiseshell bands. Recessed lid is fitted with removable mirror set between padded silk panels. Interior well is fitted for writing materials and also contains two silver mounted bottles for perfume or sand. Pincushion section topped with the plush of the period known as shag, and has the usual concealed drawer beneath. The central well is lined with mirrors on three sides, with a coloured engraving decorating the base of the compartment. When removed this area reveals two further concealed drawers, one parallel to the pincushion section, the other beneath the ink wells. Two door-panels to the main body reveal a fascia panel (key missing) and two rows of drawers below. The lower tier consists of one long drawer, and the upper tier has a concealed ring drawer behind the the centre and right-hand drawers which are truncated in their depth. Pale oak carcase stands on four turned oak bun feet of slender form. Drawers and main compartments lined with carnation pink silk, exteriors of drawers and carcase interior with dark purple paper. Drawer fronts of crimson velvet.

The decoration of this casket illustrates the practice of using

engravings, either as they stand, or often in a strange melange, as inspiration for compositions. ln this example both approaches may be seen employed.

The form of casket, Fig.XII, is perhaps the second most common. The layout of the lid area, though atypical of caskets of this period, is not unkown (Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery,Na.594). See Figs XIII-XIV. The top panel,Fig.XV is carried out in raised work and tells the story of Abraham. The theme is carried through the front and side panels, Figs.XVI-XVII. ldeally there are too many figures in the lid scene. The children to the right represent lshmael taunting lssac, but the youth to the left is unattributable. The story is from Genesis, 16 and 21, and furnishes the inspiration for many embroideries of the period. See Chapter Two.

The story runs that Sarah bore Abraham no children, and being anxious to please, instructed her husband to have a child by her maid Hagar. However, when Hagar did conceive a child Sarah became jealous of her, and caused Hagar to flee from the tents, only to return due to instructions from an angel. Shortly after the birth of Hagar's son lshmael, Sarah too gave birth (see'Abraham and the Angels'). Sarah prevailed on Abraham to banish Hagar, and it is at this point that the scene is usually frozen, with Hagar departing with only a loaf of bread and a flask of water, see front panel, Fig.XII, and side and interior door panels, figs.XVII and XVIII. The story continues with Hagars plight in the wilderness and her rescue, and that of lsmael, from thirst and starvation by an angel, in this example shown on the right-hand side panel, Fig.XVI. Note the form of the angel which occurs in other compositions.

The back panel, Fig XIX , depicts the sacrifice of Issac, the compositon of which is discussed in Chapter Four. Again the theme is one from the Book of Genesis. During the middle Ages the story was commonly interpreted by Christians as a prefiguration of Christ carrying the Cross.(Mirror of Mans Salvation). The figure group to the right of Issac is of interest in that it is reversed when compared to the source engraving. Such reversals are not uncommon when a plate was copied, the artist working direct onto another sheet from the original.

The scene shown on the right-hand front panel, Fig.XII , is not part of this saga, but rather is an element more normally seen in the story of Esther and Ahasuerus. There it represents Mordecai, the King's Chief minister, feasting after the hanging of his rival Haman. The complete group may be seen in other embroideries, see Chapter Four. The figure on the left of the group is on occasion 'disguised' as a king and used in other figure groups; betrayed chiefly through the unusual design of the chair on which he sits.

The interior panels are also of some interest. That on the left shows the curiously posed figure of Abraham, often seen; compare this with 1930.196. The right-hand door scene is also drawn from the Old Testament, and shows the story of Elijah and the Ravens. This time the story is from the Book of Kings,17, and tells of the prophet Elijah and the promise of God to feed him when the drought that he foretold came to pass. Notice the similarity between the poses of Elijah and Abraham opposite. Fig XX.

The engraving, coloured and varnished that decorates the well of the lid is not Old Testament in it's origins, but rather portrays the son of Jupiter and Semele. Jupiter was tricked into killing Semele by his wife Juno, and so he placed the unborn Bacchus in his thigh. It is perhaps possible that this 're-incarnation' and thwarting of plans was read as an allusion to the Restoration.

Great care is evident in the detailing of this casket. The total design and execution is altogether more sophisticated than that seen in such as 1961.502. The purple paper linings to the body of the casket is also unusual.

Embroidered Casket

c.1655-1660.

1907.321.

h.273mm x w.200mm x l.270mm.

Hipped lid casket with flat top. Due to damage to the lock it is no longer possible to open the lid section, which probably conforms to the pattern set out in 1961.502, since in all other respects this casket is of a standard format. Double door panels open to reveal fascia panel (locked) and two tiers of drawers beneath. Concealed ring drawer behind centre and right-hand drawers of top tier. Lower drawer is of full length and depth. This casket was not fitted with feet. Drawers and interior lined with carnation pink silk, that of the doors being embossed with a diamond trellis pattern. Fig.XXI .

It is interesting to compare the figure groups of this example with those of the front panels of 1961.502. The parallels of composition, Figs. I and XXII , pose and background detail suggest a common design source, subsequently personalised by either embroiderer of pattern drawer. (A cabinet in the Burrell Collection 29/165 also shows a similar scene, elements of which are identical;). The figures on the front of this example represent CharlesI and Henrietta Maria, while the side panels show what is possibly meant to represent the future James II, then Duke of York, and the Prince of Wales, future Charles II; the latter the figure with the crown suspended above his head. Figs. XXIII and XXIV James II is rarely seen in work of this kind since it was largely out of fashion during his brief reign, but he may be

identified through the pale wig seen in contemporary portraits.

The back panel, Fig.XXIV, carries two motifs, that of the stag being very common.(See chapter Four). The dromedary is more unusual and appears more frequently on panels than caskets. The lion is as standard, the lioness illustrative of one of the variables of this motif, with head facing right rather than left. Compare the poses of the figures on the lid, FigXXV, with others of this piece; it will be seen that again they stem from a common source, with only minor vagaries of costume. The fountain is a form commonly seen in these embroideries. The lining of the door panels with pink silk, embossed with a trellis pattern, is as in 1961.502. The metallic braid is standard. The number, and combinations of similar figures on this casket render it unusual.

Embroidered Box.

c.1640-1660.

1935.764.

h.130mm x w.355mm x l.490mm.

Box of oak covered with applied pattern-woven silk panels. Cushion moulding to all edges frames protective panels of mica. Central brass lock plate has chased floral design. Lid interior has fixed mirror, flanked by padded panels of bottle green silk. Main body of box lined with padded bottle green silk.

This box, intended perhaps to hold gloves or laces, is unusual in being entirely decorated with the applied panels. With one exception all panels are floral in design, each slightly different. Supplementary details are inked over the threads. The technique is not unusual for casket decoration of this period, but here the scale and extent of the application is such as is not often seen. One panel set asymetrically on the lid, embellished with sequins, shows a portrait bust of Charles I.

The key plate is unusual both in size and quality of decoration. The blanked-off keyhole is another curious feature of this box, and may indicate that is was salvaged from another item. Originally the box was lined throughout with pink silk, but this has been replaced at a later date. The base of the box is also of interest in that it has been papered with a scrolling flower design, see Figs. XXVI-XXX.

Embroidered Box.

c.1650-1670.

1961.1096.

h.178mm x w.517mm x l.321mm.

Rectangular embroidered box, fitted with divisions to hold dress accessories and cosmetics. Mirror missing. Mirror space papered with pink marbled paper, flanked by padded silk panels. The main compartment is lined with pink silk, as are the various wells to the left of this area. Figs.XXXI-XXXIII.Interior fittings include two silver mounted glass bottles, of a form common to these items. The large size and flatter box-type construction of this piece became general in the latter part of the century.

The lid panel, Fig.XXXIV, shows the expulsion of Hagar from the tents of Abraham, supplemented with sundry spot motifs. The lid returns are decorated with typical animal and insect motifs, the rear return slightly different in that it is executed entirely in laid work with stylized floral sprigs. The front and side panels bear raised work slips of men and women, a lion and a leopard. Note the cloud motif and houses of the background, similar in form to those discussed in the entry for 1961.502. For similar examples to this box see Appendix to Catalogue. From such similarities we might argue a printed source for this pattern. The rear panel is a departure from the general style in that it is decorated entirely with slips executed in petit point, depicting insects and flowers. Metal braid edges all panels, as is a standard feature of these pieces.

Embroidered Thimble Holder.

c.1660-1700.

1961.1102.

overall length approx. 110mm.

Thimble holder in the form of a peacock. Versions of this form of container were popular in the late seventeenth century and may also date from the early eighteenth. Worked in polychrome silks over a wire frame, this 'conceit' is illustrative of the period's love of naturalistic decoration. The form is supported over a padded core. The wing area is secured by means of a plaited draw-string, and it is within this that the thimble would have been placed.

Knife Sheath.

c.1630-1650.

1961.1100.

1.190mm.

Knife sheath decorated with florist's flowers on a silver thread ground.

The stylised floral patterning of this holder for table knives illustrates the continuation of a style in embroidery that has it's foundation in the sixteenth century. Worked in petit-point in polychrome silks and silver metal thread, embroidery of this type persisted through the first half of the seventeenth century. Echoes of the style can be seen in the applied slips on panels and caskets of the same date. The eventual increase in the tendency towards realism inherent in the popularity of such as the raised-work technique gradually influenced this form until slips were virtually small needle-paintings, and this linear, flat-rendering of form disappeared.

Knives during the early seventeenth century, though increasingly provided at table, were by no means ubiquitous, and it was the general practice to carry pairs in cases, of more-or-less elaborate workmanship, decorated in a variety of techniques.

Needlework Box.

c.1640-1660.

1961.1103(A).

greatest dimension 105mm.

Small embroidered box of silk and metal purl threads on a white satin ground. The central figure of a woman, though badly rubbed, is similar to the figure motifs of 1907.321, and though much smaller in scale, may have been drawn from a similar source. The surrounding cartouche is of purl thread embellished with couched silk cord.

Petit Point Panel: Abraham and the Angels.

c.1640-1660.

1943.4550.

h.501mm x w.510mm.

The illustration is of the meeting of Abraham with the Angels in the Book of Genesis, 18 and 12. God appears to Abraham through the Angels to foretell the birth of a son, Issac. Abraham begs the Angels to accept his hospitality and gives them food and washes their feet while they rest under a tree. They prophesied that though Sarah was 'old and well stricken with age' she would bear a son. At that part of the tale Sarah is said to have been standing within the tent door, and it is there that she is usually shown in embroideries.

This particular version is taken from an engraving in de Jode's Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti, 1585, itself after de Vos. See Chapter Four. Worked mainly in crewel wools, highlights are added by the incorporation of silk floss in the Angels hair, and depth is achieved by voiding areas of the ground, notably in sections of drapery.

The border is a fairly common element in work of the earlier part of the century, and contains a number of motifs that are recognisable as having a printed source, since they occur in more than one example. The owl, a relatively rare inclusion in seventeenth century work, symbolising good luck, is a border motif from Jacques le Moyne's Les Chef de Clamps, (no.P36) See chapter Four.

The dragon in the top border may be similarly traced. The dyes in this piece have been subject to considerable colour change.

These embroidered pictures are characteristic of seventeenth century work. Before about 1630 pictorial work can be seen in furnishing textiles, but the embroidered picture as a purely decorative item was an innovation of the following years.

Embroidered Panel.Charity (?).

c.1650.

1960.231.

h.116mm x w.158mm.

Panel possibly intended as part of a casket. Flat embroidery stitches are relieved by the application of ravelled purl threads. This use of the tightly coiled silks unwound from the metal core is commonly seen in seventeenth century embroideries, either on their own, as here, or in conjunction with the wire/thread combination complete. The figure of a girl holding a flaming heart is unusual, and might indicate a Catholic worker. Such symbolism is rare since it was against the dictates of contemporary doctrine. An alternative interpretation is that she represents the figure of Charity, one of whose attributes the flaming heart is. Charity is the foremost of the three theological virtues. (Corinthians 13, vs.13). A third possibility is that the figure represents Venus, who is also sometimes shown holding a flaming heart.

Purl-work Panel.

c.1660-1680.

1925.418.

h.350mm x w.500mm.

The panel is decorated with floral patterns composed entirely of couched purl threads on a linen ground, with supplementary embellishment of ravelled purl. In some areas the under-drawing may be seen. Purl work was extremely popular during the seventeenth century and appears on both caskets and panels, though complete panels of this size are relatively uncommon. Purl threads are composed of an inner core of tightly twisted metal, wrapped with silk thread. The length required was then cut as desired and couched to the ground fabric in a number of different patterns, as shown in Fig.XLIV. Originally these threads would have been brilliantly coloured; however due to the action of dust and the oxidising of the underlying metal, most work of this type presents a uniformly dull, dark appearance. Since this technique resulted in a relatively hardwearing surface, it was often used to protect more fragile laid-silk areas of embroidery on book cases etc.

The central vase motif is similar to those depicted on the title pages of many popular volumes of the period, such as Parkinson's Pardisi in Sole Terrestris of 1623. Similar motifs may be seen in a number of other embroideries, see Appendix to Catalogue and 1945.4546.

Embroidered Panel.

1684.

1983.1151.

h.390mm x w.525mm.

The panel is unusual in that it is one of the relatively small number of pieces with a date, and in this instance it also bears the initials M.W. The two portrait busts are of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, the year 1684 being the 1st of their reign. The panel may perhaps have been worked as a commemorative piece. From the naive style of the composition and the standard of workmanship, mostly in wools, it may be the product of a worker younger than most. Despite the late date of this piece, it features motifs more commonly seen in work at the beginning of the century, and serves as an illustration of the diversity of pieces being worked, and how resistant were established motifs to change.

Embroidered Panel: Esther before Ahasuerus.

c.1650-1700.

1945.4549

h.525mm x w.520mm.

The panel is worked in petit point with a mixture of crewel wools and coloured silks. Towards the end of the seventeenth century there was a gradual abandoning of the full modelling of raised work that had dominated the middle years of the century, and the increasingly linear style and attention to form of this panel became general. The concern with detail, however, remained, often to the detriment of the total composition.

The theme of Esther and Ahasuerus is a favoured one, and occurs in many forms. The story has the advantage of being both dramatic and acceptable to the doctrinal dictates of the period. See chapter One. Ahasuerus, or Xerxes, was king of the Meads and Persians during a period when the Jewish people were captives of the Babylonians. Esther, his wife, was, unkown to the king, a Jewess. The story involves a plot by the chief minister, Haman, to destroy the Jews, and the intercession on their behalf by Esther, despite threat to her own life by the protocol of the Court. Happily, the king held out to Esther his golden sceptre and said 'What wilt thou...what is thy request? It shall be given thee even unto half the kingdom'. Through her pleading the edict that had gone out against the Jews was revoked, and Haman hung. (Esther 4 and 5).

There is another version of the story in the Apocryphal Book of Esther, 15, which is even more dramatic, having the king leap from his throne to take Esther in his arms, assuring her of his devotion and her safety. Such a story understandably found favour with the young embroiderer.

In the Middle Ages the story gained in popularity as Esther was seen as the embodiment of the Virgin Mary who intercedes with God on behalf of mankind. It later suffered a decline, but again the tale received attention at the beginning of the seventeenth century as a subject, notably with Dutch artists. Doctrinal teaching decreed both that the representation of images, such as that of the Virgin Mary, was wrong, and that an understanding of Jewish history was fundemental to an appreciation of Christianity; thus we see the publication of such volumes as Jost Amman's Antiquitates Judiciae, 1580. (For discussion of themes in embroidery see chapter Two.) The compositional sources for this theme are discussed in chapter Three, and a number of engravings seem to have been used to create this particular version.

Embroidered Panel:(?)Plenty.

c.1660-1690.

A1987.144.

h.444mm x w.521mm.

Embroidered panel of petit-point and flat embroidered slips, on a white satin ground. The central figure is probably intended as an allegory of Plenty or Summer. The panel may originally have been one of a series. Such allegorical figures were popular in a century, which, if less well versed in symbolism than the preceding one, was at least literate in the art. A source cannot at present be ascribed to either the figure or the surrounding flower motifs, but they are of a standard that suggests a professional draughtsman. The birds on tree stumps, Fig.LXVIIIand LXIX, are common motifs, and almost certainly originate from a published source since they occur in identical form in many embroideries. The lion and leopard motifs have already been discussed.

The quality of the work is high, and of sophistication that was to mark the end of the century.It is worth noting the persistence of both the practice of filling the ground with numbers of sprig and unrelated spot motifs, and the form of those motifs chosen. See chapter Four.

Embroidered Panel: Moses in the Bulrushes.

c.1650-1700.

1945.4546.

h.437mm x 532mm.

The panel is worked in both crewel wools and polychrome silks, with an unusual feature in the horizontally worked stem stitches forming the sky. lt seems probable that this panel composition has a basis in an engraving, though this has yet to be identified. The style of the work reflects the growing sophistication of composition and draughtsmanship that marked the second half of the seventeenth century, yet still incorporates a number of the standard animal motifs. The illusion of perspective is more convincing than in many embroideries contemporary with this piece, particularly those which decorate cabinets and mirror frames, so making a date towards the end of the century more likely. ln this respect, at least, amateur work was begining to attain the standards of workmanship that professional pieces displayed. lndeed, towards the end of the period professional embroidery began to decline, and the work of the amateur increasingly matched such efforts.

The story portrayed is of the finding of Moses; another of the stock Old Testament themes considered suitable for representation in embroidery. For fuller discussion of such points please see chapter Two. lnterestingly this story is from Exodus,2, one of the less frequently used books of the Old Testament. Most often, as in this example Pharoah's Daughter is provided with double eye-brows to emphasise her surprise.

Embroidered Panel: Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael.

c.1650-1700.

1958.85.

h.497mm x w.523mm.

Monochrome embroidery worked in flat outline stitches with a minimum of fillings, on a twill woven linen ground. This is a highly unusual piece, due to both the method of it's execution, in an age of high relief and polychrome embroidery, and to the inclusion of top and bottom bands of script. These parallel the selvedges that form the edges of the piece. The inscription reads:

ABRAHAM.TURNING.HAGAR.AND.ISHMAEL.AWAY.SARAH.AND.ISACK.IN.YE.TENT.

and

HAGAR.IN.THE.WILDERNESS.HER.CHILD.DIETH.FOR.WANT.OE.WATER.THE. ANGEL.SHEW.A.WELL.

In a private collection there is a similar piece depicting the finding of Moses, with the verse;

PHAROAH.DAUGHTER.WALKING.BY.THE WATER.SID.SEETH.MOISES.IN.THE. BULRESHES.COMMANDETH.HIM.TO.BE.TEAKEN.UP.AND.SENDETH.FOR.A.NURS. TO.NURS.HIM.

From the existance of this panel, and others similar in style, (see Appendix to Catalogue), we can argue the probability of there once being further titles in this series of prints. It should be noticed that the indivudual elements in the design are very similar to workings of the same motifs that appear in other works, such as 1961.595. A similar embroidery (Eg.6/10) has been described as a hanging for a small private chapel.

The inclusion of a number of motifs unrelated to the central theme is typical of seventeenth century work. The Kingfisher on a branch near the foot of the design is a copy of that appearing in Jacques le Moynes La Clef des Champs (no.P39) See chapter Four.

Such a piece of embroidery as this is a good indication of the freedom with which printed designs, or hand-inked pieces, were treated by the embroideress. The ground fabric could be treated in a number of ways- monochrome embroidery as here, flat silk embroidery as in the casket 1961.595, as slips applied to another fabric, either worked flat or raised, or indeed as a combination of any or all of these techniques. Note again the roiling clouds and the out-of-scale flowers.

Embroidered Picture: Expulsion of Hagar and Ismael.

c.1680-1690.

1930.196.

h.340mm x w.410mm.

Embroidered picture in polychrome silks on a white silk ground. It is illuminating to compare this design with the treatment of the same theme on the left interior door panel of 1961.595, Fig. XVIII. It is clear that here the same design source has been cannibalised to provide the central figure group of each piece.

The building in the background of this example, though more elaborate than most, must be grouped with those supposedly representative of the Palace of Nonsuch, that, even by this date must have been semi-legendary. The lion and unicorn motifs in the foreground are interesting in that their draughtsmanship is of a higher standard than often is the case, and is a mark of late examples of these embroideries, as is also the increasing interest in form at the expense of textural quality.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century Peacocks are increasingly included in such compositions, and this may be attributed to a growing interest on the part of the public in all things 'oriental'.(See also 1945.4546). Note also the small area of Florentine embroidery behind the lion motif.

Embroidered Panel.

c.1670.

A1987.143.

h.450mm x w.240mm.

This example is of interest not only for the excellence and variety of technique, but the significance of the motifs that it employs. In the Victoria and Albert Museum there are a set of sixteen motifs for applique (132a-n,1878), Fig.LXXI , which are of identical pattern to those used in this pattern. That such a choice would occur coincidentally is unlikely, and so we may infer that the design for such a suite was published, or at least purchased, as such. The central medallion, Fig.LXXI, has been subject to some rearrangement of elements, but remains substantially the same. Each motif is edged with a couched cord.

The cartouche frame is one of a number of identical frames that appear in embroideries throughout the seventeenth century, together with items featuring varients of the major theme. See chapter Four. Compare also the stance of the two figures of Fig.XV, . and LXXIII. Here they represent Charles II and Catherine of Braganza and are carried out in raised-work. It is interesting to note the way in which a number of motifs have first been worked directly onto the ground and subsequently embellished with free-standing details; see, for example, the tulip, lower centre left and Fig. LXXIV, and the rose opposing it. Note also the purl work motifs, Fig.LXXVI. Fig.LXXVII. illustrates one of the distinctive stitches of the era. Rococo or Queen stitch is something of a tour-de-force in this denier.

Embroidered Panel.

c.1660-1680.

1883.79.

h.457mm x w.317mm.

The central figure group is at first sight hard to attribute to any particular incident. It may be meant to represent the figures of Abraham, Issac and Sarah; Issac being the father of Jacob who is depicted in the Dream episode in the top left-hand corner of the panel. However if one ties this episode to the central group it can be seen that the figures are more likely to have been intended to represent the story of Isaac blessing Jacob rather than Esau (Genesis 27). Esau was a hunter, and this would explain the figure to the left of the central group. The female figure is then read as that of Rebecca, Issac's wife, who favoured Jacob over Esau. It is this act of Jacob usurping the right of primogeniture from his elder brother that leads to the sequence of events known as Jacobs Dream.

The kneeling figure of Issac occurs in a number of other panels, though in at least one the design is reversed. The figure is clearly drawn from another engraving since it is of a scale disproportionate with the other figures. That this composition was not that originally envisaged by the designer is seen by traces of a different design beneath a number of the motifs, see main Fig. Unfortunately the greater part of this under-drawing has been obscured and it is not possible to say what was the original design.

Major areas of discrepancy lie beneath the figure of Issac, the tulip, which was intended as a thistle, and the fountain. Behind the figure of Esau the inked design of the spear may be seen; in the embroidery it has been interpreted as a raised element despite the fact that the ink must remain on view.

The mermaid occurs not infrequently on Stuart embroideries, but is more commonly found on mirror frames where her 'looking-glass' reflects the use of the item she ornaments. The 'looking glass' that she holds in her hand is in reality a sheet of mica, the same material furnishes the windows of the house motif.

The representation of Jacobs Dream is not one of the more common themes worked (see chapter Two), but is again drawn from Genesis, 28 (Vulgate). The story wherein Jacob experiences a vision of God and knows that 'The Lord is in this place' and that where he lay must be the 'Gate of Heaven', was interpreted by Christians in a number of ways. The 'Mirror of Salvation' saw it as a pre-figuration of the Ascension, which reunited Heaven and Earth. Isadore of Seville viewed it as a ladder of Christ 'who said Ego sum via- I am the way', and the angels as symbolic of all those who preached Christianity. (See chapter Four.)

Embroidered Textile.

c.1600-1640.

A1987.142.

h.365mm x w.340mm.

An historically significant textile in that another example, and version, of this pattern is known. (Victoria and Albert). See Appendix to Catalogue. The textile is embroidered in polychrome silks with heavy embellishment of stamped metal sequins. Some areas of the design have been carried out in raised-work, but these are very worn.

The design is from a wood block, but it is not known whether it was intended as a textile design; however there are no known examples of this design on paper extant. Many paper 'orientated' designs would be, and indeed were, suitable for treatment in this fashion, though surviving examples are uncommon.

Beadwork Basket.

c.1640-1660.

1975.477.

h.90mm x w.292mm x l.381mm.

Beadwork basket (flattened), the centre element depicting an allegory yet to be identified. The central figures have raised features and hands, with all other work carried out in beads. The one exception is the motif of the swan which is voided, with the details merely inked in. The blue and white vases may be allusions tothe contemporary vogue for Delftware and their contents feature many of the flowers that were popular in the mid-seventeenth century; roses, lilies, daffodils, cornflowers, irises. Junctions of basket frame decorated with scarlet and white striped ribbon, a combination not infrequently seen in this period.

Beadwork Panel.

c.1660-1680.

1931.60.

h.332mm x w.418mm.

Two raised beadwork figures are seen in a stylized landscape, with oak and nut trees, flowers and the typical swag of cloud. Compare the female figure, possibly meant to represent Catherine of Braganza, though the likeness is not as specific as is usual, with Figs.XVII andLXXIII, and it will be seen that there are strong similarities in style of dress and gesture. The border is composed of a running garland of stylized flowers.

Beadwork Basket.

c.1660-1680.

1961.75.

h.165mm x w.616mm x l.508mm.

A very elaborate beadwork basket, displaying many features typical of the genre. The base of the basket has a central thematic representation of Daphne and Apollo. Daphne may be seen turning into a tree in order to escape the unwelcome attentions of the god Apollo. Ovid tells how since Apollo had been cheated of having the nymph for his wife, he determined to take the leaves of Laurel trees (into which she had turned), as his symbol. The leaves of this tree are also often used as symbolic of love. See chapters Three and Four.

Around the central motif are set eight others in the interstices of the wire frame. Many of this group are the same as those that may be seen on embroidered items, illustrating the eclectic nature of the elements considered suitable by a number of designers, and the public, engaged in designing for the decorative arts. In the top left hand corner there is a griffon, in the centre a floral spray, and continuing clockwise, a wyvern (traditionally the symbol of cruelty though here it may be used with some other significance, or indeed, none), then another of the buildings that predominate in these embroideries, a leopard, a frog holding a ball (also used as an impressa of Mary Queen of Scots), a stag, and finally a castle.

The sides of the basket feature a variety of floral motifs in vases that are reminiscent of the popular Delftware. Supporting the whole structure is a frame of wire covered in beads formed in blue and white stripes, a form very commonly used in this work.

The corners of the basket are decorated with scarlet and white striped bows, similar to those that decorate 1975.477. The fruit that appear in the border are fully modelled, moulded around supports of fibers lacquered with a resinous substance.

Baskets of this type were intended to hold perhaps presents for marriages and christenings, and seem to have been worked almost exclusively in the second half of the century.

Small Embroidered Bag.

c.1600.

1983.1087.

h.137mm x w.120mm.

Small bag worked in polychrome silks on a silver thread ground. Embellishments of seed pearls. Obverse and reverse alike, except for small variations in colouring. Such small bags, probably intended to hold sweet herbs, are often mentioned in inventories and lists of gifts. Filled with herbs they would have been placed between linen and stored clothing in chests both as a perfume and a moth preventative. In Mundus Muliebris or The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd,1690,[2] it lists the contents as '...and to put up Rags (point-laces, ribbons etc.) Two high Embroider'd Sweet Bags'. Such bags were, like gloves, considered suitable gifts to sovereigns on such occasions as the New Year. Over thirty are mentioned in the inventory for Kenilworth Castle for 1583, and in the household accounts of the Earl of Northampton ten are mentioned in 1614. Amongst these latter is one described as 'one small bagge of Tent work ground silver with pottes and flowers lined with greene sattin'. This example is also lined with green silk. This technique was obviously popular since it is fairly hardwearing, for an inventory of the 1650's of the estate of one Lady Morton includes, '1 Gryt Sweet Bagg soad with pitty point'.

Small Embroidered Bag.

c.1600-1650.

1961.1161.

h.110mm x w.110mm.

Small silk bag embroidered with couched metal threads, obverse and reverse identical. The central motif of a bird is surrounded by a scrolling pattern of leaves and flowers. The whole is lined with pale green silk, a colour sometimes seen as linings, but not that common. Tassels on all corners and the centre of lower edge. Braided drawstring of carnation and green silk. This bag is very similar in form to that illustrated in Elias Asmole's Institutions.

Small Embroidered Bag.

c.1600.

1984.347.

h.120mm x w.250mm.

Small panelled bag of linen canvas embroidered with stylized flowers. Decorated with tassels. Trimmed with salmon pink silk and lined with the same.

