

‘Posies, Pictures and Promises.

Love and the Object: The English in the Seventeenth  
Century’

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## *Abstract*

This book is an exploration of love in the seventeenth century, chiefly researched through an underrepresented source, material culture. The people under examination are the English, in both England and the English-speaking American colonies. This study forms part of the ever-growing field of the history of emotions, as well as offering new and innovative discourse into material culture studies. The intention is to further our understanding of an unexplored emotion, amorous love, and to breakaway from existing histories of emotion, which have tended to focus on negative feelings.

Love is explored through an analysis of over 1,100 objects from 80 institutions. These sources are managed by a specifically tailored methodology, which considers the objects alongside traditional written and visual sources, and allows the objects to speak by considering their active constructions, as well as their spatial surroundings, dynamics and various surfaces. This analysis betters our current comprehension of amorous relationships by creating an understanding of how lovers orchestrated their feelings through material culture, and how lovers conveyed the individual qualities and aspirations of love, including constancy, choice and desire.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first is a methodological account of the author's journey with the object. The second is an examination of amorous tropes and their meanings. The third analyses object creation and exchange, while the fourth looks at how objects were used by recipients. The final chapter draws the love cycle to a close by examining responses to death. In each chapter, analysing the spaces around the object allows a scholar to understand the importance of the body within conveying and manifesting emotions, as well as other key themes, including gender and faith. By exposing the essential and complex relationship between emotion and materiality in the seventeenth century, I reveal that love created material culture and that material culture created love.

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*Abbreviations*

BIA	Borthwick Institute for Archives.
BLARS	Buckinghamshire and Luton Archive and Records Service.
CRO	Cumbria Record Office.
CBS	Centre for Buckinghamshire Studies.
CHRO	Chester Record Office.
CUP	Cambridge University Press.
DRO	Derbyshire Record Office.
HALS	Hertfordshire Archives and Library Service.
IWRO	Isle of Wight Record Office.
KA	Kendal Archives.
LRO	Lancashire Record Office.
MOL	Museum of London.
MOMA	Museum of Modern Art.
NA	National Archives at Kew.
NPG	National Portrait Gallery.
NT	National Trust.
NTA	Nottinghamshire Archives.
OUP	Oxford University Press.
PAS	The Portable Antiquities Scheme.
SA	Sheffield Archives.
SCLA	Shakespeare Centre Library and Archive.

SRAS	Somerset Record and Archive Service.
WSRO	West Sussex Record Office.
UCL	University of Central London.
V&A	Victoria and Albert Museum.

Where only one measurement has been given under dimensions, this measurement refers to height.

All original spellings have been retained.

## *Introduction*

Emotions remain the epitome of living. Love, friendship, conscience, happiness, anger, frustration and fear direct society, just as they did four-hundred years ago. In 2001, William Reddy acknowledged that, ‘historians and literary critics have discovered that emotions have a kind of history (but what kind is not entirely clear).’<sup>1</sup> Since 2001 the history of emotions has become a well-established and far reaching field. There are now several academic centres for the history of emotions around the world, including in Australia, Germany and the UK. These centres continue to grow and new publications advance scholarly discourse on emotions year-on-year.<sup>2</sup> In the early days, studies often focused purely on testing methodologies, which were crucial in order to make the field credible.<sup>3</sup> This study stands alongside these emerging and exciting studies, by offering innovative discourse on one particular emotion: the history of love. As noted in *Doing Emotions History* (2014) historians of emotion have tended ‘to accord greater prominence to the role played by negative emotions in constituting the human past.’<sup>4</sup> This study helps to fill the gap by providing a history of amorous love, in a relatively understudied period. ‘Love and

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<sup>1</sup> William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (CUP, 2001), p.x.

<sup>2</sup> For example: Stephanie Downes, Sally Holloway, and Sarah Randles (eds), *Feeling Things: Objects and Emotions through History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017). Ute Frevert, *The Natalie Zemon Davis Lecture Series, Emotions in History – Lost and Found* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2011). Frank Beiss and Daniel M Gross, *Science and Emotions after 1945: A Transatlantic Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014). Robert Gregory Boddice (ed.), *Pain and Emotion in Modern History* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the Early-Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Carolyn Strange, Robert Cribb and Christopher E. Forth (eds.), *Honour, Violence and Emotions in History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014). Ute Frevert et Al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling, 1700-2000* (OUP, 2014). Jerome Kagan, *What is Emotion? History, Measures and Meanings* (North Carolina: Yale University Press, 2007). Fay Bound Alberti, *Medicine, Emotion and Disease, 1700-1950*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007). Susan McClary, *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

<sup>3</sup> For example: Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*. Antonio Damasio, *The Feeling of What Happens: Body, Emotion and the Making of Consciousness* (London: Vintage Books, 1999). Keith Oatley, *A Brief History of Emotions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988). Daniel M. Gross, *The Secret History of Emotion: From Aristotle’s Rhetoric to Modern Brain Science* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

<sup>4</sup>Peter Stearns and Susan Matt, *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014), p.103. Example: Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Anger’s Past: Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 2013).

the Object’ is therefore a predominantly positive history of emotion; though the last chapter also provides an analysis of the negative emotions which the end of love could cause.

This book is an exploration of love in the seventeenth century sourced principally through the medium of material culture. The first intention behind this study is to enhance and further our comprehension of amorous love in England and in the English-speaking American Colonies. In this sense, the work is first and foremost a history of an emotion. The second aim is to explore and incorporate a largely unused source base. Indeed, it was this source base, the object, which has allowed our comprehension of love to be enhanced beyond existing histories. The final aim is to forge an understanding of the role and significance of material culture within love: how it was used, what it meant, and how rich and diverse a range of objects lovers had to draw upon in the early modern period. In this introduction, I will expand and clarify the objectives and the topic, and review existing influential literature including the historiography of emotions, commerce, social history, the human lifecycle, and gender history. A review of literature on material culture can be found in chapter one, which charts my journey with the object.

Monique Scheer observed that we should consider emotions as practices, or ‘emotives’, as things which we ‘do’ rather than ‘have.’<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, she noted that ‘practice may create an “inner and “outer” to emotion with “ex-pression” of feelings originating inside and then moving from inner to outer. But practice may also create bodily manifestations seemingly independent from the mind, ego, or subject, depending on historically and culturally specific habits and context.’<sup>6</sup> This understanding situates emotions as dependent on external factors and contexts, and as personified in the outer self – in actions and expressions – rather than as internal,

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<sup>5</sup> Monique Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion’ in *History and Theory* (May, 2012), 51, pp.193-220.

<sup>6</sup> Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice’ in *History and Theory*, pp.193-220. Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 600-1700* (CUP, 2016), p.1.

perhaps more constant, responses or reactions. This understanding appears in the aptly named *Doing Emotions History* and in Barbara H. Rosenwein's *Generations of Feeling*, when she notes 'socialisation affects emotions.'<sup>7</sup> Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani agree with this conceptualisation of emotions, stating, 'these emotions do not arise spontaneously or "naturally" but are created and brought forth through practices'.<sup>8</sup> Pernau and Rajamani also believed that the incorporation of sources beyond text is fundamental as the practices of emotions are not often expressed through the word. They note that the predominance of text and exclusion of alternative sources, 'both overestimates the readability of historical texts, which also use concepts whose meanings differ from the present, and underestimates the accessibility of the other media.'<sup>9</sup>

The incorporation of material culture within this thesis, and the corresponding focus upon ritualistic moments in the timeline of love (courtship, betrothal, marriage, childbirth and death), mean that my method of accessing and interpreting love centres upon love as a series of expressions and practices. As Scheer and others have argued, this expression was affected by context; most notably by religious change, a great growth in the production of goods, an increase in literacy and by developing notions of privacy and secularisation. While these points are of notable significance, I do not intend to prove or disprove whether perceptions changed over the course of the century. This is in part because the majority of objects cannot be specifically dated. For example, rings, which form the largest number of a single type of object, can usually only be dated to a hundred-year period. This makes tracking changes in emotion within the scope of the period problematic, though this study can stand as an aide to other scholars seeking to explore a broader picture of changes over time.

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<sup>7</sup> Peter Stearns and Susan Matt, *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani, 'Emotional Translations: Conceptual History Beyond Language' in *History and Theory* (February, 2016) 55, pp.46-65.

<sup>9</sup> Margrit Pernau and Imke Rajamani, 'Emotional Translations: Conceptual History Beyond Language' in *History and Theory* (February, 2016) 55, pp.46-65.

The more recent literature from the history of emotions calls into question several important points. Are emotions feelings within the body, or are they responses we feel which are shaped by our outward practices, and do we need to practise emotions in order to feel? Do emotions have to be seen to be successful, even if the only witness is the person practising the emotion? Are those feelings (either internally or as methods of practices) shaped by external influences, and if so, as these influences were contextual, does every generation feel in a slightly different way from their parents and grandparents? In order to answer these questions, science and the arts have begun to come together. For example, the neuroscientist Jaak Panksepp concluded that ‘sites in the human brain evoke affective feelings that are commensurate with the instinctual emotional actions evoked in other animals.’<sup>10</sup> He also noted that both animals and people who had been ‘deprived of their neocortices [a section of the brain associated with sight and hearing] continue to display primary-process emotional behaviours.’<sup>11</sup> Similarly, psychologists tend to agree that there is a constancy to emotions over time and people. For example, Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen’s study of an isolated Papua New Guinea tribe was instrumental in establishing emotions as constant within the field of psychology.<sup>12</sup> While Ekman has since responded to criticism and expanded his list of ‘basic emotions’, the concept of a universally understood and consistent form of human emotions remains a strong one within psychology.<sup>13</sup>

These areas of research see emotions as, at least partly, deep-rooted, ‘instinctual’, biological occurrences. It may seem problematic to align this research with others who see emotions as influenced by context. Peter and Carol Stearns stressed the key difference as one between emotion and emotionology: emotion as ‘a

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<sup>10</sup> Jaak Panksepp, ‘How does Neural Activity Affect Emotional Feelings?’ in Michael Lewis, Jeanette M. Haviland-Jones and Lisa Feldman Barrett (eds.), *Handbook of Emotions* (London: The Guildford Press, 2008), pp.47-67.

<sup>11</sup> Panksepp, ‘How does Neural Activity Affect Emotional Feelings?’, pp.47-67.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen, ‘Constants across cultures in the face and emotion’ in *The Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (1971), 17, pp.124–29.

<sup>13</sup> Paul Ekman, ‘Basic Emotions’ in Tim Dalgleish and Mick J. Power (eds.), *Handbook of Cognition and Emotion* (Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 1999), chapter three.



complex set of interactions among subjective and objective factors, mediated through the neural and/or hormonal systems' and emotionology as 'the attitudes or standards that a society... maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression.'<sup>14</sup> For the Stearns, the differentiation between emotions and emotionologies was key to understanding the influence of context and therefore of changes across time concerning how we feel.

Despite the clarity shared by the Stearns, there remain some important concerns. If the practice of emotions is central to both experiencing and recovering feeling, then this suggests that context must affect how people feel, and likely also has an effect on their understanding of feeling. This much can hardly be challenged, for one generation exhibits different emotional responses from another, though one may argue the factor which makes the difference is not always time nor precisely context: it could be the individual's gender, age, personal beliefs and experiences, and so on. However, it also seems clear that many emotional responses are geared by some instinctual, either neural or hormonal, internal system. As Panksepp observed, people who have been deprived of social influences still exhibit emotional actions, as do animals.<sup>15</sup> Notably, both of these theories attribute feeling not to a person's character or individuality; rather these interpretations create people who are confined by either their context or their primal instincts. Both also impose a level of generality for emotions which is somewhat unsatisfactory, concerning the great variety of emotions, emotives and emotional responses generated by people.

The natural answer is that some emotions are highly influenced by context, while some are more affected by instinct. Furthermore, I believe that emotions have varying 'shades.' Take for example, the emotions stirred by the death of close relative or friend. It seems impossible to argue that either in the past or present, in the human or animal kingdoms, that such a death does not usually cause emotional distress,

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<sup>14</sup> Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards' in *The American Historical Review* (Oct., 1985), 90:4, pp.813-836.

<sup>15</sup> Panksepp, 'How does Neural Activity Affect Emotional Feelings?', pp.47-67.

albeit with a great variation in shades, which might be determined by the intensity of an individual's response or by the impact upon health.<sup>16</sup> However, context shapes how that emotional distress is practised both overtly and internally, and it may also shape how quickly a person recovers from that distress. This suggests that there are certain moments in the human lifespan which trigger emotions, and these feelings may have a level of constancy about them from generation to generation. The methods by which that emotion is practised, and consequently retrieved for interpretation, are highly dependent on context. The individual is also influential, for while he or she is subject to his or her society, age and various external pressures, they also have the power to push those influences aside, at least somewhat, and practise emotion in whichever way he or she chooses.

Love, as an emotion, is like an umbrella. It can encompass all other feelings and was understood to be an independent feeling, a character trait (to be loving) and an ideological aspiration. It is internal and external, and it can be experienced through a physical act which sees two (or more) individuals come together through sexual intercourse to share the process of 'making' love, an act which is seen as highly intimate and personal, yet ritualistic, animalistic, and on occasion, economic. Love in the past can seem unreachably foreign, wherein gender, religious, cultural and societal expectations make it distant but it can also seem powerfully persistent, a constant among humans, caused by some instinctual urge not only to reproduce, but to seek companionship. Most emotions will have shades of this timeless yet unique quality, but none as much as love. Love, therefore, cannot be explored as a purely instinctual or contextual phenomenon: a joint approach is necessary, which locates aspects of love within contexts but also acknowledges that other aspects of love may be driven by instinct.

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<sup>16</sup> Further reading on emotions and animals see: Charles Darwin, *The Expressions of Emotion in Man and Animals* (1871).

Gail Paster described the study of emotions as, ‘either a prison-house or a house of mirrors, revealing not what the emotions “really” are but only what people believed about them at different times and places.’<sup>17</sup> This study does not attempt to offer an explanation of what love ‘really’ was, whether that was or is a biological, neurological, psychological or physiological process. Much of the discourse here will be upon what people believed love to be, what expectations and requirements they had, how they used objects to reflect, channel and manifest love, and how they understood their feelings. These tasks are complicated by contexts, which might affect how love, and other emotions associated with love, were recorded and understood. An academic discourse on the language of emotion, that is how we express it, has been and continues to be developed by several scholars, including Sara Ahmed, David Lemmings and Ann Brooks. They have each demonstrated a need to be aware of false friends in emotion terminology.<sup>18</sup> Difficulties of terminology have also been noted by other scholars working with emotion, including Rob Boddice who wrote on pain: ‘immediately it should strike the reader that “pain” is at best a confusing label; at worst it is hopelessly inadequate.’<sup>19</sup> The issue is that emotions are fluid; internal and external; real and not. For example, there are emotions which were once not considered emotions at all. Happiness initially referred to ‘happening’ in a way similar to how wonderful referred to ‘wonder’ or ‘awful’ was to be in awe.<sup>20</sup> For this research, the more obvious label of ‘romantic’ love had different connotations in the early-modern period, when it was used largely to mean fictional. ‘Heterosexual’ was not used in the early-modern period and its adoption might have excluded homosexual love from my analysis, which was not an intention. ‘Amorous’ was selected as the best adjective to pinpoint the love between lovers, though it too had a slightly

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<sup>17</sup> Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the Early-Modern Passions*, p.4.

<sup>18</sup> Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions* (New York: Taylor and Francis Group, 2004). David Lemmings and Ann Brooks, *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2014). Sarah Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

<sup>19</sup> Rob Boddice (ed.), *Pain and Emotion in Modern History* (Hampshire: Palgrave and Macmillan, 2014), p.1

<sup>20</sup> Darrin M. Mahon, ‘Finding Joy in the History of Emotions’ in Peter Stearns and Susan J. Matt (eds.), *Doing Emotions History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), pp.108-109.

different seventeenth-century meaning, referring more specifically to the forging or growth of attraction. While the term is not entirely satisfactory, it remains a necessary label to differentiate between other forms of love, including family, religious and monarchical.

Changes in emotion over time may not just pertain to word use but to people's relationships with the self, feeling and faith. Thomas Dixon's innovative book suggested that the idea of experiencing an emotion in a personal, contained and secularised sense is a relatively new phenomenon.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, Steven Mullaney argued that 'emotion' only came into prominent use after 1660, replacing ideas which centred upon 'passions' and 'affections.'<sup>22</sup> One aim of this study is to test these chronological lines of distinction, which Dixon and others have drawn, by analysing how people understood love, and whether indeed they related love to their humours, passions or faith in the seventeenth century. In 1600, authors penned the word 'emotion' in relation to rage, love and so on, and in specific relation to the humours, suggesting they did not see a clear differentiation between 'emotion' and 'passion.'<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, these authors rooted emotion in the body, in the hand, heart, soul and more.<sup>24</sup> However, as Dixon noted, 'passions' does appear to have been a more commonly used word. Whether people had a secularised relationship with their feelings remains uncertain and will be a point of my analysis. Andrea Brady noted that people not only located feeling within their bodies, they also described emotions as sensations within their bodies, seemingly independent of external forces and more akin to a secularised, self-driving comprehension of emotion.<sup>25</sup> I will address whether material culture traces a move toward the secularisation of emotion, but the wider aim

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<sup>21</sup> Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (CUP, 2003).

<sup>22</sup> Paster, Rowe and Floyd-Wilson (eds.), *Reading the Early-Modern Passions*, p.2.

<sup>23</sup> Josephus Falvius, *The Famous and Memorable Workes of Iosephus, a man of much honour and learning among the Iewes: Translated by Thomas Lodge* (London, 1602), p.388.

<sup>24</sup> Pierre Le Loyer, *A Treatise of Spectres or Strange Sights* (London, 1605), p.105. William Symonds, *Pisgah Euangelica* (London, 1605), p.214.

<sup>25</sup> Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.179.

is to gain a reflective comprehension of how love was understood by both the individual and wider society. Seeking out a movement from religious to secular can lead a scholar toward a traditional and rather generalised narrative, and risks simplification.

The history of emotions is a natural evolution from several existing fields, including social, religious and gender histories. From the 1970s onward, many historians were producing reflective and informative histories, several of which have influenced this study. These historians were pushing back against unbalanced, earlier theories, which presented love in a negative light: one scholar even once argued that love was ‘treated with a mixture of suspicion, contempt and outright disgust by virtually all pundits.’<sup>26</sup> By the 1980s, Michael MacDonald had presented evidence which made ‘nonsense of historians’ confident assertions that romantic love was rare in the seventeenth century, or that it was unimportant in choosing marital partners.<sup>27</sup> Ralph Houlbrooke used diaries and letters to demonstrate that a caring family environment existed during and prior to the seventeenth century, a view which was also supported by Keith Wrightson.<sup>28</sup> David Cressy too presented a comprehensive

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<sup>26</sup> Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Phoenix Press, 1984), p.31. Further examples: Maurice Ashley, *The Stuarts in Love: With Some Reflections on Love and Marriage* (California: Hodder and Staughton, 1963), p.15, p.25, p.39, p.54. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of the Family* (New York: Knopf, 1962) and *At the Hour of our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes Toward Death Over the Last Thousand Years* (London: Penguin, 1983). Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage, 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1990), *Uncertain Unions: Marriage in England 1660-1753* (OUP, 1992), *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1965) and *Road to Divorce: 1530-1987* (OUP, 1990).

<sup>27</sup> Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (CUP, 1981), p.89.

<sup>28</sup> Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (New York: Routledge, 1984), p.77. Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.22. Other examples: G. R. Quaipe, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1979). Peter Laslett, *Bastardy and its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980), p.75. Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early-Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.134. Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (CUP, 1977). Claire Tomalin, *Samuel Pepys: The Unequalled Self* (London: Penguin, 2003), p.195. Jane Dunn, *Read my Heart: Dorothy Osbourne and Sir William Temple: A Love Story in the Age of Revolution* (London: Harper Press, 2008), p.xvii.

vision of the human life-cycle, which was far from emotionally uncaring or cold.<sup>29</sup> These studies did much to further our understanding of people and pave the way for the history of emotions, though they tended to focus on more established topics, including points in the human life-cycle.

These punctuations have their place in this study, but I do not explore marriage, birth or death in the socio-economic sense that prior studies have done already, and have done well. Notable are works by David Cressy, who portrayed the richness of the social motivations of the lifecycle, while Mary Abbott too tracked the lifecycle, proving that rituals were understood as ‘natural, religious and astrological.’<sup>30</sup> These aspects of the life-cycle will play important roles within the study, most markedly the role of religious reform and consolidation (as Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks termed it), particularly the Reformation, as well as the growth of commerce and expansion of trade.<sup>31</sup> I would like to note here that all episodes of love which I discuss have a logic besides or alongside the emotional but the focus here is upon love. Notwithstanding this, the history of the life-cycle is ready and waiting to be re-examined in light of the newly emerged field of emotions and with regards to advancements in material culture. For example, Tara Hamling successfully employed material culture to reveal that domestic religious expression was not erased by the Reformation but merely altered, shedding new light upon religious emotions in the household.<sup>32</sup>

As noted, the initial and predominantly negative historiographies of emotions and early-modern people have now largely been discarded, though their influence lives on, particularly concerning the English in America. This negative portrayal forms part of the reason for the inclusion of the Americas. In 2008, Dorothy Mays

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<sup>29</sup> David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (OUP, 1999).

<sup>30</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*. Mary Abbott, *Life Cycles in England 1560-1720: Cradle to Grave* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.32.

<sup>31</sup> Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789* (CUP, 2006), pp.148-147.

<sup>32</sup> Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

wrote, 'it is apparent that romantic love was not viewed as a prerequisite for most of the Colonial Period... the perception of cold, business-like marriages is reinforced by surviving documents.'<sup>33</sup> In part, conclusions have been based upon extreme examples; as Bruce Daniels noted, 'sensational bizarre examples [of domestic abuse and criminality] are repeated endlessly to the neglect of more mundane ones.'<sup>34</sup> Others have treated colonists as people in an infantile stage of civilisation, who witnessed the 'dawning' or 'morning' of 'early' America.<sup>35</sup> Coupled with the emotional and controversial narratives of Native Americans and African-Americans, the English colonist's repute is often a muddled one. His or her emotional qualities are apparently cold, colder than their English counterparts.

In this study, I push back against these inaccurate generalities of people in colonial America. To assume that English people became more barbaric when they crossed the ocean is illogical. A similar observation was made by Larry Gragg: he believed that to depict those Englishmen who colonised Barbados as barbaric, self-driven and exploitative was to do an injustice to an ordered and disciplined group.<sup>36</sup> Definitely, the structure of English society was not always applicable to the colonies, whether this was due to the physical environment, or to varying encounters with different races of people.<sup>37</sup> However more recent studies have presented the colonists

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<sup>33</sup> Dorothy A. Mays, *Women in Early America: Struggle, Survival and Freedom in a New World* (California: Library in Congress, 2004), p.249. Further examples: Mirriam Slater, 'The Weightiest Business: Marriage in an Upper-gentry Family in Seventeenth-Century England' in *Past and Present*, (August, 1976), 72, pp.25-54. Margaret George, *Women in the First Capitalist Society* (Virginia: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p.207. Else L. Hambleton, *Pregnant Brides and Unwed Mothers in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.155. Merril D. Smith, *Sex and Sexuality in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), p.59. Patricia Crawford 'Attitudes to Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England' in *Past and Present*, (May, 1981), 91, pp.47-79. Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (California: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), p.17.

<sup>34</sup> Bruce C. Daniels, *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England* (London: MacMillan Press, 1998), p.126.

<sup>35</sup> For example: Darrett B. Rutman, *The Morning of America, 1663-1789* (Boston: The University of New Hampshire, 1971). David Freeman Hawke, *Everyday Life in Early America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989).

<sup>36</sup> Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonisation of Barbados, 1627-1660* (OUP, 2003).

<sup>37</sup> Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (North Carolina: The North Carolina University Press, 2007), p.43.

and colonies as a diverse group of peoples and places, which makes any general categorisations of the colonist questionable.<sup>38</sup> The majority of examples examined here are from Massachusetts, and place is noted for every other instance. In tandem with this motivation, the inclusion of colonists was also driven by the tangled threads between those in England and the colonies, which makes division awkward. Indeed, the majority of surviving ‘colonial’ objects have powerful connections to England in the seventeenth century, whether that be through object creation or owner. Greater reasoning for this inclusion, and indeed the exclusion of other peoples, was dictated by the survival and cataloguing of objects, as well as the historiography of material culture, which is further elucidated in chapter one.

Some scholars have suggested that the location of privacy and comfort within the home did not come about until the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>39</sup> This shift was attributed to the effects of the Reformation, wherein religious change pulled people away from shared, communal spaces, and into private spaces of reflection and meditation.<sup>40</sup> These changes required smaller, intimate rooms, which could be interpreted as the beginnings of the modern family home. This then allowed family relationships to develop in a way which they had not done previously. The growth of industry in the eighteenth century also provided more people with material goods to fill these spaces. John E. Crowley termed this, ‘the invention of comfort.’<sup>41</sup> Theories on the development of private spheres in America are similar, although the development of comfort and civility in the home were later coming. Stephanie Coontz

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<sup>38</sup> Barber, *The Disputatious Caribbean*. Christian J. Koot, *Empire at the Periphery: British Colonists, Anglo-Dutch Trade, and the Development of the British Atlantic, 1621-1713, Early American Places* (New York University Press, 2011).

<sup>39</sup> Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), introduction. Corinne S. Abate, *Privacy, Domesticity and Women in Early-Modern England* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), p.3. Anne Lawrence, *Women in England, 1500-1700: A Social History* (London: Phoenix Press, 1996), p.41. See also: Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England* (London: Secker E Warburg, 1964).

<sup>40</sup> Mary Hampson Patterson, *Domesticating the Reformation: Protestant Bestsellers, Private Devotion, and the Revolution of English Piety* (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006). Sasha Handley, ‘From the Sacral to the Moral’ in *Social and Cultural History*, (2015), 9:1, pp.27-46.

<sup>41</sup> John E. Crowley, *The Invention of Comfort: Sensibilities and Design in Early-Modern Britain and Early America* (Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 2001).



wrote of the early-modern period, ‘within the household, there was little sense of marital privacy or special intimacy among blood relatives.’<sup>42</sup> One may query whether a more primitive domestic space would equate to lack of intimacy between family members, but if it did, this would affect amorous love, and consequently be of importance to this study.

In recent years, scholars have re-examined the influence of the growth of trade and commerce before 1700, revealing a vivid and luxurious world of consumption and comfort for those Europeans wealthy enough to enjoy it.<sup>43</sup> Lisa Jardine observed the importance of medieval and early-modern commerce when she noted that the medieval ‘pursuit of commodities shaped the beginnings of the world we recognise.’<sup>44</sup> However even these recent studies can be stifled by a progressive narrative, which makes the early-modern period seem less advanced: Evelyn Welch revealed a luxurious world of commerce in her book *Shopping in the Renaissance*, but she noted how the scholar can fall ‘into a narrative of either progress or decline.’<sup>45</sup> This risks reducing our understanding of commerce to a scale and a narrative, rather than as unique pockets of expansion and their corresponding effects, whether those be cultural, social or emotional. For example, Ulinka Rublack and Maria Hayward demonstrated how tailoring was transformed by new technology in early-modern Germany. This sparked a connection between clothing and culture, and furthermore, as Hayward noted, clothes became ‘as much about emotions as status.’<sup>46</sup> I aim to use the object to form observations of public and private, comfort and intimacy, from approximately 1600 to 1700: a period stretching earlier than those studies which

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<sup>42</sup> Stephanie Coontz, *The Social Origins of Private Life: A History of American Families 1600-1900* (London: Verso, 1988), p.85.

<sup>43</sup> Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *Silver, Trade and War: Spain and America in the Making of Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2000). Jordan Landes, *London Quakers in the Trans-Atlantic World* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

<sup>44</sup> Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p.90. See also, Michelle O’Malley and Evelyn Welch (eds.), *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester University Press, 2007).

<sup>45</sup> Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.8.

<sup>46</sup> Ulinka Rublack and Maria Hayward (eds.), *The First Book of Fashion: The Book of Clothes of Matthäus & Veit Konrad Schwarz of Augsburg* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p.2, pp.12-13.

situate progressive, modern change from 1650 at the earliest.<sup>47</sup> The seventeenth century also remains unstudied in relation to love and material culture; sitting between Diana O'Hara's, *Courtship and Constraint* on Tudor England, and Sally Holloway's work on eighteenth-century England.<sup>48</sup>

The history of women is an important area of influence in this research. Begun in the 1970s, this angle of study was a vital and enlightening one. However, early conclusions often depicted a patriarchal world in which women were subjugated and restrained, because of the assumed inferiority of their sex.<sup>49</sup> With such a summary in mind, it is unsurprising that many gender historians found the idea of love within marriage and wider society problematic. Some historians believed that the death of the husband was a point of liberation, rather than grief.<sup>50</sup> Chapter five of this thesis is entirely dedicated to analysing reactions to the death of a lover, and will test these theories. The popularity of women's history created an imbalance in the number of books published on men and women. Natalie Zemon Davis observed that, 'it seems to me that we should be interested in the history of both women and men, that we should not be working only on the subjected sex any more than an historian of class can focus entirely on peasants.'<sup>51</sup> To this day, more studies have been written about the social lives of women than men.<sup>52</sup> This balance needs to be set right, as the social lives of men were key to ideological concepts of manhood, including being a father

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<sup>47</sup> Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (CUP, 2003). Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-2011* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

<sup>48</sup> Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000); Sally Holloway, 'Romantic Love in Words and Objects during Courtship and Adultery' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2013).

<sup>49</sup> Smith, *Sex and Sexuality*, p.59. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches*, p.17. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early Americas*, p.15. Tamara Harvey, *Figuring Modesty and Feminist Discourse Across the Americas, 1633-1700*, p.5. Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience* (Boston: The McGrawhill Companies, 2000), p.25.

<sup>50</sup> Jennifer Panek, *Widows and Suitors in English Comedy* (CUP, 2004), p.44. Janine M. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows in Early-Modern Paris* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), p.22. Exception: Allison M. Levy, *Widowhood and Visual Culture in Early-Modern England* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003).

<sup>51</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early-Modern France: Eight Essays* (California: Stanford University Press, 1975).

<sup>52</sup> For example: Maureen Daly Goggin and Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Women and The Material Culture of Death* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2013).

and husband, and their place within the household. Fortunately, scholars have started to fill the void and demonstrated that some restraints, which had once been placed solely on the shoulders of women, were faced by men as well. For example, Bernard Capp stressed that, while there was an evident double standard in society, the sexual reputation of a man was of huge significance.<sup>53</sup> Mark Breitenberg challenged the notion that it was only men who were unfaithful, proving that women were equally capable of infidelity.<sup>54</sup> In 2005, Alexandra Shepard demonstrated how little historians had worked on the social repute of early-modern man in her comprehensive and complex depiction of manhood.<sup>55</sup> This said, patriarchy was a powerful discourse in early-modern society. This study will enhance the existing historiography on gender because I use the object to elucidate both genders. Much of the discourse takes a neutral approach to both the topic, love, and often, to the objects as well. There are objects which do illuminate an aspect of gender, whether male or female, but as a group, they are neither overwhelmingly masculine or feminine.

The monograph has been divided into five chapters. Chapter one is an examination of the objects and an in-depth breakdown of the methodology. This details the object corpus and provides an account of my journey with the object, as well as a review of the literature on material culture. Chapter two analyses the visual aspect of the object, revealing what objects reflected about love. In doing this, chapter two provides a comprehensive gathering of seventeenth-century amorous tropes and designs, as well as what they meant in relation to love. The reader can use this as a point of reference for the following chapters, which will refer to these designs. The following three chapters assess the physicality of objects at various stages of amorous relationships. Chapter three examines the creation and giving of objects. Chapter four reflects the other side of exchange: how objects were received and used to manifest

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<sup>53</sup> Bernard Capp, 'The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early-Modern England' in *Past and Present*, (Feb. 1999), 162, pp.70-100.

<sup>54</sup> Mark Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinity in Early-Modern England* (CUP, 1996), p.42. For a further example of a study addressing men and emotion see: E. A. Foyster, 'A laughing matter? Marital discord and gender control in seventeenth-century England' in *Rural History*, (1993), 4, pp.5-21.

<sup>55</sup> Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early-Modern England* (OUP, 2005).

feeling. These two chapters consequently focus on episodes of exchange, which typically correspond to important punctuations within the love-cycle, including courtship, betrothal, marriage and the births of children. These were often emotionally extreme and unusual moments within the love-cycle, and they acted as catalysts for the production of goods. In order to understand the role of the objects after these moments, the relationship between the event or ‘punctuation’, the durability of objects forms a thread of analysis through both chapters. The final chapter analyses how objects were used within responses to death; as representations, conduits and points of manifestation.

This structure creates two important frameworks. The first is a timeframe of love. Chapters two to five chart the love-cycle; allowing the reader to begin by responding to material culture in an immediate, flat visual sense, before moving onto the rituals of love which triggered, unified and preserved emotion. This journey ultimately concludes with the death of the lover, with analysis turning to how the griever’s feelings were transformed into an entirely spiritual experience. The second is a framework of the perspectives upon and within the object. In the first chapter, the reader is provided with the scholar’s perspective of the object. The following chapters recover perceptions of the object from the early-modern period. First, an external gaze upon the object. Second, the perspective of the creator and giver physically passing on the object. Third, the recipient receiving and developing love through the object, and finally, the perspective of the griever, using the object as a conduit and focal point, to counter pain. In this instance, ‘perspective’ should not be taken as a purely visual experience, but a physical one too.

I look on and into the object in a way similar to how I analyse love. The private and public faces of love are explored; the internal and external, the metaphors and functions, and the realities and ideologies. Therefore, love too is examined through various perspectives. Love is what people thought it was, but also what people thought it ought to be. Love, like any emotion, was subject to reproach and

reform in the seventeenth century, and this too will be explored. However, it is not my aim to assess changes in love, particularly as the majority of objects cannot be dated specifically. I set out to examine specific cases and better grasp how love was viewed and understood, and how material culture enabled these expressions and feelings of love.

## Chapter One

### *Material Culture and the Objects*

‘Material’ is the concrete, tangible and real; the objects themselves. ‘Culture’ is the mouldable and changeable, the ideas and meanings we draw from the objects. In a nutshell, the reader can consider ‘material culture’ as physical things which inform us about the social, cultural, and emotional dynamics of the past. However, as I discovered early on in this study, ‘material culture’ has a wider scope of meaning and scholarly associations. Material culture has been used as the name of a field of study, a description of a source body, and the methodological processes which scholars use when tackling the object.<sup>56</sup> Scholars, therefore, employ ‘material culture’ as noun, adjective and verb. Material culture has strong disciplinary connotations; it can be thought of as archaeological, anthropological and as a field strongly related to museums. Material culture is a source body, but also the spaces which surround the individual objects, both now and in the past. Finally, material culture has been defined and moulded by its inherent multidisciplinary nature.<sup>57</sup> It can therefore be understood as a collaborative whole, composed of many areas of research. This chapter is intended to provide guidance to academics beginning their journeys with the object by providing a reflective account of my own journey. It may also be of use to object carers including those working for museums, trusts or with objects in private ownership, particularly if they are looking to collaborate with university researchers.

Collaboration from scholars of varying fields has been influential in the development of material culture as a credible field of study. In 2009, the

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<sup>56</sup> Ian Woodward, *Understanding Material Culture* (London: Sage, 2007), pp.3-4.

<sup>57</sup> Robert C. Williams, *The Historian’s Toolbox: A Student’s Guide to the Theory and Craft of History* (London: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), p.66. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (OUP, 2010). John Styles and Amanda Vickery (eds.), *Gender, Taste and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1800* (London: Yale Centre for British Art, 2006), p.1. Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan (eds.), *Women and Material Culture, 1660-1830* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p.6. Susanne Kuchler (ed.), *Clothing as Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

archaeologists Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins stated those disciplines which had been central to the growth of material culture:

Objects have long been and continue to be the subjects of study within the disciplines of anthropology and philosophy. They also have long-standing currency in fields such as archaeology, design history, folklore, history of science, domestic and decorative arts, textiles, craft and architecture, as well as within the multi-disciplinary field of material culture.<sup>58</sup>

This interest produced a cumulative discipline, wherein scholars embrace methods from all over academia with a refreshing open-mindedness. The history of emotions is similar in this respect. However, Candlin and Guins's quotation demonstrates how few scholars would consider themselves to be solely material culturists. As a consequence, material culture has not experienced uniform support from one discipline. This partly explains why, until the last decade, material culture was not considered a discipline in its own right. Some scholars thought that those who housed the objects (the museum workers) were natural leaders of research, rather than university academics.<sup>59</sup> This meant studies were likely to correspond with exhibitions and collections, rather than with wider historiographies of early-modern society. Notwithstanding a few notable exceptions, objects were pushed to the peripheries of the historian's work, decorating analysis like baubles on the branches of a Christmas tree.<sup>60</sup> This was why one historian of the early American and North Atlantic world, Adrienne Hood, described material culture as, 'an academic orphan.'<sup>61</sup>

Singular focus on the literate and upon the written word did not only exclude material culture as a source body: it produced histories concerned with certain people,

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<sup>58</sup> Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins (eds.), *The Object Reader* (Routledge: New York, 2009), p.2.

<sup>59</sup> Adrienne D. Hood, 'Material Culture: The Object' in Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston-Bird (eds.), *Beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009), p.189.

<sup>60</sup> For example, John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>61</sup> Hood, 'Material Culture', p.187.

namely the elite, the literate, the wealthy, and predominantly men. In conjunction, some scholars may have presumed material culture represented a type of illiteracy. James Deetz observed that, ‘simple people doing simple things, the normal, everyday routine of life and how these people thought about it, are not the kind of things anyone thought worthy of noting.’<sup>62</sup> Deetz was an American anthropologist, who produced work which was critical to the formation of modern day anthropology and archaeology. A second anthropologist, Arjun Appadurai, believed that this sort of thinking only changed when historians began to address the histories of ‘overlooked’ groups in society.<sup>63</sup> Historians needed an alternative corpus, which would allow them to reach illiterate groups’ material culture had the potential to shine light on illiterate societies.

Before one can begin to consider the value of material culture as both a field of study and source, we require a clear comprehension of what exactly constitutes the source body. Should we consider material culture as everything which the world was or is made up, and thus, endeavour to examine as much as possible? Henry Glassie was a folklorist who played an influential role in the creation of material culture as a field. He believed that history existed all around in physical forms and he saw value in everything: ‘a great English architecture book begins with the idea that some buildings are architecture and some are not, which is just ridiculous. Once every building is granted the right to be architecture, then every building is granted the right to be preserved or represented in a museum or studied seriously as a way to expand the historical record.’<sup>64</sup> This thinking has been essential to the study of material culture and Paula Findlen recently noted still that a variety of material sources allows scholars to better reconstruct the past.<sup>65</sup> This egalitarian perspective of material

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<sup>62</sup> James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life* (Anchor Books: New York, 1996), p.11.

<sup>63</sup> Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things* (CUP, 1986), p.ix.

<sup>64</sup> Henry Glassie and Barbara Truesdell, ‘A Life in the Field: Henry Glassie and the Study of Material Culture’ in *The Public Historian*, (Fall, 2008), 30:4, pp.59-87.

<sup>65</sup> Findlen, Paula, *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.8.



culture seems simultaneously enlightening and essential to the expansion of our existing knowledge, in both a general sense and to the early-modern period. However, this approach presents certain problems concerning the scope, scale and consequently, the manageability of a corpus. When a scholar begins to consider *everything* as potential source material, from the stones in a house to a recently unearthed button, the boundaries of the corpus seem frighteningly indefinable. Had I focused on a specific type of object, this would have naturally imposed boundaries about what to study and where to source. However, having previously studied early-modern love, I was aware that there was an understudied and underappreciated material source body relating to love, which existed in diverse physical forms. As it was so understudied, neither myself nor anyone else was qualified to select one type of object as a single example, which would satisfactorily condense and represent the source base. From the outset, I aimed to uncover ‘lost’ objects which once communicated love, so as to grasp a superior understanding of the emotion. As a consequence, my approach to material culture had to encompass a little of Glassie’s, because in some instances I was seeking love, rather than object type. This required consideration of all manner of things. In order to maintain control over material culture, I turned to the approaches of other scholars who had successfully managed material culture.

The anthropologist Victor Buchlie apportioned a manmade framework to surviving material culture. He stated that, ‘material culture as we understand it is a direct consequence of the collecting traditions of the nineteenth century, liberal enlightenment era notions of universality, colonial expansion, industrialisation and the birth of consumerism.’<sup>66</sup> Thomas Schlereth noted that material culture was, ‘that segment of humankind’s biosocial environment which has been purposefully shaped by people according to culturally dictated plans.’<sup>67</sup> As Buchlie and Schlereth indicated, one should not consider material culture as a boundless or unrestricted corpus, nor feel overwhelmed by what may at first seem an erratic and informal rabble

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<sup>66</sup> Victor Buchli (ed.), *The Material Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), p.12.

<sup>67</sup> Schlereth, ‘Material Culture Research’, p.22.

of sources. One of the first steps to seizing control over material culture is to understand this is evidence which was created, exchanged, used, preserved, recovered and then made accessible through a series of orchestrated events and actions. Human influence dictates when or if any object will become available for study, even amongst those which seem to be the most serendipitous of survivors. For example, a ring which lies in the soil for two hundred years is only discovered by the deliberate actions of a metal detector enthusiast. The ring has survived because, at some point, a person was wealthy enough to make a durable symbol of marriage. On another occasion, it survived because a farmer took his plough around it rather than over it. Finally, an academic can only use the ring because the person who found it decided to present it to the scholarly world, rather than putting it to the back of a drawer. Any object has a spider's web of deliberate actions inflicted into, onto or about it. All material culture which is accessible to study has been tamed. If material culture seems vast, this is only demonstrative of how unexplored the available source body remains.

Just as material culture has been reined in, a vast historiography of methodological approaches risks enveloping the scholar. How can one hope to master anthropology, archaeology, sociology and the many other fields which each claim a part in the creation and establishment of material culture – each with their numerous methods and vast source bases? The hazard is becoming, as the archaeologist Carl Knappett noted, '[a] jack of all trades, master of none.'<sup>68</sup> These particular words resonated in my brain for some time, though a scholar can find solace in the shared commonality of these feelings. Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry stated that researchers find, 'themselves in the middle of a broader current cross-disciplinary interest.'<sup>69</sup> Hood also referred to this problem when she noted that all scholars working with the object can become entangled in a web of justifications and methods, as well as the number of objects, without being able to make any clear analyses,

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<sup>68</sup> Carl Knappett, *Thinking through Material Culture, An Interdisciplinary Perspective: Archaeology, Culture and Society*, (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2005), p.2.

<sup>69</sup> Hicks and Beaudry (eds.), 'Chapter One: Material Culture Studies: A Reactionary View', p.3

‘[their] studies turning into an epic effort.’<sup>70</sup> These problems have the potential to make studies into detailed accounts of objects, rather than anything analytical. Deetz observed that the first material culture courses which he taught were unfocused, ‘being a kind of free-ranging discussion of everything from old houses to ceramics.’<sup>71</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, an archaeologist who published several books on artefacts from colonial America, noted that the quest for artefacts can result in studies turning into nothing but a big list.<sup>72</sup>

In this study, I identified with these issues on several occasions. For example, notwithstanding a few exceptions, existing methodologies often pertain to object type, design or period.<sup>73</sup> Not only does this encourage a scholar to list objects according to a predefined classification, it means that a different methodology could be used for each type of object. In addition, one object may have several different potential approaches to it: as an architectural piece, as a fine art piece, as an object produced by a certain artist or maker. Simply stating whether the creator of an object was an artist, maker or sculptor, imposes expectations of particular methods and awareness of certain fields. However, employing such diverse and inconsistent processes is unlikely to produce a harmonious whole or a beneficial commentary on love. How, therefore, does a scholar overcome the multifarious nature of material culture methodologies? Cross-disciplinary interest may initially seem overwhelming, but it should not be considered an adverse force. The archaeologist Thilo Rehren observed how the incorporation of various disciplines and sources can add more pieces to the jigsaw, and that these were ‘new’ and ‘different’ pieces.<sup>74</sup> As long as a consistent method is employed overall, adopting relevant methodologies as ‘sub’ processes reveals

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<sup>70</sup> Hood, ‘Material Culture’, p.177.

<sup>71</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, p.x.

<sup>72</sup> Ivor Noël Hume, *A Guide to Artefacts of Colonial America* (New York: Borzoe Books, 1976), p.1. Also see: Neil MacGregor, *A History of the World in One Hundred Objects* (London: Allen Lane, 2010).

<sup>73</sup> For example: Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>74</sup> Thilo Rehren, ‘Crossing Boundaries’ in Peter Stone and Zhao Hui (eds.), *Sharing Archaeology: Academe, Practice and the Public* (Oxon: Routledge, 2015), p.40.

important object-type particulars, without distracting from wider concepts. Furthermore, the wide interest in material culture means this is a fruitful time for those studying the object. New publications consistently increase credibility, whilst refining the methodologies.<sup>75</sup>

Following months of immersion in relevant reading, I needed to establish where in this great miscellaneous field, I, as an historian, could use my skills to further the study of material culture. The progression of material culture has led to and will continue to lead to the enrichment of history: as Karen Harvey, a cultural historian, observed, ‘history is impoverished without attention to material culture.’<sup>76</sup> Adrienne Hood eloquently explained the role of the historian within an already large and multidisciplinary field, ‘while I have learned a great deal from the objects themselves, it has only been by combining that knowledge with my historian’s ability to locate and interpret the relevant documentary evidence that I am able to probe more deeply into the issues they raised.’<sup>77</sup> The true potential of material culture can be unlocked only in conjunction with the letter, poem, woodcut and inventory, with the expertise and skills of the historian. Furthermore, historians of emotion have played a central role in the recent advancement of material culture.<sup>78</sup> This is partly because scholars of emotion have championed cross-disciplinary research, which resulted in wider source use and an easier relationship with archaeologists, anthropologists and others, who have long used and understood the object. The evocative nature of the

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<sup>75</sup> For example: Hannah Greig, Jane Hamlett and Leonie Hannan (eds.), *Gender and Material Culture in Britain since 1600* (November, 2015). Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (eds.), *Writing Material Culture History* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2015), see introduction in particular. Bert de Munk and Dries Lyna, *Concepts of Value in Material Culture, 1500-1900 (The History of Retailing and Consumption)* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015). Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (North Carolina: Dukes University Press, 2007). Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimester, *The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>76</sup> Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and Material Culture: A Student’s Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources* (London: Routledge, 2009), p.1.

<sup>77</sup> Hood, ‘Material Culture’, p.187.

<sup>78</sup> Sally Holloway, ‘Romantic Love in Words and Objects during Courtship and Adultery, 1730-1830’. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Royal Holloway University of London, 2013). Anna Moran and Sorcha O’Brien (eds.), *Love Objects: Emotion, Design and Material Culture* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014). Maruska Svasek, *Moving Subject; Moving Objects: Transnationalism, Cultural Production and Emotions* (Oxford: Bergham Books, 2014).

relationship between emotion and materiality has also lent credence and clout to scholars wishing to understand emotions. Feeling is and always has been communicated through a great spectrum of media, whether that is music, theatre, art, word or thing: Marcia Pointon eloquently noted how materiality has the power to capture the essence of living.<sup>79</sup> Though this relationship between thing and emotion seems to have a timeless quality, the seventeenth century did provide specific and unique contextual uses. For example, supporters of the Stuart monarchy used objects as things of devotion to further their cause, as tools of monarchical love. These were objects which conveyed their loyalty to the Stuart kings, whether those objects were a small portrait or relic of the king's person. Neil Guthrie noted that it was the 'sheer physicality of [these] objects [that] gives them their power.'<sup>80</sup> Angela McShane pinpointed a more specific timeframe, demonstrating that these tools of loyalty became increasingly common, especially after 1660 and the restoration of the monarchy.<sup>81</sup> In this political world, objects were understood as key means to communicating, as McShane put it, 'love and loyalty.' Indeed, materiality was one of the commonest and most persistent tools for communicating emotion throughout the early-modern period and into the modern era.<sup>82</sup> This is partly why material culture can further our historiographical knowledge of love, and *vice versa*.

Once a sure notion of material culture and my own role within was established, my work with the object could begin in earnest. Most published methodologies begin when the object is situated before one's self. Analysis then branches outward from the thing in order to form meaning. However, this is not where the scholar must begin in reality. As has been noted, boundaries of research must be put in place in order to find objects, and assessing relevant locations is one of the first

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<sup>79</sup> Marcia Pointon, 'These Fragments I have shored Against my Ruins' in Kirsten Lippincott (ed.), *The Story of Time* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998), pp.198-201.

<sup>80</sup> Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (CUP, 2013), p.7.

<sup>81</sup> Angela McShane, 'Subjects and Objects: Material Expressions of Love and Loyalty in Seventeenth-Century England', in *Journal of British Studies* (2009), 48:4, pp.871-886.

<sup>82</sup> Louise Purbrick, "'I Love Giving Presents': The Emotions of Material Culture" in Anna Moran and SORCHA O'BRIEN (eds.), *Love Objects: Emotion, Design and Material Culture* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p.11.

steps in establishing a corpus. The next step is to contact object-carers at these institutions. These were by far the biggest and most laborious tasks undertaken in order to complete this monograph. There were no comprehensive lists detailing relevant objects, or even objects by period or type. There are dozens of published studies and catalogues on specific types of object but even these are not comprehensive lists.<sup>83</sup> Such publications may well be useful but they usually discuss personal collections or narratives: the range of examples within dictated by what the researcher knew existed at the time or by what he or she wanted to include. Neither was there an inclusive list of places in which to look for relevant objects as such comprehensive listing does not yet exist for material culture. It is also very unlikely that one particular space could house a uniform collection of objects according to type, maker, date and so on. There are exceptions but not for artefacts from the early-modern period. Perhaps as sources become increasingly digitised, there may be electronic spaces which contain images of coherent collections, but nothing currently exists which is comparable to say, 'Early English Books Online.' In reality, objects remain scattered across thousands of public and private spaces. This may be explained by a now diminishing reluctance in academia to utilise and consequently record objects, to the significant monetary value of many pieces which make object-carers reluctant to advertise, or to powerful object-person relationships, which not only persist, but reassure some object-carers that they have no obligation to share what is

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<sup>83</sup> Joan Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings* (OUP, 1931). Charles Oman, *British Rings, 800-1914* (London: B.T. Batesford Ltd., 1974). Sabine Albersmeier, *Bedazzled: Five Thousand Years of Jewellery: The Walters Art Museum* (London: D. Giles Ltd., 2005). Graham C. Boettcher, *The Look of Love: Eye Miniatures from the Skier Collection* (London: D. Giles, 2012). Martin Henig, Diana Scarisbrick and James Fenton (eds.), *Finger Rings: From Ancient to Modern* (London: Ashmolean Museum, 2003). Diana Scarisbrick, *Rings: Symbols of Wealth, Power and Affection* (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1993). Diana Scarisbrick, *Jewellery* (London: Batsford, 1984). Diana Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels: Opulence and Intimacy from Medici to Romanovs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2011). Roy Strong, *Folio Miniatures, Nicholas Hilliard* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1975). Tessa Murdoch, *Treasures and Trinkets* (London: Museum of London, 1991). Clare Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery* (London: V&A Publications, 2000). Leigh Chapman, *Church Memorial Brasses and Brass Rubbings* (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications Ltd., 1987, reprinted 1993). David Barker, *Slipware* (Oxford: Shire Library, 1993). Sue Brandon, *Buttonhooks and Shoehorns* (Oxford: Shire Publications, 1984, reprinted 2008). Hans Van Lemmen, *Delftware Tiles* (Oxford: Shire Library, 1986, reprinted 2005). Notable exception: Victoria Avery, Melissa Calaresu and Mary Laven (eds.), *Treasured Possessions: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (The Fitzwilliam Museum, 2015).

‘theirs’ with the wider world. The progression of source digitisation has helped to manage this scattering, but a material culturist must be familiar with working in multiple locations and spaces, as that is where objects currently reside.

As there was little literature to guide me at the outset, I established my own spaces in which to search. Initially, I identified three spaces, but this became four after some early searching. These were the museum, the public or entrusted domestic house, the privately-owned often selling space, and finally, a nonphysical, usually online, space. As meticulous an approach as possible was then undertaken to locate all places in each of the four spaces which could house relevant artefacts. This was achieved by both internet and map-based area searches for the UK and the USA. This included 2,426 entrusted houses in England alone. This sort of study has been made possible by the ever-progressing online world, which makes locating objects and contacting object-carers much easier than it was ten years ago. Following the identification of specific places, I laboriously contacted object-carers by email, phone and post. I found that directly contacting those who worked with objects far more rewarding than contacting, for example, area managers who worked in dozens of locations.

When contacting object-carers, the principal requirement was that objects must have a potential to illuminate amorous love. This connection had to be a flexible and interpretive one: there was no thorough compilation of seventeenth-century love tokens from which to state all known object types. I therefore stipulated that there were no limitations in relation to object form. There were objects which I set out to find, as I already knew from textual sources that they were associated with love. These included rings and lockets. However, my initial correspondence encouraged object-carers to think beyond our then current parameters of objects which convey love, while stipulating love might have been conveyed through material, function, design, or we may understand an object to a greater extent if it has known provenance. In addition, I added a list of objects which could potentially inform us about love.

This list was, in fact, as many forms of seventeenth-century material culture (with a social focus), as I knew existed. This included domestic utensils, clothing, jewellery, ceramics and artwork. I freely admit that as I encountered more material culture, the list grew. For example, once I became aware that knife and fork handles were carved into depictions of lovers, I explicitly noted ‘cutlery’ on emails. Once I uncovered a thimble with an inscription about love, albeit from a slightly later period, I included thimbles. I began to realise that there is a world of surviving personal and private domestic objects, about which very few scholars had written. Hood observed a similar evolutionary process when she noted how, ‘[her students’] knowledge expands cumulatively as they work with it [the object].’<sup>84</sup>

After noting a connection to love, I then stated the boundaries of my research. All objects should date from approximately 1600-1700. Some objects are difficult to date specifically, but this part of the selection process was relatively straightforward. A trained eye can usually identify a seventeenth-century object, although there are some ‘fake’ pieces which complicate the situation. The seventeenth century is a notably significant period concerning the expansion of trade and the movement of craftsmen. The root of trade expansion and consequent growth in commodities was well under way in the sixteenth century, and came to fruition in the seventeenth.<sup>85</sup> Patricia Allerston noted that the birth of consumerism was tricky to pinpoint but observed a clear ‘consumer behaviour in the Italian peninsula during the period c.1450-c1650... shaped by ideas as well as by material considerations.’<sup>86</sup> Evelyn Welch also hinted at the Italian Renaissance as the ‘embryo’ of contemporary expenditure, from which consumerism and the consequent growth of domestic material goods spiralled outward.<sup>87</sup> This, in turn, altered consumer habits, leading to

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<sup>84</sup> Hood, ‘Material Culture’, p.186.

<sup>85</sup> Lisa Jardine, *Wordly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1996), pp.35-90.

<sup>86</sup> Patricia Allerston, ‘Consuming Problems: Worldly Goods in Renaissance Venice’ in Michelle O’Malley and Evelyn Welch (eds.), *The Material Renaissance* (Manchester University Press, 2007), p.12.

<sup>87</sup> Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.4.



many more centres for consumerism, including an increase in shops and new fairs, across Europe.<sup>88</sup> This rich expansion facilitated ownership of domestic objects for more people than ever before.

The European Reformations of the sixteenth-century also had significant impact upon the face of material culture. One might expect that the iconoclasm of the Protestant Reformation in England removed many religious objects from public spheres and sequentially from the home. This would have considerably altered the landscape of domestic material culture. However, as Tara Hamling demonstrated, religious expression in the house merely altered, and did not go into a dramatic state of decline.<sup>89</sup> Rather Hamling revealed that material religiosity in the home was enhanced by the growth in commerce, particularly by the growth in house building and in printing, the latter of which provided the circulation of religious images which could then be copied in various material forms.<sup>90</sup> Hamling also noted that this growth in religious material expression allowed householders to form ‘self-fashioned identities’ with personalised and unique objects.<sup>91</sup> Among these objects she included Delftware. Delftware production increased markedly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was influenced by the growing importation of blue and white porcelain from China.<sup>92</sup> Paula Findlen noted the mass growth and expansion of trade and commerce within Holland, where Delftware was produced in large quantities, as key to the development of material culture in Europe.<sup>93</sup> The ramifications of the European Reformations also caused the migration of many skilled craftsmen and artists to the British Isles, notably the migration of the Dutch, French and Flemish Protestants. This too aided in the growth and development of domestic material culture. These influences, dictated by the consequences of religious change and commercial

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<sup>88</sup> Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance*, p.171.

<sup>89</sup> Tara Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010), p.3.

<sup>90</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household*, p.69, p.112.

<sup>91</sup> Hamling, *Decorating the ‘Godly’ Household*, p.91.

<sup>92</sup> Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, p.17.

<sup>93</sup> Findlen, *Early Modern Things*, p.12.

expansion, were highly influential in the material landscape of love, facilitating its expression like never before.

All objects in the corpus were required to have a strong connection to English-speaking peoples. The decision to focus upon this group pertains to well-established historiographical theories and commonalities, which have made studying love among this group of people manageable. The greatest affinity among Anglophone culture is that the commonest and most apparent form which relationships took, through a union of some kind, was never separated from love. As demonstrated in the introduction, throughout the early-modern period, a husband and wife's duties were to foster love and peace in the domestic home. While some historians tried to separate love from marriage, this was never an accepted belief in early-modern English-speaking societies.<sup>94</sup> While establishing this uniform group of people is manageable, a succinct identity, birthplace or nationality of an object is harder to pinpoint. An object is likely to have multiple geographical identities, whether that is in the fabric, where it was constructed, or where the person who used it resided. All objects used in this study have a strong connection to English-speaking people, either through design, provenance or construction. However, this part of the selection process could not be fool-proof. The early-modern marketplace was a rich and varied landscape of European, Trans-Atlantic and Eastern materiality. English people took foreign objects home and the exoticism of foreign objects was likely to make them all the more appealing as amorous gifts. Therefore, knowing precisely when a seventeenth-century object came into the hands of an English-speaking person is problematic. Textual sources largely avoid the problem of geographical or national identity because language is a persuasive determinant. Some objects can be identified as, for example, English or French, but their relation to corresponding people of those nationalities is less certain: an English person can own and use a French object. However, objects can often inform us that they were used by a person from a certain place or of a certain

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<sup>94</sup> See introduction, pp.1-4.

nationality. This could be through a fabric, the font of an inscription, a typically English design, or a known provenance. Textual sources can also be useful in proving whether certain objects were used within Anglophone culture.

While objects could usually be defined as having a strong connection to English-speaking peoples, defining by which specific group of people they were used was challenging. Principally there were the English in England, the English in American colonies from Newfoundland to Barbados, the Scottish, the Irish and the Welsh. Within these peoples one could suggest further divisions, including the Cornish or Northumbrians. I do not present a comprehensive vision of all Anglophone cultures: there are gaps in the discourse, particularly in relation to different nationalities. In producing a picture which is an incomplete vision of the British Isles and the American colonies, I do not suggest a hypothesis that people from certain nations loved any differently. The problem chiefly lay in uncovering objects from Celtic regions. Objects with connection to the Scottish, Welsh and Irish are often catalogued according to their geography. Consequently, when these objects are decorated with, for example, hearts, they have usually been considered either to represent a sort of nationalism or to be indicative of a specific Welsh or Scottish design. Carved wooden spoons are ‘Welsh’ and heart-shaped brooches have been understood for their role in pinning together traditional Scottish dress. I found it difficult not only to uncover relevant objects but to disentangle these supposed nationalistic elements from personal love. This sort of categorisation reduced an object’s capacity to illuminate individual, intimate feeling. Hundreds of ‘English’ objects are also decorated with hearts but unless there is another element which seems strongly nationalistic or monarchical, hearts are rarely catalogued as indicative of geography or nation.<sup>95</sup> There were exceptional objects from Celtic regions. I examined a number of ‘Welsh’ beds and cupboards which were evidently

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<sup>95</sup> For further reading on example of monarchical material culture: Neil Guthrie, *The Material Culture of the Jacobites* (CUP, 2013).

commissioned on the occasion of marriages. Such objects were included but the numbers paled against the material culture of the 'English.'

These stumbling blocks were not as apparent for objects which were used by English-speaking people in North America. These artefacts are viewed as vital to the history of early America and in my experience, colonial objects often have persuasive provenances to an individual, family or colony, rather than to an American nationality. As a consequence, they are understood to be evocative of the life of the individual or to the lives of a small group of people. We may know who owned an object, when they used it or why. For example, Pilgrim Hall Museum in Massachusetts houses possessions with attributed ownerships to seventeenth-century colonists. Examples include Constance Hopkin's beaver hat; Penelope Pelham Winslow's embroidered shoe, worn on the occasion on her marriage; Myles Standish's cooking pot; and Peter Brown's wooden beer tankard. This is how the objects are catalogued and presented to the public. Therefore, within America, the provenances of colonial objects are frequently held in high esteem and central to the object's categorisation and identity.

The amount of research which has been dedicated to early American objects is also linked to the historiography of material culture. Material culture owes much of its early success to the work of scholars within North American universities, and some of these scholars focused purely on artefacts from colonial America.<sup>96</sup> As colonists were still very much connected to the English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh, it was impossible to study colonial objects without drawing upon the material culture of the British Isles too. As a result, this historiography was built upon a complex web of historic and

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<sup>96</sup> Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste and Material Culture*, pp.1-2. Ivor Noël Hume, *The Virginia Adventure: Roanoke to James Towne: An Archaeological and Historical Odyssey* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1997). Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999). Adrienne D. Hood, *The Weaver's Craft: Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). Charles F Montgomery, *A History of American Pewter* (New York: Weathervane Books, 1973). Steven D. Lubar and William David Kingery (eds.), *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1995).

academic connections between North America and Europe. Scholars of material culture refer to this geographical area as, ‘the entire North Atlantic World.’<sup>97</sup> James Deetz noted the importance of this: ‘historical archaeology must adopt a global perspective on its data, for when the first European sailing ships set out for distant parts of the world, a chain of events never before seen in human history was set in motion.’<sup>98</sup> Of course, Deetz had to narrow down this vast new world, and explained his restrictions of study on the grounds that he was purely interested in the English: he excluded the Dutch colonies, the French and the Spanish on grounds of feasibility. The importance of these cross-Atlantic connections, to both Anglophone culture in the seventeenth century and to modern day material culturists, makes the inclusion of colonial objects in this study a vital and informative one.

These factors aside, the driving force when selecting which peoples to study was the object. Initially, I hoped to find objects which specifically represented Welsh and Scottish life. I hoped to find objects from African-American peoples, as well as objects which shone a light upon homosexuality in the early-modern period. I also wanted to find objects which revealed information on specific faiths, particularly in light of the recent work by Tara Hamling and Alexander Walsingham, the latter of whom demonstrated how Delftware pottery was able to reveal a developing and privatised, domestic Protestant identity through material culture.<sup>99</sup> Aspects of these points are examined in the monograph: for example, analysis is offered on objects which infer aspects of Protestantism and Catholicism, but objects are not always willing dividers or identifiers of people. They are, in fact, much less divisive than I had thought they would be in almost all respects: in relation to faith, gender and age, even to wealth. While this may be largely influenced by the topic, love, I found this remarkably refreshing.<sup>100</sup> However, it does pose certain difficulties considering

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<sup>97</sup> Hood, ‘Material Culture’, p.187.

<sup>98</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, pp.5-6.

<sup>99</sup> Alexandra Walsham, ‘Domesticating the Reformation: Material Culture, Memory, and Confessional Identity in Early Modern England’, in the *Renaissance Quarterly* (2016), 69:2, pp.566-616.

<sup>100</sup> For example: Laura Gowing, ‘The Manner of Submission’ in *Social and Cultural History* (2013), 10:1, p.41.

‘whom’ this monograph examines and whom it, unintentionally, excludes. As noted, the incorporation of objects from America is a natural one given the historiography of material culture, as well as a desire to pushback against certain narratives of the early English colonist. Furthermore, the majority of objects included from the American colonies have a strong connection to the English: whether they were made in England and transported to America, or were owned by a colonist who frequently travelled back and forth across the Atlantic. The disentanglement of these binds across the Atlantic is reflective of a people who typically did not relinquish their connections to the British Isles easily. The objects emphasise how differences in geography, particularly for the English on either side of the Atlantic, are largely irrelevant to the discourse on love, although there are differences in object production and material, which will be noted.

Once I had contacted relevant object-carers with these specifics, the responses came flooding back. Most object-carers were enthusiastic for a scholar to examine their objects, particularly as many pieces in this study had not received much prior attention. Thus began the most enjoyable and in some respects, the easiest part of the process: meeting objects in the flesh. At this stage, each of the four spaces in which I worked presented various hurdles and advantages. Consequently, I formed many useful reflections on external influences and spatial constructions. It was vital to have an awareness of these influences before I interacted with an object and certainly prior to formulating an analysis of love. I approached each space as a scholar searching for objects which illuminate love. However, in numerous instances I approached and experienced a space in much the same way as a visiting member of the public. Many objects with which I interacted remained in or near their displays, making my own judgement liable to the same influences as a general visitor. Other times, I was ‘behind the scenes’ in offices and restoration rooms. Any researcher undertaking a similar project is likely to have a similar experience. Here follows a discussion of each space in relation to these influences, biases and constructions.

The first space which I encountered was the museum. The size of the museum ranges from small locally-administered museums to massive institutions, such as the Victoria and Albert Museum (hereafter V&A) or the Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter MMOA). One museum may contain hundreds of thousands of objects. Another could be formed of a small old building, with one or two pieces on display. Within museums, some objects are put on public display, while others are held in storage or are under restoration. Other objects are rotated and moved round, in order to fit into changing exhibitions. This can affect how many objects one can uncover, because museums of considerable size are unlikely to have their entire collections digitised or known to one person. The nature of my research meant I crossed museum departments and it was unlikely that one curator in a large museum would know everything that was, for example, in the metalwork department, as well as the jewellery collection and the furniture section. Objects are rarely catalogued by theme, rather by period, artist or material. There are also some objects which have slipped into crevices between museum collections: overlooked orphans of a museum cataloguing system. For example, a piece of metalwork may not be within the metalwork collection because it has been used to dress a reassembled room interior. A piece which has been labelled incorrectly in the past may also be in the ‘wrong’ section.

While I endeavoured to contact museum workers prior to visiting and make an appointment, access to objects can still be restricted. Restrictions included what light I could work in, what photography I could carry out, whether I could handle an object and finally, the extent to which I could ‘use’ an object. For example, if a piece of embroidery was sealed in a glass case in the early twentieth-century, it is very unlikely that the object-carer would be willing or professionally able to prise open that case (figure 1.0).



Figure 1.0 An image of an embroidery taken at Cotehele in Cornwall. The photo reveals the difficulties of photographing embroideries within glass frames without a flash, as well as incorporating reflections. Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

On another occasion, a painting of interest was mounted high on a wall. The object-carer might have been unable to obtain a ladder or able-bodied, insured folk, who could take the picture off the wall for me to have a face-to-face encounter. This also posed further photography issues.

I experienced objects in all four spaces with which I could not fully interact, due to factors beyond the control of the carers. A broken or crumpled ring cannot be put on a finger. A locked chest with no key cannot be opened. A two-ton bed pressed up against a wall cannot be pulled out safely by an academic and a curator. A marble memorial statue cannot be removed from the wall of a church so as to allow closer interaction. Despite the hurdles, there were many occasions when dramatic efforts were made to ensure I had opportunity to freely and ‘truly’ interact with awkward objects: this included dragging heavy objects out into sunshine and object-carers balancing precariously on ladders. I also recall one object-carer flinging papers over his head as he raked through a chest of drawers to find a missing key.

All four spaces have dynamics which can affect a scholar’s understanding of



an object. However, this first space, the museum, is a particularly strange, fashioned and obscure environment in which to experience objects which are typically intimate and private by nature.<sup>101</sup> By ‘nature’, I mean the environment or function for which they were originally intended. The orchestrated surroundings of the museum can subconsciously cajole a scholar into all manner of presumptions. One may assume that a pendant in a glass case is a worthier, more beautiful, valuable or rarer candidate for display than one in a drawer or elsewhere. The bright illumination of good museum lighting can reveal certain objects in fantastic shimmering, evocative tones, while another object elsewhere may be in the dark. Darkness is also a perpetual problem for photography (figures 1.1 to 1.3).



Figure 1.1: An image depicting a commemorative wooden panel above a fireplace in Speke Hall near Liverpool. This artefact is impossible to photograph due to the size and dark room. Fortunately, the National Trust had commissioned a detailed drawing of the piece, which allowed me to reference back to the object during analysis. Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

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<sup>101</sup> For further reading on museum studies and spaces see: Susan Pearce, *Experiencing Material Culture in the Western World* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997). Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1992). Susan Pearce, *Interpreting Objects and Collections* (New York: Routledge, 1994).



Figure 1.2: A photograph of a chest from Great Chalfield Manor in Wiltshire. In this instance, I was able to move the chest out from the wall and into sunlight. However, the brightness of the sunlight still posed a problem on the varnished wood. In the end I created my own pencil drawing of the front to refer to (see below, figure 1.3).

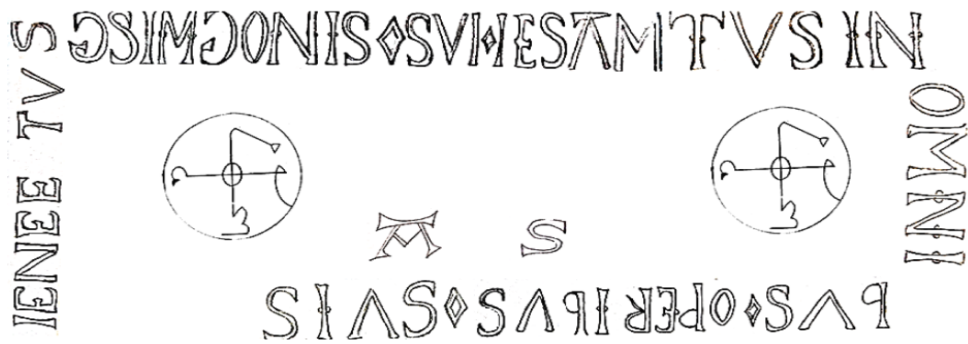


Figure 1.3: An image of a Spice Box from the Winterthur Museum in Delaware. The box is situated in a recreated colonial room, surrounded by other objects. This makes photography difficult without potentially intrusive shadows. Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the Winterthur Museum.

On occasion, the manner of the surroundings made me more cautious of interacting with an object or unavoidably affected my emotional responses. I have squinted up at spot-lit portraits high above me, the impossibly bright light drawing an imposing quality across the face of a sitter. I have viewed a miniature tucked away beneath sheets of paper and glass in a dimly lit drawer. My desire to hold the miniature, as it was intended to be, was skewed because my hands seemed a rough sort of setting for a thing lying in a fabric lined mould. During one of my first interactions with an object, I sat in a small office, waiting and watching as a tiny gold gimmel ring was removed from its packaging.<sup>102</sup> The object-carer asked me to try it on. In spite of my desire to experience all objects in as genuine a context as possible, I immediately felt anxious. The ring had been sealed away in a dark sanctuary and it felt far too small for my twenty-first century fingers. Nevertheless, I tried it on my smallest finger, remembering to relish the opportunity. The tiny ring was then ushered back into its packaging. It was sealed away like something which was far too precious and delicate to stand human contact for long. On other occasions like these, the spatial surrounding of the object implied preciousness and signification.<sup>103</sup> This war of preservation versus use is keenly felt by many object-carers. It formed a critical part of my experiences with objects but I found little guidance on the topic in the existing literature. There were instances when I, as a scholar rather than a trained museum worker, felt ‘watched over’ with a closeness which altered the dynamics of my experience.

Objects in museums are rarely, if ever, situated within original or natural landscapes. However, on occasion, object-carers attempt to reconstruct domestic interiors. Examples include the salvaged Norfolk House Music Room at the V&A or various rooms at the home of Henry du Pont in Delaware, known as the Winterthur Museum. Museum curators also find other ways of depicting objects in authentic

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<sup>102</sup> A gimmel ring is a ring formed of either two or three interlocking bands.

<sup>103</sup> Steph Berns, ‘Considering the Glass Case: Material Encounters between Museums, Visitors and Religious Objects’ in *Journal of Material Culture* (2016), 21.2, 153-168.

surroundings. For example, at the Fashion Museum in Bath, Georgian dresses are situated on mannequins so as to show how they appear on a human-shaped form. Within the Cheapside Hoard Exhibition in the Museum of London (2014), pieces of early-modern jewellery were placed alongside copies of portraits which depicted people wearing similar jewellery. This allowed a visitor to create a mental construction of how the piece may have been worn. In these instances, object-carers have attempted to recreate a natural environment, so as to give a more authentic aura, and to enhance the object experience. These displays can be of particular benefit to the scholar. For when I was able to handle, wear or use objects, there were still hurdles in my way which prevented a true appreciation of the object. Rings were perpetually too small to wear, jewels could not be pinned to large silk skirts and there was little chance of my foot fitting into a seventeenth-century shoe, let alone testing the method with a period shoehorn. When I first encountered a crumpled-up wirework pendant at the Cheapside Hoard Exhibition, I was unable to create a plausible image of what it would have been. However, when I then viewed a portrait of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, wearing a glittering neck piece of over twenty such pendants set with pearls, the illumination shed upon the original object was wonderful.<sup>104</sup> On the other hand, the external influence of object-carer upon my original interaction with the crumpled wirework pendant was also profound, as it completely altered my experience, vision and understanding of the piece. The visual aid was just one part of a spatial construction designed to enhance museum profit, which also had to adhere to various regulations. Experiencing objects in these spatial constructions can offer vital elucidation to a scholar or a visitor, but the environment remains one conceived by museum workers.

In situating things within foreign environments, museum workers can impose connections to people, events or places upon objects. Rightly or wrongly, this can affect a scholar's experience with an object. For example, museum curators may wish

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<sup>104</sup> Hazel Forsyth, *The Cheapside Hoard: London's Lost Jewels* (London: Museum of London, 2013), pp.81-83.

to recreate the bedroom of a famous historical figure. To do this they may seek out things which have a tenable connection to the person, or they may simply use period relevant pieces. This has the potential to affect our experience with an object. In our mind's eye we picture the famous, named figure in the presence of the object: we see their hands using it, or their body wearing a particular jewel or piece of clothing. This had the potential to affect my vision in other ways too. I could associate a type of object with the profession of the person, their gender, faith or status. This sort of influence can be subtler than connecting an object to a known person. For example, if I was going to examine a plain gold ring which was stored with a group of feminine objects; embroidery, sewing tools, combs and so on, then I might well be temporarily swayed into thinking that the ring was created for, owned, or worn by a woman. This presumption would have little factual basis, but it might lead a scholar to suppose plain gold rings were feminine objects.

The greatest benefit of the museum space is that the objects within have usually been researched, albeit to varying degrees. Research is dependent on funding and it is unsurprising that objects in a large, better funded museum may have more detailed and credible research histories. However, there are exceptions and I have been aided by the knowledge of local historians and 'amateurs' dozens of times when using material culture. Since I began working with the object, I have observed that object researchers tend to have a specific agenda. One scholar, in the past, may have been interested in fabrics, another may have wanted to prove a connection to a place, event or person, while a third may have believed the other two were wrong due to an area of research in which they were expert. I am little different as I am using objects purely to illuminate love. However, this pattern of research does have implications when searching for museum objects because it affects how objects have been catalogued. For example, a cabinet made to celebrate a marriage in colonial America could be titled the Seventeenth-Century Cabinet, the Glastonbury Chest, the Connecticut Cabinet, the Marriage Cabinet, the Redwood Cabinet, or Samuel and

Rebecca's Cabinet.<sup>105</sup> These different titles refer to some tenable connection which the object possesses or once possessed; or a title could simply reflect what one person decided to name the chest at some point in time. Dozens of the objects which I examined had undergone name changes due to disputed provenances, which further complicated how they had been catalogued and researched.

The next space I identified was the entrusted or public domestic house. These are buildings which have been given to the nation in some form. They may belong to large organisations such as the National Trust and English Heritage, or they may be administered by locally run bodies, including councils and smaller trusts. They range in size from palaces to one-roomed houses. The principal difference between the museum space and this one is the domesticity of the environment. The museum is a space constructed to display artefacts, while the entrusted house was usually fashioned to be a domestic home. There are crossovers and exceptional spaces. For example, part of an entrusted house may seem very museum-like in its layout. Another entrusted home may never have been lived in. There may also be stately homes which are only partly open to public viewing, and others which are entirely open to public viewing but are still privately owned. However, for the purposes of studying the object, a distinction was required to accommodate the differences between the museum space and the domestic home. The influence which a domestic environment had upon my interaction with the objects was one of the most profound and thought-provoking dimensions. Yet, objects in entrusted domestic spaces have received relatively little attention, particularly from scholars in the United Kingdom.

The entrusted home is one of the few instances where we may interact with an object in the same or a similar environment as that which it was made or used. This provides a scholar with a unique experience and opportunity. For example, at Cotehele house in Cornwall, one can observe how people in the early-modern period

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<sup>105</sup> Example pertains to: The Glastonbury Chest (Connecticut, 1686). The Holburne Museum, Bath: 1960.072.001.

hacked at and cut up their expensive Flemish tapestries, so as to make them fit around door and window frames (figure 1.5). This reality is a world away from the methods of careful preservation and restoration now employed elsewhere. At Canon's Ashby in Northamptonshire one can look up to a magnificent plasterwork ceiling, standing on the same floorboards as those on which the Dryden family stood in the late sixteenth century (figure 1.6).



Figure 1.5: Cotehele in Cornwall reveals how imported Flemish tapestries were cut up, like sheets of wallpaper, in the seventeenth century. Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.



Figure 1.6: An image depicting the heraldic ceiling at Canon's Ashby in Northamptonshire. Note the difficulties of replicating the experience of the room in a photograph, as it is impossible to photograph in its entirety, with the camera facilities to hand. Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

One can enter the great hall at Monacute House in Somerset and experience the large plasterwork frieze, just like anyone else entering the house over the past four-hundred years. The layout of ancient buildings, of the doors, rooms, windows and the positioning of furniture, is a revelatory tool for the material culturist. For example, when one is situated in a sixteenth-century room, sitting upon an early-modern stool, with rays of light filtering through seventeenth-century latticed glass windows, the affect upon a piece of Stuart embroidery can be transformative. Is the scholar pulled closer to the maker of the embroidery, who may have sat in the very same place, in the same light? This fascinating quality is one that only ancient and relatively untouched buildings possess. It has been largely ignored by historians, despite the clarity which can be shed upon objects, and indeed everyday life, when we see an object's intended surroundings.

The entrusted home is often filled with oral narratives of particular people and connections between objects and people. Therefore, the domestic, entrusted space



offers unique influences and illuminations. However, just as with the museum, objects have been situated for a purpose. The history of a period home may make house-managers and curators all the more eager to tell a story, and to tell it in a particular way. This can make the entrusted house a minefield of impositions, which may be disguised by authentic looking surroundings. For example, in Massachusetts, the Witch House is proclaimed to be the only surviving building with direct links to the Witch Trials of 1692. The darkly painted house enjoys many visitors who are interested in witches, ghosts, the trials and the history of early Salem. One can understand that curators would happily let this aura thrive, given the pull of such a popular and enthralling happening. The house was the home of Judge Jonathan Corwin, who was involved in the trials of 1692. However, it is unlikely that any of those accused of witchcraft went to the house. Therefore, the house's connection to the witches is somewhat imposed. The contents of the house are largely period relevant and many have tenable provenances to early Americans, but they are not directly connected to witchcraft. Material culturists must be aware of the motivations of workers within these spaces and a need to attract visitors. Furthermore, these two forces can lead to peculiar spatial constructions and associations. Even the walls, roofs and windows may not be what they seem. For example, in the 1940s, the Witch House was dismantled and moved. While it was reassembled in a very similar form, how does such a happening alter the value of the domestic space? How does this affect our emotional responses to the objects, and the illumination which can be gained from the surroundings of the house? The Witch House is not the only example where an entire building has been relocated and reconstructed to preserve, or rather to present something from the past. Agcroft Hall was originally built in the sixteenth-century near the river Irwell in Lancashire, England. After falling into a state of disrepair, it was sold to one Thomas Williams in 1925. Williams had the entire hall dismantled, shipped and reassembled in Richmond, Virginia. Williams filled the hall with period relevant objects from England. The gardens too are based upon English examples. With what sort of domestic space does this ultimately provide the scholar?

Does the light shine through the windows in the same fashion as it would in England, throwing either informative or deceptive shadows on the artefacts within?<sup>106</sup>

On others occasions, just one part of a domestic building has been reconstructed or moved. For example, in the late sixteenth-century a set of ornate, inlaid panelling was constructed for a chamber at Sizergh Castle in Cumbria. The owner of Sizergh, Walter Strickland, also commissioned windows, a bed and porch; the last of which had a wooden Cupid standing on top. In the nineteenth-century, the panelling, windows, porch and bed were sold to the V&A. The room was deconstructed and moved to London. While at the V&A, the inlaid chamber was reassembled for visitors to see and experience. In the late 1990s, it was deconstructed and returned to Sizergh. The panelling was reassembled, as it had been before it was sold. As a room steward in the inlaid chamber, I was fortunate enough to hear numerous discussions concerning how the room was ‘back where it belonged.’ I also met several people who had experienced the room when it was in London, and who inevitably said that it had never ‘felt right’ there. The panelling had since ‘come home.’ Whether these visitors would have passed the same comment had I been a guide at the V&A is uncertain.

These kinds of emotive responses may seem too woolly. Indeed, there were numerous occasions where I had to push aside what I had been told or what I read about objects (in all four spaces) because there was insufficient evidence. However, my experiences are representative of how a change of setting and information can alter how we respond to objects, particularly in domestic environments. The attraction of the entrusted house is that a scholar can use the surroundings to develop analysis by employing a relevant environment. However, a domestic interior vocalises a series of subconscious connections. These could be to a particular family, place, faith, gender, occupation or period. Such connections can be far more emotive and

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<sup>106</sup> Further reading: Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

moralistic than in a museum. As a scholar, when one visits an entrusted home wherein it is the descendant of an age-old family that brings out the objects, the experience is highly charged in an emotional sense. One is discussing and experiencing objects with a person who considers them to be his or her own family's. This sort of experience does not always require a family descendent: the influence may come purely by stepping into a domestic interior, albeit to a lesser degree. This could be imparted by written information or by the material environment: family shields, coats of arms, symbols, paintings or photos. Devotional pieces or religious landscaping, such as priest-holes, can also instil expectations. Developing a keen awareness of the power of a domestic setting, as well as harnessing the environment when it can be of use, was of notable importance during object interaction.

The third space is a private one. The objects under study here could be located within a privately owned home which is not on public view, within a privately owned collection, or in a transitional selling space, such as with an antique dealer. Some privately owned objects may fall under more than one of these categories. Furthermore, many museums and entrusted houses have complicated arrangements as to precisely who owns objects, which means we find privately owned objects in public spaces. The main cause of differentiation here lies in how we uncover and interact with privately owned objects. Owners are under no obligation to help a scholar and neither are objects likely to be catalogued in a way which is easily accessible or referenceable. In order to find these objects, I had to research antique sellers and shops, auction house records and references to private collections. The first of these was relatively easy given the advancement of the internet. Certain auction house records are also fairly easy to research because many auctioneers now publish listings online. However, objects in private collections have been the most elusive of all. Many are also in a transitional state: available for study on one day, and then the next, disappeared into a private collection. However, the breadth of objects within the

private space is remarkable and it is within this space that some of the most unusual have turned up during my search, including thimbles, baby strollers and shoes.

When a scholar visits an antique dealer, one is faced with a direct point of influence: the owner. The owner is able to physically alter, update and damage an object. Without independent research, he or she can apply a value, an importance, a provenance or a material. The scholar must hold any such statements in doubt but it can place one in a difficult situation, particularly if an object is considered to be valuable or if it is a family piece. The power of the 'owner' is of importance in other ways too. Within the museum, workers are usually carers and preservers. Their relationship with the object is always a professional one and on occasion, it can also be emotionally charged. Within the entrusted home, workers maintain and conserve objects. The relationship is professional but has a greater potential to be emotional, given the power of the domestic interior. Carers of privately owned objects may have strong emotional ties to an object if it is a family piece, or they may have a purely financial motivation, if they are trading objects. However, unlike the object-carers in the other two spaces, these owners typically have sole responsibility. This power can allow for more intimate interaction with the object. A scholar is able to touch, use and experience the object, because the owner does not have a set of museum or trust regulations. In this light, the relationship can be a purer one, because these owners simply present a scholar with the object. They may also exert less verbal or written pressure during and after analysis, in relation to how they will be represented.

The benefits of private ownership extend beyond object interaction. During the making of this monograph, and previously when I volunteered for various trusts, I have observed numerous episodes of friction caused by disputed ownerships. Take a medieval table which sits in an entrusted house. It is an object in the public domain but the trust allows a family to maintain residence in the house. Every Christmas, the family of the house host a large dinner, with dripping candles, roaring hearths, sharp cutlery and piles of food. Despite protestations from the curators, the table is

inevitably subject to a yearly battering. The family believe Christmas is the only time the object is actually used for what it was intended, and oppose its cloaked preservation for the rest of the year. Dozens of the objects which I encountered have this swirling cloud of disagreements about them. The disagreement perpetually arose from who owned the object and if one body had the right to treat the thing in a certain way. This resulted in blatantly prejudiced narratives and negative impressions. It also complicated access, photography and referencing. Objects in private houses and in antique shops are not subject to this influence. Owners may believe they play a role in the object's lifespan and within its preservation or restoration. Owners may also feel the influence of previous owners within their relationship with the thing, but the thing remains their own.

I have often heard it remarked by various object-carers that things which illuminate love are more private than objects which illuminate other emotions or happenings. I agree that the majority of the objects I studied were intended, at least partially, for private use. Is a privately owned space, therefore, a more natural setting to experience the things uncovered for this study? Unfortunately, these instances were in the minority, although there is crossover between the domestic surrounding of the entrusted home and the privately-owned space. However, experiencing things in a private sphere did accentuate the orchestration of spaces which 'display' and 'preserve' objects. For example, when I stood in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, looking up and down rows of rings fixed in glass cases, I experienced the rings in a markedly different way from interacting with just one ring owned by an individual. At the Ashmolean, I was informed of their inner inscriptions by notations at the base of the case. In truth, I already knew some of these inscriptions, or 'posies' from prior research. It occurred to me, as I stood staring through my own reflection to the rings, that the private dynamics or secrets of the ring were exposed to scholars and visitors alike. The original creator or patron intended the inscription to be read only by he or she who was given the privilege of handling the ring. Within the museum, the

connection to the individual was lost by row upon row of gold rings. Penned out inscriptions kindly inform us if the inscription appears elsewhere: knowledge which the original wearer was unlikely to have known. The intimate meaning of the message is lost, and cross-referencing only serves to make the ring less unique, less personal and more generic. If instead we interact with a ring which belongs to a particular person, can we then glean greater insight? How it feels? What it means to the wearer? Do we gain clarity when we view it as an individual piece, rather than one of many? Of course, analysing sources *en masse* can be a vital means to substantiate findings. However, it is rarely representative of how objects were used. An awareness that different zones of contact can profoundly alter how a scholar analyses objects is key to overcoming these influences and spatial categorisations.

The fourth and final recognised space is a nonphysical one. As physicality is at the heart of this study, it may seem odd to identify one of the object spaces as nonphysical. The reasoning behind it came from the need to reach ‘lost’ objects. These are objects which are known to have existed at one time, say for example, as an auction record or in a particular exhibition, but which are now lost. They may have disappeared into private collections or have been destroyed. This is fairly common in the art world, where copies of lost masterpieces may be the best proof that the original ever existed or of what it looked like. For example, at some point in the 1630s, Anthony van Dyck painted Lady Frances Stewart, the Duchess of Richmond. She was depicted in mourning for her late husband, Ludovick Stewart. The original portrait of Frances is lost, although there are copies of the painting at Longleat House in Wiltshire and Ranger House near London. These copies allow an impression of the original and exist in entrusted collections but there was once, or is, an original portrait, which is an important historical source.

This nonphysical space highlights a key difference between the word and the object. Written sources can be easily and cheaply replicated. Handwriting can provide an intimate connection and the materiality of the paper itself can be a valuable point

of study, but words are transferable. The emotion triggered by the physicality of an object cannot usually be fully understood without the original thing. I could not hope to interact with lost objects in the same way as those in the other spaces. However, when evidence of their existence is available, perhaps in records and photos, I was obliged to include them in what was constantly intended to be as comprehensive a search as possible. The processes and experiences with lost objects are different. They are flat and focused on the visual, and are usually heavily influenced by another person's actions. For example, when viewing a photo of a lost glass, I rely upon the lighting in the room at the time it was taken, the exposure and quality of the camera, to inform me of the colour or clarity. When reading a description of a lost chair, I am relying on another's observations, rather than my own senses. However, the value of this space allows a scholar to combat those forces which destroy objects or which keep them hidden, even if physical interaction is impossible.

This nonphysical, flat space allows for the incorporation of growing online databases. For example, the government funded Portable Antiquities Scheme (hereafter PAS) was established so as to encourage the voluntary record making of archaeological finds in the UK. As of 2015, there are over 20,000 rings alone recorded on the site. Most of the recorded finds are privately owned by thousands of different people. PAS provides a unique opportunity to peek into the world of privately owned archaeological objects in the UK. It describes finds in detail and displays photographs of objects. Acknowledging that a valid, largely online, medium exists is essential for the future use of material culture. As large internet databases for written sources become more influential, persuasive and informative, material culture risks being left behind, in part because of a lack of uniformity due to systems of cataloguing which are largely based upon institution or place. By uploading masses of object records online, PAS, and others, have presented material culturists with a unique opportunity to uncover and to analyse objects in large quantities. This also provides a means of countering critics who have branded material culture findings as too simplistic. The

more objects there are to study, the more persuasive and detailed analyses can become. There are pitfalls, such as the loss of the individual, of the unique, of the connection between scholar and physicality. To produce this study, I visited hundreds of objects in person and physically interacted with many. However, I have also used online and written sources to enhance my understanding of material culture further. This has given my corpus a span and quantity that I could never have hoped to access physically, and a study which is able to compete with any based on a large textual corpus.

After locating relevant objects and uncovering the spatial influences about them, there was a large amount of literature to guide me in the process of interaction and analysis. In 1982, Jules Prown, an historian of art and material culture, defined how a scholar should examine an object. He described it as a series of stages. First, the scholar should make a close description of the object. Following this, the scholar should make a system of deductions based on sensory engagement, intellectual engagement and emotional responses. Finally, the scholar can then form speculations based on stages one and two.<sup>107</sup> While Prown's method has faced criticism since it was published, most methodologies to emerge in the last forty years have adopted at least one of his stages. A fore-planned series of questions or tasks has certainly remained a fundamental element of any method. My method was little different, I came to view, handle and experience any object with stages which were similar to Prown's. However, there are limitations to Prown's method. The first is that this method of examination has a visual bias. This focus on the visual can be a hard yoke to shake off. As an historian, my basic language had to alter: I was not 'viewing' objects, I was 'interacting' with active constructions. Christopher Tilley noted that material culture has had grammars of study forced upon it and these grammars typically relate to that which the objects reflect. Tilley believed the focus should be

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<sup>107</sup> Jules David Prown, 'Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method' in *Winterthur Portfolio* (Spring, 1982), 17:1, pp. 1-19.



on, ‘the active role of or agency of things constituting, rather than reflecting.’<sup>108</sup> The archaeologist Ian Hodder noted that, ‘material culture does not just exist. It is made by someone. It is produced into something. Therefore, it does not passively reflect society – rather, it creates society through the action of individuals.’<sup>109</sup> Hodder was indicating that scholars should not observe objects as flat (like sheets of text) but existing in different dimensions of height, depth and substance. This is a notion similar to Tilley, who also thought scholars should move away from ‘a human-thing relationship [to] the point of view of the things.’<sup>110</sup> I believe the habit of visual analysis has also been influenced by some of the spatial influences which I have discussed. In particular, how spatial influence can make a scholar less willing to interact, handle and use an object. Any method with a purely visual focus is indeed limited and when translating the language of analysis, a scholar should ask how an object informs: is it in a physical and/or visual sense? Objects *do* reflect, and therefore impart information, much like texts. This is most obvious in things which are inscribed, although the inscription may be understood better by inspecting the physicality of its location. Objects are clearly physical, active constructions but many have vital visual elements, which were central to their purposes.<sup>111</sup> Therefore a dual methodology, wherein the scholar experiences objects as both visual and physical beings, is essential. This is the approach suggested by the archaeologist Andrew Jones who noted that objects can carry information but that they also ‘evoke meaning’, ultimately concluding that ‘objects convey meaning in a multiplicity of ways.’<sup>112</sup> The chapter following this one discusses object reflection, while chapters three, four and five focus on the physicality of the objects.

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<sup>108</sup> Christopher Tilley, ‘Metaphor, Materiality and Interpretation’ in Victor Buchli (ed.), *The Material Culture Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), p.23.

<sup>109</sup> Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (CUP, 1986), p.6.

<sup>110</sup> Tilley, ‘Metaphor, Materiality and Interpretation’, p.23.

<sup>111</sup> Example of another dual approach: Julia Skelly, *The Uses of Excess in Visual and Material Culture 1600-2010* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2014).

<sup>112</sup> Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (CUP, 2007), p.15.

The other limitation of Prown's study, and of many others, is that a set of established stages or questions can be too restrictive of variations in object appearance, physicality and environment. James Deetz also observed this dilemma: 'if the archaeologist's research design is too narrowly or rigidly constructed, there is no guarantee that its requirements will be satisfied.'<sup>113</sup> Stages or questions must be flexible enough to adapt to circumstance. However, a scholar must have a clear and credible method; or their research may appear haphazard and serendipitous. The task is to develop a method that can be applied to any scenario. This method must be applicable to objects which can and cannot be handled or used; ones which are functioning, broken, under restoration; and the many other scenarios one is presented with when working with material culture. Adrienne Hood developed a method which drew on the work of Prown, but was ultimately more refined. Her first stage involved as much visual and physical interaction with the thing as possible. The scholar should make detailed descriptions when examining, handling, using, touching, viewing, and so on. Her second stage allows for emotional responses to stage one. What effects does using the object produce? What does opening a casket reveal? What effects does *not* using an object produce? How does the object sit when worn? Are any new dimensions revealed? Hood's third and final phase was then to form stages one and two into workable, scholarly language.

Importantly, Hood went further by offering points of analysis, rather than stages. Drawing on the work of Beverly Gordon, a cultural and historical researcher of materials, Hood believed that objects were situated within zones of contact. These are the spaces within which objects coexist with people.<sup>114</sup> The spaces could be the intimate, personal, social and public. For Hood, an awareness of the original zone of

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<sup>113</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things*, p.43.

<sup>114</sup> Hood, 'Material Culture', pp.179-180. Beverly Gordon, 'Intimacy and Objects: A Proxemic Analysis of Gender-based Response to the Material World' in Katherine Martinez and Kenneth L. Ames (eds.) *The Material Culture of Gender: The Gender of Material Culture* (The Winterthur Museum: The Henry Francis du Point Winterthur Museum, 1997). Further reading: Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (London: Yale University Press, 2010). Lucy Worsley, *If Walls could Talk: An Intimate History of the Home* (London: Faber and Faber, 2011).

contact, as well as the current zone and possible ones in-between, was as vital as examining the object itself. Descriptions should be made of the object's surroundings and research carried out into its spatial past. I had already encountered these influences when uncovering objects, but spatial manipulation, or zones of contact as Hood put it, can also play a role in later analysis of objects. Consideration of spatial influence had to be maintained throughout analyses, even if it did not feature prominently in the conclusions.

When studying artefacts, I used Hood's method of examination for those objects which I met in person. The only critique I would offer is that while stages of examination are necessary, the order in which they are carried out should also be flexible. I approached every object with stages one and two in mind, but I could not necessarily fill out a detailed description in its entirety before an emotional response occurred. In order to discover objects, parameters had to be put in place which informed me about certain aspects of the object before physical interaction. In fact, emotional responses became quicker the more objects I viewed and handled. For example, after uncovering several chests which were constructed in the Symond's workshop in Salem, I was able to identify their work elsewhere. I became familiar with seventeenth-century craftsmen and could identify a Robert Mindum-made shoehorn before I was informed by an inscription or an object-carer. I persevered in trying to experience every object as a blank canvas, so that stages one and two could be carried out with consistency, but this was not always possible.

The third stage of Hood's method describes the need to formulate observations into academic prose. This part of the process can be particularly challenging. In the past, conclusions made from material culture studies have been criticised for being too simplistic. For example, James Deetz used his analysis of objects to construct snapshot narratives of people and places within a specified time period.<sup>115</sup> Ann Brower Stahl, an anthropological archaeologist, wrote that 'for Deetz and Glassie

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<sup>115</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, p.1, p.46.

then, the study of material culture provided access to the workings of the mind, enabling them to witness a history of mentalities through a history of materials. Yet in practice, the insights derived from such an approach in historical archaeology appeared thin in relation to the “thick” detail of textually based historical accounts.’<sup>116</sup> Ian Hodder added that, ‘material culture symbols are often more ambiguous than their verbal counterparts and what can be said with them is normally much simpler.’<sup>117</sup>

For Deetz, detail was never the aim or intended outcome of his method. He admitted that archaeologists were unlikely to ever know the names of those who lived on the sites, or who used the objects he studied. He could, however, confidently show how those nameless people lived.<sup>118</sup> When formulating meaning from material culture, a scholar should first acknowledge that in the majority of cases, they will indeed be working with a nameless person or people. When I could put a name to an object, this did have the potential to aid research, as it could lead to connections between multiple objects or help illuminate a specific relationship. However, had I only used objects with tenable provenances, my conclusions would have been almost universally focused on the elite. Furthermore, I would have spent the majority of my time doing textual research, when my chosen focus was the object.

If the uniqueness and worth of material culture lies in the connection between physicality and emotion, how can an academic use prose to translate this, without losing some of the power which physicality commands? The answer is that there *is* a language of form. If prose can be used to describe and articulate the language of emotion, war, faith, the community and any other historical discourse, it can harness physicality too. Glassie believed that the greatest hurdle in interpreting meaning from material culture was caused by a perceived struggle between the word and

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<sup>116</sup> Ann Brower Stahl, ‘Material Histories’ in Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, p.154.

<sup>117</sup> Ian Hodder, *Reading the Past*, pp.122-123.

<sup>118</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, p.52.

materiality.<sup>119</sup> Tilley added that this struggle between, ‘the world of words and world of thing, events and actions’ caused the scholar of material culture to speak in metaphor, and this seemed flimsier in comparison to textual analysis.<sup>120</sup> He suggested how to overcome this problem: ‘material metaphors need to be understood temporally in their actional and biographical contexts: how the artefact is produced, and from what sources and raw material, the manner in which these materials may be combined in a technological process, how it may be destroyed, what is done to the thing, how it is used and in what sequence it occurs in relation to other artefacts in a series of events.’<sup>121</sup> Tilley’s list of requirements came to influence a series of questions which I crafted for my objects. The questions included: Where is the object situated? Where was it situated? Within what zones has it existed? Who owned the piece? From what is it made? What are the dimensions? For what was it used? These questions were first and foremost intended to ensure that as comprehensive an account as possible was recorded. Then the questions ensured that the spatial zones surrounding the object (for example, where is the object situated?) were observed and recorded. The questions also prompted me to investigate past zones while I was with the object, including connections to people, places and known provenances. Finally, the questions ensured as uniform a level of object interaction as possible.

While this list of questions may appear to require additional textual research, I was perpetually surprised by how many of the questions the objects could answer independently. Daniel Miller observed this when he said, ‘objects don’t talk, or do they... surely if we listen to these things we have access to an authentic other voice.’<sup>122</sup> For example, in relation to locations, an object can usually inform a scholar whether it has been on a windowsill, against a painted surface, shut away, buried in soil, fixed to a wall, or if it has been altered to fit into a different space to that for which it was originally constructed. Alterations, paint marks, signatures, fading and

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<sup>119</sup> Glassie, *Material Culture*, chapter one.

<sup>120</sup> Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Blackwell: Oxford, 1999), p.6.

<sup>121</sup> Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture*, p.264.

<sup>122</sup> Daniel Miller, *The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), p.2.

repairs can act like informative ghosts. I have yet to experience a seventeenth-century object which did not inform me of some aspect of its past from its physical form; whether that was an original zone of contact or some quality of a person-object relationship. As soon as we are presented with an object, it informs us of truths: 'I have been used' or 'I have been altered.' Furthermore, my ability to identify more of an object's past increased with my own awareness of and familiarity with material culture. The scholar is then key in this part of the investigation. I was able to identify methods of construction, types of wood, makers and so forth from the initial examination, or even from a photograph.

Once object observations were made, a logistical framework had to be put in place so as to transform them into manageable prose. Without this, studies can indeed become epic lists. The anthropologist, Joan Vastokas, created a five step methodology for interpreting meaning. The first was that the artefacts should be analysed alongside works, words or texts. Second, when developing prose, the artefact should always be considered an active agent in sociocultural life and cognition, rather than a passive or merely reflective thing. Thus, interpretation should see the object as an intended construction, not necessarily within its current condition or spatial home. Third, the significance of the artefact resided in both the object as a self-enclosed material fact and in its performative, 'gestural' patterns of behaviour in relation to space, time, and society. Fourth, the processes, materials, and products of technology function as cultural metaphors at many levels and in many socio-cultural domains. Finally, theoretical insights derive, not from theorising in the abstract, but from direct observation and experiences.<sup>123</sup>

Vastokas' greatest success was in establishing the varying perspectives of material culture. First she considered the object amid other types of source material, then the object as an active agent, and then the object-human relationship. This was

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<sup>123</sup> Joan M. Vastokas, 'Are Artefacts Texts? Lithuanian Woven Sashes as Social and Cosmic Transactions' in Stephen Harold Riggins (ed.), *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-semiotics of Objects* (Mouton de Gruyter: New York, 1994), p.29.

followed by the role of construction and physicality from a cultural and metaphorical perspective. Finally, she considered the view of the scholar, who is active in creating history through working with material culture. This method accounts for all possible perspectives and by using it, one can frame how objects communicated feeling. My own method drew heavily upon this model, but it could not be followed in its entirety, as this method uses material culture in general, rather than employing material culture to analyse love. Furthermore, while these five stages are each critical, in reality I found it problematic to distinguish between them. For example, one may only understand cultural metaphors with the help of other types of source material. Similarly, it is not always possible to understand an object as an active construction without research from elsewhere, especially if the object is damaged. For these reasons, I tailored my own five-point programme of analysis.

The first three points each pertain to the physicality of the object. It was vital to begin with the physical form; with the object as the active agent and conduit of analysis. The first point of analysis should focus upon the material of the object: what is the object made from? What can the material of the object inform us? A scholar's emotional responses may also be applied at this point. These could be observations on durability, value and craftsmanship. The second stage of the method is then to analyse the design or construction of the object. How has it been constructed? Is there a pattern or inscription? What does the construction or shape of an object inform us? This stage of the method allows for both physical interaction and visual focus. The third stage is to focus upon the function of the object. What was the object made for – to be worn? Should it be viewed? How does using the object for its original use inform us? The final two points of analysis employ the wider field about the object. The fourth stage is to incorporate any relevant textual analysis or known provenance. As behavioural archaeologist Michael Schiffer pointed out, evidence does not exist in just one form and we should endeavour to provide as full a picture as possible.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Michael B. Schiffer, *Behavioural Archaeology* (London: Academic Press, 1976), p.176.

Textual analysis typically took two routes. The first was through provenance to a specific individual or relationship. This could lead to clarification on relationships, timelines of objects and to the changing form of love. The second route was research based upon the type of object or object design. For example, do apple corers exist in literature, diaries, letters or legal records? What associations appear in text which may enhance our understanding of the thing? This stage was the most familiar, as an historian, and helped to broaden the scale of those to whom I could apply my findings. The fifth and final point of the method is to study the individual object alongside others, in order to establish possible trends, patterns, regularities and differences.

From thence, the points made by Vastokas, Tilley and Hood on spatial context, cultural metaphor and the object-human relationship were used to further develop meaning. Using my five-point method to break up and order detail from the object, I was able to apply these established frameworks of analysis. For example, the gold from which a wedding ring has been constructed can be best comprehended through its cultural metaphors. The design of a bed is fully understood when placed within its original spatial context. The function of a wearable miniature can illuminate its object-human relationship. All of the objects in this study were selected because they had the potential to illuminate love. The five points of analysis were the means to unlocking and formulating how those objects communicated love. Detailed exploration and examination of various spaces began the search, but my method of analyses is one which begins with the object and then branches out. As Hood eloquently noted, ‘moving outward from the objects, or including objects as an integral extension of our textual research, we can draw on whatever interpretative theoretical constructs or documents we need. If objects are our driving force and the questions asked of them interdisciplinary, our research will be nuanced, complex and historically valid.’<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Hood, ‘Material Culture’, p.193.



Once I had my base of objects and a means to develop academic analysis from them, I was still left with a burning question. How representative was my source base? Had I gathered a fair and representative portion of objects? I knew I had a good and thorough representation of what had survived, but how far would I be able to apply any conclusions based upon object survival? This question led me to another; one which I have been asked at least a dozen times during the creation of this study. Why do objects survive? Over years of working with the object, I have uncovered numerous causes for survival. Some objects have survived because they have always been valuable and were preserved for that reason, often as family treasures. Another object may have survived because it has a specific provenance. This link could be to an ancestor of the current owner, which persuades, and has persuaded, family members to preserve the thing. Other objects which are attached to a person of notoriety could be preserved because of a subsequent monetary value, or, because they receive wider public interest or support. Some objects are lost and then recovered. The archaeological finds uploaded to the PAS are such examples. Some of these lost objects have been recovered on account of *where* they were lost. Certain areas, such as sites in York and London, have undergone many more archaeological excavations than other areas of the UK or America. Of course the terrain of a location may also play a role in preserving something, whether that be in fresh or salt water, clay and so forth. Another object which was once controversial, such as a piece with Catholic connections, might have been purposefully preserved as a secret act of devotion or defiance. Conversely, many others were deliberately destroyed. Any object with a certain and usually apparent emotional intensity, whether this was to do with faith or not, could have been preserved for this reason. Some objects may be too difficult to destroy by their very fabrics: masonry work is a good example of this. Other objects may have survived because they seem unique or ridiculous. One must always consider humankind's fondness for making silly things for no good reason and preserving them because they are amusing or sentimental. Deetz noted how, 'humans

have a marvellous and endearing capacity to indulge in whimsy.<sup>126</sup> Some objects have not survived because they were perishable, but some perishable objects (such as clay pipes) were produced in so great a number that a selection of them managed to survive. Some objects have survived because they were impractical or unusable, and were therefore not subject to wear and tear. In relation to this latter cause, some may have not been used because they were not liked. In fact, there are a thousand individual causes as to why someone might shut away an object; thus indirectly preserving its survival, and nothing preserves material culture quite like ignorance. I am not the first scholar to consider whether nearly everything which survives from the past does so because it was, at one stage, forgotten or worthless. Robert Williams noted that, ‘the garbage of the past is everywhere.’<sup>127</sup>

This pattern of survival does affect how we apply our conclusions. What survives cannot be taken as universally representative.<sup>128</sup> However, the greater the number of case studies, the more knowledge is gained and the greater an understanding. This philosophy is common among archaeologists, who often work on just one site or a very small number of objects. When discussing Tudor architecture, the archaeologist Jonathan Foyle described how, ‘we’re used to what happens to have survived... we really don’t have a full picture and that’s the value of archaeology.’<sup>129</sup> By this, he meant that in excavating and analysing more lost Tudor buildings, the greater the bank of knowledge becomes, and the more we know. The objects in this study are no different, in terms of what they say about love. I present a thorough search of what has survived but I do not doubt that more objects will come to light in the future.

However, while I became more at ease with ‘who’ I was representing through the object, I began to realise that the majority of objects were representing certain

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<sup>126</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, p.41.

<sup>127</sup> Williams, *The Historian’s Toolbox*, p.11.

<sup>128</sup> Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten*, p.8.

<sup>129</sup> Jonathan Foyle, *Time Team with Tony Robinson*, ‘Time Teams Special: Henry VIII’s Lost Palaces’, Channel Four, 9 April 2009.

moments, or ‘punctuations’ from the lifecycle of love. For example, objects tended to cluster about courtship, betrothal, union, the birth of children and death. Of those punctuations, the process of union and death were markedly preponderant. I made significant efforts to uncover objects which spoke of ‘everyday’ love but was relatively unsuccessful. I suggest that the reason objects cluster about stages of the lifecycle is because these were monumental moments within the course of love. Punctuations acted as catalysts, when ritual, tradition, faith and genuine feeling made people more likely to create or exchange a physical manifestation of their emotions. The practicalities of uncovering objects with tangible connections to love also played a part here. For example, objects may well have been used to communicate love after union but their connection is difficult to prove. For example, suppose a husband gave his wife a new stool in order to milk a cow. He may have crafted it himself in the hopes of providing a useful and comfortable object for his wife. However, if the stool survived, it is likely to appear purely as a wooden seat, which could have been used by anyone. Therefore, I do not claim that the objects which I have uncovered offer a comprehensive vision of love in the early-modern period. There are gaps in lifecycles of love and clusterings around intense, even abnormal punctuations of love.

The aim is not only to enhance our understanding of love but to help bring material culture to the fore of history. This required a method which included a refined search, a stipulated interaction process, a credible form of analysis and ultimately, finished scholarly prose. This method had to incorporate the visual and reflective aspects of material culture, but more importantly, I had to encapsulate the dialogue of physical form. After all, the greatest value of material culture lies in the object’s physicality.<sup>130</sup> This chapter illustrates that while the object may pose novel problems, the task is by no means impossible, and importantly, that the word and material culture are not two forces at odds. The word complements material culture and material culture complements the word. I began this chapter by stating some of

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<sup>130</sup> Prasad Boradkar, *Designing Things: A Critical Introduction to the Culture of Objects* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), introduction.

the ways in which 'material culture' has been defined. I have come to see it not as a specific type of source but rather as an acknowledgment that all evidence should be considered in physical form. This is how the world was lived, particularly a largely illiterate world.

## Chapter Two

### *Reading and Reflecting: The Tropes of Love*

‘Cupid has made too deep a wound.’<sup>131</sup>

Before an analysis of the roles and functions of material culture in love can begin, a clear understanding of seventeenth-century amorous design needs to be established. This chapter uncovers the symbols, the pictures, and the colours; thus creating an impression of a seventeenth-century language of love. As amorous design is usually the most apparent indicator of a love token, design formed a crucial part of the object selection process. Consequently, some sort of amorous design appears on the majority of the 1,150 objects analysed in the corpus. This chapter will describe the designs and clarify how they were used to convey love, as well as offering revelatory discourse on what these tropes meant within society. This analysis on the reading and reflecting of object design is not intended to present a full examination of physicality. The three chapters following this one will analyse how the designs, explained here, were used and understood in relation to physicality. The aims of this chapter can be likened to shining one bright spotlight onto an object’s surface. This provides a starting point: a point at which discourse can spiral outwards. Multiple lights will follow, penetrating and illuminating the object to a much fuller and physical sense.

Amorous design can be an elusive subject to identify and isolate from other forms of familiar love. In many instances, amorous and familiar love were conveyed in the same sorts of discourse. For example, patience, tenderness and compassion were held in a similar esteem across many types of relationship. However, sometimes qualities of amorous love were specific, such as fidelity and physical attraction. These elements were considered unnatural to relationships between close family members. Therefore, while one object decorated with an amorous design could have been

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<sup>131</sup> Anon., *Amintas, or, The Constant Shepherds Complaint* (West-Smithfield: P. Brooksby, 1670-1696).

exchanged between lovers, parent and child, or brother and sister, another object could be an inappropriate, even reviled, gift for a brother to give his sister. Differentiation is made more complex by layers of specificity. For example, the friendship between spouses had dynamics different and dynamics similar to the friendship between, say, mother and son. These two friendships possessed varying hierarchies of power, in relation to seventeenth-century social structures. In this chapter, specific qualities of love will be identified and clarified, but it should be noted that one discourse on design and friendship, or design and fidelity, may differ from discourses on friendship and fidelity elsewhere in the early-modern world. Despite these complexities, this chapter demonstrates that love was languaged in clear and prevailing ways. By ‘languaged’, I imply a widely understood system of expression, which existed in written and spoken forms, but also, and importantly, in the physical and visual.

At some point in the mid twentieth-century, a collector named Charles Paget Wade added an early seventeenth-century marriage bowl to his vast collection at Snowhill Manor in Gloucestershire, which at one point numbered more than 20,000 pieces.<sup>132</sup> The collection, while extravagant and eccentric, is not untypical of the sort of antiquarian gathering in which many of our surviving objects found themselves from 1800 onward. The object sits in a home where Samurai guards stand beside fantastic Japanese treasures, and the attic is full of ancient bicycles. When translated, Wade’s family motto was ‘let nothing perish.’ It was this mentality which once saved the relatively worthless wooden bowl from rotting into obscurity. The bowl is kept in storage by the National Trust, but for the purposes of my work, it was brought out from the tissue paper. Sitting on a dark wooden window ledge, with flicks of sunlight from the diamond glass windowpanes dancing on the paint, the bowl displayed a vivid orchestra of amorous design. At that point in time, which was very early on in my

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<sup>132</sup> Marriage Bowl (1608). Snowhill Manor (NT). Diameter: 42.5 cm.

studies, I had not seen such a rich amount of design existing on a single object from the seventeenth century (figure 2.0).



Figure 2.0: The wooden bowl at Snowhill Manor. Note the rich and varied scope of amorous design, and the prominent colours of red, green, black and white.

Marriage Bowl (1608). Snowhill Manor (NT). Diameter: 42.5 cm. The photo was taken by Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

The bowl is painted in strong colours of green, red (or a reddish-pink shade), black and white. In the centre, a male figure stands facing a female. She is dressed in a long red gown: a white handkerchief cascading from her left hand, her right hand against her chest. The stance of her fingers suggest she is holding a flower, however, certainty is obscured by damage to the paintwork. Her underskirt, sleeves and ruff are white, with delicate lace detail. The male figure is dressed in a long black cape, with a white ruff and feather in his black hat. His leg apparel and part of his jacket are green. He is playing an instrument, possibly a flute. Both of their faces are damaged. The paint has cracked and flaked off in several places, showing a dark wood beneath. The two figures stand atop a green hill, against a green background, packed with images of flowers and bulging red fruits. A large hoop encircles the couple. This hoop is split

into four sections: two are of a red and white pattern. The remaining two are harder to make out, consisting of the same pattern, but painted in either black and white, or a dark green and white. Above and between the couple there are two pairs of joined hands, betwixt two red hearts. These hands and hearts float independently of the figures. There are four other shapes, which may be heraldic shields or symbols. A fountain or font is above the male: a shield, partly decorated with a diamond pattern, is above the female. Two other fairly large red, white and green shapes sit on either side of the couple. These could form part of a wider and generic decoration, or they may have had specific heraldic meaning. Finally, an embellished and framed date is situated centre and above the couple. While damaged, it probably reads 1608.

As noted, this bowl was examined in the early stages of my investigations, and one of the first questions I asked was ‘who’ owned it, or rather ‘whom’ were the figures intended to represent? The costumes of the figures on the bowl are of the very wealthy: the capes, gown and white lace display similarities to clothing worn in portraits of Elizabeth I, Bess of Hardwick and one of Bess’s daughters, Mary Cavendish.<sup>133</sup> However, I have since become wary of presuming that designs of the wealthy were used purely to represent members of the nobility. Rather, certain clothes may have been intended to represent the fashionable and emulated. Furthermore, some members of the middling groups in society copied the fashions of nobility, and as Alexandra Shepard noted, for many, clothes were the ‘most manifest and sole indicator of wealth.’<sup>134</sup> Clothes were therefore vitally symbolic in the early-modern world but more people were wearing high quality clothing than in the previous century.<sup>135</sup> Further evidence indicates that, while clothes defined social boundaries, they could traverse all sorts of hierarchical groups. For example, numerous printed

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<sup>133</sup> Nicholas Hilliard, *Portrait of Elizabeth I* (1592). Hardwick Hall (NT): 1129128. Dimensions: 223.5 x 169 cm. British (English) School, *Portrait of Elizabeth Hardwick Countess of Shrewsbury* (c.1580). Hardwick Hall (NT): 1129212. Dimensions: 62 x 55 cm. British (English) School, *Portrait of Mary Cavendish* (c.1600). Hardwick Hall (NT): 1129098. Dimensions: 112 x 86.5 cm.

<sup>134</sup> Alexandra Shepard, *Accounting for Oneself: Worth, Status and Social Order in Early-Modern England* (OUP, 2015), p.41.

<sup>135</sup> For example: Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and The Working Poor in Early-Modern England* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p.22.



ballads tell stories of the poor and middling sorts: of shepherds, beggars and housewives. These ballads were often accompanied by woodcuts of figures in wealthy dress.<sup>136</sup> Shepherds, in particular, were more often than not depicted in regal attire.<sup>137</sup> This poses further questions about what figures of men and women were intended to convey. Is the man in a long cape on the wooden bowl a wealthy noble, or is he just a bridegroom? Catherine Richardson noted '[that] between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, sumptuary legislation repeatedly attempted to define the proper and fitting way in which clothing should demarcate social status, thereby representing dress as a crucial tool in the delineation of social order.'<sup>138</sup> If printed, painted, embroidered and sculpted figures in wealthy dress were used to represent men and women from across society, this could demonstrate a breakdown of social boundaries, greater social mobility, and the increased production and shared consumption of material goods, in the seventeenth century. Furthermore, many object creators were working with pre-existing images, albeit with room for personal modification. Well-dressed figures therefore reflect the limited pictures and patterns available to printers, embroiderers and other crafts people. Of course, many of the object designs analysed here were likely to be owned by the wealthy. However, one cannot assume that an object belonged to a wealthy person purely because its design portrayed figures in wealthy costumes. Ultimately, these uncertainties have little impact upon reading and reflecting love, but they do pose new and interesting questions about to whom findings should be applied. In amorous design, figures in wealthy dress could represent a lover from any rank in society.

I have discussed a little of how we can read the figures in the centre of the bowl, but how can we identify which figures inform us about love, or indicate that the object was used in a relationship? Within design, the basic presence of male and

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<sup>136</sup> Example of broadside ballads: Anon., *Amintor's Answer to Parthenia's Complaint* (London: P. Brooksby, 1672-1696). Anon., *Halfe a Dozen of Good Wives* (London, 1630-1649). Anon., *A New Ballad, Intituled, The Stout Cripple of Cornwall* (London: William Thackery, 1689-1692).

<sup>137</sup> Example of broadside ballad: Anon., *The Loves of Damon and Sappho* (London: Printed for F. Coles, 1678-1680).

<sup>138</sup> Catherine Richardson (ed.), *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2004), p.1.

female in proximity, either as a visual figure or some other element which denoted a gender, is one means of identifying whether an object was representative of, or created or used in a stage in a relationship. Second, stances, gestures and expressions can be used to denote specific aspects of love, as well as stages in relationships. The first means of identifying a relationship may seem too simplistic. It does not account for portraits of wealthy women and male slaves or servants, and surely brothers and sisters, fathers and daughters, must also have been depicted together. It does also not account for religious and mythical pictures. However, in the early-modern world, male and female figures, usually of similar size, and depicted in close proximity, almost universally represented husband and wife, or a courting or betrothed couple. The only exception is when figures were taken from a particular biblical or mythical story, and even then, conclusively extracting them from a narrative of love is problematic. Family portraits exist which represent various familiar relationships. However, if mother and father were both alive, then their bond typically forms the central focus.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, age and relation is often implied by size, as children are usually (accurately or not) depicted as smaller. In portraits, grandparents are set behind husband or wife. These observations indicate that there was a strong visual formula for depicting relations between kin. Few historians have explicitly examined or acknowledged this visual language.<sup>140</sup>

Perhaps the reason behind a deficiency of research pertains to some of the problems of reading early-modern images: biblical figures dress as cavaliers, mythical beasts reside in English gardens and demons creep out from behind hearths and into beds. In short, one could perceive a problem between belief and reality in a majority of surviving visual objects. There is also the difficulty of what seems to be fairly generic decoration. For example, how can we extract central figures from an embroidery or a wooden bowl, but choose to ignore the tens of exotic flowers and

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<sup>139</sup> For example: Paul Holme, *Portrait of The Holme Family* (1628). The V&A: W.5-1951. Dimensions: 11.5 x 190.5 cm (open).

<sup>140</sup> Notable exception: Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (OUP, 2012).

foliage encircling them? Are scholars more typically interested in understanding people, rather than decoration? This may force an historian to judge whether some elements of design are useful while others are meaningless. Finally, reading the meaning of design can be complicated by trends and similarities, which cross many types of visual sources. For example, a depiction of a woman found on a ballad by William Blunten, *The Faithful Lovers of the West* (1672-1696) is very similar in style, clothing, hair and profile to another figure in a woodcut accompanying the ballad *Love in a Mist* (1671-1702). Furthermore, the figure of a woman who appears in an embroidered panel, currently housed at East Riddlesden Hall in Yorkshire, is also very similar to the figure on the woodcuts (figures 2.1 to 2.3).<sup>141</sup>



Figure 2.1 [Left] and Figure 2.2 [Right]: Two woodcuts taken from (left) William Blunten, *The Faithful Lovers of the West* (1672-1696) and (right) anonymous, *Love in a Mist* (1671-1702).

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<sup>141</sup> Mid-18th century textile panel. East Riddlesden Hall (NT): 147158. Dimensions: unknown. The title given is the one stated by the National Trust, however, I believe the piece is more likely 1660-1690 in date.