Small Embroidered Bag.

c.1630-1660.

1963.500.

h.114mm x w.104mm.

Small bag heavily ornamented with couched metal thread embroidery. A central motif depicts the 'Pelican in her Piety'; obverse and reverse alike. Such embroidery was more commonly the product of a professional workshop than the amateur embroiderer. See, for example that illustrated in Ashmole's Institutions.

Such elaborately embroidered bags had their origins in the Middle Ages, when they were worn about the person to carry jewellery and similar small items. Following the crusades it was the practice to carry relics in such bags. During the seventeenth century there developed the habit of presenting gifts of money in these containers as presents or in return for patronage. This habit stemmed back into sixteenth century, when alms were also given from similarly small decorative bags.

Embroidered Cushion.

c.1600-1650.

1961.1096.

h.178mm x w.215mm.

Cushion embroidered in petit point with spot motifs reminiscent of those that decorate the Traquair Hangings. Edged with silver-gilt braid. Backed with crimson silk. Probably intended to support a prayer book. Silver ground in gobelin filling stitch. This stitch was designed to imitate the the fashionable product of manufactories such as Gobelin of,later,Spitalfields.

Such small cushions are a feature of seventeenth century work and are to be found in more or less elaborate forms. A specimen dated 1657 (during the Interregnum) in the church at Great Durnford, Wiltshire is simply of green velvet with a woven braid edging and the date in silver thread, while another example possibly dating from the 1630's at Knole, Kent, is highly embroidered in raised work techniques. This has a central vignette of a saint, surrounded by an elaborate frame and cherubs heads. This last example may be catholic, and thus the three examples provide an interesting light on their respective religious groups attitudes towards decoration.

Stomacher.

c.1600.

1962.1097.

l.468mm x w.266mm.

Scrolling guilloche pattern of flowers and pods, some of which have 'peas' within. Embellishments of spangles. This embroidery is particuarly interesting as it has been cut from an earlier garment, sometime towards the end of the seventeenth century. Edged with yellow silk braid.

This type of scrolling pattern was employed in many of the applied arts throughout the century, and indeed is representative of the type of pattern found in the sixteenth century. The raised pods can be seen also in a panel in the Burrell Collection, (see Appendix to Catalogue) though the overall treatment of the piece is very different, being worked in metal thread and lacking much of the charm of this piece.

Stomacher.

c.1690.

1894.125.

l.342mm x w.203mm (avarage)

Linen ground embroidered with polychrome silks depicting naturalistic flowers on a silk ground couched with metal threads. This piece illustrates the great changes in style from one end of the century to the other; the stomacher 1962,1097 representing the other extreme. Note also the change to a dark background.

Bookbinding.

c.1642-45 (Bible dated 1642)

1945.4566.

h.110mm x w.50mm. x d.20mm.

Embroidered binding for a bible. Polychrome silks on a white satin ground with frame in metal threads. Obverse and reverse alike except for colouring. The design of the dominant vase motif is reminiscent of those shown on the title page of Parkinson's Paradisi in Sole Terrestris, 1629. See chapter Four. Carnation pink end papers.

During the seventeenth century such lavishly embroidered bindings were often made for all types of book, the theme of the decoration usually either floral or religious. One exceptional group is those bindings that feature bust portraits, sometimes of the monarch. Covers are usually carried out in flat or low relief techniques with an edging of metal or purl threads to afford the delicate silk some protection from abrasion. Many of the finer specimens have protective outer covers; linen bags worked with designs in petit point on a silver ground, or, more rarely embroidered cloths called 'chemises' and plain silk bags, some decorated with outline embroidery. The period of the Commonwealth saw the demise of the greatest flowering of this art form; though later examples do occur they are mostly professional work and lack the variety and life of earlier pieces. Tooled leather became the usual form of binding.

Bookbinding.

c.1650-1660.

1949.220.

h.157mm x w.260mm.

White satin embroidered with polychrome silks and purl threads. The front and back covers show two identical cartouches, within which are the figures of a man and woman in landscape settings. These may be likened to those depicted in 1961.502 and are most probably derived from the same source composition. Embellishment of metal spangles. Again it may be seen here how the metal threads have served as a protective buffer for the silk embroidery, as these are comsiderably more rubbed than the central vignettes. Spine bears a decoration in metal threads of a coiling vine form, which features flowers very typical of the period. See chapter Four.

References to Catalogue.

1. Randall Holme wrote in the Academy of Armoury, 1688, of 'A cabinett garnished or laced.Lock and feet Or. This kind of cabinett is such as Ladys keep their rings and necklaces, Bracelett and Jewells In, it stands on the table (called the dressing table) in their Bed chamber.' Caskets were sometimes provided with protective carrying cases for use when travelling, and many mirrors had similar cases.

2. Mundus Muliebris or The Ladies Dressing-Room Unlock'd, 1690. Reprinted, Costume Society Extra, No.5. 1977. Ed.J.Nevinson. p.11.

Appendix to Catalogue.

Listing of items in other collections which exhibit, or exhibit elements of a nature similar to those contained in the work held by the National Museums of Scotland, Chambers Street, Edinburgh.

1961.502	Casket formerly in the collection of Lady Richmond, location now unknown. Country Life Annual 1963, Pl.5, p.47; Christies Catalogue 23.6.87, Lot.186.
	Beadwork Panel, Collection Duchess of Wellington.
	Burrell Collection, Glasgow. 29/88.
	Victoria and Albert Museum, 274.1896.
	Panel, Parham Park.
1961.502(G)	Percival Griffiths Collection, similar item dated 1687.
1961.595	Panel, Parham Park.
	Sheldon Tapestry, collection Victoria and Albert Museum 851.73.
1907.321	Percival Griffiths Collection, casket c.1670; illustrated Edwards, Shorter Dictionary of English Furniture.
	Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 29/165. c.1650-75.
1961.1096	Collection Mrs.Gratrix, casket c.1665. Illustrated Edwards. Ibid.p
	Box, Sudbury Hall, (National Trust) c.1671.
1961.1102	Burrell Collection, Glasgow. 29/172.
A1987.143	Victoria and Albert Museum, 132. a-n, 1878.
A1987.142	Victoria and Albert Museum,
1962.1097	Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 29/18
1945.4549	See entry for Chapter Four.
1943.4550	Collection Judge Urwin Untermeyer, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Petit point panel.
1883.79	Burrell Collection, Glasgow. Panel.
1955.85	Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 29/47.
	Victoria and Albert Museum, Circ 14.1947
	Panel, location unknown, illustrated Kendrick, Pl.1.
	Christies Catalogue 23.6.87. Lot 145, location unknown.
	Christies Catalogue 23.6.87. Lot 213, location unknown.
1983.1087	Victoria and Albert Museum, T269.

The Effects of Economic and Social Developments in the Seventeenth Century, upon British Amateur Embroideries, with Particular Reference to the Collections in the National Museums of Scotland.

Part Two

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CHAPTER ONE

Feminism, Capitalism and Religious Pressures in Seventeenth Century Britain.

In order to approach an understanding of any behaviour within a society, it is necessary to first consider the political, economic, social and religious pressures operating on that group; through these combined effects are created the conditions that give rise to that 'behaviour'. In this instance we are concerned with the creation of certain embroidery types and the employment of particular themes, peculiar to the seventeenth century. However, to define such an overview, for a century as complex and revolutionary as the seventeenth, must be, in the limited space available, unfortunately as simplistic as it is necessary.

Two principles should be applied to this material: firstly that that section of society with which we are dealing constituted but a fraction of the total population. The combination of leisure and and education that created these embroideries was, in that century, the prerogative of the upper echelons of society. Though women of the merchant classes were affected by changes in social patterns,[1] it was not until the end of the century that they would begin to share the child-rearing practices of the nobilty and are thus beyond the parameters of our concern. Secondly, it should be recognised that any social group is factional; not all of whose members will respond equally to a given stimulus. Thus blanket assertions cannot be made about individual motivations - only statements of general tendency, with reasoned assumptions based thereon. In the history of embroidery there is very little fact - and this should always be borne in mind when considering available evidence.

Within the seventeenth century religion has been seen as the central divisive issue; however, for the purposes of this argument such divisions within the Church of England may be regarded as subordinate to those points on which all factions were in accord. Moreover, throughout the whole of the century, as in others, religion and politics were largely synonymous terms. It is also important to acknowledge the power of the Court in setting the moral tone and social customs of the country.

The end of the sixteenth century was a jumble of concerns that are usually subject to either a feminist or Marxist analysis. What had been, despite the effects of the preceeding Reformation, a Protestant minority at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, had grown over the intervening years, until, with the joining of the crowns of England and Scotland (with a Presbyterian system of government, and a Calvinist theology) on her death, the opening years of the new century saw Protestantism not only as the official religion, but the majority one. Calvinist theology, it should be noted, is male-centred. Many of those at Court were, however, if not from the old Catholic families, certainly High Church. The nascent 'bourgeoisie' and the 'gentry' of the country, were mostly Protestant, since a part of their wealth in many cases originated with the reallocation of Church holdings under the Reformation. Britain was thus in a curious position; many of the more ordinary people of the time feared for a restitution of Catholicism such as had been seen under Mary Tudor, and their fears are recorded in a number of petitions to the Crown - amongst these one from the Broderer's Company (see Appendix Three). This situation was to last

throughout the century, the fear only being laid to rest with the accession of William of Orange to the throne in 1689. The ideal of womanhood, particularly that of the 'court lady' embodied in the writings of such as Castiglione[2], had become increasingly distorted. By the end of the century the lady of the Elizabethan sonnet was the subject of mockery and satire in a number of plays, by, amongst others, Johnson[3] and Donne.[4] Those same writers who had done so much to create the ideal, now executed a volte-face and ridiculed the product of their own images.

Problems of deportment within the Court and it's milieu would most effectively have been tackled from within, yet in the early years of his reign James I did little, if anything, to combat the problem. James, an unhappy choice, was renowned by his contemporaries for his weak nature and love of display.[5] Pamphlets warned young men at Court that "the favour of women was a hazard...not an advantage, since women were so quickly in and out of favour with the Prince".[6] Dissatisfaction began to permeate throughout the upper eschelons of society. Comedies and moralistic plays condemning the trends in womens behaviour became steadily more numerous; running through them all a lament for the lost ideals of honour and chastity.[7]

Changes in established mores of a society are most often achieved by turning the the attention of the populace to that section of society to an area whose behaviour <u>is</u> deemed satisfactory. Thus the first decades of the seventeenth century saw philosophers, clerics, and social commentators alike focusing on the ideal of the 'good-wife'(a semi-mythological gentlewoman), and her role within the

newly constructed family. They did not set out to alter the fundemental basis of the existing patriarchal ideology, but to adapt it to a new set of parameters. The constant reiteration of of female inferiority that accompanied this drive was necessary to break totally the small, and somewhat contradictory, status that women held under Marian theology. It was not in women that society was interested, but in wives. One cleric went so far as to urge that a husband be not satisfied until "he hath possession and use of her will".[8]

Reprinted mid-sixteenth century tracts[9] where the domestic ideal constantly featured in humanistic literature,[10] together with a number of new works[11] were soon in circulation. Such an idealised view of womanhood, it's duties and place within society, were inextricably part of the Protestant faith, which in the early years of the seventeenth century, began to make new headway.

Men saw it as an insolence in women to behave in any way like a man, their natural superiors;

> For since the daies of ADAM women were never so Masculine ...Masculine in Mode, from bold speech to impudent action ...Monsters in their disguises, and so they catch the bridle in their teeth, and runne away with their Rulers, they care not what dangers they plunge either their Fortunes or Reputations, the disgrace of the whole Sexe, or the blot and obloquy of their private Families...[12]

With the advent of a number of 'courtesy books', it was clear that any remnant of the concept of social equality that had been expressed by Castiglione and his contemporaries had been entirely superceded by a belief in the innate weakness and inferiority of women to men. As if in compensation for this loss of status, there

circulated the idea of 'woman' as the upright, chaste and fundementally honest keeper of moral standards and religious welfare for her family.[13] That her proper place in life was as a mother of a family was openly stated. The Lawes Resolution of Womens Rights, 1632, said of women, 'All of them are understood either married or to be married... The Common Law here Shaketh Hands with the Divine'.[14]

The importance of obedience in wife and daughter was constantly reiterated, both in plays and moralistic discourses.[15] To an extent this concept was common to both Catholic and Protestant countries across Europe. The Diary of John Evelyn notes in an entry for 19th August 1641, in Amsterdam at the Weese-House;

> "... a foundation like our Charterhouse...the girls so well brought up to housewifery, that men of good worth, who seek that chiefly in a woman, frequently take their wives from this hospital..."

John Taylor approved of embroidery as it was a subjugating occupation, teaching a woman to be quiet and quiescent in her manner;

> And for my countries quiet, I should like,
> That womankind should use no other Pike,
> It will increase their peace, enlarge their store,
> To use their tongues less, and their needles more.
> The needles sharpness, profit yields, and pleasure,
> But sharpness of the tongue, bites out of measure.[16]

Such attacks against shrewish women were common,[17] though there were those that challenged the doctrine of womens inherent idleness and weakness,

> ...So that a wife is called by God Himselfe, an Helper and not an impediment, or a necessaire evil as some advisedly doe say, as some other say: it is better to burie a wife than to marrie one. Againe if we could be without women, we could be without great troubles... These and such like sayings, tending to the dispraise of women, some maliciously and indiscreetly doe vomitte out, contrary to the mind of the Holy Ghost...

(quoted in 'L'Esperance', unpublished MA Thesis, McGill University)

Piety and virtue were held to be desirable traits in a woman, as they were useful in winning back erring husbands. These ideals

recur constantly in the wealth of volumes on domestic duties of the period, many of which furnished material for plays and poems. One such, was Willobie his Arisa, or the true Picture of a modest Maid, and of a chast and constant wife. The plot concerned the attempted seduction of Avissa, or Arisa, and the triumph of her virtue;

> I am too base to your wife,
> You choose me for your secret friend;
> That is to lead a filthy life,
> Whereon attends a feareful end:
> Though I be poore, I tell you plaine,
> To be your whore, I flat disdaine.

Written in 1594, the legacy of the Catholic view of women is seen in the reply to Avisa's declaration,

> If thou wilt sweare, that thou has knowne,
> In carnall act, no other man:
> But onely one, and he thine owne,
> Since man and wife, you first began,
> I'le leave my sute, and sweare it trew,
> Thy like in deed, I never knew.[19]

Thus the new vision of women was reinforced from all quarters, until it was almost universally accepted. One might consider the behavioural model of 'fufilment of expectations' in the light of such condemnation: a model that was supported not least by the Church - perhaps the most powerful of all the influences shaping society in the seventeenth century.[20] By the second decade of the century the trait of religious observance had become firmly identified with that of the 'good wife'. From her infancy Biblical references were part of a girls life. One seventeenth century alphabet began

> In Adams fall
> We sinned in all.
>
> and ended
>
> Zaccheus he
> Did climb a tree
> Our Lord to see.

Markham[21] had much to say on the subject, interpreting the Biblical

century and into the first quarter of the next. These changes are perhaps best understood by considering the Marxian analysis of the shift from a feudal to a capitalist economy; though one must acknowledge the role played by other factors in society.[25]

The changing social patterns of the period, with the decline of the extended family group and the corresponding development of that of the nuclear unit, meant changes in childrearing practice. Children were now kept within the family group, and as the century progressed land wealth of the feudal society was converted into capital. Since estates were thus infinitely divisable, the position of all the children of a marriage as potential inheritors of the family wealth became more important.[26]Differential socialisation of the two sexes arising as a direct result of this change, meant that for girls "childhood was significantly less seperated from adulthood than it was for boys".[27]The background of the home became increasingly important; an outstanding characteristic in every delineation of the 'good wife' was the emphasis on a knowledge of housewifery. Within this field lay the regimented sucession of needlework projects that were to teach not only practical skills but, it has been suggested, and as will be discussed in chapter Two, an instrument in the socialisation of women into the appropriate gender roles; requiring, as they did, the acquisition of both obedience and patience.

Embroidery was taught either by private governesses[28]or at one of the small private schools (day or boarding) that were becoming more common, particularly in the larger towns and cities. Ann Fanshawe,

wrote of her education having,

...all the advantages that time afforded, both for working all sortes of fine works with my needle, and learning French, singing, lute, the virginals, and dancing...

Such a curriculum seems to have been representative of the period. the sequence of embroidery exercises, usually with approved patterns drawn from one of the numerous sources (see Chapter 3) involved a coloured sampler, a lace and whitework sampler, casket, cabinet or mirror, and maybe a piece of beadwork embroidery. By the time that these would have been completed the pupil would probably have been married.[29]

Not all women were content to sit quietly and submissively learning their new roles and some women did speak out against the tirade of invective loosed on their sex from every quarter. Two such used the pseudonyms of 'Mary' and 'Ioane', and, in The Womans Sharpe Revenge detailed the processes employed to create the ideal of femininity;

But it hath been the policy of all parents, even from the beginning ...to keep us under, and to make us mens meere Vassailes: even unto all posterity. How else comes it to passe, that when a father has a numerous issue of Sonnes and Daughters, the sonnes forsooth they must bee first put to the Grammer scholle, and after perchance to the University, and trained up in the Liberall Arts and Sciences, and these (if they prove not Blockheads) they may in time be book-learned ...(Daughters on the contrary) are set onely to the Needle, to pricke our fingers: or else to the Wheele to spinne a faire thread for our owne undoings, or perchance to some more debayst drudgery: if wee be taught to read they then confine us within the compasse of our Mothers Tongue, and that limit wee are not suffered to passe, or if (which sometime happeneth) wee be brought up to Musick, to singing and dancing, it is not for any benefit that thereby we can ingrosse unto ourselves, but for their owne particular ends, the better to please and content their licentious appetites, when we come to our maturity and ripeness...if we be weake by Nature, they strive to make us more weake by our Nurture. And if in degree of place low, they strive by their policy to keepe us more under...lest we should bee made to vindicate our owne injuries.[30]

Women were thus deemed to be an acceptable part of a mans life, and

there was now scriptural conf rmation of this: but the position of women in the new society was in many ways inferior to that which she had previously held. The dominance of the Protestant male, also rooted in scriptual revelations, was no less complete than that of his Catholic counterpart. What effect this scenario had on embroidery of the period will be considered in the following chapters.

References, Chapter One.

1. Alice Clark estimated that "women of the tradesmen class were capable in business (and) so well acquainted with...their husbands concerns, that a man generally appointed his wife as his executrix (and) she was often able to carry on his business with success". Working Life in the 17th Century, p293. In contrast the woman of the upper strata of society might find herself homeless and with very little money on the death of her husband.

2. Castiglione, Baldasarre. The Book of the Courtier trans, Sir Thomas Hoby, 1571, 1577, 1588. pp 190ff.

3. Johnson, Benjamin. Everyman out of his Humor, in Complete Plays, I.85; ibid.I.III.

4. Donne, John. Elegie, XIII, in Poems, pp104-5.

5. Bentivoglio, Cardinal. Description of England, 1609. Quoted in Aitkin, pp1-33.

6. Murray, p8.

7. George Chapman, The Widows Tears, 1611. John Day, The Isle of Gulls,c.1606. John Marston, Parasitaster c.1604. Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, The Wild Goose Chase,acted 1624. The Maid in the Mill, licensed 1623. Philip Massinger, The Virgin Martyr, c.1620.

8. Cleaver, Robert, A Godly Form of Household Government 1598, p167.

9. Thomas Bacon, New Catechism in Works, 1562,1564. Desiderus Erasmus, Modest Means to Marriage Pleasantly Set Forth trans. H.L(eigh) 1568. Heinrich Bullinger, The Christian State of Matrimonye 1575. Joannes L.Vives, A Very Frutefull and Pleasant Boke Called the Instrument of Christen Woman trans. Richard Hyrde, 1585, 1592.

10. Lawrence Humphrey, The Nobles 1560, 1563.

11. Edmund Tilney, A Brief and Pleasaunt Discourse of Duties in Marriage 1568, 1571, 1577. Matthew Parker, An Admonition to All Such as Shall Intend to Enter the State of Matrimony 1574,1594. Robert Cleaver, Op Cit. Tasso, Of Marriage and Wiving trans. T(ofte) 1599. The most influential work for the Puritans concerned with social ethics at this time was Ame's De Conscientia a practical manual of christain conduct similar in style to the medieval Dives and Pauper.

12. Hic Mulier, or The Man Woman 1620,ppA3,C2.

13. Henesbach, Four Bookes of Husbandrie trans. and increased by Barnaby Googe. 1614. fols. 158^{v}- 159^{r}.

14. Hic Mulier etc. Op cit.p6.

15. Hannah Wooley, a noted educationalist considered the greatest act of disobedience on the part of a child to be that of marrying against the wishes of the parents. The Protestant Church now spoke of marriage as a partnership, but most marriages were, and continued to be, economic and political alliances.

16. John Taylor, the 'Water Poet' In Praise of The Needle 1624. Reprinted many times, the poem prefaced Shoreleyker's The Needles Excellency. The title page depicts Wisdom, Industry, and Folly. Taylor was a pamphleteer, and, on occasion, boatman, publishing several discourses concerned with the behaviour of women. A Juniper Lecture with the description of all sorts of women. good and bad: From the modest to the maddest, from the most Civil to the scold Rampant, their praise and dispraise compendiously related.1639 A self-styled wit, the Juniper of the title is a reference to the 'slow-burning' temper of women. Also Crabtree Lectures (a similar inference thinly veiled) in which 'Mary Makepeace addresses her sister women and advises them never to act in such a way as to warrant the names Tabitha Turbulent, Franks Forward, Bettris Bould Face, Ellen Ever-heard and so on'. The following year saw the circulation of a pamphlet in reply to this harangue against women.Entitled The Womans Sharpe Revenge: to Sir Seldome Sober that wrote those racking Pamphlets called the Juniper and Crabtree Lectures. Being a sound Reply and a full confutation of those Bookes: with an Apology in this case for the defense of us women.by'Mary Tattle-well and Ioane Hit-him-home, Spinsters'. These women argued that they would prove "out of the best Authors that ever lived that women have been, and are, and will be, must be, and shall bee, either mens betters, or their equals" as "for Chastity, Charity, Constancy, Magnaminity, Vallour, Wise-dome, Piety, or any Grace or Vertue whatso ever, women have always bin more than equal with men", announcing that "Therefore we weak women, stand up against you mighty men;(for so you thinke your selves)...Dogs doe naturally barke and snarle at strangers...and so those men that are ignorant in their malice,(or malicious in their ignorance) doe Reprehend and abuse women..." pp92,139,101. For further expressions of such sentiments later in the century, see note , Chapter Two.

17. Philip Stubbes, Anatomie of Abuses Part I. Thomas Nashe, Anatomy of Absurditie in Works, ed.R.B.McKerrow, I,18.

18. During the Protectorate,1649-60,the lack of such a trait in the husband of a pious woman of the Puritan church, was sufficient reason for leaving the marriage; hence the value placed on virtue and submissiveness in a wife to the will of a husband.Such traits were largely inculcated through the example of the patriarchal families of the Old Testament.

19. London,1594. Cantos III,XXI.

20. William Perkins, Christian Oeconomie: or a Short Survey of the Right Manner of Ordering a Familie According to the Scriptures,trans.T.Pickering. 1609. William Whatley, A Bride Bush or a Wedding Sermon 1617, ed.1619, 1623.Francis Dillingham, Christain Oeconomie or Household Government 1609. Robert Pricke, The Doctrine of Superiority and of Subjection...in Church and Commonwealth as in Every Schole and Private Familie 1609. T.Gateker, A Good Wife God's Gift and a Wife Indeed 1623,1624.

21. Markham, Country Contentments 1614,1623. The English Housewife 1631,1637.

22 The increasing alienation of the woman and the home enviroment from the means of production of the family as a unit, further increased the role divisions between the sexes, until two widely disparate social groups evolved, leading largely alien, and often conflicting lives.

23. Robert Aylett, Susanna; or The Arraignment of the Two Unjust Elders, 1622. Bk.II. pp12-16.

24. Clark,p14.

25. Certain reservations may be made about this analysis as a complete explanation of women's changing place in society. Not all classes were alienated from the means of production-farmers, merchants etc. and this situation remained static for the all the century and into the next, despite increasing industrialisation. However, if the model is applied in more general terms to the emergant bourgeoisie, the inferences it holds for women in general are clear.

26. In 1643 a school in Hackney offered music, dancing, calligraphy,accountancy, housewifery, cookery, crafts in silver, straw, glass, wax, gum, and embroidery. By 1662 the more practical accomplishments did not feature in the curriculum of a similar school in Edinburgh. Recorded in the Edinburgh Council Minutes, it was licensed to teach reading, writing, singing, playing, dancing, French, arithmatic, sewing and embroidery.Another Edinburgh school to which Sir Hugh Cambell sent his daughters in 1677 seems only to have taught music,

embroidery and pastry baking. In 1614, when in response to an application to James I from the King of Siam for an english wife, one candidate was described as excellingin music, her needle and good discourse- the only accomplishments apparently considered necessary.

27. Quoted in Parker, p83.

28. One case is that of Hannah Senior, recorded in the Calender of State Papers, Domestic, Charles I,vol CLIX. p12, as suing the Earl of Thomaond for non-payment of a salary of £200 a year to teach needlework to his daughters. See also the Memoirs of Anne, Lady Halkett.

29. A complete series of these exercises can be seen together; see note 6,Introduction.

30. Op.Cit, pp37-42.

CHAPTER TWO

Factors Determining the Formation of a Thematic Catalogue in the Seventeenth Century; Religious Themes.

CHAPTER TWO

Factors Determining the Formation of a Thematic Catalogue in the Seventeenth Century: Religious Themes.

The subjects of amateur domestic embroidery in the seventeenth century may be divided thematically into three loose groups; these in turn may be characterised as dealing with religious, secular, and organic themes. The foremost of these is numerically dominant, and notable not only for the frequency with which biblical episodes are portrayed, but that those themes are treated in a way that marks these embroideries as significantly different from similar thematic material in any other century.[1] Historians have sought to explain these phenonomena by means of two opposing sociological models. These may be defined as, either, 'agents of social control' or alternatively 'indicators of a feminist revolt'.[2]

The adherents of the first theory base their evidence on a logical extension of the social situation which we have seen outlined in the previous chapter. They argue that with the advent of a more closely controlled curriculum the subjects that were acceptable to, and actively encouraged by, society were those that would most emphasise those patterns of behaviour, those moral tenets, that were considered by that society as of paramount importance in the socialisation of a child. Thus, they suggest, are explained the large numbers of religious subjects in petit point and raised work embroideries of the period.[3]

In Chapter One we have seen that with the increased influence of hard-line Protestantism, there was a reaction against, as it was termed, the idolatry of Marian imagery in the New Testament; thus is explained the sudden surge of themes drawn from the Old Testament, and the comparatively small amount of New Testament material.[4]

This new thematic group was strongly biased towards portrayals of that patriarchal society so lauded under the new doctrine of 'Kinde, Kirke, Kuche'. This argument postulates a view of the Stuart child surrounded by Scripture in an overtly religious teaching, subsequently to be covertly reinforced by the patient stitching of those same lessons and themes in her nominally secular, but actually indivisible training as a 'good wife'.[5]

Such, in essence, is their argument; and one that should be tested in the light of empirical and documentary evidence. The first question to answer is that of the fundamental validity of the argument of the assertion of the medium as an 'agent for socialisation'. If this is to be accepted as a possibility, let alone as a probability, it must be shown that throughout the whole of that strata of society with which we are dealing- (their thesis makes no exceptions) - these embroidery themes were not only so used but that they were the dominating subject of these works. If, in analysis, religious themes show as a minor proprtion of the repertoire, then doubt would have to be cast on such an assertion.

The major problem in carrying out such a survey of embroideries as with any analysis, is the collection of available data.[6] For the conclusions to be valid the sample must not only be large enough to be truely representative, but it must also be free of bias. Many of these embroideries are in private collections[7], unpublished and often unresearched, and so not available to the survey. We are left then with those that have been bought into public collections. Here there is the danger that embroideries listed in periodicals and

publication, often dating from the last century, have been duplicated or sold, appearing under the aegis of a number of collections. Every effort has been made to avoid this, and any that do appear should be so small in number as not to effect the overall balance of the results.

An analysis of surviving embroideries and their subject matter was thus carried out. The following figures are drawn from around 500 embroideries dating throughout the seventeenth century. The figures apply to themes, not to individual examples: some items are thus represented under a number of thematic headings, since more than one panel, or scene on a panel, was available for inclusion.