Figure 2.3: An embroidered figure of a lady from a stumpwork panel. Note the stylistic similarities between the woodcuts and the embroidered lady, in relation to stance, hair, facial features and jewellery.

Mid-eighteenth century textile panel. East Riddlesden Hall (NT): 147158. The title given is the one stated by the National Trust, however, I believe the piece is more likely to be 1660-1690 in date. Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

Designs from any period will contain similarities and given the relatively infant stages of mass production in England, we could have predicted these limitations in scope. I am not the first scholar to make this observation. Melinda Watt identified several embroidered scenes which were clearly influenced by prints.<sup>142</sup> This reinforces the generality of seventeenth-century design and could hamper an interpretation of design as individual and personal. This in turn could affect the meaning behind an object. However, greater clarification needs to be shed upon seventeenth-century design, and upon what those designs relating to love and relationships can inform us. Importantly, our impression of the generic nature of design has been strongly influenced by the collecting traditions of individuals and then reinforced by multiple museum displays, exhibitions and published works. As analysis moves toward specific designs, it is important to remember that while we are

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<sup>142</sup> Melinda Watt, 'Collecting English Domestic Embroidery' in Andrew Morall and Melinda Watt (eds.), *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700, 'Twixt Art and Nature'* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), chapter one.

aware a design may appear on multiple sources, this does not represent how people in the past viewed and engaged with these designs.

Figures of men and women in design can be divided into three broad categories. The biblical or religious, mythical, and secular. These figures appear on ceramics, paintings, prints, metals, plaster, wood, and fabrics. The range of biblical figures is significant, while certain figures were more popular than others and some were more popular on certain objects. Embroidery or ‘stumpwork’ is a rich, visual object type to begin discussing these categories of figures.<sup>143</sup> Stumpwork is specific to the seventeenth century and has survived in large numbers. For example, the MMOA has eighty in its collection. The name ‘stumpwork’ may originate from the technique. Designs were drawn or ‘stamped’ onto plain fabric backgrounds. Girls then embroidered and layered on detail using many types of threads and beads. Designs were stuffed or padded, so as to give them a raised appearance. The origins of stumpwork may have come from fifteenth-century religious pieces, but by 1650, religious, mythical and secular figures were all being embroidered. As most stumpwork was embroidered by girls between the ages of seven and nineteen, surviving pieces shed light on the education of girls, of the biblical stories that they were taught, the virtues which they were expected to possess, and the figures they emulated. The story of Lot and his daughters, figures from the book of Esther, as well as King David and Bathsheba, King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Abraham, Sarah and Hagar, and Rebecca and Eliezir, were all popular biblical characters depicted on embroideries.<sup>144</sup> The first married couple, Adam and Eve, were also a

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<sup>143</sup> Further reading: Amanda Pullan, ‘Needlework and Religious Instruction in Seventeenth-Century British Households’. (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Lancaster University, October 2015). Andrew Morall and Melinda Watt (eds.), *English Embroidery from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1580-1700, ‘Twixt Art and Nature’* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009). Mary Brooks, *English Embroideries; Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: Ashmolean Handbooks, 2006).

<sup>144</sup> 1) Embroidered Panel depicting the Story of Lot (c.1670). MMOA: 64.101.1323. Dimensions: 39.4 x 54.6 cm. According to the story of Lot (Genesis 19: 30-38), the daughters of Lot committed incest and had sexual intercourse with their father in order to procreate. 2) Embroidered Box telling the Story of Esther (c.1670). MMOA: 64.101.1335. Dimensions: 23.5 x 40.6 x 28.6 cm. Esther was the second wife of Ahasuerus: she was a Jew who attempted to save her people from persecution. 3) Stumpwork Panel depicting David and Bathsheba (c.1660). The Cleveland Museum: 1973.186. Dimensions: 43.3 cm x 53.3 cm. Bathsheba was married to a man named Uriah, but was seduced by King David. After

popular pair of figures, appearing in embroidery, but also on wood, ceramics and metal. Alongside the religious, mythological couples were also subjects of depiction in design. One embroidered panel depicts the hero Meleager and the virgin, bare-breasted huntress Atalanta, from Homer's *Iliad*.<sup>145</sup> In the scene, Atalanta brandishes the head of a killer boar, which she had hunted down and slain. Yet more mythical figures appear on stumpwork. An embroidered cabinet depicts scenes from the Judgement of Paris around the sides and on the lid.<sup>146</sup> This was not the only source to depict the Judgement of Paris. Paris, the 'shepherd' prince, is usually seated beneath a tree, before the three goddesses, Athena, Hera and Aphrodite. Paris was chosen to mediate who was the fairest and consequently bestowed a golden apple on Aphrodite, the goddess of love. This moment appears in woodcuts, paintings and tapestries.<sup>147</sup>

These figures served as inspiration for the creation of secular figures. By secular I infer designs based upon living people. However, these secular figures could be presented as mythical or biblical figures, and seventeenth-century design blurred distinctions between the secular and religious. For example, an embroidered panel depicts a landscape with three different courting couples set within.<sup>148</sup> The first is a

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Uriah was killed, David married Bathsheba. 4) Stumpwork of Solomon and Sheba (c.1670). Knebworth House, Hertfordshire. Dimensions: 50 x 60 cm. The Queen of Sheba travelled to King Solomon to ask for his guidance. They exchanged gifts and monies. 5) Embroidered Mirror (c.1660). V&A: 247-1896. Dimensions: 70.5 cm x 56.2 cm. This mirror shows scenes from the story of Hagar and Ishmael in Genesis. Abraham and his wife Sarah were unable to have children together. Sarah gave Abraham one of her maids, Hagar, to bear a child for him. The child was named Ishmael. Sarah then also bore a child to Abraham named Isaac. Hagar and Ishmael were banished into the wilderness. 6) Embroidered Casket (c.1660). V&A: T.114:1-1999. Dimensions: 20 cm x 35.5 cm. In Genesis, Eliezer was sent to find a bride for Isaac. Eliezer found Rebecca, who would marry Isaac, at a well, where she gave him water.

<sup>145</sup> Embroidered Panel of Meleager and Atalanta (c.1660). MMOA: 64.101.1297. Dimensions: 29.8 x 39.4 cm. The scene depicts the moment when Meleager gives Atlanta a Calydonian boar's head. The boar had been hunted by Meleager and other men, but it was Atalanta, the virgin huntress who delivered the fatal blow. Meleager later died and while he lusted after Atalanta, he was married to someone else.

<sup>146</sup> Embroidered Box (c.1660). East Riddlesden Hall (NT): 147156. Dimensions: approx. 10 x 15 cm. The Judgement of Paris appears in Homer's *Iliad*. The Greek Goddess, Eris, cast a golden apple toward three goddesses, claiming it was for the fairest. The goddesses; Athena, Hera and Aphrodite appeared before Prince Paris of Troy, and asked him to decide who should own the apple. Paris chose Aphrodite because she promised him Helene of Sparta.

<sup>147</sup> For example, a broadside ballad: Nathaniel Lee, *Loves Boundless Power* (Newgate: T. Vere, 1644-1680). Second example: Peter Paul Rubens, *Painting of the Judgement of Paris* (1632-5). The National Gallery: NG194. Dimensions: 144.8 x 193.7 cm.

<sup>148</sup> Embroidered Panel of Courting Couples (c.1670). MMOA: 64.101.1308. Dimensions: 44.5 x 50.2 cm. Another example represents couples in similar poses, except that the woman offers the man water

man smiling at a woman, as she gathers water. The second is a couple holding hands: the man has removed his hat and the woman appears to be touching her hair. The final stance at the fore, depicts a man offering a woman a plate of jewels, which she has seemingly accepted, as she holds up a long pearl necklace. These poses were reflective of different stages of courtship and the exchange of gifts prior to union.<sup>149</sup> They are idyllic but not mythical. However, the couples are surrounded by a collection of mythical creatures, including a griffin, a phoenix, and, in contrast with the English attire and setting of the couples, a camel and a rhinoceros. In other examples, religious figures stand alongside the earthly. For example, one embroidered panel depicts Adam and Eve on the left, and the figures of a Jacobean king and queen to the right.<sup>150</sup> There are numerous examples of King Solomon intended to resemble Stuart monarchs, including Charles I, Charles II, James II and William III. In these instances, the bible and myths influenced designs of ‘real’ early-modern people. These observations make the rigid separation of the secular, religious and mythical impossible: rather it is likely that it was the acts, gestures and scenarios of these recognisable figures which were emblematic.

Figures representing royal marriages appear on numerous material goods.<sup>151</sup> It is on these designs that we find the model stance of man and woman standing either side-by-side or facing one another. This stance was copied across society as a symbol

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in the final scene. This suggests that the two scenes may be based upon an, as yet, unidentified story. Embroidered Panel (c.1660). MMOA: 64.101.1309. Dimensions: 43.8 x 52.7 cm.

<sup>149</sup> Diana O’Hara, *Courtship and Constraint: Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.57-98.

<sup>150</sup> Embroidered Panel depicting Adam and Eve, against a King and Queen (c.1670). MMOA: 64.101.1290. Dimensions: 50.2 x 54.3 cm.

<sup>151</sup> Embroidered Mirror (c.1662). MMOA: 64.101.1333. Dimensions: 151.1 x 78.7 cm. Marriage Embroidery (c.1662). East Riddlesden Hall (NT): 147155. Dimensions: Approx. 35 x 35 cm.

Embroidered Panel depicting a Coach and Horses (1710). MMOA: 64.101.1354. Dimensions: 40.6 x 50.8 cm. A Seventeenth-Century Stump work Panel depicting Charles I and Henriette Maria (c.1650). Object was sold at Toovey’s Auction House in Washington on 13 July 2013. Sale number: 378. Dimensions: 41 x 62 cm.

<sup>151</sup> Plate commemorating the Marriage of William of Orange and Mary Stuart (c.1690). Museum of London: A4357. Diameter: 21 cm. Thomas Toft, Commemorative Wedding Dish of James II and Anne Hyde (c.1670). The Ashmolean: AN1949.343. Diameter: 32 cm. For further information on the impact of a royal marriage see: Lorraine Madway, ‘Rites of Delivery and Disenchantment: The Marriage Celebrations for Charles II and Catherine of Braganza, 1661-2’ in *The Seventeenth Century* (Jan., 2013), 27:1, pp.79-103.

of marital union. Depictions of royal couples appear on numerous types of ceramics, including slipware and delftware ceramics. The popularity of slipware flourished in this period as it was a cheaper alternative to imported Chinese ceramics and Delftware. Slipware did not sit on the tables of the very wealthy, and is a clear representation of how these sorts of designs cascaded through social groups (figure 2.4).<sup>152</sup>



Figure 2.4: An example of a piece of slipware, probably depicting James II and Anne Hyde. The name 'Thomas Toft' refers to the maker.

Thomas Toft, Commemorative Wedding Dish of James II and Anne Hyde (c.1670). The Ashmolean: AN1949.343. Diameter: 32 cm. Image was taken by Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum.

Royal marriages influenced material culture elsewhere. For example, cufflinks of various metals were made in commemoration of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza's wedding in 1662. These were typically embossed or engraved with two hearts below a crown, with other motifs included. These cufflinks continued to be

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<sup>152</sup> David Barker, *Slipware* (Shire Publications Limited: Hampshire, 1993), p.3.



made in the decades following the 1660s. This suggests that the royal design may have become a type of wedding apparel, or gifts for husbands and wives, albeit with personal modifications.<sup>153</sup>

The analysis has thus far focused upon figures appearing on small domestic items and compared them with other forms of visual culture, including woodcut prints. Portraiture is another important and lucrative visual material to consider within this analysis. There are numerous forms of early-modern painting, ranging from great ‘high art’ masterpieces to ‘cruder’ paintings completed on folding boards.<sup>154</sup> Any number of mythological, religious and secular male and female figures could be analysed from the art world, but in this analysis, I chose to focus on secular portraits of men, women and families. These portraits are from varying museums and art galleries, as well as those in trusted houses and a small number which have been on sale.<sup>155</sup> This focus was partly dictated by existing divisions within art history, as well as those portraits which evidently and explicitly reveal the lives and emotions of early-modern people.

The seventeenth century witnessed an explosion in domestic and family portraits, an explosion which had been tentatively developing in the late sixteenth century. The growth was, in part, fuelled by artists from the continent, including

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<sup>153</sup> Example of a cufflink which was probably made to celebrate Charles II and Catherine’s marriage: Sheet-silver Cufflink (c.1662). The Portable Antiquities Scheme (hereafter PAS): SWYOR-D31B73. Unknown diameter: This example depicts two hearts below a crown with what appears to be a fleur-de-lis above the crown, indicating a royal connection. Other examples: Sheet-silver Cufflink or Button (c.1660s). PAS: SWYOR-66C262. Diameter: 1.29 cm. Two silver Cufflinks (c.1660s). PAS: SWYOR-52C053. Diameter: 1.2 cm. Silver Cufflink (1675-1700). PAS: SUSS-611300. Diameter: 1.15 cm. This example depicts a pierced heart with a flame above. Copper-alloy Cufflink (1660-1700). PAS: WILT-09A111. Diameter: 1.73 cm. This example has a heart pierced with two arrows and various designs, including writing. Sheet-silver Cufflink (1660-1700). PAS: SWYOR-D33EA5. Diameter: 1.5cm. This example has two joined hands, below a crown and above two hearts. Copper-alloy Cufflink (c.1603). PAS: SUSS-2FA786. Diameter: 1.42 cm. Further examples can be viewed through the Portable Antiquities Scheme.

<sup>154</sup> I put these terms in quotation marks as these are often how such pieces have been classified. I do not necessarily share the connotations which could be applied.

<sup>155</sup> The inclusion of paintings was made feasible by the BBC’s development of the ‘Your Paintings’ collection online, in partnership with the Public Catalogue Foundation. This is a collaboration with various trusts, allowing access to over 200,000 oil paintings in the United Kingdom. Website: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/>. In 2018, this website became known as <https://artuk.org>

Anthony van Dyck and Peter Paul Rubens. From the 1620s onwards, these artists wielded huge influence in English portraiture, inspiring portraits which were both great in scale but intimate in nature, and which captured family bonds. While portraiture remained a habit of the monarchy and nobility, individual and family portraits became a must-have for the growing middling groups in society. It would be too simplistic to attribute this growth purely to emulation of wealth and status, rather increased wealth allowed more families to preserve the faces of loved ones and to mark special occasions. Robert Tittler observed that by 1640, ‘an English public for portraiture had clearly emerged, and it took in a much broader social base and wider geographical reach than ever before.’<sup>156</sup>

Many portraits survive which are either of husband and wife together, or as separate yet matching portraits of husband and wife.<sup>157</sup> This chapter examines portraits of the living, while the final chapter discusses mourning portraits, which often depict a bereaved spouse alone or with children. Portraits were therefore used to mark a specific event or emotion in the life-cycle, whether that was betrothal, marriage, the years following union, or after death. Some portraits depict husband and wife with children and other family members, presumably at a later stage than those portraits which coincide with first marriages.<sup>158</sup> Given the time constraints of travelling and the availability of specific artists, marriage portraits may have frequently been delayed, especially in the American colonies. Therefore, marriage

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<sup>156</sup> Robert Tittler, *Portraits, Painters and Publics in Provincial England, 1540-1640* (OUP, 2012), p.1. For further reading: Tarnya Cooper, *Citizen Portrait: Portrait Painting and the Urban Elite of Tudor and Jacobean England and Wales* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2012).

<sup>157</sup> Examples of joint portraits: Peter Lely, *Portrait of Sir Arthur Capel, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Essex and Elizabeth, 1<sup>st</sup> Countess of Essex* (c.1653). NPG: 5461. Dimensions: 127.4 x 171.2 cm. Peter Lely, *Portrait of John Maitland (1616–1682), 2nd Earl and Duke of Lauderdale and Elizabeth Murray (1626–1698), Countess of Dysart and Duchess of Lauderdale* (c.1640). Ham House (NT): 1139789. Dimensions: 138.5 x 165 cm. Examples of separate portraits: Anon., *Portraits of Thomas Howard and Margaret Dudley* (1562). Audley End House, Essex: Private Collection. Dimensions: 108.6 x 81.3 cm (Thomas) and 111.8 x 86.4 cm (Margaret). For more information see: Tarnya Cooper, *Elizabeth I & Her People* (London: NPG, 2013), pp.80-82.

<sup>158</sup> For example: Thomas Hudson, *Painting of Sir Thomas and Hester Salusbury* (1643). Deene Park (NT). Dimensions unknown. Second example: Unknown artist, *Portrait of Edward, 3<sup>rd</sup> Lord Windsor, his wife Katherine de Vere and Family* (1568). The Bute Collection at Mount Stuart. Dimensions: 9.4 x 12.38 cm. Further information: Cooper, *Elizabeth I & Her People*, p.104.

portraits marked a union, rather than necessarily correlating to a specific date or event. Many portraits were overt celebrations of unions, whether they took place before, on the occasion of, or after. A reader may note that several of the portrait stances which will be discussed have stylistic similarities with the designs already outlined, which intimate a widespread visual awareness of designs pertaining to union, marriage, relationships, and love.

At Charlcote Park, near Stratford-upon-Avon, there are three paintings of one couple. One portrait is of Sir Thomas Lucy (1585-1640), alone in a chair, looking to the left.<sup>159</sup> In a matching portrait, Alice Spencer, Lady Lucy (d.1648), sits in a chair, facing toward her right. When these two portraits of husband and wife are put side-by-side, Thomas looks across at Alice; Alice faces him, but gazes out of the portrait.<sup>160</sup> Thomas and Alice wear matching black, with white ruffs and lace. Alice also wears a closed, blue miniature above her heart. In a third and much larger family portrait, Alice and Thomas sit in the same chairs, but are surrounded by seven of their children, an older woman, two dogs and a bird.<sup>161</sup> All three scenes are composed and orderly, with individual touches provided for each sitter. Given the similarity in clothing and seating, the three portraits were likely to have been painted at the same time. This may be because of the availability of an artist. The stances and positioning of husband and wife, at the heart of the family in one portrait and as the focal point for the separate portraits, were clear indicators of Thomas and Alice's relationship. There is no written indication in the portrait that Thomas and Alice were married and the couple do not wear rings. Their relationship remains explicit, however, in the language of their stances and the matching portrait styles.

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<sup>159</sup> Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, *Portrait of Sir Thomas Lucy III* (c.1620). Charlcote Park (NT): 533820. Dimensions: 127 x 101.5 cm.

<sup>160</sup> Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, *Portrait of Alice Spencer, Lady Lucy* (1620-5). Charlcote Park (NT): 533821. Dimensions: 127 x 101.5 cm. There is also a second set of matching portraits of Thomas and Alice at Charlcote Park: Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, *Lady Alice Spencer* (c.1620). Charlcote Park (NT): 533935. Dimensions: 72 x 58.5 cm. Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, *Sir Thomas Lucy* (C.1620). Charlcote Park (NT): 533936. Dimensions: 72 x 58.5 cm.

<sup>161</sup> Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, *Portrait of Thomas and Lady Lucy with seven of their children* (c.1620). Charlcote Park (NT): 533841. Dimensions: 203 x 305 cm.

These portraits represent the desired qualities of seventeenth-century marriage: tranquillity, peace, order and friendship and fertility; the latter not just through the portrait with the children, but also in the separate portrait, where Alice's abdomen looks rounded with pregnancy. Emotion between husband and wife was largely transferred through Thomas's gaze. The lover's gaze was a recognised trope of love, implying admiration, affection, and a private kind of intimacy, which was shared through an interaction of gazes. The lover's gaze has received scholarly attention for the eighteenth-century, which is likely due to the rise in popularity of the eye miniature.<sup>162</sup> This was a type of miniature which depicted the eye of the lover, gazing out at the observer, who could gaze back in return. The lover's gaze can be understood in two ways. First, as an expected behaviour of courtship and being in love, that is people who are attracted to each other or in love, might look or stare at one another. Second, (and this may be where the gaze developed into something more in the eighteenth-century), as a fashionable ritual of courtship, particularly during separation. The lover's gaze was certainly well established in the early-modern period and is a clear example of an object representing both an emotion and an emotionology (a ritual or practice used to convey emotion). Miniatures had a similar function, and the closed miniature which Alice was painted wearing above her heart was likely to be of Thomas. Her decision to keep the miniature closed or reversed conveys her own intention to keep the identity private within a large portrait.

Within design, the male and female gender did not just exist and interact in representations of bodily forms. Some of the most overt examples of objects as contracts of love were those set with the initials of couples. These were typically a triangular motif, with the initial of husband and wife at the base, and the initial of the husband's surname set above the other two. There are variants of this. Some couples chose to just put the two letters of their first names, although it can be harder to

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<sup>162</sup> Hanneke Grootenboer, *Treasuring the Gaze: Intimate Vision in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Eye Miniatures* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2013). Graham C. Boettcher, *The Look of Love: Eye Miniatures from the Skier Collection* (London: D. Giles Limited, 2012).

distinguish these from designs which represented one owner. Some initials are set on a horizontal line, while others read up and down. This design has survived on multiple types of material culture, painted on ceramics, carved in woodwork, and engraved in metalwork. The design was particularly popular on ‘date’ or ‘key’ stones.<sup>163</sup> These stones have received relatively little attention, except in books on English architecture, and even there, they tend to receive only fleeting mention.<sup>164</sup> Exceptional studies have been carried out in small geographical areas; such as John Taylor’s *Stories in Stone: Datestones in Rossendale* (1988) and the work of Emmeline Garnett, which has provided a particularly enlightening picture of date stones in several areas of Lancashire.<sup>165</sup> The motif was probably the most common of all marital tropes in the early-modern world.

The positioning of male and female together, as figure or initial, indicated a union or bond. A certain degree of emotion can be understood from the implication of union, for there has been enough written on marriage and family to argue that marriage was ideologically expected to be a harmonious, loving commitment.<sup>166</sup> Understanding the nature of that love and how it was expressed is not as straightforward, and is one of the aims of this study. Further and more specific dimensions of love were transferred through the way in which figures interacted. Some portraits depict husbands and wives in stances intended to convey loving emotion, such as gazing at one another or holding hands.<sup>167</sup> Hands were a key emblem

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<sup>163</sup> These stones can be referred to as either ‘key’ or ‘date’. Key stones are typically the central supporting stone of an arch, but the term is also used to refer to the decoration on such a stone (OED); hence why its usage may have been widened. As many surviving stones have been moved, knowing whether or not they once sat in an arch, or above a doorway, is difficult. It is also problematic to use ‘date stones’ as not all of these stones have dates on them. ‘Key’ and ‘date’ will be used interchangeably, acknowledging the limitations of the terms.

<sup>164</sup> Philippa Lewis, *House: British Domestic Architecture* (London: Prestel, 2011), pp.72-73. R.W. Brunsell, *Traditional Buildings of Britain: An Introduction to Vernacular Architecture and its Revival* (London: Butler and Tanner, 2006), p.3, p.5, p.103.

<sup>165</sup> Emmeline Garnett, *The Dated Buildings of South Lonsdale, Revised and Expanded Edition* (Lancaster University: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 1999). Also: Emmeline Garnett, *The Dated Buildings of Bentham* (North Yorks: North Craven Heritage Trust, 2000). John Taylor, *Stories in Stone: Datestones in Rossendale* (John B. Taylor, 1988).

<sup>166</sup> See introduction, pp.8-9.

<sup>167</sup> Gerard Soest, *Painting of William Fairfax, 3rd Viscount Fairfax of Emley; Elizabeth, née Smith, Viscountess Fairfax of Emley, Later Lady Goodricke* (1645-8). NPG: 754. Dimensions: 139.1 x 174.6

in design.<sup>168</sup> Love could be expressed through outstretched hands, linked and touching hands, or interlocking hands. For example, on the doors of one seventeenth-century stumpwork casket, the figures of a woman and man stretch their hands toward one another.<sup>169</sup> The aforementioned wooden bowl from Snowhill Manor portrayed two pairs of interlocking hands between the couple. These designs are similar to the *fede* (faith) symbol, which consisted of two joined hands, sometimes situated below a heart, flame, or clasped about a heart. The *fede* symbol conveyed a promise and bond, often with a religious connection. These meanings made it a perfect trope of marriage. The trope appears with a notable degree of regularity in the printed image and in jewellery, popular before 1600 and remaining so throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>170</sup>

The popularity of hands can be better understood by examining how and why gloves became a favourite object of exchange between lovers.<sup>171</sup> Gloves were worn over the hands and they represented the hand by their very shape. Their popularity may have stemmed from the commonality of hands as a trope, or the situation may have been reversed, and hands may have become more popular because they were associated with an important gift. Furthermore, as gloves came as a pair, like hands, this may have added to their appeal as an amorous gift. Gloves and hands were able to represent two individuals coming together in a bond, hence the popularity of linked or clasped hands in design. Hands were implicitly linked with the contract of union. They were a public symbol of the marital bond during both Church of England and Catholic wedding ceremonies, and until the Hardwick Act of 1753, a clandestine

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cm. Second example: *Portrait of Sir Thomas Mansel (1556–1631), and Jane, née Pole, Lady Mansel* (c.1625). National Museum Wales: NMW A 16. Dimensions: 121 x 125 cm. These sorts of stances appear in family genealogies too, including the Hesketh Genealogy: Watercolour on Vellum (c.1594). The British Library: K90029-25. Dimensions: 100 x 55 cm.

<sup>168</sup> Diana Scarisbrick, *Rings: Jewellery of Power, Love and Loyalty* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2013), p.61. Visual examples: A Print entitled *The Happy Marriage* (1700). The V&A: E.300-1986. Dimensions: 49.6 x 61.6 cm.

<sup>169</sup> Embroidered Casket (c.1660). V&A: T.98-1967. Dimensions: 33 x 34 cm.

<sup>170</sup> Scarisbrick, *Rings*, p.66.

<sup>171</sup> An example from Anon., *Cupid's Posies. For Bracelets, Hand kerchers and rings, with Scarfes, Gloves, and other things; Written by Cupid on a day, When Venus gave him leave to play* (London, 1642), no.5.

marriage could be centred almost entirely upon hand fasting. Joined hands, therefore, were a symbolic and visual declaration of intent: one which could be a powerful determinant of commitment in public, or a private vow between two lovers. Hands were typically where the wedding rings, if a couple could afford them, were worn. This too heightened the connection of the hand with commitment and marriage. ‘Hand’ was used to describe the person who entered wedlock: a bride or bridegroom gave their ‘hand’ in marriage. Hands were therefore seen as an extension of self, and as the part of the body which carried out the actions of the mind or heart.<sup>172</sup> Love was communicated through word, thought and material culture, but love was also given and reinforced through action. The importance of action is critical in deciphering what hands meant in design. This significance bore religious connotations – a good Christian extended his or her own hand to the services of faith. Amorous love and the faithful lover had similar connotations.

Willingly offering one’s hands was a statement of choice, informing lover and if in public, a community, that a person wanted to enter into a relationship. As hands were considered extensions of self, the importance of choice and hands was even more powerful and an outstretched hand represented a willing person. Interlocking hands were understood as a representation of man and woman coming together. This could have been as the physical flesh coming together, and ultimately a symbol of sexual intercourse. Therefore, hands transposed intimacy, union and flesh. Joined hands represented the bond or ‘yoke’ of union in a spiritual sense, that of two souls coming together.<sup>173</sup> This spiritual meaning implied friendship and kindness. A level of equality can also be suggested, as hands in printed and material designs, are perpetually of the same size and without a clear gender. This implication of equality may seem at odds with the patriarchal nature of marriage and seventeenth-century

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<sup>172</sup> J. W. P., *A Letter to Some Divines, concerning the question, whether God since Christ’s ascension, doth any more reveal himself to mankind by the means of divine apparitions?* (1695), p.49.

<sup>173</sup> ‘Yoke’ is used in the context of an oxen’s yoke. In the early-modern period, this was used to describe marriage, as that which bound husband and wife together in life. See William Whatley, *A Bride-bush* (London: Felix Kyngston for Thomas Man, 1619), p.3.

society more generally. However, marital love was understood as a mutual emotion, created by the coming together of two genders, and the subsequent creation of one genderless flesh. In this respect, the symbolism of hands neatly coincides with many aspects of contemporaneous publications on love and marriage.<sup>174</sup>

Hands were not the only body part to feature in seventeenth-century amorous design. The heart was a popular symbol of love throughout the century and before. Objects which incorporate heart design include pendants, coin tokens, rings, cufflinks, and furniture, including boxes.<sup>175</sup> Such objects depict a traditional heart shape, whether it was engraved or made from a carved ruby. The heart also appeared as part of the aforementioned *fede* symbol, typically set between hands, and sometimes represented with either a crown or flame on its top. A crown provided either a royal or religious connection, while a flame represented a burning heart, full of passion and desire. Flames were used in portraiture, alongside figures of men.<sup>176</sup> Fire represented burning fervour, a view acclaimed by the Reverend Nathaniel Hardy, who wrote, 'love is ever active, being like the fire.'<sup>177</sup> Hearts pierced by arrows also feature heavily in the corpus of sources. The pierced heart represented sudden and ground-shaking love; a result of being pierced by the arrows or darts of Cupid. The heart was also used as a shape to form object structures. For example, a wooden pendant was carved with pierced hearts, but the bottom was also shaped into a heart.<sup>178</sup> A silver

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<sup>174</sup> Heinrich Bullinger, *The Christen State of Matrimonye* (London, 1552). Nathaniel Hardy, *Love and Fear the Inseparable Twins of Blest Matrimony* (London: Printed by T.C. for Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1658). A. L., *A Question Deeply Concerning Married Persons and such as intend to marry propounded and resolved according to the scriptures* (1653), p.5.

<sup>175</sup> Pendant (1706). MMOA: 2000.532. Dimensions: 1.4 x 2.1 cm. Love Token/Bent Coins (1558-1603). Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery: 2011.00071. Dimensions: 2 cm high. Posy Ring (1600-1700). Berganza Jewellery: 17045. Diameter unknown. Inscription: 'United hearts death only parts'. Cufflink/Disc (1650-1700). PAS: BM-D961A4. Diameter: 1.55 cm. Box (1600). V&A: Circ.893-1923. Dimensions: 15 x 19.8 cm.

<sup>176</sup> Isaac Oliver, *Miniature of a Man consumed by flames* (c.1610). Ham House (NT): 3 [379]. Dimensions: approx. 7 cm from base to top.

<sup>177</sup> Nathaniel Hardy, *Love and Fear, the Inseparable Twins of Blest Matrimony* (London: Printed by T.C. for Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1658), p.8.

<sup>178</sup> Wooden Pendant (1600-1700). Historic New England: 1912.4. Dimensions unknown.



multifunctional pendant, which worked as locket, scent carrier and seal, was also made in the shape of a heart (figure 2.5).<sup>179</sup>



Figure 2.5: A silver multifunctional pendant, made in the shape of a heart, and engraved with several hearts moving toward the centre.

Heart-Shaped Pendant/ Scent Carrier and Seal (1600-1700). PAS: DENO-FA82E5. Dimensions: 1.89 x 1.12 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Portable Antiquities Scheme. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

The heart shape was not just influential in the shape of jewellery. A crudely made lead weight heart demonstrates that domestic utensils could also be structured into a heart shape.<sup>180</sup> Given the heart's clear popularity in object design, the next task is to unpack its meaning. Hearts were representative of love: their connection between true love, honesty, promise and fidelity has a very long history. 'True love' was a term used to define genuine emotion, and was represented in designs including 'true lover's

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<sup>179</sup> Heart-Shaped Pendant/ Scent Carrier and Seal (1600-1700). PAS: DENO-FA82E5. Dimensions: 1.89 x 1.12 cm.

<sup>180</sup> Lead Weight Heart (c.1650). On sale at Woodcock Antiques, Petworth (2010). Dimensions: 6cm across.

knots'.<sup>181</sup> The knot, like the ring and heart were eternally flowing shapes, representing the eternal quality of true love. Isolating hearts with amorous meaning from religious meaning can be more problematic. Indeed, hearts which represented marital love, such as the *fede* symbol, deliberately represented both religious and amorous love. Narrowing down the broad spectrum of love which a heart could represent is usually made feasible by other elements of design. For example, if a heart is accompanied by initials, then the love represented is marital. If the heart is aflame, then the love is burning and passionate. Importantly, the heart also demonstrates how love was understood to be rooted in the body and in the flesh.

An analysis of depictions of men and women, gender and body, has revealed further amorous tropes. They are yet more specific figures, the real and the mythical, which were used as amorous representations in the early-modern world. For example, an embroidered cabinet top depicts a man and woman in the costume of shepherds. They sit in a rural landscape, the shepherdess placing one hand on the arm of the shepherd.<sup>182</sup> In material designs, a shepherd can typically be identified by the presence of a crook (not to be confused with a staff, which is missing a turned end), lambs and an idyllic, rural setting (figure 2.6).

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<sup>181</sup> For example, true lovers' knots appear on a Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: AF.1218. Diameter: 1.8 cm. Inscription: 'Conceau consent confirme content'. Locket (1670). The V&A: 326-1870. Dimensions: 5.5 x 4.6 cm.

<sup>182</sup> Cabinet Top Panel (c.1670). MMOA: 12.86.1. Dimensions: 20.6 x 29.5 cm. Similar example: Embroidered Mirror (c.1660). The Cleveland Museum of Art: 1942.833. Dimensions: 61 cm x 56 cm.



Figure 2.6: A woodcut of two well-dressed shepherds. They each carry a shepherd's crook or hook, and the small creature beside the man could be a lamb or dog. The couple hold hands, the male figure's right hand holding the female figure's left.

A woodcut print taken from a broadside ballad, Anon., *Cupids Victory of the Virgin Hearts or Love in its Colours* (London: Printed for L Deacon, c.1685).

The image of courting shepherds was a well-known amorous device, appearing in woodcuts, broadsides, poetry and plays.<sup>183</sup> They also appear on numerous types of material culture. For example, a small, silver scent case depicts two courting shepherds, in embellished pierce work, holding hands in a rural landscape.<sup>184</sup> In a second example, a pear-shaped purse with a snap-shut frame, has shepherds on one side, and Cupid with a pierced heart on the reverse.<sup>185</sup> The shepherd was part of a recognised cast of seventeenth-century figures. This cast was played out in the theatre, sung about by ballad-hawkers and in many instances, used to decorate the home. As a whole cast, these figures require greater scholarly attention; they range from the wandering poor, to the idyllic shepherd, to the nagging scold and the hen-pecked

<sup>183</sup> Broadside ballads: Anon., *Cupids Victory of the Virgin Hearts or Love in its Colours* (London: Printed for L Deacon, c.1685). Anon., *Amintas and Claudia: or, The Merry Shepherdess* (London: Printed for W Thackeray, 1670). Anon., *The Beautiful Shepherdess of Arcadia* (London: Printed for William Gilbertson, 1660). Anon., *The Faithful Shepherdess* (London: Phillip Brooksby, 1675). John Fletcher, *The Faithful Shepherdesse* (London: Edward Allde, 1610). Thomas Forde, *Theatre of Wits, Ancient and Modern Represented in a Collection of Apothegmes Pleasant and Profitable* (London: R & W Leybourne, 1661).

<sup>184</sup> Scent Case (1650-1700). V&A: 2284-1855. Dimensions: 4.4 x 2.5 cm.

<sup>185</sup> Purse (1675-1700). V&A: 1320 -1900. Dimensions: 11 x 10.5 cm.

husband. These figures sprouted from a sort of truth, as they reflect much about the fears, hopes and admirations of society. The appeal of the shepherd lay in his or her pure, rural lifestyle. Roze Hentschell noted that the shepherd was used to represent an older, idealised way of life, which was altering in the seventeenth century.<sup>186</sup> The appeal of the shepherd was vast. Kings and queens, gods and goddesses, the middling and the poor can all be found dressed as shepherds. This understandably blurs social boundaries and can make identification of status impossible, perhaps intentionally.

The shepherd could be male or female, unlike many figures in early-modern society. This point likely reflects how love was ideologically conceived to be without a gender, as the shepherd was usually on a quest to find an idyllic, pure sort of amorous love.<sup>187</sup> This love was free from the constraints of wealth: as one author penned; ‘and sceptres do to rural sheephookees bow.’<sup>188</sup> Such a statement demonstrates how material culture, the sceptre and sheep-hook, defined status, but also how the moral worth of each does not coincide with seventeenth-century social hierarchy. The shepherd’s freedom of choice, in a spiritual and sexual sense, may have added to his or her appeal as an idealised amorous figure. The freedom and emulation of the rural poor, in love and union, has been noted by previous scholars.<sup>189</sup> This observation

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<sup>186</sup> Roze Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth in Early-Modern England: Textual Constructions of a National Identity* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), p.20.

<sup>187</sup> Hentschell, *The Culture of Cloth*, p.24.

<sup>188</sup> Otto van Veen and Phillip Ayres (trans.), *Emblemata Amatoria: Emblems of love. Embleme D’amore: Emblemes d’amour: in four languages, dedicated to the ladys* (1683), emblem no. twenty-eight.

<sup>189</sup> Examples include: Keith Thomas, ‘Puritans and Adultery’ in Pennington and Thomas (eds.), *Puritans and Revolutionaries*, p.260. David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (OUP, 1999), p.323. Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage, 1570-1640* (CUP, 1987), p.137. Specifically, on sexual freedom: Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580-1680* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.68. Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (CUP, 1977), chapter three. Peter Laslett, *Bastardy and its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Non-Conformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp.156-159. G. R. Quaife, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp.60-63. Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early-Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp.92-100. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), pp.32-34. Philip E. H. Hair, ‘Bridal pregnancy in earlier rural England further examined,’ in *Population Studies* (1970), 24, pp.59-70.

should not suggest that the poor cared less for reputation or illegitimacy than their wealthier counterparts, rather the implication is that the poor had fewer economic and ancestral complications to consider when marrying.<sup>190</sup> Therefore, the popularity of the shepherd represented the ideal of a love which was free, simple and poor.

Furthermore, the shepherd and shepherdess were glorified figures within a society which was increasingly vocal about the need for choice and consent within unions.<sup>191</sup>

As Diana O'Hara noted, individual choice of partner amongst wealthier families was impeded by numerous factors and obligations, but it was nonetheless an important discourse of the early-modern period.<sup>192</sup> Shepherds were held up as esteemed models of this cause.

However, as the shepherd represented a type of love which was 'free', it could therefore be considered a dangerous emotion. For example, there are hundreds of ballads about shepherds in love, but many of them are love-sick, mournful and wronged.<sup>193</sup> Acting upon lust and entering into a relationship without parental consultation were considered negatively. Having said this, seventeenth-century written documents are riven with contradictions concerning the topic of choice.<sup>194</sup> Cupid was a second popular figure within early-modern design, who represented a love which was lustful and impulsive, but also pure and honest.<sup>195</sup> The outcome of

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<sup>190</sup> Joanna Rickman, *Love, Lust, and License in Early-Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008), introduction.

<sup>191</sup> Ingram, *Church Courts*, pp.205-207.

<sup>192</sup> O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*, pp.45-46. Example of seventeenth-century literature (two broadside ballads): Anon., *The Unhappy Marriage, or A Warning to Covetuous Parents. Being a true relation of the dismal effects of forced wedlock* (c.1680). Anon., *The London Damsels Fate* (c.1680).

<sup>193</sup> Anon., *The Mournful Shepherd* (1672-1696). Anon., *Parthenia's Complaint, or The Forsaken Sheperdess* (1672-1696). Anon., *The Lamentation of Cloris, For the Unkindness of her Shepard* (London, 1678-1680).

<sup>194</sup> Anon., *The Fifteen Real Comforts of Matrimony, being in requital of the late fifteen sham comforts* (London, 1683), pp.15-16. Wrightson, *English Society*, pp.71-73.

<sup>195</sup> Examples of Cupid in early-modern print: Richard Crimsal, *Cupid's Solicitor of Love with Sundry Compliments* (London, 1680). Anon., *Cupids Messenger or, A Trusty Friend stored with sundry sorts of serious, witty, pleasaut, amorous, and delightfull letters* (London, 1633). Anon., *The Art of Courtship* (London, 1662). Anon., *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* (London: N. Brooks, 1658). W. B., *Cupid's Court of Salutations full of Complemental Dialogues* (London, 1687). Anon., *A Delicate New Ditty composed upon the Posie of a Ring being, Ifancy none but thee alone sent as a Newyeeres Gift by a Lover to his Sweet-heart* (London, 1600-1700). Anon., *The Couragious Gallant; or, Cupid degraded* (London, c.1680).

this sort of love could have been either marital bliss or heartache and social ruin. Within the corpus of objects uncovered, the figure of Cupid, and his bow and arrows, appears on a wide range of objects. Cupid was used to decorate large household pieces, such as the Cupid staircase at Hutton-in-the-forest, in Cumbria. This is a large seventeenth-century oak staircase, with a Cupid carved by the bottom step. Small domestic utensils bear his image. A metal pap boat (a long-shaped bowl, primarily used for feeding babies), a large pewter marriage plate and a pair of two-handled porcelain bowls were painted and incised with his image.<sup>196</sup> Cupid appeared on pendants: for example, a gold and enamel pendant, a gold and ruby pendant, and a wooden pendant. He was used on other types of jewellery; lead-alloy and silver cufflinks; an enamelled gold ring; silver locket, and finally, several brooches, including a gold and glass brooch, an adapted mourning brooch set with hair, and a gold and rock crystal slide.<sup>197</sup> Cupid was embroidered in textiles: an embroidered cushion, an embroidered ribbon, and purses of varying materials.<sup>198</sup> Finally, Cupid was also put on small personal items and trinkets: a silver pomander, a silver scissors' case and on boxwood combs.<sup>199</sup> Who was this figure who was used in so many different objects? The little boy or cherub was rooted in mythology. In Greek mythology he was Eros, son or companion of Aphrodite. Aphrodite has already

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<sup>196</sup> Pap Boat (c.1650). MMOA: 16.116.87. Dimensions: 2.2 x 14.6 cm. Pewter Marriage Plate (1674). Colonial Williamsburg: 1981-210. Diameter: 99cm. Pair of two-handled bowls (1650-1690). The Fitzwilliam Museum: M.3-1928. Dimensions: 3.5 x 15.2 cm. Second of pair. The Fitzwilliam Museum: M.51-1904. Dimensions: 3.7 x 15.5 cm.

<sup>197</sup> Gold and Enamel Horse Pendant (c.1600). Burghley House: EWA08555. Dimensions: 8.3 m high. Cufflink (c.1670). PAS: LANCUM-E564F0. Diameter: 4.3 cm. Second cufflink (1660-1700). PAS: 8E6B26. Diameter: 1.4 cm. Pendant with Cupid drawing a bow (c.1600). V&A: M.387-1911. Dimensions: 8 x 4.5 cm. Wooden Pendant (c.1700). Historic New England: 1911.70. Unknown dimensions. Pendant (1650-1700). Historic New England: 1912.4. Unknown dimensions. Cupid Love Ring (1550-1600). The V&A: 216-1870. Diameter: 2cm. Locket (c.1675). V&A: M.3-1958. Dimensions: 2.7 x 2 cm. Locket (c.1675). V&A: T.452-1990. Dimensions: 2.7 x 2 cm. Intaglio Brooch (1600-1700). Ranger House: M020389. Unknown dimensions. Mourning Brooch (1675-1700). V&A: M.21-1960. Dimensions: 3.2 x 2.4 cm. A Gold Slide-clasp (c.1700). V&A: M.24-1960. Dimensions: 1.9 x 2.6 cm. Ribbon (c.1600). V&A: T.378-1976. Dimensions: 110.5 x 5.5 cm.

<sup>198</sup> Cupid Cushion (c.1660). MMOA: 29.23.3. Dimensions: 20.3 x 29.2 cm. Ribbon (c.1600). V&A: T.378-1976. Dimensions: 110.5 x 5.5 cm. Purse (1650-1700). V&A: 557-1893. Dimensions: 15 cm length. Purse (1675-1700). The V&A: 1320-1900. Dimensions: 11 x 10.5 cm.

<sup>199</sup> Silver Pomander surmounted by a Cupid (1650-1700). V&A: 794:1 to 7-1891. Dimension: 7.8 x 3.9 cm. Scissors and Case (1640-1690). The Ashmolean: 1947.191.151. Dimensions: approx. 12 cm long. Comb (1500-1600). V&A: W.2-1914. Dimensions: 10.2 x 16.7 cm. Second example: Boxwood Comb (c.1600). V&A: CIRC.478-1923. Dimensions: 12.5 x 16.8 cm.

appeared in this discourse, she was chosen as the most beautiful goddess by Paris. The Romans named him Cupid, son of Venus. Venus and Aphrodite were both goddesses of love, beauty and fertility. Venus had a passionate, adulterous relationship with Mars. Mars and Venus were themselves tropes of love, particularly in intellectual circles. In the seventeenth century, Cupid is often distinguishable from other putti by his bow and arrows or darts. The little boy would shoot these arrows or darts into people, which caused the wounded individual to fall in love. It is therefore likely that he was understood as a metaphor for falling in love suddenly and intently.

On the one hand, Cupid was dangerous, because he was associated with lust, fickleness and the consequences of acting on these impulses, much like the figure of the shepherd. A ring set with an internal posy (a line of poetry), housed at the British Museum, reads, 'Blind Cupid Shall me ne've enthral.'<sup>200</sup> This was likely to be a warning not to fall in love irrationally or to give into impulsive lust. At his worst, Cupid was considered a demon of fornication.<sup>201</sup> However, Cupid was not always represented in such a negative light. For example, one broadside ballad called *The Courageous Gallant or Cupid Degraded*, a rather self-explanatory narrative, was about a man who slept with numerous women and treated them unkindly. Cupid was degraded by the man's insincere and cruel behaviour, and there are similar ideas in other ballads, including *Cupid's Revenge*. In another ballad, called *Cupid's Masterpiece*, Cupid brought a man and woman together, who married and were happy. This was a pure, faithful and ultimately divine relationship. Cupid therefore was not purely associated with 'dangerous' lust. As a child, he was both innately sinful and innocent.

The virtues and dangers of Cupid were represented by blindness. He was referred to as such in text, and could be visually depicted with a blindfold. Instant or blind attraction and affection were pure, as a person who felt this way probably did

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<sup>200</sup> Posy Ring (1682-1709). The British Museum: 1961,1202.389. Diameter: 2.1 cm.

<sup>201</sup> Theresa Tinkle, *Medieval Venuses and Cupids: Sexuality, Hermeneutics and English Poetry* (California: University of Stanford Press, 1996), p.82.

not take economics or appearance into account. Therefore, blind Cupid was understood to be a pure and honest, though perhaps foolish and childish, form of love. Cupid was used as a metaphorical and emotional device; he represented strong, uncontrollable or unruly feelings. This suggests that people were aware love was not a clear-cut or rational experience or feeling. Love could, 'creepeth were [it] should not go.'<sup>202</sup> The 'little winged archer' was used to encapsulate this unpredictable process of affection, in print, in image and as thing.<sup>203</sup> Shakespeare described Cupid in this manner, in a *Midsummer Night's Dream* (1590-5):

Love looks not with the eyes,  
And therefore is winged Cupid painted blind.  
Nor hath Love's mind of any judgement taste;  
Wings and no eyes figure unheedy haste.  
And therefore is love said to be a child,  
Because in choice, he is so often beguiled.

Act 1, scene 1, lines 234-9.

Cupid is a particularly illuminating figure, and was a well-known icon of the early-modern world. He emphasises the importance of duality within society, for he was a trope of honesty and purity, as well as lust and fornication. All aspects of early-modern life could be considered a balancing act of the virtues of the spiritual world and the vices of the flesh. Cupid's arrows and darts penetrated that barrier, piercing the flesh and touching the soul or heart. Furthermore, he reveals the unpredictable and unruly qualities of love. Such complexities suggest an acknowledged variance in the intensity and experience of love.

As with the wooden bowl which opened this chapter, in designs couples were often surrounded by a rich landscape of amorous tropes, including red hearts, flowers, fruits, birds, and more. One embroidered panel depicts a man and woman in wealthy

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<sup>202</sup> Samuel Rowlands, *Well Met Gossip* (London, 1656), A3.

<sup>203</sup> Anon., *The Pleasures of Matrimony Intermix'd with Variety of Merry and Delightful Stories* (London: H. Rhodes, 1695), p.17.



contemporary dress, linking hands.<sup>204</sup> The woman holds a white handkerchief, with a dog, possibly a Dalmatian, standing behind her. The dog, which appears in several embroideries, and typically beside the woman, was intended to symbolise her fidelity and loyalty to her husband or partner. The dog also appears as a design within jewellery.<sup>205</sup> This reflects the patriarchal nature of relationships, and a woman may have been intended to feel a stronger, or different, sort of loyalty toward her husband than he was to her. However, there are other animals which convey mutuality. The aforementioned panel also depicts paired birds. Birds, usually of similar size and appearance, appear as amorous tropes on many objects.<sup>206</sup> Birds, especially paired, have long been a symbol of eternal love. There are two principal reasons for this. The first is that some types of bird pair for life: they engage in courting rituals, build a home together, rear young, demonstrate a type of fidelity and mourn a mate in death. In this sense, they formed a desirable trope for human love. The second relates to the recognised beauty of many types of birds, and similarly, to the prettiness of their birdsong. As sweet birdsong was often located, or imagined, in idealised rural landscapes, with the shepherd, this may have further strengthened their appeal.<sup>207</sup> Music and musical instruments were themselves acknowledged tropes of love, noted by Shakespeare as the ‘food of love’ in *Twelfth Night* (c.1601). It is perhaps unsurprising that the animal which could play its own music, sometimes to charm a mate, was considered emblematic of love.

Amorous depictions of men and women were often portrayed offering or taking gifts. For example, one embroidered panel depicts a man and woman in seventeenth-century dress, seated facing one another.<sup>208</sup> The man offers the woman two rich fruits,

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<sup>204</sup> Embroidery depicting a Courting Couple (c.1650). MMOA: 64.101.1303. Dimensions: 31.8 x 42.5 cm.

<sup>205</sup> Scarisbrick, *Rings*, p.79.

<sup>206</sup> For example: A Pair of Gloves (c.1630). V&A: 28.220.3, .4. Dimensions: 31.8 x 14.6 cm. Purse Embroidered with Paired Birds (c.1620). MMOA: 64.101.1260. Dimensions: 11.4 x 13.3 cm. Posy Ring (c.1650). The British Museum: 1961,1202.229. Diameter: 1.65 cm.

<sup>207</sup> For example: Edward Phillips, *The Beau's Academy or, The Modern and Genteel Way of Wooing and Complementing after the most courtly manner in which is drawn to the life* (London, 1699), p.4.

<sup>208</sup> Embroidered Panel Framed (c.1660). MMOA: 64.101.1302. Dimensions: 34.6 x 43.2 cm.

which appear to be strawberries. The woman reaches out to take the fruit, her other hand cradling a small dog in her lap. Specifically identifying depicted fruit within material culture is problematic, given the typically small size and the fading of colour. Therefore, it can be difficult to decipher what is apple, fig, plum, pear, grapes or strawberries, although fruit in general was widely understood to convey fertility and love, particularly in paintings. They were also emblematic of gift exchange and courtship. A second example of an embroidery depicts two instances of men offering fruit to women.<sup>209</sup> In the centre piece, a male figure (probably a shepherd) offers a seated female figure a large bunch of purple grapes. The larger male and female figure depict a woman holding a large flower, while the man offers two fruits, possibly pears or figs. In this particular image, the flower and fruit seem to resemble the male and female sexual organs. This reinforces the desires and expectations for fertility and reproduction in marriage, as well as inferring mutual attraction, as both male and female offer up the flowers and fruit.

Another panel depicts four women as each of the elements, and five women as the human senses. In the centre, the female representing hearing is situated opposite a male figure, who offers her a drink in a large glass.<sup>210</sup> All of the senses were held in esteem, but hearing was elevated as the superior and purer of the senses.<sup>211</sup> As love was also connected with music, this may be why hearing was put into an amorous pose in this embroidery, the amorous pose being the offering of a gift by the man. Another example, of an embroidered mirror, depicts a woman on the left, offering a flower, and a man to the right, looking back at her, holding his hat.<sup>212</sup> A separate casket lid depicts another woman holding a fan, while a man offers her something,

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<sup>209</sup> Embroidered Panel (c.1650). East Riddlesden Hall (NT): 147171. Dimensions: approx. 30 x 30 cm.

<sup>210</sup> Embroidered Panel depicting the Five Senses and Four Elements (c.1660). MMOA: 64.101.1315. Dimensions: 43.5 x 56 cm. Further reading on hearing: Penelope Gouk, 'Music and Spirit in Early-Modern Thought' in Elena Carrera and Andrew Colin Gow (eds.), *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp.221-240. A second example of embroidery depicting the Senses: Embroidered Panel depicting Taste and Touch (c.1680). MMOA: 64.101.1337. Dimensions: 46 x 56.2 cm.

<sup>211</sup> Susan McClary, *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression* (California: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p.358.

<sup>212</sup> Embroidered Mirror (c.1680). MMOA: 64.101.1332. Dimensions: 60.3 x 49.5 cm.

possibly fruit.<sup>213</sup> A final example, a casket, depicts a woman offering a man a flower; or possibly a woman having just received the flower from the man.<sup>214</sup>

These designs can be analysed in two ways. The first is through the objects themselves, and second, what the exchange of objects meant, between figures of men and women, within design. Objects held by women are typically either flowers, fruit or handkerchiefs. These three objects have strong connotations with both the female gender and with love. Flowers, which were not only embroidered and worn by women, were emblematic of the female gender and of a woman's virginity.<sup>215</sup> Young girls wore garlands of flowers to symbolise their maidenhoods, and some men may have bestowed garlands on women to symbolise an amorous contract between them.<sup>216</sup> Garlands were also associated with spring and May Day, and consequently with young love and fertility. In this respect, flowers represented a moment in time, perhaps a wedding or other important ritual, as afterward they would wither and die. This life process, within the flower, was understood as a parallel of the human flesh. As flowers represented a temporary youth, they may also have represented life after the happiness and beauty of the wedding day, and the prospect of growing old with a spouse. The connection between flowers and love can also be uncovered through text. One printed guide which provided witty posies for lovers was entitled *Loves Garland*.<sup>217</sup> The front of the text was pressed with images of a large ring, a flaming heart and a garland. On this text, a garland of flowers was held up alongside two other

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<sup>213</sup> Embroidered Casket (1678). V&A: T.43-1954. Dimensions: 19 x 33.5 cm.

<sup>214</sup> Embroidered Casket (c.1660). The Royal Collection at the Palaces: 37036. Dimensions: 28.2 x 24 cm. Similar examples: Stumpwork panel of a man and woman in a garden (c.1660). Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service: 1938.149.3.3:T. Unknown dimensions. An example depicting a woman accepting or giving a flower to a man can also be seen on ceramics of the period: Dish (1645). The British Museum: 1970,1002.1. Diameter: 36.9 cm.

<sup>215</sup> For example: John Fletcher, *The Faithfull Shepherdesse*, p.76. Further examples: Henry Anderson, *A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church at Winchester* (London, 1681), pp.20-21. Robert Albott, *Englands Parnassus or the Choyssest Flowers of our Moderne Poets* (London, 1600). However, flowers and garlands were used to describe the male gender too: George Abbott, *An Exposition vpon the Prophet Ionah contained in certaine sermons, preached in S. Maries church in Oxford* (1600), p.302.

<sup>216</sup> A. B., *Covent Garden Drolery, or A Colection of All the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues, (sung and spoken at courts and theaters) never in print before* (London, 1672), p.65.

<sup>217</sup> R. C., *Loves Garland or Posies for Rings, Hand-kerchers, and Gloves; and such pretty Tokens that Lovers send their Lovers* (London, 1648), opening pages.

key tropes of love. Considering the ready availability of flowers and foliage, garlands may have been one of the most common and visual representations of love.

Fruits were a common type of gift portrayed in design. This, as with flowers and foliage, was probably a reflection of reality. As will be analysed in chapter three, men and women did exchange fruits and foods made from fruit, including preserves. Fruits also played into the idyllic rural landscape in which many lovers were depicted and there was a universality about giving an apple, or strawberry, or fig, which any person in seventeenth-century society could understand. The apple also had a strong religious connection to the book of Genesis and mankind's sin. Eve tempted Adam with an apple and the apple also appeared in mythological stories, including the aforementioned Judgement of Paris. However, designs portraying fruits were more likely intended to represent fertility and potency, both of which were usually considered vital to the fulfilment or course of love. In light of this, certain fruits may have been understood as gendered. If a male figure offered bulging, round fruits, this could have represented his genitals, and therefore fertility and ability to procreate. A female figure holding a conch filled with grapes depicted her ability to bear children. These designs may therefore have been understood to have sexual undertones, through the exchange and reception of fruits.<sup>218</sup> This desire for fertility was applied to both genders. Rich, green and fertile landscapes often surround couples in designs because procreation and fertility were considered a vital ingredient for young love. Hopes for fertility were projected onto couples of child-bearing age by family and the wider community.

The handkerchief has ancient connotations with the bond between lovers, and with the legal transferral of the female body in betrothal and ultimately union.<sup>219</sup> Several small, domestic items have acquired these associations through the centuries

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<sup>218</sup> Evelyn Welch also noted the connection between fruit and sexuality in *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp.66-68.

<sup>219</sup> Helen Gustafson, *Hanky Panky: An Intimate History of the Handkerchief* (California: Library of Congress Press, 2002), pp.xv-xvi.

but the handkerchief, as a particularly personal and intimate object, has special resonance. Perhaps the most famous literary example of the symbolism of the handkerchief is in Shakespeare's *Othello* (1603). The first gift Othello gave to his wife, Desdemona, was a white handkerchief with red strawberries embroidered on it. Red strawberries, which also appear in embroideries, were thought to be the female berry, while the white strawberry may have been considered the male.<sup>220</sup> Red and white together were also considered emblematic of the loss of virginity; the red of the bride's blood and the white of purity. It is by use of the handkerchief that Iago convinces Othello that Desdemona had been unfaithful with Cassio. When Othello believed Desdemona had given his gift to Cassio, this was a devastating betrayal. The handkerchief was therefore a representation of Desdemona, and reveals the significance of object exchange in relationships. The dynamics of material gift-giving were an important visual element of relationships. Diana O'Hara's study of Tudor England revealed the critical role which gift exchange played within the making of marriage, and Sally Holloway has recently championed the importance of gift exchange among lovers in the eighteenth century.<sup>221</sup> The gift acted as a material metaphor of the giver's intentions, and even of the giver themselves. These points were discussed by Marcel Mauss in the 1960s, and Natalie Zemon Davis observed that the meaning of a gift was often an extension of the wishes of the giver.<sup>222</sup> Therefore, Desdemona's handkerchief represented not only herself but also the intention and affection of Othello. In giving that handkerchief to Cassio, Othello believed Desdemona had betrayed his feelings, and inverted the symbolic meaning of the gift.

The following chapters will explore what gift-giving and exchange meant in greater detail, and with specific reference to the physicality of the gift. The physical

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<sup>220</sup> Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *History of Food, Second Edition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), p.587.

<sup>221</sup> O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*, p.7. Holloway, 'Romantic Love in Words and Objects', pp. 271-272. Also: Helen Berry and Elizabeth Foyster (eds.), *The Family in Early-Modern England* (CUP, 2007), p.13.

<sup>222</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions in Archaic Societies* (London: Cohen and West Ltd., 1966), pp.8-10. Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (OUP, 2000), introduction.

form of an object was the essential tool in both making marriage and conveying emotion.<sup>223</sup> The visual ritual of gift exchange was a recognised trope in the early-modern world and features heavily in surviving designs. Objects which were associated with this exchange became tropes themselves, as did how they were exchanged, and particular accompanying features. Contemporaneous printed guides recommended not only what objects to give and how, but what posy should accompany a gift. Posies were short written lines, often poetic, which could be inscribed or written on objects with amorous intent, or accompany an object on a piece of paper. Posies feature prominently in this study, as they are an often ideal amalgamation of object and text, wherein the text can explicitly reveal what the physicality of the thing was intended to convey. Posies have survived in vast number, in both the physical form and in contemporaneous catalogues. In the early 1600s, several texts were published both specifying and clarifying the meanings of the emblems, designs and messages of love.<sup>224</sup> Catalogues outlined what objects could be accompanied by a posy, including pairs of gloves and bracelets of amber, silk and hair, handkerchiefs, one from a man to a woman in blue silk, and others embroidered with hearts. There was also a looking-glass, a silk girdle, ribbons including a carnation-coloured one, a purse, a silver bodkin, and a knife.<sup>225</sup> Any object type could have been used to communicate love, however, after gathering a large corpus for this study, and working with literature, certain objects, including rings, bracelets, locketts, handkerchiefs, gloves, knives, and other small domestic items, including combs and purses, were isolated as recognised tropes of love. This is partly because they could be decorated with amorous designs, but certain objects had long and independent associations with relationships, regardless of patterns or posies. While little research has been completed on the origins of the posy, it is likely that the posy came into full

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<sup>223</sup> O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint*, chapter two.