It can be seen from Table One, that of 525 occurances of thematic decoration, 294 of those were subjects drawn from the Old Testament, 13 were New Testament subjects, and non-religious material occured 284 times. Thus, from even as precarious an analysis as this one must see how important a part religion played in a child's socialisation. One must, of course, determine exactly who it was controlling the educative process, and this was discussed in the previous chapter. Girls were taught at home or in private schools; in both instances men are controlling, through either financial power or legally enforceable license, the educational bias of a womans life. If one links this with the comteinporary attitudes and dissatisfaction expressed towards female behaviour, considered in the previous chapter, then a connection between the male desire for altered feminine behaviour and the emergence of this distinct genre of embroideries, and their subject matter, worked by young women is logical.

TABLE ONE

Religious Themes:Old Testament	No.	Date	Main Period
Abigail Offering Food to David (I Samuel XXV)	I	1650-75	
Abraham and the Angels (Genesis XVIII)	8	1650-75	
Abraham, Sarah and Lot Leaving Canaa (Genesis XVIII)	4	1640-60	
Abraham and the Expulsion of Hagar (Genesis XXI)	23	1630-90	50-75
Abraham and the Sacrifice of Issac (Genesis XXIV)	16	1613-80	mid
Adam and Eve (Genesis I)	8	1620-80	
Angel	I	1650-75	
Annointing of Saul (I Samuel X)	I	1650	
Cain and Able (Genesis IV)	I	1630	
Caleb and Joshua (Numbers XIII)	I	1640-60	
Daniel in the Lion's Den (Daniel VI)	I	1660	
Daughter of Herodias before Herod	I		
David and Goliath(I Samuel XVII)	I	1650-75	
David Rebuked by Nathan (2 Samuel XII)	2	1640-65	
David and Saul (I Samuel XVIII)	I	1667	
David (2 Samuel)	2	1625-50	
David and Uriah the Hittite (2 Samuel)	2	1640-60	
David and Bathsheba (2 Samuel XI)	II	1640-80	
Elders of Gilead	2	1640-81	
Elijah and the Ravens (I Kings XVII)	2	1650-70	
Elijah and the Widow (I Kings XVII)	I		
Esther and Ahasuerus (Esther)	27	1612-80	50-60
Hagar and the Feast (Genesis)	4	1660-64	
Habbakkuk and the Angel (Apocrypha)	I	1660	

Jacobs Dream (Genesis XXVIII)	9	1690-1700	40-50
Jacob and Rachel (Genesis XXIX)	3	1667-85	
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (Genesis XXXII)	3	1612-43	
Jacob and Laban (Genesis XXVII)	?	1650-75	
Jacob and Issacs Blessing (Genesis XXVII)	I	1660-80	
Jael and Sisera	I	1672	
Jehu and Jezebel (2 Kings IX)	?	1630	
Jephthah's Return Home (Judges XI)	6	1640-45	
Joseph Sold by his Brothers (Gensis XXXVIII)	3	1650-81	
Joesph and Potiphars Wife (Genesis XXXIX)	?	1630	
Joesph Before Pharoah (Genesis XL)	I	1690	
Jonah and the Whale (Matthew XII)	I	1640-50	
Judgement of Solomon (1 Kings III)	15	1605-86	mid
Judith and Holofernes (Apocrypha)	4	1640-60	
Laban and Leah (Genesis XXIX)	?	1650-85	
Lot Fleeing form Sodom (Genesis XIX)	5	1610-50	
Moses in the Bulrushes (Exodus II)	5	1630-75	50
Noahs Ark (Genesis IX)	I	1620	
Overwhelming of the Host of Pharoah (Exodus XIII)	I	1659-79	
Queen Tomyris and the Head of Cyrus	I	1650-75	
Rebecca and Eliezer (Genesis XXIV)	8	1640-75	mid
Rebecca and a Hero	I	1640-60	
Rebecca and Issac (Genesis XXIV)	4	1650-75	
Ruth and Boaz (Ruth II)	2	1640-60	
Samson and Delilah (Judges XVI)	I	1640-60	
Shumanite Woman	I	1660	

Jacobs Dream (Genesis XXVIII)	9	1600-1700	40-50
Jacob and Rachel (Genesis XXIX)	3	1667-85	
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (Genesis XXXII)	3	1612-43	
Jacob and Laban (Genesis XXVII)	2	1650-75	
Jacob and Issacs Blessing (Genesis XXVII)	I	1660-80	
Jael and Sisera	I	1672	
Jehu and Jezebel (2 Kings IX)	2	1630	
Jephthah's Return Home (Judges XI)	6	1640-45	
Joseph Sold by his Brothers (Gensis XXXVIII)	3	1650-81	
Joesph and Potiphars Wife (Genesis XXXIX)	2	1630	
Joesph Before Pharoah (Genesis XL)	I	1600	
Jonah and the Whale (Matthew XII)	I	1640-50	
Judgement of Solomon (1 Kings III)	15	1605-86	mid
Judith and Holofernes (Apocrypha)	4	1640-60	
Laban and Leah (Genesis XXIX)	2	1650-85	
Lot Fleeing form Sodom (Genesis XIX)	5	1610-50	
Moses in the Bulrushes (Exodus II)	5	1630-75	50
Noahs Ark (Genesis IX)	I	1620	
Overwhelming of the Host of Pharoah (Exodus XIII)	I	1659-79	
Queen Tomyris and the Head of Cyrus	I	1650-75	
Rebecca and Eliezer (Genesis XXIV)	8	1640-75	mid
Rebecca and a Hero	I	1640-60	
Rebecca and Issac (Genesis XXIV)	4	1650-75	
Ruth and Boaz (Ruth II)	2	1640-60	
Samson and Delilah (Judges XVI)	I	1640-60	
Shumanite Woman	I	1660	

Salome and Herodias	I	1686	
Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (2 Chronicles IX)	18	1650-80	50-60
Stoning of the Martyrs/the Wicked Elders (Apocrypha)	3	1625-50	
Susanna and the Elders (Apocrypha)	8	1600-81	mid
Tobias and the Great Fish	I	1613	
Tower of Babel (Genesis XI)	I	1640-50	
Tree of Jesse (Isiah XI)	I	1610-30	
Uriah Slain in Battle (2 Samuel)	3	1640-65	

RELIGIOUS THEMES: NEW TESTAMENT (amateur work)

Flight into Egypt	I	1669
Prodigal Son (Luke XV)	I	1665
Saint	I	1610-30

RELIGIOUS THEMES: PROFESSIONAL WORK

Agony in the Garden of Gethsemene	I	1650-60
Adoration of the Infant Jesus	2	1669-85
Annunciation to Mary	I	1669
Annunciation to the Shepherds	2	1669-85
Christ	2	1640-60
Christ in the Temple	I	1625
Crucifixion	I	1620-30
Holy Family	I	1620
Martyrdom of St.Stephen	I	1630
Raising of Lazarus	I	
St.Peters Denial of Christ	I	1640-60
The Last Supper	I	1636-7

MISCELLANEOUS FIGURE THEMES

Lovers	32	1625-80	50-75
Multiple Figure Groups	9	1630-71	60-70
Country Scenes	22	1630-75	70
King and Queen	24	1628-80	
Single Female Figure	17	1630-71	30-50
Couples	12	1636-62	
Portraits	20	1625-1700	50-75
Cleopatra, and other Queens	12	1620	
King Henry VIII and his Wives	I	1620-40	

MYTHOLOGICAL THEMES

Aeneas Bearing Anchises and Ascanius from Troy	I	1650-75
Judgement of Paris	2	1630-50
Hero and Leander	I	1640-60
Mercury	I	1640-60
Vulcan	I	1670-90
Pyramis and Thisbe	I	1625-50
Mermaids	6	1606-75
Alpheus and Arethusa	I	1660
Minerva	I	1640-60
Venus and Minerva	I	1650-60
Daphne and Apollo	I	1660-80
Venus and Cupid Mourn Adonis	3	1600-75
Orpheus Charming the Beasts	4	1630-75
Venus and Diana	I	1630

Eurpoa and the Bull	I	1670
Juno and the Peacock	I	1640-60
Venus and Ceres	I	1665
Ceres	5	1640-1700
Goddesses	2	1665
Venus and Juno	I	1660
Minerva and Apollo	2	1665-80
Justice and Mercury	I	1665
Diana and Acteon	I	1630
Narcissus	I	1650-75
Neptune	I	1640-50
Orpheus in the Underworld	I	1620-40

ALLEGORICAL FIGURES

War	I	1680-95
Sacred and Profane Love	I	1685
The Liberall Arts	I	1650-75
The Four Continents	4	1665
The Fates	I	1625-50
The Four Elements	3	1630
The Four Seasons	7	1650-85
The Senses	19	1630-1700
The Four Cardinal Virtues (Prudence, Temperence, Justice and Fortitude)	6	1645-85
The Theological Virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity)	5	1642-55

COMMEMORATIVE EVENTS

Marriage of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza	4	1660-70	
Defeat of the Armada and the Gun-Powder Plot	I	1606	
Restoration of Charles II	3	1665	

MISCELLANEOUS THEMES: SECULAR

Cornucopia	2	1650-60	
Man Fishing with Nets from Boat	I	1650	
Lion and Eagle	I	1650	
Picnics	2	1640-60	
Eikon Basilike	I	1649	
Non-figurative Designs, Flora and Fauna	15	1620-1700	extremes
Hidden Danger	I	1630-50	
Levantine Pedlar	I	1700	
Man in Boat Surrounded by Hippopotami	I	1675	
Shepherds and Shepherdesses	6	1650-79	
Angel Blowing a Trumpet	I	1693	

DESIGN DETAILS

Beadwork	19	1650-80	50-60
Borders around Panels	5	1625-60	
Oval Cartouche	33	1630-80	50-70

However, the case is not quite as simplistic as such an argument may make it appear. Apart from the similarities in composition that will be discussed in Chapter Four, that there is a probability that patterns were purchased from a commercial source, admits of an element of choice on the part of the embroiderer, and it is from this consideration that the feminist lobby draws it's thesis. In the main, the feminist argument accepts the idea that embroidery of the seventeenth century was intended, even subjectively, as an agent of social control, of subliminally inculcated domination of of men over women. But where they differ radically from the preceeding explanation of events is that they see the element of choice available to women, together with the percentage of secular material produced, as evidence that women surreptitiously subverted the male aim, whilst outwardly, at least in part, conforming with the desired pattern.

The argument turns on the differing ways in which those religious themes that were chosen were interpreted by men and women of the period. Where the 'social controllers' see an example of patriarchal domination of the family, the feminist view is of womens courage in adversity and triumph against the odds. Some themes are argued as examples of womens direct triumph over men - one assumes then a concerted feminist plot against the self-rightous and complacent contemporary male who, wrongly and fondly, imagines his daughters to have been subjugated in the school room. Indeed, in support of this argument one may cite many examples, particularly through the Commonwealth period, of noble women behaving as independently as their sixteenth century counterparts. Often it was well for the

men that they had not succeeded in their intention of subjugating women. Had not this been so lives and fortunes (fortunes that were the sole property of the male) would have been lost in the social upheaval had not women proved themselves capable in organising defensive forces etc.[8] This argument, then, depends on an analysis of the themes chosen, and what they really show; and more importantly what they showed to seventeenth century society. Such an analysis can be aided by looking at not only what was chosen, but at what was available and rejected, and at what themes were chosen from the contemporary repertoire by artists in the other decorative arts. If we compare a list of goods offered by the London printsellers of the period, Table Two, and those that feature most strongly in Table One, we can observe a number of ommissions from the themes available. The list covers the entire period of the seventeenth century. For a more detailed breakdown see Table Five.

The first seven of the thirteen themes in Table Two (religious) are those that occur in the 'top ten' of themes tabled in the survey in Table One, a correlation that must be significant, both in terms of the events discussed in Chapter One, and the question of sources to be considered in Chapter Three. It is perhaps profitable to look at these themes individually.

Abraham and the Angels[9], (1943.4550). Sarah's disbelief in the events foretold by the Angels can be read as an example of woman being taught her place in the social and religious hierarchy, with the closeness of her husband to God relative to herself. In the story Sarah is rebuked by the Angel (the personification of God) for her

Table Two

PRINTS OFFERED BY LONDON PRINT SELLERS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Religious Themes.

Abraham and the Angels
Eliezer and Rebekah
David and Bathsheba
Susanna and the Elders
King David and Uriah
Nathan Rebukes David
Moses and the Serpant
Abraham and Hagar
Judgement of Solomon
Sacrifice of Issac
Caleb and Joshua
Uriah Slain in Battle
Adam and Eve
Jacob's Dream

Figurative Prints

King Charles II
Queen Katherine) singly and jointly
Duke of York
Duke of Gloucester
Duke of Albemarle
Prince of Orange and Princes Royal
King Charles I and Queen Mary
King James and Queen Anne
Queen Elizabeth

Allegorical Prints

Four Seasons
Four Continents
Five Senses
Four Elements
Flora
Four Complexions, in Habit of Four Nations

Miscellaneous Prints

Flowers, Birds, Beasts etc.

bold and unbelieving behaviour. As such, this story, the tenth in popularity, does not readily support the feminist model, emphasising as it does Sarah's importance only in her position as a mother, with her reliance on a merciful God to give her the child, and thus, in seventeenth century terminlogy, the power of 'being saved' through childbirth.[10]

Abraham and Hagar,[11](1961.595) numerically the second most dominant theme, and another story where the mercy of God towards the heroine comes through the medium of her child; and the child is male. It might be argued that this story shows a woman of some power through her influence with her son, Ishmael, in later life. But the over-riding impression one gains from the tale is that of male domination, and, in sending Hagar and Ishmael into the wilderness, Abraham was in effect sentencing them to death. An alternative lesson to be taken form the story is that of the sinful nature of adultery. Parker,[12] argues that the expulsion of Hagar shows a triumph for Sarah, but if we refer to the original text[13] we see that it is Sarah who made the initial suggestion that Abraham take Hagar - Sarah is sanctioning the adultery of her husband to make ammends for her failure to bear him an heir; hardly an event to appeal to a feminist. It must be remembered also that during the Protectorate adultery was punishable by death for a woman, and in the Old Testament, for both parties. Such a theme, directed at a girl approaching her own marriage, supports the argument for 'social control' rather than subversive feminism.

Eliezer and Rebekah, or Rebecca at the Well,[14] does not feature in the collections of the National Museums of Scotland, but ranks ninth in the league table of religious themes. This is another of the stories

that are basically concerned with the procuring of suitable wives, their chastity and virtues. The story is again from Genesis and tells the saga of Eliezers search for a wife for his master's son, lssac. The accession to the request to draw water for not only Eliezer, a stranger, but his camels also, was the sign that he had found the right woman. ln Medieval Christianity this incident, and Rebecca's willingness to accede to the demands made of her was taken to be a prefiguration of the Virgin Mary and her submission to the role ordained for her. She is the perfect woman by the standards of the time; submissive, God-fearing, chaste: certainly no subversive. This paragon ranks eleven in popularity out of some fifty different themes; again the feminist argument cannot be seen to be predominant.

The Judgement of Solomon[15], fifth in the league, does little also to advance the feminist cause. The women in the piece are described as 'harlots'- an offence punishable by death at that time. The end of the story is an affirmation of the power of the King, and the power of God that is in the King;'And all lsrael heard of the Judgement...and they feared the King: for they saw that the wisdom of God was in him, to do judgement'. Most examples of this theme are worked during the middle years of the century and might be read as allusions to the the struggle between State and Monarch: many of the nobility sided with the Crown, though this was not universal, and as such would have affirmed the'divine right of Kings', while the child may be seen as symbolic of Britain, divided between too factions, the claims of each destroying the whole.

The story of David and Bathsheba[16] is rather more difficult to place in either camp. Ranking sixth, the eventual outcome of these events, with God punishing Bathsheba for her adultery by causung the death of her son, must be taken as a moral instruction; in that the patriarchal element is missing from the episode, however, it can be seen as slightly outside the mainstream pattern of thematic choice.

The Sacrifice of Issac[17] numerically very frequently seen and curiously one of the most standardised in composition (see Chapter Four). Represented in the collections in 1961.595, it ranks number four in Table One. The episode is again concerned with obedience to the dictates of God and his mercy to individuals that comply. Here the obedience is not filial, an element surprisingly lacking in these passages, but patriarchal; though it must be noted that Issac does comply with all Abraham's requests and seems resigned to death. One must not forget though, that Issac is seen bound on the altar. In Medieval Christianity the episode is seen as a prefiguration of Christ carrying the Cross to Calvary. There are no feminist overtones.

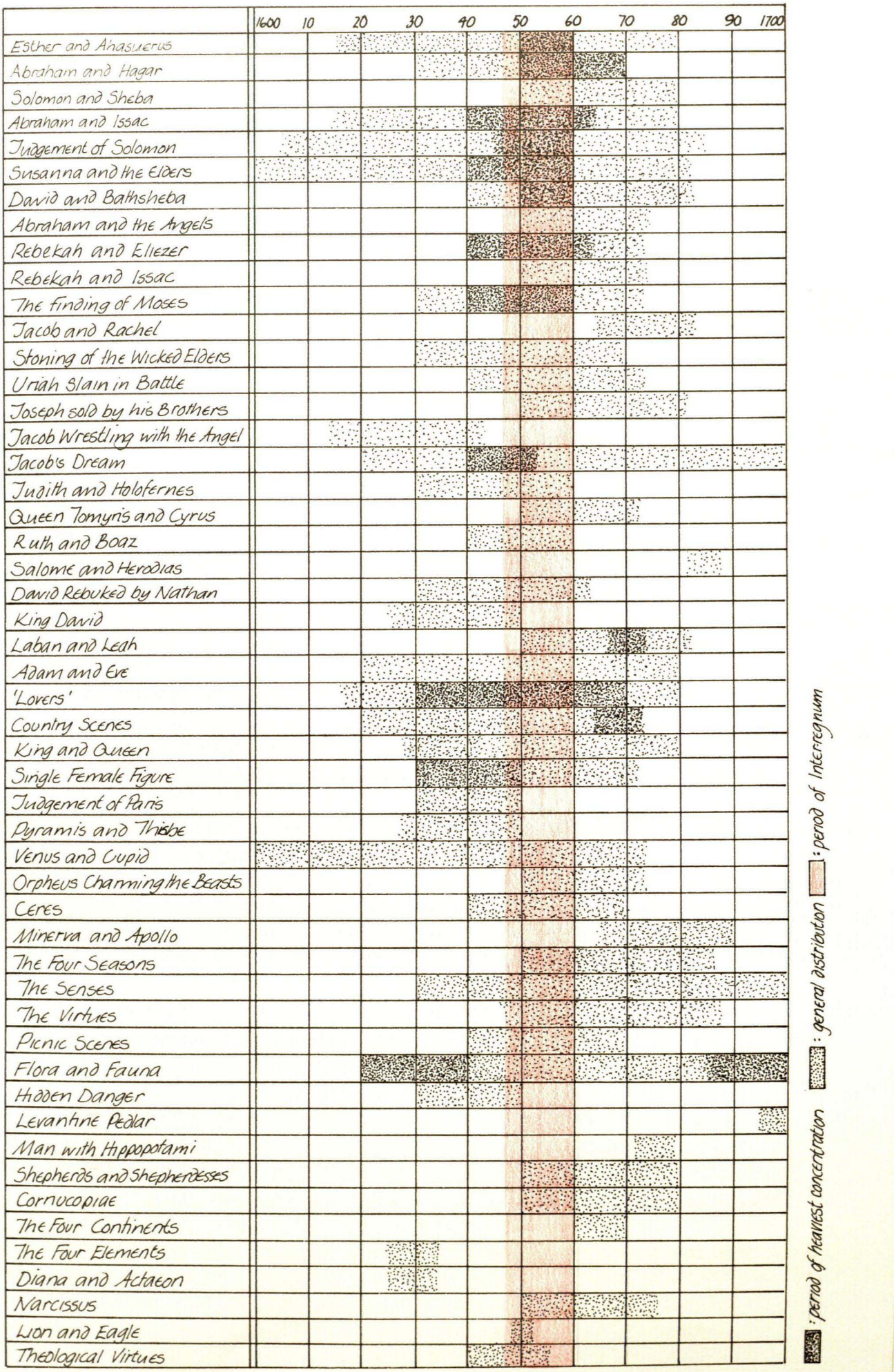
Susanna and the Elders,[18] ranking ninth, is possibly the most overtly feminist of all the themes considered here. Susanna retains her trust in God (which is repaid with the appearance of the prophet Daniel) throughout the episode. The concern of the story is undoubtedly moralistic; once more the theme is adultery and the males of the passage are shown as evil, doubting men. The idea of 'social control' whilst not entirely absent in the proposed punishment of Susanna, is not the dominant interpretive model. It is interesting to note that the episode usually described as 'The Stoning of the

martyrdom is in fact a representation of the Elder's punishment: often the vignette is shown with the Susanna episode, sometimes it appears independently.

On an analysis of these most common themes, the feminist model is not entirely convincing. It is interesting to note the major periods in which particular themes were worked. If one studies Table Three, we can see a marked correlation between the period of greatest civil unrest, and the years in which the majority of the religious themes were worked. The major feminist tracts such as The Womans Sharpe Revenge,[19] and The Gentlewoman's Companion[20] and also The Introduction,[21] date not from this period, but from the extremes of the century when religious pressures were not as great. This temporal differentiation seems to have been largely ignored by the feminist analyists. In no way would one argue that women in the seventeenth century did not resent the 'male domination' of their society, and many did voice their opposition, but the extent to which this was a general movement has been over-emphasised and the data mis-interpreted.

One must also remember that each generation working on these embroideries, (if one accepts that are all the work of young girls), did so only for perhaps a total of five years. Married around the age of fifteen, within ten or twelve years their daughters would be commencing their own sequences of sampler, panel, casket etc. The differences in behaviour and views from one period of thematic domination to another are not then between two generations as we might reckon them today, but rather between three or even four. In such terms it is easier to reconcile the changes in attitudes, style and patterns that occur within a relatively small span of years.

TABLE THREE


1600
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
1700
Esther and Ahasuerus
Abraham and Hagar
Solomon and Sheba
Abraham and Issac
Judgement of Solomon
Susanna and the Elders
David and Bathsheba
Abraham and the Angels
Rebekah and Eliezer
Rebekah and Issac
The finding of Moses
Jacob and Rachel
Stoning of the Wicked Elders
Uriah Slain in Battle
Joseph sold by his Brothers
Jacob Wrestling with the Angel
Jacob's Dream
Judith and Holofernes
Queen Tomyris and Cyrus
Ruth and Boaz
Salome and Herodias
David Rebuked by Nathan
King David
Laban and Leah
Adam and Eve
'Lovers'
Country Scenes
King and Queen
Single Female Figure
Judgement of Paris
Pyramis and Thisbe
Venus and Cupid
Orpheus Charming the Beasts
Ceres
Minerva and Apollo
The Four Seasons
The Senses
The Virtues
Picnic Scenes
Flora and Fauna
Hidden Danger
Levantine Pedlar
Man with Hippopotami
Shepherds and Shepherdesses
Cornucopiae
The Four Continents
The Four Elements
Diana and Actaeon
Narcissus
Lion and Eagle
Theological Virtues
: period of heaviest concentration
: general distribution
: period of Interregnum

The crucial significance of actual dates, of the earliest and latest known occurances of a particular theme, is reinforced by a study of Table Three. Noteworthy, is that although many of the prints were available throughout the period, Table Four, catalogues dating from the central years introduce no religious bias to their contents, any new entries being of a secular nature. Secular embroideries, on the other hand, show groupings at either extreme of the century.

At this point it is worth considering the relatively high proportion of tapestry subjects that take mythological, non-religious subjects as their inspiration in connection with those that commissioned the works for the King and members of his court, in the context of those events outlined in Chapter One. If we study Table Five in this context we note that the major periods of production for Tapestries show similar distributions as Table Three. Whilst some of this correlation may be ascribed to the Interregnum, not all work ceased in this period. The 'Expulsion of Hagar' hangings were commenced in the 1660's - the middle of the period when the vast majority of embroideries with this theme were worked. Margaret Jourdain[22] argues that these embroideries were more heavily influenced by tapestry designs than by continental embroideries, a point that will be considered later.

To return to the main argument, those subjects that do have a more markedly feminist tone, such as Jael and Sisera[23], Jephthah's Daughter,[24] Queen Tomyris and the Head of Cyrus,[25] Jezebel and Ahab[26] Samson and Delilah,[27] are, as demonstrated in Table One, among the least frequently worked of the themes. This is despite the

Table Four

PRINTS AVAILABLE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (this list is in no way intended to be exhaustive).

Issued pre-1650

c.1517	Jezebel and Ahab	Samson and Delilah
	Adam and Eve (series)	Jael and Sisera
	Herod and Herodias	Sacrifice of Issac
	Metamorphoses(scenes)	
c.1545	Flight into Egypt	
c.1558	Tobias and the Great Fish	
	Prodigal son	
	Feast of Belshazzar	
c.1580	Jacob and the Angel	Jacob's Dream
	Esther and Ahasuerus	Lucretia's Banquet
c.1585	David and Bathsheba	Abraham and the Angels
	Eliezer and Rebekah	Abraham and Hagar
	Judgement of Solomon	Sacrifice of Issac
	Caleb and Joshua	King David and Uriah
	Uriah Slain in Battle	Nathan Rebukes David
	David and Abigail	Balaam and his Ass
	Susanna and the Elders	
c.1600	Alpheus and Arethusa	
c.1630	Orpheus and the Beasts	The Four Seasons
	The Five Senses	The Four Quarters of the World
	Four Elements	Four Complexions, in Habit of four Nations
	Queen Elizabeth	
	King James & Queen Anne	King Charles and Queen Mary
	Duke of York	King Charles II & Queen Catherine
	King Edward VI	Duke of Gloucester
	Charles II	Flora, Sprigs and Branches
	Prince of Orange & Princes Royal	
	Flowers, Birds, Beasts, Fruit, Flys, Fishes, Men	
c.1648	Eikon Basilisk	
c.1650	Flowers Fruits, Birds, Beasts and Flys	

Issued post-1650

c.1657	Gun powder Treason and '88	
c.1662	Susanna and the Elders	Adam and Eve
	Sacrifice of Issac	Moses and the Serpant
	King Charles II	Queen Catherine
	Dukes of York & Gloucester	
	Pharoah Drowned in the Red Sea	
	Orpheus Charming the Animals	
c.1670	The Four Cardinal Virtues	

Table Five

TAPESTRY SUBJECTS COMMISSIONED AFTER 1620'

Vulcan and Venus	c.1620-2	1670
Twelve Months	1623-4	1686
Flight into Egypt	c.1620	
Acts of the Apostles	1623	
Hero and Leander	c.1620-30	
Horses (Classical Subjects)	c.1620-30	1670-80
Five Senses	c.1620-30	
Triumphs of Ceaser	1657	
Naked Boys Series	c.1655	1670-80
Expulsion of Hagar	1660	
Euridice	1660	
James I, Charles I, Their Queens and Christian IV of Denmark	c.1670-80	
Battle of Solebay	1677-8	
Metamorphoses	1690-1700	
Elememts	1700	

'- under Henry VIII the tapestry manufactory of Burcheston had been productive, but had since languished. It was not until 1620 that James I established the factory at Mortlake to rival that of Henri IV at Gobelins, using Flemish workamn.

existence of such publications as Thomas Heywood's Nine Books of Various History Concerninge Women, 1624, and The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine of the Most Famous Women of the World. The one exception to this, and it must be said, a notable one, is the story of Esther and Ahasuerus, 1945.4549.[28] As can be seen from Table One, this theme was not only employed throughout the century, but is the most frequently exhibited religious theme, and overall has as much exposure as the 'lovers' motif. The story of Esther and Ahasuerus is one of revolt against patriarchal duty and wifely obedience, in the name of justice. This theme is something of an exception therefore, although it is possible to read it as an example of God interceding on behalf of a wife in the heart of her husband, who, through the agency of God, and his close afinity with God, shows the same type of mercy.

Parker argues[29] that Esther's defence of the Jewish people was read in the seventeenth century as an allegory for other persecuted minorities, and cites the case of the Royalists under the Commonwealth, the Puritans under James II, and later the Jacobites under William. However, only the second of these three instances is strictly analagous. In the survey expressed in Table One, the latest piece showing the story is dated 1680, and the theme does not feature to any extent in eighteenth century work. The Jacobite analogy is therefore inaccurate since James did not accede to the throne until 1685. It is possible that there are later examples extant, but they must be very rare. The feminist model, however, is strengthened by a pamphlet quoted, c.1615-16, by one Esther Sowerman, a pseudonym, entitled Esther hath hang'd Haman or An Answere to a lew'd Pamphlet [30]

the story clearly being read in this instance as a feminine triumph over male treachery. Having said that, stories such as that of King Jehoash do not appear at all in the seventeenth century, though depicting a very powerful woman.[31]

Overall, when a detailed analysis is carried out of surviving examples, the weight of the argument must go against the feminist lobby. There is, of course, no actual evidence that the religious themes examined were expressly chosen to reinforce attitudes and behaviours condoned by contemporary society. Embroidery and fancy needleworks were considered by many of the Puritan sects with some concern, as being degenerate, but, to some extent at least, these themes must have assuaged those fears.

Opinion was divided on the issue however. Thomas Milles advised young women to

> Feare God and learne women's huswivery;
> Not idle Samplery or silken follies...[32]

In contrast are these verses showing that embroidery was considered by some as a defence against idleness;

> What mighty queenes have grac'd in hand to take,
> And high borne ladies such esteeme did make,
> That as their daughters up did grow,
> The needles art, they to the children show.
> And as't was then an exercise of praise,
> So what deserves more honour in these dayes,
> Than this? which daily doth itself expresse
> A mortal enemy to idleness...

the poem ends with the reiterated wish that,

> Thus hoping that those workes may have this guide,
> To serve for ornament, and not for pride;
> To cherish vertue, banish idlenesse,
> For these ends, may this book have good successe...[33]

Similarly in defense of the art was William Hawkins,

> Take out thy fescue and spell here in this one-learn'd booke,
> Tell the stitches in this sampler of blacke and white...[34]

When many beautiful objects were destroyed, among them embroideries, by the iconoclasm of the Civil War and the early years of the Protectorate, the numbers of examples that have survived from the period and through the following centuries must, in some measure, be indicative of the weight of public opinion that favoured their creation. Indeed, as Jones points out, textile arts are lauded by Solomon when he describes the ideal woman:

She maketh herself coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk...[35]

By the third decade of the century these religious embroideries, and, by implication, the virtuous light in which they were seen, were common enough in everyday life to have become associated with the Puritan ethic and were the butt of playwrights such as Jasper Mayne. In City Match he wrote,

> Sir, she's a Puritan at her needle too...
> ...she works religious petticoats, for flowers
> She'll make church histories. Her needle doth
> So sanctify my cushionets, besides
> My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries
> And are so learned, that I fear in time
> All my apparel will be quoted by
> Some pure instructor...Act II, Sc.II.

New Testament themes are notable for their relative scarcity, understandable in the light of Protestant doctrine, but also as an example of the tripartite aesthetic nature of the seventeenth century. Worked before and after the Commonwealth, catholicism overt and subvert, went underground in the middle years of the century. The same tendency can be noted in tapestry and print themes, see Tables Four and Five. It is not within the scope of this discussion to consider professional work in detail, but it is significant that the bulk of the work (of non-State commissions) from the workshops of Edmund Harrison, deal with New Testament themes. See Table One. Such reflects the religious persuasions of the Court. Religion, patronage, and thematic choice are again seen to be indivisible.

REFERENCES : CHAPTER TWO

1. Though religious embroidery is an historical constant perhaps the finest period for the work was that of the Opus Anglicanum of the Middle Ages. During the Renaissance the work declined until the concern was revived in the work under consideration. Religious pieces play but a minor role in the eighteenth century but were again prominant, though somewhat sentimentally in the nineteenth century. Waning once more towards the end of that century, it is only in the last few decades that new trends in this work have been established.

2. The feminist model is more recent in origin than the idea of 'social control', and is argued primarily from a sociological standpoint.

3. See Table One.

4. Sixteenth century was more equally divided.

5. That such an approach to socialisation was peculiarly effective is shown in a number of discourses such as those of the wife of John Evelyn," We are willing to acknowledge all time borrowed from family duties is mispent; the care of childrens education , observing a Husband's com'ands, assisting the Sick, releving the Poore, and being serviceable to our Friends, are of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities amongst us... The Distaff will defend our quarrells as well as the Sword, and the Needle is as instructive as the Penne..."
(quoted by Joan Edwards, p41)
If the extract reads rather like an enforced confession, it is all the more surprising when one realises that the writer was herself an educated woman, and her daughter is described as speaking French and bing well read in the Classics, besides an accomplished painter and designer.

6. This survey cannot take account of those works that have been destroyed. However, there do not seem to have been any factors that might effect the type of theme that has survived, beyond perhaps Catholic work that may have suffered at the hands of the Iconoclasts.

7. The author is unaware of any collections that have been founded on thematic priorities.

8. More evidence of the part played by Royalist women than there Puritan counterparts remains: see the memoirs of Lady Ann Halkett(Camden Society) and Lady Ann Fanshawe Loftis, Clarendon Press). Puritan women are known to have acted as travelling preachers and healers.

9. Genesis XVIII.

10. See Chapter One. p8.

11. Genesis XXI.

12. Parker, p96. Parker does not seem to consider that the availability of individual thematic designs might have some bearing on thematic choice.

13. Genesis XXI v.III

14. The popularity of the camel motif in work of this period, see 1907.321, may derive from representations of those for whom Rebecca drew water.

15. I,Kings, III.

16. II, Samuel XII.

17. Genesis XXII

18. History of Susanna.

19. See Chapter One, note 16, p13, London 1640.

20. Ann Finch, Countess of Winchelsea (1661-1720). The Introduction,

"Good breeding, fassion, dancing, dressing, play
Are the accomplishments we shou'd desire;
To write, or read, or think, or to enquire
wou'd cloud our beauty, and exhaust our time,
...the dull manage, of a servile house...
...our utmost art, and use,
Sure 'twas not ever thus, nor are we told
Fables, of Women that excell'd of old;
...Woman here, leads fainting Israel on,
She fights, she wins...
How are we fal'n, by the mistaken rules?
And Education's more than Nature's fools,
Debarr'd from all improve-ments of the mind
And to be dull, expected and dessigned...

The poem alludes to Deborah, who does not actually figure in the survey of Table One. The author alludes to the role of education in the socialisation of contemporary women into creatures 'dull, expected and dessigned', a role considered in Chapter One.

21. Hannah Wooley, The Gentlewomans Companion 1675. A member of the middlecalsses and an educationalist, she wrote, "Man is apt to think we were merely intended for the Worlds propergation and to keep its human inhabitants sweet and clean; but...had we the same literature we would find our brains as fruitful as our bodies..." But she does not entirely dismiss the concept of decorative subjects in a womans education.

She advocates the teaching of '...works wrought with the needle, all transparent works, Shellwork, Moss-work, ...Frames for Looking glasses, Pictures or the like..." Similarly, Bathshua Makin taught the skills of the 'goodwife' for half the curriculum, and ltalian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Spanish for the remainder. Some writers, such as Anna Maria von Shurman, was more radical and would have abandoned all non-acedemic pursuits.

22. Joudain, History of English Embroidery, p163.

23. Judges, IV.

24. Judges II. The senseless vow taken by Jephthah was condemned by clerics of the late Middle Ages, the Mirror of Mans Salvation contrasting the destruction of a life in the service of God, with the dedication of the daughter of Anne and Joachim to the Temple. (Golden Ledgend and New Testament Apocrypha and Protevanelium of James).

25. Herodotus I, vs.2-14, and Torrentius. Tomyris is seen in the Mirror of Mans Salvation as a prefiguration of the Virgin. lf this theme is thus viewed by the seventeenth century embroiderer it may be ssen as a powerful motif for feminist expression, but it is actually one of the rarest of all themes. 'As Tomyris defeated Cyrus, so the Queen of Heaven overcame the Devil, through the Martyrdom of her Son'. Perhaps because of this Marian association, it does not figure in those prints listed in Table Four; one might also view this as a confirmation of the link between thematic choice and availability of designs- controlled by both Church and men.

26. Judges, XIII-XVI.

27. Parker, p98. Parker states that "Whereas Delilah, Salome and Jezebel frequently figured in male art and literature, amateur embroideresses ignored the women who tempted and destroyed men, in favour of Judith or Esther, whose acts of courage saved their people". The former of these two last observations is incorrect; representation of Salome and Herodias may be seen in the Lady Lever Gallery, while evidence of the depiction of Jehu and Jezebel is recorded in Kendrick, 1913. p93. Judith is as equally minor a theme as either Salome or Jezebel, as is Delilah. See Table One.

28. A number of these panels are wrongly attributed to scenes of 'Solomon and the Queen of Sheba'. The same figures are often used for both. ln general Esther is shown on her knees, in contrast to Sheba who bears gifts.

29. The Subversive Stitch. 1984. Parker.

30. Written in reply to a treatise accusing women of being idle, overforward, and inconstant. Joesph Swetnam, 1615.

31. Jehoash, 2 Kings,XI and Chronicles XXII. A version of this story may be seen in the Lady Lever Gallery,dated 1580. The panels are thought to be Scottish, under French stylistic influence, though this has been disputed.

32. Thomas Milles, The Treasure of Ancient and Modern Times London, 1613.

33. John Taylor, in The Praise of the Needle, preface to The Needles Excellency, 1624.

34. William Hawkins, Apollo Shroving, London, 1627. The fescue is a pointer used inteaching children to read.

35. M.E.Jones, pl3.

CHAPTER THREE

Factors Determining the Formation of a Thematic Catalogue in the Seventeenth Century; Secular Themes.

Roughly a third of all seventeenth century embroideries however display decoration of a secular nature. A study of Table Three shows a slight, but nevertheless general, tendency for these pieces to date from the periods of Stuart rule, though such themes were certainly worked throughout the entire century. A popular sub-group of embroideries worked after the Restoration bear portraits of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza in allusion to this event.

The increased numbers of embroideries of a secular thematic nature towards the end of the century may be seen as a reflection of a changing society. After what may be termed the 'years of austerity' the return of the Court from exile brought with it a feeling of gaiety and 'laissez fairie' that was to degenerate into the abuses and excesses of the court of James II. The mood of the whole of society, however, was not reflected in this pattern, and this is evident in the final removal of James, and the accession of the Protestant William of Orange.

There is, additionally, a gentle trend throughout the period for subjects to move from mythological figures, to those of allegory, as is demonstrated in Table Three, Chapter Two. This is most marked during the last decades of the century. The major exception is the 'lovers' motif; one of the most popular of all the secular themes, examples are to be seen across all political time divisions. The middle years were dominated by Ovidian themes - a preponderance that, interestingly, is not echoed in tapestry subjects. These allegorical and mythological themes are often combined with the third group of secular material, that which represents 'Flora and Fauna'.

This last group is seen in panels, but more often caskets, worked

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throughout the century. If one studies the lists of Bestiaries, Herbals, Emblem Books etc. (Appendix Two), the popular appeal of such matter is evident, supporting a vast, and long-lived array. Full considerations to individual links between motif and embroideries is given in Chapter Four. For the moment it would be proper to consider the third of the arguments that encompass seventeenth century thematic significance: an argument concerned with the degree to which individual motifs may be considered symbolic. This also aids an explanation of the context of allegorical and mythological examples in this period.

To an extent these motifs may be seen as a parallel development to other embroideries, since their origins are often rooted in the sixteenth century. A number have even deeper roots, having been founded in an aesthetic that can be traced to the late Medieval period.[1] But our concern here is whether these motifs can be said to have a symbolic value to the embroiderers of the seventeenth century. The legacy gifted by embroidery of the sixteenth to the aesthetics of the seventeenth century is evident by a glance at the earliest publication dates of prints in Table Four. But when dealing with secular material one must also consider the possible extent of any indiscriminate borrowing of an aesthetic dictated by whim or fashion; or the alternative rational and sympathetic use of elements that would have been familiar to preceding generations.

Initially one must consider those elements that were in common usuage in the sixteenth century with a defined symbolic meaning, and which were subsequently utilised by the embroiderer of the seventeenth century. A contextual comparison can then be made, together with a comparative study of the role of symbolism in each century. One

may then draw conclusions concerning the validity of such assertions.

Table Six lists those motifs most commonly employed in the sixteenth century, with their standard symbolic meanings. In that century there is no doubt that symbolic devices were commonly used and understood.[2] Comtemporary portraits illustrate a number of examples, as do textiles such as the Oxburgh Hangings, reinforcing the motif with mottoes such as were employed in contemporary Emblem Books.[3] In such examples[4] one can see a traditional symbolic language purposely employed and reinforced by such works as those of Paradin, Giovo, Alciati and Whitney. The literature of the period also assumes that the audience are familiar with the imagery of the author.[5]

In the seventeenth century, with increasing instances of anti-idolatrous, anti-Catholic, anti-Marian feeling[6], the overt use of these emblems declined. Rather than being totally supressed however, such symbols entered into the language of folklore. The 'bud and branch' of the Virgin continued to be embroidered on babies gowns as a 'luck' charm, rather than the symbol of fertility it formerly was.[7] Such 'pagan' practices continued unabated throughout the Protectorate, Herrick writing in To the Maids to Walk Abroad

> ...who shall make
> That wedding smock...
> That Dress, this Sprig, that Leaf, that Vine;
> ...guild the Baies and Rosemary;
> What Posies for Wedding Rings,
> What Gloves we'l give, and Ribanings...

This is not to say that allegorical material, consciously used as allegory, entirely diappeared, far from it. In 1624 the practice is mentioned by John Taylor in In Praise of the Needle,

Table Six

PRE-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY COMMON SYMBOLIC AND ALLEGORICAL MOTIFS

+ - frequently used in seventeenth century embroidery

Flowers and Fruit

+ Eglantine	Chastity
+ Columbine	Holy Spirit (virtually confined to seventeenth century but does occur end sixteenth century).
+ Daffodil	Christians connections through it's folk name of the 'Lent Lily'.
Marigold	Flowers of the Sun
Violet	Humility
Daisy	Humility
+ Honeysuckle	Enduring Faith
Cowslips	Keys of St.Peter (Herb Peter)
+ Carnations, Pinks	Love
+ Pansies	Meditation, The Trinity
+ Roses	Earthly Love, Fertility, Luck, Heavenly Bliss, Divine Love, Symbol of the Crown.
White Rose	Purity
Myrtle	Venus
Sunflower	Constancy
Three Bloom together	Trintity and True Perfection, Signifies the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.
Four Flower Heads	The four Evangelists
Single Bloom of 7 Florets	Perfection
Lily in Pot	Annunciation
Garland	Victory
Bud and Branch	Virgin and Child, Fertility
Olive Branch	Victory
+ Tree of Life	Allegory of the Garden of Eden

Tree Stump	Symbol of Queen of Richard II
Ears of Corn	Christ
+ Vine	Christ
Fruit in Basket	Annunciation
+ Strawberries	Purity and Rightiousness
+ Cornucopia	Ceres, Autumn, the Earth (element)

Fauna

+ Stag	Royal Supporter
Leopard pursuing Stag	Leopard (care) pursuing Stag (the Soul) through Life, Persian.
+ Leopard	Royal Supporter
+ Griffon	Fire
+ Chimera	Wisdom and Watchfulness
Bees	Dilligence and Industry
Silkworm	Industry
+ Snails	Laziness
+ Moth	Transitoriness of Human Life
Salamander	Fire
+ Hillock and Rabbits	Earth
+ Fish in Pool	Water
White Hart Couchant	Royal Supporter
White Falcon	Royal Supporter
+ Pelican	Piety
+ Lion	Royal Supporter, Redeemer (Lion of the tribe of Judah), Evil Principal, Enemy of the Church, Emblem of the Devil, Attribute of St.Mark, Fortitude (Hercules) When coupled with Eagles may represent Royalist sympathies as a symbol of a desire for victory.
+ Unicorn	Supporter, Chastity.

+ Unicorn	Royal Supporter, Chastity
+ Peacock	Christ as Everlasting Life, Purity
+ Owl	Wisdom

Miscellaneous

Rainbow	Peace
+ Old Man Tending a Pot	Winter
Armillary Sphere	Sphere of Destiny
Compass	Constancy
+ Sun in Splendour	The Trinity

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY ADDITIONS

+ Caterpillar	Badge of Charles II
+ Butterfly	Restoration of the Monarchy
+ Oak and Acorn	Charles I and Charles II
+ Oak Leaves	Charles II
+ Oak Apples	Charles II
Thistle	Emblem of Scotland, appears after the accession of James I

+ Magnolia and Paeonies	Spring	Taoist or Buddist symbols adopted with the increased contact with Oriental art, but used in a western fashion as decoration, not symbolism.
+ Lotus Flower and Grapes	Summer	
+ Chrysanthemums, Fruit and Pruning Hook	Autumn	
+ Rose and Prunus	Winter	

...clothes of Arras I have seene...
Moreover ...posies rare, and anagrams,
Signifique searching sentances from names,
True history,or pleasant fiction,
In sundry colours mixt, with arts commission,
All in dimensions, ovals, squares, and rounds,
Arts life included within natures bounds...

Introductions to the seventeenth century repertoire of emblems were mostly connected with Charles I and the restoration of the monarchy. The numbers of Oak trees and acorns that appear in mid-seventeenth century work, often executed in full or semi-relief, must often be references to these events. A link can surely be assumed between the social situation of the embroiderers and their political affiliations. However, automatic assumptions must not be made. The majority of the myriad insects that crawl across work of this period must be seen as simply filling material for an otherwise sparse design. In this light too must be considered the majority of the strawberry and pansy sprigs, and the 'Sun in Splendour' occurs too often for it to be seen as anything other than a conventionalised motif. Similarly the rare Palm tree, if it was deployed with a conscious use of it's true significance (see Chapter Four) would no doubt occur more frequently.

Exceptions to this rule are usually self-evident; the linking of seasonal flowers and allegorical figures for instance. The Pelican in her Piety is another such, when dating from the early part of the century and used in conjunction with alms purses or gloves (often given as tokens), that may be regarded as having symbolic value, but later becomes merely another motif.

In the later years of the century there is a gradual increase in the use of allegorical figures, such as the personification of the

Sciences (Grammatica, Rhetorica, Arithmatique, Architecture, Perspective and Astrologie). One such figure is probably intended in 1960.231, possibly that of Charity.[8] In general these figures are drawn from the Classics of embody an ideal.Between 1650-80 a number of embroideries were worked ostensibly depicting the visit of the Queen of Sheba. They form a particularly interesting body, falling into three compositional groups,(see Chapter Four) and two distinct and roughly numerically equal sub-groups. The first group show an anonymous King and Queen, but the second features portrait likenesses of Henrietta Maria and Charles I.Whether the entire genre was so intended is, at this juncture, impossible to say. It is curious that only Charles I and his Queen receive such numerical attention, though a number date from the post-Restoration period. Representations of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, or at least pieces recognisable as such, are much less common.

This portraiture on occasion occurs in reverse. There are a number of 'lovers' designs, for example 1907.321, where ostensibly the same design is treated in one instance as as the 'lovers' and then as vehicles for the monarchs. These two figures are also sometimes shown with a retinue, and then may be read as Solomon and Sheba,and allegories of themselves. These examples may perhaps be read as expressions of Royalist sympathy and allusions to the scriptural precedent of the Divine Right of Kings[9].

The number of flower types that are seen in this work may be read as symbolic to us (but not to their creators) of the botanical discoveries of the period.[10] The strawberry, for example, so common in sixteenth and seventeenth century design, was only introduced into Britain in the reign of Elizabeth I. The interest in gardens

and botany in the sixteenth century amounted to a mania, the flowers seen in embroidery those that comprised the fashionable 'nose-gay' garden; pansies, roses, violets, carnations and marigolds.[11] A wealth of illustrative literature was produced on the subject[12]. The use of such motifs was in no way slavish but changing patterns of education and practice meant that the sixteenth century worker may well have had more scope for personal design than her grandchildren. Grace Sherrington, married at the age of fifteen, wrote,

> "...also every day I spend some tyme in works of mine owne invention, without sample or patterns before me for carpet of cushion worke, and to draw flowers and fruitt to their lyfe with my plumett upon paper..."
> (cited in Gardiner, p192)

By the second quarter of the seventeenth century the vegetable ardour had not so much cooled, as become established, and representations of fruit and flowers, naturalistically portrayed, became increasingly common. John Evelyn notes in his Diary , March 1st. St.Germains,

> "We went to visit...one of the greatest virtuosos in France for his collection of...flowers, especially tulips and anenomes."

This last can be seen as a reference to the 'tulipomania' that swept Europe, though especially Holland, and gave rise to the pyramidal blue and white edifices of the Tulipière, and garden ornaments that may be seen depicted in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century embroideries and textiles.[13] The passion for plants seems to have been undiminished by the Civil War. It is possible that the novelty factor of these plants from the Levant and New World acconunts for their popularity,(Evelyn recording a visit to a gardener, 1651, May 23rd, with a collection of "choice plants and flowers in minature" pictures, who was compiling a natural histoay) but, as the fashion continued to gain momentum during the

Protectorate, these blooms were perhaps answering a need for beauty and colour that was now unobtainable through the medium of religious material. These desires were thus channelled into the production of unimpeachable images in silk, and, indeed, almost every other medium available. This did not of course apply so strongly to continental conditions, but the other main 'flowerers' were the sober Dutch.

Towards the end of the century, with a lightening of the moral regime, and,not withstanding the Dutch Wars of Charles II, trade in both goods and aesthetics with the Low Countries grew, and with it floral ornament became ever more predominant in embroideries.

Indicative of the expanding horizons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are such embroideries as figs.3 and 4. Examples of the exotic livestock that begin to appear in seventeenth century work were displayed in the fashionable aviaries and menageries of the great houses and Royal Parks. Among the animals mentioned by Evelyn on a visit to one such in 1665, are Pelicans, Storks, Balerian Cranes, exotic Deer, Antelopes and Stags.[14]

The pressures outlined in Chapter One can thus be seen to have exercised a number of influences over the thematic material of the seventeenth century; shaping material that, while owing a legacy to the sixteenth century, in the final product was crucially different to the parent stock. In the sixteenth century the combined effects of the Renaissance legacy and the Reformation had tempered even religious material with an aesthetic founded in Humanism. The reactionary movement that necessarily followed had thus created three distinct periods; periods that, in turn, acted on parallel developments in that same thematic material, finally culminating in

a common aesthetic that was to be irrevocably rooted in the seventeenth century.

REFERENCES, CHAPTER THREE

1. See Chapter Four.

2. Visual puns, particularly on names, were common; Archbishop Parker, for example, presented Elizabeth I with a volume bound with an embroidery showing a deer park. Similar devices were carved over doors and fireplaces.

3. In the seventeenth century the use of emblematic material accompanied by verse was relegated to the province of the sampler. Parker forwards an example of thematic material which, inthe context of caskets or panels can be seen to be treated in such a way as to support the central argument, but, when applied to samplers coupled with a verse, presents the opposing interpretation. However, the lone example offered, without provenance, of a verse running, "Adam in Paradice did grieve / And thought Eden a desert without Eve / Until God pitying his lonesome state / Crowns all his wish with a lovely mate / Then why should men think mean, or slight her /That could not live in Paradise without her." is not sufficient evidence to allow one to accept this theory at face value.

4. Freeman recounts the way in which Elizabeth I was entertained on her progresses through England with allegorical pageants and poetry.

5. Obvious examples are the 'flower' speeches in Shakespeares Hamlet and The Winters Tale. He is also thought to have made use of Paradin in writing Pericles. Similar use may be seen in the work of Spenser and Herbert. However, a self-conciousness deliberate and forced use of allegory becomes apparent by the end of the sixteenth century. Though the allegorical image is still of importance to the work, the drawing of likenesses is no longer a means, as in Medieval literature, to understanding the Universe, (as in the Astronomical Man) but an end in itself,a conjuring skill. By the Restoration the use of allegory had been largely discarded as irrelevant.

6. John Taylor, In Praise of the Needle.

7. In general terms many of the flowers may read as fertility symbols - for example, those carried by the woman in the 'lovers' motif. The motif is an example of those common to both samplers and 'finished' work.

8. If this interpretation is accepted, the assumption that this piece is a panel for a casket is strengthened, other areas representing the remaining virtues.

9. More overt suggestions of Royalist allegiance are to be found in the numbers of embroidered portraits of Charles I, often in Point Tresse, incorporating supposed locks of his hair. A curious corollary is the ledgend of Royalist children being encouraged to work samplers showing Cromwell with the appurtenances of the Devil. Another expression of these ideas is the copy of the Eikon Basiliske, The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings. Victoria and Albert Museum T.117-1936. c.1650-75. This copy has an embroidered cover which alludes to the sufferings of Charles I as similar to those of Christ, and show his son supported by Angels who hold the earthly crown above his head. Despite attempts to suppress the book it was widely circulated.

10. See Brickell and Sharman.

11. Beck likens the chimera of the seventeenth century to the contemporary prediliction for grafting, topiary etc. Celia Fiennes describes the trick fountains and grottoes at Wilton (p9), together with the 'basons' that are a standard feature in contemporary amateur embroidery.

12. See Appendix Two.

13. Brickell relates part of a report by Sir William Temple, "...few countries are before us, either in the elegance of our gardens, or in the number of our plantes..." It is also in this period that the art of floristry is introduced into Britain, largely by Hugenot refugees in 1685.

14. Diary of John Evelyn, February 9th, 1665.

CHAPTER FOUR

Pattern Sources of Religious and Secular Thematic Material in the Seventeenth Century.

The question arising from the discussions in the preceding chapters is that of the design sources for each thematic group. Again there is some contention over this subject; contention that arises out of the very existence of delineable groups of embroideries. Without any great difficulty one can point to incidences of identical motifs in a number of embroideries - one immediately thinks of the 'lovers' motif, previously mentioned. This being so, surely, it is argued, there is a case for there having existed a central source, or small number of sources for these designs. Putting aside the question of particular published sources for the moment, it would be well to consider the possible ways in which these patterns might have come into the hands of the embroiderer.

There are four possible hypotheses to consider: one, that the designs were drawn by the embroiderer from her imagination, two, that the embroiderer employed an intermediary in the form of a pattern-drawer, three, that the patterns were purchased commercially and transferred to the ground, and fourthly, that the prepared ground was purchased complete. A definitive assertion on any one answer is at present impossible, but consideration of the evidence shows some support, however slight, for each. One might conclude therefore that there was no one single method or source.

Letters or bills may surface in the future, but it is to be regretted that so many records of tradesmen around the precincts of St.Pauls Cathedral, in which area one might expect to find such businesses located, were destroyed in the Fire of 1666; evidence of such transactions is therefore disproportionately scarce. There are few references to this work in personal records and inventories, which, when considers the popularity of the genre, is itself surprising.

To examine each hypothesis in sequence, we turn first to the theory that patterns were designed by the embroiderer. Painting and drawing certainly formed part of the curriculum in the seventeenth century, as we have seen in Chapter One, and one might conjecture that many of the designs might have proved suitable for some form of needlework. This would in part explain the numbers of odd themes that occur in Table One. If one looks also at the sometimes awkward composition exhibited by work of this period, and to this the fact that it was established practice for sixteenth century women to work their own designs (there not being the quantity of pattern books that were later available), then such an idea is feasible: the example of Grace Sherrington has already been quoted.[1]

Many seventeenth century embroidery designs may also be seen worked on contemporary samplers, a point that would argue that some designs were drawn from work of an earlier age; this was, after all, the intended use of the sampler. One example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, carries a representation of Judith and Holofernes that does not appear to relate to any other known example: can this then be an example of an amateur design?

Against any argument based on such examples stands the sophistication of many of these embroideries. Although childhood in the seventeenth century was a very different institution than that of today, there is an unlooked-for maturity in much of this work. Despite such provenance as that of the Hannah Smith casket and other similar pieces, some doubt must remain that all examples of this genre were the work of children. There are of course exceptions, such as the

panel 1983.1151, that shows a naivety of workmanship and design that is especially rare in a piece of this date.

Regarding the evidence that supports the view wherein we suppose an intermediary between the design and the embroiderer, either professional or amateur, we find rather more to support this view. One can quote the sixteenth century precedent of Mary,Queen of Scot's, and her petition of 1567 to the Lords of Council to allow her

> "...an imbroderer to drawe forth such worke as she would be occupied about..."[2]

(This evidence at the same time militates evidence of such as Grace Sherrington). Further evidence of the employment of an intermediary in the sixteenth century (and there is no reason to suppose that the practice was not carried through, along with so much else into the seventeenth) may be assumed in the sheer volume of embroidered articles that appear in inventories and accounts. These lead one to believe that there must have been professional embroiderers in almost every large house. Documented members of the Broderer's Company were not above turning their hands to pattern drawing for private individuals.[3] John Nevinson's research on the Blair Castle panel (1654-6) has revealed an interesting affiliation between the professional and amateur embroiderer. The panel has proved to have been drawn by a professional member of the Broderer's Company and it has been suggested that such commissions were undertaken by these men to 'earn some money during the Commonwealth when little ecclesiastical, heraldic or Court commissions would have been available'.[4] There is known to have been a professional

embroiderer employed at Naworth,[5] and tradition has it that Bess of Harwick took advantage of the designers working on the house, engaging them to draw patterns for embroidery.