<sup>224</sup> Otto van Veen and Cornelius Bol, *Amorum Emblemata, Figuris Aeneis Incise* (1608). R. C., *Loves Garland* (London, 1648). Anon., *Cupid's Posies* (London, 1642). H. G. Veen, *The English Emblem Tradition* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998).

<sup>225</sup> *Cupid's Posies*: amber bracelets no. 25, bracelet of hair no. 72, handkerchief no. 9 and 36, looking-glass no. 56, girdle on page opposite B3, carnation colour ribbon no. 28, purse no. 42, silver bodkin no. 41, a knife p.8. *Loves Garland*, girdle no. 74.

fruition in the seventeenth century, bearing in mind the growth of commercial production alongside literacy, and the more egalitarian distribution of commerce across society. The posy survived beyond 1700, but the seventeenth century was certainly a unique age for its popularity. The ‘posy’ was, in itself, an amorous trope. The most popular gift to be accompanied by a posy was likely the ring, based upon catalogues and hundreds of surviving examples. *Cupid’s Posies* (1642) and *Love’s Garland* (1648) both included around one-hundred posies. These two guides were used by the art historian, Joan Evans, who compiled a lengthy catalogue of surviving English posies.<sup>226</sup>

The contemporaneous guides make reference to specific colours, such as, ‘a posie wrought in red silke letters upon an ash-colour scarfe.’<sup>227</sup> Frustratingly, the author did not divulge what these colours meant in relation to the exchange or relationship. The reader may observe that some colours have appeared several times in this discussion of design: reds and pinks, greens, black and white. It would be logical to deduce that reds and pinks were symbolic of the heart (as its authentic colour) and that this consequently connoted love, passion and life.<sup>228</sup> Reds, pinks and oranges too, can be understood as fire, and therefore as passion, fervour and lust. Green conveyed fertility and life, particularly in relation to love and marriage. White conveyed purity and chastity, while black kept the ever present figure of death at the heart of love. Black also transferred eternity and commitment, as vows were made until death. However, understanding what colours meant in the early-modern world remains complex. For example, red had other connotations, for example, it was the colour of justice because it was worn by judges.<sup>229</sup> This does not entirely disassociate

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<sup>226</sup> Joan Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings* (OUP, 1931).

<sup>227</sup> *Cupid’s Posies*, no. 34.

<sup>228</sup> For example: Ribbon (c.1600). V&A: T.378-1976. Dimensions: 110.5 cm x 5.5 cm. Cupid Purse (c.1660). V&A: 557-1893. Dimensions: 15 cm (l). Wooden Pendant (c.1700). Historic New England: 1911.70. Unknown dimensions. Two Locks of Hair set in Jewelled Mounts (1600). Ham House (NT): 2 [383]. Dimensions: approx. 2.3 cm (l). Gimmel Ring (1590-1620). The Museum of London: 62.121/10. Diameter: 2.2 cm.

<sup>229</sup> Anita Butler’s PhD thesis explores colour in the works of William Shakespeare. While further work needs to be done on red, she ‘explores early-modern meanings of blushing and pink, [and] finds the

it from love, as true love was just. However legal justice and emotional love are two different things. Some colours, including red, were also very expensive to produce, and therefore associated with wealth and status. This would have naturally limited their production and distribution. Bruce R. Smith revealed that green had a plethora of negative meanings, including envy and irrationality, alongside being a rational contemplative.<sup>230</sup> Blue was a popular colour, often appearing as the colour of clothing and the background of miniatures, and it may have suggested constancy. Blue also had a clear association with the Virgin Mary.<sup>231</sup> Alongside these complex interpretations, when working with the object, one must be aware that materials may define colour. For example, slipware is perpetually cream and orangey-brown, while delftware is usually blue and white. English and Irish delftware was influenced by Chinese porcelain, which was copied by British potteries.<sup>232</sup> This means that hearts, for example, do not just appear red. Blue and white delftware will be painted with blue hearts. Fading can also complicate interpretation and the reading of colour. For example, a snap shut wire-framed heart-shaped purse in the V&A, which was made to look like a bunch of grapes, was done in blue, green and pink, although the colours have faded and the exact original shading is uncertain.<sup>233</sup> Reds tend to fade in particular, while blues do not. Colours are then not always what they seem, and the production of the object may also be influential, rather than individual choice.

While clarity on colour at present eludes us, contemporaneous literature does go into some detail as to what colours meant, particularly on the wedding day. Female guests might dress in a flame-colour, peach, grass-green and milk white, signifying passion, lavishness, fertility and purity. Fabric favours could be, ‘red, peach colour

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colour to be a difficult one to pin down particularly in the art world; here, what seems to be pink is often red that has faded over time and is merely pink by default.’

<sup>230</sup> Bruce R. Smith, *The Key of Green* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p.37. For further reading, see Michel Pastoureau’s *The History of a Colour* series. Andrew Jones and Gavin McGregor (eds.), *Colouring the Past: The Significance of Colour in Archaeological Research* (London: Bloomsbury, 2002).

<sup>231</sup> Carol Mavor, *Blue Mythologies: Reflections on a Colour* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), p.10.

<sup>232</sup> Aileen Dawson, *English and Irish Delftware 1570-1840* (British Museum Press, 2007).

<sup>233</sup> Cat Figure Jug (1676). V&A: 414:821-1885. Dimensions: 16.4 x 8.4 cm. Purse (1600-1625). V&A: T.172-1921. Dimensions: 8 x 5.5 cm.



and orange tawny’ representing beauty, desire and lasciviousness.<sup>234</sup> This particular guide, *The Pleasures of Matrimony*, also described a ritual, known as ‘dressing the bed’ in various colours. This was where friends and family decorated the bridal bed. For example, blue suggested constancy, while green represented youth and fertility: putting the two together created youthful constancy. This vivid orchestra of colour was a visual representation of the expectations of marital love. Couples who were both young and old could expect their beds to be dressed in blue and black as this meant constancy till death. Death was in itself a trope of love, for when it was situated beside the amorous tropes outlined here, it signified love until death. The relationship between love, death and marriage is explicitly clear in a painting of the Holme family from 1628.<sup>235</sup> Henry and Dorothy Holme are at the centre of the folding panels of wood. Their fingers, which touch, grasp around the Bible beside a large human skull thus symbolising love until death.

Designs and objects which represented key moments in the life-cycle became tropes associated with love. The bed was a recognised amorous trope appearing on woodcuts and material culture.<sup>236</sup> For example, a double-sided icing mould, made of boxwood and probably originating from Holland, was used to make a three-dimensional edible bed, intended to sit atop a wedding cake.<sup>237</sup> The prominence of such a position made it an important symbol on the wedding day. Surviving beds are often heavily decorated with carved figures of men and women, and symbols of fertility and lust. While the bed had a wide scope of social connections, it was specifically related to love through sexual intercourse, marriage and marital life. In a similar way to ‘hand’, ‘bed’ could be used to describe a person, or a person’s sexuality or honour. If a husband or wife committed adultery they were said to have

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<sup>234</sup> Anon., *The Pleasures of Matrimony*, pp.40-42.

<sup>235</sup> Paul Holme, *Portrait of The Holme Family* (1628). The V&A: W.5-1951. Dimensions: 11.5 x 190.5 cm (open).

<sup>236</sup> Broadside ballads: Anon., *Good Sport for Protestants* (London: Printed for J. Wallis, 1660-1690). Anon., *The Kentish Maiden* (London: Printed for J. Back, 1640-1690).

<sup>237</sup> Icing Mould (c.1700). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Edward Pinto Collection: 1965T4024. Dimensions: (approx.) 15 x 7 cm.

‘defiled’ the other’s bed and to ‘kick’ a husband or wife out of bed was to deny them sexual intercourse, and perhaps to segregate, or even end, the marriage as a whole.<sup>238</sup> In a similar way to designs of hands and hearts, the bed held an intimate connection to the body.

These designs were part of a wider world of visual culture, wherein images held a unique and great significance in society. This may partly be because many people were still illiterate, which meant images retained power. The importance and prominence of this visual culture among printed documents has been noted by other scholars. Michael Hunter described printed images alone as ‘ubiquitous.’<sup>239</sup> The image underwent great change in the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, due to religious upheaval and change. However, if certain types of image were removed by propagators of the Reformation, then the explosion of print culture in the seventeenth century replaced them tenfold.<sup>240</sup> However ubiquitous should not equate to generic, and generic should certainly not be deduced to be meaningless. In creating a corpus of sources, I have made a study of love through material culture feasible, but in doing so, I, and collectors too, have created, and consequently identified, themes of commonality among designs. Some of these commonalities would have helped objects to be understood in the seventeenth century, in particular the meanings of symbols such as the heart and hands, and of certain colours. However, if we view and compare, for example, one posy inscription with another, and line them up on display in their tens, even hundreds, the impact of the individual design is lost. This is a spatial construction of the modern world and, if we allow it, it damages our reading of the object. At worst, it unfairly reduces the power of an object to convey emotion. We can identify key designs and patterns, and suggest what they meant, but this must not

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<sup>238</sup> Anon., *The Pleasures of Matrimony*, p.121.

<sup>239</sup> Michael Hunter, *Printed Images in Early-Modern Britain* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2010), p.1. Further example: Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995).

<sup>240</sup> For changes caused by the Reformation: Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early-Modern Britain and Ireland* (OUP, 2012), p.3.

silence individual interpretation and reaction. The following chapters will tackle this directly.

This analysis of the key aspects of amorous design has demonstrated a rich and varied landscape. Beginning with figures of men and women, I moved onto analyse their actions and gestures, and the objects within which were associated with images of lovers. Designs which appear with greatest frequency in the corpus are hand and hearts, marriage triads, set colours (black, red, white and green), Cupid and various representations of lovers in human form. While some tropes were understood to convey 'love', such as the heart, the majority of tropes signified specific expectations or qualities of love or of relationships. Broadly speaking, these inferences correspond with written texts, including wishes for fertility, new life, companionship, fidelity and the eternity of vows. However other tropes reveal contradictions within early-modern society, such as the discourse on choice, and the requirement of social control and rational thought. Tropes also enhance our understanding of the conflict between the flesh and spirit, with figures such as Cupid and the shepherd ably demonstrating the struggles of falling in love, temptation and the acknowledged complexities of emotion. Finally, as we move onto the next chapter it is worth noting that many objects, including the wooden marriage bowl with which I began, represent an amalgamation of designs, whereupon more than one aspect of love was conveyed. Yet, even on such an object, this reading does not fully explore what that object meant, as design is just one element of study. The following chapters will place these objects on the body, in hands, in transit and in the home, to more fully understand love and material culture.

## Chapter Three

### *Creation and Exchange: Conduits of Feelings*

‘The material world is a visual world, which impacts upon human beings through their eyes, and is intimately bound up with touch.’<sup>241</sup>

In the previous chapter, I described the visual analysis of design as shining a preliminary light onto the surface of an object. Now, in this chapter, that object can be elevated into the air, turned round, peered at, and penetrated by multiple lights. The objects will be assessed from the perspectives of their creations and exchanges, the perspectives of maker and giver. Objects and written sources will work together to enhance our understanding of object meaning. Object creation and the calculated decision-making that went into the selection of materials, object types, shapes, functions and design will form the structure of the chapter. Methods of exchange will also be analysed to further enhance an understanding of how and why objects were key tools in the communication of emotion. Metaphors form a central voice in this discussion, particularly in comprehending why objects were popular channels of and manifestations for feeling. These metaphors were shaped by the unique dynamics and discourses of seventeenth-century life, which will be incorporated into the analysis; including faith, availability of material and most prominently, an assessment of gender roles. Therefore, this is a focus on the methods of conveyance and how the deliberate creation and exchange of objects allowed qualities of love to be given and accepted by lovers.

If a man or woman wanted to give a gift that transmitted amorous feeling to their lover, there were four ways to acquire an object. Objects could be created by the giver, commissioned, bought as seen, or inherited from family and friends. In addition to these four means, other objects were created by someone outside of a relationship

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<sup>241</sup> Ludmilla Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (CUP, 2012), p.1.

and given as a gift to the couple. Therefore, there are objects which reveal dynamics of love between lovers, and there are objects which convey feelings from a wider community, which were projected onto a couple. These were the channels of creation that allowed emotion to be conveyed in object exchange. It is likely that many objects were given by both lovers and wider kin at different stages in their histories. As this chapter will demonstrate, sometimes the meanings were specific to the lover, while others reveal a wider type of familial love.

Deciding the material with which to construct an object was the first part of the creation process. This was an important decision as material was a useful tool to a lover. Certain materials were understood to convey emotions and meanings, some of which stemmed from practical uses, while other materials possessed well-established metaphors. Metaphor, function and material were interconnected and complimentary. Published writers of the early-modern period, whether penning sermons or anonymously scribbling down broadsides, were familiar with using materials as metaphors, so as to convey types of emotion. Love and the emotions it could usher were no exception. For example, in 1677, Thomas Harvey translated a book of epigrams by John Owen, one of which described a metaphor between love, fire and smoke, wood and the flesh:

Love is in us, as in the Wood is Fire;  
As Fire the Wood, Love burns us with desire:  
But Fire in Air, Wood t' Ashes doth consume:  
We Ashes are: And what's our Love but fume?<sup>242</sup>

Thomas Harvey drew on the metaphor as a tool to translate feeling. Indeed, employing the relationship between material and metaphor was second nature. Christopher Tilley supported this view more generally within society, arguing that

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<sup>242</sup> John Owen and Thomas Harvey, *John Owen's Latine Epigrams Englished by Tho. Harvey, Gent. dedicated by the author Mr. John Owen unto the Lady Mary Nevil, daughter of the Earl of Dorset* (London, 1677), epigram 229, 'The Lovers.'

metaphor, 'is fundamental to all belief systems.'<sup>243</sup> In particular, metaphor was an ideal tool in conveying extreme or poignant emotions. In 1654, the author Jeremiah Rich likened human sorrow and suffering to fabric, saying, 'linen is made whiter by Bucking, and Woolen cleaner by Beating: Sufferings and Sorrowes come not upon us without a cause.'<sup>244</sup> In order to convey poignant, and in this instance, debilitating emotion, Rich turned to material metaphors. Shakespeare provided a plethora of material metaphors for understanding love. In *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) love is described as buds and flowers, and as deep and boundless as the sea (2:2). In *Twelfth Night* (1623) 'music' was 'the food of love' (1:1). In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1600), 'the course of true love never did run smooth' (1:1). Therefore, people of the seventeenth century were accustomed to explaining and understanding love, and indeed other emotions too, through material and physical metaphors. These established metaphors allowed lovers to use material culture to convey love and its qualities within their own relationships. Therefore, materials were essential for understanding the emotions and meanings that were intended to be conveyed through established metaphors. This book explores many material types, but none played as prominent a part, numerically speaking, as precious metals. Precious metals and stones were employed as metaphorical tools, to promote the sanctity and value of particular relationships. These included the relationship between husband and wife, as well as emotions and individual qualities, including constancy, patience, faith, and importantly, love.

Gold has a multifarious and eternal relationship with humankind: its meanings have been magical, astrological, economical, medicinal, ecclesiastical and secular.<sup>245</sup> Interpretations of gold perpetually celebrate its purity and superiority over other

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<sup>243</sup> Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), p.10.

<sup>244</sup> Jeremiah Rich, *The Mirrour of Mercy in the midst of Misery, or, Life Triumphant in Death* (London, 1654), pp.29-30.

<sup>245</sup> For example: Peter L. Bernstein, *The Power of Gold: This History of an Obsession* (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 2001).

substances.<sup>246</sup> This esteem made gold an ideal fabric for the metaphorical conveyance of true love, which was considered pure and sacred. Hence gold was a sought-after part of love and union. For example, when Elizabeth Ferrers of Derbyshire compiled her will in 1689, she recorded, ‘two broad pieces of gold which were blessed at the testators [her own] wedding.’<sup>247</sup> In this instance, the two pieces of gold acted as metaphorical representations of husband and wife. Gold’s purity and value was able to represent the love exchanged. Furthermore, gold was associated with the light and love of God, as golden rays and sunbeams from heaven. This belief was mirrored on the wedding day, when golden sunshine and light predicted happiness and good health.<sup>248</sup> For example, the reverend William Secker likened the gift of a wife to, ‘the beams [which] are darted from the sun of righteousness.’<sup>249</sup> The light of sunshine or the sparkle of gold and diamonds formed a suitable representation of good (the gold) and evil (darkness). William Secker noted this in the aforementioned wedding sermon, describing earthly misery and divine power: ‘... black soil to a sparkling diamond, or sable cloud to the sun beams.’<sup>250</sup> Gold possessed a plethora of positive and sacred metaphors that could be employed by a lover to convey feeling.

In the late sixteenth century, Sir John Harrington gave his wife Mary (née Rogers) a gold and diamond ring. The gift marked the birth of their first son. The location of the ring or whether it has survived is unknown. John wrote a poem, which was published, to explain why he commissioned the diamond ring, and what it meant:

Deare, I too thee this diamond commend

In which, a model of thy selfe, I send

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<sup>246</sup> John Stalker, *A Treatise of Japaning and Varnishing being a Compleat Discovery of those Arts with the Best Way of Making All Sorts of Varnish* (London, 1688), p.49. William Salmon, *Medicina Practica, or, Practical Physick Shewing the Method of Curing the Most Usual Diseases Happening to Humane Bodies* (1692), p.384.

<sup>247</sup> Last Will and Testament of Elizabeth Ferrers of Warwickshire, 5 June 1689. Shakespeare Centre and Library Association: DR 3/546.

<sup>248</sup> David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Gloucestershire: Sutton, 2004), pp.67-93.

<sup>249</sup> William Secker, *A Wedding Ring fit for the Finger* (London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, 1664), p.15.

<sup>250</sup> Secker, *A Wedding Ring*, p.5.

How iust vnto thy ioints this circlet siteth,  
So iust thy face and shape my fancy fitteth,  
The touch will try this Ring of purest gold,  
My touch tries thee as pure, though softer mold.  
That metall precious is, the stone is true  
As true, as then how much more precious you?  
The Gem is cleare, and hath nor needs no foyle,  
Thy face, nay more, thy fame is free from soile.  
Youle deem this deere, because from me you have it.  
I deem your faith more deer, because you gave it.  
This pointed Diamond cuts glass and steel,  
Your loues like force in my firm heart feel.

But this, as all things else, time wasts with wearing,  
Where you, my Iewels multiply with bearing.<sup>251</sup>

John stipulated that the ring was intended to be a material metaphor of Mary. The circle of the ring fit her finger perfectly, just as she, in appearance and character, suited him. John was attracted to Mary's physical appearance and person, and he considered these as vital elements in the formation of love. The gold was noted as precious and the diamond true, as true as Mary, though, as John conceded, not as precious. The differentiation between gold and diamond is interesting, implying a value of preciousness to one and of truth to the other, a metaphor transferred by the strength of each material. John therefore gave a gift composed of the materials that he believed best encapsulated the qualities of Mary. However, John ended the poem stating that Mary would not necessarily heed any of these qualities or metaphors, but would treasure the ring because it was a gift from him. Here, the gift was acting as an extension of the giver. For Mary, emotion was conveyed because of whom the ring was commissioned and given. Two perspectives of conveyance are clear. The

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<sup>251</sup> John Harington, *Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington, together with The Prayse of Private Life* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1930), p.150.



perspective that John was projecting, predominantly channelled through material, word and metaphor, and the perspective that Mary created and would ultimately accept or shape for herself. John believed that the two forms of emotional exchange would differ, though both focused on the material metaphors of the ring.

John drew a series of dualistic metaphors within the poem. He pointed out that wear would break down the gold of the ring. He compared this with Mary, noting that his touch would try her esteemed purity. Gold, therefore was employed as a representation of Mary's virtue, as well as forming the fabric of the gift. This parallel reveals a conflict between the perceived spiritual chasteness of Mary, and the corruptibility of human flesh. Furthermore, John used the ring to emphasise gender distinctions within their relationship. He established a hierarchy of purity wherein he situated Mary, as woman and mother, above himself. As a man, he believed he was able to 'try' her purity. This constructed hierarchy was influenced by her gender but also by her personality, as John clearly esteemed her saint-like character. He further emphasised Mary's purity by noting that the trueness and integrity of the diamond required no silver foil to make it sparkle. The purity of Mary, in face and reputation, were likewise free from 'soile.' As with the clarity and trueness of the diamond, the virtue of Mary shone through independently. Mary was fulfilling her husband's expectations of woman, which allowed her to be placed upon a pedestal of virtue. This observation compliments other contemporaneous literature, which emphasised a link between female vanity and sin, in opposition to female modesty, meekness and virtue.<sup>252</sup> As love was understood within dualisms of spirit and flesh, so the female was situated on a spectrum of saint to whore. John situated Mary as saint, which in

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<sup>252</sup> Thomas Bentley, *The Sixt Lampe of Virginitie Conteyning a Mirroure for Maidens and Matrons: or, The Seuerall Duties and Office of All Sorts of Women in their Vocation out of Gods Word, with their due praise and dispraise by the same* (London, 1582), p. 267. This chapter will refer to many printed texts and pamphlets of this nature. While these texts have much to reveal and corroborate, it should be noted here that the print marketplace was overwhelmed during the seventeenth century, and that the texts represented here are just a small number. For further reading on this point see: Michael Hunter, *Printed Images in Early-Modern Britain* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2010). Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (CUP, 1991). Andrew F. G. Bourke, Roger Chartier and Lydia G. Cochrane, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (New Jersey: University of Princeton Press, 1987).

turn, reflected well upon his character, as he was her husband and guide. His esteem was conveyed through the gold and diamond that symbolised purity, and he used other key dualisms to explain his feelings. The strength of diamond and malleability of gold acted as metaphors for spirit and flesh, while the wasting of the ring and the birth of a child represented life and death.

This poem reveals how precious metals and stones were established conduits in the conveyance of emotion. However, the sentimentality of an object could invert established hierarchies of material. As noted, gold was typically situated at the top of the metal hierarchy, with silver beneath and then other lesser metals following: brass, pewter, copper, lead and tin. While gold was the most esteemed of these materials, I do not imply that a gold ring was perpetually treasured to a greater extent than a copper one. Nor should one presume a gold object had the power to transmit a stronger sort of love than any other. In the mid-seventeenth century, the politician Sir Simons D'Ewes described a great fire in which he lost several valuable possessions. While searching through the remains of the burnt-out building, he was relieved to find his mother's wedding ring tarnished and 'but in silver.'<sup>253</sup> The ring had a strong sentimental aura for Simons as a family piece, and had originally been bought by his great-grandfather in the Netherlands, before it was used as his mother's wedding ring. The personal and family-centred value surpassed its inferior construction of silver, rather than gold. Silver reminded Simons of his family's increase in wealth and the rewards of hard work. Simons also considered its survival, when so much else was lost, as thought-provoking. Sentimentality was therefore able to upturn economic hierarchies, even if certain material metaphors went hand-in-hand with their financial worth. This example also demonstrates how materiality could transfer feeling by past connections and roles. This was made possible by the materiality of the ring, which had once occupied a close relation to someone else. Simons' ring was constructed

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<sup>253</sup> Simons D'Ewes and James Orchard Halliwell Phillips, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simons D'Ewes, Volume One* (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), p.12, p.208. Spelling of Simons has been updated with current historiography.

from an invisible type of materiality: a ghostly skin-on-metal connection between his grandfather, his mother and himself. This spiritual element of materiality was of utmost importance to Simons but left no physical presence on the ring. Both Nancy Caciola and Sasha Handley have recently discussed how belief in ghosts was a constant thread through medieval to modern English history, and noted that ghost beliefs often focus on particular forms of materiality, whether that be object or landscape.<sup>254</sup> Notions of unseen and spiritual qualities of objects will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five, which focuses on death and mourning. However, it is worth noting at this point, that the sentimentality of materiality was not always connected to economic worth, or real, touchable materiality. Objects might well possess associations with past people and lives, and this connection aided in the construction of an invisible and highly emotive materiality.

Material was an essential component in the durability and lifespan of an object. Different intentions were conveyed when a lover gave a gift made of metal or stone, from those when she or he gave something perishable. Durable fabrics, such as the precious metals discussed, had the power to convey constancy, commitment and promise. On the other hand, foods, which were likely the most common of all amorous gifts, were intended to be consumed. Edible gifts were given with the intent that the recipient would derive pleasure from consumption but this act would also remove the materiality from the relationship. Therefore, sweet foods conveyed a desire for an immediate and momentary type of satisfaction. This does not imply an inferior type of conveyance, only a different one. When the Regicide Henry Marten was imprisoned in the Tower of London, he wrote to his lover, Mary Ward (alias Marten) describing how he wished he could send her strawberries: ‘ever since thou told’st me how well thou lik’st my Strawberries, my chaps have watered for more; but

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<sup>254</sup> Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Cornell University Press, 2006), p.23. Sasha Handley, *Visions of an Unseen World: Ghost Beliefs and Ghost Stories in Eighteenth-Century England. Religious Cultures in the Early-Modern World* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), p.162.

I will not tell thee what I meant to do with them, because I am none of.’<sup>255</sup> ‘My Strawberries’ suggest that Marten had some hand in cultivating the fruit, which added to the sentimentality behind them, and the enjoyment that Mary gained from eating the strawberries. Marten also expressed a clear sexual meaning through the giving of fruit. His strawberries acted as a metaphor for his genitals or general sexual potency, and his desire to give strawberries implied his desire to have sexual intercourse with Mary. The transient nature of the gift was indicative of sexual intercourse as fleeting, and the corruptibility of fruit formed a parallel with human flesh, while seeds and flowers were understood to have reproductive parallels and metaphors. Diana O’Hara seconded this view, observing that fruits represented fertility and new life in the sixteenth century.<sup>256</sup> Gifts of consumption, particularly fruit, could therefore convey sexual metaphors, while also conveying the giver’s willingness to provide sensual pleasure for the recipient.<sup>257</sup> These meanings were not intended to convey to the recipient a permanent or long-standing type of love, but a momentary and passing pleasurable experience.

Objects of stone, wood and metalwork were expected to play life-long roles within relationships. Consequently, they conveyed feelings that complimented their durability, including constancy, commitment, loyalty and fidelity. For example, couples could choose to mark their unions by commissioning personalised keystones for their houses. This stamped a permanent and durable mark onto a specific domestic space. One stone from Lancashire reads, ‘W/WE 1686’: these were the initials of William and Elizabeth Wilkinson, who married in April of that year. Nearby, another stone reads ‘H/WI 1687’; these initials were for William and Jennet Hall, who were married in Bolton-le-Sands, Lancashire in May of 1687.<sup>258</sup> A third stone reads 1686

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<sup>255</sup> Henry Marten, *Col. Henry Marten’s Familiar Letters to his Lady of Delight, and also her Kinde Returnes* (Oxford: Richard Davis, 1663), letter 40.

<sup>256</sup> Diana O’Hara, *Courtship and Constraint, Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.84.

<sup>257</sup> See also chapter two’s discussion on fruit and gender, pp.101-109.

<sup>258</sup> Emmeline Garnett, *The Dated Buildings of South Lonsdale: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Lancaster University: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 1999), p.19. While most stones are understood to record the construction of the building, Garnett revealed that date stones were not always

H/IE. This stone commemorated the wedding of John Hardy and Elizabeth Edmundson in July of 1686.<sup>259</sup> These couples used the strength of the material, stone, to convey their economic ownership of a house, as well as to promote the strength of their union. Furthermore, the use of stone was understood to have religious parallels. As God, and then Moses, cut the word of God into stone tablets, so when a couple commissioned a keystone to celebrate or mark their wedding, they were re-enacting a sacred method of commitment, promise, and a declaration to a community.

Material culture has revealed that love was promoted as constant and eternal, but that it was understood as impulsive and spontaneous too. This finding reveals an important differentiation between true and inconstant love in the early-modern world. Spiritual, true love was sought after, and to the majority of lovers, the only form of sincere love. Inconstant love was impulsive, fickle and irrational. The majority of surviving love tokens were intended to act as proof that the maker or giver's feelings were the sincere form of love, precisely because of the lasting materiality of the objects. However, impulsive and irrational love features in narratives of true love and in chapter two, I observed how the complex figure of Cupid represented both sincere and impulsive love.<sup>260</sup> Moreover, true love was not usually thought to exist without attraction, lust and ultimately sexual intercourse. Therefore, true love usually straddled a boundary between spirit and flesh, making it innately pure and sinful. This correlation between spirit and flesh was essential, but complex and could be contradictory.

The promotion of the qualities of true love, including constancy and fidelity, was an integral dynamic of the majority of objects in the corpus. For example, hundreds of surviving inscriptions from rings, known as posies, convey a desire for

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commissioned when the building was constructed. Some commemorate various events in the lives of the inhabitants, such as births, weddings and transferral of ownership.

<sup>259</sup> Garnett, *The Dated Buildings of South Lonsdale*, p.134. Garnett includes other examples in her book: p.147, p.34.

<sup>260</sup> For example: Samuel Rowlands, *Well Met Gossip* (London, 1656), A3. For further reading see chapter two's discussion of Cupid, pp.96-100.

constancy. Examples include, ‘CONTINUE [continue] CONSTANT’, ‘Constant you for I am true [true]’, ‘I joy [joy] to find a constant mind’, ‘In constancy lets live and dy [die]’ and ‘Thought [though] absent yet constant.’<sup>261</sup> Posies connected to similar themes, including fidelity and loyalty, were also common within the corpus of sources. Lovers expected fidelity and constancy from their partners, and these qualities were influential in the formation of a common understanding of love. Furthermore, constancy and fidelity were critical in separating love from those emotions and characteristics that were considered fickle and dangerous, a point that was reinforced by religious and moral writers of the day.<sup>262</sup> The frequency of constancy among the corpus may correlate to the role of objects as contracts or emblems of important episodes. For example, courtship and betrothal were believed to be episodes of vulnerability, vice and capriciousness. Constancy and fidelity, the forces that acted against damaging urges, were understood as intentions and emotions, but also as inert virtues.<sup>263</sup> These qualities were not primarily concerned with sexual fidelity. A lover should provide fidelity in an emotional, economic and religious sense, in the flesh and in spirit. Furthermore, the importance of fidelity and the contractual nature of love was essential in a society where reputation could play a decisive role in the quality of living.<sup>264</sup> The economic consequences of sexual intercourse outside of marriage, or when a legitimate marriage broke down, could be severely damaging for men and women.<sup>265</sup> As the objects demonstrate, constancy and

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<sup>261</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.65. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.67. Diameter: 1.9 cm. Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.70. Diameter: 2.25 cm. Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.69. Diameter: 2.25 cm. Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.72. Diameter: 1.8 cm.

<sup>262</sup> George Abbot, *The Whole Booke of Job, Paraphrased or, Made easie for any to understand* (London, 1640), pp.187-188. John Abbot, *Jesus Praefigured, or, A Poëme of the Holy name of Iesus in Five Bookes* (1623), p.24. David Abercrombey, *A Moral Discourse of the Power of Interest by David Abercromby* (London, 1690), p.170.

<sup>263</sup> See Oxford English Dictionary for definitions (hereafter OED). Also: Jacques Abbadié, *A Vindication of the Truth of Christian Religion Against the Objections of all Modern Opposers* (London, 1694), p.354.

<sup>264</sup> Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words and Sex in Early-Modern England* (OUP, 1998), pp.3-4, p.51.

<sup>265</sup> Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown 1660-1800* (CUP, 2003), pp.168-192.

fidelity should be understood as vital components of what was perceived and understood to be love, and as emotional qualities that were believed to direct a person away from sin.

Material and metaphor conveyed particular aspects of love. The objects that have survived typically convey constancy and commitment by their durable fabrics. Each object reflects a deliberate decision to create, buy or commission a thing that would last. Materials were likely to convey emotion in many more individual ways. For example, different types of wood could represent memories of meeting places and seasonal flowers could convey sweet scents and association with places. These communicated important moments and times of the year. Andrew Jones observed, ‘the variable durability of material objects’ helped to close the gap between the temporality of people and of important moments in the love cycle.<sup>266</sup> Unfortunately, the majority of these material associations are unlikely to be recovered but lovers did evidently give objects that were constructed from materials with personal meaning. For example, between 1593 and 1612, a man named Robert Mindum produced objects made from animal horn and bone.<sup>267</sup> The majority of those that have survived are intricately decorated shoe horns, revealing that Mindum was a skilled engraver. Other surviving shoe horns are constructed from metal, which suggest that Mindum’s cheaper bone objects were a midrange object.<sup>268</sup> Among the surviving shoe horns is one which Mindum created for his wife, inscribed, ‘ROBART MINDVM MADE THIS SHOOING HORNE FOR..IANE HIS WIFE ANNODOMINI 1613’ (figure 3.0).<sup>269</sup> The pattern on the shoe horn is similar to those on other surviving horns by Mindum; a Tudor rose below a crown and a tree sprouting upwards. Joan Evans, who wrote a short article on Mindum in 1944, suggested that the heavily decorated pieces

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<sup>266</sup> Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (CUP, 2007), p.67.

<sup>267</sup> Joan Evans, ‘Shoe-horns and a Powder Flask’ in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (Nov., 1944), 85:500, pp.282-4. Alternative spelling Robart Mindvm.

<sup>268</sup> Sue Brandon, *Buttonhooks and Shoehorns* (Hampshire: Shire Library, 1998).

<sup>269</sup> Robert Mindum, Shoe Horn (1613). Agecroft Hall, Virginia: AH.1985.0007. Dimensions: 22.9 cm (l).

were bespoke items made for Mindum's friends and family.<sup>270</sup> This notion is given credence as every surviving example known by Mindum is engraved with the recipient's name.



Figure 3.0: The shoe horn made by Robert Mindum for his wife, Jane (see inscription around the edge of the horn).

Robert Mindum (maker), Shoe Horn (1613). Agecroft Hall, Virginia: AH.1985.0007. Dimensions: 22.9 cm (l). Image is provided by and used courtesy of Agecroft Hall and Museum, Virginia. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

When Robert gave Jane, his wife, a shoe horn, he not only gave her a bespoke and thoughtful gift, he gave her a piece that conveyed his trade and his skill. This was both a natural and sentimental part of the creation process. Using the bone was a convenience for Robert, as was utilising his own skill, and, of course, we do not know if Jane liked her gift. However, employing one's own profession and the materials of that trade were a means of channelling part of one's self through the creation a gift. Jane knew that the shoe horn had been toiled over by her husband and that it was a product of his craftsmanship. Therefore, the material of this object was able to convey elements of the giver, and consequently created sentiment.

People created gifts using their own skills and the materials to hand. The author Joseph Addison, recorded a story of a cobbler who was able to carve human

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<sup>270</sup> Joan Evans, "Shoe-horns and a Powder Flask", pp.282-4.



grins in wood, which he used to decorate a pair of nutcrackers.<sup>271</sup> Carved figures sporting wide, often hideous grins, appeared in many forms of medieval and early-modern material culture, likely originating from church gargoyles and demons. The cobbler may have carved the grinning face onto nutcrackers because it was all he could carve, but it was also a figure of titillation and mischievousness. Surviving nutcrackers are carved with these grins, and some are inscribed with amorous inscriptions, suggesting they were given as love tokens and wedding gifts (for example, figure 3.1).<sup>272</sup>



Figure 3.1: The boxwood turned nutcrackers, complete with amorous inscription and a couple's initials.

Boxwood Nutcracker (1677). Birmingham Museum and Arts Gallery, Pinto Collection: 1965T2081. Dimensions: 14.1 x 5.1 x 2 cm. Inscription: 'If all be trew as wisemen say ye night is sweeter then the day.' 'A K King.' Image belongs to and is used courtesy of Birmingham Museums and Art Galleries. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

In Addison's written account, the cobbler's ability earned him much praise, including the attention of, 'a country wench, whom he had wooed in vain for above five years before.'<sup>273</sup> The creation of a bespoke object provided evidence of a skilled trade,

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<sup>271</sup> Joseph Addison and an introduction by Henry Morley, *Essays and Tales* (London: Cassel and Company, 1907), p.187.

<sup>272</sup> Boxwood Nutcracker (1677). Birmingham Museum and Arts Gallery, Pinto Collection: 1965T2081. Dimensions: 14.1 x 5.1 x 2 cm. Inscription: 'If all be trew as wisemen say ye night is sweeter then the day.' A second example: Nutcrackers (1688). The British Museum: AN1278747001. Dimensions: 21.8 cm (h). Inscription: 'PHP 1688'.

<sup>273</sup> Addison, *Essays and Tales*, p.187.

which in turn offered economic stability. The account reveals how the relationship between cobbler and object was central to him succeeding in love. Both Mindum's shoe horn and the tale of the cobbler reveal how using one's own skills and associated materials were a method of extending self to an object.

Once a person had chosen a material, they then considered how the shape of the object was able to convey feeling. The shape of some objects was central to their type. For example, the purpose and function of a ring was fulfilled by the formation of an unbroken, flowing circle. The meaning of the circular shape was applicable to any familiar bond, but the form of a single, unbroken hoop, had notable resonance for those wishing to mark the flowing and eternal qualities of a marital bond.<sup>274</sup> Therefore when a lover wanted to voice a sincere commitment to their partner, the giving of a ring was an ideal material conveyance of feeling. Joan Evans noted how some posies reinforced the importance of the circular shape. For example, 'This Ring is round & hath no end, so is my love unto thee my freend.'<sup>275</sup> Arthur Humphreys, who, like Joan Evans, compiled a record of posies, noted one which read, 'and as this round, is nowhere found, to flaw or else to sever, so may our love as endless prove, as pure as gold forever.' This latter posy emphasised how material and shape symbolised purity and eternity. The importance of the circular shape penetrated all layers of society. People who could not afford or obtain a metal band used perishable items as substitutes, including cloth, rush and other natural fabrics, bound around a finger or thumb in a circular shape.<sup>276</sup> Any circular shape would have sufficed, as demonstrated in one ballad that described a poor couple who were married with 'an Old Curtain Ring.'<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Tessa Murdoch, *Treasures and Trinket*, (London: Museum of London, 1991), p.38, p.98.

<sup>275</sup> Joan Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings*, (OUP, 1931), p.xxi.

<sup>276</sup> Charles Oman, *British Rings, 800-1914* (London: B.T. Batesford Ltd., 1974), p.35.

<sup>277</sup> Broadside ballad: Anon., *The Beggars Wedding* (1676).

Gimmel rings are a rarer survivor of the period.<sup>278</sup> These were composed of either two or three inter-linking rings, usually complete with a *fede* motif or other type of amorous trope on top (see figure 3.2).<sup>279</sup> A two-ringed gimmel ring symbolised husband and wife coming together, while a three-ringed ring represented man, woman and God. Inscriptions within gimmel rings were usually influenced by religious ceremonial vows, including quotations from The Book of Common Prayer.<sup>280</sup>



Figure 3.2: An example of a two-ringed gimmel ring, with a *fede* motif on top. The moulded heart within the palm of the under hand probably once contained a ruby.

<sup>278</sup> Gimmel rings form a small number (less than ten individual rings in the corpus) and English examples are rarer still. People in the American colonies were unable to produce the intricate quality of jewellery which the gimmel ring required: however, gimmel rings do survive from the eighteenth century. These rings are simpler and thinner than those made in Europe, but they suggest that colonists maintained the same ideology. Colonial examples: Gold Gimmel Ring (1766). Winterthur Museum: 1965.0536 A,B. Gold Gimmel Ring (1791). Winterthur Museum: 1965.0525. Gimmel Ring (1795). Winterthur Museum: 1969.0679 A,B. All diameters are approx. 1.8 cm when closed.

<sup>279</sup> Clare Phillips, *Jewels and Jewellery* (London: V&A, 2008), pp.44-45. Diana Scarisbrick, *Rings, Jewellery of Power: Love and Loyalty* (Michigan: Thames and Hudson, 2007), pp.71-85. See chapter two for information on the *fede* symbol, pp.90-93.

<sup>280</sup> Gimmel Ring (1550-1650). V&A: 851-1871. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: 'QUOD DEVS CONIVNXIT', 'HOMO NON SEPARET' translation 'What God has joined together let no man put asunder.' Gimmel Ring (1590-1620). The Museum of London: 62.121/10. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: 'AS HANDES DOE SHUT', and the other, 'SO HART BE KNIT.' Gimmel Ring (1580-1655). The British Museum: 1959.0209.40. Diameter: 2.27 cm. Inscription: 'AS HANDS BE SHVT SO SEWERLY KNYT.' Gimmel Ring (1607). V&A: 854-1871. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: '.CLEMEN. KESSELER' and '.DEN.25. AVG. AD.1607.' Gimmel Ring (1600-1650). V&A: M.224-1975. Diameter: 2.3 cm. Inscription: '.MEIN. AN.FANCK. VND. ENDE.' translation 'my beginning and end.' Gimmel Ring (1575-1650). V&A: M.281-1962. Diameter: 2.4 cm. Inscription: 'the left hoop inscribed 'SYMON CORNELIS Z.' the right one inscribed 'CORNELISI ENGELS. D.' For example: Gimmel Ring (1607). V&A: 854-1871. Diameter: 2cm. Inscription: '. CLEMEN. KESSELER' and '. DEN.25. AVG. AD.1607.' English example: Gimmel Ring (1590-1620). The Museum of London: 62.121/10. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: One reads 'AS HANDES DOE SHUT', and the other, 'SO HART BE KNIT.' For more information: Scarisbrick, *Rings*, pp.73-74.

Gimmel Ring (1590-1620). The Museum of London: 62.121/10. Diameter: 2.2 cm.  
Inscription: 'AS HANDES DOE SHUT', and the other, 'SO HART BE KNIT.' Image  
belongs to and is used courtesy of the Museum of London. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

Therefore, gimmel rings were specifically associated with marriage and the wedding ceremony, as opposed to other inscriptions that referred to love more generally. One historian, Charles Oman, believed that the two rings were worn separately by man and woman during engagement, and then fused together to become one wedding ring.<sup>281</sup> Oman cited two surviving examples where the goldsmith's fusion is clear but he admitted that this was a rare occurrence, and that other gimmel rings show no indication of the process. The critical meaning behind the gimmel ring lay in its shape, wherein two halves joined together to form one. This was a direct material representation of man and woman as one flesh; a prominent phrase, concept and image concerning marriage.<sup>282</sup> The gimmel ring, therefore, reinforced the ideology of man and woman existing as one genderless and equal whole. They were also clearly recognisable as a wedding ring to a community, unlike the majority of gold bands. Finally, the structure of gimmel rings allowed for more wording to be hidden between the interlocking rings than on a single ring, as well as precious stones, usually rubies representing hearts, which could sit between the linked hands.<sup>283</sup> Therefore, while a gimmel ring was a greater public proclamation than other ring types, it also allowed for a greater number and variety of private, hidden zones within one object.

The shape of rings, whether standard or gimmel, allowed the giver and wearer to create an inward and an outward face. Depending on individual wishes, the outer face could be a plain metal band or one decorated by engraving or enamel.<sup>284</sup> The inside may too have been left plain or inscribed with a posy. The inner sphere of any ring was an important sensual tool, as this intimate zone allowed the giver to extend a

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<sup>281</sup> Oman, *British Rings*, p.38.

<sup>282</sup> Man and woman as one flesh appears numerous times in the King James Bible, most notably in Genesis 2:24, as well as Mark 10:8. This phrase also appeared in contemporaneous literature, including: Robert Russel, *The Wedding Garment* (London: Printed for J. Blare, 1692), p.10.

<sup>283</sup> Tessa Murdoch intimated that rubies were emblems of love: Murdoch, *Treasures and Trinkets*, (London: Museum of London, 1991), p.38. See also: Scarisbrick, *Rings*, p.76.

<sup>284</sup> The vast majority of surviving metal posy rings have plain exteriors. However outer decoration may have deteriorated, particularly engraving, due to the softness of the metals used.

form of materiality around the skin of the recipient. Thus the shape of any ring provided a lover with a tool to channel metaphorical intimacy. For those rings which do have posies, the vast majority of inscriptions are positioned on the inside. Practically, a posy suffered less wear on the inside, however, there are early-modern rings, including signet rings, which are inscribed on the outside.<sup>285</sup> The decision to put posies within, therefore, was a calculated one. This allowed the words of a giver to lie against the skin of the wearer. This created a sensual and physical commitment of word and vow to person or body. Second, these words were hidden from sight. Knowledge of specific posies, or if a ring was inscribed at all, could therefore be kept private, and in most instances, the decision to make a posy public lay at the discretion of the couple. This marks posies as somewhat different from other forms of inscription and motif, which typically proclaimed a union to a family and community. Material culture, therefore, allowed couples to create public and private spheres, in which they could orchestrate how they experienced, pledged and celebrated aspects of their relationship. There is further evidence that posies, which could accompany any object, were intended to be secret. For example, a published guide which advised men and women on the art of courtship described, ‘a Posie sent to a Maid being cunningly enterwoven in a Silke Bracelet’ and one, ‘written in a gilt paper, folded up very neatly like a letter, and bound with green silke.’<sup>286</sup> These examples reveal how posies were disguised within packages and objects. There are other written sources which also refer to, ‘private posies.’<sup>287</sup> These texts support what is obvious from examining posy rings; the ring allowed a couple to present one face of love to the community, whilst preserving secrecy between themselves concerning a particular pledge or aspect of love.

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<sup>285</sup> For example: Ring (1649-75). V&A: M.22-1929. Diameter: 2.4 cm. Mourning Ring (1500-1600). V&A: 920-1871. Diameter: 2.4 cm.

<sup>286</sup> Anon., *Cupid's Posies. For Bracelets, Hand kerchers and rings, with Scarfes, Gloves, and other things; Written by Cupid on a day, When Venus gave him leave to play* (London, 1642), no. 34, 37 & 38.

<sup>287</sup> For example: Richard Braithwaite, *Ar't Asleepe Husband? A Boulster Lecture* (London, 1640), p.159.

Rings were part of a complex material network of expression. They were able to convey constancy through shape and to symbolise amorous processes through design; the latter best exemplified in moulded hands on gimmel and *fede* rings. Posies further clarify the importance of shape and material in a relationship. Examples which illuminate this role include, ‘Lett this present my good intent’, ‘Tho little accept it’, ‘As endless is my love as this’, ‘\* WITH . HART . AND . HAND / I . MADE . THIS . BAND \*’, ‘The gift & giver are thine for ever’ and finally, ‘Loue eur not the Giuft but th giuer.’<sup>288</sup> These inscriptions highlight an association between the giver and the ring, which invited the recipient to think or dwell on the giver through the object. Posies were able to do this through two means. Some employed the ring, as a sacred shape and metal, to represent the giver and their intentions. Other inscriptions, rather conversely, emphasised the inferiority of the ring in opposition to sincere feeling. In these instances, the ring was an inadequate representation of the feelings expressed (‘tho little accept it’ and ‘Loue eur not the Giuft but th giuer’). This type of posy appeared on objects besides rings. For example, a large pewter marriage dish was engraved with an inscription, ‘THE GIFT IS SMALL THE LOVE IS ALL 1674.’<sup>289</sup> This posy reveals how the object was understood as an earthly materialisation of something spiritual; the ring, or indeed any other gift, was therefore beneath love and ‘small.’ However, precious metals and stones were considered the best available material to hand because they were understood as metaphors for spiritual feelings and qualities. These posies then highlight a conflict between materialism and sincere feeling. Despite using an object to convey feeling, the owners of these objects evidently did not believe genuine feeling could be proven through materiality. Hence

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<sup>288</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.260. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: ‘Lett this present my good intent’. Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.29. Diameter: 1.5 cm. Inscription: ‘Tho little accept it’. This inscription may refer to the ring generally, or specifically to its small size. Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.284. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: ‘As endless is my love as this’. Finger Ring (1650-1750). PAS: GLO-864248. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: ‘\* WITH . HART . AND . HAND / I . MADE . THIS . BAND \*.’ Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.140. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: ‘This and the giver is thine for ever’. Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.344. Diameter: 1.8 cm. Inscription: ‘Loue eur not the Giuft but th giuer’.

<sup>289</sup> Pewter Marriage Plate (1674). Colonial Williamsburg: 1981-210. Diameter: 99 cm. Inscription: ‘THE GIFT IS SMALL THE LOVE IS ALL 1674’.

the object and posy have a curious relationship, wherein the object is intended to convey an emotion much more sacred and important than its material being.

Object shapes and spaces were used to convey specific amorous metaphors and meanings. Locketts could be set with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, enamel, and filled with either a miniature or hair. A locket could contain representations of both lovers. For example, a surviving locket was made in two parts, containing a painted picture of a man in one, and a woman in the other.<sup>290</sup> The word locket may derive from the ‘locking’ or enclosed space, or as a space to store a ‘lock’ of hair. The creation of an intimate and private space was fundamental to this design. For example, a poem by the poet Aphra Behn entitled ‘On a Locket of Hair Wove in a True-Loves Knot’, refers to a gold locket which ‘shaded’ hair within, thus implying a secretive and protected space.<sup>291</sup> Locketts that survive from the early-modern period are often decorated with amorous tropes or shaped into hearts.<sup>292</sup> The heart-shape design symbolised the love of the giver. One locket was inscribed on the reverse, ‘this jewel to you I doe impart, a constant man in a most faithful hart.’<sup>293</sup> The giver was giving his heart and the feeling within, through a material representation. If this locket was worn against the chest of the recipient, the giving and acceptance of love had even greater resonance. Objects with public and private spaces and faces were therefore metaphors of the lover, who performed outward displays of affection and commitment, as well as practising private gestures and feelings. These findings relate to the discussion on inner and outward expressions of emotion noted in the introduction.<sup>294</sup> All of the rituals and expressions discussed here can be considered outward or public, but it is apparent, from studying the objects, that many rituals had

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<sup>290</sup> Locket (1600-1650). The V&A: 7003:1, 2-1860. Dimensions (approx.): 4.6 x 2.8 cm.

<sup>291</sup> Aphra Behn, *Poems Upon Several Occasions with a Voyage to the Island of Love, also The Lover in Fashion* (London, 1697), pp.77-78.

<sup>292</sup> Locket (c.1675). V&A: M.3-1958. Dimensions: 2.7 x 2 cm. Second Locket (c.1675). V&A: T.452-1990. Dimensions: 2.7 x 2 cm.

<sup>293</sup> Pendant (1650-1700). Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service: 1937.121.2:C. Unknown dimension. Inscription: ‘this jewel to you I doe impart, a constant man in a most faithful hart’.

<sup>294</sup> Moniqu Scheer, ‘Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion’ in *History and Theory* (May, 2012), 51, pp.193-220.

private and hidden material qualities, which were also central to the conveyance of feeling.

This latter locket reveals a posy that used not only the shape, but the function of the object to create a symbolic metaphor: ‘in a most faithful heart.’ Other posies employed the use of the object to convey sentiment. Gloves were popular gifts in the early-modern world, though they possessed a particular type of resonance in the making of marriage and love.<sup>295</sup> The popularity of the glove stemmed from their connection with hands, for this meant they were associated with action and promise, alongside the symbol of hands joined in union. Gloves were a sensually charged gift when exchanged between lovers, as the leather or fabric lay against the skin of the recipient. The shape and function of the glove communicated a kind of intimacy, which allowed a giver to metaphorically extend their hands onto their lover. For example, in Edward Phillips’ *Beau’s Academy*, Phillips recounted a story of an apprentice and a maid. The apprentice stole several items as gifts for the maid, including a pair of gloves so that, ‘when your [the maid] fingers are imprisoned in them, you may think upon the captivity into which you have brought my soul.’<sup>296</sup> The gloves wrapped about the maid’s flesh in an embrace, which was emblematic of the desires of the apprentice. Surviving gloves consolidate their relationship with love, as they were often decorated with amorous designs, including paired birds.<sup>297</sup> Finally, as gloves formed a pair, this enhanced their ability to represent each lover and a lover’s embrace when worn on joined hands: for example, ‘I send to you a paire of Gloves, if you love me, leave out the G., And make a pair of Loves.’<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> For example: Lease granted by Humphrey Sandford of Shrewsbury, Esq., to Thomas James and James Downes of Edgton, yeoman, 29 September 1685. Shropshire Archives: 465/150. See also: Lisa M. Klein, ‘Your Humble Handmaid: Elizabethan Gifts of Needlework’ in *The Renaissance Quarterly* (Summer, 1997), 50:2, pp.459-473.

<sup>296</sup> Edward Phillips, *The Beaus Academy, or, The Modern and Genteel Way of Wooing and Complementing after the most courtly manner in which is drawn to the life* (London, 1658), p.47.

<sup>297</sup> Pair of Gloves (1600-1625). MMOA: C.I.40.194.31a, b. Dimensions unknown. See chapter two for analysis of paired birds, p.101.

<sup>298</sup> Anon., *Cupid’s Posies*, no.5.



A second example from the contemporaneous literature describes the posy which a 'young maid' should send in a scarf. Her posy read, 'she that of all doth love thee dearest, Doth send thee this wch as thou wearest, And oft doest looke on, thinke on me, And I by thine doe thinke on thee.'<sup>299</sup> By using a posy, the feelings which were intended to be conveyed through the function and use of the gift were elaborated upon; to the recipient and to the audience of the text. The posy demonstrates how the wearing, observing and touching of a gift, acted as a material connection between giver and recipient. The 'young maid' deliberately chose a scarf, because the fabric was able to wind around the flesh of the recipient and mimic the touch of a lover, whether this was imagined or remembered. Object, function and posy were critical in expressing this emotional intent. A surviving silver-framed mirror case and locket bears the posy, 'FAINE would I bee this senseless plate searching thy face so faire thowgh GAGE my hearte and thou wilt find thy image graven theyre.'<sup>300</sup> This posy reveals how the giver deliberately chose a mirror, so as to produce a representation of the image which he or she believed that recipient had engraved in their heart. Therefore, a looking-glass conveyed physical attraction and admiration, as it produced a sought-after and cherished reflection of the recipient's appearance. A surviving locket was engraved with an inscription alluding to a similar meaning, 'Faithful unto death, the likeness of you is my comfort' [translated from French].<sup>301</sup> This suggests that the locket may once have contained an image, capturing the 'likeness' of a loved one. A silk girdle could be accompanied by a sexual posy, because the object wrapped around a woman's thigh.<sup>302</sup> The purse's posy compared the recipient to great wealth.<sup>303</sup> The posy with the knife said that love could not be severed.<sup>304</sup> A small

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<sup>299</sup> Anon., *Love's Garland or Posies for Rings, Hand-kerchers, & Gloves, and Such Pretty Tokens that Lovers Send Their Loves* (London, 1648), no.45.

<sup>300</sup> Mirror Case of Locket (1656). The British Museum: 1969,0604.1. Dimension: 9.5 cm (h). Inscription: 'FAINE would I bee this senseless plate searching thy face so faire thowgh GAGE my hearte and thou wilt find thy image graven theyre'.

<sup>301</sup> Pendant (1620-1640). The V&A: M.110-1975. Diameter: 2.7 x 1.8 cm. Inscription: 'Fidel. Iusq. a. la. Mort. Le pareil. De. Vous. A .mon. confort'.

<sup>302</sup> Anon., *Loves Garland*, no.74.

<sup>303</sup> Anon., *Cupid's Posies*, no.42.

<sup>304</sup> Anon., *Cupid's Posies*, B.

cabinet would be accompanied by a posy which invited the recipient to form a cabinet about the heart of the giver.<sup>305</sup> Posies, therefore, reveal how object function was central to the conveyance of emotion in the exchange of gifts.

Domestic knives held specific connections with marriage and love based upon their function. After the restoration of 1660, pairs of knives and forks, rather than knives alone, became popular paired utensils among the English. Knives and forks were not necessarily exchanged between lovers, rather they were likely given by kin and friends to a couple upon marriage. In particular, domestic knives were given to the bride, and therefore specifically associated with the female gender. For example, the V&A houses two knives and a sheath from 1638, inscribed with ‘Anna Mickelthwait’.<sup>306</sup> These knives would have belonged to the said Anna, and may have been given to her as a wedding gift. There are a further four pairs attributed as wedding sets, and another two knives which probably also once formed a pair (figure 3.3).<sup>307</sup>



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<sup>305</sup> Anon., *Cupid's Posies*, B2-B3.

<sup>306</sup> Steel Knives with Amber and Ivory Handles (1638). V&A: M.12 to B-1950. Inscription: ‘ANNA MICKLETHWAIT.’

<sup>307</sup> Pair of Wedding Knives (C.1615). V&A: T.55 to B-1954. Dimensions: h 20.8 x w 1.94 cm. Pair of Wedding Knives (1639). V&A: M.444 to B-1927. Dimensions: l. 20.9 cm. Wedding Knife and Fork (c.1660). V&A: 111 to B-1872. Dimensions: l. 21.7 cm. Wedding Knife and Fork (c.1660). V&A: M.99&A-1923. Dimensions: 20.3 cm. Knife (c.1670). V&A: 522-1893. Dimensions: 21.7 cm. Inscription: Anne Doyley. Knife (c.1670). V&A: 523-1893. Dimensions: l. 18.4 cm. Inscription: ‘M Froman’ [and] ‘1687’.

Figure 3.3: An example of a wedding knife and fork, set with amber representations of husband and wife.

Wedding Knife and Fork (c.1660). V&A: 111 to B-1872. Dimensions: l. 21.7 cm.

Wedding Knife and Fork (c.1660). V&A: M.99&A-1923. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

Further examples can be found in the Ashmolean Museum, Museums Sheffield and in the Portable Antiquities Scheme. These are domestic objects that were used in the dairy, in the preparation of other food, and with more ritualistic functions; including midwifery and attending to the sick and the dead. Bearing these functions in mind, it is unsurprising that knives were given as gifts to women in the early-modern world. The aforementioned knife-case, embroidered with Anna Mickelthwait, was made with a chord, so as to allow her to tie it about her waist. These were therefore personal and useful domestic objects, wherein the knife represented the roles of a wife within a marriage and family. Therefore, when a knife was given to a bride, the object was a metaphorical representation of her transition in status. The knife blade may also have symbolised the severance of the legal bond between bride and father, and the beginning of a new life and bond. The symbolic importance of the knife is captured in a play titled *Match Mee in London* (1631). A female character, named Tormiella, tried to prove the validity of her marriage by saying ‘See at my Girdle hang my wedding kniues...’.<sup>308</sup> Knives formed part of a group of private objects that enabled a wife to fulfil roles within the household, and were therefore symbolic of her status as wife and mother. A similar object, a sheath for knitting needles was engraved with ‘I am box and brass within, my place is on your apron string AT 1679’.<sup>309</sup>

The influence of gender within love and in how objects conveyed emotion is evident in various forms of object, from jewellery to domestic utensils. Gender may also have been important for our seventeenth-century lover and the creation of their object. Was a man likely to follow certain gender expectations when creating a gift for a woman, and *vice versa*? Did gender dictate who procured what gift, and could the

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<sup>308</sup> Thomas Dekker, *A Tragi-comedy: called, Match Mee in London As it hath beene often presented* (London, 1631), p.70.

<sup>309</sup> Knitting Sheath (1679). The V&A: 774-1907. Dimensions: 7.7 x 0.6 cm.

same type of object convey different sentiments depending on the gender of the giver or receiver? These questions may be, in part, spurred by existing, modern preconceptions of material exchange within love, which are often segregated, commercially at least, by gender. Joan Evans and Charles Oman both suggested that, in the seventeenth century, posy rings were predominantly given by men to women.<sup>310</sup> This may be a natural assumption, given the strength of patriarchy in the early-modern world and an assumed submissive role of the woman. However, working with the object has suggested a much more complex situation concerning material exchange, which was highly dependent on individual personalities. Assuming that an object possesses a masculine or a feminine identity based upon design, shape or function is problematic. For example, Natasha Awais-Dean's study on Tudor and Stuart jewellery revealed that men wore jewels that were just as elaborate and decorative as those worn by women. Furthermore, men also owned and wore jewellery that they inherited from women.<sup>311</sup>

Bearing these findings in mind, it is worth asking whether any objects involved in the conveyance of love were specifically assigned to women or to men. A painting of Elizabeth Vernon (1573-1655) depicts her sliding a bone comb through her hair, with a box of her trinkets, jewellery and costume pieces beside her.<sup>312</sup> The painting offers a glimpse into an enclosed space and the objects that a wealthy lady may have kept. In 1690, the author Mary Evelyn published a poem called, 'The Ladies Dressing-room Unlock'd'. The poem served as a warning to women and men, by recounting the numerous and meaningless trinkets acquired by a woman from suitors, including ornaments for hair and the neck. These findings suggest a type of gendered object or objects, kept in a female space. These gifts were representative of material excess to Evelyn, unless, 'the lady's heartstrings you [addressed to male

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<sup>310</sup> Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings*, p xxi. Oman, *British Rings*, p.38.

<sup>311</sup> Natasha Awais-Dean, 'Bejewelled: The Male Body and Adornment in Early-Modern England'. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Queen Mary University of London, 2012), p.20.