Seventeenth century references to non-professional designers also appear. The Shuttleworth family, for example, paid 2s.4d. in 1619 to a Mr Bradell 'for drawing a waste coate and a night cappe'. Mr. Bradell was not only a school master, but acted as Receiver General for the Duchy of Lancaster and, as such, was a prominent citizen.[6] A work based on the designs of Samuel Ward, a preacher, has been traced in the embroidery 'Pharoah Crossing the Red Sea' in the Lady Lever Gallery.

In the realm of professional work we can cite the pattern drawers John Stillwell, fig.5, and John Neelham, o Nelham, who is known to have worked from the sign of the 'Sugar Lofe',Grayfriars, Newgate Market' for much of his working life.[7] In 1638 Lady Brilliana Harley employed him to draw a "pattern on the cloth". In a letter of the 22nd. March, she would have him 'hasten the sending of the piece of cloth he had to draw'. Almost a year later she writes again that she had the'petticoate that Mr.Neelham did drawe, and the silke and the wyne', and adds that she would not pay him until in receipt of a piece of green cloth which she had evidently ordered.[8] These letters are one of the few accounts of such transactions, and show that the widespread incidence of similar patterns would have been quite feasible at this juncture through this primitive 'mail-order' system. Only one example of Nelham's work has been identified, and further research has been unable to establish any connection between him and examples of a similar design.[9]

Another of the few documented professionals in this field was one George Paravinci, a man important to our understanding of seventeenth century trade organisation in that he describes himself as a 'Pinker, Cutter And Raiser of Sattin'.[10] Paravinci, interestingly, also styles himself as a 'Haberdasher',[11] but our knowledge of him is limited to his tradecard, collected by Samuel Peyps. On it, Paravinci offers his services as a drawer of 'Petticoats, Wastcoats, Quilts' and 'Indian patterns for Japan or Quilting'.[12] There is no date on the card itself, but since Peyps died in 1703, we can assume a date in the last quarter of the century. That Paravinci describes himself as a 'Raiser of Sattin' is important, though meagre, evidence for the final hypothesis at which we shall look - that the raised and flat panel designs and accesories were sold in 'kit' form.

However, we should look, before considering this, at the use of prints and pattern books, by amateur and professional alike. That pattern drawers did avail themselves of such works is shown in the Will of John Nelham's father. Proved in 1654, he talks of the "...books and prints and patterns which I do use for the drawings of workes..."[13]. One can envisage the designer with his premises stocked with printed volumes, fabrics, 'beames and lathes and working instruments'[14] which the prospective embroiderer might visit, or from which the itinerant packmen would journey around the isolated estates. A selection of the motifs could be made in either case, and the work carried out by the drawer and sent on when complete.

The alternative scenario associated with the idea of book-based designs is one in which the amateur embroiderer purchases the relevant volumes or sheets, and transfers the design to the ground fabric

herself. Surviving examples of contemporary pattern books are often heavily mutilated from being 'pricked and pounced',and thus would support such a thesis; though this might as esaily have been the work of a professional designer as that of an amateur.Unless one can prove the continued presence of such a volume in a private library from it's initial purchase, each supposition is unprovable.

Richard Shoreleyker's publication of 1632 does,however, support this amateur theory. In the introduction to the volume he gives directions as to how

> 'The Worker may contrive any worke, Bird, Beast, or Flower into bigger or lesser porportion according as you shall see cause.'[15]

Such a statement is indicative that the volume was aimed at the amateur designer.That the embroiderer did use these books, but did not apply the advice tendered, coping the patterns wholesale with no regard for appropriate scale, is evident in the strange miscellany of motifs that occur in many embroideries: discrepancies that are not evident in other media employing the same designs, but more clearly the work of professional artisans.

A.J.B.Wace[16] suggests that the practice of issuing individual sheets of designs common in the seventeenth century, was not current prior to 1600. However, the practice was to become increasingly prevalent as the century progressed. Sets of designs were published in great numbers in the seventeenth century[17] and were the stock in trade of dealers such as Peter Stent and Thomas Trevelyon. It is known that volumes of a more literary nature could be hired for viewing in the shop by the hour, and one might speculate whether the embroiderer with access to such establishments might not have so perused the

latest pattern books and botanical works, reproducing them from memory.

The final hypothesis, founded on little evidence, has possibly the greatest following. The argument runs that, to account for numbers of stylistically similar elements, one must assume that panels were purchased ready drawn, complete with all accessories. However, this would only be acceptable if one could point to significant numbers of embroideries of identical design, worked in identical techniques. But there are no such examples. 'Very similar' pieces exist,[18] but none exhibit totally identical slips throughout, with the same arrangements of panels. Only if such correspondences were proved would the theory be sufficiently differentiated from that of a designer and a workshop. If one bases a scenario around Paravinci (and one example is insufficient evidence to build a thesis), one might rather suggest that the haberdasher is the more likely supplier of moulds, fabrics, threads, and possibly even a small supply of pattern elements. One possible support for the theory is a casket in the Embroiderer's Guild collection. Depicting the story of Esther and Ahasuerus, the interior tray is printed underneath with the legend ' Sold by John Overton at the White Horse Inn', but it is possible that this refers to the pattern rather than the complete casket. However, it cannot be ignored.

This theory does little also to confront the problem of the variety of sizes and shapes in caskets; it is always salutary to consider not only similarities, but dis-similarities. There are no discernable standards in size, fittings, or even feet. Standards of construction vary considerably which would argue against a central source. There are no recorded cases of haberdashers operating in conjunction with print sellers and upholsterers or coffer makers (who carried out this type of work, both trades being in a state of transition). From the

standards of joinery generally exhibited, one might be tempted to lay the 'blame' at the upholsterers door, though coffer makers traditionally lined their product with down-padded silk or linen, the former quilted or perfumed - a characteristic of many of the caskets and boxes. Later examples of caskets exhibit purely paper linings, and these may be the product of upholsterers, since such was against the 1635 Ordinances of the Leathersellers Company, of which coffer makers were members. Supportive of this notion, also, are the rare travelling cases of leather for caskets and mirrors; which, in the early part of the century were the prerogative of coffer makers, while the upholsterers confined themselves to 'bays' covers.

That printed sources were used for embroideries is indisputable, but what was available to the designer does not necessarily correspond with what was used - which became evident in the analysis of Chapter Two. Visual sources must be seen as printed pattern books, manuscript pattern books, Herbals, Emblem Books, Horae and Manuscripts, Bestiaries, Prints, and indeed, virtually every contemporary allied decorative art. These last will be discussed in a later Chapter; here we will confine the discussion to printed sources.

It is perhaps illuminating to look first at the broad possibilities, and then to turn to individual themes and trace, where possible, thematic developments.

THE PRINTED SHEET

Peter Stent[19] offered, during the 1640's, a selection of books for '...Drafts of Men, Birds, Beasts, Flowers, Fruit, Flyes, Fishes'

'...Birds sitting on Sprigs', 'One Book of Beasts', 'One Book of Branches', 'One Book of Flowers', 'Nine Plates of Emblems'. If we refer to Table One, we can see the extent to which these and his other stock are representative of the range of seventeenth century iconography, for Stent also stocked ' 4 seasons of the Yeare', 'the 5 Senses','the 4 quarters of the World', 'The King, Queen and Children', 'Abraham offering Isak', 'Adam and Eve','James 2nd.son of the late K', 'King Henry the 8', 'K.Edward the 6','K.James',' Queen Elizabeth', 'K.Charles'.[20] Another volume appeared in 1661, with a frontispiece engraving of 'Flora', entitled The Second booke of Flowers...exactly drawne, newly printed with additions by John Dunstall, with a third edition, testament to it's popularity,being produced the same year. Another catalogue dated 1662 includes 'Susanna and the Elders', 'Adam and Eve','Abraham offering up Issac','Moses Lifting up the Serpant in the Wilderness', and 'Plates, Heads of Kings and Princes'. This selection, numbering over five hundred different items by the mid 1660's, was supplemented by the lists of other book sellers such as John Overton[21] and William Simpson.[22]

Overton is less well documented, but two publications can be identified, though incomplete. Published in association with Stent,who is named as the engraver, they offer further evidence of the vast quantity of patterns available, and, moreover, a curious insight into contemporary trade practice.[23] See Appendix One.

Somewhere between the two fields of printed engraving and the pattern book are the volumes of theological scenes such as the Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti [24] of de Jode,1585, Holbein's Historiarum Veteris Testamenti Icones, the Quadrins Historiques de

la Bible, 1553, of Jean de Tournes, with woodcuts by Bernard Salomon, Virgil Solis' Biblische Figuren, 1560, and Joesephus Flavius' Antiquitates Judiciae, 1580, with illustrations by Jost Amman. Also of note within this genre are Crispin de Passe's Liber Genesis, the Biblia Sacra with de Bry's illustrations, and Tobias Stimmer's Neue künstiche Figuren Biblisher Historien, 1576. Many of these figure in individual attributions, discussed later in this chapter.

PATTERN BOOKS

If the falling prices attendant on book auctions of the early seventeenth century are any indication of the general interest in literature in this period[25] the field of pattern book publishing must have been something of an anomaly. From the second quarter of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth, in excess of 150 pattern books for various types of needleworks were published. This figure does not include the numerous reprints and subsequent editions of certain volumes. Large numbers of these were published abroad and imported into Britain, but there were domestic editions, and also translations of works. Significantly, though we have seen that there is a strong case for much of this work being prepared in the workshops of the professional, most of these volumes were specifically aimed at the *amateur embroiderer*.[26]

The earliest of the pattern books to have survived, an Italian production entitled Esemplario di lavore: dove le tenere faniculle et altre donne potranno facilmente imparare, il modo et ordine di lavorare, ranamare, et far tutte quelle gentilezze et lodeveli opere, le quali po fare una donna virtuosa con laco in mano, con

li suoi compare et misure. Published in Venice, by Nicolo D'Aristotile detto Zoppino, 1529. More succinctly titled was the next known volume Les Singuliers et Nouveaux Pouctraits du Seigneur Federic de Vinciolo. Also Venetian, this is dated variously 1578,1587 and 1588.[27] The turn of the century saw the next publication of note, the Nouveau pourtraicts de point coupe et dentelles en petite moyenne et grande forme, nouvellement inventes et mis en lumiere, 1598. This was one of a group of publications that exhorted women to industry through needlework. Witness to this desire also, are the portrayals of allegorical figures such as 'Wisdom, Industrie and Folly' on the title page of The Needles Excellency, fig.6.

Novelty was obviously an important selling point in this market, each title having an emphasis on the 'novelty' or 'newness' of it's designs. It should also be noted that whilst patterns in seventeenth century petit point and surface embroidery can be traced to these volumes, the designers were still gearing the patterns themselves primarily towards the laces and cutworks so popular on the Continent. The developing embroidery idiom of Britain was not specifically catered for, and it is perhaps for this reason that more of this type of work cannot be traced to direct printed references. Their aesthetic may have influenced British work, but the patterns, by and large, appear to have required the interpretative skill of the pattern drawer.

Pattern books are naturally one of the finest mirrors of fashionable taste available to the historian, and if the numbers of reprints are any indication, that patterns they contained were, despite the previous observation, in wide and enduring demand. It is the enduring quality of some of these motifs that is important when looking at

some of the other pattern sources. However, exact matches of drawing to embroidery are rare, and one can only assume that the most popular motifs were copied to such an extent that their sources have disintegrated.

Perhaps one of the most important, certainly the best known, of all these volumes is Shoreleyker's A Scholehouse for the Needle. First published in 1624, this book has been quoted before in reference to the sociologically revealing poem that prefaces it. Though running to many editions[29] very few copies are extant.[30] The work exhibits a change in emphasis from the linear style of the sixteenth century.[31] The 1632 edition contained patterns that included borders in the old style (1943.4550) together with birds, animals, fishes etc. A single plate from another work by this author survives (B.M.Print Room,157b,25f.56.) depicting birds on stumps; a common device in contemporary embroidery of all techniques. The problem that confronts the historian concerning these volumes is that, if this plate and the rest of the original book, together with all the other available material, was presented to embroiderers, what explanation accounts for the relatively small number of specific motifs in contemporary embroidery? Such numerically small varients must support the theory of designs, or a significant proprtion of them, originating in a small number of workshops.

Shoreleyker's book is one of a number that began to suggest that the designs were sutiable for interpretation, not only in a number of embroidery techniques (and now those suggested by the author begin to match the major types actually being worked) but also media. A Schole house for the Needle mentions patterns that,

'...will fitly serve to be wrought some with gould,some with silke,some with crewel coullers: or otherwise at your pleasure...'

The examples of spot motifs that he gives are all of a type commonly seen in contemporary embroideries; butterflies, snails etc. Examples are given of both single specimen flowers, and those in pots and vases similar to 1925.418, and the Frontispiece of the widely circulated Paradisi in Sole Paradisius Terrestris, fig 7. Figs.8 and 9 come from Ostaus' volume. Another example of this duality of design intentions is Thomas Geminus'[32] Morysse and Damaschin Renewed and Encreased. Very Profitable for Goldsmythes and Embroyderars,1548. From the early date of this publication it cannot be claimed that this was a new idea, but it seems to elicited greater interest in the seventeenth century. Similarly Jacques le Moyne indicated in La Clef des Champs,1586, that the volume was intended for artists working in many media, including, almost incidentally, embroiderers and tapestry weavers.[33] In Praise of the Needle is interesting in that it lists the designs it introduces as suitable for 'tent work, rais'd worke, laid worke, frost worke, net worke...' followed by a list of stitches.

Pattern books of this type would largely explain the recurrence of the same designs in a number of the decorative arts (see Chapter Five). Many of the early works are largely filled with strips of scrolling or geometrical designs, on a squared ground. Interspersed with the floral motifs we may also see the animal and bird motifs that were also to become common in this work (see Chapter Four). Shoreleyker was another who designed patterns for execution in a number of techniques; darned lacis, petit point, punto in aria, buratto

etc. Since the main image of this work is taken from a print sold by Peter Stent, one might consider the possibility of this, or a similar publication, being sold by that merchant. Later examples begin to feature larger quantities of figurative work. From the earlier period, perhaps the most notable works are those of Vinciolo and Giovanni Ostaus. A Scole house for the Needle however, may be attributed as the source for the motifs on a shift in the Victoria and Albert Museum, dated 1630.

Trevelyons'Miscellany of 1608 in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, is an incomplete volume containing some 290 out of an estimated 327 original folios. Some 80 of these are patterns purely for embroidery, and a number of oddments such as 'The Occupations of the Months' would also be suitable. One such showing portraits of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators is similar to a printed composition by Samuel Ward, mentioned previously.[34] Another volume dated September 12th,1616, contains essentially the same material, but with the important additions of Old Testament and British historical portraits including the Kings of England, based on engravings by H.Golzius. There are also a number of allegorical motifs, plus, significantly, transcripts from herbals and Topsell's Book of Beasts.This is in some part an indication of the importance and popularity of these works in seventeenth century commercial terms.

Embroideries have been identified that can trace their compositions to the 'drawne works' of Trevelyon[35], and it is possible that others will be found illustrating the same designs. Nevinson argues that the drawings are in some instances copies of existing embroideries, and not in fact original designs.[36] Trevelyon was sixty-eight when he compiled the 1616 volume, and therefore most of the patterns are

grounded in the aesthetic of the late Renaissance.In common with other works of this period, it contains designs for embroideries, printed portraits and allegorical motifs, and designs specifically intended for carpentry and garden parterres, knots and mazes, and most importantly, for the buildings of the 'Nonsuch' chests. Trevelyon was responsible also for the compilation of the Common Place Book. The ubiquitous nature of several seventeenth century motifs are explained by the eclectic nature of such volumes.

A number of these publications contained little original material, and so to an extent the vast array of material may be reduced. James Boler's The Needles Excellency was, by 1640, in it's twelfth edition, much of it's material lifted from a number of diverse sources. Similarly, John Wolfe is responsible for pirating many of the continental publications and reprinting them as English language editions. That such was profitable is indicative either of the spread of these works across the social classes, of else that the restricted education, then deemed suitable, discussed in Chapter One, was making itself felt.

Women were also designing for embroiderers, and there seems little to differentiate their designs from that of their male counterparts. Had the feminist 'movement' been at all widespread, one might have expected the work of the female designers perhaps to have reflected this in the type of imagery they produced. Rather they were of the ilk of Maria Sibylle Merian, 1647-1717, German, and a botanical illustrator, heavily influenced by Dutch flower painting. Besides a number of volumes in the style of Moufet, she produced the Neues Blumen Buch in 1680, many of the plates of which were specifically intended to serve as embroidery designs, being adaptations of

Nicholas Roberts' Diverses Fleurs.

Just as the dedications to pattern books can be seen to encourage embroidery as a moral pastime, so too did they take a stand on moral issues; Boler tempers the pleasures of his work with a moralistic sanction that would have appealed to the more Puritan element of his public. He subtitles The Needles Excellency,

> 'A new book wherin are divers Admirable Workes wrought with the Needle for the pleasure and profit of the industrious.'

Again one can see the work ethic, the common denominator of female education being reinforced. Even in recreational activity her actions are directed towards the development of those character traits and habits desired by society at large. Most striking are the verses that preface A Booke of Curious and strange Inventions, Called the first part of Needle-workes. Published by one William Barley in 1596, they so admirably express the feeling of the period and are so intrinsic a part of these pattern books, that they are worth quoting in full;

> The wit of man by divers things is tride,
> Some for the soule do bend their study still:
> Some on the seas do search the world so wide,
> In Alcomie others trie their skill:
> Some other love the liberall Arts to learne
> The ground of knowledge therby to discerne.
>
> But farre unfit for tender woman kinde,
> Such toylesome studies altogether be:
> Although thier wits most sharp and swift we finde
> Their milkwhite hands the needle finer fits,
> With silke gold to prove their pregnabt wits.
>
> In needle works there doth great knowledge rest,
> A fine conceit thereby full soone is showne:
> A drowsie brain this skill cannot digest,
> Paine spent on such, in vaine awaie is throne:
> They must be carefull, dilligent and wise,
> In needleworkes that beare away the prise.

This worke beseemeth Queenes of great renowne,
And Noble Ladies of a high degree:
Yet not exempt for maids of any Towne,
For all may learn that thereto willing be:
Come then sweet gyrles and hereby learne the way,
With good report to live another day.

For many maidens but of base degree,
By their fine knowledge in this curious thing:
With Noble Ladies oft companions be,
Sometimes they teach the daughter of a King,
Thus by their knowledge, fame and good report,
They are esteemed among the noblest sort.

Then prettie maidens view this prettie booke,
Marke well the workes that you therin doe finde:
Sitting at worke cast not aside your looke,
They profit small that have a gazing minde:
Keep cleane your Samplers, sleep not as you sit;
For sluggishness doth spoil the rarest wit.

This book is clearly aimed at the amateur embroiderer using to produce her own patterns, not the professional. From such evidence one must conclude that both techniques - that of the pattern book in the hands of the amateur, and that of the pattern drawer, were commonly used. Thus the varients in contemporary work, as well as the similarities, are reconciled.

BESTIARIES

Bestiaries of the sixteenth century and the earlier 'Physiologus' are the counterpart of the popular herbals. They reflect both the tradition and the contemporary love of the new and exotic, serving a dual function as 'manuals of symbolism...of analogies for the preacher and of significant details for the illustrator.' [37]
The bestiary of the seventeenth century was rather different to it's Medieval counterpart, which had not confined itself to living examples but had also portrayed mythological beasts; but were to find a place in the consciousness of the period. Perhaps the best known of these were Gesner's Historia Animalium, 1515, Wooton's

Differntus Animalium 1552, Nicholas de Bruyn's Animalium Quadrepedium of 1594, and Topsell's Historie of Four-Footed Beasts,1606.

BOTANY BOOKS

The waves of botanical treatises, of varying quality, that swept across Europe in the mid-sixteenth century were an instant success already familiar with the herbal and bestiary from the Renaissance, and their successors such as the Hortus Sanitatis. In common with pattern books for embroidery a number of anthologies were compilations of earlier works. Moufet's The History of four-footed beasts and serpants, Whereupon is now added The Theatre of Insects, 1658, admits to culling designs from Wotton, Gesner and Penney.

These volumes were liberally illustrated with wood cuts, and their linear style was easily reproduced by embroiderers. The publishers imprint appears on each page of many of these works, which suggests that they were also available as single sheets. Characteristic of this genre, and contemporary embroideries, are the assorted motifs of varying scales displayed on a single page.Figs. 10 and 11.

HERBALS

In a similar vein and from a similar tradition are the herbals.[39] They, too, were liberally illustrated with fine quality wood cuts of every plant the designer could wish for. The finest period for these illustrations is between 1530 and 1614[40] and the often styalised convention of portrayal in these publications was mirrored in the embroiderered slips of contemporary embroidery. Elaborate versions of the sprigs depicted in these volumes were the stock in trade of seventeenth century designers. Figs.12 and 13.

To the child of the period the herbal was part of her everyday life,[41] and at least one would have been found in every still-room.

It is not surprising if the embroiderer turned to these for inspiration.[42] As botanical illustrations the crude woodcuts of the Hortus Sanitatis, 1475, Macer's De Viribus Herbarum 1490, and the Buch der Natur, 1482, are no doubt inferior, but the stylisation of the root parts, the four-square rendering, the lack of perspective, and any but the crudest modelling, make these designs stylistically similar to the floral motifs of the seventeenth century.Fig.14.

The illustrative material of such works as Crispin de Passe's A Garden of Flowers, 1614-16, are indicative of the increasing stylisation of seventeenth century aesthetics. The sixteenth century had aimed at naturalism, in the Verdure tapestries and other embroideries, however far short of the mark they fell. Now flowers and fruit were increasingly arranged in small clumps, and this change can be traced in contemporary embroidery. Figs.15-16- 17. Later developments in the aesthetic are not so mirrored, however, as they were coincident with the decline of the herbal, as the specialised Flora and Pharmacopoeia developed and public demand declined.[43]

EMBLEM BOOKS

Of the sixteenth century A Choice of Emblems[44] was probably the first of it's kind in English, introduced into England from the Continent during the reign of Elizabeth I. They contain animal and plant motifs that can be seen constantly in sixteenth century work, and which were employed also in the seventeenth, though, as discussed in Chapter Three, perhaps not in quite the same way.[45] Reflecting the Elizabethan taste for allegory, the genre was ideally suited to use as pattern motifs; the emblems presented as a 'picture book' with explanatory captions.[46] Many of these had moral overtones[47] and in

this respect were ideally suited to seventeenth century needs, enjoying wide circulation.

Popular volumes were the Devises Heroiques of Claude Paradin, 1551, Gabriel Faerno's Fables, 1563,[48] and George Wither's A Collection of Emblems,[49] 1635, and the works of Giovo and Alciati mentioned in Chapter Three. The work of these authors contained not only the stock medieval symbols, but representations of the Greek and Roman ledgends,[50] Ovid, Pliny and Aesop[51]; all subjects that occur with some frequency in both sixteenth and seventeenth century textiles. See Table One. In The Faire Maid of the Exchange Moll Berry goes to consult with a 'drawer' because she cannot decide on a pattern for a handkerchief she intends to embroider as a gift for her lover;

> "In one corner of the same, place wanton Love,
> Drawing his bow shooting an amorous dart,
> Opposite him an arrow in a heart,
> In a third corner, picture forth disdaine,
> A cruel fate unto a loving vaine
> In the forth draw a springing Laurel-tree,
> Circled about with a ring of posie: and thus it is:
> Love wounds the heart, and conquers fell disdaine.
>
> (V.i.557-65)

Emblems, as testified by such references and examples such as the 'Shepherd Buss' in the Victoria and Albert Museum, were clearly standard sources for embroidery designs.

By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, the old type of Emblem book had been replaced works such as Francis Quarle's Emblems, 1635. In response to changing taste these introduced a whole new range of emblems that were to remain popular for the next forty years, when again demand declined.

There were a few Catholic works of a more strictly devotional nature, but for most of the century these were subject to seizure.

The brief period of liberty they enjoyed inthe late 1660's was not enough, however, to allow for their influence to permeate embroidery. It is not until the end of the century with greater liberallism at Court that such imagery is seen.

MANUSCRIPTS, BOOKS OF HOURS,HORAE AND BIBLES.

An important subsidary source for designs must be the large collections of illuminated manuscripts, books of Days and Hours, and the Horae of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, complemented by the many circulating illustrated Bibles. The Horae had maintained the the manuscript tradition of filling borders with sprigs and spot motifs, fig. 20, of flowers, insects, animals and birds, though later examples sometimes replace these with small vignettes.[52] Many of these bear a strong similarity to designs employed in amateur embroideries of the seventeenth century. Both Bibles and Horae bore Old Testament themes as illustrations, and border ornament developed to encompass themes such as The Prodigal Son, The Theological Virtues, and even the Triumphs of Caesar. Increasingly secular hunting scenes became standard decorative items, figs.21-2.

Of the bibles, the early Illustrated Bartsch 1484-6, was of a genre that includes Quentell's Colgne Bible, 1478-9, The Nuremburg Chronicle (Weltchronik),1493, the Malermi Bible, 1490, and the Lubeck Bible 1494. Though over a century separates them from the embroideries under consideration, the tradition of theological illustration that they represent is important. Seventeenth century examples are represented by such works as the'Breeches Bible', 1602, often encased in embroidered bindings.

PRINTED PAPERS AND FABRICS

Extant examples of wall and lining papers of the seventeenth century are not numerous, but from those few it is clear that they form an important source of patterns for embroidered textiles; though having identified such correlations one is still no nearer to tracing the original source of the common design. Perhaps the most striking example of this duality of image is the paper of fig.23 and the fairly common motif found in embroideries, fig.24. Indeed the same symbolism can be seen in illustrations in Books of Hours, figs.26.and 25.

The numerous papers that are decorated with scrolling designs reminiscent of 'spanish' and 'black'work, whilst they remained popular as papers throughout the century, do not seem to have prolonged the fashion for the work in embroidery, nor be used as a design source in this period. An example that may well have been so used is that of A1987.142. This piece, as mentioned, can be linked with two printed textiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and there is some speculation as to whether they might themselves have been printed from a block used for wallpaper. One of these two pieces, fig.27 is identical to A 1987.142, but the second, fig.28 is perhaps even more interesting in that it features an additional block depicting a leopard and a monkey. If small blocks, capable of a varying arrangement were habitually used in this period, it is perhaps less surprising that so few direct matches between textiles may be made. Whilst the immediate antecedents of this design are recognisably native, there are strong Indian overtones to the design, both in content and, more especially, in the rhythmic composition. Fig. 29. may usefully be compared to these examples,

and if one contrasts this work to more overtly western work, fig.30, the shift in thinking is clear.

There is existing a trade card of 1690 for Edward Butling of Southwark, offering patterned papers in imitation of Irish Stitch, Wainscot, Marble, Damask and Turkeywork,fig.31.If one can so readily substitute textile designs for those of paper , there is no reason, in the light of examples previously mentioned, to think that the reverse was an uncommon occurrance. The designs would have been readily available and inexpensive.[53]

Another panel of woodblocked linen in the Victoria and Albert Museum (T.17-1914), illustrates further the close design links between embroidered panels and printed designs. Though no worked example of this print has so far been identified, the depiction of Charles II and his Queen (?) in a landscape dominated by an oak tree, is so in tune with the prevailing aesthetic for other embroideries, it seems possible that this,too, may have provided inspiration for embroidery.

SOURCES FOR FIGURATIVE SUBJECTS

The sources for figurative subjects, are, on the whole easier to trace, though much of the original material has,again, been lost to us. In common with other fields the sources of many compositions are to be found in the sixteenth century. Many are adaptations or compilations of elements form engravings by artists such as Crispin van de Passe or Gerard de Jode. These engravings are themselves based, directly, or indirectly, on the work of artists such as Mantegna and Rubens. In general, one may trace the stylistic source of the figure of 'Abraham' (often used to represent other identities) to Dutch origins also. The broad brimmed hat and general costume

of this figure closely resembles that of the people in an Avercamp drawing or a Delft tile, than any figure of contemporary British art. See figs.32 and 33.

A number of seventeenth century embroidery themes of figurative importance can be attributed to printed sources, and these are detailed under individual headings.

MYTHOLOGICAL AND ALLEGORICAL FIGURES

Vinciolo features deigns for Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Neptune, and allegories for Spring, 'La Désse des Fleurs', the East, 'La Désse des Bleds', Bacchus as 'L'Autonne', Winter, and others. Fig.34. Allegorical figures were also popular images for the frontispieces of various scientific tracts, such as this example of 1609, fig.35, and may also have served as sources for these figures.

FISHING SCENES

The particular scene of the casket lid 1961.502, is rare but not unique. A casket formerly in the Richmond collection has a similar figure group, fig.36. The female figure is identical, but the fisherman has been exchanged for musician of 1961.502. Such occurences must surely argue in favour of the designs being composed of selected motifs taken from a 'pattern library'. Such visions of rural passtimes were popular subject matter.

LOVERS MOTIF

As indicated earlier, originating in the sixteenth century, versions of the traditional figures can be traced in many embroideries; but their essential concept remains unaltered. Ostaus' Le Vera Perezione

del designo per Punti e ricami,1561,(Plate XXII), fig.37. places the couple against a geometric ground of some complexity, in keeping with the technique for which the plate was intended. Plate XLIII of the same publication, fig.38, shows a similar figure group, with a myrtle or laurel wreath, and it is to be assumed that this is what the female figure in the previous group holds; a symbol of'love'. It is possible that the figure is intended as an allegory of Venus. Sibmacher's couple, fig.39, from Schön neues Modelbuch depicts ostensibly the same couple, as does the work of Vinciolo. As can be seen from a comparison of 1961.502 and 1961.595, with figs.40-42, there are subtle variations in the execution of all these embroideries, but the figure group remains readily identifiable.

JUDGEMENT OF SOLOMON.

The standard format for versions of this theme stem, via the engraving of Boetius Adam a Bolswert (1580-1634), from a work by Rubens,Fig.43. The architectural setting of the design can be seen interchanged almost without variation, with those used to illustrate the story of Esther and Ahasuerus, figs.44-45.

JAEL AND SISERA

Most examples of this composition can be traced to Lucas van Leyden's Small Power of Women series of engravings, c.1517-18. It is believed that they were designed to be displayed as a set, since they exhibit a unifying frieze, but were available as single prints, since each bears the publishers colophon. As such they would have been an attractive proposition for the embroiderer wishing to evolve her own composition. The quotations that accompany them are drawn largely from the Old Testament book of Ecclesiasticus and are framed as warnings

against the evil power of women; a view entirely in keeping with the period of their original publication, and their subsequent use in the seventeenth century. If we refer to the argument regarding biblical women as feminist allegories, it is worth noting that the themes depicted in this series, Solomons Idolatry, Adam and Eve, Samson and Delilah, Herod and Herodias, Ahab and Jezebel, Jael and Sisera, are all themes that are worked, though in very small numbers, in the seventeenth century - despite the associations surrounding the images. Figs. 46 and 47.

ABRAHAM ENTERTAINING THE ANGELS.

The source for 1943.4550 is Gerard de Jode's Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti, 1585. Of all the themes based on known engravings this is perhaps that least subject to 'customisation'. Background details may vary slightly between examples, but in general the embroiderer is seen to have adhered closely to the original form of the central vignette. If we compare 1943.4550 with other examples of this theme, the similarity of work is striking. Figs. 48-49.

The theme was popular in the seventeenth century, several artists producing versions of the story, among them, Rembrandt. It is interesting, though, that these do not seem to have formed the basis for embroideries in the same way as did De Jode's engraving.

EXPULSION OF HAGAR

This theme may also be ascribed to the Thesaurus Sacrarum... of de Jode, and many embroidered examples are obviously closely linked to this design. Though most of the embroidered versions are

substantially the same, indeed the figure of'Abraham' often doubles as that of other biblical characters, for instance that of the Joseph figure in the dream sequence; it seems therefore that there must have existed an alternative compositional source for this to that of de Jode. 1961.595 and 1930.196 share a compositional resemblence that is not of the print in the Thesaurus.. . Though worked perhaps thirty years apart, they share a greater affinity with other examples such as that of fig.50, than they do with the example in the Burrell Collection, which is based on the de Jode engraving, and, indeed, the form displayed inthe collections of the National Museum of Scotland is the more common, fig.51.

If one compares the two N.M.S. examples, other similarities in the compositions begin to emerge: the general massing of land beneath the feet of Hagar and Ishmael, the tree behind these figures, and the major building of the panel. The building to the left of 1930.196 is more probably based on de Jode's Abraham and the Angels than anything in the equally popular Abraham Banishes Hagar and Ishmael, fig,52. The left hand panel of the casket 1961.595 is much closer in design to this print than the other two versions. The popularity of this theme is evident in that it continues to be used into the eighteenth century in a variety of different media.

DAVID AND BATHSHEBA

More popular than'Susanna and the Elders', and sometimes confused with it, there is a standard compositional arrangement for the principal figures, illustrated in fig.53. There are a number of versions seen

in the seventeenth century fine arts, but none closer to embroidered examples than the engraving fig.54. On occasion, the complete sequence of events is shown, but this is fairly uncommon. More usually only the central vignette of Bathsheba and the pool is depicted, often accompanied by one of the ornate fountains which were a feature of fashionable contemporary landscape architecture, and which are a frequent motif in other contemporary embroideries.

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS

As mentioned, this theme can be confused with the story of David and Bathsheba. A fine example of this story is in the Burrell Collection, figs.55. Popular throughout the seventeenth century, this theme does not seem to have survived the transition into the eighteenth.

ELIEZER AND REBEKAH

In common with other Biblical themes, the story of Eliezer's meeting with Rebekah has been told by artists throughout history and is well documented from the 6th.Century Venetian Genesis onwards. Each composition is necessarily similar due to the dictates of including such items as wells and camels, but there appears to be no one standard for the embroiderer.

In general terms the well known paintings of this subject by Poussin (1648) and Murillo (c.1668) are interesting in that both artists have abandoned the practice of portraying the protagonists in contempoary costume, and clothed their figures in classical drapery. This switch from actual to ideal costume is mirrored in embroidery of the late seventeenth century, and can be seen in examples 1883.79 and 1930.196.

ESTHER AND AHASUERUS

There are numerous embroidered representations of this theme, and, as befits it's antiquity it is included in those representations in the Illustrated Bartsch, dated pre-1500. This theme is one of a number of those whose popularity is such that they are repesented by a number of different sources.[56] Biblical themes like this are. are an obvious example,and indeed, many of the Bibles of the period, as already mentioned, were lavishly illustrated, but the majority of editions of this particular example were circulated in the form of printed sheets.

The version in the collections of the National Museums of Scotland, is a close adherent to that which appears in the Historia Sacrae Veteris Novi Testamenti of 1600, fig.56, though reversed. Several other engraved versions of this theme were in circulation at this juncture; tha resemblence of certain elements of this composition and the ommission of others, leads one to believe that this is to some extent a compilation of a number of these. Rembrandt, Lucas van Leyden and Sebastiano Ricci all illustrated this story, their combined work spanning the century. The chequered floor, fashionable throughout the period, appears in a woodcut by Jost Amman, 1580, and in many interiors, but also in other embroideries, Figs 57 and 60 both of which date from the end of the century. The element is also present in the Ricci painting, as indeed, is the small dog. There are also similarities in the architectural and drapery elements of this work and 1945.4549. These elements may also be read as indications of the vogue for Palladian style of Inigo Jones, that was giving way to heavier baroque ornament.

It should be noted that illustrations of Solomon's Judgement and the meeting of the Queen of Sheba, often exhibit similar affinities. Figs.61.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the drama of this most dramatic of all the themes, so ably portrayed in the early engravings, through devices of strong composition and a pronounced chiaroscuro, is often lost when translated into the less plastic medium of needlepoint. The underlying grace of the composition does, to an extent, survive, though the elaboration of the pattern vies for control with the manipulation of space embodied in the increasing use of architectural elements in embroidery. Such a technique is evident in the tapestry hangings that these embroideries often emulate - though the device had been in use for a considerable period before we see it's adoption into amateur work.

JACOB'S DREAM

This theme is represented as an element of 1883.79. The sequence is frequently shown and can be traced to a composition by Nicholas Visscher, after the engraving by Gerard de Jode, fig.62, Amsterdam, 1660.

Earlier versions of this story often replace the engraved classically dressed figue of Jacob, with one which more closely resembles that of Abraham, with wide brimmed hat, and loose layers of clothing. The theme is particularly interesting in that it is one of the few that retained it's following into the eighteenth century; examples from which period almost invariably adhere to the Visscher version of the Jacob figure, though exhibiting variants in the deisgn of the angels. See Chapter Five, for versions of this story in other media.

THE FINDING OF MOSES

The example held by the National Museums of Scotland is relatively late and exhibits the typical stylistic features of the era. The theme itself is not one of the most commonly worked ones, and an engraved source for any of the versions of the story yet remains to be identified. However, if one compares the versions in the collection with which we are concerned, and that formerly in the Richmond collection, fig.63, there can be little doubt that we are looking at two embroideries with a closely allied source.

The theme was perhaps worked more frequently in the eighteenth century than the seventeenth; when the romantic overtones were perhaps more in keeping with contemporary attitudes.

SACRIFICE OF ISSAC

This theme seems, on the whole, to receive less personal interpretation than any of the others. Most commonly the composition is based on the engraving by de Jode in the Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarum Veteris Testamenti, 1585, and generally there is little done to vary the piece except in the area of minor alterations to the altar. There exists another engraving of the theme, fig.64, in which the usual alternative to the de Jode arrangement is shown, fig.65, and thus it seems that there was an intermediary producing the 'versions' commonly used by embroiderers - of which there are roughly four or five distinguishable groups - differentiated largely through the type of altar and position of Issac. See figs 66-69. An important element in a study of this composition is that of the group shown as the servants of Abraham. if one compares the de Jode print with 1961.595, they can be seen exactly reproduced, but reversed; but in other examples may be seen correctly copied. Fig. 66 is especially

interesting in that while it too shows a reversal of the servant group, with the ommission of the seated servant who is correctly orientated, but placed to the right, the Issac element is dissimilar.

An equally interesting use of the servant figures can be seen in fig.70. The donkey is undoubtedly the same animal, with the servant figures being re-drawn. See Chapter Five for other media.

SOLOMON AND THE QUEEN OF SHEBA

The individual elements in this composition are very often similar to those employed in the 'Judgement of Solomon' episode, and also that of 'Esther before Ahasuerus'. Well known versions of this theme in other media exhibit markedly different compositions, and so it is not at present possible to ascribe a design source to this theme. Alternative renderings of the composition are usually of the 'spot motif' type.

HEROD AND HERODIAS

This is one of the themes illustrated in the Small Power of Women series of Lucas van Leyden. Though it did receive some attention from embroiderers, and those that exist do show an affinity with this print, it must be considered of minor importance.

'SHEPHERD AND SHEPHERDESS IN SCROLLING CARTOUCHE'

This common figurative group may, initally at least, have been intended to represent Phyllis and Corydon, the fictious bucolic couple of the Eulogues of Theocritus or Virgil. They may occur as 'dressed' versions of stock figures, but one particularly striking group is represented within the central cartouche of A1987.143. Two similar, but not identical, versions of this design, figs 71-2 exist. It is immediately apparent that the figure of the

shepherdess is in all three cases identical, as are the trees. The panel in fig.71 has been reversed, while the fishing figure is ommitted from that of fig.72. However, the dog is identical in both cases, and essentially the same sheep appear in A1987.143 and fig.72. The backgrounds, while similar in style, vary in their individual elements. If, to these similarities, one adds the fact that they are each confined within boldly similar 'cartouches' (that of Fig.71 and A1987.145 are identical) the probability that all three designs originated from the same workshop is strong.

There is a case for ascribing the style of the landscape within these scenes to both tapestry and lacquer ware influences. See Chapter Five.

ANIMALS

Animal motifs are drawn from almost all the possible sources so far considered. It is perhaps illuminating to look at the antecedents of a few of the more common designs.

In making such a selection, one thinks first of the HOUND and Prey. Usually, but not exclusively shown together, their basic forms, almost unchanged, are to be found in manuscripts, bestiaries, pattern books etc. Figs.73-5. As prey, the STAG is the choice of Trevelyon in his 1616 volume of patterns; a greyhound hunts a stag over a landscape of hillocks with two exotic flowers in the background, (F.3000V). Early examples of the design are to be seen in medieval woodcuts, such as that of fig.75, dated 1497, form the Ovidio Metamorphoseos Vulgare. As we have seen, the Ovidian stories were popular subject matter, and were no doubt familiar texts to the reader of the seventeenth century. Perhaps more common, however, is

the pairing of the hound with the HARE. (See separate heading)

MONKEYS AND SQUIRRELS

The monkey and squirrel are both common motifs in secular and religious compositions, and also occur as motifs in border designs: both are compact figures. Often seen is the motif of a squirrel climbing a tree, an example of which can be seen in 1935.85. Both these figures occur in a small number of embroideries in an almost identical form, differing only in execution, and thus can be supposed to have originated in a pattern book. Squirrels are among the spot motifs of Trevelyon's Miscellany, (p946),figs.76-80.

CAMELS

These can be sen most frequently on casket panels, and occur with equal frequency in engraved or woodblock illustrations of the period. Both Camels and Dromedaries appear, and may be seen in the background of de Jode's engraving of Eliezer and Rebekah, and in Emblem books of the period,figs.81-84. Trevelyon features camels in the Miscellany.

RABBITS AND HARES

The most important single motif after the HOUND, must be the Hare.Figs.85-89 illustrate this device which occurs innumerable times throughout the century. The source for embroidered examples is most probably from a Jacques Le Moyne design, but the motif was just as frequently employed in the sixteenth century, fig.90. It is interesting that the embroiderer usually chose to use this motif as the prey of the hound, where the tapestry designer usually chose the nobler Stag. The embroiderer may have been governed by the scale restrictions on casket lid returns etc. as both animals, hare and hound, occupy

roughly the same spatial relationship.

Rabbits are often shown gathered around the base of trees. An important woodcut showing such a composition is to be found in the Kreuter Buch of Hieronymous Boch, or 'Tragus', 1546 (ii,27). Fig.91. Significantly, the block also shows shows a monkey in a tree - compare the arrangement with fig.78. The rabbit crouched on a tussock can be seen in 1883.79, and 1907.321. Ostensibly the same animal can is shown in A1987.142 and 1955.85, but in these instances the hummock is ommitted. The same motif can be seen in many other embroideries throughout the seventeenth century.

LIONS, STAGS AND UNICORNS

Lions are amongst the most frequently represented animals in work of the period, and, like the leopardess/lioness combination, can be found to exhibit a number of stock variations. Stylistically the lion evolves throughout the period, from the dominant heavily maned animal of 1883.79, to the sleeker, urbane creature of 1930.196 and 1945.4546. These animals echo those that appear in engravings of the period, changing their natures to keep pace with fashion.

In comparing these motifs of the latter embroideries, a number of other interesting corollaries are observed. There is some 100mm. difference between the overall dimensions of the two examples, yet they exhibit so many similarities that it is tempting to believe that they may have originated from the same designer.(They are interesting also in that the stag of one, is the unicorn of the other, without, of course, the horn, but with the slick substitution of antlers).The ground on which these animals lie is essentially

the same, with the water of 1945.4546 substituted for the the flat area behind Ismael in 1930.196. Similar, too, is the tree behind this area, with the peacock of 1930.196, moved to another branch in the corresponding panel, and relaced by a parakeet. The sun/ cloud/ bird/ tree arrangement is identical in each case. The curly-tailed hound in the centre of 1930.196 has been shifted to the left in the other embroidery, while the traditional quarry escapes in the other direction. Even some of the flower sprigs may be matched with their counterparts.

As seen in these two embroideries the Stag and Unicorn are often interchangeable motifs, usually alternating in their pairings with lions and camels. The unicorn is rather more infrequently seen than the stag (with antlers) or deer (without), but is commonly of identical form. Similar animals appear in a number of pattern books and so no one source may be ascribed to these motifs. Figs.92-4.

If we compare the motif on the lid of 1961.595 with that of fig.71, part of a set of unmounted slips, we find that they are identical. If one takes into account the resemblence between the central vignette and other examples discussed previously, that these slips come from a central source is undoubted, (note also the similarity of the leopards). These motifs are a common stock item in seventeenth century embroidery, and are included in the work of designers such as Trevelyon.

FISH

Fish, with the exception of 'Tobias and the Great Fish' whose design is usually ascribed to adaptations from de Jode's Thesaurus..., are rarely of any particular artistic merit, and may be regarded as

representative of the ornamental carp or the more prosaic inhabitants of the stewpond of the Elizabethan or Jacobean house. The exceptions are notable by the very triteness of most examples. An embroidery in the Burrell Collection has a beautiful example of such fish, fig.95, probably based on plate 29 or 50 of Topsell's A New Book of Beasts sold by John Overton, fig. 96. In this context see also fig.97, 1945.4550.

BIRDS

These are commonly seen in engraved and woodblock sheets of the seventeenth century, yet few can be ascribed to any particular source. One of the few that can be so traced, even if it is impossible to point to one particular incidence, is the of the PELICAN IN HER PIETY. This image is, of course, of considerable antiquity, and of a clear symbolism, but it is significant that the image of 1963.500 is represented in Les Singuliers et nouveaux Pourtraicts de Seigneur Frederico Vinciolo... . This image shows three young birds, fig.98, which are not present in the image of of 1963.500, nor indeed in many others: Trevelyon, for example, shows the bird without young, fig.84, (Plate 992A). The next plate, however, shows the two young, fig.99. This design, reversed, features on a beadwork basket in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A number of other versions of this motif may be cited as examples, not only of the widespread use of the image, but also of the varying skills of the pattern drawer, amateur or professional, figs.100-2.

The GRIFFON is another of the birds that occur with some regularity in seventeenth century embroidery of all types, and may be inspired by patterns such as that offered by Vinciolo, fig.103. See also figs.104-5.

The two most common types. however, must be the KINGFISHER and the FINCH/PARAKEET; the species tending to depend on the imagination and technical skills of the embroiderer. Both motifs, in common with contemporary illustrative practices, are usually placed on tree stumps, though occasionally they may be seen perched somewhat unhappily in a tree. Examples of these birds may be seen in 1961.595, A1987.144, 1958.85, A1987.143 and 1883.79. Figs.106-112. The frequency with which these motifs occur within this one collection in examples of widely divergent date and style, is an indication of their popularity.

WYVERNS are also to be seen amongst the patterns of Thomas Trevelyon, and at least one embroiderer is known to have patronised this designer; Trevelyon's work may then well have been the intermediate source for motifs such as Plate 992, but the image does date back to the Middle Ages and may even be seen in the Illustrated Bartsch.Figs.113-116.

Antecedents of the PHEONIX design may also be traced to the Bartsch and beyond. Birds that seem to have evolved from this and the HERON form are common in embroidery of this period, and become increasingly frequent towards the end of the century when their chinoiserie overtones made them fashionable. These same images may be seen earlier in the work of Durer and Wendel Dietterlin, within the lace designs of Vinciolo, and countless manuscript borders and similar decorative page edgings.

HERONS AND HAWKS may be seen in similar illustrative areas from the fourteenth century on, as well as in the lacquer wares imported into Britain in the seventeenth century. The impetus behind the fashionable image may change, but it remains perpetual.

The OWL of 1943.4550 can be positively associated with a motif of the Clef des Champs of Jacques le Moyne, fig.117. The design symbolic throughout history, occurs in numerous border designs, particularly of scientific publications, such as the Theatrum Chemicum, fig.118. Figs.119-121 illustrate the more generalised forms of ornithological representation of the period.

HARPY-LIKE CREATURES with human faces and winged and scaled bodies are sometimes worked on embroideries dating from the early part of the century, but are not at all widespread. These may have resulted from the condemnatory teachings of the Church during that period, but they are also representative of a wilder form of feminism dating back to classical antiquity. However, if these figures were so considered by contemporary embroiderers, with any control over their subject matter, one would have expected to see them more widely used had they been representative of any feminist movement during the period.

INSECTS

Many of the designs for the larger, more entimologically specific, insects can be ascribed to sources in the works of illustrators and engravers such as Crispin de Passe and Moufet, figs.122-125. Insects were also traditionally employed to decorate Horae and Herbals of the sixteenth century. Since, however similar the main motifs of two embroideries may be, the insect elements are never identical, one may therefore conjecture that most were added at the discretion of the embroiderer; or if not their position (many are inked), certainly their final forms.

Comparing the use of the insect motif in the painted palampores of the seventeenth century, with their compositional employment in embroideries of the latter part of the same century, the similarity of both form and purpose as 'fillers' of blank areas of the design is striking: if removed the pattern of each is disturbingly stark. However, since these insects were employed in embroideries in the early years of the century, though not to such a great extent, one cannot ascribe their use solely to the influence of the palampores. Their use in British work draws on a Medieval tradition also, but the longevity of the practice may be due to the stimulus of the new fashions. Figs.126-7.

FLOWERS

The flowers of seventeenth century embroidery are both the most prolific theme of the spot motifs and also the hardest to ascribe to any particular source. They are also illuminating about design trends throughout the course of the century. In the collections of the National Museums of Scotland thirty-seven different types or species are represented, but when one considers the numbers actually grown in, and collected by, the fashionable of society, this number is surprisingly regimented.

Possible sources have already been discussed: many must have been drawn from pattern books, but many more from the Flora that were increasingly popular in the seventeenth century. A few, tentative, correolations may be made : one such is between the Pasque flower of 1983.1087 and the woodblocked paper, fig.128 used to line a chest. One would not suggest that these two flowers were printed from the same block, but that such individual blocks did exist allows a

possibility of there having existed stocks of individual flower motifs which the pattern drawer could choose from, especially in the light of fig.129. This would account for the differences in individual blooms in such items as A1987.144 and A1987.143, otherwise so similar in style. Other parallels can be drawn the type of ornament of 1925.418 and 1945.4566 and Trevelyon's Miscellany , (p603) fig.130.

Since certain flowers feature in hangings imported by the British East India Company in the second half of the century, it is possible that the embroiderer, seeking to add an element of fashionability to her work, may have drawn floral motifs from these imports.

The following are a list of those flower types featured in the embroideries of the National Museums of Scotland:

ONE

Of a genre so stylised that a specific species is difficult to assign. In common withthis example, this type of sprig motif is often a feature of earlier work.

TWO

The pansy appears in many forms throughout the century, from the stylised work of petit point panels, to the carefully graduated silks of the final decades. Always worked flat. For symbolic allusions see Chapter Three.

THREE

The tulip is almost unknown in embroidery prior to the beginning of

the seventeenth century, though known in Europe some fifty years previously, Gesner illustrating the bloom in 1561. The period known as 'Tulipomania' was realised between 1634 and 1637, but never reached the proportions in Britain that it achieved on the Continent. From the excesses of the thrid decade of the century, the fashion became quieter, but no less pervasive until by 1665, some 200 varieties were grown in Britain.

FOUR

The aesthetic development of the seventeenth century may be charted through this flower alone. It appears in both single and double forms, as the Tudor Rose, as a muti-petalled floribunda, in both flat and relief techniques.

FIVE

Daffodils are one of the more uncommon choices, curiously appearing more frequently in beadwork than in flat embroidery techniques.

SIX

The Carnation, Pink and 'Gillyflower' are one of the most commonly chosen flowers. Like the Rose, the form alters in line with the changing aesthetics of the period. In common with the striped Roses, (Rosa Mundi?) the flaked varieties of Dianthus are those favoured by the embroiderer of the seventeenth century, in contrast to the single shades favoured in the sixteenth.

SEVEN

The Passion, or Pasque Flower, was only introduced into Britain at the begining of the seventeenth century, and was subject to some critiscism by Protestant writers on account of the Christian symbolism associated with the bloom; among them Parkinson.

EIGHT

The Sweet Peas, Vetches and their pods feature in embroidery from

the sixteenth century onwards, in a variety of techniques. The form apparently lost favour as the century progressed, and appears but rarely after the third decade of the seventeenth century.

NINE

Honeysuckle is one of the favourite flowers of the sixteenth century 'flora' and was to retain that grace throughout the seventeenth. Though not as widely employed in the first half of the century, the second half saw an increased use of the motif.

TEN

The Marigold does not appear with any frequency in these embroideries, though it was rather more common in the preceding century.

ELEVEN

The Strawberry was to remain a favourite device for several centuries, following it's introduction in the early sixteenth century. It suffered a slight decline in the 1670's, regaining prominence once more in the mid-eighteenth century, when pasturalism was again the vogue.

TWELVE

The Ranunculus, or Buttercup, was a common inclusion of the period, cultivated in both it's double and single forms by Elizabethan and Jacobean gardeners. It's use was long, but not extensive.

THIRTEEN

Exactly what this motif represents is not clear, but the form appears in many embroideries for a good part of the century. Often executed with raised and free-standing petals, it resembles many of the exotics that are to be seen in baroque silks and painted calicoes.

FOURTEEN

This bloom may be seen with or without a chequerwork pattern of petals

somewhat reminiscent of a Fritillary. Early instances of this flower can be identified in the borders of Books of Hours from the late Medieval period onwards, and then in embroideries throughout the seventeenth century.

FIFTEEN

A reversed form of FOURTEEN, common in work of this period.

SIXTEEN

Not readily identifiable, but possibly representative of the Tamarind, it appears with some regularity in work of the late seventeenth century. Particularly interesting in that it first appears in a number of imorted calicoes, it may also be seen in decorative borders to books. The incidence of the bloom occuring in eastern work, and the parallel appearance of such work in Britain, with it's use in native embroideries, indicates a direct borrowing of form.

SEVENTEEN

Parkinson knew the red, blue and purple forms of the Columbine, and it is the latter that usually occurs in contemporary embroidery.

EIGHTEEN

The Iris is one of the more spectacular blooms represented in late seventeenth century embroidery, and is the subject of much description and marvel in Herbals of the period. Again, an eastern import that had a direct influence on the content of native embroidery.

NINETEEN

The single, dark crimson, form of the Paeony was in widespread cultivation in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but is not often seen in embroidery until the late seventeenth century when the vibrancy and 'showiness' of the bloom was in tune with the general style of the work undertaken.

TWENTY

The Lily-asphodels were known in Britain in the late sixteenth century when they are mentioned by both Gesner and Hamner, and appear in work throughout the century, but in greater numbers in the first decades.

TWENTY ONE

The Cyclamen arrived in Britain in the late sixteenth century and was popular with Herbalists, but only the single form is usually seen in embroidery, that but rarely, and generally in the first half of the century.

TWENTY TWO

The Thistle is the obvious choice of emblem for the embroiderer following the accession of James I to the English throne, but is actually not that commonly seen in embroidery of any period.

TREES

Trees and stumps can be traced to similar sources as the majority of floral devices of the seventeenth century. Oak Trees are prominent amongst the patterns of Trevelyon, for example, D3000v. (oak), F.234v. (holly), F.238v.(acorns), but are shown with equal frequency in the Herbals and Flora of the period.

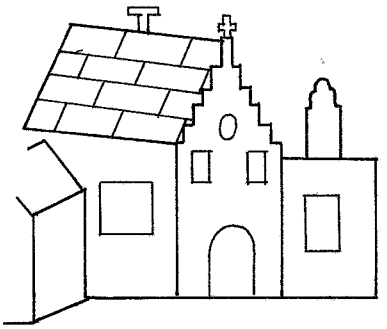
Stylistic developments in seventeenth century aesthetics can be charted through the differing approaches to these motifs. Linear representations of examples such as 1955.85, can be seen to evolve into the semi-realistic forms of A1987.183, to the modelling seen in 1945.4546; the latter a development of the needlepoint versions of the central scene of A1987.183. Figs.131-136.

ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS

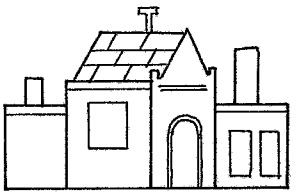
Architectural elements may be roughly divided into three main types by external categorisation. The first of the main groups is that exhibiting crow-stepped gables, the second consists of the 'palace' type buildings, and the third, and the least common group, the half-timbered house.

There is much argument concerning the origins of these minor, but significant, and certainly,ubiquitous, motifs.Margaret Swain[57] suggests that many of the background details were copied from early printed Bibles, imported from the Continent and the presses of Nuremburg and Antwerp. Certainly it is true that the architecture of the area is similar, but only the Netherlands, Scotland and a small area of Kent is this detail prevalent, fig 137. Scottish attributions to these buildings could be seen as symbolic of the support, at first of the homeland of James I, and then of the loyalty to the exiled Charles II, who was also in hiding in the Netherlands. However, there is also the possibility that they were first copied in imitation of early tapestries, in which such buildings are occasionally seen. Perhaps the most probable inspiration however, if not the actual source, are the buildings shown on imported Delft tiles - certainly more common in this country than the other possibilities. Copied also in London and Bristol, these tiles were highly fashionable, and afford both the closest design parallels and the highest 'profile' source of this type. See figs.138-9.