<sup>312</sup> Unknown artist, *Portrait of Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton* (c.1598). The Buccleuch Collection, Boughton House. Dimensions: 142.2 x 89 cm.

suitors] will break.’<sup>313</sup> Evelyn indicated that these objects were only sentimental if the recipient was in love. The poem, like the painting, reveals how certain women were able to keep personal items privately, within boxes and chests. The V&A houses just such a surviving embroidered casket complete with several small objects, which belonged to a woman named Martha Edlin (1660-1725).<sup>314</sup> The casket and objects were then passed through the female line of her family.<sup>315</sup> This particular example suggests that the embroidered box and objects therein were associated with the female gender. Other examples reinforce the notions of a female’s box, complete with small objects, associated with her gender. In a portrait from c.1620, Lady Philadelphia Carey was depicted holding an elaborate bone comb. This portrait is privately owned and hangs in Hellens Manor, Herefordshire.<sup>316</sup> This comb now sits below the portrait and is purported to have belonged to Philadelphia’s great aunt, Anne Boleyn. The positioning of portrait and comb reveals how the object was passed through the female line. This particular example, where portrait and comb remain together, reveals a unique spatial zone and narrative.

Combs were made in bone but also in simpler and (usually) cheaper boxwood versions.<sup>317</sup> As the century progressed combs were made in the Caribbean from tortoiseshell too, and exported to England.<sup>318</sup> When a man gave a comb to a woman, as with the glove, this was a sensually charged exchange. The comb was able to move through the woman’s hair, as a man may have fantasised running his fingers. A woman’s hair could be a point of fixation and emblematic of physical beauty. For example, Sarah Churchill (née Jenyns), Duchess of Marlborough, was painted by

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<sup>313</sup> Mary Evelyn, *Mundus Muliebris, or, The Ladies Dressing-room Unlock’d, and her toilette spread In burlesque. Together with the fop-dictionary, compiled for the use of the fair sex* (London, 1690), p.4.

<sup>314</sup> Embroidered Casket (1671). V&A: T.432-1990. Dimensions: 31 x 24 cm.

<sup>315</sup> See also: Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), pp.74-76.

<sup>316</sup> The curator of Hellens Manor has requested that while I may refer to the painting in this thesis, the details must be kept private.

<sup>317</sup> Comb (1500-1600). V&A: W.2-1914. Dimensions: 10.2 x 16.7 cm. Second boxwood Comb (c.1600). V&A: CIRC.478-1923. Dimensions: 12.5 x 16.8 cm.

<sup>318</sup> The National Museum Jamaica houses eleven tortoiseshell combs; The Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh has one. Comb (c.1680): 95.6.2. Dimensions: 15.08 x 9.84 cm. The V&A has two combs and a case (1673): 524 to B-1877. Dimensions: (of comb) 18 x 11 cm.

Godfrey Kneller at the end of the seventeenth century. Sarah was married to John Churchill, who was reputedly very fond of her long hair. However, following an argument between the two, Sarah cut off her hair, supposedly in an act of rebellion and revenge. This occasion was marked in the portrait by Kneller, who painted Sarah holding the locks of hair.<sup>319</sup> After John died in 1722, Sarah found the hair, that he had kept hidden in a chest. Evidently, John felt unable to part with her severed locks. Another example, this one from correspondence, suggests a particular female preoccupation with a comb and with hair. In the mid-seventeenth century, Dorothy Osborne requested that her lover, William Temple, send her a tortoiseshell comb, so that she could comb a lock of his hair.<sup>320</sup> Here we see hair and the comb forming a focal point within an amorous relationship. In addition to these examples, written evidence suggests that combs may have been considered effeminate or demeaning to a man's character. An anonymous book of literary works remarked that 'to comb a periwig' was of a garish nature and the same as showing off 'gay clothes.'<sup>321</sup> In another example, the writer George Abbot called men who spent too much time between the comb and glass 'idle.'<sup>322</sup> Criticisms, therefore, focused upon the degree of use, not just the comb and mirror. When a man gave a comb to a woman, he gave a tool for her to enhance her physical beauty, for both their pleasure. However, he may have felt unable to practise this ritual on his own hair to the same extent. The comb formed part of a private collection of feminine objects, which allowed women to possess materiality and to orchestrate their appearances. However, combs were required and used by both genders. Criticisms of vanity and idleness levied at men were also directed at those women who used combs excessively.<sup>323</sup> Therefore, despite

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<sup>319</sup> Godfrey Kneller, *Portrait of the Duchess, Sarah Jennings also spelt Jenyns* (c.1700). The Althorp Estate, under private ownership by the Spencer family. Dimensions: 60 x 66 cm.

<sup>320</sup> Dorothy Osborne and E. A. Parry (ed.), *The Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1932), letter 57.

<sup>321</sup> A. B., *Covent Garden Drolery, or A Collection of All the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues, (sung and spoken at courts and theaters) never in print before* (London, 1672), p.34.

<sup>322</sup> George Abbot, *An Exposition vpon the Prophet Ionah contained in certaine sermons, preached in S. Maries church in Oxford* (1600), p.592.

<sup>323</sup> Thomas Adams, *Diseases of the Soule a Discourse Diuine, Morall, and Physical* (London, 1616), p.33.

evidence suggesting combs, and other small objects, were associated with the female, they were not solely associated.

The complexities of gender representation and what it meant in the conveyance of love through material culture can be better understood by examining further object types. In the seventeenth century, handles made for domestic utensils could be intricately carved. They were preserved and recycled when knife blades became unusable, and carved and moulded handles of ivory, bone, amber, metals and ceramic have survived. These handles could be carved into representations of people and several of those that have survived depict husbands and wives. One example made of steel, silver, ivory, boxwood and amber, depicts a man, as the handle of the knife, and a woman, as the handle on the fork.<sup>324</sup> The figures are formed from amber, with ivory hands and decoration. The female handle and fork are smaller than the knife, and the woman holds an apple. This was likely to be a reference to Eve and to the perceived sinful nature of women. A second example depicts a husband and wife made entirely in ivory, with steel blade and fork.<sup>325</sup> In this instance, the male figure holds an apple, which indicates that the sin of Eden was not consistently associated with only Eve. In a third example, again in ivory and steel, the husband and wife are of the same size.<sup>326</sup> The woman holds a fan, a recognised amorous trope of courtship. The man holds a long white staff, a symbol of office. Each set of cutlery is indicative of a slightly different time period, as the clothing charts changes in seventeenth-century costume. These three examples may have been intended to represent specific couples as their facial features are each unique, or they may have been generic figures of husbands and wives, or masters and mistresses.

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<sup>324</sup> Wedding Knife and Fork (c.1650). The Ashmolean: 1947.191.2/72. Dimensions unknown.

<sup>325</sup> Wedding Knife and Fork (c.1660). The Ashmolean: 1947.191.2/74. Dimensions unknown.

<sup>326</sup> Wedding Knife and Fork (1690). Sheffield Museum and Art Gallery: 2004.386-387. Dimensions unknown. Another example of a wedding knife and fork with the wife as fork and knife as husband: Wedding Knife and Fork (c.1670). V&A: M.99&A-1923. Dimensions: (fork) length: 20.3 cm, length: 6.7 cm of handle: (knife) length: 22.8 cm, length: 7.1 cm of handle.

In all three instances, the man forms the knife handle, and the woman the fork. This pattern was somewhat unexpected, as domestic knives were owned by and associated with women. However, it is possible that the woman was put on the fork because forks were held in the left hand. Since at least the twelfth century ‘left’ or ‘lyft’ implied the weaker of the two.<sup>327</sup> Seventeenth-century writers were familiar with expressions such as ‘maladroit’ (not of the right) to imply clumsiness or weakness, or ‘sinisternesse’ (of the left/left-hand) as malevolent or criminal.<sup>328</sup> These connotations in part stemmed from the Bible, Jesus ‘sat down at the right hand of God’ (Mark 16:19) and in Matthew 25:41, Jesus divided the worthy and damned onto his right and left sides. As Eve proved herself the weaker sex in Genesis, this may explain why women became associated with the left. In the wedding ceremony outlined in the English Book of Common Prayer, the woman stood on the left and the man on the right. This ritual was reflected in the woman as fork and the man as knife. Furthermore, if the woman or fork were on the left, she was on her husband’s right-hand side, as Jesus was to God, and the worthy were to Jesus. In order for this theory to be proven, one would have to be sure that the English were eating with the fork in the left hand and the knife in the right. It is unclear as to when the English began to do this, and the use of the fork did not become commonplace until after 1660. However, all three forks discussed here are two-pronged: these were most suitable for impaling or stabilising food, while the knife cut.<sup>329</sup> While we cannot assume that the majority of people were right-handed, and would therefore prefer to use the knife to cut in their right hand, left-handedness had the aforementioned sinister connotations. For example, the devil was referred to as the ‘left-handed goat.’<sup>330</sup> Therefore these domestic utensils reflected a Christian perspective on gender. This conveyed two types of symbolism. The first was the perceived submissive and weaker nature of

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<sup>327</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, last accessed 20 March 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/106982?rskey=u58Sw2&result=1#eid>

<sup>328</sup> Oxford English Dictionary, last accessed 20 March 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/180206?redirectedFrom=sinister#eid>

<sup>329</sup> Bee Wilson, *Consider the Fork: A History of Invention in the Kitchen* (London: Penguin, 2014), p.254.

<sup>330</sup> Anon., *Don Pedro de Quixot, or in English the Right Reverend Hugh Peters* (1660). Single page.



women. The second was the promotion of union by representing husband and wife at the altar, and all that marriage meant, in the household.

Positioning woman or wife on the left and man or husband on the right can be found on other types of object. For example, a four-poster bed, that has been housed at Berkeley Castle for four-hundred years, was made with the carved wooden figures of a husband and wife. These are believed to represent Henry Berkeley and his second wife, Jane Stanhope who were married around 1598. The two large figures, wife on the left and husband on the right, are about half a meter high each, and stand at the bottom two corners of the bed, looking outward. On a second example, this one a collapsing travel bed, the forward facing figures of a husband on the right and wife on the left, look out from the cupboard-like structure of the bed.<sup>331</sup> These figures were repeated in a second set of panels beneath. However, carved, painted and printed images do not uniformly present husband and wives in these positions, although there are patterns of uniformity according to object type: such as on knives and forks, and on beds. The theory is further complicated as most objects can be turned round and looked at from different perspectives, which alters what is left and right. Furthermore, the pattern is not uniform. Some people chose representations of separated spouses, which placed woman on the left, while other people chose objects that represented men and women together as one. This variation can likely be accounted for by individual interpretations of love.

In addition to handles which depicted men and women separately, surviving domestic utensils depicted couples together. For example, an ivory knife handle was carved into two lovers embracing, with a peeping Tom watching them on the reverse (figure 3.4).<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Travelling Bed (1600). Stockport Heritage Services: STOPM: 1998.1069. Dimensions unknown.

<sup>332</sup> Lover's Knife (1600-1700). Sheffield Museum and Art Gallery: 2004.415. Dimensions unknown.



Figure 3.4: The Lover's Knife is composed of an ivory handle and large, flat knife. The blade and handle may not have always been together. Note the loving embrace depicted, as well as the broad smiles on the figures' faces.

Lover's Knife (1600-1700). Sheffield Museum and Art Gallery: 2004.415. Dimensions unknown. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of Sheffield Museum and Art Gallery. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

In this instance, the couple's dress is relatively plain; they wear shawls on their heads, rather than hats and wigs, as with the separate knives and forks. This embracing couple were therefore likely intended to represent the esteemed freedom of the poor when choosing a partner and falling in love.<sup>333</sup> The couple's faces were carved into broad smiles, as their arms wrap around each other. A similar, though cruder example made from a copper-alloy, depicts a man and woman embracing, the woman holds a fan, while the man puts his hand on her shoulder (figure 3.5).<sup>334</sup>



Figure 3:5 Several views of the copper-alloy lovers. The figures were probably fixed onto a knife blade or similar utensil.

Knife Handle (1650-1700). PAS: LON-6348E4. Dimensions: 8.5 cm (h). Image belongs to and is used courtesy of PAS. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

<sup>333</sup> See chapter two analysis on poverty and love, pp.95-96.

<sup>334</sup> Knife Handle (1650-1700). PAS: LON-6348E4. Dimensions: 8.5 cm.

Finally, a damaged ceramic figure of a man and woman embracing, represents an intimate relationship too.<sup>335</sup> This may have been a knife handle or just an ornament. The figure of the man puts one hand on the woman's chest, the other around her back, while their faces touch. Unlike the aforementioned utensils that separated husband and wife, these examples formed them into one being and one flesh. These objects offered a degree of titillation to the observer or user, particularly when the user's hand was enclosed about a handle that was depicting an intimate embrace. However, the presence of couples in loving stances, which appeared in all forms of source from tapestries to broadsides ballads, cannot be considered as mere titillation. The spectacle of the lover's touch was a recognised trope of the home, and a natural expectation of union. Representations of couples holding hands, embracing, kissing and touching reinforce the notion that love, affection and desire were expected requirements of marriage.<sup>336</sup> When a person chose to incorporate this type of design within a gift, they were promoting an expectation of physical intimacy and attraction, as well as the psychological comfort and pleasure associated with intimate, consensual physical interaction. They also conveyed mutuality in love wherein woman and man were both expected to experience pleasure and happiness.

Patriarchy was a complex influence in object creation. My research does not indicate that men were the dominant object creators, and therefore, the inflictors of sentiments shaped by gender expectations and roles. For example, textual evidence confirms that both men and women commissioned, designed, purchased, exchanged and wore rings. The politician and writer, Elias Ashmole, recorded how Lady Eleanor Mainwaring gave him 'a ring enamelled with black, where on was this posie: A true friends gift.'<sup>337</sup> Elias and Eleanor were married shortly afterwards, following this

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<sup>335</sup> Figurine (1668-1700). Museum of London: A11231. Dimensions: 5.6 cm.

<sup>336</sup> For example: Guy Demarcel (ed.), *Flemish Tapestry Weavers Abroad* (Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2002), figure 11. Ballads which include woodcuts of lovers embracing include; Anon., *The Lass of Cumberland* (London, c.1650) and Anon., *Innocent Love in Triumph, or The Joys of Wedlock made Manifest* (London, c.1650).

<sup>337</sup> Elias Ashmole and R. T. Gunther (ed.), *The Diary and Will of Elias Ashmole* (OUP, 1927), p.30, p.18.

material manifestation of intent and feeling. William Temple gave Dorothy a ring to mark their engagement, but it was she who requested the ring and dictated its appearance.<sup>338</sup> In 1680, one John Neale was prosecuted for theft after a young woman discovered a stolen ring in a goldsmith's shop, while looking for a wedding ring for herself.<sup>339</sup> Sir Kenelm Digby described how his wife, Venetia Stanley, had created the posy within her wedding ring: 'the posie of which she bespoke her selfe, which was two heartes moulded one within an other, and written by them; "What earthly joy is like to this?" A plaine one, but a full one.'<sup>340</sup> Both genders could also employ someone to compose inscriptions, or they could look to published guides for assistance.<sup>341</sup> The guides did not just suggest what posy a person could use, they ensured that a posy befitted the situation and object, claiming to offer posies that would 'wound the heart.'<sup>342</sup> *Cupid's Posies. For Bracelets, Hand kerchers and rings, with Scarfes, Gloves, and other things; Written by Cupid on a day, When Venus gave him leave to play* (1642) and *Love's Garland; Or Posies for Rings, Hand-kerchers, & Gloves, and Such Pretty Tokens that Lovers Send Their Loves* (1648) included around one-hundred posies and the objects they should accompany. Note the title of the second, 'that lovers send their lovers' did not imply a gender. These guides do present genders for certain objects and posies, such as the aforementioned maid sending a posy, but there are no evident or general distinctions between which gender could produce or give certain gifts in courtship.

Men were commissioning, buying, and wearing rings too. In 1658, Nathaniel Hardy, a Church of England Minister, explained why a husband should wear his ring, '...the moral use which the man ought to make of it is good, that putting the Ring on such a finger he be admonished of the neer union there ought to be, and dear affection

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<sup>338</sup> Ashmole, *The Diary and Will of Elias Ashmole*, p.30.

<sup>339</sup> Anon., *The Last Dying Speeches and Confessions* (London: T. Davies, 1680).

<sup>340</sup> Victor Gabrieli, 'A New Digby Letter-book, in Praise of Venetia' in *The National Library of Wales Journal* (Winter, 1956), 9:4, pp.440-462.

<sup>341</sup> Addison, *Essays and Tales*, p.64.

<sup>342</sup> Anon., *Cupid's Posies. For Bracelets, Hand kerchers and Rings, with Scarfes, Gloves, and other Things; Written by Cupid on a day, When Venus gave him leave to play* (London, 1642), A3.

in his heart for his wife.’<sup>343</sup> In this instance, the ring should remind the husband of his union and his love, as it should to the wife. Men were also active in the composition of posies. For example, a fairly wealthy landowner, Thomas Lyte, of Lyte’s Cary (d.1638) commissioned a ring for his first wife, it read, ‘Lytes Love is little worth.’ Thomas Lyte’s first wife was said to be of small stature and her maiden name was Worth. He composed a second inscription for his second wife Constance, it read, ‘Constance bee constant, & thy Lyte resplendent.’<sup>344</sup> Thomas was a wealthy man who clearly delighted in words.<sup>345</sup> The first posy was a declaration of love for Frances Worth, and the second, a familiar seventeenth-century bargain with Constance: be faithful and loving, and the ‘light’ of their marriage, would be resplendent. Thomas Lyte chose to compose these posies and gift them to his wives. These examples reveal that the creation of an object and its design were influenced by the desires of the individual, not purely gender expectations.

Further clarity on gender can be achieved through an analysis of the voices represented within the gathered posy rings as a whole.<sup>346</sup> The ‘voice’ of a posy refers to the giver or receiver, and to anyone else, such as a voice of society or faith, present in an inscription. The most popular voice represented in the rings is ‘I’ or ‘My’. Next was ‘God/His/Him/Father’, then ‘Thee’, ‘Me’, ‘Heart’, ‘Our’, ‘We’, ‘Us’, ‘One’, ‘Friend’, ‘You’, ‘Two’, rings with initials, ‘Your’, ‘Yours’, ‘Thy’, ‘Wife’, ‘None’, ‘Giver’, and ‘All.’ In total only 2% of the rings examined proclaimed a specific gender. These were ‘she’, ‘wife’, ‘bride’, ‘maid’, ‘man’, and a reference to Isaac and Rebecca. This excludes the role of God, that cannot be assigned a corporeal male gender. The love within posy rings is ‘I/My/Ours/Us/You’ rather than ‘he’ or ‘she’.

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<sup>343</sup> Nathaniel Hardy, *Love and Fear the Inseparable Twins of Blest Matrimony* (London: Printed by T.C. for Nathaniel Webb and William Grantham, 1658), p.15.

<sup>344</sup> Evans, *English Posies and Posy Rings*, p.xxi.

<sup>345</sup> William Camden, *Britain, or A Chorographical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1637), p.224.

<sup>346</sup> The number of rings examined is nearly 700. The rings selected for study implied a strong connection with love, typically through their design. Rings were studied from The British Museum, The V&A, The Ashmolean, The PAS, The FitzWilliam Museum, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, as well as several smaller institutes. A small number of rings were located with antique dealers.

The overall gender neutrality of rings suggests that they were rarely assigned to one gender. This allowed a ring to be passed to either a male or female relative at a later date and indicates that the love conveyed through rings was exempt from gender segregation found elsewhere in seventeenth-century society.<sup>347</sup> When there are differentiations, these are typically driven by strong personalities.

Our seventeenth-century person has now looked beyond material, shape and function, and toward designs. Among the flying Cupids, true lover's knots, hearts, and hands in the corpus, a motif formed from a couple's initials, also known as a marriage triad, was particularly popular. Initials could sit alongside a posy or independently on an object. For example, the inscription on a boxwood nutcracker, reads, 'If all be trew as wisemen say ye night is sweeter then the day' with a date of '1677', the initials 'A K' and the surname 'King'.<sup>348</sup> The posy alluded to the pleasures of sexual intercourse, while the initials specifically refer to a union. This tied the sweetness of sexual intercourse to the wedding night. More commonly, however, initials appeared independently. Within the corpus, the number of objects with the motif runs into the hundreds, but if someone were able to document the entire number, it would be in the thousands, at least. The objects selected for my corpus are representative examples of this larger surviving body, as well as a significant range of object, as the motif appears on a vast scope of material culture types.<sup>349</sup>

The initials' motif appears on cooking and drinking utensils, including several which were indicative of and unique to seventeenth-century design. For example, by

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<sup>347</sup> For example: Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early-Modern England* (CUP, 2008), p.19.

<sup>348</sup> Boxwood Nutcracker (1677). Birmingham Museum and Arts Gallery, Pinto Collection: 1965T2081. Dimensions: 14.1 x 5.1 x 2 cm. A second example: Nutcrackers (1688). The British Museum: AN1278747001. Dimensions: 21.8 cm. Inscription: 'PHP 1688'.

<sup>349</sup> Bottle (1708). The Museum of London: 10127. Dimensions: 15.5 x 14.5 cm. Motif: DLF 1708 (partly illegible). Skillet (1670). The Museum of London: 80.271/10. Height: 17.8 cm. The handle of the skillet is inscribed with 'THIS IS GOOD WARE TS.' The Museum of London believe this was made by Thomas Sturton the second. Other examples: Wine Bottle (1641). The British Museum: 1887,0307,E.18. Dimensions: 149 cm. Motif: R/E below S, 1641, renish wine. Lead Weight Heart (c.1650). On sale at Woodcock Antiques, Petworth (2010). Dimensions: 6cm across. Tankard (1690-1710). The Museum of London: A16808. Dimensions: 12.4 cm high. Research carried out by the Museum of London.

the latter part of the seventeenth century, slipware was in production all over England, reflecting a large spectrum of society and different geographies.<sup>350</sup> David Barker, who was once responsible for the huge collection of ceramics at the Potteries' Museum in Stoke-on-Trent, noted that slipware was, 'never a high-status ware designed for the tables of the well-to-do... slipware did, however find a place amongst the useful and novelty wares of the majority of the population and pieces have often been treasured and passed onto later generations.'<sup>351</sup> The initials' motif appears on numerous forms of slipware, with a notable variety in its design.<sup>352</sup> For example, a ceramic drinking vessel reads, WE/K, and the date of 1652 (figure 3.5).<sup>353</sup> The word 'SACK' is between the initials and date, indicating that the bottle was used for holding sack posset (figure 3.6).<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>350</sup> David Barker, *Slipware* (Hampshire: Shire Library LTD., 1993), p.19. Earthenware usually refers to dishes and pots made from clay, which has been fired at a fairly low temperature. The piece may then be glazed. 'Slipware' refers to earthenware which was coated in slip, a soft semi-liquid mass. In the seventeenth century, slipware was often cream, brown, black and orange. Delftware originated in the Netherlands, and was usually blue and white, though other colours could be used. Delftware was tin-glazed pottery. The tin-glaze, which contained tin oxide, changed the pottery from a red or off-white colour to a creamy, white.

<sup>351</sup> Barker, *Slipware*, p.3. For further reading on English Delftware: Aileen Dawson, *English & Irish Delftware, 1570-1840* (London: British Museum Press, 2010).

<sup>352</sup> See chapter two for further information on the motif, p.87.

<sup>353</sup> Wine Bottle (1652). The British Museum: 1887,0210.113. Dimensions: 22 cm high. Similar examples: Wine Bottle (1650). The British Museum: 1891,0524.1. Dimensions: 18 cm. This bottle includes the full names: 'JOHN SMITH' 'AND: MARGERI' on either side of a family shield, with the date set above. Jug (1644). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1302-1928. Dimensions: 19.5 cm high. Motif: 'R/M ROBERT RIPLEY AND RS/M MARY RIPLEY 1644.'

<sup>354</sup> There are dozens of surviving sack bottles in The British Museum, The V&A, The Museum of London and The Fitzwilliam Museum.



Figure 3.6: A ceramic drinking vessel, classified as a wine bottle by the British Museum. Note the classic marriage motif above the word 'sack.' This denoted that the bottle was intended to store sack posset.

Wine Bottle (1652). The British Museum: 1887,0210.113. Dimensions: 22 cm high. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the British Museum. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

Posset was a drink made from curdled milk and sweetened with spices and alcohol. One of the most popular types of posset was 'sack', which had a larger amount of sweet ale, although other possets were mixed with wine. A second posset vessel with two handles, bears the initials ED/B, 1657.<sup>355</sup> On this particular pot there are two sets of initials and dates, on either side of the pouring spout. Initial motifs can read horizontally and vertically, and be separated on different sides of an object. Other ceramics painted with the motif include ewers (a large jug-like vessel),<sup>356</sup> jugs,<sup>357</sup> candlesticks,<sup>358</sup> ceramics moulded into the shape of animals,<sup>359</sup> and comedic drinking

<sup>355</sup> Posset-Pot (1657). The British Museum: 1887,0210.124. Dimensions: 13 x 14.6 cm. Similar example: Marriage Cup (1658). The Museum of London: A13466. Dimensions: 9.7 x 9.9 cm. Motif and inscription: 'George & Frances 1658 [above] G F/ M'. Posset-pots or cups are usually identifiable by two a short round shape and two handles.

<sup>356</sup> Ewer (1660). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.7-2001. Dimensions: 25 x 19.5 cm. Motif: 'T H/ C 1660'.

<sup>357</sup> For example: Jug (1699). The British Museum: 1920,0318.2. Dimensions: 21.5 x 9.9 cm. Motif: 'IW WS 1699.'

<sup>358</sup> Candlestick (1648). The V&A: 4752-1901. Dimensions: 26.5 x 19.4 cm. Motif: 'W/WE/1648'. Second example: Candlestick (1651). The British Museum: 1874,1114.1. Dimensions: 27.6 x 15.49 cm.

<sup>359</sup> Jug (1674). The British Museum: 1887,0210.127. Dimensions: 16.4 x 7.5 cm. Similar example: Cat Figure Jug (1676). The V&A: 414:821-1885. Dimensions: 16.4 x 8.4 cm. A similar cat with no initials but just a date: Moulded Cat (1657). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1324-1928. Dimensions: 17.8 cm (h).



vessels which were impossible to drink or pour from without spilling (figure 3.7), unless one learnt the secret to their function.<sup>360</sup>



Figure 3.7: An example of a puzzle cup or 'fuddling' cup. The cup is set with the initials of a couple and composed of three interlocking drinking vessels. It would be impossible to drink from this cup if all three sections were filled.

Puzzle Cup (1649). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1307-1928. Dimensions: 8.6 cm h. Motif: R. P/ T 1649. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

The motif was popular on wooden objects, including chairs, settles and beds. For example, an oak settle was engraved with a pair of initials 'IS' and 'IW' on either side of the date, 1699.<sup>361</sup> Cupboards were inscribed with the motif of union; a centre door panel of a large oak court cupboard depicts, 'ISG 1659.'<sup>362</sup> In Emmeline Garnett's study of date stones in Lancashire, she discovered four houses with engraved salt cupboards and another house with a court cupboard, all depicting marriages.<sup>363</sup> One of these cupboards recorded the marriage of Margaret Duckett and

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A Figure of a Pelican with her young (1651). The British Museum: 1959,0204.1. Dimensions: 20.6 x 12.8 cm. Motif: 'ExVxAx 1651 CH.'

<sup>360</sup> Puzzle Cup (1649). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1307-1928. Dimensions: 8.6 cm h. Motif: 'R. P/ T 1649'. Puzzle Jug (1686). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1441-1928. Dimensions: 23 cm (h). Motif: 'N.M/P [on other side] 1686'. Puzzle Cup (1660-1700). The British Museum: 1887,0210.63. Diameter: 27.7 cm.

<sup>361</sup> North Country Oak Settle (1699). On sale at Period Oak Antiques, Powys: stock number STOCK NO 1440. Dimensions: 106 x 152 cm. Travelling Marriage Bed (c.1600). Owned by Stockport Heritage Services: STOPM: 1998.1069. Unknown dimensions. Further examples: Bed (1590). V&A: W.10-1949. Dimensions: 45.7 x 175.3 cm (length 238.8 cm). Motif: 'TB MB'. Refectory Table (1613). Owned by Burnley Government, located at Townley Hall: BGfuan001. Dimensions: 3m (l). Inscription: 'WB + SB 1613'.

<sup>362</sup> Oak Cupboard (1659). MMOA: 64.101.1135. Dimensions: 138.4 x 189.2 cm.

<sup>363</sup> Garnett, *The Dated Buildings of South Lonsdale*, p. 252 (James and Ellen Hathornthwaite, 1674), p. 238 (Christopher Skirrow and Agnes Whitehead, 1686), p.217 (Richard Wildman and Margaret

Richard Wildman who were married in 1698, but who waited until 1699 to have their lintel and salt cupboard engraved. In *When Oak was New*, John Friske claimed that boxes and coffers only bear the initials of an individual, rather than the marriage motif or triad.<sup>364</sup> Some three letter motifs are indistinguishable from an individual's initials, thus allowing Friske to claim that the differentiation in motifs was explained by marital pieces of the 'household', rather than 'personal' pieces.<sup>365</sup> It is an interesting theory that some objects were considered to belong to the house or family, while others were thought of as individual pieces, depending on the initials. However, there are several surviving locking cabinets which were made for marriages, suggesting that locks did not equate to personal or single owners. For example, a large oak and walnut cabinet was made for the marriage of Sir William Bowes and Elizabeth Blakiston of Gibson in 1691.<sup>366</sup> This particular cabinet was made with two large doors, inlaid with crests for each family. Furthermore, in the course of my research, I have discovered smaller, locking, personal cabinets that contain the marriage motif. One such example is discussed in the following paragraph. Both individual and marital motifs reflected a desire to personalise the object, in order to express feeling, tradition or economic ownership. Furthermore, the marital motif was an emblem of union that was more transferrable from generation to generation than an individual motif. For even within the span of the seventeenth century, one cabinet probably had multiple owners. Initial motifs then came to represent someone or a union of two people, rather than ownership.

The use of the motif on furniture was transferred across the Atlantic, not just in pieces that were transported, but in new pieces constructed in America. For example, a fairly large chest of drawers made in Glastonbury, Connecticut, depicted

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Clitherall, 1699), p.207 (Robert Clark and Alice Reeder, 1678), p.228 (Thomas Topping and Ann Hodgson, 1665). A court cupboard was a large piece of furniture, usually made up of multiple cupboards, and typically with a column design on the front. These pieces were popular in the northwest but have survived all over England and in some early American houses.

<sup>364</sup> John Friske, *When Oak was New: English Furniture and Daily Life 1530-1700* (Massachusetts: The Belmont Press, 2013), pp.184-185.

<sup>365</sup> Friske, *When Oak was New*, p.185.

<sup>366</sup> Cabinet (1691). The MMOA: 31.86. Dimensions: 272.4 x 127.0 x 55.9 cm.

the initials for a Rebecca and Samuel, who were married in 1686.<sup>367</sup> This may have been a one-off piece, but there were successful cabinet makers in the colonies who were producing multiple pieces of furniture. For example, eight confirmed pieces of furniture survive from the Symonds workshop in Salem; four cabinets, three chests and a cupboard.<sup>368</sup> Three of these small cabinets are set with the initials of unions. The first, a locking cabinet, also referred to as a chest, was made of red oak, cedar, walnut and maple, with the initials TS/B, 1676 (figure 3.8).<sup>369</sup> This union was of Thomas Buffington (1639-1728) and Sarah Southwick (1644-1733) in Salem. A second, similarly fronted cabinet bears the initials of Ephraim Herrick (1638-1693) and Mary Cross (1640-1693) (figure 3.9).<sup>370</sup>



Figure 3.8: A small locking cabinet, which marked the wedding of Sarah Southwick and Thomas Buffington in 1676.

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<sup>367</sup> Marriage Chest (1685). Holburne Museum: 1960.072.001 Dimensions unknown, but this example is significantly larger than the chests from the Symonds workshop.

<sup>368</sup> The Symonds Workshop consisted of John Symonds (1595-1671), who came to Salem in 1636, and his sons James Symonds (1633-1714) and Samuel (1638-1722). James and Samuel passed the tradition onto their own sons, and trained several apprentices. Further information: Martha H. Willoughby, 'Patronage in Early Salem: The Symonds Shops and Their Customers' in Luke Beckerdite (ed.), *American Furniture 2000* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), pp.169-84.

<sup>369</sup> Spice Box (1676). The Winterthur Museum: 1958.0526. Dimensions: 43.8 cm.

<sup>370</sup> Small Cabinet (1679). The MMOA: 10.125.168. Dimensions: 45.7 x 43.2 cm.

Spice Box (1676). The Winterthur Museum: 1958.0526. Inscription: 'T B S' and '76'. Dimensions: 43.8 cm high. Image was taken by Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the Winterthur Museum, Delaware.



Figure 3.9: A second small locking cabinet, also made in the Symonds workshop. The motif marked the wedding of Ephraim Herrick and Mary Cross in 1679. Note the stylistic similarities in geometric design, pillars and overall shape to figure 3.8.

Small Cabinet (1679). The MMOA: 10.125.168. Inscription: 'E M H' and '79.' Dimensions: 45.7 x 43.2 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

The final cabinet commemorates the marriage of Joseph Pope (1650-1712) and Bathsheba Folger (1652-1726).<sup>371</sup> All three cabinets bear the motif in the centre of the locking door, amidst a geometric design and different wood colours, which were characteristic of the workshop. The cupboards have unique, divided interiors. Ephraim and Mary's cabinet contains ten small drawers, suitable for storing papers and small objects. This was clearly a personal object, as it contains a lock and a private interior. As the cabinet bears a marital motif, this conveyed seventeenth-century ideology about love and marriage, and how it was intended to be a shared yoke in an emotional and economic sense.

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<sup>371</sup> James Symonds Valuable Cabinet (1679). The Peabody Essex Museum: (purchased 2000) 138011. Dimensions: 41.9 x 43.2 cm. Research completed by Willoughby, 'Patronage in Early Salem', pp.169-84.

Despite the regularity of this motif, questions remain about why the motif was used, and for the purposes of this study, what the motif had to do with love. As with all the objects in this study, there are economic, social and religious motivations which would have been influential in the selection of designs. In some instances, the motif was a mark of ownership, as well as a means of celebrating union. Sentimentality and feeling go hand-in-hand with these factors, but, of all the designs discussed in this study, this motif was as much about sentimentality and family, as it was to do with amorous love. Initial motifs were chosen to celebrate continuing family lineages, much like family shields and crests. This element of union was emblematic of hopes for life, success and children. A gift decorated with the motif may represent either a gift from one lover to the other, or, as was perhaps more likely, a gift from parent to child. For example, the scholar William Dugdale (1605-1686), described how he, ‘Payd for a silver Kan wch my wife [Margaret Huntbach] gave for a newyear’s gift to my Son John’s wife £5. 14. 0. Pd for graving the Arms on it 2s 6d.’<sup>372</sup> William and Margaret gave their daughter in-law a domestic utensil for their first new year together, engraved with the family crest. This was a material reinforcement and celebration of the new union and of the family lineage. The precise emotional conveyance would have depended on the relationship between wife and mother in-law. Families without crests and heraldry used the initials’ motif to personalise their belongings and to celebrate family lines. In this light, objects with the motif were precious, family objects, celebrating not only union, but family, life, children and prosperity.

Material culture was able to convey feeling, including the sincerity and rationality of love, the constancy and honesty of a person’s character, and the commitment and promise of union. When creating or buying gifts, lovers considered material, shape, function and design as highly symbolic, and they often understood these within dualistic metaphors. Lovers then used methods of exchange, including

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<sup>372</sup> William Dugdale, *The Life, Diary and Correspondence of William Dugdale* (London: Harding, 1827), p.111.

the use of posies, to elaborate upon and clarify their intent. These rituals were embedded in interactions and expressions of love, but they were also growing and changing. Many of the objects and exchanges either increased in popularity or were unique to the century, including posies, locketts, and cabinets. The increase in these objects was enabled by the growth of commerce and literacy, and it is unclear as to whether they created, nurtured or fed a demand. Regardless, these objects and methods of exchange provided couples with the means to wield control and orchestrate their relationships. This orchestration of self and lover was made possible by the materiality of gifts, which helped create and reinforce pivotal episodes within relationships. Scholars should question whether it has been possible to consider love, emotions, courtship and marriage, without the aid of material culture; such is the richness, variety and significance of this means of conveying emotion. The chapter following this one analyses the other perspective of exchange: the recipient and how object use conveyed further emotion, and allowed lovers to develop and manifest their love through material channels. We move to chapter four with the revelation that lovers were not suppressed or idle characters. Rather, the examples in this chapter produce a group of active, assertive and highly reflective lovers, who were wrangling to orchestrate their own relationships.

## Chapter Four

### *Object Use: Manifestations of Feeling, the Self and Disputed Sincerities*

This chapter will examine the other side of exchange, how objects were used. The analysis has been divided into three categories. The first focuses on how objects were able to manifest a variety of feelings. ‘Manifestation’ refers to the consideration of object as a focal point, through which emotions existed and developed. These include manifestations of happiness and contentment, as well as actions and belief, including choice and faith. The second approach investigates how objects were understood as representations or embodiments of self, the object as an extension of the giver. This understanding encouraged ritualistic uses, including wearing, touching and gazing. The object will be understood within relationships where lovers were separated, to see whether objects were able to maintain relationships and breach distances by acting as representations of and substitutes for self. The third and final approach will draw upon contemporaneous discourse from the seventeenth century, which was alluded to in the previous chapter, the dispute as to whether materiality could convey and manifest sincere feeling. Indeed, several of the objects in the corpus contain inscriptions that directly refer to the objects’ inability to promote true love, yet the object was still used as a vessel to carry feeling. Understanding these criticisms will create a better understanding of why lovers persisted in using material culture as the ultimate manifestation of feeling.

Few object types provide an insight into as rich and as great a number of emotions as posy rings. I examined 660 surviving rings for the corpus.<sup>373</sup> The majority of bands are plain gold, though some are made from silver, copper, brass and lead. The informal production of rings likely stretched across England, though there

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<sup>373</sup> The rings selected for study conveyed a strong connection to love. Rings were studied from The British Museum, The V&A, The Ashmolean, The Portable Antiquities Scheme, The Fitzwilliam Museum, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, as well as several smaller institutes. A small percentage of rings were on sale with antique dealers. Deciding which posies should be studied has been an evolving process. Posies which describe a union, or joining, whether in a religious or earthly sense, were used, as well as those describing attributes of love, such as friendship or constancy.

were notable centres of creation, including London where the Goldsmith's Company had held the monopoly since their formation in the fourteenth century. While the specific identity of many maker's marks has been lost, it is likely that they congregated in and around Cheapside, on the now demolished Goldsmith's Row. Other cities and goldsmith's guilds were unable to create and use hallmarks till the eighteenth century. Despite this, plain bands were relatively common and evidence suggests that people of all statuses were able to procure metal rings.<sup>374</sup> For example, in October of 1684, John Wise and Mortack Downey were charged with the murder of a widow, Elizabeth Fairbank.<sup>375</sup> Elizabeth lived and worked in a cellar in Piccadilly, suggesting she was in a state of relative poverty. In addition to murder, Wise and Downey were prosecuted for the theft of several of her possessions, including rings. Elizabeth's rings were probably much cheaper and cruder than an ornate, imported ring, but nonetheless, she had still been able to procure multiple rings. Indeed, the simplistic form of the posy ring allowed it to straddle all types of social and economic boundaries. The varied quality of seventeenth-century rings is further reflected in recorded values. The peerage could pay vast sums for a wedding ring: for example, Lord Bayning paid £18 5s for his wife's wedding ring.<sup>376</sup> In comparison, a middling gentleman, one William Butleigh, owned, 'a jewel, three diamond rings, a great stone ring, two signet rings, two wedding rings and two other rings, a watch, a picture of the king in gold, seventeen silver spoons, a silver dish, a silver wine bowl, two silver plates and a tumbler dish tipped with silver': all of which were valued for just £20.<sup>377</sup> Further down the social ladder, in 1675 a servant named George Allin tried to persuade, 'a Servant Maid who lived next door to his masters'' to marry him with a ring which cost 28 shillings, 'which was all the money he could make shift for.'<sup>378</sup> In

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<sup>374</sup> Diana Scarisbrick, *Rings: Jewellery of Power, Love and Loyalty* (London: Thames and London, 2007), p.81.

<sup>375</sup> Old Bailey Proceedings, October 1684, John Wise (t16841008-19).

<sup>376</sup> Lord Bayning: receipt for money from Peike, Westminster, 1634, in State Papers Domestic. The National Archives (hereafter TNA): SP 46/77/fo199-200.

<sup>377</sup> Last Will and Testament of William Butt of Butleigh's, 14 December 1648. Somerset Archive and Record Service: DD/SE/48/2.

<sup>378</sup> OBP, February 1675, George Allin (o16750219-1).



1679, a satirical comedy contained a scene where a character named Alinda received a posy ring from her lover. The following scene, between Alinda her companions, Olympia and Peter, commented on the cost of the ring, and how monetary value related to sentimentally:

Olympia: Come hither wench, what art thou doing with that Ring?

Alinda: I am looking on the posie, Madam.

Olympia: What is 't?

Alinda: The Jewel's set within.

Olympia: But where the joy wench, When that invisible Jewel's lost? why dost thou smile so? What unhappy meaning hast thou?

Alinda: Nothing Madam. But only thinking what strange spells these Rings have, And how they work with some.

Peter: I fear with you too.

Alinda: This could not cost above a Crown.

Peter: 'Twill cost you The shaving of your crown, if not the washing.

Olympia: But he that sent it, makes the vertue greater.<sup>379</sup>

The posy ring was disparaged for its apparent meagre monetary value, which was somewhat crudely compared with sexual intercourse, or with the sexual worth of Alinda. However, Alinda objected that the real jewel was set within the ring, alluding to the posy as a manifestation of good intent. She also implied that economic value did not equal intent or sincerity of feeling. If posy rings were commonly available at the cheap price suggested here, then we can cautiously assume that they would have been widespread. Furthermore, the sacredness of the ring shape (as analysed in chapter three) meant that the wedding ring was an object desired by people across statuses.<sup>380</sup> For any person who married, a ring was one of the most important objects they could hope to acquire.

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<sup>379</sup> Francis Beaumont, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen; all in one volume* (London, 1679), p.264.

<sup>380</sup> Chapter three, pp.127-128.

The corpus of rings reveals a range of roughly forty feelings and manifestations of love. The most popular declarations (in order of most frequent, then second and so on) were religious, a direct reference to love, love till death, constancy, unity, choice, and contentment. These manifestations were common enough to be grouped under these headings, but were still expressed in numerous ways. Indeed, the variety of posies and lack of identical inscriptions is a marked finding of the study. Marcia Pointon suggested that jewellery can be used to trace the development of the individual within society, this notion supports my own findings concerning the variety of posies.<sup>381</sup> Direct references to love, which came a close second to those rings declaring faith, were expressed in numerous ways. Examples include, ‘All for loue’, ‘Y [I] LOVE THEE’, ‘Love for Loue’ and ‘Loue alone made vs [us] two one.’<sup>382</sup> When examining the posies, love was often equated with a specific quality. Most described another quality, which was necessary in order to attain love, or *vice versa*. For example, ‘vertue makes loue eternall’ and ‘Love and live happy.’<sup>383</sup> These particular posies paint an enlightening picture of what the people who commissioned and wore the rings expected from love, and what they deemed important in the making and preservation of it.

Popular manifestations of feeling in the rings revolved around notions of constancy. Seventy-seven of the posies made direct reference to constancy, or to choosing not to alter a relationship. Other themes also conveyed constancy. For example, posies which described love lasting forever or love until death appeared in a further eighty-two. Posies referring to eternal love were probably influenced by the wedding ceremony, from the Book of Common Prayer, which promoted consistent

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<sup>381</sup> Marcia Pointon, *Brilliant Effects: A Cultural History of Gem Stones and Jewellery* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p.13.

<sup>382</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1750). The British Museum: 1961,1202.280. Diameter: 2.15 cm. Inscription: ‘All for loue’. Posy Ring (1550-1700). The British Museum: AF.1405. Diameter: 2.28 cm. Inscription: ‘Y LOVE THEE’. Posy Ring (1670-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.310. Diameter: 1.95 cm. Inscription: ‘Love for Loue’. Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.307. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: ‘Loue alone made vs two one’.

<sup>383</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: B622E7. Diameter unknown, as ring is badly damaged. Inscription: ‘vertue makes love eternall’. Posy Ring (1682-1709). The British Museum: AF.1331. Diameter: 1.93 cm. Inscription: ‘Love and live happy’.

and constant affection. Rings which declared a type of unity or the creation of a bond typically professed consistency too, including, ‘AL.WAYES ON[e]’ and, ‘LOVE AND LIVE TOGITHER’.<sup>384</sup> Notions of being ‘true’, which appeared in forty-two rings, were also symptomatic of a type of eternal constancy: for example, ‘Ever true my Dear to You.’<sup>385</sup> Finally, contentment was heavily associated with ‘not repenting’. For example, ‘A MINDE CONTENT CANNOT REPENT’ and ‘I lick [like] I loue I liue content I made my chois [choice] not to repent L [over] R A’.<sup>386</sup> Contentment was considered a sustained type of happiness and a much desired component of love throughout the lifetime of a relationship. Lovers could not consistently be happy, but they could strive for a type of constant contentment. The popularity of constancy, in its many forms, went hand-in-hand with the symbolic eternal meanings of the ring shape. This may partly explain its popularity within the corpus of rings, but it was a key component of love in general.

Twenty-seven rings contain posies which refer to friendship. As friendship existed and was celebrated in many different forms, I was initially unsure as to whether these rings should be included in the corpus, unless there was some other design element pertaining to amorous love.<sup>387</sup> Some of these rings are also notably small in size, suggesting friendship posies may have been given to and associated with children.<sup>388</sup> ‘Friend’ was also used by Quakers in the second half of the century, as a term for addressing fellow Quakers but as Quakers did not use rings in union, this particular issue is not so problematic. Moreover, it would be misleading to exclude

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<sup>384</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: WILT-8FB813. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: ‘AL.WAYES ON’.  
Finger Ring (1500-1700). PAS: LEIC-97DE14. Diameter: 1.75 cm. Inscription: ‘LOVE AND LIVE TOGITHER.’

<sup>385</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: AF.122. Diameter: 1.85 cm. Inscription: ‘Ever true my Dear to You.’

<sup>386</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). Les Enluminures: 380-2. Diameter: unknown. Inscription: ‘A MINDE CONTENT CANNOT REPENT.’ Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.28. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: ‘I lick I loue I liue content I made my chois not to repent L [over] R A.’

<sup>387</sup> Emmanuelle Chaze, ‘Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early-Modern Europe, 1500-1700’ in *The Seventeenth Century* (Jan, 2014), 29:1, pp.99-101.

<sup>388</sup> Examples of rings: Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.126. Diameter: 1.7 cm. Inscription: ‘A frends gift.’ Posy Ring (1650-1800). PAS: LEIC-BEF8C3. Diameter: 1.7 cm. Inscription: ‘I come from a faithfull friend.’ Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.136. Diameter: 1.8 cm. Inscription: ‘Your friend am I ashuredly.’

rings describing friendship from a study on love and union, as friendship was perceived to be a vital component of early-modern thinking on love and marriage.<sup>389</sup> Some posies use friendship alongside attributes which seem clearly to speak of union. For example, ‘as faithfull as friendly’.<sup>390</sup> The presence of friendship also compliments the importance of constancy and contentment, as friendship was a channel for these feelings.

Thirty-five of the posies made direct declarations of ‘self’ and many others did so in a subjective fashion. These posies promised that the giver had wholly devoted him or herself to the recipient. For example; ‘I AM YOURS KS’ and ‘MY HART YOY HAVE’.<sup>391</sup> Other rings professed a desire to have or to own the recipient, or to own each other: ‘I wish your hearts’ and ‘x Mine x thine x’.<sup>392</sup> These rings were able to act as conduits for faithfulness and exclusivity, as the declarations were made to one person alone. If necessary, offering oneself through an object allowed the ring to become a bartering system. For example, one ring read, ‘VF [if] . THIS. THEN. ME \*’.<sup>393</sup> Some posies bartered self in language which was less committing. For example, ‘for a kiss take this’.<sup>394</sup> Other posies bartered specific qualities. For example, ‘I will be kind if love I find S S’, ‘Constant you for I am trew [true]’ and finally, ‘If in thy loue thou constant bee My heart shall never part from thee.’<sup>395</sup> The majority of these

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<sup>389</sup> Debra Meyers, *Common Whores, Vertuous Women, and Loveing Wives: Free will, Christian Women in Colonial Maryland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), p.49. Robert Brink Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society: 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres* (Harlow: Longman, 1988), p.205.

<sup>390</sup> Posy Ring (1620-1700). On sale at Beganza Jewellery, London, 2013: 16229. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: ‘As faithfull as friendly.’

<sup>391</sup> Posy Ring (1500-1600). V&A: M.67-1960. Diameter: 1.9 cm. Inscription: ‘I AM YOURS KS.’ ‘KS’ probably meant ‘kiss.’ Posy Ring (1500-1700). PAS: SOM-914708. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: ‘MY HART YOY HAVE.’

<sup>392</sup> Posy Ring (1650-1750). PAS: SUR-6A3232. Diameter: 2.39 cm. Inscription: ‘I wish your hearts’. This may have once read, ‘hearts’ desire.’ Posy Ring (1650-1750). PAS: BH-99EBF7. Diameter: 1.89 cm. Inscription: ‘x Mine x Thine x.’

<sup>393</sup> Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.413. Diameter: 1.9 cm. Inscription: ‘VF . THIS . THEN . ME \*.’

<sup>394</sup> For example: Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.381. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: ‘A kiss for this’.

<sup>395</sup> Posy Ring (1680-1720). The British Museum: 1961,1202.296. Diameter: 2cm. Inscription: ‘I will be kind if love I find SS.’ Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.67. Diameter: 1.9 cm. Inscription: ‘Constant you for I am trew.’ Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum:

posies were pledges to commit oneself to another, in an act of devotion. The recipient could reflect upon the pledge whenever they chose, simply by thinking on their ring. This group of posies forms an interesting comparison with those which professed unity through God. For example, ‘MY HART IS YOVRS’ seems a physiological and self-centred posy, particularly when compared with one which reads ‘God alone of two makes one.’<sup>396</sup> The first promotes a transfer of self and feeling without expectation of reciprocity (though it may well have been) as well as the devotion of self to another person. The second promotes the role and influence of God in joining man and woman as one. The two sentiments do not need to be in conflict, but they do offer differing perspectives on love and feeling. One is self-driven, all-consuming and possessive. The other is mediated by a spiritual force from above, forming love into a mutual and nonphysical whole.

This latter group of posies demonstrate a connection between materiality and object creation, which both conveyed and manifested emotion. For example, ‘VF [if]. THIS . THEN . ME \*’ promoted the connection between object and giver, and the importance of the recipient accepting the gift.<sup>397</sup> In all, thirty-six posies made explicit references to the giver, to give, or the gift, including, ‘This and the giver is thine for ever’, ‘I give it thee my love to be’ and, ‘A friends gift.’<sup>398</sup> These rings were intended to be worn or at least kept for the duration of a union, but they captured a specific punctuation, a moment of exchange, within a relationship. The physicality of the object was a central component of the exchange, as the posies that make reference to ‘gift’ demonstrate. This punctuation could be reflected and remembered whenever the

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1961,1202.227. Diameter: 2.3 cm. Inscription: ‘If in thy loue thou constant bee My heart shall never part from thee.’

<sup>396</sup> Finger Ring (1550-1650). PAS: DOR-71A791. Diameter unknown. Inscription: ‘MY HART IS YOVRS.’ Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.266. Diameter: 2.3 cm. Inscription: ‘God alone of two makes one.’

<sup>397</sup> Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.413. Diameter: 1.9 cm. Inscription: ‘VF . THIS . THEN . ME \*.’

<sup>398</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.140. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: ‘This and the giver is thine for ever.’ Posy Ring (1616-1678). The British Museum: 1961,1202.137. Diameter: 1.85 cm. Inscription: ‘I give it thee my love to be.’ Posy Ring (c.1696). The British Museum: 1961,1202.128. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: ‘A friends gift.’

owner thought of the ring and the posy, it was a happy and key focal point. In other posies, the object was depicted as less important than the moment: for example, ‘NOT THE GIFT BVT THE GIVER.’<sup>399</sup> Posies which disparaged the value of the gift in relation to the worth of the giver are not uncommon in the corpus.<sup>400</sup> This method of gift exchange was somewhat contradictory, as the giver persisted in using an object to convey intent, even though they found materiality an inferior channel. The reason may be that materiality nevertheless provided a physical representation, which could outlast intent and memory. These posies reflect a specific manifestation of feeling that saw spiritual intent valued above material representation. This sentiment, however, was not universal, and was in conflict with hundreds of other surviving objects and posies, which promoted material culture as a credible channel of feeling.

Seventy-seven posies directly celebrated choice. Many more promoted choice with indirect wording, such as willing and good intent.<sup>401</sup> References to choice tend to be direct and authoritative: ‘I Like my choice’, ‘No content to your consent’ or, ‘I wold gladli’.<sup>402</sup> There are also a small number of rings which indicate indecision, such as ‘I want but wish Discussion’.<sup>403</sup> These too reveal individual decision-making and the rituals of courtship. Historians have long contested the role of choice, and for decades it remained at the heart of the debate on early-modern marriage.<sup>404</sup> Thanks to

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<sup>399</sup> Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.138. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: ‘NOT THE GIFT BVT THE GIVER’.

<sup>400</sup> See section in chapter three, pp.132-133.

<sup>401</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS YORYM-EAE3C2. Diameter: 1.9 cm. Inscription: BE WYLLING AND LOVINGE. Finger Ring (1550-1700). PAS: WILT-A75095. Diameter: 1.8 cm. Inscription: ‘Let this present my good intent.’

<sup>402</sup> Renaissance Posy Ring (1600-1700). On sale at Les Enluminures 2013: object ID 321-3. Diameter: 5.7 cm. Inscription: ‘I Like my choice.’ Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: SWYOR-F4AAE1. Diameter unknown. Inscription: ‘No content to your consent’. Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: DENO-C84DE1. Diameter unknown. Inscription: ‘I wold gladli’.

<sup>403</sup> Finger Ring (1650-1750). PAS: KENT-182620. Diameter: 1.5 cm. Inscription: ‘I wish but want Discussion’.

<sup>404</sup> For example: Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (CUP, 1981), p.89. Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450-1700* (New York: Routledge, 1984), p.77. Keith Wrightson, *English Society* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.22. Other examples: G. R. Quaipe, *Wanton Wenches and Wayward Wives: Peasants and Illicit Sex in Early Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Croom Helm, 1979). Peter Laslett, *Bastardy and its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica and Japan* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980), p.75. Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy and Marriage in Early-Modern*

the research of certain historians, including Ralph Houlbrooke, David Cressy and Keith Wrightson, scholars now largely agree that people were encouraged to and did exercise a type of choice in choosing partners.<sup>405</sup> Martin Ingram concluded that ‘Love, prudence, individual choice [and] family interest’ were all present in the making of union, while Laura Gowing wrote, ‘most powerful in determining the nature of marriage may be the fact that for the majority of the population, marriage was expected to be made by choice, at a relatively mature age, and with little parental pressure.’<sup>406</sup> Olwen Hufton suggested that the English had a peculiar and unique preoccupation with choice, nurtured by the growth of Protestantism.<sup>407</sup> However, while choice is now more widely accepted among scholars, it is still argued that choice was not necessarily symptomatic of falling in love. For example, Lucy Dillon concluded, ‘if love ever existed it must have followed, not preceded choice.’<sup>408</sup> Dillon implied that people wielded choice as part of a logical and rational thought-process, which had nothing to do with love, an idea which can be found in some contemporaneous works.<sup>409</sup>

The strong presence of references to choice in posies confirms that it was an expected component of love, a point further corroborated by the voices of diarists who recorded personal influence when selecting partners.<sup>410</sup> The majority of posies

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*England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p.134. Peter Laslett, *Family Life and Illicit Love in Earlier Generations: Essays in Historical Sociology* (CUP, 1977).

<sup>405</sup> Wrightson, *English Society*, p.78. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.235. Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family*, p.88. MacFarlane, *Marriage and Love in England*, pp.125-130. Further examples: Margaret J. M. Ezel, *The Patriarch’s Wife: Literary Evidence and the History of the Family* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), p.8. Mary Abbott, *Family Ties, English Families, 1540-1920* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1993), pp.54-57.

<sup>406</sup> Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (CUP, 1994), p.205. Laura Gowing, *Gender Relations in Early-Modern England*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p.36.

<sup>407</sup> Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, pp.103-107.

<sup>408</sup> Quoted in: Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, p.114.

<sup>409</sup> Barbaro Francesco, *Directions for Love and Marriage in Two Books* (London: John Leidgh, 1677), chapters 2-6.

<sup>410</sup> Example from literature: Anon., *An Answer to The Forced Marriage, or, The Old Man’s Vindication* (London, 1685). Jean-Pierre Camus, *Forced Marriage with its Fatal and Tragical Effects: Truly Represented in the Downfall of Two Illustrious Italian Families, under the names of Alcimus and Vannoza*, (Holborn, 1678). Crown, *Pandion and Amphigenia* (London, 1665), p.81. Thomas Hall, *The Beauty of Magistracy in an Exposition of the 82 Psalm* (London, 1660), p.81. Robert Abbott, *A Wedding Sermon preached at Bentley in Darby-shire* (London, 1608), p.1. Examples from diaries and correspondence: Olwen Hufton, *The Propsect Before Her: A History of Women in Western Europe*,

described love or loving qualities as occurring in the present tense. This habit may have been influenced by the wording of the Church of England wedding ceremony, which required love to exist at the time of union. Furthermore, giving and accepting a ring was usually demonstrative of a serious commitment or intention made after a period of courtship. This explains why many make reference to love or similar feelings already existing. In fact, the rings suggest that people experienced love before union and were active participants in deciding whom to marry. The greater questions are what constituted ‘choice’ and whether it was standard in the seventeenth century. For example, one posy described, ‘advised choice’.<sup>411</sup> Advised choice may have resulted from mentoring, possibly from parents and wider kin. Family approval would usually have been sought, but this would not necessarily be to the detriment of love. Neither would it prevent a couple from developing feelings for one another prior to consultation. Another ring referred to, ‘mutual consent’.<sup>412</sup> This indicates that willingness from man and woman was fundamental. Marriages created under forced conditions were understood to have weaker foundations than the desired model.<sup>413</sup> Furthermore, as nearly one third of all marriages were remarriages in the seventeenth century, analysis of choice should not focus too heavily on the model of a twenty-something year old, living under the roof and rule of a parent. Regardless of the circumstances, a lover’s ability to choose their partner was held to be integral evidence that their love was true. This is why it was a popular choice for posies, which became a focal point for emotion and intent after the wedding. Posies which described choice were material representations of an exclusive decision, intended to comfort and reassure the wearer that their lover had freely chosen to be with them.

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*Volume One, 1500-1800* (London: Fontanna Press, 1997), p.119. Roger Hudson (ed.), *The Grand Quarrel: Women’s Memoirs of the English Civil War* (Gloucestershire: The Folio Society, 2003), p.172. Letter from Thomas Kenyon to his father, Roger Kenyon, 8 June 1693, in the Kenyon family papers. Lancaster Record Office, [DDKE/9/66/9](#).

<sup>411</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: B6A247. Diameter unknown. Inscription: ‘ADVISED CHOYCE ADMITS NO CHAINGE’.

<sup>412</sup> Finger Ring (1595-1633). PAS: B6A247. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: ‘Mutuall consent gives true content’.

<sup>413</sup> For example: Anon., *The Two Unfortunate Lovers, or The Unhappy Marriage* (London, c.1688).



Posies that convey notions of faith commonly appeared within the corpus of rings and these provide an insightful comparison with the posies on choice. Posies that refer to faith can be divided into two broad types. The first are those that celebrated God or Christ, typically alongside or above love or the lover: for example, ‘Christ & thee are all to mee’, ‘Theire is none to me like Christ and thee’ and ‘I loue my loue next god above’.<sup>414</sup> The second type are posies which refer to love or a union that was sanctified, ordained or blessed by God. Many of these posies were based upon, or influenced by, ceremonial vows. For example, ‘As God hath knit t[w]o hartes in one So none shall part But death alone’ and ‘In · god · aboue \* we · ioyne [join] · our · loue \*’.<sup>415</sup> These were likely influenced by, ‘that which God has put together let no man put asunder’.<sup>416</sup> These posies reveal a spiritual sanctioning of love, wherein love was bolstered by a divine connection. This was indicative of a mind-set which sought guidance and confirmation from God in all matters. The inclusion of references to God and the possible sanction of Providence pose questions about the role of individual choice. Did lovers consider God’s ordained plan to be one in which they, themselves, sought out a partner, or one where they were subject to advice and influence from family, friends and clergy? Furthermore, lovers may have considered their advisers as godly conduits and the channels through which God made the choice but that they (the lovers) had the ability to recognise its rightness. All three methods may have been considered means of expressing an individual choice, though some posies offer greater clarity. For example, one reads, ‘Tho [though] the world hath striued to part Yet God hath Joyned us hand and heart’ (figure 4.0).<sup>417</sup>

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<sup>414</sup> Posy Ring (1688-1703). The British Museum: 1961,1202.55. Diameter: 2.25 cm. Inscription: ‘Christ & thee are all to mee’. Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.57. Diameter: 2.25 cm. Inscription: ‘Theire is none to me like Christ and thee’. Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.185. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: ‘I loue my loue next god above’.