Similar stylisically are the buildings often seen in the middle distance of illustrations and illuminations in manuscripts and Horae of the Fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to the grouped towers



1961·502 & 1907·321
basic elements···



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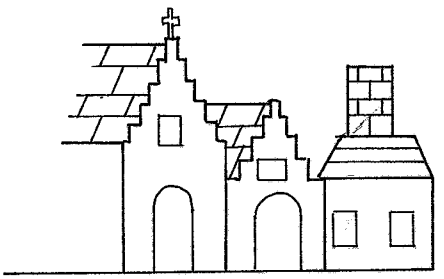
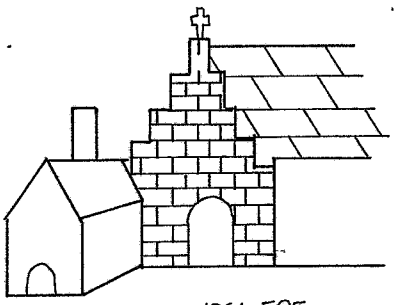
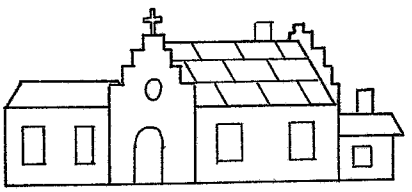
repeated in reverse on another panel



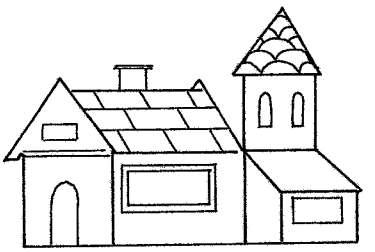
1961·595
multiples of basic modules



1961·595



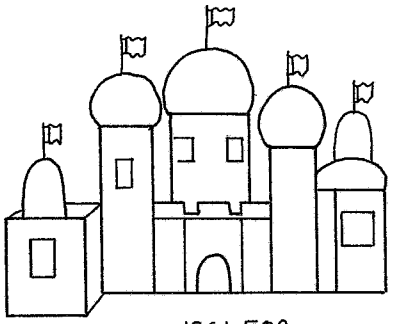
1907·321



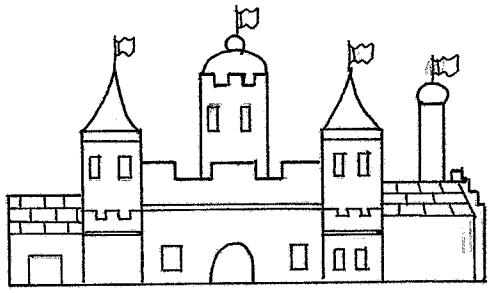
1955·85
traditional elements with beginnings of oriental influences

MODULAR BUILDINGS ~ TYPE 'A'

Plate Nine.

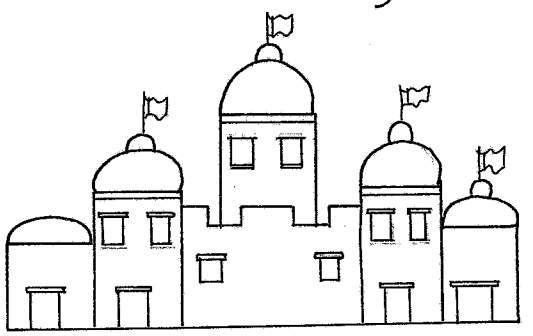


1961·502

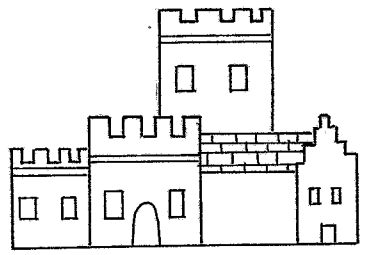


1907·321

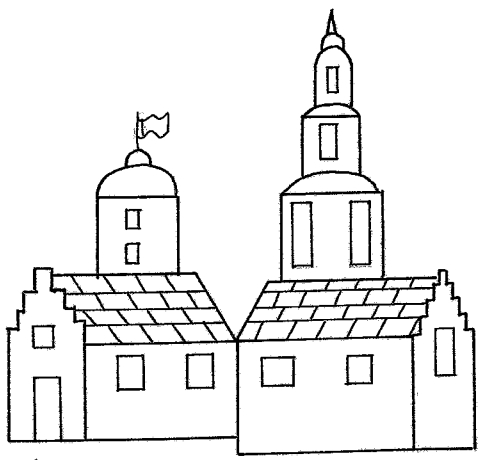
central block flanked by towers



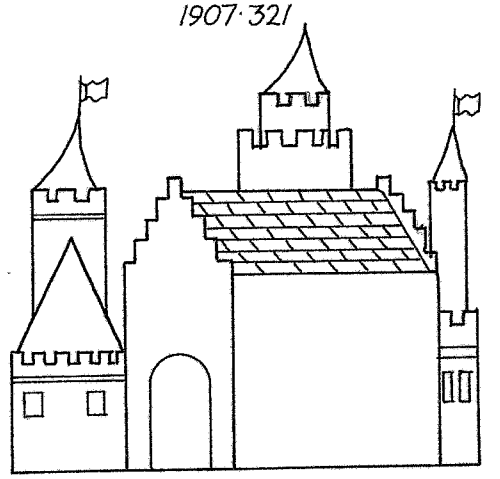
1907·321



1907·321



1945·4546



1930·196

combinations of types 'A' & 'B'

MODULAR BUILDING TYPE - 'B'

Plate Ten.

and conical roofs of the 'palace' type building. These, too, may be said to have a mid-european affinity, but are also possibly copied from Delft ceramics. Figs.140-1. Note also the details of large arched doorways in figs.142-3, and other examples. The similarities between these buildings and 'nonsuch' chests, have already been mentioned, and cite Trevelyon's Miscellany as a source. Fig.144.

The cottage type of building is the least common, but the most expected form, of all three types. The standard method of construction, in areas of any quantity of suitable timber, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this form of vernacular construction was common across the southern half of England and Wales, and all across the Continent.

The major problem with any such attributions as are made, is that of explaining why these three forms were employed to the exclusion of all others. The same buildings can be seen in sixteenth century work, fig. 145, and it is not until the end of the seventeenth century that we begin to see any diversity of building types, and then the general pattern is to replace these elements with classical ruins. Either these buildings, so similar to each other, had a significance now lost, or one must read them as indicative of the work originating in a small number of workshops - which brings one no closer to answering the question of why there seems to have been a monopoly on this work in the commercial field.

FISHPONDS AND ROCKY POOLS

The source of the pool motif is generally thought to be that of the stew ponds of the period, however, if one views pictures of contemporary gardens these are not generally visible, and unlike the

ornamental fishpond, fig.146-7, would not be regarded as a decorative item. Similar arrangements are featured on the Bradford Table Carpet, fig.148, and are more likely to represent the grottoes that Celia Fiennes, among others, records as being so fashionable. See Chapter Five.

It is tempting, too, to liken these motifs to the influence of Japanese lacquer and paintings arriving in Britain in the middle of the century. The assumption is strengthened when one studies examples such as 1960.231. In terms of presentation, colouring, technique and cloud background, this has more in common with Oriental art than many of the straight arrangements with a fish pool. This piece exhibits an item of further interest in the yellowish stream that flows past the rocks. On close examination it appears to be a separate element, not just a continuation of the rock motif. If one then compares this with enamelled glass wares, and in particular German pieces, one can trace affinities between this embroidery and the 'Ochsenkoph' beakers. These were manufactured from the 1650's to the middle of the eighteenth century and exported across Europe. The mountain they show is heavily wooded, but usually represented as a series of crags from which rivers flow, fig.149. No graphic prototype for this design is known, but glassware designs often use the same themes and compositions as embroideries,(see Chapter Five) so it is within the realms of possibility that these glasses may have shared a design source, if not actually exercised an influence.

SUN AND MOON

The sun and moon shown in the same sky, and the sun in a state of 'splendour' are seemingly not pattern book devices, but traditional decorative motifs. Particularly favoured by engravers, the two may

have been adopted by the designer merely as particularly apposite motifs for the landscape settings with which he was usually working. The pairing of these luminaries is less common as the century progresses, when the sun alone is the usual choice.

Seventeenth century work has, in the past, been criticised for the depiction of the sun and moon in the sky together, but this is obviously unjust, since they are commonly seen risen at the same time in summer months. The sun is also a common motif in oriental work, and later ornate examples may be inspired, or at least the continued use of the deemed acceptable, by such examples.

PYRAMIDS AND OBELISKS

These motifs are most common in work of the latter part of the century, more commonly in woven textiles or tapestry than embroidery. Attributed to imports from the East, it should be noted that these motifs are also seen at the begining of the period: the inventory of the Earls of Northampton mentioning one '...orenge tawney nighte bagge embroder with silver pirimides...'[58], while another example of embroidery noted by the Will of Dame Ann Shirley is '... (a)square carpet of Turkey worke wroughte into piramids and trafles...'[59]. Another purse is recorded as having a decoration of pyramids on pedastles.[60]. The pyramid also came to notice in the form of 'tulipières'of the mid-seventeenth century, fig.149.

CARTOUCHE

Margaret Swain[61] together with N.G.Cabot[62] has documented a number of examples of similar cartouche being employed in embroideries. Whilst not entirely identical, these all display more similarities

than discrepancies. Those that are documented by this work are of varying size, and a number of others exist which display similar discrepancies in dimensions, while exhibiting the same features.[63] An example in this collection is that of A1987.143, and the scrolls, leaves and flowers of this design are clearly discernable. The frame may be used both horizontally and vertically.

Such a design presupposes the work of a single designer, and is actually very much a part of the prevailing aesthetic for work of this nature, and similar frames may be seen in other textile media and engraved illustration, figs.150-1.

REFERENCES - CHAPTER FOUR

1. Cited in Gardiner, D. p192, English Girlhood at School.

2. Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary, Maitland Club,(1837),p220.

3. The eighteenth century fashion for embroidered garments meant the pattern drawer was agin in demand. Robert Campbell wrote of professional embroidery in The London Tradesman,1747,"...Few of the workers at present can draw, they have their Patterns from the Pattern Drawer..." Campbell further states that most women of 'quality' dealt with the pattern drawer through the intermediary of the Haberdasher.

4. On his Restoration, Charles II was petitioned on behalf of Edmund Harrison, who was in financial straits sue to lack of work.

5. 1653; payment "for drawing 2 wayscotts for my Ladie; v.s.".

6. Household accounts of the Shuttleworths of Smithill and Gawthorpe Hall. Cheetham Society (1856-8). Colby has suggested that this payment represents reparation for money expended on behalf of Lady Shuttleworth, but the wording of the entry would tend to support the belief that this was a straightforward business transaction, for services rendered.

7. Nelham seems to have moved from Oxford to London sometimes before 1656, but after 1638. His father, John Nelham, also a pattern drawer, died in 1654. He left his son "...the halfe of my books and prints and patterns...". The latter would confirm the belief that designers used a multiplicity of sources for their work, not just free invention.

8. Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, Camden Society,1853-4.

9. Swain,'John Nelham's Needlework Panel', Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club.1982.

10. Peypsian Library, Magdelene College, Cambridge.

11. See note 3, Chapter Four.

12. That the designs were intended to be carried out in a number of different media is an important point to consider when attempting to place this work in it's proper context in the seventeenth century decorative arts. See Chapter Five.

13. Quoted in Nevinson,'John Nelham , Embroiderer,' Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club, 1982.

14. Ibid.

15. Bodleian Library.

16. Wace, Walpole Society, Vol XXI, pp64-5.

17. Twelve plates for 'Cheez trenchers', the first of the designs being Elizabethan, and the others from 1625 and 1675. This type of design is perhaps the forerunner of those expressly produced for embroidery since their elements are not dissimilar.

18. See individual entries in Catalogue, and thematic entries, this chapter.

19. Peter Stent, engraver and printseller, active 1643-7. Resided at the sign of the White Horse, Giltspur Street, London. He advertised at the end of Robert Fage's A Description of the Whole World, 1657. Two other such advertisements are preserved in the Bodleian Library. One of these dates from the period of the Commonwealth and the other from 1662. (Gough Maps 46: 159,160.)

20. A Catalogue of Plates, and Pictures that are printed and sold by Peter Stent dwelling at the signe of the White Horse in Guilt Spur Street betwixt Newgate and Py corner.1660. Bodleian Library.

21. John Overton succeeded Peter Stent in his business, and advertised similarly to Stent. One example can be seen in the 1667 edition of J.Davis' The Writing Schoolemaster.

22. The Second book of flowers, fruites, beastes, birds, and flies exactly drawne.1650.

23. Pattern drawers seem to have doubled as printsellers, auctioneers and sellers of pattern books. Nelham also appears to have worked as an embroiderer, featuring in the records of the Broderer's Company after 1679 as a member of the Court of Assistants.

24. The plates are by various engravers after different artists. One of those most favoured was Martin de Vos, (1531-1603).

25. Lawler, p242.

26. Pattern books had been imported before this date.One of the earliest, by William Vosterman, c.1530, is intended primarily for 'Spanisshe stitche', not general embroidery. See Appendix One.Published by P. Quentell.

27. A copy of this appeared in 1592 under the aegis of John Wolfe, entitled New and Singular Patternes and Workes on Linnen.

28. These are very similar in content, each of roughly 36 plates, with white patterns on a black squared ground. The tradition of embroidery as an occupation suitable for noble women, stemmed back to the Middle Ages. Many of these embroideries were designed to win prayers for the soul, as gifts to religious foundations. With the advent of Humanism, this creativity was channelled into secular areas. Parker quotes the Italian Frederico Luigini, 1554; "...The needle belongs to all women both high and low, but where the poor find only utility in these arts the rich, the noble, and beautiful lady wins honour also...". Whether this was meant sincerely or not, these sentiments were in line with contemporary thinking.

Such statements reinforce the idea of the 'gentle arts' being linked with the emerging structure of a society stratified by sex as wellas class. The female divisions were bound by a common occupation, but the aspect they followed was the divisive element. Lower class women gradually became the sweated labour of the textile industry, where they had once been full guild menbers.

29. Some of these patterns books went to as many of ten editions. When one considerd the relatively small proportion of the small population purchasing these, their appeal can be seen to have been very great. Not all volumes can therefore have gone to professional designers, and it is unlikely that none of the amateurs ever made use of them.

30. Victoria and Albert Museum and Bodleian Library.

31. See Appendix One. The quantity of material at this date can be seen as indicative of the growing regimentation of peoples aesthetic sense, a result, partly, of the educational patterns of society. When women's horizons were broader, their imaginations did not rely so heavily on the printed source. The increasing availability of printed matter, and the wealth of the seventeenth century also account for the wide circulation of these patterns.

32. This publication was unusual in that it's author was a surgeon by trade, and that it was copperplate printed at a time when most other volumes of this type were illustrated with woodcuts.

33. Prior to the eighteenth century very few patterns for woven fabrics were published, in contrast to the mulitude of embroidery patterns. An isolated example are the thirty plates by Ducerceau of 1670.

34. British Museum, Catalogue of Prints and Drawings, Div.I Personal and Political Satires, (1870) Nos.41-3.

35. Nevinson, 'The Embroidery Patterns of Thomas Trevelyon' Walpole Society, Vol.XLI,1966-8.p3.

36. Ibid.p3.

37. Nevinson,'English Embroidery Patterns of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries'. Walpole Society,Vol.XXVIII, pp.4-5.

38. Moufet, Theatrum Insectorum.

39. The earliest herbals were in fact Herbarium; with the advent of widespread printing and the introduction of exotic forms from the Americas and the East, these gave way to the printed form fairly rapidly. There is some evidence that blocks were lent from one publisher to another, so that the same illustrations occur in more than one volume.

40. The last great English Herbal is considered to be Parkinson's Theatrum Botanicum, 1640. The volume covers some 400 plants.

41. See Parker, D. Op Cit. p192.

42. In his own gardens at Holborn, Gerard grew more than a thousand plants which he listed in his Catalogue of 1596.

43. This is a reflection of the increased urbanisation of society, with the population beginning to rely on specialised trades for their medicines etc.

44. Whitney, A Choice of Emblems, London, 1586. Whitney admits that this volume is '...gatherings and gleanings out of other mens harvest...'.

45. Ascribed dates for the introduction of these books vary by some twenty years.

46. Two examples have captions of 'Festina Lente', and 'Vincit qui Patitum'.

47. In Wither, 'Vice' and 'Virtue' are two of the allegorical figures portrayed.

48. Of the Oxburgh Hall hangings some motifs can be attributed to these two sources.

49. The plates of this book are all drawn from the 1611-13 publication Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimorum by Gabriel Rollenhagen.

50. Examples of the ledgends shown are Aeneas and his father, Flight of Icarus, Niobe, and Tantalus.

51. Popular stories were the Fox and the Grapes, The Ant and the Mole, the Dog in the Manger, the Dog who Dropped his Bone in the Stream, and the Mice Playing around a Cage of Cats.

52. There was an increasing secularisation of material of the main illustrations, as well as of the borders, paralleling developments in society.

53. Bookbinders were prohibited from using patterned papers to line the covers of books. The marbled papers being imported from Italy were ideal being opaque, and were soon copied in this country. They can often be seen lining the backs of mirrors and boxes of the period. See 1961.1096.

54. Location now unknown.

55. There is some doubt about this series being the work of Lucas van Leyden, though the designs are clearly linked to the Power of Women series, c.1516.

56. The story appears in two drawings that have been attributed to Cornelius Engebrecht,(see Gibson,The Paintings of Cornelius Engebrecht, New York,1977.p168.) and a drawing and a print by Frans Crabbe, a woodcut in the Biblia Pauperum and other drawings by Aertgan van Leyden, Cornelius Anthonius, Peter Cornelius and Jan Irllaer.

57. Interview, Ms.Swain, November 1987.

58. 'Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard, K.G.Earl of Northampton, taken on his death in 1614.'Archelogia Vol.XLII.

59. Stemmata Shirleiana, E.P.Shirley.

60. Victoria and Albert Museum, T.244.1896.

61. Margaret Swain, Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club Op Cit.

62. Ibid.

63. Documented by the author.

CHAPTER FIVE

Embroidery within the seventeenth century aesthetic and the use of similar thematic material in the applied and fine arts.

ln this study, so far, we have given our attention to qualitive, quantative and semantic concerns: the next question one must necessarily ask is whether the answers that we have received are in any way unexpected in the context of other decorative arts of the period. Given the same social, economic and political pressures one must consider whether atrists operating in other disciplines reponded differently to the women and designers with which we are dealing. One can approach an answer by a comparison of the use made by each party of the same visual elements an d sources: their use of allegorical material, religious themes, and the general way in which these embroideries slip into the complex web of late sixteenth and seventeenth century aesthetics.

The noe-classical idiom of the Renaissance had developed into the super-reality of form and space of the Baroque. Though never to achieve the stylistic heights in Britain that the movement realised elsewhere, it nevertheless manifested itself throughout the arts. However, there was a duality in the language of ornament across Europe that this time was to encompass Britain. The classicism of the renaissance was not wholly discarded, and in the calm visions of Rosa, Claude and Poussin, there existed a quiet counterpoint to the 'basso profundo' rythmns of the Baroque. Fig.152.

lnChapter One we discussed the changes that political, economic and social pressures wrought on people's lives; now it is necessary to consider the effects that they had on their artistic creativity. Though torn by internal dissent and war, the seventeenth century was actually quite wealthy, and patrons had the ability to indulge their tastes. An increasing population, was, happily, paralleled by, and provided for, with increased imports of silver from the New

World; the wealth of the late Stuart courts was renowned throughout Europe.

The small repeated motif of the renaissance pattern, seen in so many of the pattern books of the sixteenth century, still fashionable at the begining of the seventeenth, was, as we have seen, to evolve into larger fluid forms. These in turn were destined to give rise to the more tightly controlled symmetries of the final years of the century. The embroideries with which are concerned reflect the changing taste far more quickly than other embroidered, but more utilitarian items; perhaps for economic reasons larger furnishing textiles were slow to change. The thrifty nature of the 'good wife', and the continuing acceptability of even sixteenth century pieces can be seen in the re-fashioning of the stomacher 1962.1067. This practice was not unusual.[1]

There has been some debate[2] over the last century or so as to the origins of the raised work embroidery technique. It is perhaps most accurate to ascribe the stimulus to european ecclesiastical work, but in conjunction with the existing skills in the working of free standing elements in British sixteenth century embroidery (1962.1067), then built upon by the fashion for high relief gros-point laces, both imported and of domestic manufacture. The numerous Jewish communities of Europe, in combination with the tradition of high relief modelling of religious work of Italy, France, Germany and Spain, may have been instrumental in introducing the genre to Britain; possibly as a result of refugees settling in this country.[3] Thorena Vasquoid[4] goes further and traces the work to techniques of Sicilian samplers of the fourteenth century; here the motifs of men, women, animals and trees are padded

with wool from the rear. It should not be forgotten, moreover, that there also existed prior to the seventeenth century, numbers of State beds and canopies,[5] featuring stuffed and carved decoration covered with fabric. The plastic capabilities of textiles were thus not a novelty entirely; and nor were they confined to the embroiderer.

As mentioned, this ethos of low-relief modelling was fashionably represented in the point laces of both Venice and France, and are analogous in technique to the raised items of seventeenth century embroidery in Britain, while the flat laces, Punto-in-Aria etc. share many of the same motifs. These laces are also represented in the costume of embroidered figures, and as many of the pattern books carried patterns specifically for laces, it is not surprising that such cross utilisation of thematic material occurs. The lime wood cravat of Grinling Gibbons is indicative of the affinity that contemporary artists perceived between the decorative arts.

Celia Fiennes gives a vivid impression of the mixed aesthetic of the late seventeenth century concept of furnishing and decoration, in her record of a visit tothe home of 'Mr.Ruth';

> You enter one roome hung with crosstitch in silks, the bed the same lined with yellow and white strip'd sattin, window curtines ...with furbellows of callicoe printed flowers, the chaires crosstitch...stooles...with crostitch true lover knotts in straps along and a cross, an elbow chaire tentstitch...the next roome... hung with very rich tapistry, the bed crimsone damaske lined with white India sattin with gold and crimson flowers printed...the closet...many fine pictures under glasses of tentstitch sattin stitch gumm and strawwork, also India flowers birds etc.... the roome over the little parlour...a pladd bed lined with Indian callicoe and an India carpet on the bed...

According to the fanciful John Taylor, the patterns in the influential The Needles Excellency were collected from the far corners of the

world,

> From scorching Spaine and freezing Muscovie,
> From fertile France and pleasant Italie,
> From Polande, Sweden, Denmarke, Germanie,
> ...spacious China and those Kingdomes East
> And from great Mexico, the Indies West,
> Thus are these works farre fetch'd and dearly bought,
> And consequently good for ladyes thought.

If one ignores the last comment and interprets fact for wishes, one can see further evidence of the impact of foreign work on British design - if only in print, the majority of the 'trend setting' pattern book autors were French, Italian or German. Interestingly, there are no references to 'British taste' in embroidery design, such as one sees in costume, landscape design or architecture. One can only presume that what did not find favour with a British audience, and there is a distinct domestic aesthetic, was simply ignored. The market in this country cannot have been so great,in proportion to that of europe, that designers felt a need to create a specifically targeted product. 'From spacious China and those Kingdomes East' refers most probably to the imports of the East India Comapny.[7]

It is towards the end of the century when the Company moved to Bombay with it's superior trade routes, that we can really look for evidence of the impact of the Chinese aesthetic on Dutch and British design.[8] Celia Fiennes mentions the oriental ceramics, of which representations appear in 1961.75. Visiting Hampton Court between 1694 and 1699, she comments on the balconies ornamented with china, the lacquer panalled rooms, and embroideries under glass.[9] The influence of oriental imports, pattern books, and the unity of embroidery with mainstream decorative arts is revealed in the many correelations between motifs used inthe different media.

Though the handling of the separate devices by the British embroiderer produced something unique to this country, the same motifs can be seen throughout Europe at this period. The same thematic material can be seen in embroidery and German and British engraved and painted glassware[10], as mentioned in Chapter Four, and demonstrated in fig.153.

Allegorical and mythological themes, scenes from the Metamorphoses of Ovid, were popular subject matter for all manner of furnishings throughout the century; witness the tapestry themes completed in this period. Evelyn notes in his Diary 9th.June,1662, that there were 'nothing nobler of the kind than the stories of Abraham and Tobit' in the hangings at Hampton Court, designs, incidentally, after Raphael. Small items of household furnishings received similar attention.[11] Two firebacks of 1679 display allegorical material - one of Asia, and the other of Peace. The broader canvas of the ceiling was not to escape the same type of treatment, central vignettes often depicting the Senses, the Elements, Peace and War etc. When not totally plain, Commonwealth period ceilings display such themes as the Virtues or the Pelican in her Piety.[12]

Religious themes were also employed in other areas of the applied arts. A tomb panel, carved in oak, in St.Thomas' Church, Salisbury, displays a compositon directly based on the de Jode engraving of the Sacrifice of Issac. Dated 1672, fig.154 demonstrates the longevity of these printed sources. Another incidence of the same design may be observed decorating the back of a chair in the Treasurer's House, York. This, dated in the inventory of the house as having been acquired in 1692, is one of a pair (the other seems to represent Rebecca at the Well, but is not attributable to a known

printed source), believed to be lndo-Portuguese. lf this were so, the attribution would make sense in that this post-dates the acquisition of Goa. That these prints were also used by 'colonial' craftsmen is intriguing, however, there is no documentary proof that this attribution is correct. Fig.155.

The exotic appearance of floral slips in the late seventeenth century can be attributed to the influence of 'bizarre' forms found in crewel work hangings etc.;designs of either a direct lndian origin or based on such work. Varying little from the originals, the Kashmiri 'cones' and spirals were absorbed into the language of ornament of Britain. The influence is clearly marked if one compares work from either end of the century.

The period saw also the importation of large amounts of Chinese famille-vert and blue and white ceramics, Japanese Kakiemon and lmari wares. lmmensely fahionable,they were copied with varying degrees of accuracy by, most notably, the Dutch potteries, but also by what was to become a flourishing London-, or Bristol- Delft, trade. The figures from these, the outward manifestations of the art, rather than than the innate froms themselves, are to be seen appearing in embroideries and ceramics throughout the latter half of the century.Figs. 156-158.The parasol that features in 1945.4546 is directly attributable to such influences. To western eyes, the perspective rules of oriental work, must have appeared in tune with the almost complete lack of the device in contemporary embroidery.

Floral ornament had, of course, always been popular with designer and public alike, and in the Dutch and Flemish wares imported into Britain, we see a preponderance of Tulips and Fritillaries of a

design similar to that that is so frequntly seen in embroidery. This dominant organic genre was employed with equal frequency by smiths and engravers, and their work is to be seen across all the decorative arts of the seventeenth century, figs. 159-60.

The continent is also the home of the prototypes for the casket form that we see in 1961.502 etc. If one compares to these, the lacquer cabinets of the Dutch, themselves based on oriental forms, the similarities between these and mid-seventeenth century embroidered caskets is striking. Figs.161-2. The former figure shows an Anglo-Dutch cabinet of 1620. Note the Dutch innovation of Bun feet, the interior drawer arrangments, and general porportions. One may also compare these examples with that of fig,163, dated c.1660, in ivory. Catherine of Braganza was largely responsible for their introduction into Britain, for she brought with her from Portugal,as Evelyn notes in his Diary,9th,June, 1662, '...such Indian cabinets as had never before been seen here...'.

A subsidiary influence may well have been the Spanish form of Vargueno, themselves based on an Italian from of the sixteenth century. Together the form developed into the larger 'chest press' of which very few have survived. The rare fall-front caskets do not seem to have any precedents of the same scale, beyond small bureaux or 'Bible boxes'.It is worth noting that the hipped form of easket has no contempoary parallels on the Continent.

Not only form, but colour also, is shared with other decorative arts of the period. The bright silks of 1961.502 are indicative of the colour range of contemporary textiles; crewel work alone seems to exhibited, to any degree, a form of monochromaticism. The example 1955.85 is rare in this respect also. The shift from light to dark

grounds that became fashionable, but by no means ubiquitous, at the end of the century, can be seen in the stomacher 1894.125. A manuscript verse of 1636 speaks of the effect of, and the delight in, colour in contemporary embroidery,

> ...we gaze and see
> And in each thread admire a mistereye
> ...the strange
> Delusion of ye colours, hoe they change
> And vary in each stitch...
> Some milkmaid seamstress seeing this would cry
> 'Y'had stolne a piece of Rainbow from the Skie.[13]

The use of the carnation pink silk in cabinets of the period has never really been satisfactorily explained. Since, as we have seen,[14] the idea of all cabinets having been the product of a single firm is untenable, one must look elsewhere. There are also a few examples where pale green silk has been used, and this, and the pink, are seen as a common colour for the lining of sweet bags etc. Purple paper occasionally replaces silk, but in all instances, the material appears somewhere in the construction. One must conjecture whether the colour had some symbolic significance, yet none of the standard symbolic allusions make any sense in this context,[15] but we might remark that this shade is commonly seen in the costume of royalist supporters, worn in the manner of a political cockade, fig.164. 'Carnashion' also features in many literary references of the period, such as the Parthenia Sacra of 1633, by the anonymous H.A.

The rainbow palette enjoyed by textiles was echoed in the work of a number of contemporary schools of painters, among them the Venetians whose work was widely known in Britain. Their vivid reflections of a Mediterranean light are echoed in the lustrous imported silks so characteristic of the late seventeenth century.[16] These are again

reflected in embroidered costumed figures, the threads, and above all, the jewel tones of beadwork boxes and baskets then in vogue: colours that themselves were the products of the glass masters of Murano and Venice.

Kendrick[17] has suggested that the move of pictorial embroidery into the field of interior decoration in the seventeenth century may have been a result of the lack of a native school of painters in Britain comparable to to those flourishing in Europe. It is an idea that holds much of interest, but against it must be set the evidence of Peter Lely (Peter van der Faes, 1618-80) who on coming to Britain with the intention of painting landscapes, found that the only demand was for portraits. It would nor seem then that there was such an unfulfilled need for the rural vision that embroidery was pressed into serving that demand. In the same vein, one might note the general practice of commissioning small versions of fashionable paintings; embroidered versions of these themes are perhaps but a logical extension of this. Further catalysts behind the flowering of the work may lie in both the aesthetic and the political situation of the period. With the reaction to the heavily decorated fabrics of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century decreeing a costume of rich, but plainer stuffs, the energies of the embroiderer must necessarily seek an alternative outlet. Increased wealth for furnishing increasingly differentiated rooms may also have given rise to a desire for purely decorative objects, and if one couples this to the growing pattern of women being viewed in terms of their decorative skills, then a showy,embroidered,panel would serve as an excellent display case.

Contemporary painting, it need hardly be said, relied heavily on Old Testament themes for subject matter, and the same engravings that served embroiderers, were also employed for more traditional canvases; though the work of such as Piazetta and Pellegrini is less didatic than decorative, figs. 165-6. The purchases of a Dr. Clavering in 1694 of 'Herodis' Daughter Dancing','Our Saviour on the Cross', 'Cardinal Wolsey' and a 'Little Landskip' are indicative of the changing religious atmosphere at the end of the century, that was mirrored in embroidery themes.

Still in the figurative realm are the contentious elongated fingers of raised work figures. Often critiscised as unrealistic, it must be remembered that their apparent lack of realism may be attributed rather to the influence of mannerist painters, than to poor craftsmanship. Gloves were often made this way[18], and this body aesthetic can be seen in paintings such as that of Maria de Raet, by Van Dyck[19]

If one studies Table One, it will be seen that the opening period for raised work embroidery is coincidental with the end of the flat 'Jacobethan' style of painting. In the work of Rubens, Paul van Somer, Daniel Mytens and Abraham van Blijenberch, we can see individual returns to a realism that made such an impact on British art, and so in turn, on embroidery. As evidence of this one may compare the differing approaches to, for example, foliage elements in the work of Hilliard and Van Dyck, and those same elements in embroideries of the appropriate periods.Figs.167-168.Van Dyck tendency has been described as 'to adorn rather than describe the truth'[20]and thus his work may be seen as analogus to the work of contemporary embroiderers.

Artifice mirrors art, as art mirrors nature, and with the Restoration realism gave way to a stylised idealisation not of form but rather of content. The increasingly informal mood of the period is reflected not only in individual details,[21] but in the interpretation of stock elements as the century drew to a close.

REFERENCES : CHAPTER FIVE.

1. See Conway Letters (No.74,March 27,1656) quoted in Nevinson, Needlework in the times of Elizabeth I and James I,p80.

2. The introduction of this work into England has been attributed to the Little Gidding workshops under the aegis of Nicholas Ferrars, but this seems to be unfounded. See Jourdain,p76-7.

3. Two master embroiderers,Jacob Koppel Gaus and Elkanah of Nuremburg, worked with silver and gold threads on velvet, creating slips that were then applied to a ground in the manner of amateur embroideries.

4. Macquoid,P.English Furniture in the Lady Lever Gallery p.120. Marshall argues that the relief work of raised embroidery can be seen to have developed from the Opus Anglicanum of the fifteenth century, though fundemental differences in technique between this and amateur make this hard to accept. Professional work is obviously much more closely allied.

5. Journeys of Celia Fiennes, p.280.

6. Op.Cit. p.345-6.

7. Charles I enumerated the permitted imports in 1631, and from his list it is clear that painted calicoes formed only a small part of the overall trade. Much more significant at this date, are satin and taffeta quilts.

8. The British East India Company had received it's charter in 1600, but it was not until 1637 that any of it's vessels travelled past India to China; and during the next forty years only four ships made the journey. Though the 'Bourse'had opened in 1609 for the selling of Oriental items, Indian wares,up until the third quarter of the century, were the bulk of the 'exotic' items to reach Britain, and were mainly raw goods and calico. Oriental imports did reach Britain via european markets, but in much smaller quanties than were at one time supposed.

9. Op Cit. p.59.

10. A striking example is the 'Royal Oak' goblet and the 'Vyvyan Salt' (Victoria and Albert Museum) 1592-3, bears an enammelled representation of an emblem by Whitney.

11. Ralph Edwards, The Shorter Dictionary of English Furniture, Fig.13,p.215.

12. After the Restoration the rather geometric divisions of plaster ceilings became increasingly organic, featuring wandering ribs laden with with fruit and flowers. The development mirrors that in other decorative arts.

13. Ashmolean Library, M.S.Malone; 21.

14. There are, besides the obvious varients of size and quality of workmanship, that make this theory dubious, records in inventories of local cabinet makers being paid to make up frames for embroidered mirrors. If anything, mirrors exhibit more regular features than caskets, so it seems unlikely that all were so produced. A panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum (892-1864) is inscribed on the reverse of the frame, "this frame made by Robert Addam house carpenter in Selby for Mr.John Blyth Apother in Selby ye 20th.day of January anno.dom.1707". Though this is an eighteenth century example, it does seem likely that more embroideries would be finished in this way. Frames might also be ready made,

Accompt the Lord Kilraith for his daughter,...1700
Imprimis ...
Item A frame for a satine seam I.10.0
Item a glass for her satine seam I.4.0.
(cited in Alford)

15. Sicile's Le Blason des Coleurs en Armes, Livrees et Devises 1526, Trans.1538, by R(ichard) R(obinson). A Rare True and Proper Blazon of Coloures and Ensigns Military with theyr Peculair Signification.

16. There was no real silk industry in this country until the second half of the seventeenth century when,with the opening of better trade routes to the East, silk imports boomed.

17. The introduction of this technique was made possible through improved trading with Portugal following the alliance with Catherine of Braganza. Goa, moreover, formed part of her dowry. There was obviously great opportunity for the cross-fertilisation of ideas in such a port. See Linschotens Voyage, Vol.I.p228.1668.

17. Kendrick,p66. Bower House, Havering atte Bower.

18. See examples in the Wallace Collection and Bath Museum of Costume.

19. Anthony van Dyke, Wallace Collection, London.

20. Michael Levey,The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. p.8.

21. Ideals of beauty were increasingly dissipated, and dress was often worn 'en deshabille'. An indication of this trend may be seen in A.1987.144.

CHAPTER SIX

Late Seventeenth Century Developments

The Restoration Court and the society it represented were the inevitable reactions to the exingencies of Commonwealth rule, though the wind of change had been felt even before 1660. Evelyn, for example, reports women using cosmetics "formerly a most ignominious thing" in May,1654.[1] With the Restoration proper came a general slackening of morals and manners,[2] with an increasing influence over British aesthetics exercised by the French (Charles and his brother shared a catholic mother and spent most of their youth in exile).It was a period of rapid change; a change stylistically more thorough than any seen or experienced since the Renaissance. The old world had come to an end the new made itself evident in the field of embroidery.

One result of the Restoration was the introduction of the continental innovation of upholstered furniture. This area of textile ornament provided the embroiderer with a new challange, and a new luxury. Tapestry and turkeywork gave way to techniques influenced by european examples,[3] and especially Dutch work[4]; this in turn effected other styles of embroidery. Copies of Rubens and Mytens were superceeded by those of Watteau and Teniers. The pattern books of the late seventeenth century, such as the anonymous Fiori Naturali per Ricami d'ogni sorte were not only increasingly floral, but of a sophisticated naturalism not before seen.Though the style, inevitably, became debased, the arcadian vision grew into the numerous representations of Watteauesque nymphs and shepherds so typical of the period. See Table Three. Scroll ornament of a lighter sort than was previously used, and which was to develop in the next century into the asymmetries of the Rococo, is increasingly part of the standard language of ornament of the period.

After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes these new influences become more pronounced, many of the refugees being textile workers, these occupations traditionally being the province of the Hugenot.[5] The emergance of New Testament themes in the final decades of the seventeenth century is symptomatic of the tolerance for catholics under James II, and to a degree, under CharlesII also. The extent to which the Court was 'high Church' or 'catholic' is open to debate, particularly in the light of the later accession of William of Orange, but there was certainly a degree of laxity in Protestant doctrine at this juncture, and it made an impression on the thematic content of embroideries.

The taste for chinoiserie grew more powerful towards the end of the century. It is not merely the idiomatic language of this style that is important, but that it relects a changing aesthetic that finally ousted the high baroque rhythms and solid modelling of the middle years. The new aesthetic quickly made itself manifest in the decorative arts. The embargo of the 1630's had been lifted in the middle of the century and designers were able to draw on a full range of lacquer works, screen, pintadoes,[6] and volumes of engravings from China (however specious) that had already made their mark on the national taste.[7] Having lost Bantam in the aftermath of the Dutch Wars, the East India Company turned to importing finished wares and it is in this period that the impact of oriental work on western design gained momentum. In the last quarter of the century the Company was Europe's largest importer of such goods. By 1677 they annually brought in £150-160,000 worth of calicoes to Britain: such demand cannot have avoided creating ramifications in other textile arts.[8]

The arcadian vision, bequeathed by the Renaissance and newly revitalised after the dark years of the Protectorate, mingled with an already polyglot genre. Continuity and perspective in the third quarter of the century were still largely irrelevant, but in the final decades one begins to see the emergance of a picture plane in textiles, in common, now, withthe fine arts. Similarly one can see the breakdown of the traditional coiling tracery that may be traced back to Celtic ornament.Thus, with an altered attitude to the use of the spot motif, compositions in embroidery begin to exhibit a narrative unity, previously only seen in work of a 'religious'genre.

In the last quarter of the century classicism exerts a greater influence on embroidery than perhaps any single force. Dutch taste too, was given an added impetus in the final years, with the accession of William and Mary, discussed in Chapter Five.

Old techniques, in this case Flame or Florentine stitch, were revived by the fashion for oriental embroidery. The stitch features on samplers at the opening of the seventeenth century, but, possibly because it does not work happily with figurative elements, fell into disuse for much of the century, coming into favour again when the parallels with shaded Chinese silks were highlighted. Oriental imports were of significance also in that the introduction of, and immediate craze for, silk quilts may have proved to be the deciding factor in the abandoning of the type of work with which we are concerned. As we have seen, the underlying motivations behind the genre were already fading; caskets are rarely worked after the middle years, and boxes,too, become less common. Panels remain, but at the turn of the century evolve into something

quite different in their underlying orientation. But in the eighteenth century one sees a flurry of activity in the quilting field, of a fervour and distinct type formerly represented by the creation of the sort of embroidery on which we have focused. Oriental work, too, is responsible for a shift in the vogue for light grounds to dark ones at the very end of the century.[9] It has been suggested that this light on dark aesthetic originated in the imported palampores of the early years, but they were not then so popular as the dark on light versions were to become.

The freer society that the Restoration Court had brought affected the place of women in that society, and their educational standards. Women were never to achieve the the equality of status in these respects which they seem to have enjoyed in the sixteenth century, butthe oppressive burden of collective guilt, did lighten a little. A few tracts from this period speak out, and in The Female Advocate or a Plea for the just liberty of the Tender Sex, and particularly of married women. Being Reflections on a late Rude and Disengenuous Discourse delivered by a Mr.John Sprint in a Sermon at a Wedding May IIth. at Sherbourn Dorsetshire, 1699, 'Eugenia' satirises the acclamation which the preacher had heaped on Sarah for calling Abraham 'Lord', with the comment that it would look a little odd

> 'for a Man of low degree to be greeted, My Lord, Your Lordships most obedint Servant etc.by his Lady in a blew apron'

The writer is making much the same protest against the assumption of male supremacy as Ioane Hit-him-home had made over half a century earlier.

That biblical role models were increasingly spurned is evident by a study of Table Three. Towards the end of the century fewer and

fewer examples of religious themes are worked, and the emphasis of those that are changes;one sees more undemanding subjects such as Jacob's Dream. A glance at the lower half of the Table shows the preponderance of mythological and allegorical subjects at this time, with the heaviest concentration of floral embroideries of the century, being worked in the last twenty years or so.

If one were to judge by some of the dedications of pattern books that we considered in Chapter Four, most women might be deemed to be content with their lot; this was admitted by Anna Maria von Shurman in her treatise The Learned Maid or Whether a Maid may be a Scholar, 1659. She writes 'some object that the needle and distaff supply women with all the scope they need. And I own not a few are of this mind'. Few women went so far as to advocate a return to personal power and property, for the married state was one wherein women would be 'loyal and loving subjects' of their husbands. It is interesting that attacks against women at the end of the century are more commonly the work of women than men. Men seen to have been satisfied with their achievements of the last hundred years, and only a few women were left to raise their voices against the mild and biddable ornaments of their sex.

Society was experiencing as great upheavals as it had gone through thirty or fourty years before. With the abdication of James II, Britain had shown that she wanted a monarchy, and by definition a society, more tolerant, more rooted in humanism, than that of the Interregnum, and more stable and sober than that of the later Stuarts. The world was expanding fast and the arts were subject to many numbers of influences, many of them short lived, but all of which can be charted in the textile arts. Within the constraints of

general society, the end of the seventeenth century was a time of individual liberty and free expression.In the myriad forms and themes of contemporary embroidery, the breakdown of former bonds can be traced. The embroiderer of the later years may not have had much to say, but what she did was her choice, an expression of her own free, if vacant, mind, not that of anothers.

It has been said that the sixteenth century precipitated the rise of the amateur embroiderer, religion being the catalyst, and that the seventeenth century saw the fruition of this movement. One would suggest the onus of the development is not so much attributable to the individual as 'amateur', but to the decline of the professional 'art' embroiderer, first through the loss of ecclesiastical commissions following the Reformation and later the Interregnum, and than at the mercy of changing fashion, mechanisation, and hard economics.

Where women were concerned, amateurism became their only choice, new patterns of Guild membership excluding their sex. The convents became the last refuge of the 'professional' female embroiderer, and even then it has to be said that the work of Continental foundations was superior to that of Britain.

REFERENCES : CHAPTER SIX

1. Diary of John Evelyn May 11th.1654. London.

2. A pamphlet that demonstrates the concerns of the period was entitled Against Peri-wigs and Peri-wig Making and Playing on Instruments of Music among Christians.John Milliner, 1677. London.

3. There is a suite of furniture dating from the last quarter of the century in petit and gros point. The designs are believed to have been made in Paris as there exists an almost identical suite in Westmorland of which each piece bears the stamp of a French workshop.

4. The use of bunches of flowers rather than single blooms or sprigs, is typical of Dutch work.

5. Trail has estimated that some 80,000 refugees came to Britain between 1680 and 1690, with more before the end of the century. (p.450) Celia Fiennes, 0124, comments on the large numbers of French employed in the textile trades in Canterbury.

6. The impact of these pintadoes has been overestimated. The sixteenth century were accustomed to painted hangings in imitation of tapestry, and also of a greater degree of naturalism. In 1589 William Cecil possesed a set 'having the natural bark so artificailly joined with birds nests and leaves as well as fruit upon them...that you could not distinguished between the natural and artificial trees'. Quoted in Edwards, p89.

7. Indian chinzes were first imported by the Dutch East India Company, and some reached Britain via Holland.

8. By 1664 Chinese and Japanese goods were reaching Britain via Jesuit missionaries in Paris. See Diary of John Evelyn, 22nd.June,1664.He places great emphasis on colour. 'Sadde' grounds with bright, light silk

9. embroidery, were far more popular inthe East than the West, except for a short period at the begining of the century.

9. Home Jappaning was popular and manuals such as Stalker and Parker's Treatise of Jappaning,1688, catered to the craze. It provided not only instruction but designs such as chinoiserie butterflies and two-handles vases. The desire for anything novel and exotic was great;a letter of 1687, from a representative of the East India Company tells how'...English Ladies...will give twice as much for a thing not seen in Europe before, though worse, than ...for a better...worn y^{e} former yeare...'

Concluding Remarks

This study has attempted to reconcile the conflicting pressures and cross currents of the seventeenth century, in order to reach a better understanding of a genre of embroidery peculiar to that period. Many of the questions this raises have had to remain unanswered in any definitive sense, since the documentary evidence to produce certainty has not proved as durable as the work itself. What, hopefully, it has been able to show, is a picture of the women who created these textiles, their society and the pressures under which they operated, together with a summation of their possible motivations. Most importantly, this study has attempted to demonstrate how inextricable and valid an art form is that of embroidery, and that it is an art that, perhaps uniquely, reflects the 'grass roots' aesthetics of it's century.

APPENDIX ONE

This list comprises works specifically intended to serve as pattern books. Volumes mentioned in the text which may be cited as source material, and not contained within the other Appendices, but which do not fufill the criteria of a pattern book, are recorded in the general bibliography.

Undated Editions

Burato...questi sono quattro fogli, con mostre di tela chiara a quadretti per fare opere di punto invarie lerghezze ... P.Alex Pag(aninus) Benacencis F.Bena.V.V. (Cicogna)

Danieli Bartholomeo Recamatore libro di diversi designi per Collari Punti per Fazzoletti et Reticelle divarie sorte. Agostino Parasini forma in Bologna.

Essemplario novo di piu di cento variate mostre di quali sorte, bellissime per cuisire intitulato:...stampato per Gio.Andrea Vavassore, ditto Guadagnino.

Corona di raccami, Opera nova universal..Novamente stampata per Gio.Andrea Guadagnino .

Vavassore Gio.Andrea ditto Guadagnino. Opera nova,(etc.) done le venerande donne et fanciulle trovaranno di poere et molte opere per racamatore et per dipintori... Nuovamente stampata etc.

Dated Editions

1529

Essemplario di lavori:dove le tenere faniculle et altre done poltranno facilmente inparare, il modo et ordine di lavorare ranamare e far,... con li suoi compassi et misure....Stampato in Venetia, per Nicolo d'Aristotile detto Zoppino.

1530

Fontana degli esempli. Esemplario novo di pui cento variate mostre di quacunque sorte bellissime per cucire intit....Ven.Vavas.detto Guadagnino.

A Neawe treatys as concernynge the excellency of the nedle worcke spanisshe stitche and weavynge in the frame...Antwerp,William Vosterman.

1532

Convivio delle belle Donne, dove con li nuovi raccami...stampato per Nicolo d'Aristotile, detto Zoppino del mese d'Agoso.

1542

Giardinetto nuovo di punti tagliati et gropposi,per exercito et ornamento delle donne. Ven.

Esemplare che insegna alle donne il modo di cucire,Venetia.

1544

Il specchio de pensire, delle belle donne dove si vede varie sorti di punti,cioe,punti tagliati,gropposi...Venetia.

Ornamento delle belle donne e virtuosa:Opera in cui troverai varie sorti di frisi con li quali si potra ornar ciascuna donna.Ven.

1548

Moryssche & Damachin renewed & encreased very profitable for Goldsmiths & Embroiderars.Thomas Geminus.

1551

Giardineto novo di Punti tagliati et gropposi, per esercito et ornamento delle Donne.In fine: Venetia.per Matthio Pagan in Frezzaria.

1555

Hieronymo da Ciutat del Frioli...Trionpho di Lavorio,fogliami dei quali si puo far ponti in aere.Padova.

1556

Lucidario di Ricami di Guiseppe Toretto.Venetia.

1557

Il Monte.Opera nova di recami dove trovansi varie mostre di punto in aere.Venetia.

Le Pompe. Opera nova per far cordelle d'oro,di seta,di filo,etc.Venetia.

1558

Lo splendore delle virtuose giovani con varie mostre di fogliami e punti in aere. Venetia, per Iseppo, Foresto in calle dell'acqua a san Zulian all'insegna del Pellegrino.

Le Gloria et l'Honore de'punti tagliati et ponti in aere.Venetia.per Mathio Pagan,in Frezzaria.

Belleze de'Recami et dessegni opera nova....In Venetia.

1559

Trionfo di virtu.Libro novo da cucir can fogliami,ponti a fili,ponti cruciati,etc.Venetia.

Il Monte (libro secondo).Opera etc.dove ogni bella donna potra fare ogni sorte di lavore cive colare fazzoletti,maneghetti,averdure,etc. Ven.

Passerotti Aurelio.Pittore Bolognese,designatore e miniatore.Libro primo di lavorieri alle motto illustri et virtuossime gentil donne Bolognesi,libro secundo...

1563

Splendore delle virtuose giovani dove etc. In Venetia,appresso Jeronimo Calepino.

1564

Serena opera nova di Recami,nella quale si ritrova varie et diverse sorte di punti in stuora et punti a filo,etc. In Venetia,Domenico di Francheschi.

Fede(opera nova), intitolata:Dei Recami nella quali si ritrova varie diverse sorte di mostre di punto scritto,tagliato, in Stuora, in Rede, etc.In Venetia, appresso Domenico de Franceschi in Frezzaria,all' insegna della Regina.

1567

Ostans Giovanni.La vera perfettione del designo di varie sorte di Ricami et di cucire,etc.punti a fogliami punti tagliati punti a fili et rimessi,punti in cruciati,punti a stuora,et ogni altra arte che dia opera a desegni.Fatta nuovamente per Gio.Ostans.

1586

Jacques Le Moyne(des Morgues).La clef des champs,pour trouver plusiers Animaux,tant Bestes qu'Oyseaux,auec plusieurs Fleurs et Fruitte.... Imprime aux Blackfriars...

1587

Vinciolo (de), Venetien seigneur Frederic.Les singuliers et nouveaux pourtraits pour toutes sortes d'ouvrages de lingerie. A Thuin, par Elezaro Thomissi.

1591

Vecellio (Cesare).Corona delle nobili et virtuose donne,nella quali si di mostra in varii disegni tutte le sorte di punti tagliati in aria, a reticella e dogni altra sorte,cosi per freggi come per merli a rosette.Venetia,appresso Cesare Vecellio.

1592

New and Singular Patternes and Workes on Linnen.John Wolfe,printer.

1594

Giojello della Corona per le nobile et virtuose donne.In Fiorenza, ... appresso Fr. Tosi.

1596

A Booke of Strange Inventions called the the First Part of Needleworkes,containing many singuler and fine sortes of Cut-workes Raisde-workes,Stitches and open Cutworke. William Barley.

Franco Gio°.Libro delle mostre da cuser per le donne.

Fiori di Ricami nuovamente porti in luce. Fiorenza...ad instanza di Mattheo Florini.

1601

Sibmacher,Johannes. Newes Modelbuch.Nuremburg.

1603

Giojello...Nel quale si di mostra altri novi bellissimi designi di tutte le sorte,di mostre etc.di punti etc. cosi per fregi per merli et rosette che con l'aco usano hoggi di per tutta l'Europa...Opere a Mazzetto nuovamente poste in luce con molte bellissime inventione non mai piu u saie ne vedute.In Siena,Matteo Florini.

1608

Commonplace Book.Thomas Trevelyon.(Miscellany)also dated 1609.

1620

Catanea Parasole Elisbetta Romana.Teatro delle nobili et virtuose donne dove si rappresentano variy designi di lavori novamente inventati et d segnati da essa.In Roma...

1624

A schole-house for the needle.Here followeth...sundry sorts of spots as Flowers,Birds,and Fishes &c.and will fitly serve to be wrought, some with Gould,some with Silke,and some with Crewell,or otherwise at your pleasure.Richard Shoreleyker,London.

Corona della nobile donne...Libro Primo: Nel quale si di mostra in varii disegni etc.In Venetia,Allessandro de Vecchi.

1630

A Booke of Beasts,Birds, Flowers, Fruits,Flies and Wormes. Thomas Johnson.

1634

The Needles Excellency.A New Booke wherein are divers admirable workes wrought with the needle.Newly invented and cut in copper for the pleasure and profit of the industrious. James Boler.

1642

Le Pompe di Minerva,per le nobili e virtuose donne che con industriosa mano di trattenersi dilettano in far Rezze...si come oggidi con l'aco di lavorar usati per tutta l'Europa,arrichite di bellissimi et vaghi intagli cavati da piu celebri autori di tal professione.In Pistoja, per Pier A.Fortunato.

1650

The second book of flowers, fruits,beastes, birds and flies exactly drawne. William Simpson.London.

1662

A Book of Flora. Peter Stent.London.

A Book of Flowers,Beasts, Birds and Fruits in three parts... P.Stent.

A Book of Branches, Slips,Flies,etc... P.Stent.

A New Book of Flowers, Beasts, Birds,invented and drawn wholly by J. Dunstall.London.

(Peter Stent lists some 500 titles of books and single sheets printed, and in some cases devised by him, in his trade list of 1662)

A New Boock of Flowers and Fishes... . John Overton. London.

1670

The second part of Fower-footed creatures. John Overton.London.

1674

A New End perfect Book of Beasts,Flowers, Fruits,Butterflies & other vermine Exactly drawne after ye life and naturall by W.Hollar...

APPENDIX TWO

Editions quoted are the earliest known - later editions not listed.

Herbals printed after 1538 : select list.

1538

Turner,William.Libellus de re herbaria novus... London.

1539

Tragus,Hieronymous.(Bock,Jerome) New Kreütter Büch von underscheydt würckung und namen... Srassburg.

1541

Gesnerus,Conradus (Gesner,Konrad) Historia plantarum et vires ex Dioscoride... Paris.

1542

Fuchsius,Leonhardus (Fuchs,Leomhart).De historia stirium... Basle.

Gesnerus,Conradus.Catalogus plantarum Latine,Graece,Germanicae, et Gallicae...

1548

Turner,William. The names of the herbes in Greke,Latin,Englishe Duche and French wyth the commune names that Herbaries and Apotecaries use. London.

1551

Turner,William. A new Herball.London.

—— The seconde parte of Vuilliam Turners herball.

—— The first and seconde partes...with the Third parte, lately gathered.

1554

Dodonaeus.Rembertus (Dodoens,Rembert).Cruydeboeck. Antwerp.

1574

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1576

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APPENDIX THREE

Extracts from Charters pertaining to the Broderer's Company.

The early records of this company were destroyed in the Fire of London in 1666, and later again in a fire of 1678. It is believed that that the Company was first founded in the early fourteenth century, subsequently adopting the Company of Tapissers. The Company gained a charter in 1561, but did not flourish, petitioning Charles I in 1634 for a licence in mortmain as 'the trade is now so much decayed and grown out of use, so that a great part of the Company for want of employment are so much impoverished as they are constrained to become porters, water carriers and the like'.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MA^{tie}

The humble petition of the Keepers or Wardens of the Society of the Art or Mistery of the Broderers of the Citty of London.

Wee the said poore Society(with the utmost shame and contrition) acknowledging our great errors doe in most humble manner beseech yo^{r} pardon & gratious acceptance of our hearty & intire resignacon of our Charters...which we have justly forfeited...

PROPOSITION ON SURRENDER OF CHARTER

The Broderers of London & Suburbs... doe humbly pray that in their new Charter to bee granted consideracon may be had of the following ...

11. ffor that by the former Ordinances of the Company none were to bee admitted into the Assistants but such who had served the place of Renter Warden or fined the same therfore that there may be a clause for those who are now taken into the Assistant & have not soe served or fined may be charged with the sayd office the sayd ordinance not withstanding.

12. In regard the number of those quallifyed for the Assistants is small that therefore 7 whereof the Master or his Deputy to bee one may be deemed a sufficient Court of Assistants.

13. ffor that divers persons being free of other Companyes presume toexercise this Art & because not free of this Company refuse to bee under the Government of it for remedy hereof that it may be declared that none shall exercise the Art but those that ...are...free of the Company.

.....

(dated April 7th.1685.)

NB. Note the implications behind the clauses dealing with Assistants with regard to the position of John Nelham.

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Please refer additionally to Appendices One and Two.

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