<sup>415</sup> Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: AF.1204. Diameter: 2.23 cm. Inscription: ‘As God hath knit to hartes in one So none shall part But death alone’. Finger Ring (1600-1800). PAS: NMS-8CEFD5. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: ‘In · god · aboue \* we · ioyne · our · loue \*’.

<sup>416</sup> The vow is taken from The Church of England’s, *Book of Common Prayer* (1549, 1552, 1604, 1662).

<sup>417</sup> Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.241. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: ‘Tho the world hath striued to part Yet God hath Joyned us hand and heart’. Second example: Posy Ring (1601-1633). The British Museum: 1961,1202.272. Diameter: 2.15 cm. Inscription: ‘Thoe many thought us two to Seuer Yet god hath ioyned us two together’.



Figure 4.0: An example of posy with two line posy inscription.

Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.241. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of The British Museum. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

This particular couple were able to go against a tide of opinion, suggesting that they wielded individual choice, but chose to assign the decision-making process to God. Professing that a union was God's will was a powerful response to a doubting or objecting friend or family member. Perhaps then, faith was a means to promote and use individual choice, for all strands of the church. Indeed, to an early-modern mind, the selection of a partner may have been a heightened spiritual experience, and inseparable from notions of self-choice. However, some posies seem to go beyond these bounds of influence and describe an independent system of choice, that resulted in religious sanction and rejoicing, for example, 'As I in thee have made my choyce So let us both in god reioyce'.<sup>418</sup>

In a private sense, invoking God within an object was a means of reinforcing love, as it was a constant reminder to the recipient and to the giver that a greater power

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<sup>418</sup> Posy Ring (1610-1661). The British Museum: 1961,1202.24. Diameter: 2.1 cm. Inscription: 'As I in thee have made my choyce So let us both in god reioyce'.

was watching. This notion was described by the Reverend Robert Russel in a wedding sermon:

If they are not married according to the laws of the church of England then they might join themselves by way of contract; and then go off and prove false one to another: and the laws of man never teach them; for man cannot have an assurance that such are joined together by way of Contract; until it is confirmed by Marriage. But let such consider, that once when the Contract and Promise is made betwixt them, they twain immediately become one flesh, they are straight man and wife together; and though they are not publicly married as yet, yet let them know they cannot lawfully be parted, though the laws of man does not bind them from parting, yet the laws of God doth; for God who seeth and knoweth all things, takes notes of what passes betwixt them.<sup>419</sup>

The prominence of faith in posies, situated on the intimate and private inside of a ring, reveals not only the popularity of a religious commitment, but reminded wearers of the vows they had made, and of the qualities which a divine, marital love commanded. The religious posy therefore reminded the wearer of a divine union, by placing the inscribed vows upon the flesh, thus cementing loves connection between spiritual and earthly. Against the skin, in a private space, love and lover were elevated on a par with Christ. Love was as much a spiritual emotion, as it was a corporeal one.

Faith in God was undoubtedly an important ingredient in the formation of love and in how objects manifested emotion. However, it is striking that many surviving rings, and recorded posies in published guides, do not record love as a religious feeling.<sup>420</sup> The majority of posies in the corpus are a direct dialogue between lovers.

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<sup>419</sup> Robert Russel, *The Wedding Garment* (London: Printed for J. Blare, 1692), p.10.

<sup>420</sup> Examples include: Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.18. Diameter: 1.9 cm. Inscription: 'All I refues and thee i chus'. Posy Ring (1713-1714). The British Museum: 1961,1202.34. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription, 'I loue and like my choice'. Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.30. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: 'I like my choyce'.

This may reflect a movement wherein material culture developed as a means to convey and manifest a more secularised type of feeling. This does not mean that religious expression could not develop in tandem, but the objects in this study reveal a clear move toward and celebration of the love between individuals. This movement can be traced in virtually all areas of material culture, from portraits to knives and forks. For example, three large oak panels depict three generations and four marriages of the Norris family, at Speke Hall near Liverpool (c.1560 onwards). The panel on the furthest left depicts Henry Norris (d. c.1524) and his wife Clemens, they stand side by side, with Henry's arm about her waist and their right hands interlinked. Clemens lifts her head to look at Henry who is smiling. The centre and largest panel depicts William Norris, who commissioned the carving. To his right is his first wife, Ellen Bulkley (d c.1530) and to his left, his second wife, Anne Scriven. William sits between them smiling, while each wife turns to look at him. Beneath each woman are her children with William. This was nineteen in all, including two depicted separately who died before the carving was made. The final carvings on the far right represent the future generation. William's eldest son, Edward Norris (d.1605) and his wife, Margaret Smallwood. Margaret is the only woman depicted significantly smaller than her husband, as she stands on a raised platform. This may have been because Margaret was in her teens at the time.

The panels depict a secular scene, recording personalities and roles within a household. The purpose of the piece was to record and celebrate people, marriages and family, in the past, present and future. The carvings are therefore manifestations of familial love. The most emotive relationship represented is the one between grandfather and grandmother (Henry and Clemens) (figure 4.1).



Figure 4.1: A panel from the large oak fireplace carving at Speke Hall near Liverpool, owned by the National Trust. This panel depicts Henry and Clemens Norris, with their five children below. (c.1570s). Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

Their hands are linked and Henry's arm is around the waist of Clemens, representing a happy and successful marriage. This may have been an accurate depiction but it may also represent a slightly coloured view, as the carving was commissioned by their son around forty years after Henry had died. A viewer is, therefore, witnessing Edward's impression of his mother and father together. Edward's admiration was further represented in the status afforded to Henry's dress and, arguably, Clemens was carved in the grandest of the dresses. In addition to this celebration of marital love, the carving includes two of Edward's deceased children. One died as a baby and the other, also Edward, as an adult at the Battle of Pinkie (1547). Therefore, the carvings were manifestations of two of the tragedies which the Norris family, and Norris marriages, had to endure. Further analysis of how dead loved-ones were commemorated will follow this chapter, but it is worth noting that the children, like the couples, became lasting manifestations of memory and devotion in the creation of the carving.

The growth of individual, secularised figures within material culture and their ability to represent secularised manifestations of love is complex. As observed in chapter two, embroideries mixed religious representations of people with mythical, both of which were represented in contemporaneous secular clothing. However, it is clear that some objects were made purely to convey love between two people, and that religious faith, therefore, was not a necessary component when understanding all forms of love and its expression. Furthermore, secular figures were used within material culture and print to tell moralistic tales. For example, a plasterwork panel of over three meters long in the Great Hall at Montacute House in Somerset, depicts ‘A Skimmington Ride’ (c.1601) (figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2: ‘A Skimmington Ride’ frieze at Montacute House, Somerset. Image belongs to Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

The frieze contains two scenes. The first is of a husband caring for a baby, while drinking from a barrel. Behind him, his wife strikes out with a shoe, having discovered her husband drinking while caring for her child. Behind the wife, an onlooker lifts up his hands in horror at the subversion of gender roles and the disturbed peace. In the next scene, the husband is forced to sit astride a long pole, carried through a village scene by nine people. This display, therefore, depicts a problematic union and the response of the community. Punishment falls on the head of the weak ‘hen-pecked’ husband, though the wife was likely to be condemned as aggressive and domineering.<sup>421</sup> As the large frieze is situated within the grand hall by

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<sup>421</sup> A similar example can be found in a ballad: Anon., *Poor Anthony’s Lamentation against his Miseries of Marriage meeting with a Scolding Wife* (London, c.1660).

the main door, this was clearly intended to be a focal point for anyone entering or working in the house. As the largest room in a great house, it may also have served as a courtroom for local cases. The makers and commissioners of this frieze used a secular scene with everyday people to convey a moralistic tale, and to reinforce perceived gender roles within marriage and love. The morals of 'A Skimmington Ride' could be supported by Scripture, but the hen-pecked husband and scolding wife were secular characters from the community. Both the frieze and carved fireplace suggest that even in the very early seventeenth century, people were developing a form of material expression that was reflective of individuals and real people. However, as Tara Hamling observed, religious material expression did not disappear from the household.<sup>422</sup> Rather the expansion of trade and material culture allowed for numerous forms of material expression, some of which were religious, some of which were not, and many more which contained elements of both. The frieze also reveals how material culture can be used to recover subversive, unhappy and even abusive qualities of love and marriage. While these perspectives fall outside the realms of this study, several scholars have revealed that the symbolic importance of objects made their subversion all the more severe. For example, the sacredness of the marital bed could be upturned and inverted by abuse and murder.<sup>423</sup>

By turning to the objects and how they were used, we can achieve further clarity on how love was understood. William Temple and Dorothy Osborne recorded dozens of objects that they exchanged and used. Their letters were written during a period of separation in their ten-year courtship, when both families objected to the match.<sup>424</sup> Dorothy described how William sent her a lock of his hair and then went on to detail what this meant to her and what she did with it:

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<sup>422</sup> Tara Hamling, *Decorating the 'Godly' Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (London: Yale University Press, 2010).

<sup>423</sup> Laura Gowing, 'The Twinkling of a Bedstaff' in *Home Cultures* (2014), 11:3, pp.275-304. Sarah Ann Robin, 'The Public and Private Realms in the Seventeenth Century: A Parameter of Wood and Fabric' in *The Luminary: Sleepless Beds* (2013), 3, pp.62-73.

<sup>424</sup> Jane Dunn, *Read my Heart, Dorothy Osborne and Sir William Temple: A Love Story in the Age of Revolution* (London: Harper Press, 2008), pp.95-96, p.107.

Twill be pleasinger to you, I am sure, to tell you how fond I am of your lock. Well, in earnest now, and setting aside all compliment, I never saw finer hair, nor of a better colour; but cut no more on't, I would not have it spoiled for the world. If you love me, be careful on't. I am combing, and curling, and kissing this lock all day, and dreaming on't all night... Send me a tortoise-shell one to keep it on... I would not have the rule absolutely true without exception that hard hairs are ill natured, for then I should be so. But I can allow that all soft hairs are good, and so are you, or I am deceived as much as you are if you think I do not love you enough.<sup>425</sup>

Dorothy evidently adored her gift. She studied, touched, kissed, and slept with William's hair. This was a series of sensualised rituals, which allowed Dorothy to dwell on William, and to manifest and develop her feelings toward him. Furthermore, in the letter, she informed William that she was using his hair in this sensual, intimate and sexual way. This manifestation of love was a private ritual conducted by Dorothy, but she decided to share it with William, in order to heighten the experience for both of them. Dorothy then requested that William send her a tortoiseshell box and comb. The box was to preserve the hair indefinitely, and she required a comb to further enhance her interaction with William's hair. It is highly likely that Dorothy already owned a comb, but she wanted one which was symbolic of William when combing his hair. Hence, the comb had to be a gift from him. The act was not performed out of necessity, as the severed hair did not require combing or touching to be preserved. Therefore, this object manifestation was created and developed by Dorothy. Dorothy could have shut the hair away for safety, but she decided to orchestrate rituals of use, in order to feel closer to William. Hair was the crucial enabling factor. Any gift had the power to represent the giver, but a gift composed of the body of the giver possessed greater resonance. The act of giving and using hair symbolised a transferral

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<sup>425</sup> Dorothy Osborne and E. A. Parry (ed.), *The Letters from Dorothy Osborne to Sir William Temple* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1932), letter 57.



of ownership, allowing Dorothy to figuratively possess William. Tokens such as these were powerful representations of self and coincidentally, they could have legal sway. If betrothals or marriages were contested, then objects like this could be used as proof of intent and the transferral of body and mind to another person in union.<sup>426</sup>

Dorothy's devotion to William's hair was not a unique ritual of love. Aphra Behn published a book of poems in 1697 which told of the admiration bestowed upon a lock of hair woven in a true-lover's knot, secured in a gold locket. The hair was described as a 'Bright Relique', able to wield significant power:

And all these shining Hairs which th'inspir'd Maid  
Has with such strange Mysterious Fancy laid,  
Are meant his Shafts; the subt'lest surest Darts  
That ever Conqu' red or Secur'd his Hearts;  
Darts that such tender Passions do convey,  
Not the young Wounder is more soft than they.<sup>427</sup>

In this poem, studying and preserving the object enabled a lock of hair to be documented as a potent mediator in the manifestation of love. Use was central to this process, as was the power of the hair to represent a person and a bond. For example, in the 1620s, Lady Venetia Stanley was purported to have given a bracelet of her hair to Sir Kenelm Digby. While the details of what then happened are sketchy, Venetia was told, by her parents, that Kenelm had died. She may then have begun a relationship with another man. John Aubrey wrote, 'Sir Edmund Wyld had her picture [a miniature] (and you may imagine was very familiar with her).'<sup>428</sup> When Kenelm found out that Venetia had formed an attachment by means of giving a miniature, he

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<sup>426</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.265.

<sup>427</sup> Aphra Behn, *Poems Upon Several Occasions with a Voyage to the Island of Love* (London, 1697), pp.77-78.

<sup>428</sup> John Aubrey and Andrew Clark (ed.), *"Brief Lives" Chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey in Years 1669-1696* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), pp.231-233.

tore off her hair bracelet and burned it.<sup>429</sup> Digby believed that the material representations of Venetia corresponded with those to whom she was devoted. When Digby believed Venetia had been untrue, the object was transformed into a lie, an insulting material inversion of his feelings. Digby no longer wanted to possess the ability to manifest his feelings on Venetia. Hence Digby destroyed the hair bracelet, because ultimately, the hair represented Venetia. The power of hair objects was similar to those declarations of self as outlined in posy inscriptions, which were a means of giving and obtaining self. Keeping these objects was an integral part of exchange. Object preservation, keeping and care were types of use which aided in the preservation and development of love. The destruction of an object was equal testament of the object's ability to invoke the giver.

The use of body parts or representations of the body as highly emotionally-charged objects predated this period, and rooted in the use of religious objects. It was this established practice, of worshipping relics, which aided in making these love objects so powerful. Lyndal Roper noted this when she spoke of sixteenth-century relics, 'Physicality is extremely important: objects associated with the body, clothing, or even parts of the body itself are prime candidates for becoming relics. Pre-reformation cultures had used relics as a powerful form of devotion.'<sup>430</sup> As people came to create their own personal and more human-focused objects, it is important to note that part of the sacredness associated with the religious was also able to convey human, secular love. Victoria Bladen and Marcus Harnes concluded that our modern conceptions of secular as 'distinguished from the church and religion' cannot be applied to an early-modern mindset, wherein 'religion pervaded every facet of material and intellectual life'.<sup>431</sup> When 'secular' is referred to here, it is meant to

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<sup>429</sup> Ann Summer, *Death, Passion and Politics: Van Dyke's Portraits of Venetia Stanley and George Digby* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1995), pp.27-29.

<sup>430</sup> Lyndal Roper, 'Luther's Relics' in Dagmar Eichberger and Jennifer Spinks (eds.), *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Brill, 2015), p.331.

<sup>431</sup> Victoria Bladen and Marcus Harnes (eds.), *Supernatural and Secular Power in Early Modern England* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), p.2.

pertain to something of this world, something earthly and individual, but that understanding and focus may well have been influenced and shaped by religion.

As noted in the example of Venetia's picture, miniatures were able to manifest emotion. While miniatures lacked the actual bodily connection of hair, miniatures nevertheless provided a representation of the body. For example, a miniature by the well-known artist Isaac Oliver, depicts an unknown gentleman (figure 4.3).



Figure 4.3: The miniature of a man consumed by flames. Note how the flames emanate from the man, symbolising his lust and attraction for the recipient.

Isaac Oliver, *Miniature of a Man consumed by flames* (c.1610). Ham House NT: 3 [379]. Dimensions: approx. 7 cm from base to top. Image was taken by Sarah Ann Robin and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

The sitter wears a flowing blue top, loosely fastened, so as to reveal his neck. This state of undress gives the portrait an intimate mood, as if seeing the man through his lover's eyes. Behind and before the man, Oliver painted dancing flames, and above

the man is a Latin phrase, which translates as, 'he freezes who does not burn.'<sup>432</sup> This phrase and the flames communicated lust and desire for the recipient. The sitter wears a gold hoop in his ear, with a golden heart suspended below. This heart was symbolic of his love for the recipient and it may have even been a gift from his lover. The intricate detail of the miniature encouraged a viewer not only to observe, but to study and gaze upon the man and the message. A second, similar example is housed by the V&A. This miniature, by Nicholas Hilliard, depicts another gentleman in a similar, intimate state of undress (figure 4.4).<sup>433</sup>



Figure 4.4: Miniature of a second man against the flames, painted in an intimate state of undress.

Nicholas Hilliard, *Miniature* (c.1600). V&A: P.5-1917. Dimensions: 8.5 x 6 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the V&A. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

The man is pictured before a wall of flames, which again symbolised his desire for the recipient. He holds a picture box or miniature between his fingers, which hangs on a long chain about his neck. The image within his necklace is hidden, but it would be logical to suggest that it contained a picture of the person who had received his

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<sup>432</sup> Isaac Oliver, *Miniature of a Man consumed by flames* (c.1610). Ham House NT: 3 [379]. Dimensions: approx. 7 cm from base to top.

<sup>433</sup> Nicholas Hilliard, *Miniature* (c.1600). V&A: P.5-1917. Dimensions: 8.5 x 6 cm.

miniature. Secret knowledge allowed lovers to manifest feeling and draw connections between each other through objects, which no one else understood. This intimacy was enabled by the size of miniatures, which meant one could sit at a person's bedside, or be worn against the flesh under clothes. A third example depicts Henry Percy, the 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Northumberland, reclining on the ground in a wood or garden with his shirt loosely fastened (figure 4.5).<sup>434</sup>



Figure 4.5: The informal miniature of Henry Percy; too distracted to read his open book, with a discarded glove in the background.

Nicholas Hilliard, *Miniature of Henry Percy* (1695). The Fitzwilliam Museum: PD.3-1953. Dimensions: 5.2 x 6.4 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

He supports his head on one hand; an open book with a pinkish red ribbon or bookmark beside him. Red, yellow and white flowers grow around and a left-handed glove lies to his right. Henry turns away from the book, staring into the distance as if distracted. The pose conveys how Henry was dwelling upon his lover and unable to read his book. The recipient could gaze upon the miniature in the same way Henry stared into the distance. This provided a connection through action and was also a reminder that they were thinking about one another. The symbol or ritual of the

<sup>434</sup> Nicholas Hilliard, *Miniature of Henry Percy* (1695). The Fitzwilliam Museum: PD.3-1953. Dimensions: 5.2 x 6.4 cm.

lover's gaze grew in popularity in the eighteenth century, when miniatures of the eye alone became popular.<sup>435</sup> However, as this analysis shows, the roots of this ritual were very much in place in the seventeenth century.

While little is known about the two unidentified sitters in the aforementioned miniatures, the miniature of Henry Percy can be situated within a relationship. Henry married Dorothy Devereux around 1595. This fits with the estimated time the miniature was painted, and suggests that it was intended as a gift for Dorothy. This personal item communicated Henry's desire and at minimum, hopes for affection and love, in a match which may have been largely orchestrated by the bride and groom's parents. Whether or not their love, or even affection, was present at the time it was painted, the miniature reveals an ideological hope for love. The small size of the miniature indicates that it was intended to be a personal gift for Dorothy that she could study at her leisure. A miniature also exists of Henry and Dorothy's daughter. She too was called Dorothy, and she became Countess of Leicester in 1615/16.<sup>436</sup> She married Robert Sidney in secret and their marriage was made public the following year. The miniature of Dorothy is not dated, but is estimated at 1615, suggesting it formed a part of their secret courtship.<sup>437</sup> On the miniature, Dorothy's hair is down and flowing, which implied an intimate, informal state, much like the unfastened shirts of the men. A garland of flowers sits on her head, symbolic of her purity and chastity. Robert Sidney could wear, study and hold the image, all in secret if required. These miniatures could be used privately or publically, depending on the wishes of the user and the circumstances of the exchange. However, the undressed and intimate state of two of the male sitters and of Dorothy suggests that these may have been

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<sup>435</sup> Graham C. Boettcher, *The Look of Love: Eye Miniatures from the Skier Collection* (London: D. Giles, 2012).

<sup>436</sup> Peter Oliver, *Miniature of Lady Dorothy Percy* (c.1615). This miniature was sold at Bonhams, Bond Street, London on 22 April 2004: Action 1185. Lot 4. Dimensions: 5.2. cm (h). A second example: *Miniature of Henry Wriothesley* (c.1590). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 3856. Dimensions: 4.1 x 3.2 cm.

<sup>437</sup> The date 1615-1620 would also fit with other similar works completed by Peter and Isaac Oliver, and Nicholas Hilliard. For example: Isaac Oliver, *Miniature of an Unknown Man* (c.1610). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 3866. Dimensions: 4.9 x 3.9 cm. Second example: Peter Oliver, *Portrait Miniature believed to be Venetia Stanley* (1615-1620). V&A: P.3&A-1950. Dimensions: 6.4 x 5 cm.

considered more private objects, than, for example, a miniature of a fully clothed person.

Miniatures reveal material exchange and use among courtships of the wealthy.<sup>438</sup> While cheaper pictures were probably available, the cost of a miniature remained a significant outlay. This point is captured in Shadwell's *A True Widow* (1679) by a character named Prigg:

Prigg: I love and honour Ranter, I care not who knows it; I made a Song of him, have his Picture by my Bed-side, and some of his Hair here in a crystal Locket.

Mag: I beseech your Ladyship, Accept of my thousand pound, 'twill make up the Money for that Purchase, sweet Madam.<sup>439</sup>

In the play, the cost of the miniatures and rock crystal hair piece amounted to one thousand pounds. While this may have been an exaggeration, it still suggests a huge outlay. However, the ways in which these expensive objects were used could be paralleled and replicated in other, cheaper objects. For example, a crudely engraved heart-shaped locket was inscribed, or rather scratched, on the back, 'Yours to vse.'<sup>440</sup> At a minimum, 'use' referred to keeping and wearing the locket. However, this locket has been purposefully rubbed on the front. Perhaps the posy invited the recipient to touch and rub the object. This ritual could have been for luck, but it also provided the owner with an opportunity to manifest their feelings through touching the object. Any object could act as an extension of the giver's self and therefore keeping, carrying, touching, gazing, smelling, sleeping with, wearing or holding an object could all aid

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<sup>438</sup> For example: Osborne, *The Letters from Dorothy Osborne*, letter 57. Summer, *Death, Passion and Politics*, pp.27-29. Later examples: Graham Reynolds, *British Portrait Miniatures* (CUP, 1998), p.128. Robin Jaffe Frank, *Love and Loss: American Portrait and Mourning Miniatures* (Connecticut: Yale University Gallery, 2000), p.viii.

<sup>439</sup> Thomas Shadwell, *A True Widow* (London, 1679), p.21.

<sup>440</sup> Silver Locket (1600-1700). PAS: NARC-5BD1F6. Dimensions: 1.6 x 0.3 cm. Inscription: 'Yours to vse.'

in the manifestation of love regardless of object type or cost.<sup>441</sup> Letters were also able to perform the same function. Emotion was not just conveyed in words, a reader was able to manifest their feelings through keeping and handling the paper.

An examination of object use, of rings and pendants in particular, can be further illuminated through objects within portraiture.<sup>442</sup> An extensive study of portraiture has revealed that while rings were generally uniform in shape, how they were worn or used varied enormously. Rings were worn on both hands and all fingers and thumbs. For example, a portrait of an unknown lady, thought to be Elizabeth Boucher (1598-1665), depicts her wearing two jewelled rings; one on the small finger, one on the fourth, and a plain gold band on her thumb, all on her left hand.<sup>443</sup> Another portrait of an unknown sitter, thought to be from the Talbot family, depicts a lady with a gold band on the fourth finger of her left hand, and a ring set with a dark coloured stone on her first finger.<sup>444</sup> A final portrait example of an unknown lady depicts a ring, set with a large clear stone, on the first finger of her right hand.<sup>445</sup> Portraits also depict people wearing rings suspended from or secured by thread or chains. A portrait of Anne Spencer (d.1618) depicts her wearing a ring on the fourth finger of her right hand, secured by a black thread about her wrist.<sup>446</sup> John Souch's deathbed portrait of Magdalene Aston depicts her wearing a simple band on the fourth finger of her left hand, but also with a second ring, attached to her clothing below the neck.<sup>447</sup> A portrait of Sir Henry Lee (1568) depicted Henry with a jewelled ring hung

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<sup>441</sup> Leora Auslander, 'Beyond Words' in *American Historical Review* (2005), 110:4, pp.1015-1045.

<sup>442</sup> In order to gain an overall impression, portraits were studied from dozens of private and entrusted collections, and a thorough search was completed of relevant portraits from the BBC's *Your Paintings* online database.

<sup>443</sup> Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady* (c.1650). The Captain Christie Crawford English Civil War Collection: 43. Dimensions: 72 x 58.8 cm.

<sup>444</sup> Unknown Artist, *Portrait of an unknown lady, thought to be of the Talbot family* (1598). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 1773. Dimensions: 51.4 cm x 40 cm.

<sup>445</sup> Cornelius Johnson, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady* (1646). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 3519. Dimensions: 83.9 x 70.5 cm.

<sup>446</sup> British (English) School, *Portrait of Anne Spencer* (c.1610). The Knole (NT): 129912. Dimensions: 114.5 x 84 cm.

<sup>447</sup> John Souch, *Portrait of Sir Thomas Aston at the Deathbed of His Wife* (1635). Manchester City Galleries: 1927.150. Dimensions: 203.2 x 215.1 cm. Second example of portrait showing a woman wearing a ring on the fourth finger of her left hand: Marcus Gheeraerts the younger, *Portrait of Lady Frances Cavendish* (c.1610). Hardwick Hall NT: 1129107. Dimensions: 110.5 x 78.5 cm. Further



around his neck on a bright red chord; the tip of his thumb pushed through the ring.<sup>448</sup>

This ring would certainly not have fit onto Henry's thumb and it seems unlikely to have fit any of his fingers either (figure 4.6).



Figure 4.6: The portrait of Henry Lee, wherein he slips the tip of his thumb through a gold ring, which is suspended from a red ribbon or necklace.

Antonio Moor, *Portrait of Sir Henry Lee* (1568). NPG: 20095. Dimensions: 6.4 x 5.3 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of The National Portrait Gallery, London (hereafter NPG). COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

My initial research of portraiture suggests that the ways people wore rings were not uniform, and was likely to have been influenced by religious and political change. For example, at some point in the mid to late sixteenth century, the hand on which the wedding ring was intended to be worn changed from right to left, under pressure from Protestant Reformers. Despite these changes, the fourth finger retained a particular resonance for wearing marital rings. David Cressy observed how, in Tudor times, the ring was placed on the fourth finger, where it should be left, owing

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examples: Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady* (c.1590). Salford Museum and Art Galleries: 1958-30. Dimensions: 112 x 91.5 cm. Johannes Priwitzer, *Portrait of Lucy Harrington* (1600-1630). Hardwick Hall NT: 1129113. Dimensions: 147 x 103.5 cm. Hendrick Cornelisz. van Vliet, *Portrait of a Lady in Black* (c.1640). Holburne Museum: A247. Dimensions: 76 x 73 cm. Daniel Mytens, *Portrait of Lionel Cranfield* (1620). The Knole NT: 129887. Dimensions: 214 x 126.6 cm. Daniel Mytens, *Second Portrait of Lionel Cranfield* (c.1620). The Knole NT: 129737. Dimensions: 221 x 137 cm.

<sup>448</sup> Antonio Moor, *Portrait of Sir Henry Lee* (1568). NPG: 20095. Dimensions: 6.4 x 5.3 cm.

to a crucial vein in that finger which ran directly to the heart.<sup>449</sup> This belief was still acknowledged in the seventeenth century, as in 1658, the Reverend Nathaniel Harding referred to an ancient line or connection between fourth finger and heart: ‘that finger of all the rest has a small nerve passing from it to the heart, the truth of this I leave to skilful Anatomists to determine.’<sup>450</sup> Therefore, wearing a ring on the fourth finger was believed to connect the ring directly to the heart, if not literally, then symbolically.

The wedding ring and ceremony continued to be subject to changes and criticism throughout the seventeenth century. In 1653 an Act of Parliament made marriage before a Justice of the Peace the only valid process, and within this ceremony, no rings were exchanged at all. This act was revoked ten years afterward. During the years it was in place, couples were not forbidden from a church wedding before or after the civil ceremony, but exchanging rings was the subject of reproach. For example, Samuel Butler’s poem *Hudibras*, described the years of the Commonwealth and Civil War. Butler noted how the wedding ring should be abolished, because the Bridegroom ‘is married only to a thumb.’<sup>451</sup> To some reformers, the ring came to represent the perceived excesses and ritualistic symbolism of Catholicism. In this study’s corpus, it is largely impossible to ascertain whether rings were worn by Catholics or Protestants (or indeed by both, at different stages in their lives). However it is clear that both religious and political change altered how rings were used and understood.

Therefore, while the ring was intended to be worn on the fourth finger because of an ancient connection between that finger and the heart, thus cementing its association with love, it is uncertain how vital this was in the reality of conveying love. The act of wearing a ring was embroiled in religious and political debate, and on what hand, finger or body part the ring was worn upon could convey differing

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<sup>449</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, pp.337-8.

<sup>450</sup> Nathaniel Hardy, *Love and Fear, The Inseparable Twins of Blest Matrimony* (London: T.C., 1658), p.15.

<sup>451</sup> Samuel Butler, *Hudibras: Written in the Time of the Late Wars* (CUP, 1901): originally published 1678, p.247.

allegiances, as could not wearing a ring at all. Variation in how rings were worn would also have been influenced by the practicalities of inheriting rings and of the difficulties in getting rings resized, particularly as the official goldsmiths were centred in London. As part of the value of the ring lay in its material, especially if it was gold, an owner might well have been reluctant to reduce its size. Dorothy Osborne noted rings that were a little big were considered lucky.<sup>452</sup> She also wrote that she was not superstitious, and her preference for a larger than necessary ring was probably to accommodate weight gain during pregnancy, or so the ring could be worn over a glove, or because it was worth more money. If rings were frequently too big or ill-fitting, they would not consistently have been worn on the fingers. They may have been kept safe elsewhere or tied to the body in some other way.<sup>453</sup> This implies that rings did not have to be seen publically, or worn on a particular finger, in order to fulfil their functions. Analysing portraits has revealed the variety of usage, but cannot uncover rings or other objects that may have been worn secretly. Rings were heavily sentimental, emotionally-charged objects, but their ability to manifest feeling, particularly through posies, was private and subject to the desires of the individual. They did have public functions too, as the ‘golden fetter’ which declared whether someone was married to a community, but the variations in how they were worn in pictures and texts indicates a more complex picture.<sup>454</sup> Rings did not have to be worn in a certain way, or even seen, to fulfil their role as an object of love.

Thomas Dilke’s play, *The Lover’s Luck*, was first performed in 1696. In a scene between two lovers, one said, ‘O this happy Night. But to remember it, A Locket, or your Picture.’ Her lover responded, ‘Take this ring, to make a better

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<sup>452</sup> Osborne and Parry, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne*, letter 56.

<sup>453</sup> OBP, July 1684, Edward Kirk, (t16840702-6). This court record details the murder of Joan Kirk by her husband, Edward Kirk. In the account, Edward Kirk ‘desired her’ to bring her wedding ring on the outing of their murder, presumably so that he could sell it on afterward. The case demonstrates that Joan was not wearing her ring consistently. A second example: OBP, January 1691, Ann Webb (t16910115-6). The court record explained how Ann Webb stole the wedding ring of the wife of Leonard Blickery, from a locked closet. This also suggests that the victim was not wearing her ring.

<sup>454</sup> Edward Sharpham, *Cupids Whirligig As it hath bene sundry times acted by the Children of the Kings Majesties Reuels* (London, 1607), C2.

marriage.<sup>455</sup> The audience would have been accustomed to this talk of object exchange, and aware that they were watching lovers attempt to consolidate love and commit to one another. However, Dilke's play highlights another important object role. The object was integral to 'remember' the night. This was in part to do with commitment, but it also reveals how objects were essential tools for lovers who were unable to be physically together. In the early-modern period, couples and families could be parted by great distances. This added a novel dimension to and reason for the exchange of objects. Letters and material culture spiralled across the Atlantic and into the new colonies in huge webs of connections. A group of such objects survive, which were once owned by the Winslow family. The Winslows were early settlers in Plymouth Colony, which is now part of Massachusetts. In 1620, Edward Winslow and Susanna White were passengers on board the Mayflower. At that time, they were married to other people but both spouses died soon after arrival. In 1621, Edward and Susanna married, which was the first marriage to take place in Plymouth colony. The two lived together in America for more than twenty years and had five children together, in addition to the two children that Susanna brought from her first marriage. In 1646, civil war in England called Edward away from Plymouth colony and from Susanna. Following the execution of Charles I, Edward Winslow was sent on an expedition to the West Indies.<sup>456</sup> Edward died in the West Indies around 1655, probably after contracting yellow fever, and was buried at sea. Susanna lived on in America and died at some point before 1675. The two, therefore, did not see each other after Edward left for England in 1646.

When Edward Winslow was in London, around 1650, he was joined by his eldest surviving son, Josiah Winslow. There, Josiah married one Penelope Pelham. Josiah and Penelope had portraits painted to mark this occasion.<sup>457</sup> Penelope's portrait depicts her body facing toward the left, with one hand over her chest. Josiah's portrait

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<sup>455</sup> Thomas Dilke, *The Lover's Luck* (London, 1698), p.19.

<sup>456</sup> Pene Behrens, *Footnotes: A Biography of Penelope Pelham, 1633-1703* (Maine: Spentpenny Press, 1998), pp.14-15.

<sup>457</sup> See: Behrens, *Footnotes: A Biography of Penelope Pelham*, (1998).

faces to his right, toward her, with his hand held over his heart.<sup>458</sup> These were well-known stances, but still meaningful representations of a union, a loving gesture, such as a hand over the heart, communicated emotion, and hopes for happiness. In addition to the two portraits, a third picture, of Josiah's father, Edward Winslow, has survived. Of the three paintings, this is the only one dated (1651) and the similarities in style suggest that it was painted by the same artist, around the same time, as the other two. Edward was painted looking out of the painting with a letter in his hand. The only legible part of the painted letter is at the bottom, which reads, 'your loving wife, Susanna' (figure 4.7).<sup>459</sup>



Figure 4.7: The only surviving portrait of Edward Winslow, painted during the separation from his wife, Susanna.

Portrait of Edward Winslow (1651). Pilgrim Hall Massachusetts. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of Pilgrim Hall, Massachusetts. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

This painted letter was a representation of Susanna's and Edward's correspondence, and importantly, of their marriage. The exchange of letters and goods was the vital

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<sup>458</sup> Unknown artist, *Portrait of Josiah Winslow* (1651). Pilgrim Hall Massachusetts. Unknown artist, *Portrait of Penelope Winslow* (1651). Pilgrim Hall Massachusetts. Further information see: William Jenks, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Volume VII, of the third series* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1838), p.286.

<sup>459</sup> Unknown artist, *Portrait of Edward Winslow* (1651). Pilgrim Hall, Massachusetts.

link which kept them together across the vast Atlantic. The letter was of enough sentimental value to Edward that he included it in his only portrait. The painted letter was an intended point of comfort for Susanna, who would see and live with the portrait, when it was taken to the Winslow estate with Josiah and Penelope. By including the letter, held within his fingertips, Edward demonstrated his commitment to Susanna, despite the lengthy absence and great distance between them. However, Edward's painting was not just a manifestation of comfort, it was an unavoidable point of sorrow. If he and Susanna had been together on the occasion of their eldest son's wedding, there would have been two sets of twin paintings. The letter represented Susanna in the painting, and as such was a substitute. Edward's painting was a manifestation of their separation, as much as it was intended to comfort. Objects could not remove the pain of separation, but through an ability to represent self and to manifest emotion, they were able to offer comfort. Objects were always only substitutes, but they were fundamental substitutes.

William Temple and Dorothy Osborne upheld and enhanced their relationship during periods of separation through the exchange of objects and words. Dorothy's letters are full of references to the exchange of foods, cures for ailments, books and perfumed waters, in addition to the aforementioned lock of hair, picture and ring.<sup>460</sup> Each object was a manifestation of continuing commitment and a symbol of defiance against their objecting families. While their letters were written principally to be read, they too were cherished as physical things.<sup>461</sup> Dorothy intimated this when she wrote the letters were a means of reaching William, 'never anybody was persecuted with such long epistles; but you will pardon my unwillingness to leave you.'<sup>462</sup> Dorothy and William's correspondence demonstrates that gifts, as extensions of self, were a means to close distances. However, gifts were also opportunities to bring happiness and pleasure to a recipient. This process was a natural component of being in love.

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<sup>460</sup> Osborne, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne*, letters 3, 15, 16, 23, 24, 55.

<sup>461</sup> Osborne, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne*, letters 15, 16, 28, 35.

<sup>462</sup> Osborne, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne*, letter 12.

Gift-giving has largely been understood a means of economic commitment and as part of the stages which led to marriage. Diana O'Hara noted that in the sixteenth century, 'the making of marriage should be regarded as an extended and complex process of communication, signalled with gifts from beginning to end, wherein the language of tokens embodied an ambiguous interplay of emotions and behaviour.'<sup>463</sup> However, as my research reveals, the exchange was just one part of the process. Receiving, owning and using the gift were equally important, as they allowed lovers to manifest and develop feeling. Exchange was not all about creating and giving. Furthermore, gifts were not purely concerned with economic demonstration and commitment. The objects demonstrate that feelings were often well established before objects were created, which allowed them to further manifest and develop all sorts of feelings.

On 22 June 1654, Dorothy Osborne wrote a letter to William Temple issuing a series of requests relating to specific objects. Dorothy first requested a pair of French tweezers that she assured William, 'shall cut no love.'<sup>464</sup> This point complements the analysis in chapter three, concerning posies and objects, where function, shape and material were believed to convey feeling.<sup>465</sup> Hence, Dorothy deemed it necessary, either in sincerity or jest, to assure William that tweezers would not cut or sever her affection. Dorothy then went onto write more about their material exchange and how she received the objects:

I have not thanked you yet for my tweezers and essences; they are both very good. I kept one of the little glasses myself; remember my ring, and in return, if I go to London whilst you are in Ireland, I'll have my picture taken in little and send it you.<sup>466</sup>

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<sup>463</sup> Diana O'Hara, *Courtship and Constraint, Rethinking the Making of Marriage in Tudor England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p.64.

<sup>464</sup> Osborne, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne*, letter 54.

<sup>465</sup> Chapter three, pp.132-134.

<sup>466</sup> Osborne, *Letters from Dorothy Osborne*, letter 55.

Sweet perfumes were a practical gift but they were also evocative of feeling, as the essence was sweet, harmonious and pleasant. The connection between scent and love is further strengthened by surviving scent cases and pomanders, which were decorated with amorous tropes. For example, a silver case was set with a figure of Cupid atop, drawing back his bow to fire an arrow.<sup>467</sup> A second example, also of a small silver scent case, was pierced with two courting shepherds.<sup>468</sup> A final example, of a multi-functional scent case, seal and locket was formed in the shape of a heart with engraved cherub and hearts.<sup>469</sup> Scents were worn on the body, and were therefore sensual, allowing a wearer to think about the giver through a sense. They also allowed William to extend his presence onto Dorothy's body. In the letter, Dorothy attempted to barter with William by promising to send a miniature of herself in exchange for a ring. The miniature was intended to be an extension or representation of Dorothy that William could hold, view, carry and enjoy. William and Dorothy were able to use a various and constant stream of objects to preserve their love throughout a long period of separation, and to get to know one another's likes and dislikes. They fought for eight years to be together, and objects, along with their letters, enabled the struggle to endure.

The relationships of the Winslow family and Dorothy and William reveal how objects formed focal points during periods of separation. Separation was a common occurrence for the majority of lovers at some point, and it was acutely felt in a world where object and word could take months to travel by courier. Separation also imposed a type of invisible materiality upon love tokens. Objects that were delivered during separation represented a distance covered. The fact that an object had travelled from a space occupied by the sender enabled the recipient to engage with that space through the gift. This was even more poignant for gifts that were particularly indicative of the place in which a lover was situated, such as objects made from New

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<sup>467</sup> Scent Case (1650-1700). The V&A: 794:1 to 7-1891. Dimensions: 7.8 x 3.9 cm.

<sup>468</sup> Scent Case (1600-1700). The V&A: 2284-1855. Dimensions: 4.4 x 2.5 cm.

<sup>469</sup> Heart-Shaped Pendant/ Scent Carrier and Seal (1600-1700). PAS: DENO-FA82E5. Dimensions: 1.89 x 1.12 cm.



World materials. However, the ultimate power of the object lay in its ability to represent the giver's self.<sup>470</sup> The objects in my corpus confirm and enhance this theory, by demonstrating that objects also acted as conduits of manifestation through use. Posies also strengthen the role of object and self during separation. For example, 'When this u See think on mee',<sup>471</sup> 'Forget me not',<sup>472</sup> 'In mind though not in sight',<sup>473</sup> 'Mind Me XX',<sup>474</sup> and, 'I present the absent'.<sup>475</sup> This connection is key when considering why objects were venerated and adored as representations of and substitutes for the giver, particularly during separation.

However, while the analysis thus far has proven that materiality was employed as a tool to represent, convey and manifest feeling, these processes did not go without criticism. Some people chose to reject material forms of expression because they felt they were excessive, distasteful and lacking in true meaning.<sup>476</sup> The wedding day became a focal point for these criticisms of materiality. This was partly because there was often a large outlay of cost; there were foods to pay for, such as sack-posset and cake.<sup>477</sup> Then there were rings, decorations, as well as gifts of money, food, objects and animals. Austere thinkers of the seventeenth century came into conflict with this excessive spending, and with the notion that this materiality could construct, prove or convey pure love. In a story written by the playwright and politician Joseph Addison,

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<sup>470</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions in Archaic Societies* (London: Cohen and West Ltd., 1966), pp.8-10. Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), introduction.

<sup>471</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.475. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Similar examples: Posy Ring (1600-1700). PAS: WMID-F6E7A2. Diameter: Unknown. Inscription: 'When this you see remember mee'.

<sup>472</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: YORYM-178016. Diameter: 2.28 cm. Inscription: 'FORGET ME NOT'. Similar examples: Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: WMID-38F105. Diameter: 1.7 cm. Inscription: 'FORGIT x ME x NEVER +'.

<sup>473</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: WMID-38F105. Diameter: 1.7 cm. Inscription: 'In mind though not in sight.'

<sup>474</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: SUSS-A327D8. Diameter: 2.3 cm. Inscription: '[...] Mind Me XX'.

<sup>475</sup> Finger Ring (1600-1700). PAS: PAS: 3B0F14. Diameter unknown. Inscription: 'I present the absent.'

<sup>476</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, pp.352-354.

<sup>477</sup> Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family, Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), p.54.

he described the dilemma faced by a humble man on a quest to marry a woman who was swayed by riches. The narrative was written as a letter in the voice of the man:

Upon the wedding-day, I put myself, according to custom, in another suit, fire-new, with silver-buttons to it... As bad as I hate my silver buttons and silk night-gown, I am afraid of leaving them off, not knowing whether my wife won't repent of her marriage, when she sees what a plain man she has to her husband. Pray Mr Ironside, write something to prepare her for it, and let me know whether you think she can ever love me in a hair button... PS I forgot to tell you of my white gloves, which they say I must wear all the first month.<sup>478</sup>

This satirical account makes fun of the material excesses of union and the metaphors that objects were intended to convey. This man dressed himself in silver buttons and in silk so as to appear a better man, but he was concerned that when those fineries were removed after the wedding, his wife would not love him. This was not 'true' love, but a fickle type based upon materiality. The letter finishes mocking a particular custom of union, wearing white gloves for the first month after marriage. Gloves had a particular resonance with various punctuations of love, and wearing them after marriage was probably a mark of respect for the sanctity of union. The white colour strengthened this notion, as well as the purity of marital love. However, in this letter, the groom was clearly reluctant to wear the gloves, which must have been fairly impractical. Furthermore, the groom evidently felt obliged to wear them, rather than choosing to wear them and to experience the sanctity of the gloves' metaphor. On the other hand, the groom used the example of a hair button as a contrast point for his excessive apparel, and in particular, his silver buttons. Therefore, Addison suggested that there were more honest types of materiality, and that materiality did not have to be expensive to convey or manifest feeling. A hair button

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<sup>478</sup> Joseph Addison and Thomas Tickell, *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, collected by Mr Tickell* (New York: William Durrell and Co., 1811), pp.153-154.

could either have been a button woven from horse hair, or Addison may have been referring to a button set with the bride's hair. Either way, the humble nature of hair elevated its ability to convey sincere feeling and, in this instance, its ability to represent the groom, in comparison with the silver buttons.

Early-modern published literature contains numerous instances that demonstrate concern over materiality and sincerity. For example, one literary work criticised young men for spending all their worldly goods, 'on Gloves and Stockings for some Country Wench.'<sup>479</sup> Another recounted the morning of a wedding: 'Up starts the watchful Bridegroom, to dress himself in all his gaudy Trim.'<sup>480</sup> These texts create an image of weddings and courtships as hubbubs of spending and excessive material display. Evidence from real weddings compliments the literature. For example, when Ralph Josselin's daughter, Jane, was married to Jonathan Woodthorpe, he secured her with 'her porcon I am to give her 200 l; her clothes and wedding cost me 10 l.'<sup>481</sup> A portion or dowry was intended to be as large an amount as was feasible in order for husband and wife to live well, that the bride's clothes and wedding alone cost twenty percent of this reveals the significance of the outlay. Thomas Minor (1608-1690) was farming in Connecticut when his son, Ephraim, married Hanna Averie in May 1665. In order to pay for their wedding suits, he gave Ephraim two of his horses. This too was a substantial outlay for the Minor family.<sup>482</sup> The cost of weddings was not just suffered by the parents of the bride and groom. In 1628, newly-betrothed eighteen-year-old Andrew Bromhal sent his soon-to-be father in-law, Sir John Oglander, three pairs of the finest gloves he could afford, asking John to honour the wedding by wearing them.<sup>483</sup> This lavish spending on clothing, alongside jewels, provoked

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<sup>479</sup> A. B., *Covent Garden Drolery, or A Colection of All the Choice Songs, Poems, Prologues, and Epilogues, (sung and spoken at courts and theaters) never in print before* (London, 1672), p.14.

<sup>480</sup> Anon., *The Pleasures of Matrimony Intermix'd with Variety of Merry and Delightful Stories* (London: H. Rhodes, 1695), p.44.

<sup>481</sup> Ralph Josselin and E. Hockliffe, *The Diary of Ralph Josselin* (London: Offices of the Society, 1908), p.177.

<sup>482</sup> Thomas Minor, *The Diary of Thomas Minor* (New London: Sidney H. Minor, 1899), p.80.

<sup>483</sup> Letter from Andrew Bromhal to Sir John Oglander, 1628, in Letters from Andrew and Francis Bromhall [Chichester] to Sir John Oglander at Nunwell, thanking him for his kind letters. Isle of Wight Record Office: OG/CC/106/.

condemnation from certain channels. The pastor, Samuel Annesley observed, ‘[that] this is the evil of what the Apostle calls costly Apparel.’<sup>484</sup> Helen Campbell has argued that weddings were more austere and refined affairs in the New World, particularly in areas like Massachusetts, where colonists attempted to banish the perceived excessive and vain ways of Old England.<sup>485</sup> However, evidence suggests the contrary; for example, in Massachusetts, the reverend Samuel Sewall noted several occasions when he attended ‘great’ weddings, receiving gloves and other tokens, which was not dissimilar from the situation in England.<sup>486</sup>

As these examples demonstrate, part of the criticism levied against the material culture of love was the extent and amount spent. Criticism was also levied at the intention behind creating, exchanging and using objects. For example, the playwright Thomas d’Ufey penned a scene which criticised ‘young Rogues’ who bragged of their ‘Mistresses Favours.’<sup>487</sup> The young rogue in question claimed quite a hoard of objects:

Here is a Garter of Sir Thomas Wittal’s Lady’s, here at Cue, taken from above her Knee with my own Hand I’ll swear; a Locket, from pretty Peggy, Daughter to one Quicksilver a Goldsmith, at the Cawdle Cup in Lombard-street; a Picture, from dear Jenny Flippant, a rich Widows Niece in the old Pall-Mall; a Roman Glove, from sweet Lady Susanna Simple, in St. James’s-Square. And more, to shew ye that I deal with all degrees of Females, come hither, Sirrah, there’s a piece of delicate Point, from Moll a Sempstress in the New-Exchange, to make me a Crevat; and a Head of

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<sup>484</sup> Samuel Annesley, *A Continuation of Morning-exercise Questions and Cases of Conscience Practically resolved by Sundry Ministers in October* (London, 1683), p.631.

<sup>485</sup> Helen Campbell, *Anne Bradstreet and Her Time* (Boston: D Lothrop Company, 1891), pp.276-277. For further reading on the influence of Puritanism on American material culture see: Mark Valeri, *Heavenly Merchandise: How Religion Shaped Commerce in Puritan America* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010).

<sup>486</sup> Samuel Sewall, and M. Halsey Thomas (ed.), *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, Volume I 1674-1708* (New York: Farrar, Strause and Giroux, 1973), p.xxxvii-i, p.136, p.139, p.216. Bruce C. Daniels, *Puritans at Play: Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1996), p.119.

<sup>487</sup> Thomas d’Ufey, *The Richmond Heiress* (London, 1693), pp.8-9.

curious bright Hair, from my Lady Freckles Chamber-Maid, to make me a Peruke.<sup>488</sup>

This speech reveals a character who claimed the conquests of various females through the possession of objects. Worse still, these objects were intended to be received as meaningful love tokens. Instead, the objects were manifestations of the man's deceit and cruelty. This literary piece is similar to a poem written by Mary Evelyn, called 'The Ladies Dressing-room Unlock'd' (1690). Evelyn provided a critique of a lady's trinket box filled with expensive and meaningless objects, given to the lady as love tokens. The poem finishes with the lady in question leaving her room and meeting a man, 'with which she fancies most to play'.<sup>489</sup> As with the first text, the lady's various jewels and trinkets were representations of her fickle character and cruel behaviour. Another anonymous tract criticised women who abused men's gifts: 'thus you sit in Jacks Lap, and at the same instant tread Will on the Toe; sell a kind look to one for a Diamond Ring, and half a Kiss to another for a Rich Locket, or Bracelet; and then laugh at both the filly Fops, for being bubbled so easily.'<sup>490</sup> Therefore, criticisms of material culture were not purely concerned with extravagant excesses but were also centred upon meaningless exchanges, and in some instances, using something which was intended to be pure, in a deliberately dishonest or unkind way.

These criticisms were part of a broader religious and political movement, particularly in the mid-seventeenth century, which reprimanded lavish spending and gaudy display in general.<sup>491</sup> As true love was an esteemed and sacred emotion, the misuse of love and of its channels of expressions, were of particular concern to the writers examined above. However, it is worth noting that these criticisms rarely

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<sup>488</sup> d'Ufey, *The Richmond Heiress*, pp.8-9. A peruke is a periwig.

<sup>489</sup> Mary Evelyn, *Mundus Muliebris: or, The Ladies Dressing-room Unlock'd, and her Toilette spread* (London, 1690), p.4.

<sup>490</sup> Anon., *The Batchellors Answer to the Maids Complaint, or, The Young Men's Vindication* (London, 1675), p.4.

<sup>491</sup> For example, a ballad: Anon., *A Looking-Glass for Lascivious Young Men* (London: Printed for W. Thackeray, 1620-1700).

condemned the objects as clichéd or formulaic. Processes could be exploited and demeaned by people, but the conventions or rituals of exchange were not generally critiqued, unless they became excessive. The great variation in almost every aspect of materialism, from fabric to design, and inscription to use, made it near-on impossible to speak of formulas and clichés. However, the crux of these criticisms was rooted in an understanding of love that deemed material culture to be inferior to the emotion itself.

In light of the criticisms levied upon material culture, understanding why people persevered in manifesting, celebrating and experiencing love through material culture is all the more important. Despite the reproaches, material culture remained a powerful representation of feeling, particularly popular during vulnerable episodes of love, including courtship and betrothal. Inscriptions stressed ‘true’ and ‘constant’ love. A gimmel ring ushered the recipient to ‘accept this honest love’.<sup>492</sup> Material culture helped forge the path to marriage, even though that path could still be broken. For example, Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, recorded her surprise when the wedding of Frances Harrison was called off, as ‘they were so near to being married as the wedding clothes were to be made.’<sup>493</sup> The role which clothes played was also recorded in the diary of Simons D’Ewes: ‘... and though the marriage conveyances were near finished, and the wedding apparel bought, yet I still feared some rub or interruption would intervene... My father received much comfort at the instant [of marriage], seeing my happiness in the choice I had made.’<sup>494</sup> In 1711, just such a ‘rub’ occurred, when Samuel Sewall wrote of the deaths of Colonel Wainwright and Elizabeth Hirst of Salem just before they were to be married.<sup>495</sup> Sewall recorded his sad observations of their symbolic wedding clothes: ‘‘Tis the most complete and surprising

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<sup>492</sup> Gimmel Ring (1600-1700). The V&A: 909-1871. Diameter: 1.8 cm. The rings are inscribed inside, ‘Accept. This. Gift/of/. honest. Love. Which. Never. Covld/nor.can. remove’. On outside, ‘I hath twide/2 mee svre/3 whilst. Life/ 4 doth. Last’.

<sup>493</sup> Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, and R. F Horton (ed.), *Mary Rich, Countess of Warwick, 1625-1678* (London: J. M. Dent, 1901), p.54.

<sup>494</sup> Simon D’Ewes and James Orchard Halliwell Phillips, *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simon D’Ewes, Volume One* (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), p.322.

<sup>495</sup> Sewall, *The Diary*, Vol. 1, p.667.

Disappointment that I have been acquainted with. Wedding-Cloaths, to a neck-Cloth and Night-cap laid ready in the Bride-Chamber with the Bride's attire... but no Bridegroom and no wedding.<sup>496</sup>

Objects formed critical focal points within love. The previous chapter demonstrated how creating and giving objects conveyed feeling, but this one has elaborated, proving that object use was equally important, as a portal through which to manifest feeling. Some of these uses were connected to exchange, for example, accepting and keeping an object. Wearing certain objects could also fulfil expectations of exchange. However, as has been demonstrated, some uses were highly personal and intimate. Objects were gazed upon, touched, held, and slept beside. These were ritualistic manifestations of love, and central to understanding the role of the object in early-modern amorous love. This ritualistic use also revealed how love tokens were revered as sacred, which hints at an evolution in the use of objects and secularised beliefs in the early-modern period.

Understanding the relationships between object and exchange, and object and use, has allowed several dimensions of love to emerge. Choice was revealed to be an imperative discourse. It was valued to such an extent that people chose this as the central theme of their wedding ring, and fixed it as a permanent feeling and decision on their fingers or around their necks. Objects also allowed lovers to manifest feelings of constancy, and to integrate religious sentiment into their relationships. Therefore, objects allowed lovers to select what they considered the most important dynamics of love, and to develop those within their relationships. Objects allowed men and women to regulate how their love was seen, as objects had public and private dimensions because of their physicality, which could be facilitated through different uses. The variety and extent of material culture enabled emotional expression to develop

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<sup>496</sup> Sewall, *The Diary*, Vol. 2, p.667.

throughout the century.<sup>497</sup> These manifestations of love complimented and combated social and economic forces, and satisfied the emotional needs of individuals. All of these points reveal that the exchange and use of material culture was not merely concerned with formula nor social expectation, rather it was heavily influenced by a personal desire to please both the giver and the recipient.

However, expressing and manifesting emotion through material culture was complex, causing significant controversy and disagreement. This contention stemmed from a conflict between divine poverty, the corruption of wealth and the importance of truth, issues which were also at the heart of religious reform. Material excess could be considered vulgar and ostentatious, shallow and lacking sincerity. The conflict between honest love and fickleness was of prominent concern and discussion because of the repercussions of dishonest love, in particular, of sexual intercourse before marriage and the communal disruption that could be caused by unhappy marriages. Furthermore, the distress caused by deceitful love was well known. Michael MacDonald's analysis of the papers of the astrologer Richard Napier concluded that common causes of anxiety and despair were 'marital strife, unrequited love and bereavement.'<sup>498</sup> Broadside ballads were also full of men and women who were love-sick or suffering from 'green sickness.'<sup>499</sup> Therefore the security provided by material culture was used to combat the threat of love breaking down, as the point which emotion was manifest, but this was deemed contradictory by those who believed true love needed no financial, material investment. On the other hand, as love was held in such high esteem, lovers and kin wanted to express, celebrate and dwell upon it, and this often led to significant financial investment.

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<sup>497</sup> For information on the development of emotional expression and culture: Susan McClary, *Structures of Feeling in Seventeenth-Century Cultural Expression* (Toronto: UTP, 2013), in particular see introduction.

<sup>498</sup> MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam*, p.4.

<sup>499</sup> Green sickness was used to describe women and men who developed mental and physical illness from deprivation of love. For example: Anon., *A Maydens Lamentation for a Bedfellow* (London, c.1615). Anon., *A Remedy the Green Sickness, A pretty Damsel full of love, Lay panting all alone* (London, c.1680).



The following chapter examines the rituals of mourning love after death. Understanding the power of objects to manifest feeling will be integral to this discussion, as lovers used material culture to grieve, remember and commemorate. However, while lovers enjoyed their lives together, object use was integral to relationships. The ability of objects to represent self was at the heart of why lovers exchanged gifts. Objects enabled a secret world of unspoken emotional expression and development, conducted in beds and by firesides, alone and in company, when lovers were parted and when they were together. Ultimately objects could form substitute for the self, and this made them a treasured and emotionally charged presence in early-modern lives.

## Chapter Five

### *The Object and Death: Grieving for Love*

‘... My very heart strings seemed ready to break, and let my heart fall from its wanted place.’<sup>500</sup>

This final chapter focuses on responses to death and the end of love in an earthly sense. I examine how material culture was used within these processes, with particular attention paid to the transformation of love from an earthly feeling into an ethereal and memory-based emotion. The few scholars who have used material culture to enhance our understanding of responses to death have been eager to stress its value.<sup>501</sup> The value lay in the physicality of the object, as this could be substituted for the physicality of the person who had died. At no other stage in the timeline of love was physicality able to channel such charged manifestations of desperate and painful feeling. In order to understand these processes, I have split this chapter into three sections. The first examines the individual’s response to death and how, through material culture, the self became an emblem of suffering. The second section examines how mourners attempted to preserve their beloved dead through direct preservation of the body or the creation of icons. The third and final analysis focuses on how the mourner moved toward a type of commemoration, principally through the erection of monuments. The structure, therefore, radiates outward from the mourner and in some instances, tracks a course of progression through a type of grief cycle. The objects under examination are portraiture, clothing, jewellery, and monuments. Roy Porter noted that material expressions of grief have typically been examined separately as studies of, for example, sculpture, painting and jewellery.<sup>502</sup> This is

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<sup>500</sup> Cited in: Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth-Century* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.179.

<sup>501</sup> Nigel Llewellyn, *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in The English Death Ritual, c.1500-c.1800* (London: V&A Publications, 1991). Robin Jaffe Frank, *Love and Loss: American Portraiture and Mourning Miniatures* (Yale University Gallery: Connecticut, 2000), p.119.

<sup>502</sup> Cited in: Peter C. Jupp and Glennys Howard (eds.), *The Changing Face of Death* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), p.19.

likely due to the influence of museum curation, which separates objects into such categories. However, a seventeenth-century mourner did not view these objects in isolation. The inclusion and amalgamation of a broad span of source types is an integral aim of this chapter. In particular, I seek to push back against established divisions between sculpture, paintings, jewellery and more, to establish common thematic responses to death.

The first objects under analysis are those used by mourners upon themselves. These objects were emblems of personal suffering. Modern theories on grieving have frequently made grief an internal, often unhealthy condition, and part of a process. In 1969, Elisabeth Kübler-Ross established a now well-respected grief-cycle composed of five stages; denial and isolation, anger, bargaining, depression, and finally, acceptance.<sup>503</sup> While it was not Kübler-Ross's direct intention, she aided in the construction of a divergent relationship between grief and the griever. Grief became something which people strove to move away from, in a methodological and guided manner. Jeanne Katz observed that this theory, and those of others, including Freud, were contrary to pre-existing cultural traditions on death and grief.<sup>504</sup> Few, if any, modern Western authors would now recommend living, wallowing or obsessing in grief, in making the griever's body a carrier and declaration of grief, or, to refer to the extreme, making the body an outlet for the physical suffering of grief. People in the seventeenth-century committed all these acts as part of their grieving processes and used objects to make the body a vessel of pain.

Wearing black was an expected and common feature of an individual's mourning, even though only a few pieces of mourning apparel survive. Black mourning apparel was instantly recognisable and Jennifer Woodward noted that the

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<sup>503</sup> Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, *On Death and Dying: What the Dying have to Teach Doctors, Nurses, Clergy and Their Own Families* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1997).

<sup>504</sup> Jeanne Katz, 'Introduction' in Jenny Hockey, Jeanne Katz and Neil Small (eds.), *Grief, Mourning and Death Ritual* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001), p.1. See also: Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960).

‘uniformity of black gave the community [of mourners] a group identity.’<sup>505</sup>

Surviving pieces include a pair of mittens and one glove, which are currently housed by the V&A.<sup>506</sup> The mittens are made of silk and velvet, while the glove is of kidskin and silk. Both were decorated with black cloth and gold thread. While mourning apparel was traditionally black, this did not prevent the wealthy from wearing black alongside starched white lace and gold trim or jewellery.<sup>507</sup> Gloves were strongly connected with rituals of the human life-cycle, being purchased for and distributed at funerals to family and friends.<sup>508</sup> Lou Taylor has argued that gloves came to replace rings as popular funerary gifts in the eighteenth century, and there is evidence that gloves were a common feature of the seventeenth-century funeral too, alongside rings and scarves.<sup>509</sup> As gloves could be cheaper alternatives than gold rings, they may have been distributed to poorer guests and in greater numbers.<sup>510</sup> In Massachusetts, Samuel Sewall described distributing gloves and scarves when his young son died:

December 18, 1708...Gave them black scarves and gloves. Gave Mr. Walter, Doctor Noyes and Mrs Baily scarves. Gave 22 pairs of Welsh leather gloves to watchers and people of the house. My wife and I went into mourning.

For Sewall, the distribution of gloves and scarves was a part of the funerary and grieving process. The date, in December, may also have been influential. Just over a year later, Sewall described a similar process, when his young daughter, Rebekah, died:

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<sup>505</sup> Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England, 1570-1625* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), p.19.

<sup>506</sup> Pair of Mittens (c.1600). The V&A: T.30&A-1975. Dimensions: 39 x 21 cm. Glove (1660-1680). The V&A: T.270-1986. Dimensions: 29 x 12 cm.

<sup>507</sup> Paulus Van Somer I, *Elizabeth, Countess of Kent* (c.1620). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 2484. Dimensions: 126.5 x 104.2 cm. Unknown artist, *Lady Alice Spencer, Lady Lucy* (1620-5). Charlecote Manor (NT): 533821. Dimensions: 127 x 101.5 cm.

<sup>508</sup> Clarkson, *Death, Disease and Famine*, p.156.

<sup>509</sup> Lou Taylor, *Mourning Dress: A Costume and Social History*, (Oxon: George Allen and Unwin, 2009), p.13.

<sup>510</sup> Clarkson, *Death, Disease and Famine*, pp.159-161.

Gave them white scarves and gloves. Gave Mr. Walter a scarf and gloves; also Mrs Bayly scarf and gloves. My wife and I went into deep mourning. Gave gloves to several relations, Govr's servants and mine. Gave Mr Tompson a pair; he made 2 coppies of verses on her. Gave Doctor Xoyes a scarf. She lived 5 years, 7 months and 4 days.<sup>511</sup>

Sewall's decision to give white gloves and scarves at his daughter's funeral, and black scarves at his son's, demonstrate a differentiation in mourning practices based upon the gender of the deceased. Girls and young women, who were assumed virgins, had their coffins draped in white, if the cloth could be afforded. They were also carried by other women as a reflection of their purity, although in the instance of Rebekah Sewall, she was carried by men.<sup>512</sup>

Wearing and distributing gloves among kin and friends were means of emotional comfort. Leslie Clarkson seconded this, observing how 'expenditure on funerals and memorials helped soften the loss.'<sup>513</sup> Nigel Llewellyn also noted that 'rings and other mourning tokens eased the sudden pain of an individual death by suggesting that the bereavement was part of some great design and by stressing the positive aspects of death as a learning process.'<sup>514</sup> This notion is supported by sources from the seventeenth century. For example, John Evelyn recorded how his mother distributed rings on her deathbed: 'summoning all her children then living (I shall never forget it) she expressed herself in so heavenly a manner, with instructions so pious and Christian, as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary loss then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us she gave to each a ring with her blessing.'<sup>515</sup> The manner of her death and the

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<sup>511</sup> Samuel Sewall, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1878), p.xxvii.

<sup>512</sup> Andrea Brady, *English Funerary Elegy in the Seventeenth Century* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). p.73. Lucinda M. Becker, *Death and the Early-Modern Englishwoman* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), p.18.

<sup>513</sup> Clarkson, *Death, Disease and Famine*, p.169.

<sup>514</sup> Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p.19.

<sup>515</sup> John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (New York: M.W. Dune, 1901), p.6.

calm control she demonstrated were emotionally moving for her son, but in a positive manner: it helped emphasise God's influence and the 'great design' and purpose of her death, that would be at the forefront of John's mind whenever he wore the ring. Distributing a ring to each family member also gave them a physical common 'thing' which united their grief. For Samuel Sewall, wearing gloves, and seeing the community about him wearing the same gloves, was a similar means of gaining some control over and understanding of the situation. This also shared the distress among many, in the hope it would ease the burden on himself and his wife.

Dozens of surviving paintings depict men and women wearing forms of mourning apparel. A portrait of a woman, thought to be Anne Fettiplace, who died around 1568, depicts her in a black dress, with white lace decoration, black and white bows, black drop earrings and a white lace coif over her head.<sup>516</sup> The artist is unknown. She also carries a closed miniature on a length of ribbon between the fingers of her left hand. The miniature would have contained a portrait of the person for whom she was mourning, in this instance, her husband (figure 5.0).

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<sup>516</sup> Unknown artist, *Portrait of a Lady, (presumed to be Anne Fettiplace, Mrs Henry Jones I)*, (1614). Chastleton (NT): 1430427. Dimensions: 98 x 75 cm. A coif was a piece of fabric worn across the hair.



Figure 5.0: Note how the lady holds a closed miniature on a length of black thread between her fingers. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of a Lady*, (presumed to be Anne Fettiplace, Mrs Henry Jones I), (1614). Chastleton (NT): 1430427. Dimensions: 98 x 75 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the National Trust.

Another portrait, of Lady Agnes Astley, from one-hundred years later, depicts a very similar image. Agnes wears a full length black gown, a black lace widow's coif, black ribbons and bows, black gem or fabric and pearl bracelets, earrings and necklace.<sup>517</sup> Agnes was also holding a closed miniature on a length of ribbon in her right hand and a small book (possibly a Bible) in her left hand, with a gold posy ring on her thumb (figure 5.1).

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<sup>517</sup> British School of Painting, *Agnes Impel, Lady Astley, in Mourning Dress*, (1652). Seaton Delaval: 1276835 (property is owned by The National Trust, and the painting is on loan from Lord Hastings). Dimensions: 73.4 x 61cm.



Figure 5.1: Agnes Impel in mourning; note the similarity in pose to figure 5.0.

British School of Painting, *Agnes Impel, Lady Astley, in Mourning Dress*, (1652). Seaton Delaval: 1276835 (property is owned by The National Trust, and the painting is on loan from Lord Hastings). Dimensions: 73.4 x 61cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the National Trust. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

Mourning portraiture, such as these two examples, increased in popularity during the seventeenth century. Robert Tittler, who has published several pieces of work on this subject, noted that ‘Post-Reformation portraits must also be considered part of the culture of commemoration, and of memorialization, which flourished so vividly in the years between England’s break with Rome and the outbreak of the Civil Wars.’<sup>518</sup> This flourishing was in part due to a handful of emerging and influential artists from the continent, including Anthony van Dyck. Van Dyck was familiar with painting mourning and deathbed portraits, and he helped to bring this genre of poignant and moving portraiture to England. For example, in 1630, Van Dyck painted a wealthy widow, Lady Dorothy North. This was shortly after the death of her

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<sup>518</sup> Robert Tittler, ‘Portraiture and Memory Amongst the Middling Elites in Post-Reformation England’ in Thomas Gordon and Andrew Rist (eds.), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2013), p.37.



husband, Richard Lenart. She was painted in full mourning apparel, with a gathering of roses in her hand.<sup>519</sup> Dorothy and Richard (who died in his early thirties) had only been married five years. The roses symbolised the tragedy of a twenty-four-year-old widow, who, like the roses, were painted as youthful, healthy and beautiful. The portrait inspired an unknown artist to paint Dorothy at a later date. This second painting depicts Dorothy in a white gown, with a black length of fabric draped over her shoulder, held between her fingers.<sup>520</sup> This portrait was intended to remind a viewer that while Dorothy's initial period of grief had subsided, which was depicted through her white gown, the figure of grief still lingered on her shoulder, in the form of a black length of fabric.

One of Van Dyck's most famous sitters was Sir Kenelm Digby. Van Dyck painted him both before and after the death of his wife, Venetia Stanley. The National Portrait Gallery (hereafter NPG) contains twenty different sketches and engravings based upon the original work by van Dyck.<sup>521</sup> There are dozens elsewhere, including Sherborne Castle in Dorset and the Bodleian Library. Despite the number of variations, which were reproduced due to their popularity, Van Dyck's original depiction of Kenelm remains constant.<sup>522</sup> Kenelm was painted in mourning, as a markedly degenerated man, his hair was long and unkempt, he wore a long beard, and he was thinner and gaunt in the face (figure 5.2 and 5.3).

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<sup>519</sup> Anthony van Dyck, *Dorothy, Lady Dacre* (1630). The Denver Art Museum; The Berger Collection. Dimensions: 132 x 105 cm.

<sup>520</sup> Unknown Artist (after van Dyck), *The Honourable Dorothy North (1605–1698), Lady Dacre, Later Mrs Chaloner Chute* (c.1630). The Vyne (NT): 719365. Dimensions: 123 x 96.5 cm.

<sup>521</sup> For example: Richard Gaywood (after van Dyck), *Sir Kenelm Digby*, Etching (1654). NPG: D16450. Dimensions: 10.7 x 8.3 cm. Michael Burghers (possibly), (after van Dyck), *Sir Kenelm Digby*, (late seventeenth-century). NPG: D27872. Dimensions: 5.4 x 3.8 cm.

<sup>522</sup> Anthony van Dyck, *Sir Kenelm Digby* (c.1630). National Maritime Museum, Greenwich: BHC2658. Dimensions: 91 x 71 cm.



Figure 5.2: A section from van Dyck's portrait of Digby. Digby's appearance is remarkably different in this portrait to when van Dyck painted him with Venetia, a year or two earlier. See figure 5.3 below.

Anthony van Dyck, *Sir Kenelm Digby* (c.1630). National Maritime Museum, Greenwich: BHC2658. Dimensions: 91 x 71 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the National Maritime Museum. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.



Figure 5.3: A double miniature of Kenelm Digby and Venetia. This portrait was painted by Peter Oliver, after a larger painting by Anthony van Dyck, shortly before Venetia died.

Peter Oliver, *Portrait Miniature of Sir Kenelm and Lady Venetia Digby* (1632). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University: Strawberry Hill ID: sh-000463. Dimensions: 8.8 cm high. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Walpole University. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

A contemporary confirmed the likeness by noting that Kenelm wore ‘a long mourning cloake, a high crowned hatt, his beard unshorne, look’t like a Hermite.’<sup>523</sup> In the paintings and sketches, Digby’s facial expression is melancholic and he was usually depicted with one hand laid across his heart. The weighty effect of Kenelm’s grief was the overt subject of his portraits, communicated in mourning costume, and through his expression and pose.

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<sup>523</sup> Cited in: Ann Summer, *Death, Passion and Politics: Van Dyck’s Portraits of Venetia Stanley and George Digby* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1995), p.64.

In 1632, van Dyck painted a full-length portrait of Frances Stuart (née Howard), Duchess of Richmond. The original portrait has been lost, but a contemporaneous copy survives in a private collection (figure 5.4).<sup>524</sup>



Figure 5.4: Unknown artist, *Frances Stewart, Duchess of Richmond, as a Widow* (c. 1633). The portrait was sold to a private collector on 9 July 2009, lot 3 at Sotheby's Auction House. Dimensions: 201 x 130 cm. The portrait is taken from Sotheby's catalogue. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

The painting depicts Frances in full black dress, with a long black veil. Her hair is covered by a widow's coif and black ribbons are pinned to her sleeves and middle. More decorative black ruches trail down her skirt and the black is contrasted with

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<sup>524</sup> Unknown Artist, *Frances Stewart, Duchess of Richmond, as a Widow* (c.1633). The portrait was sold to a private collector on 9 July 2009, lot 3 at Sotheby's Auction House. Dimensions: 201 x 130 cm.

starched white lace, ruff and pearls. A heart-shaped miniature of her then deceased husband, Ludovick Stuart, is suspended on the left side of her chest. This miniature has survived and is currently in the NPG (figure 5.5).<sup>525</sup>



Figure 5.5: Isaac Oliver, *Ludovick Stuart, 1st Duke of Richmond and 2nd Duke of Lennox* (1605). NPG: 3063. Dimensions: 5.7 x 4.4 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the NPG. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

Ludovick died in 1624 and the portrait, painted seven to eight years afterwards, conveyed Frances's choice to remain Ludovick's widow, and in a continued state of mourning. Frances was painted holding a black staff in her right hand. A white staff symbolised a position of authority: Ludovick was painted more than once holding his white staff of office and in the grand monument which Frances commissioned for Ludovick in Westminster Abbey, where their effigies lie side by side with hands entwined, Ludovick holds his wand of office.<sup>526</sup> Despite Frances's depiction as a

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<sup>525</sup> Isaac Oliver, *Ludovick Stuart, 1st Duke of Richmond and 2nd Duke of Lennox* (1605). NPG: 3063. Dimensions: 5.7 x 4.4 cm.

<sup>526</sup> Johan Bara, *Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Richmond and 2nd Duke of Lennox* (1624). The British Museum: 1848,0911.520. Dimensions: 34 x 20.5 cm. Also: Paulus Van Somer I, *Ludovick Stuart, Duke*

grieving woman, in clasping a black wand, she was deliberately taking on an element of her husband's status. She presented herself as a sure and authoritative widow, capable of her position in charge of a vast estate. In her left hand, Frances was painted holding several locks of blonde hair. Frances cut off her hair when Ludovick died, in an act of grief.<sup>527</sup> Van Dyck may have imagined the act, or Frances may have kept her hair, which allowed it to be included. Either way, this representation of the act was a deliberate depiction of Frances's turbulent emotions. From an early-modern perspective, the act deformed her gender and risked portraying her as an hysterical and unbalanced woman. Holding it in her left hand was also deliberate, as the left had sinister connotations, which were outlined in chapter three, as well as an association with the perceived weakness of women.<sup>528</sup> Therefore, the painting depicted Frances as both a sure and confident widow, by the staff in her right hand, but one whom, through her hair in the left hand, was also profoundly impaired by grief. For Frances, therefore, mourning was a complex task, wherein she felt a need to represent herself as both rational and irrational.

Lucinda Becker wrote that 'despite such exposure to, and expertise in, the practicalities of death, the process of dying remained a paradoxical activity for women.'<sup>529</sup> On the one hand, women were thought to be more susceptible to extreme and unhealthy passions. Perhaps as a result, Patricia Phillippy believed that female mourning was viewed as a devalued and circumscribed type of mourning, particularly in comparison with the way men were believed to mourn. She also thought that immoderate, unhealthy grieving was specifically associated with women, as well as with Catholics.<sup>530</sup> Tobias Döring noted this too, writing 'in the early-modern argument of weeping it was a truth universally acknowledged that women constantly

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*of Richmond and 2nd Duke of Lennox* (c. 1620). NPG: 5297. Dimensions: 207.7 x 121.3 cm. Among his titles were Lord High Admiral of Scotland, Earl of Newcastle and Duke of Richmond.

<sup>527</sup> Jupp and Gittings, *Death in England*, pp.164-165.

<sup>528</sup> Chapter three, pp.139-145.

<sup>529</sup> Becker, *Death and the Early-Modern English Woman*, p.43.

<sup>530</sup> Patricia Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature in Post-Reformation England* (CUP, 2002), pp.3-11.

shed tears' and that 'principally mourning becomes women.'<sup>531</sup> However, it was clear that men could mourn profoundly too, as noted, Kenelm Digby entered a lengthy period of mourning and was subject to reproach for the severity of his grief.<sup>532</sup> Furthermore, writers could be equally condemnatory of both men and women who were perceived to mourn without feeling, or who seemed to recover from mourning too quickly.<sup>533</sup> Grieving was therefore subject to communal scrutiny, and mourners were expected to strike a difficult balance between grieving neither too little nor too much. As noted by Patricia Phillippy, excessive grief could be associated with Catholicism, and Kenelm Digby likely did convert to Catholicism following the death of Venetia.<sup>534</sup> This association with Catholicism could be a dangerous one but should not be considered wholly negative as mediating expressions of grief in order to practise faith may have provided comfort and a level of control for mourners. With regards to gender expectations, Frances's dress and miniature were intended to reflect her lingering but contained grief. Her hair was a slightly risqué memory of the chaos to which her grief had sent her, but from which she had recovered. Her self-mutilation, therefore, was able to convey the quality of her affection for Ludovick, without making her seem mad or erratic.

While these examples demonstrate the complexities of emotional responses, and how material culture was used to express them, disentangling emotional intent, and love in particular, from mourning dress is problematic. Contemporaries recognised that wearing black cloth did not equate with grief. John Taylor, a Thames waterman, poet and eager spectator of people wrote, 'mourning cloth be clad, insides merry, and with outsides sad.'<sup>535</sup> David Cressy too noted how 'moralists repeatedly complained of perfunctory mourning.'<sup>536</sup>

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<sup>531</sup> Tobias Döring, *Performances of Mourning in Shakespearean Theatre and Early-Modern Culture* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.133, p.115.

<sup>532</sup> Summer, *Death, Passion and Politics*, p.60.

<sup>533</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.459. Also Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, p.34.

<sup>534</sup> Phillippy, *Women, Death and Literature*, pp.3-11.

<sup>535</sup> John Taylor, *The Nipping and Snipping of Abuses: or The Woolgathering of Witte with the Muses Taylor* (London, 1614).

<sup>536</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.459.

These criticisms may explain why the wealthy portrait sitters analysed above went to great lengths to demonstrate and represent genuine feeling. However, emotion was not isolated from the perfunctory and economic dynamics of mourning. For example, black cloth was expensive and to see mourners dressed in black reflected the wealth of the dead and, importantly, the dead's competency to provide for their dependents. As the playwright John Shirley lamented, 'they have no cause to weep that have no Mourning Cloth; 'tis a sign they get little by the dead.'<sup>537</sup> This tension between materiality and sincerity has appeared in previous chapters and at other stages in the timeline of love. This conflict was part of wider religious reform, in particular, concerning whether the actions of mourners were attempting to influence the destination of the deceased's soul. This point will be discussed further in the following paragraph. However, this particular tension was further muddled by the paradoxical nature of mourning cloth. Mourning cloth was expensive and intended to be respectful and it should therefore be well-made. However, those quality and creaseless fabrics did not, necessarily, convey distress or sobriety. Kenelm Digby's relentless grief was conveyed through an unkempt and wild exterior, his beard trailing to a whispery unclipped end in his portraits and the white cuffs of his shirt typically creased.<sup>538</sup> Admittedly, Kenelm did not face financial ruin when Venetia died, as a widow might on the death of her husband. Therefore, in representing himself in such a way, he did not necessarily devalue Venetia's position or affection. Nevertheless, Kenelm used the decay of materiality to reflect his distress. This did not go-hand-in-hand with mourning cloth conveying respect and wealth.

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<sup>537</sup> James Shirley, *The Wittie Faire One: A Comedy* (London, 1633), act 5, scene 1.

<sup>538</sup> After Anthony van Dyck, *Sir Kenelm Digby with a Sunflower* (c.1670). Torpoint, Cornwall (NT): 353062. Dimensions: 114.5 x 91.5 cm. Richard Gaywood (after van Dyck), *Sir Kenelm Digby*, Etching (1654). NPG D16450. Dimensions: 10.7 x 8.3 cm. Michael Burghers (possibly) (after Van Dyck), *Sir Kenelm Digby*, Line Engraving (late seventeenth century). NPG D27872. Dimensions: 5.4cm x 3.8 cm.



In addition to these complexities, mourning cloth was also subject to change and reproach from religious reformers. Protestant reformers believed that upon death all men and women passed unstopably to either heaven or hell.<sup>539</sup> Excessive and persistent emblems of mourning could suggest that the mourner believed they could influence the destination of the soul, which was akin to the Catholic belief in purgatory and paying for indulgences. Furthermore, different types or levels of mourning could convey differing Protestant groups and the nature of their belief in the afterlife. At the far end of the spectrum, Puritans ‘stripped away’ all of the ‘sensual symbolism’ of mourning.<sup>540</sup> These variances created a diverse nation of mourners. Therefore, mourning clothes, like the outward actions of a griever, were subject to religious scrutiny and to changes over time. A smart mourning jacket may have conveyed the generosity of the deceased, but it may suggest an unnaturally calm state from the mourner. A creased jacket may suggest a poignant type of grief but it could also hint at a type of disrespect or failing by the dead. Both excessively smart and dishevelled mourning jackets could indicate an urge to influence the destination of the deceased’s soul and be deemed heretical by Reformers.

To so visually and physically declare a state of mourning, and then to have that process painted, may seem to compliment the griever, rather than the deceased. One might wonder at what a mourner did with an image of self-proclaiming grief in the years following death. Did it hang in a room so that guests could reflect upon the ever near presence of death, and the emotional connection which the mourner refused to relinquish with the dead? Or did these portraits hang in private chambers, with the ability to both comfort and haunt their viewers? Did grievers hide the portrait away, as a means to remove and contain their own grief? The size of the individual portraits may offer some guidance, but many of the portraits discussed here were large, and therefore probably intended for public viewing. Furthermore, some, such as those

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<sup>539</sup> Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, p.42.

<sup>540</sup> Woodward, *The Theatre of Death*, pp.145-146.

produced for Kenelm Digby, were replicated in multiple sizes and housed in many places. Contemporaneous viewers may have found these images distasteful and excessive, while others had differing, more sympathetic reactions.<sup>541</sup> Indeed, whether grief was considered to be manifested internally or externally has been a source of debate amongst historians. David Cressy acknowledged that the issue was complex, but wrote, ‘if grief was an emotion to which people might legitimately succumb, mourning was a practice in which many more could publicly participate. Though closely linked, the one was noted in inward feeling, the other a matter of outward display.’<sup>542</sup> Ralph Houlbrooke agreed, ‘mourning embraces all of grief’s outward behavioural manifestations.’ He went on to argue that society channelled grief through the communal and visible act of mourning, in order to find comfort and to heal.<sup>543</sup> The distinction is a useful one and has been utilised by other scholars.<sup>544</sup> However, the two terms were used interchangeably in the seventeenth century and mourning was used with internal connotations, such as with the heart or soul, and the term to ‘mourn in secret’ appears in early-modern texts.<sup>545</sup> Furthermore, a person of the seventeenth century would likely have found the distinction offensive, particularly if their mourning was analysed as a purely external or communal exercise. This sort of self-centred and declaratory grief was observed by David Cressy, who noted that, ‘grief was, perhaps, a necessary form of self-indulgence.’<sup>546</sup>

In accepting a self-indulgent form of grief, I imply that some mourners chose to immerse themselves in grief. Some did this to orchestrate a type of control; some embraced grief precisely because they were experiencing it; while others clung to

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<sup>541</sup> Jupp and Gittings (eds.), *Death in England*, pp.164-165.

<sup>542</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.438.

<sup>543</sup> Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family in England*, pp.220-221.

<sup>544</sup> Arnold Stein, *The House of Death* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1986), p.3.

Douglas D. Davies, *Death, Ritual and Belief* (London: British Library, 2007), p.40.

<sup>545</sup> George Monck Albemarle, *A Letter from Gen. Monck in Scotland, to the Commissioners of Parliament in Ireland* (London, 1659), p.1. William Allen, *A Faithful Memorial of that Remarkable Meeting of Many Officers of the Army in England, at Windsor Castle, in the year 1648* (London, 1659), p.1. Thomas Adams, *The White Deuil, A Sermon Preached at Saint Pauls Crosse* (London, 1613), p. 32, ‘mourning bowels.’

<sup>546</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.380.

death as a deliberate means to remain at the point of death as an episode, and therefore, closest to their deceased. Indulging in grief may also suggest a reluctance to accept Christian consolation, and a ‘desire to cling to grief.’<sup>547</sup> This may not have been dependent upon a griever’s belief in purgatory or the afterlife. Christian consolation remained a steadfast comfort for griever through the century, though death made many others question God’s judgement. For example, when the Countess of Warwick, Mary Rich, nursed her violently ill and deranged husband, she wrote, ‘I was at that sad spectacle so affected as I cannot express... I did too mightily wrestle with God.’<sup>548</sup> Not all mourners believed in immersing themselves in grief, partly as they were aware of the effects such a process could produce. In 1670, Lucy Hutchinson penned a particularly illuminating explanation of feeling, written for her children, on the death of her husband:

They who dote on mortal excellencies, when by the inevitable fate of all things frail, their adored idols are taken from them, may lett loose the winds of passion to bring in a Hood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the deare memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is assayed to such mourners, commonly all objects are remov’d out of their view, which may with their remembrance renew their grief; and in time these remedies succeed, when oblivions curtaine is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things lesse lovely are liked, while they are not view’d together with that which was most excellent: but I that am under a command\* not to grieve at the common rate of desolate women, while I am studying which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more just to your

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<sup>547</sup> Brady, *English Funerary*, p.49.

<sup>548</sup> Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, pp.81-85.

deare father nor consolatory to myself then the preservation of his memory.<sup>549</sup>

Lucy Hutchinson described how she attempted to moderate her woe, and that part of this process involved removing objects which could conjure memories of the dead. Lucy, therefore, deliberately attempted to remove herself from an immersion in grief, by removing evocative materiality. Other mourners, such as Kenelm Digby and Frances Stuart, chose to remain within grief by utilising that materiality.

Protests against death were also made through the objects analysed in the second section of the chapter, through objects which preserved aspects of the deceased's body. This involved making objects from parts of the body, and in glorifying objects that had close relationships with the body, or corpse. These objects were used in a way similar to religious relics. The relic as conduit and manifestation had long formed a critical part of social life in Europe, and, as Charles Freeman noted, predated Christianity.<sup>550</sup> In the early-modern period, Protestant reformers identified the religious relic as part of a Catholic past: '[of] idle and dead ceremony, shows and gazings, crosses, beads and relics.'<sup>551</sup> Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist observed that 'the ruptures of the Reformation brought the prospect of a memorial crisis to Early Modern Europe, provoking intense reflection on the social functions of memory and the terrifying spectre of oblivion.'<sup>552</sup> Memorialisation did face reform and criticism, however, the relic did not die with the Reformation. While reformers destroyed ancient relics, they created new effigies of Catholic figures for the purpose of public destruction. Furthermore, as Lyndal Roper recently revealed, Protestant Reformers

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<sup>549</sup> Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1848), pp.19-20. \* The command pertains to instructions from her husband, John Hutchinson, and to his wishes that she was not overwhelmed by grief.

<sup>550</sup> Charles Freeman, *Holy Bones, Holy Dust: How Relics Shaped the History of Medieval Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p.1. See also: Thomas J. Craughwell, *Saints Preserve: An Encyclopaedia of Relics* (New York: Image Books, 2011).

<sup>551</sup> Cited in: David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004), p.179.

<sup>552</sup> Thomas Gordon and Andrew Rist (eds.), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2013), p.2.

found their own use for new religious icons which aided their cause.<sup>553</sup> Relics also survived as a form of recusant expression. Moreover, as was observed in chapter four, objects became secular relics, as channels for amorous love.<sup>554</sup> The most common surviving type of love-related relic from the seventeenth century is human hair, that has usually been preserved within jewellery.

Hair could be incorporated into a ring within a hollowed space between an inner and outer band. An example of such a ring was made by Joseph Coney, an early American goldsmith in Boston, Massachusetts (figure 5.6).<sup>555</sup>



Figure 5.6: Joseph Coney (maker), Penelope Winslow's Mourning Ring (Massachusetts, 1680). Diameter: 1.8 cm. The ring is part of a private collection on display at Pilgrim Hall Museum, Massachusetts. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Pilgrim Hall Museum. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

The ring was made around 1680, in a high purity of gold, with a foliage pattern on the outside. The outside has since deteriorated and pieces of gold have flaked away,

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<sup>553</sup> Lyndal Roper, 'Luther's Relics' in Dagmar Eichberger and Jennifer Spinks (eds.), *Religion, the Supernatural and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Brill, 2015).

<sup>554</sup> Chapter four, pp.170-175.

<sup>555</sup> Joseph Coney (maker), Penelope Winslow's Mourning Ring (Massachusetts, 1680). Diameter: 1.8 cm. The ring is part of a private collection on display at Pilgrim Hall Museum. As with many of the pieces which are connected to the first colonists, proof of their ownership has been handed down by a mixture of word-of-mouth and documentation. Josiah and Penelope's wedding portraits, painted during a visit to London in 1651, and the shoe which Penelope wore on her wedding day, are also in Pilgrim Hall.

which allows the viewer to see into the hollowed space and at the strands of grey hair.<sup>556</sup> When the ring was made or altered to accommodate the hair, the hair was wholly concealed. The ring was commissioned by a Puritan colonist named Penelope Winslow (née Pelham). Penelope was born in England in 1630, and she first went to America with her father, Herbert Pelham in 1638. She returned to England in 1649 as a widow, and married Josiah Winslow in 1651, who was also travelling to England from the New World. The two returned to Plymouth Colony. They lived there together until Josiah died in 1680. It was then that Penelope commissioned the ring and preserved Josiah's greying hair.<sup>557</sup> The Winslow ring is an example of covert, even secret, inclusion of hair. The hair within other known surviving styles of ring tends to be visible, with patterned breaks in the outer ring.<sup>558</sup> The hair is visible only in close proximity. This indicates that these were intimate, personal pieces and that not all aspects of mourning were for public viewing. Indeed, hair within a ring exemplifies an intimate and hidden zone within an object. Posy rings were also created in mourning, and, as inscriptions were positioned on the inside of the ring, they too reveal a private world of distress and trauma, conveyed through mourning apparel. For example, one surviving posy reads, 'my friend is dead, my joys are fled'.<sup>559</sup> Another posy demonstrated the desire to be at peace, rather than in turmoil, 'lett death leade love to rest'.<sup>560</sup> Some posies are simple laments to the dead: 'Oh my

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<sup>556</sup> Ring (c.1695). V&A: M.80-1960. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: 'God above increase our love.' Posy Ring (1626-1652). The British Museum: 1961,1202.89. Dimensions: 2.25 cm. Inscription: 'Noe riches to content.' Gold Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: AF.1381. Diameter: 2.13 cm. Inscription: 'Thee and I will lovers die.' Posy Ring (1720-1750). The British Museum: 1961,1202.64. Inscription: 'Be constan in your affections.'

<sup>557</sup> Pene Behrens, *Footnotes: A Biography of Penelope Pelham, 1633-1703* (Maine: Spentpenny Press, 1998), p.25.

<sup>558</sup> For example: Mourning Ring (1661). The V&A: M.156-1962. Diameter: 2.2 cm. Inscription: 'Samuell Nicholets objit [died] 17 July 1661 Christ is my portion.'

<sup>559</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1800). The British Museum: 1961,1202.105. Diameter: 2cm. Inscription: 'My friend is dead, my joys are fled.'

<sup>560</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.103. Diameter: 2.05 cm. Inscription: 'lett death leade love to rest.' This ring was made by Matthew Reeve. He was an active maker between 1689-1699. After this he emigrated from Somerset to America, where little is known about him but he may have continued in his trade.

sister, my sister, R.H. Jan 22. 1670'.<sup>561</sup> Others encouraged remembrance and contemplation, for example, 'No recompenc but remembrance'.<sup>562</sup>

Further forms of jewellery that contain hair include brooches, pendants and slides, in which hair was typically set beneath glass or rock crystal. In these examples, there are typically other embellishments, such as initials or figures, in metallic thread.<sup>563</sup> Glass and crystal ensured the hair was preserved but visible. These pieces were produced in England and, by the end of the century, in America too, as early production methods were not as advanced as the goldsmiths of London.<sup>564</sup> A slightly later American piece, made in 1737, was formed of two heart-shaped crystal and gold jewels; one set with dark hair and the other with blonde (figure 5.7).<sup>565</sup>



Figure 5.7: A slightly later American piece, demonstrating how hair was preserved within objects in America.

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<sup>561</sup> *Memento Mori* Mourning Ring (1670). The Museum of London: 62.120/89. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: 'Oh my sister, my sister, R.H. Jan 22. 1670.'

<sup>562</sup> Posy Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: AF.1352. Diameter: 1.87 cm. Inscription: 'No recompenc but remembrance.'

<sup>563</sup> Ring (1600-1700). The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston: 64.886. Unknown diameter.

<sup>564</sup> Locket (Boston MA, 1706). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2000.532. Dimensions: 1.4 x 2.1 cm. Inscription: (on reverse) 'obt 20 / of April / 1706' with an engraved skull.

<sup>565</sup> Governor and Mrs Belcher Slide (Massachusetts, 1737). Massachusetts Historical Society: 138. Dimensions: 2 x 3.5 cm.

Governor and Mrs Belcher Slide (Massachusetts, 1737). Massachusetts Historical Society: 138. Dimensions: 2 x 3.5 cm. COPYRIGHT NEEDED.

The two were joined together so that they could then be worn on one ribbon. The heart on the left contains the hair of Mary Belcher (née Partridge). The ‘hair [was] cut’ in 1736, which was the year of her death, when she was fifty years old.<sup>566</sup> The blonde hair in the other heart was her husband’s, John Belcher. He was the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and he commissioned the piece in the following year.<sup>567</sup> John Belcher lived a further twenty years. Therefore, the hair in one heart was taken from the corpse of Mary, and the other heart contained hair from her living spouse. As the hair was taken from Mary in death, this was a deliberate attempt to preserve the body and memory of Mary, rather than to worship a relic which symbolised life. The shape of the pendant prevents the two types of hair from intermingling, the rock crystal and gold preserving the hair in two separate forms. This likely represented the reality of living for John Belcher after Mary died.

English-made pieces containing hair and crystal or glass are more elaborate in design and material than colonial pieces. While there were a small number of active goldsmiths in early America, including the aforementioned Joseph Coney, there were far fewer and their production was limited, unlike the thriving goldsmith’s area of London. For example, a gold and rock-crystal slide, worn by ribbon, was made with a background of finely woven brown hair, with two gold initials, ‘ED’, in the centre. A swirling throng of imagery surround the initials of the deceased; an angel, a winged hour-glass, a full skeleton, a skull, and grave-digger’s tools.<sup>568</sup> A second example, a

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<sup>566</sup> Sarah Nehama, *In Death Lamented, The Tradition of Anglo-American Mourning Jewelry* (Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 2012), p.28.

<sup>567</sup> An inscription on the reverse of the pendant reveals the owner, and Sarah Nehama discovered the circumstances of the jewel’s construction. The faith of John Belcher is not certain but he seems to have identified most strongly with the New England Congregational Church.

<sup>568</sup> *Memento Mori* Stuart Crystal Slide (c.1680). Dimensions: 1.9 x 1.7 cm. Inscription: ‘ED.’ This pendant was on sale at Rowan and Rowan, London in 2013: Ref GT6. Examples of other hair jewels: Mourning Buckle (1698) V&A: M.91-1975. Dimensions: 3.4 x 5 cm. The small size of this piece suggests it was once a shoe buckle, but it may have been worn as a small belt buckle or on a hat. Buckle (1725). V&A: 1581-1902. Dimensions: 2.7 x 3.8 cm. Inscription: ‘Hannah Kill/ Dyed 17 AP



heart-shaped gold and crystal pendant, was made to commemorate the politician, Sir Joseph Williamson.<sup>569</sup> The piece contained Joseph's carefully woven hair and was presumably made for his widow, Catherine O'Brien. She outlived him by just one year, dying in 1702. The front of the pendant is framed by fourteen small pearls, while the initials of the deceased were made in gold thread. Two golden cherubs hold a white skull, made of either bone or enamel. The reverse of the object was carefully painted in green and red, on a white background. A third example, a double-heart pendant combined the hair of two individuals. One side is dated April 1697, and the other, February 1699.<sup>570</sup> This piece does not have a revealing inscription, but it is likely to contain the hair of two close relatives: perhaps husband and wife, or a parent and child. The gold thread and hair are woven with intricacy, and the two glass hearts fit together back-to-back, rather than side-by-side.

Hair signified devotion and a promise of commitment at earlier stages in the cycle of love. Hair was, therefore, a material used to exercise choice. However, if a person was dead, they could wield little choice in the process. Consequently, death altered this ritual, and it became the choice of the griever to take hair from the body. The level of contact required to cut hair from a corpse suggests a certain level of familiarity, and may have been, in itself, an intimate process. It was part of a framed episode of time wherein a person could sit with the body, removing hair if they wished, or simply contemplate and talk. However, Lucinda Becker believed that, 'the deathbed would have been a busy place, a semi-public event.'<sup>571</sup> David Cressy offered a different view when discussing the watching of the dead, as a final period of intimate attendance.<sup>572</sup> Andrea Brady cited an example from 1637, when one William

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Aged 3 Years & 8 Days 1725.' Buckle (1728). V&A; M.136-1975. Dimensions: 3.1 x 4.2 cm. Inscription: 'Ann Harford 1728.'

<sup>569</sup> *Memento Mori* Pendant (1701). The pendant was sold into a private collection by Rowan and Rowan Antique-dealers, London: Ref: ECC3. Dimensions: 2.5 x 1.9 cm.

<sup>570</sup> *Memento Mori* Pendant, double-sided (1699). This pendant was on sale at Rowan and Rowan, London in 2013: Ref HM3. Dimensions: 1.9 x 1.9 cm (excluding hoop).

<sup>571</sup> Becker, *Death and the Early-Modern English Woman*, p.30.

<sup>572</sup> Watching the dead took place in the day/s after death, principally to ensure the deceased was really dead. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.427.

Tipping transgressed expected gendered roles in paying intimate attention to his wife's corpse, washing her with perfumed waters and kissing her.<sup>573</sup> Kenelm Digby was also in close attendance of Venetia's corpse, for he had moulds of her face and hands taken, her hair cut and her image sketched.<sup>574</sup> In such an instance, hair did not just signify the person: it was emblematic of the transitional process of death; the episode of time when the soul or life had departed, but a spouse still had the company of the body, before putrefaction took hold, which made keeping the corpse impossible.<sup>575</sup>

While these explanations for including hair are important, they do not get to the heart of the matter. John Donne's poem, 'The Relic' described the importance of a bracelet of hair. John Donne was a Protestant and married to Anne More for sixteen years, and when she died, he entered a long and profound period of mourning. In 'The Relic', Donne imagined a person breaking into the tomb where his own and his wife's corpses lay:

And he that digs it, spies  
A bracelet of bright hair about the bone,  
Will he not let us alone,  
And think that there a loving couple lies,  
Who thought that this device might be some way  
To make their souls at the last busy day  
Meet at this grave, and make a little stay?<sup>576</sup>

Donne described how the relic, which would have either been composed of his wife's hair or both of their hair together, was able to survive beyond the flesh of their bodies.

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<sup>573</sup> Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, p.48.

<sup>574</sup> Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p.31.

<sup>575</sup> Marcia Pointon, 'These Fragments I have shored Against my Ruins' in Kirsten Lippincott (ed.), *The Story of Time* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1998), pp.198-201.

<sup>576</sup> John Donne and E. K. Chambers (eds.), *The Poems of John Donne, Volume One* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1896), pp.66-67.

Donne hoped that the incorruptible hair would provide a connective channel through which they could be together again. For Donne, hair was a powerful and long-lasting emotional conduit: a point echoed by Marcia Pointon, who noted that hair was believed to be means to preserve and orientate a person during the resurrection.<sup>577</sup> For Donne, the hair bracelet was a pivot which would enable the two lovers to meet again on Judgement Day. David Cressy observed how, in 1689, one Claver Morris memorialised his wife's memory and consoled himself by 'wearing a pair of buttons with [his] wife's hair set in gold.'<sup>578</sup> In both of these examples, hair manifested feeling through its connection to the self, and acted as a bridge between life and death, by its physical being. This was a vital ability, because grief was typically caused by the end of love on the earthly world, in the physical sense. For example, the Nonconformist Minister, Oliver Heywood, described his anguish when his wife of six years, Alice, died, 'I want her at every turne, everywhere and in every work.'<sup>579</sup> The rupturing of the physical relationship and the removal of Alice's physical presence was enough to lead the minister to ultimately question his faith.<sup>580</sup> Lady Rachel Russel wrote a similar description of her anguish, two months after her husband died:

I know I have deserved my punishment [her husband's death], and will be silently under it; but yet secretly my hearts mourns, too sadly I fear, and cannot be comforted, because I have not the dear companion and sharer of all my joys and sorrows. I want him to talk with, to walk with, to eat and sleep with; all these things are irksome to me now; the day unwelcome, and the night so to...yet all this is, that I enjoy not the world in my own way, and this sure hinders my comfort.'<sup>581</sup>

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<sup>577</sup> Marcia Pointon, 'These Fragments I have Shored against my Ruins' in Kirsten Lippincott (ed.), *The Story of Time* (London: Merrell Holberton, 1999), pp.198-201.

<sup>578</sup> Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.431.

<sup>579</sup> Houlbrooke, *English Family Life*, pp.70-71.

<sup>580</sup> Anna Beer, *Milton: Poet, Pamphleteer and Patriot* (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), p.229.

<sup>581</sup> Lady Rachel Russel, *The Letters of Lady Rachel Russel* (London: C. Dilly, 1793), p.245. Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p.233.

Rachel Russel was struggling with the loss of her husband's being: she missed his touch, his response; the physicality of love. John Donne's seventeenth 'Holy Sonnet' was a lament that his marriage was transitioning into a purely spiritual one, when he was not ready to part with the physical.

Since she whom I loved hath paid her last debt  
To Nature, and to hers, and my good is dead,  
And her soul early into heaven ravishèd,  
Wholly on heavenly things my mind is set.  
Here the admiring her my mind did whet  
To seek thee, God; so streams do show the head;  
But though I have found thee, and thou my thirst hast fed,  
A holy thirsty dropsy melts me yet.  
But why should I beg more love, whenas thou  
Dost woo my soul, for hers offering all thine:  
And dost not only fear lest I allow  
My love to saints and angels, things divine,  
But in thy tender jealousy dost doubt  
Lest the world, flesh, yea, devil put thee out.<sup>582</sup>

The torment of this rupture explains why hair found a place within mourning objects. Hair was a means to keep the deceased with the griever. As Oliver Heywood, Rachel Russel and John Donne described, the void of permanent physical separation could be the most terrifying, upsetting and emotionally traumatic part of a partner dying. Preserving hair would not prevent the void from ever widening; the erasing 'ebbing tides' as Lucy Hutchinson put it. However, a relic could aid a person who felt unable

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<sup>582</sup> John Donne, 'Holy Sonnet 17' in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, 6th ed., v.1. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993), p.1117.

to part with the physical form. This theory is supported by Andrew Jones, who noted that material culture was a means to situate one's self in time: to 'stabilise' and 'measure.'<sup>583</sup> Furthermore, if kept correctly, hair did not deteriorate. This was all the more important when we consider that the breakdown of the body was considered a terrifying and unpleasant spectacle.<sup>584</sup> Hair relics allowed a griever to escape the awful vision of flesh putrefaction, because it retained the colour and texture of the living, even if taken in death.

Alongside the relic, people also commissioned material icons of their dead. Icons were pictorial representations of lovers: the portrait miniature forming the most obvious type. Graham Reynolds noted how the British have a long tradition of and admiration for portraiture, particularly 'for that special type of intimate and portable image, the portrait miniature.'<sup>585</sup> The intimate and portable nature of the miniature made it popular at other stages of love, besides grieving.<sup>586</sup> These icons were venerated and used; they were carried, touched, slept with, and used in other sensual ways. However, after death, these uses manifested a different type of feeling. In 1632, when Venetia Digby died, Kenelm did not just commission portraits of himself in mourning. Van Dyck sketched Venetia, and then went onto paint a large portrait of her on her deathbed.<sup>587</sup> This was copied into miniature form by Sir Peter Oliver (figure 5.8).<sup>588</sup> The image was of Venetia lying in the pillows of her bed, her head resting on one hand. Van Dyck painted a rose in full bloom on the sheets, and in the miniature, Oliver added a short description to the image, detailing her name and age. The reverse of the miniature was painted with a dark sphere. This was reference to

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<sup>583</sup> Andrew Jones, *Memory and Material Culture* (CUP, 2007), p.47.

<sup>584</sup> Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family*, p.229. Cressy, *Birth, Marriage and Death*, p.426.

<sup>585</sup> Graham Reynolds, *British Portrait Miniatures* (CUP, 1998), p.1. For further reading: Diana Scarisbrick, *Portrait Jewels: Opulence and Intimacy from Medici to Romanovs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2011). Katherine Coombs, *The Portrait Miniature in England* (London: V&A Publications, 1998).

<sup>586</sup> Frank, *Love and Loss*, p.viii.

<sup>587</sup> Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Venetia, Lady Digby, On her Deathbed* (1633). Dulwich Portrait Gallery: DPG194. Dimensions: 74.3 x 81.8cm.

<sup>588</sup> Peter Oliver, (after van Dyck), *Portrait Miniature of Venetia, Lady Digby on her Deathbed* (1633). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University: Strawberry Hill ID: sh-000464. Dimensions: 6.7 x 6.7cm.

Venetia as Kenelm's world, and how, upon her death, his world was sent into mourning. The image of Venetia is a serene one. Her pose and skin-tone suggest that she could be sleeping, and there is no sign of distress; her complexion is without blemish. Visual qualities were important to mourners in general: they formed part of the reason why the pain was acute when a lover died, as particular aspects of the person; the eyes, skin and hair, were typically revered by those who loved them. This kind of love was a mixture of visual attraction, admiration, and familiarity. This appreciation formed part of the reason why Kenelm commissioned the miniature, even though he already had multiple images: he wanted numerous representations of varying sizes, for different purposes.



Figure 5.8: The deathbed portrait miniature of Venetia Digby, which was carried and studied by her widower.

Peter Oliver, (after van Dyck), *Portrait Miniature of Venetia, Lady Digby on her Deathbed* (1633). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University: Strawberry Hill ID: sh-000464. Dimensions: 6.7 x 6.7cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of the Lewis Walpole Library.

Understanding why Kenelm created this icon has been discussed by other scholars.<sup>589</sup> Andrea Brady believed Kenelm was driven by a personal desire to preserve Venetia's beauty, and by his unease at the decomposition of her body.<sup>590</sup> Michael Martin agreed and noted that Kenelm's obsession with the preservation of Venetia's body influenced his later work in alchemy and his interest in resurrection.<sup>591</sup> In the letters written within three weeks of Venetia's death, Kenelm described how he was indeed tortured by the notion of her decaying flesh, 'In a word, her whole bodie differeth as much from what it was, as darknesse doth from light, and an object of horror from an other of extreme delight and pleasure.'<sup>592</sup> In this instance, the icon was performing a role similar to the relic; it was a means of countering Kenelm's visions of Venetia's decaying flesh. The miniature straddled a moment between two worlds: it was Venetia as beautiful and angelic, though her corpse was on the edge of putrefaction. This response to death was also highly dualistic, as Kenelm experienced Venetia as light and dark, delight and horror. He became obsessed with the moment of Venetia's death and how unjust and unsatisfactory he found it:

And now she is snatched away from me! I was not suffered to take my last leaue of her that was so deare to me and that I shall neuer see againe in this worlde... she would have said somewhat to me, or have recommended something for me to do in memory of her in her last houre, when her soule, conscious of the ioys she was going to, would have talked of heaven as being there already... all which, together with the comfort of hearing her last words, and of hauing her blessing to her children and of closing her dying eyes, is now buried in aeternal night with my passed ioys.<sup>593</sup>

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<sup>589</sup> Summer, *Death, Passion and Politics*, p.56.

<sup>590</sup> Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, pp.49-50.

<sup>591</sup> Michael Martin, 'Love's Alchemist' in *Prose Study: History, Theory, Criticism* (Dec., 2010), 32:3, pp.221-239.

<sup>592</sup> Cited in: Victor Gabrieli, 'A New Digby Letter-book, in Praise of Venetia' in *The National Library of Wales Journal* (Winter, 1956), 9:4, pp.440-462.

<sup>593</sup> Cited in: Gabrieli, 'A New Digby Letter-book', pp.440-462.

Kenelm chose to use the miniature, alongside other relics, to maintain and to manifest his grief. As the quote demonstrates, his objects allowed him to cling to the moment of death. Sasha Handley has suggested that an early-modern preoccupation with ghosts was influenced by the ‘scrapping’ of purgatory, in which Protestantism ‘officially outlawed an extended process of mourning for the dead in which the living could play an active role’. She added that despite this, ghosts continued to ‘be invested with important religious and emotional meanings’.<sup>594</sup> While Kenelm may not have necessarily understood Venetia’s spirit as a ‘ghost’, Handley’s observation partly explains why Kenelm was keen to take an active role in the rituals of grief, and his desire to cling onto the moment of death. If he did not directly believe in the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory (which he may have following his conversion), then he certainly believed in preserving the moment of death and Venetia herself.

Kenelm’s friends attempted to dissuade him from commissioning the deathbed portrait in order to keep his mind from dwelling upon ‘this sad object which can never be recovered.’<sup>595</sup> The miniature, like others, was made with a frame and loop, so that it could be attached to the wearer by ribbon, and carried about.<sup>596</sup> On a length of ribbon, or in a pocket, the miniature had a presence; Kenelm wrote, ‘everywhere I carry my hell with me.’<sup>597</sup> Kenelm wrote more on the effects of the miniature, ‘When I goe into my chamber I sett it close by my beds side, and by the faint light of candle, me thinkes I see her dead indeed; for that maketh painted colors looke more pale and ghastly than they doe by daylight.’<sup>598</sup> To Kenelm, in daylight, Venetia teetered on the

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<sup>594</sup> Sasha Handley, ‘Reclaiming Ghosts in 1690s England’ in Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, Studies in Church History, Vol. 41 (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2005), p.349.

<sup>595</sup> Cited in: Summer, *Death, Passion and Politics*, p.60.

<sup>596</sup> Several full-length portraits depict men and women wearing miniatures, usually on or below, their chests. For example: Cornelius Janssen van Ceulen, *Lady Alice Spencer, Lady Lucy* (1620-5). Charlecote Manor (NT): 533821. Dimensions: 127 x 101.5 cm. Paulus Van Somer I, *Elizabeth, Countess of Kent* (c.1620). The Fitzwilliam Museum 2484. Dimensions: 126.5 x 104.2 cm. Paulus Van Somer I, *Elizabeth, Countess of Kent* (c.1620). The Fitzwilliam Museum 2484. Dimensions: 126.5 x 104.2 cm. Unknown Artist, *Lettice Digby in Mourning* (c.1650). Sherborne Castle. Dimensions: 100 x 124.5 cm. British School, *Portrait of a Lady, (presumed to be Anne Fettiplace, Mrs Henry Jones I)*, (1614). Chastleton (NT): 1430427. Dimensions: 98 x 75 cm.

<sup>597</sup> Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p.32.

<sup>598</sup> Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p.32.



brink of life, while at night, she seemed to be decaying. Understanding that this icon, and others, were not used to comfort adds a level of intricacy. Objects were able to cause upset and distress. Kenelm went further still, obsessing in his torment and guilt, through the use of an icon. In Vittorio Gabrieli's introduction to Digby's letters, he noted that, 'In the quick sands of his [Digby's] agitation, the only solid rock was the persistent "doting" upon the shadow of the departed Venetia, her pictures, outfit, jewels, and other cold relics.'<sup>599</sup>

Portraits of the living could become icons of the dead. For example, one of the oldest New England portraits is of an eight-year-old girl, called Elizabeth Eggington. The portrait was painted either just before or after her death in 1664 by an unknown artist.<sup>600</sup> Elizabeth wears a fine white and yellow gown, with green and red ribbons, and a miniature of a man hangs from her dress. George M. Cohen believed that early colonial pieces, including this one, were popular because they 'served as an eternal immortalisation of the soul.'<sup>601</sup> Others have suggested that the miniature which Elizabeth was wearing probably contained an image of one of her parents, and that the quality of her dress conveyed the affection of her father.<sup>602</sup> Furthermore, as Elizabeth's mother died shortly after giving birth, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the miniature, which Elizabeth was wearing, once belonged to her mother.<sup>603</sup> This suggests that even though artwork may have been cruder in the colonies, the ability of portraiture to act as icons of the dead was little different from England.

In 1635, John Souch produced a painting of the death of Magdalene Aston (née Poultney).<sup>604</sup> John Souch made his name in the North West of England, painting

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<sup>599</sup> Gabrieli, 'A New Digby Letter-book', pp.440-462.

<sup>600</sup> Unknown artist, *Elizabeth Eggington* (1664). The Smithsonian Institute: IAP 06910030.

<sup>601</sup> George M. Cohen, *American Art* (Research and Education Society: New Jersey, 2000), p.6.

<sup>602</sup> Carol Sheriff, David W. Blight, Howard P. Chudacoff and Fredrik Logevall (eds.), *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*, Volume 1, (Boston: Wadsworth Publishing, 2011).

<sup>603</sup> Nancy Isenberg, *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p.2.

<sup>604</sup> John Souch, *Sir Thomas Aston at the Deathbed of His Wife* (1635). Manchester City Galleries: 1927.150. Dimensions: 203.2 x 215.1 cm. Thomas Aston also commissioned a tomb for Magdalene in the Aston Chapel, complete with an inscription: 'Heere, reader, in this sad but glorious cell, Of death lyes shrind a double miracle, Of woman and of wyfe, and each soe best, Shee may be fame's fayre

gentility: while Van Dyke brought a greater depth to the artwork of England, Souch continued to paint in a fairly two-dimensional manner, though his paintings captured emotions in ways similar to the newly emerging art from the continent. Magdalene was the wife of a Cheshire merchant named Thomas (figure 5.9). In Souch's painting, Magdalene lies dead in her bed; her room and bed covered in black cloth, including a small wicker cradle beside her bed. While the details of her death are not clear, by painting the covered cradle, Magdalene was depicted having died during or after childbirth. Magdalene appears twice in the painting; she is also kneeling on the floor with a handkerchief in one hand. Her other hand supports her tilted head, while her elbow rests on the covered cradle. She wears a faint, half smile.



Figure 5.9: Souch's portrait showing Thomas Aston's response to the death of his wife.

John Souch, *Sir Thomas Aston at the Deathbed of His Wife* (1635). Manchester City Galleries: 1927.150. Dimensions: 203.2 x 215.1 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of Manchester City Galleries.

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copy to the rest.' Unfortunately, Aston Hall and the chapel were demolished in 1938. The inscription is recorded in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

To Magdalene's left and beyond the covered cradle, stands her husband, Thomas. He clasps a human skull, which sits on top of the cradle. His right hand clutches round a cross-staff.<sup>605</sup> Thomas's young son was painted beside him, also clasping the cross-staff. Thomas leans backward onto the cross, straddling life and death, faith and despair. He wears full mourning apparel, with a small heart-shaped brooch pinned to his chest. The brooch contains a flick of hair, which was presumably Magdalene's, or the child's.<sup>606</sup> The portrait was a visual preservation of the moment of Magdalene's passing and a record of a profound moment of despair.

As with the wearing and distribution of mourning apparel, capturing the moment within an icon was a means of gaining control, and of drawing a boundary around the episode. These objects may also reflect a stubborn reluctance to accept death and to part with the deceased. They also reflect a desire to preserve that moment, so that even if death were accepted, a griever could resist moving away from the deceased in a psychological, chronological and physical sense. The final section of this chapter examines objects which tended to be used within more progressive processes: those objects which aided in the commemoration of the dead. By 'commemoration' I mean an intent to foster remembrance, memory, and to celebrate the positive aspects of a person's life. Unlike many pieces from the first two sections of this chapter, commemoration often involved more than one person, and required communal or public engagement. This final section analyses a particular type of commemorative material culture: the monument. In this chapter, by 'monument', I imply a physical thing, which was made in commemoration of a person or people, usually situated above the interred corpse. Forms of monument include busts, brass plaques, large stone effigies, marble tablets and free-standing gravestones.

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<sup>605</sup> This was an instrument used for measuring, but it also formed the shape of a cross when open.

<sup>606</sup> A similar, surviving example can be found in Ham House, in London: Two locks of hair, with jewelled mounts (c.1600). Ham House (NT): located in the Green Closet, n.2 (383). Dimensions: 2cm length. By tradition, these two locks of hair were cut from the head of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (1566–1601), who was executed for rebellion against his former great patron, Elizabeth I. Their size, and as a pair, suggest these may have been worn as earrings, rather than as brooches.

Erecting a monument was afforded to the wealthy, and formed an important part of the group of objects commissioned in response to death by the likes of Kenelm Digby, Frances Stuart and Thomas Aston. There are hundreds of surviving monuments in England, and a smaller, though still significant, number of seventeenth-century gravestones in America. English monuments have been acknowledged as a valuable source, but rarely have they been analysed as manifestations of emotion. In Katharine Esdaile's collection of English church monuments, she discussed the craftsmanship, the quality, and finally, analysed monuments as symbols of power, status and religious devotion.<sup>607</sup> Frederick Burgess wrote that monuments were intended to be commanding, long-lasting symbols of the increasingly contested power of the elite, rather than outpourings of grief.<sup>608</sup> Peter Sherlock noted that 'monuments have one primary task: to attract visitors and make them remember the dead.'<sup>609</sup> 'Visitors' is somewhat problematic, as not all monuments were erected in strictly public places, rather in private family crypts. Sherlock also wrote that a monument is 'a self-proclaimed voice from the past.'<sup>610</sup> To consider a stone effigy to be a self-proclaiming voice suggests a form of elitist rhetoric, and at worst a congratulatory narrative of the self. This is too simplistic, because monuments usually have at least two narratives: the voice of the deceased and the commissioner or griever. Fred Crossley thought of monuments as gateways to the costume and architecture of the past, and he added that there is 'a wealth of information at hand to enable us to visualise the life, aspirations, religious emotions, and artistic impulses of people.'<sup>611</sup> Clare Gittings took this point further, noting that the display of emotion within English monuments was an innovation of the early seventeenth century.<sup>612</sup>

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<sup>607</sup> Katharine A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1946).

<sup>608</sup> Frederick Burgess, *English Churchyard Memorials* (London: Fletcher and Son Ltd., 1963), p.114.

<sup>609</sup> Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early-Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p.1.

<sup>610</sup> Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early-Modern England*, p.1.

<sup>611</sup> Fred H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments A.D. 1150-1550, An Introduction to the Study of Tombs and Effigies of the Medieval Period* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1921), p.3.

<sup>612</sup> Jupp and Gittings (eds.), *Death in England*, p.163.

Monuments rarely convey a single self-proclaimed voice. A single monument may consist of various scenarios and perspectives, which reflect family dynamics and circumstances. For example, the monument erected by Sir William Temple, in Westminster Abbey, is a large tablet of black marble, with a lighter shade of marble scrolling the edges. The relative simplicity of the monument may pertain to both William's and his wife Dorothy's strong Protestant faith. Given the grand spatial surroundings, it would be easy to assume that the stone is just another monument to a great man, among many others. However, the story behind the monument, and the writing on it, is more complex. William commissioned the names of his 'beloved dead'; his daughter, wife and sister, alongside his own. William also composed the inscription: 'For most dear to himself and his own, Diana Temple, most beloved of daughters, Dorothy Osborne, the most intimately wedded of wives, And Martha Giffard, the most virtuous of Sisters. This monument, such as it is, was appointed by William Temple, Baronet of Moor Park in Surrey.'<sup>613</sup> The order in which the women appear was dictated by the order of their deaths. Diana, their only daughter who survived infancy, died of smallpox at the age of fourteen in 1679. Dorothy died in 1695. William in 1699. Martha, William's sister, had her name added under direction from William, after she died in 1722. William's decision to commemorate himself alongside these three women was dictated by tragic circumstances. Dorothy and William outlived all nine of their children. In 1689, their eldest son, John, committed suicide. The manner of John's death meant that William may have been unable to commemorate John in such a public and sacred setting.<sup>614</sup> When William came to design this monument, he had endured two decades of family deaths. During that time, he wrote, 'methinks it looks impertinent to be still alive.'<sup>615</sup> William wrote very little of how he felt after Dorothy died. Despite William's love of and proficiency

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<sup>613</sup> Jane Dunn, *Read my Heart: Dorothy Osborne and Sir William Temple; A Love Story in the Age of Revolution* (London: Harper Collins, 2008), p.409.

<sup>614</sup> For further reading on the growing field of suicidology: Rósín Healy, 'Historiographical Reviews: Suicide in Early Modern and Modern Europe' in *The Historical Journal* (Sept., 2006), 49:3, pp.903-919.

<sup>615</sup> Dunn, *Read my Heart*, p.400.

with words, he found language an inadequate channel for voicing his grief. William wrote, ‘Our thoughts are expressed by speech, our passions and motions are well without it.’<sup>616</sup> William commissioned the monument as a means of capturing and commemorating his family, which he came to outlive. Martha Temple was an instrumental and supportive force among the tragedies, living with Dorothy and William at their home, Moor Park. This was why William chose to commemorate his sister alongside his wife and daughter. It was at Moor Park that William requested his heart be buried, beneath the sundial in the garden. Dorothy and William had created the garden together, and it was the place where William took solace during his years of lonely mourning. The monument resides in a public setting, in which William chose to commemorate the most important women in his life. He chose to inter his heart in a space full of meaning and sentiment at their home.

In 1619, a Protestant gentleman named Barnabas Leigh erected a brass plaque on the wall of Shorwell Church, on the Isle of Wight.<sup>617</sup> The plaque includes a depiction of Barnabas’ first wife, Elizabeth Bampfield. She died three years prior, after bearing fifteen children, all of whom also appear on the plaque. Opposite Elizabeth is Barnabas’ second wife, Gartrude Percevall. She died shortly after they married in 1619. Other engraved images include a large wedding ring, hands, and fruits and vines, which encircle Elizabeth. A long chain hangs down from the wedding ring, set with a heart in the middle. The chain trails down to a skull. This was a reference to the vows of marriage. The figures of Elizabeth and Gartrude each place a foot upon the skull to signify their proximity to death. An inscription is below the women:

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<sup>616</sup> Dunn, *Read my Heart*, p.400.

<sup>617</sup> Similar examples of the brass plaque on the Isle of Wight include the memorial to Laurence Hyde and his wife Anne Sibell (1590) in Tisbury Church, Wiltshire and a memorial to Edward Younge and Joanne Hyde (1607) in Great Durnford Church, Wiltshire. A further example: The memorial to Joan Strode (1658) in the Church of St. Peter and Paul in Shepton Mallet, Somerset. This latter brass plaque depicts Joan and her husband, William in the centre. The skeletal figure of death rises up between them, ready to strike Joan with a spear, as William holds his hands up in opposition.

Since neither penne nor pencill can set forth, Of these two matchless wives  
the matchless worth, We're forced to cover in this silent tombe, The  
praises of a chaste and fruitful wombe: And with death's sable vaile in  
darkness hide, The ritch rare virtues of a barren bride. Sweet saint like  
paire of soules, in whome did shine Such modell of perfection fæminine.  
Such pietie, love, zeale: That though we sinners Their lives have lost, yet  
still yemselves are winners For they secure, heavens happines inherit  
While we lament their losse, admire their merit.

This monument is a clear example of one which cannot be considered a self-proclaimed voice from the past. This is the voice of a bereaved husband, perhaps that of his children too, describing the qualities of two wives and mothers. This proclamation was made through the inscription and images, though the brass plaque's positioning set in the wall of a communal church is also important. The key differentiation which Barnabas makes between his wives pertained to their fertility. Elizabeth and Barnabas were married for two decades and, in having numerous children, Elizabeth fulfilled an early-modern expectation of wifedom. Although Gartrude could not be commemorated in the same light after their year together, Barnabas explicitly referred to her as a model of female perfection too, and commemorated her on a plane equal to his first wife. His decision to make little differentiation elsewhere may have been influenced by the formulaic expectations of inscriptions, but it may have been because Barnabas intentionally chose to defend Gartrude.

While the plaque reveals much about how one husband chose to commemorate two wives, an observer may feel unease at the lack of differentiation made between Barnabas's two wives. This was influenced by the formulaic, structured nature of early-modern households. It would be highly unlikely for the situation to be reversed; that of a woman and two husbands, as when a widow remarried, she became part of another man's household. However, women did design monuments and if the male

head of a household died without planning a monument, then a wife would take on the role. For example, Lucy Hutchinson explained the pressure she felt creating a monument worthy for her husband: ‘I fear to injure that memory I would honour, and to disgrace his name with a poor monument.’<sup>618</sup> Her fears over disgracing his name suggest that Lucy believed the monument would be scrutinised by others, hinting at a wide circle of viewers. A monument to Thomas Hanham, on the wall of Wimborne Minster (1650), is a stone figure of himself and his wife facing one another, kneeling in prayer.<sup>619</sup> This monument was commissioned by his widow, Margaret Dodington, as the inscription beneath the two figures explains, ‘his lovyng and sad widdow hath caused this monvment to be erected wth his portratvre and her onwne.’ The image of a husband and wife kneeling opposite one another, before a prayer-stand, was a clear representation of an idealised, peaceful and successful marriage. It was also a formulaic one, which was widely understood and complimented the memory of the deceased.

Stone effigies of the deceased alongside representations of the living reveal further insights into commemoration. Poses of husbands and wives include them sleeping together; poses where one spouse lies asleep while the other kneels; where they both lie with heads propped up on hands, and yet further variations, including couples which touch one another in various poses.<sup>620</sup> This variety conveys individual desires to commemorate spouses, and desires to present unique, yet acceptable, public representations of marriages. In St Mary’s Church, near Lydiard Tregoze in Wiltshire,

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<sup>618</sup> Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel John Hutchinson* (1848), p.30. More examples of women creating monuments: Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500-1670* (CUP, 2002), p.89.

<sup>619</sup> Other monuments with figures in this pose include: The Monument to Henry and Elizabeth Maddison (1634 and 1653) located in Cathedral Church of St Nicholas, Newcastle upon Tyne. The Monument to Robert Codrington (1618) located in Durham Cathedral.

<sup>620</sup> Lady Margaret Denny’s Monument (1600) located in the Church of the Holy Cross and St. Lawrence, Waltham Abbey, Essex. The Seymour Monument (c.1600) located in Saint Mary’s Church, Devon. Monument to Sir John Manners (1611) located in All Saints Church, Bakewell, Derbyshire. Monument to Gabriel Livesey (1622) located in Eastchurch All Saints in Kent. Sir Richard Hutton’s Monument (1648) located in Bilton Ainsty Saint Helen, West Yorkshire.



a monument was commissioned in 1633 for Lady Katherine Mompesson by her widower, Sir Giles Mompesson (figure 5.10)



Figure 5.10: Giles and Katherine Mompesson, from St Mary's Church, by Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire. The monument was made in memory of Katherine, who sits with her hand upon the skull.<sup>621</sup>

These marble effigies depict Giles and Katherine seated, facing each other. Their faces and hands gesture conversation and contemplation. Sir Giles holds a book, while Katherine holds a skull in her lap. By commissioning a monument which conveyed himself and Katherine in this animated pose, Giles wanted to commemorate and exhibit a marriage of discussion, rationality and mutual friendship. This depiction would have benefited Giles' reputation as a rational and good husband, but the monument also aided in the commemoration of Katherine, for it demonstrated her intellect and patient character. The physical separation of the statues may have also been intended to represent Katherine's early death and as well as Giles's exile in France, as he had been banished from England for fraud.<sup>622</sup>

<sup>621</sup> Image belongs to and is used courtesy of Mike Searle. 'Geograph'. Last accessed 7 April 2016. <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3121935>.

<sup>622</sup> Giles Mompesson was a notoriously unpopular figure and hated for imposing and exposing a form of license upon inns. He was reprimanded by James I for various types of fraud. Consequently, his

The aforementioned Mompesson monument has remained in the same church since it was erected and sits alongside several other monuments and effigies to Katherine's family, the St. Johns. The Mompesson monument, therefore, is unusual, as Giles decided to commemorate his wife and ultimately himself, in a religious and sacred space which belonged to his wife's family, rather than his own. The St. John family commissioned several stone monuments and a large polyptych made of wood, all of which sit in the same church.<sup>623</sup> The monuments are notable for their size and detail.<sup>624</sup> John St. John seems to have been especially enthusiastic to preserve and celebrate his family's lineage as he commissioned numerous ornate monuments at Lydiard Tregoze and in other family properties.<sup>625</sup> This particular spatial preservation is a useful source, as it reveals how these monuments were viewed, or experienced, by a specific family. This space reveals that when a bereaved spouse stood beneath an effigy of their loved-one, if they turned around, they were likely to come face-to-face with another effigy, perhaps of their mother or father. This space, therefore, may have acted as a record of the family, as much as of the individual and was a place of family love, not just amorous. This was a privilege of the wealthy, but one which would have been afforded to more families than ever before. The monument, in general, was likely to occupy a space which reminded the mourner of their own fragile existence, as they sat with generations of family who came before them. They may even have sat beside their own monuments and the monuments of other still living family members, made in preparation of their deaths.

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knighthood was stripped from him, he was fined £10,000 and banished from England. As he fled to France, the fine was transferred to Katherine's father. Although Katherine did visit her husband in exile, she died in England and he lived on another eighteen years in France. Little is known of the dynamics of their marriage, except that Giles commissioned this particular monument.

<sup>623</sup> A polyptych is a large painting, usually on a panel, split into sections. This particular monument is also referred to as a triptych by church officials. However, as the painting is made up of eleven panels, rather than three, it is a polyptych.

<sup>624</sup> Oliver D. Harris, 'Lines of Descent: Appropriations in Stone and Parchment' in Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (eds.), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2013), pp.85-104.

<sup>625</sup> Brian Carne, *Curiously Painted: An Illustrated History of the St. John Family Polyptych at Lydiard Tregoze: Its Maker and its Message* (Lydiard Tregoze: Friends of Lydiard Park, 2007).

The St. John polyptych was commissioned in 1615, by John St. John and his wife, Anne, in memory of his parents, John (d.1594) and Lucy (d.1599). The painting depicts John and Lucy in the centre, kneeling down facing one another, atop of their crypt. This indicates that the couple held a form of presence at the crypt and that it was considered a spiritual, as well as physical, residence for them. On the left of the polyptych, John and Anne, who were then first Baronet and Baroness respectively, stand in a relaxed and intimate pose, Lucy linking her right arm through John's left. Their six daughters are depicted to the right, including an image of Katherine, who would marry Giles Mompesson. As the polyptych was a representation of the family monuments and the church, as well as a monument in itself, it suggests that the space was considered one where living family members could exist with their dead family.

The presence of the polyptych in St. Mary's allows for a second observation. There are clear facial resemblances between the portrait of Anne St. John and her marble effigy, as there is between Katherine Mompesson's effigy and her painting on the polyptych, and finally, between Giles Mompesson's effigy and surviving illustrations of himself.<sup>626</sup> Much like icons, these monuments captured physical likenesses. This was also the case for the bronze bust of Venetia Digby, commissioned as part of her great monument by Kenelm Digby. While now lost, this monument probably sat within a vault in a churchyard in Newgate.<sup>627</sup> Therefore, there is an overlap between the preservation of the body and commemoration of appearance. The physical appearance of a person could be thought of as a quality to

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<sup>626</sup> Giles Mompesson depicted in an illustration: Anon., *The Description of Giles Mompesson, late knight censured by Parliament* (London, 1620).

<sup>627</sup> The principal monument was probably destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. John Aubrey (d.1697) believed that the tomb had been destroyed and described seeing the charred bust on a stall years later (John Aubrey and Andrew Clark ((ed.)), *'Brief Lives' Chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey in Years 1669-1696* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), pp.231-233.). A detailed sketch of the monument appeared in the Digby Pedigree, which, while now lost, was copied in the eighteenth century when Kenelm's work went through a wave of popularity. However, there are two other surviving bronze busts of Venetia in a church in Gothurst. The provenance of the two is unclear, as is the fate of the bust which sat in Newgate. Kenelm may well have commissioned more than one bust. The two from Gothurst have been attributed to George Larson, a much-sought after and highly skilled master of bronze: the casting of Venetia's hair is one of the best surviving examples of bronze detail from this period in England.

be commemorated, for either sex. Whether the likeness was authentic is largely irrelevant to the intention and meaning behind attempting to commission a likeness: it reveals affection for the appearance and a desire to preserve and commemorate.

Monuments and their spatial surroundings could be powerfully emotive. Lady Rachel Russel (née Wriothesley) had planned on visiting the spot where her second husband, William, would be interred and where a monument was to be erected: ‘I had some business there, for that to me precious and delicious friend [William] desired I would make a little monument for us, and I had never seen the place; had set a day to do it with him not three months before he was carried thither, but prevented by the boy’s illness.’<sup>628</sup> Rachel’s use of the word ‘us’ is interesting, as the monument would almost certainly have been erected, in name, for William Russel.<sup>629</sup> A few months later, William was beheaded for treason. Rachel visited the monument, once his interment had taken place. She described the experience in a letter to her doctor:

When I have done this piece of duty to my best friend [William] and them [her children], how gladly would I lie down by that beloved dust I lately went to visit (that is the case that holds it). It is a satisfaction to me that you did not disapprove of what I did in it, as some do that seems to have heard of it, though I never mentioned it to any besides yourself. Doctor, I had considered, I went not to seek the living among the dead; I knew I should not see him any more, where ever I went, and had made a covenant to myself, not to break out in unreasonable fruitless passion but quicken my contemplation.<sup>630</sup>

While Rachel neglected to say precisely what she did at her husband’s grave, she wanted it to be a place of quiet contemplation, rather than tears or excessive, noisy

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<sup>628</sup> Lady Rachel Russel and John Russel (ed.), *Letters of Rachel, Lady Russel* (Philadelphia, Parry and McMillan, 1854), p.112.

<sup>629</sup> The use of mutual pronouns (our and us) has also been noted by Vanessa Harding in *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*, p.65. The monument is now lost.

<sup>630</sup> Russel, *Letters of Rachel*, p.113.

grief. The degree of public access around these monuments varied, but whether they were noisy or silent kindles further questions about the space. The Leigh plaque described the monument as silent, while other monuments depict still and sleeping figures. However, some figures are animated in pose and action.<sup>631</sup> Rachel's motivations for trying to demonstrate restraint could have been numerous: perhaps she did not want to wail before others, nor did she want to damage her own health; or finally, she could have considered excessive grief (both in an outward and inward form) as offensive to her husband and to God.<sup>632</sup> This may have been influenced by her and William's Protestant faith, which would have associated loud and prostrating grief as a means to influence the destination of the soul, and akin to Catholicism.

As these points suggest, Rachel described a space which was subject to protocol and where eyes could judge. The circumstances of William's death may well have fuelled her worries. She tried to think of the space as among the dead; an area to remember William, and to think of her own mortality and of the process of death more generally. This must have been to the fore of Rachel's mind, particularly as her son was on his deathbed when she wrote the letter to her doctor. The monument ushered forth the flow of two emotions: of desperate grief; and of striving to contemplate life, death and faith in a rational and beneficial manner. Rachel also revealed how the spot would be her ultimate place of rest too, as she anticipated lying down in the dust with her deceased husband. This would likely have been in the mind of many mourning spouses when they stood before their partner's grave, and other family monuments. While remarriage could complicate arrangements, a partner's monument was often seen as the space in which the dead would be reunited. For example, John Evelyn described his father's monument: 'my father was interred near

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<sup>631</sup> The Fitzherbert Monument in St Mary's Church near Tissington (1619) bears the inscription, 'silent let the reader be.'

<sup>632</sup> Brady, *English Funerary Elegy*, p.37. Brady discusses how a 'stoic nature' was required for mourners.

his formerly erected monument, and mingled with the ashes of our dear mother, his wife.’<sup>633</sup>

Monuments were subject to reproach in much the same way as many of the objects and rituals of use analysed in the corpus. The grand size and extravagance of a monument could be considered unnecessary and, in a similar light to how the excessive grieving of a mourner could be considered to have Catholic tendencies, spending exorbitant sums of money on a monument may have suggested that the mourner was attempting to influence the destination of the deceased’s soul. Lucy Wooding has noted that ‘remembrance’ was a multifarious concept in this period. Typically, remembrance was a means of praying for early release from purgatory, but it was also intended to convey love and ‘implore divine mercy, without intending a precise alteration in the status of the one prayed for.’<sup>634</sup> Different degrees of remembrance were practised by Catholics and Protestants, and, as has been demonstrated, loved-ones felt an obligation to commemorate the deceased to a certain level which represented their respect and love: in order to achieve this level through a monument, the loved-ones had to outlay a significant sum. However excessive spending was the subject of reproach. In Jeremy Taylor’s, *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying* (1651), he noted how, ‘Ninus [King] of the Assyrian[s] had a monument erected that was nine furlongs and bredth ten... and Iohn the Baptist had more honor when he was humbly laid in the earth.’<sup>635</sup> Another Protestant writer, Thomas Adams, described how there was no greater tomb above the body than heaven.<sup>636</sup> Therefore, much like mourning cloth, icons and relics, as well the behaviour of the mourner, it is evident that the Protestant church encouraged restraint and simplicity in monuments,

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<sup>633</sup> Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, p.13.

<sup>634</sup> Lucy Wood, ‘Materials of Remembrance’ in Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (eds.), *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England: Memorial Cultures of the Post Reformation* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2013), p.21.

<sup>635</sup> John Taylor, *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying* (London, 1651), p.333.

<sup>636</sup> Thomas Adams, *A Commentary or, Exposition vpon the diuine second epistle generall, written by the blessed apostle St. Peter* (London, 1633), p.273.

though Protestants clearly continued to believe that the amount spent on mourning was able to reflect the respect paid to the deceased.

In the church of St Mary's near Tissington, Derbyshire, stands an elaborate two and half meter-high monument with marble pillars. The lower tier was erected in 1619, in memory of Francis Fitzherbert by his widow. It depicts Francis kneeling in prayer opposite his two wives, Elizabeth Bullock (his then widow) and Jane Armstrong (his first wife). Jane's effigy was placed in the shadow of Elizabeth Bullock's effigy. Elizabeth may have had to place Jane within her shadow for structural reasons. However, this monument seems to convey a sense of tension between the place or standing of two wives, a living and a dead one, within their husband's household. This scenario can be found in other types of source. For example, a painting by David Des Granges of the Saltonstall family, focuses upon the death of the family's wife and mother, Elizabeth Saltonstall (née Basse) (figure 5.11).<sup>637</sup>



Figure 5.11: Note Richard's devotion to his deceased wife, Elizabeth, in the bed. Richard and Elizabeth reach toward one another, in an attempt to bridge the void of death. The figure on the right is presumed to be Richard's second wife, Mary.

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<sup>637</sup> David Des Granges, *The Saltonstall Family* (1636-7). The Tate Britain: T02020. Dimensions: 214 x 276 cm.

David Des Granges, *The Saltonstall Family* (1636-7). The Tate Britain: T02020.  
Dimensions: 214 x 276 cm. Image belongs to and is used courtesy of Tate Britain.  
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Elizabeth lies in her bed, either dead or in the final moments of life. Her hand is stretched toward her husband's hand, which is also outstretched. Her husband, Richard Saltonstall (1595-1650), links his other hand with his young son, Richard, who then holds the hand of his younger sister, Ann. Together, they form a chain of emotional support and strength. Another woman is depicted, on the right side of the painting. This was likely to be Richard's second wife, Mary Parker.<sup>638</sup> Mary sits on a chair with a solemn expression, holding a baby. Elizabeth died in 1630 and Richard remarried Mary in 1633: the painting is from 1637. Richard's pose remains one of devotion to the dead Elizabeth, rather than his new wife and child. He was painted with his hand gesturing toward Elizabeth, linking her children's hands, his face displaying sorrow at her death. He was also painted in mourning apparel, despite the portrait representing his family six to seven years after Elizabeth's death, and three years after Richard remarried.

This stance, of one husband and two wives, appears in many forms of commemorative materiality.<sup>639</sup> Nigel Llewellyn thought that this could be best understood 'if we accept that the bodies of those commemorated were imagined in diverse ways. The natural body comprising the biological matter is one of its aspects; the social body, that is the individual's place in society, is another. Both ritual and artefacts tend to focus on the balance between these two states.'<sup>640</sup> Llewellyn's explanation seems to get to the heart of the matter: even if dead, a woman was still a wife in a household. However, this poses questions. Within the artefacts, are the wives thought of as alive, dead or in memoriam? Were deceased wives ethereal, while

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<sup>638</sup> The second woman has been identified as Mary Parker, rather than a second representation of Elizabeth, because Richard had remarried, and because of differing facial characteristics.

<sup>639</sup> For example, the centre panel of the great oak fire mantel at Speke Hall in Liverpool depicts Sir Henry Norris II between his two wives. His first wife, Ellen Bulkley sits on his right with her rosemary, while his second wife, Anne Scriven (also Myddleton) sits on his left. The Oak Mantelpiece (c.1564) located in Speke Hall (NT). Dimensions: 120 x 256 cm.

<sup>640</sup> Llewellyn, *The Art of Death*, p.48.



the living were flesh? One wonders what effect the painting of the Saltonstall family had upon Mary, who was side-lined in the portrait. If this portrait was hung within the household, Mary must have lived with her predecessor every day. While remarriage was common, given the presence and quality of love unearthed in this study, it seems obvious that affection could not necessarily be removed from the deceased and applied to a new spouse with ease. Furthermore, to assume that a new wife, was happy to live in the shadow of the former wife seems naïve. Men were less likely to feel this as acutely, because they did not commonly enter another household when they remarried, but this does not mean that the shadows cast by memories and ‘things’ were not felt by them too. It has been shown that objects could cause both comfort and distress for grievers: they were also likely to have caused resentment and frustration among new spouses and relationships.

This chapter has demonstrated that people found comfort in indulging and obsessing in their grief, while others were tormented by any reminder of the deceased or of the process of death. These were indeed a people accustomed to death, but there was no general level of familiarity, or ease. Religious belief in the afterlife installed a level of resistance to despair, but not to the frequency or manner of death. In fact, grief could lead the most devout Christian to question God’s plan, and numerous examples survive which demonstrate a deliberate attempt to produce defiant relics of the dead. People used objects as hubs of emotion; dwelling upon, touching, keeping, studying, gazing upon and engaging with sentimental things. Objects were able to perform these roles in two ways. Objects could be symbolic of death in general; through design, shape, material or function, which allowed a griever to focus upon the transitional episode of a person’s passing. In doing this, they could dwell upon the moment and refuse to part with it; thereby keeping the dead with them for an extended period of time. This could soften the shock and immediacy of death. Conversely, a griever could use objects which symbolised death to control and orchestrate the episode; drawing it to an abrupt close by removing an object from sight, or sharing it

among a community. The other process which allowed material culture to channel grief was through acting as substitutes for the deceased. These objects were representative of the person, not necessarily of their death. These objects could then be used in a plethora of ways, though two clear types of emotional response have emerged in this chapter. The first was a stubborn resistance, where people clung to objects as relics of their loved-ones, and used them to bridge the divide between life and death. The second was to use the object as a means to commemorate the dead. This last response signified a type of acceptance and positive celebration; though this process was as complex and varied as the others. Physicality was key to all of these rituals because, in the waves of debilitating and extreme emotion, objects were something to cling to, to grasp at, and to fight the deterioration of memory. While these processes and indeed, love itself, have been different in this chapter from previous ones, the abilities of the object to act as symbol, conduit and manifestation, do not differ from how it was used elsewhere in the cycle of love. Indeed, the role of the object in life compounded its poignancy in death.

## *Conclusion*

This study is the first comprehensive examination of seventeenth-century love objects, in which I have studied nearly twelve-hundred objects from eighty repositories. Many of these objects had not been utilised by historians, and only a handful had been used to further an understanding of love. I would like to stress that the source body is not an exhaustive corpus of all surviving love objects. Material culture will continue to be dug out of the ground and stay hidden away in drawers and attics, sparkling beneath cobwebs and folded in sheets. Perhaps as the digitisation of sources continues, there will be defined and entirely comprehensive bodies of material culture for future scholars. For now, my corpus is the most thorough collection of objects related to love for the seventeenth century. In drawing the objects together as a whole, idiosyncrasies are unavoidably lessened, though many have been teased out and reflected upon within the analysis. I hope my group of objects will continue to grow with future research, and that objects associated with other types of emotion will also be uncovered and catalogued in similar formats to this one.

Chapter one provided an account of the complexities, challenges and advantages of working with objects. This chapter offers advice on how to search for objects in as full and inclusive a manner as possible. For example, searching for objects by their date or material proved a much more efficient and inclusive method, than searching for objects by theme, association or place. Chapter two defined popular tropes of love. My research demonstrated that tropes could often be understood in different, contrasting ways. For example, Cupid was understood to convey love that was honest and true, but also impulsive and lustful. Chapter two revealed that tropes of love were closely connected to rituals of love, in which tropes of love represented gift exchange and stances of interaction, including hand-holding. This latter point demonstrated that tropes of love were closely connected to the body of the lover, and that love was located in parts of the body, as well as by actions of the body. Chapter three turned to the mechanics of object creation and exchange, to better understand

the relationship between lover and object. This revealed that material was central to conveying meaning, and that objects constructed from precious metals and stones in particular were considered able to represent the revered and aspired qualities of love. Notwithstanding this, the sentimentality of objects was able to transcend these hierarchies, as memories of past owners were able to elevate the emotional power of certain materials. Chapter three also revealed how the shapes of objects were able to create private and public zones of contact. Examining creation and exchange demonstrated how the object was understood as a representation of the self, a notion further strengthened in chapter four by examining how objects were used after they were received. Chapter four exposed the voice of the object in full by combining the findings of chapters two and three with a close examination of posies. Alongside the material, shape and function of an object, a posy allowed a giver to speak through the object to communicate specific qualities and expectations of love. The recipient was then able to manifest their feelings by use of the object. However, as chapter four revealed, these processes did not go without criticism. In fact, examining posies exposed how the voice of the object could be self-condemning and critical. This finding demonstrated tensions between sincerity of feeling and fickleness, and whether materiality was able to convey and carry true love. Chapter five drew the cycle of love to an end, and exposed that while the object conveyed and manifested emotion in ways similar to other stages of love, death transformed objects in both their physical forms, and in the meanings which they conveyed. An examination of portraiture uncovered the connection between griever and grief, and the complex reasoning behind motivations for making the body an exposed vessel of grief. An investigation of icons demonstrated how mourners venerated and preserved objects as substitutes for the deceased. A final analysis of commemorative objects explained how mourners felt when knelt before a monument of their beloved dead. This analysis also revealed the complex emotional dynamics caused by remarriage, when one family could house more than one wife.

All five of the chapters have revealed that emotions were practised through particular rituals and expressions, in which the object was key. This finding coincides with the more recent theories to emerge in the literature on emotions (the actual feelings) and emotionologies (methods of expression), though my work does not necessarily support the notion that both were shaped by contexts. However, concerning emotionologies, it is clear that the early-modern world enabled the growth of emotional expression, as Paula Findlen noted, '[this was] a transformative moment, a world set in motion on a new and larger scale.'<sup>641</sup> Victoria Avery, Melissa Calaresu and Mary Laven observed a similar process; 'new knowledge profoundly affected the material culture of Europe... trade created many startlingly beautiful objects.'<sup>642</sup> This growth in commerce enabled a growth in craftsmanship and manufacture, which in turn promoted a great variety of objects from all manner of fabrics and importantly, facilitated objects with all sorts of surfaces, sides and faces, as well as visual designs, patterns and colours. This made the object all the more useful as a means to express and practise emotions by their visual and physical varieties. This allowed people to use objects in both public and private settings, and to personalise traditional and well-known rituals of love. While these methods of emotional expression were evident prior to the early-modern period, they became available to many more, and were enriched by the growth in trade.

The method created a marriage of object and word, and the two have continually and consistently reinforced one another throughout each chapter. I hope one outcome of this study will be to make researchers less likely to divide and categorise sources separately. This study has demonstrated how many channels of amorous expression crossed various source types. For example, I have uncovered representations of Cupid on jewellery, embroidery, furniture and in texts. Cupid, his arrows and pierced hearts, remained an intended amorous trope on all of these object

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<sup>641</sup> Paula Findlen, *Early Modern Things: Objects and their Histories, 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 2013), p.5.

<sup>642</sup> Victoria Avery, Melissa Calaresu and Mary Laven (eds.), *Treasured Possessions: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (The Fitzwilliam Museum, 2015), p.16.

types. Divvying up each source to different scholars has separated communities of objects, and removed trends and commonalities from view. My approach allowed me to bring many sources together, and allowed them to speak collectively. Furthermore, converting observations into scholarly prose through an amalgamation of existing material culture methodologies honed for the purposes of this study has proven that there is no barrier between the language of material culture and the language of textual sources. This approach, which moves toward a more inclusive and embracing attitude to sources, is vital for the progression of histories.

While I do not reject the word as a source, it has become apparent that a history without the object is somewhat dimly lit. This study has shown that people turned to mediums of communication, besides the word, in order to convey feeling. This finding has revealed that the history of emotions and material culture have a peculiar affinity. On occasion, poignant emotion was deliberately conveyed through materiality because materiality performed roles which words were unable. In chapter five, I demonstrated how relics were able to resist death, and preserve the body precisely because they were physical remnants of the body. Chapters three and four revealed how gifts were able to convey feeling through design, shape and material. These processes do not reduce the importance or significance of the word, but suggest that if, as scholars, we seek to understand how people thought about and channelled feelings, object study is essential.

The religiosity of the dualism of good and evil shaped how people considered feeling and their everyday lives. The metaphors attached to these dualisms were incorporated into the meanings of material culture. For example, gold was understood to convey purity and sacredness, while stone signified constancy and strength. Such metaphors, which associated love with the divine, elevated the concept of love. Material culture was therefore representative of spiritual facets, but, by its inherent physical nature, it was also representative of the flesh and of earth. In this sense, the object was much like love, which was both nonphysical and physical. It was this

parallel which enabled objects to be used so powerfully within relationships. For example, as chapter five demonstrated, objects were strangely altered by death. A change brought about an object's relationship to the deceased. Corporeally, a person died and their physicality decayed and disappeared. The object, however, lingered on, straddling a boundary between spirit and flesh, representing a remnant of a physicality that no longer existed, as well as an existing spiritual relationship. Overall, love, in an amorous sense, as well as religious, parental or other sort of familiar love, was considered the light that made existence in a dark world worth living. As demonstrated in the analysis in chapter two, these were the lexical terms and images that people employed, for them the world was light and dark. Love was light, worn as a type of armour, in a dark world.

This dualistic understanding of love and life was why genuine emotion was highly prized, while insincere, short-lived or fickle feelings were disparaged and feared. This study has shown that when love was intended and believed to be the armour, shield, support and guide, insincere love could lead a person into the darkness and to ruin. The need to promote genuine love over lesser feelings, motivations or behaviour, further explains certain conflicting themes which have emerged from using the object, including materiality and sincerity, performance and sincerity, economics and love, rationality and love, lust and love, ritual and choice, display and love, public and private, and the self and lover and the self and beloved. These juxtapositions suggest that an understanding of love was partly influenced by the great 'melting pot' of ideas unique to the century, in which many forms of materiality were questioned.<sup>643</sup> The promotion of sincerity, particularly in love, meant that material culture came into conflict with dualistic notions of good and evil specifically, of spirit and flesh, as the objects were themselves physical beings. Nowhere is this conflict clearer than in the objects themselves. Analysis in chapters three and four revealed how objects were inscribed with posies reflecting this struggle, including, 'the gift is small the love is

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<sup>643</sup> Jane Whittle and Elizabeth Griffiths, *Gender and Consumption in the Early Seventeenth-Century Household, The World of Alice Le Strange* (OUP, 2012), p.184.

all'<sup>644</sup> and 'not the gift but the giver'.<sup>645</sup> While historians have long been aware of early-modern philosophical criticisms of excessive materiality, the object has revealed that these criticisms provided conundrums for lovers wishing to demonstrate and pledge their love. It is remarkable that lovers persisted in giving objects when they felt strongly enough to have them inscribed with self-condemning (of the object) posies. Lovers were aware that in giving an object they risked the label of fickle and shallow, as they were presenting love through a channel that could ultimately not prove their intent. This did not stop them from persisting in the creation, exchange and use of love tokens.

The regularity and acceptance of strong, even extreme emotions has been a key finding made by exploring material culture. In historiography, extreme episodes of feeling have often been perceived as episodes of emotional distress. For example, Michael MacDonald commented on the regularity of melancholy and madness caused by heartache and bereavement.<sup>646</sup> This was a thoroughly revealing study, as MacDonald was able to demonstrate the regularity of episodes of extreme, negative emotions. However much of the historiography has continued to focus on the scientific and medical understanding of extreme feeling, with a tendency to concentrate on the negative.<sup>647</sup> Owing to the focus on negative emotions, there developed a tendency to connect extreme emotions with ill health, even lunacy, rather than to consider that these feelings may have been perceived as a natural and accepted part of living.<sup>648</sup> I suggest that the history of emotions should not only shift its predominantly negative focus, but also that negative emotions should not be considered as harmful feelings. Within my research, powerful emotions were a visual,

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<sup>644</sup>644 Pewter Marriage Plate (1674). Colonial Williamsburg: 1981-210. Diameter: 99 cm. Inscription: 'THE GIFT IS SMALL THE LOVE IS ALL 1674'.

<sup>645</sup> Posy Ring (1500-1700). The British Museum: 1961,1202.138. Diameter: 2 cm. Inscription: 'NOT THE GIFT BVT THE GIVER'.

<sup>646</sup> Michael MacDonald, *Mystical Bedlam: Madness, Anxiety, and Healing in Seventeenth-Century England* (CUP, 1981).

<sup>647</sup> Elena Carrera, *Emotions and Health, 1200-1700* (Brill, 2013). Forthcoming, Laurice Hennenon and L.H. Roper, *Fear and the Making of Early American Societies* (Brill, 2016).

<sup>648</sup> Roy Porter, *Madness: A Brief History* (OUP, 2002), p.60.



overt and prominent dynamic of life. As I demonstrated in chapter five, negative emotions, including grief and melancholy, were viewed as an integral part or process of human nature. Delving into sadness and worry through material culture was dangerous, but a necessary, even healthy, means of dealing with illness and death.

Extreme emotions did not just revolve around responses to death. Tales of passionate and impulsive love were stamped onto popular papers and encapsulated in the popularity and acceptance of the figure of Cupid. If these feelings did not have damaging consequences, they were considered normal and a good indication of affection and love. In the seventeenth century, material culture was employed in order to control and mediate these amplified emotional states. Within those narratives which I have explored, objects were used as effective coping mechanisms and conduits for strong emotion. Objects provided opportunities to forge a material representation of a feeling or connection or person. The early-modern mind frequently walked a tightrope between complete self-absorption and a religious type of self-reflection, in order to achieve what was perceived to be a good man or woman. Immersing the self in an emotion was a necessary means to survive in a world of frequent bereavement and sickness. The sources examined in this study suggest that this can be seen in a positive light, as a means of producing effective coping mechanisms, which moulded an emotionally proficient people.

The existing historiography of emotions has not only focused on ill health, but on the physical body. This has included works on disease, as well as the female body and perceived gender inequalities.<sup>649</sup> This historiographical association with the body, particularly in histories on the modern period, have yet again reinforced a negative dynamic. Jan Plamper begins her book on emotion by describing how she viewed a dissection of the brain, the amygdala, as part of her work on fear among First World War Russian soldiers. The amygdala is associated with producing fear, although

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<sup>649</sup> Ulinka Rublack, 'Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions' in *History Workshop Journal* (Spring, 2002), 53, pp.1-16. Sara Read, *Menstruation and the Female Body in Early-Modern England, Genders and Sexualities in History* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

scientists disagree, and admit to not knowing how it produces the emotion.<sup>650</sup> As the example intimates, this body centred approach has again led to emotions forming part of the dialogue on ill health. Using material culture has presented a different perspective of the body and emotion, and reveals how love could be enhanced and orchestrated through specific ritualistic uses of the body. Objects were worn on and against the body, wrapped around and over skin, touched, caressed and embraced. Furthermore, these uses reveal an intimate world of love, wherein people could practise love individually and privately, in which the body played a vital role. Exploring material culture has revealed that the human body was revered as a spiritual host for love. To some lovers, possessing this host was symbolic of a loving commitment and of wielding choice, because for those lovers, the body could only be possessed if it was given. Material culture's ability to represent and replicate the body provided a powerful contract, and a useful way of communicating promise, fidelity and constancy. This view of the body and material culture provides another dimension to the existing historiography on the body, and on the body and emotion, for the object reveals how people deliberately used their bodies, with the aid of material culture, to forge, express and satisfy feeling.

As noted, actions of the body communicated choice in love. The body was central in whether to accept an object, wear an object, and to use an object. Similarly, the body was central in accepting a lover, where bodies came together through sexual intercourse, hand-holding, kissing and so on. The exploration of designs in chapter two revealed images that were associated with the body and choice, in particular, representations of hands and hearts. However, material designs associated with choice went beyond the body. From posies to the figures of the Shepherd and Cupid, notions of choice have occurred with regularity through the study. Choice was not an attribute of self or an emotional quality; it was an act that demonstrated feeling, and for many, choosing a partner was the most important decision of their lives. Using the object has

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<sup>650</sup> Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (OUP, 2015), p.1.

revealed that the fore-fronting of choice, as a discourse, began earlier than 1600, and that it was gaining momentum throughout the century. Choice became a necessity for more people than it ever had before, and this went hand-in-hand with the growing expectation of love. This has been revealed through using the object. The process was not completed by 1700, however, and it would be wrong to impose a progressive thread through the century, wherein more and more people wielded their independence. The very loudness of the discourse suggests partner selection was still affected by factors besides individual preference and feeling. Choice was prevalent within object and text because it remained a complexity, if not a problem, when falling in love. This was not always because of tyrannical parents. Children and young adults grew up hearing about failed relationships and imprudent matches. The emotional, social and economic consequences of such relationships must have made many attempt to impose their own rationales when falling in love. Some sought guidance from parents and wider kin, and many more prayed for confirmation that they had found the right partner, and that they were feeling genuine love. The gravity of the situation was felt by all people, even if certain groups faced distinct external pressures. Notions of choice were therefore bound up with self-reflection, as well as feeling. The promotion of choice within objects was emblematic of a critical period within the formation of love, when two people tempered various emotions and thought processes. Materiality was often essential within these episodes, as a means to convey sincerity.

The close relationship between faith, reflection and personal choice was an interesting revelation of this monograph, gained largely from working with posies. The correlation indicates how notions of self-reflection were entangled with faith, action and feeling. People believed feelings could be mediated by God, but also that feelings were vulnerable to the vices of the flesh. This liminal space between the spirit and flesh explains why certain character traits or actions were considered akin to feelings; for example, constancy and patience. These were states of being which

people endeavoured to embody through spiritual prayer and reflection. However, it is difficult to assess in detail the role which faith played, as the majority of objects gathered for this study do not divulge specific religious identities for the owners. There is a clear correlation between religious devotion and aspects of love, including choice, but as yet, specific differences between religious groups require further research. It is clear that religion continued to influence material culture. Within the Protestant church, religious objects of devotion, particularly sensual devotion, had largely been removed, at least in public, prior to 1600. However, an emotional need to channel feeling, particularly heightened or extreme feeling, remained. The devotion once paid to a saint by using an image, relic or other representation, may have been transferred to a relic of a loved one. This would not have been a wholly secular experience, and it would certainly have involved religious aspects and beliefs. Rather, objects became channels for personal love of the individual, that would have been entwined with religious notions of love, life and death. If this change did occur, then this means the very practices, rituals and expressions of love changed dramatically in the early-modern period. This would make love in the seventeenth century both unique and evolutionary. Yet, without the same level of research dedicated to the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries, and earlier, it is impossible to know the extent of this change.

Initially, I set out to uncover what material culture, alongside written evidence, could inform the academic community about love. However, working with the object has revealed that the relationship between love and the object was very much collaborative and two-way. Love created material culture, and material culture created love. This symbiotic relationship was forged and strengthened by lovers who were seeking out channels of expression and control. Chapters two, three and four outlined numerous instances when material culture was able to construct, convey, pledge and preserve love, while chapter five demonstrated how death altered the role of material culture, but nonetheless how material culture was essential in the manifestation,

preservation and commemoration of love after death. Material culture was the forger and preserver of love, and love did much the same to material culture.

Love was multifarious as well as dualistic; it was religious and secular; it was a product of self-reflection and it was understood as an impulsive, uncontrollable force. Love was extreme and placid. Love was subject to reproach and it was esteemed as sacred. Love was orchestrated by individuals and it was a widely understood. Thus we can produce a better, fuller picture, and an appreciation of the emotional capabilities of people in the early-modern period. Indeed, through the object, the once hazy image of an infantile and transformative society has been recast as a people who were emotionally adept. They strove to be in love, they wanted to comfort, please, to be loyal. They experienced frustration, jealousy and despair. They channelled these feelings through various media, but this study has highlighted the importance of material culture within these emotional life processes. The object provided a rich cultural landscape of physicality to orchestrate love and match an individual's needs, which allowed key themes, including constancy and choice, to develop within and thus to justify love. The accessibility and transferability of the roles of physicality allowed anyone and everyone to convey and manifest love by using the same processes, even if the objects they used differed. Objects allow us to see through the narratives of history, to a confident and adept people, who used material culture as the ultimate conduit of feeling. Material culture provided the lightning rod for these processes: the means to convey and manifest feeling.

## *Bibliographies*

### *The Objects*

Objects are listed accorded to type: coins and tokens; domestic utensils; embroidery and fabrics; furniture; jewellery; monuments; portraiture; and finally, wall and window pieces. Monuments and portraiture are listed in the alphabetical order of the deceased and artists respectively. In the other categories, objects are listed by repository in alphabetical order: within repository, objects are in the order of their record numbers. Objects have been listed in this order due to inconsistencies and complications in the title of objects. Furthermore, some objects have attributed makers, but many do not.

For the majority of objects, repository and record numbers are therefore the most constant means of listing, while the division of object by category still allows a researcher to look up object by type.

Exceptions are made for rings and cufflinks catalogued by The Ashmolean Museum, Berganza Jewellery, The British Museum, The Museum of London, The Portable Antiquities Scheme and The Victoria and Albert Museum. These objects are recorded by repository, but then offered in bulk under their object type and material.

Record numbers were unrecoverable from the following repositories: The Althorp Estate, Berkeley Castle, Knebworth House, Pilgrim Hall, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, and Swarthmoor Hall. To create a record in my software, a number was devised based upon the subject and location.

#### *Coins and Tokens*

Silver Six Pence, with parallel bends (1569-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: BH-D4B9F2.

Hoard including deformed coins (1558-1650). The Portable Antiquities Scheme:  
CPAT-C14C01.

Coin/Love Token (1558-1603). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: CPAT-FE6537.

Silver Six Pence, bent in middle (1606). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: DEV-  
999EE4.

Silver Six Pence, bent in middle (1689-1702). The Portable Antiquities Scheme:  
GLO-1B3CC5, SUR-3888B2.

Silver Six Pence, with parallel bends (1558-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme:  
HAMP-8C60E4.

Silver Penny, bent and pierced (1625-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: IOW-  
D8AF98.

Copper-alloy bent token (1550-1600). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: NLM-  
10FC94.

Silver Coin, bent and pierced (1649-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: SOM-  
512061.

A Half-unite Coin, bent and pierced (1643-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme:  
WILT-852CB5.

A Four Piece, bent (1679-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: WMID-DE2683.

Silver Penny, bent and pierced (1609-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme:  
WMID-FD2A20.

Love Token/bent Coin (1558-1800). Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery:  
2011.00071.

*Domestic Utensils made of ceramic, metal ware, wood and glass*

Shoe Horn (1613). Agecroft Hall, Virginia: 1985.0007.

Scissors and Case (1640-1690). The Ashmolean: 1899.CDEF.V413.

Scissors and Case (1640-1690). The Ashmolean: 1947.191.151.

Wedding Knives (1640-1690). The Ashmolean: 1947.191.272.

Wedding Knives (1640-1690). The Ashmolean: 1947.191.273.

Wedding Knives (1640-1690). The Ashmolean: 1947.191.274.

Wedding Dish (c.1670). The Ashmolean: AN1949.343.

Nutcrackers (1688). The Ashmolean: AN1278747001.

Salver (William Gamble, 1688). The Ashmolean: WA2004.97.

Octagonal Marriage Plate (1679). The Ashmolean: WAS1961.57.16.

Marriage Plate (1687). The Ashmolean: WAS1963.136.118.

Knitting Sheath (1650-1750). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1965T1308.

Knitting Sheath (1600-1750). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1965T718.

Comb (1500-1600). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1965T2580.

Icing Mould (1705-1715). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1965T4024.

Apple Corer (1690). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1965T2341.

Candlestick (1651). The British Museum: 1874,1114.1.

William Talor, Dish (1660-1680). The British Museum: 1887,0210.9.

Puzzle Cup (1600-1700). The British Museum: 1887,0210.63.

Wine Bottle (1652). The British Museum: 1887,0210.113.



Posset Pot (1657). The British Museum: 1887,0210.124.

Jug (1674). The British Museum: 1887,0210.127.

Wine Bottle (1641). The British Museum: 1887,0307,E.18.

Plate (1687). The British Museum: 1887,0307,E.62.

Dish (1663). The British Museum: 1887,0307,E.154.

Dish (1655). The British Museum: 1888,1110.16.

Wine Bottle (1650). The British Museum: 1891,0524.1.

Wine Bottle (1639). The British Museum: 1896,0807.9.

Jug (1699). The British Museum: 1920,0318.2.

Posset Pot (1682). The British Museum: 1928,0423.1.CR.

Jar (1700). The British Museum: 1943,0203.3.

Mug (1650). The British Museum: 1952,0402.1.

Posset Pot (1694). The British Museum: 1957,1201.17.

Figure of a Pelican and her Young (1651). The British Museum: 1959,0204.1.

Mirror and Case (1656). The British Museum: 1969,0604.1.

Dish (1645). The British Museum: 1970,1002.1.

Pewter Marriage Plate (1674). Colonial Williamsburg: 1981-210.

Ewer (1660). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.7-2001.

Dish (1662-1685). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.207-1928.

Dish (1662-1670). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.218-1928.

Cup (1697). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.248-1928.

Two Handled Pot (1692). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.286 & A-1928.

Jug (1640). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1299-1928.

Jug (1644). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1302-1928.

Puzzle Cup (1649). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1307-1928.

Puzzle Jug (1686). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1313-1928.

Moulded Cat (1657). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1324-1928.

Jug (1682). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1336-1928.

Punch bowl (1683). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1339-1928.

Dish (1700). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1352-1928.

Sauce Boat, erotic (c.1645). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1420-1928.

Porringer/bleeding Bowl (c.1663). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1427-1928.

Puzzle Jug (1686). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1441-1928.

Dish (1703). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1511A-1928.

Dish (1703). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1511B-1928.

Flower Vase (1686). The Fitzwilliam Museum: C.1643-1928.

Two Handled Bowl (1650-1690). The Fitzwilliam Museum: M.3-1928.

Two Handled Bowl (1650-1690). The Fitzwilliam Museum: M.51-1904.

Silver Marriage Plate (1677). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 13.42.31.

Pap Boat (c.1650). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 16.116.87.

Mourning Pomander (1600-1650). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 60.55.8a, b.

Wedding Knife, Fork and Sheath of Adam and Eve (1670-1700). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1595–.1597.

Skillet (1670). The Museum of London: 80.271/10.

Knitting Sheath (c.1700). Museum of Rural Life, Reading: 54/281.

Dummy Board (c.1720). Historic New England: 1976.173.

Wedding Knife and Fork (1690). Museums Sheffield: 2004.386-387.

Lover's Knife (c.1650). Museums Sheffield: 2004.415.

Glass Bottle (1708). The Museum of London: 10127.

Puzzle Jug (1655). The Museum of London: A4356.

Plate (1690). The Museum of London: A4357.

Tankard (1630-1650). The Museum of London: A6807.

Jug (1590-1640). The Museum of London: A9569.

Figurine (1688-1700). The Museum of London: A11231.

Marriage Cup (1658). The Museum of London: A13466.

Scent Bottle (1590-1630). The Museum of London, Cheapside Hoard: A14156.

Fan Holder (1590-1630). The Museum of London, Cheapside Hoard: A14171.

Plate (1661). The Museum of London: A14639.

Jug (1645). The Museum of London: A14709.

Tankard (c.1700). The Museum of London: A16808.

Knife Handle (1500-1650). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: CORN-EE23E2.

Knife Handle (1650-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LIN –FB3454.

Knife Handle (1600-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LIN-BE7540.

A Pewter Spoon (1660-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: SOMDOR-E2E461.

Knife, Fork and Case (1600-1700). Ranger House, London: K011204.

Mindum, Robert, Shoe Horn (1593). Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum:  
SWMSH1.

Wiltshire Brown-ware Puzzle Jug (1606). Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum:  
SSWMWBWPI.

Marriage Bowl (1608). Snowhill Manor, Gloucestershire (National Trust):  
SNOWSHILLM1.

Pair of Wedding Knives (1683). The Victoria and Albert Museum: 12 to B-1950.

Jug (1631). The Victoria and Albert Museum: 3839-1901.

Dish (c.1662). The Victoria and Albert Museum: 3869-1901.

The Cat Figure Jug (1676). The Victoria and Albert Museum: 414:821-1885.

Candlestick (1648). The Victoria and Albert Museum: 4752-1901.

Dish (1695). The Victoria and Albert Museum: C.14-1944.

Jug (c.1620). The Victoria and Albert Museum: C.5-1974.

Comb (1500-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: circ.478-1923.

Scent Case/Flask (1680-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.108:1,2-1939.

Marriage Box (1600-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.125:1, 2-1923.

Silver Scent Case (1650-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.2284-1855.

Comb (1500-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.236-1872.

Comb, Double-sided (1500-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.282-1900.

Knives and Case (1600-1650). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.379 to B-1924.

Silver Scent Case, *memento mori* (1620-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.516:1,2-1903.

Knitting Sheath (1679). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.774-1907.

Silver Pomander, surmounted by a Cupid (1650-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.794:1 to 7-1891.

Silver Scent Case (1590-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.804:1, 2-1926.

Wedding Knife and Fork (1630-1680). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.99&A-1923.

Wedding Knives (1600-1625). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.55 to B-1954.

Comb (1500-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: W.2-1914.

Comb (1500-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: W.2-1947.

Comb (1500-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: W.23-1926.

Lead Weight Heart (1600-1800). On sale at Woodcock Antiques, Petworth, Oxfordshire 2010.

*Embroidery and Fabrics*

Black Coif (1610-1620). The Burrell Collection, Glasgow: 29.131.

Kid Brown Leather Gloves (1640-1645). The Burrell Collection, Glasgow: 29.139.a.

Falconry purse (1610-1620). The Burrell Collection, Glasgow: 29.151.1.

Red Silk Satin Skirt (c.1610). The Burrell Collection, Glasgow: 29.314.

Gloves (1618). The Burrell Collection, Glasgow: E.1977.111.

A Needlework Basket (c.1660). Sold privately at Christie's Auction House, London.  
Sale 4235 Lot 227, 26/09/2012.

A Silk Work Picture (c.1660). Sold privately at Christie's Auction House. Sale 4235  
Lot 225, 26/09/2012.

A Stumpwork Writing Casket (c.1670). Sold privately at Christie's Auction House.  
Sale 7818,5/11/2009.

Embroidered Casket (1660-1680). The Amica Library, The Cleveland Museum of  
Art: 59.1033.

Embroidered Mirror (1660-1680). The Amica Library, The Cleveland Museum of  
Art: 1942.833.

Stumpwork Panel (1660-1690). The Amica Library, The Cleveland Museum of Art:  
1973.186.

Marriage Embroidery (c.1662). East Riddlesden Hall, Yorkshire (National Trust):  
147155.

Embroidered Box (c.1660). East Riddlesden Hall, Yorkshire (National Trust):  
147156.

Embroidery (1640-1700). East Riddlesden Hall, Yorkshire (National Trust): 147158.

Canvas-work Picture (1650-1670). East Riddlesden Hall, Yorkshire (National Trust):  
147171.

Stumpwork of Solomon and Sheba (1650-1690). Knebworth House, Hertfordshire:  
knbw1.

The Bourne Casket (1660-1700). Lancashire Museums: LANMS.2005.4.

Embroidered Valance (1670-1700). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 08.186b.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 11.145.11.

Cabinet Top (1650-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 12.86.1.

Embroidered Jacket (1600-1635). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 23.170.1.

Pair of Gloves (1600-1650). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 28.210.1, .2.

Pair of Gloves (1600-1625). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 28.220.1, .2.

Pair of Gloves (1620-1640). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 28.220.3, .4.

Embroidered Box (1650-1695). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 29.23.1.

Cupid Cushion (1620-1660). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 29.23.3.

Embroidered Cushion (1650-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 29.23.5.

Book Cover (1651-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 29.23.8.

Book Cover depicting (1630-1650). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 29.23.10.

Embroidered Mules (1600-1630). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 29.23.12.

Marriage Cabinet (1691). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 31.86.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 38.90.

Basket (1662-1665). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 39.13.1.

Embroidered Mirror (1665-1695). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 39.13.2a.

Embroidered Cabinet (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 39.13.3a–k.

Casket (1640-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 39.13.4a–aaa.

Marriage Embroidery (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 50.204.1.

Panel (1650-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 50.204.3.

Embroidered Panel (c.1651). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 59.208.68.

Pair of Gloves (1600-1625). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1246, .1247.

Pair of Gauntlets/Gloves (1620-1629). The Metropolitan Museum of Art:  
64.101.1248, .1249.

Pair of Shoes (1700-1725). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1255.

Linen Coif (1600-1730). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1258.

Purse (1600-1630). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1260.

Valance (1600-1633). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1276.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1286.

Embroidered Panel (1650-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1290.

Embroidered Panel (1640-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1297.

Embroidery (1640-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1302.

Embroidery (1640-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1303.

Embroidered Panel (1650-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1304.

Embroidery (1630-1660). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1324.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1326.

Embroidered Mirror (1675-1700). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1332.

Embroidered Mirror (1662-1670). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1333.

Embroidered Box (1665-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1335.



Embroidered Panel (1670-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1337.

Embroidered Panel (1710). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1354.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1309.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1312.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1313.

Tapestry of Musical Garden Party (1647). The Metropolitan Museum of Art:  
64.101.1314.

Embroidered Panel (1650-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1315.

Embroidered Panel (1650-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1317.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1322.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1323.

Embroidered Panel (1660-1690). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1308.

Embroidered Shoe (1690-1720). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2009.300.1479a,  
b.

Pair of Gloves (1600-1625). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: C.I.40.194.31a, b.

Black Mitts (1690-1720). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2009.300.2676.

Black Mitts (1680-1720). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2009.300.4052.

Stumpwork Picture (1660-1685). Millington Adams Antiques, London: stock code  
2000.

Children's/small Shoes (1650-1720). Museum of Fine Art, Boston: 38.1366a-b.

Embroidered Stomacher (1680-1720). The Museum of Fine Art, Boston: 43.1916.

Embroidered Picture (1649-1650). The Museum of London: 90.377.

Embroidered Casket (1650-1690). The Museum of London: A5932.

Stumpwork Cushion Cover (c.1670). Norfolk Museums and Archaeological Service:  
1.165.937.

Bead and Stumpwork Picture (1640-1680). Norfolk Museums and Archaeological  
Service 49.938.3.3.

Casket Side (1650-1700). Norfolk Museums and Archaeological Service: 1929.134 :  
T.

Glove (1590-1620). Norfolk Museums and Archaeological Service: 1937.167.2 : C.

Stumpwork Panel Garden (1640-1680). Norfolk Museums and Archaeological  
Service: 1938.149.3.3 : T.

Purse (1670-1700). Norfolk Museums and Archaeological Service:1998.530 : C.

Penelope Pelham's Embroidered Silk Shoe (1640-1690). Pilgrim Hall, Massachusetts:  
PH16.

Embroidered Casket (1640-1690). The Royal Collection Trust, The Royal Collection,  
Royal Palaces, Residences and Art Collection: 37036.

Embroidered Box (1660-1690). The Royal Collection Trust, The Royal Collection,  
Royal Palaces, Residences and Art Collection: 39240.

Stumpwork Mirror (1660-1680). Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum:  
SSWMSTM.

Embroidered Panel, depicting a woman (1640-1680). Swarthmoor Hall, Cumbria:  
SWH1.

Stumpwork Panel (1640-1690). Sold into private collection by Tooveys Auction House, London on 13 July 2012: 378.

Stumpwork Panel (1640-1690). Sold into private collection by Tooveys Auction House on 13 July 2012: 2902.

Purse (1675-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.1320-1900.

Embroidered Mirror, unfinished (1630-1690). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.247-1896.

Embroidered Mirror (1660-1690). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.351-1886.

Purse (1650-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.A557-1893.

Embroidered Casket (1660-1670). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.114:1-1999.

Hair Band (1640-1680). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.150-1963.

Purse (1650-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.172-1921.

Glove (1660-1680). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.270-1986.

Pair of Mittens (c.1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.30&A-1975.

Length of Embroidered Ribbon (1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.378-1976.

Embroidered Basket (1673). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.41-1954.

Embroidered Casket (1678). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.43-1954.

Hair Band (1640-1690). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.44-1962.

Embroidered Bible Cover (1652). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.44&A-1954.

Embroidered Casket (1650-1690). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.98-1967.

Box/Mini Cabinet (C.1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: circ.893-1923.

*Furniture*

Berkeley Castle Bed (1560-1640). Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire: BC Bed.

Refectory Table (1613). Burnely Government, Towneley Hall: Bgfuan001.

Oak Bed (c.1620). Burnely Government, Towneley Hall: Bgfuan235.

The Spanish Cedar Wood Chest (1550-1600). Great Chalfield Manor, Wiltshire (National Trust): CHA/F/101.

The Small Writing Desk (1550-1610). Great Chalfield Manor, Wiltshire (National Trust): CHA/F/102.

Eglantine Table (1567). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 166615.

Marriage Box (c.1720). Historic New England: 1991.1224.

The Glastonbury Chest (1686). Holburne Museum, Bath: 1960.072.001.

Small Cabinet (1679). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 10.125.168.

Oak Cupboard (1659). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 64.101.1135.

Press Cupboard (The Symonds Workshop, c.1685). Peabody Essex Museum, New England: 108889.

Cabinet (1679). Peabody Essex Museum, New England: 138011.

North Country Oak Settle (1669). Period Oak Antiques, Powys: STOCK NO 1440.

Westmorland Marriage Cupboard (1685). Period Oak Antiques, Powys: STOCK NO 1478.

French Oak Panel (c.1540). Shaw Edwards Antiques, Devon: SEANo.2422.

Travelling Marriage Bed (c.1600). Stockport Heritage Service: STOPM: 1998.1069.

Bed (1590). The Victoria and Albert Museum: W.10-1949.

The Mote Marriage Cupboard (1578). On sale at Welsh Antiques, Carmarthenshire:  
ref sco1.

Scourfields Marriage Cupboard (1609). On sale at Welsh Antiques, Carmarthenshire:  
sco2.

Symonds Workshop, Spice Box or Chest (1676). The Winterthur Museum:  
1958.0526.

### *Jewellery*

Heart-shaped Bezel Ring (1600-1690). The Ashmolean: WA1899.CDEF.F491.

Gold Gimmel Ring (1650-1690). The Ashmolean: WA1899.CDEF.F519.

Silver Pseudo-puzzle Ring (1590-1690). The Ashmolean: WA1899.CDEF.F543

Gold Posy Rings (1500-1800). The Ashmolean: AN1933.1580,  
WA1899.CDEF.F619, WA1899.CDEF.F647.

Gold Posy Rings (1580-1790). Berganza jewellery, London: 15101, 15997, 16229,  
16572, 16576, 17045, 17064, 17141, 17142.

Betrothal Ring (1700-1800). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1935M547.194.

Betrothal Ring (1700-1800). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1935M547.235.

Betrothal Ring (1600-1800). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery:1935M547.192.

Mourning Ring (1700-1750). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery: 1928M309.

Watch (1663). The British Museum: 1878,0311.41.

Watch (1663). The British Museum: 1888,1201.180.

Gold Posy Rings (1580-1750). The British Museum: 1961,1202.2, 1961,1202.3, 1961,1202.17, 1961,1202.20, 1961,1202.26, 1961,1202.27, 1961,1202.28, 1961,1202.29, 1961,1202.30, 1961,1202.31, 1961,1202.33, 1961,1202.34, 1961,1202.35, 1961,1202.36, 1961,1202.38, 1961,1202.58, 1961,1202.61, 1961,1202.62, 1961,1202.63, 1961,1202.65, 1961,1202.66, 1961,1202.67, 1961,1202.68, 1961,1202.69, 1961,1202.70, 1961,1202.72, 1961,1202.74, 1961,1202.75, 1961,1202.78, 1961,1202.79, 1961,1202.81, 1961,1202.82, 1961,1202.83, 1961,1202.84, 1961,1202.85, 1961,1202.86, 1961,1202.88, 1961,1202.89, 1961,1202.90, 1961,1202.91, 1961,1202.92, 1961,1202.93, 1961,1202.96, 1961,1202.100, 1961,1202.101, 1961,1202.102, 1961,1202.103, 1961,1202.104, 1961,1202.105, 1961,1202.106, 1961,1202.108, 1961,1202.109, 1961,1202.110, 1961,1202.112, 1961,1202.114, 1961,1202.117, 1961,1202.118, 1961,1202.121, 1961,1202.123, 1961,1202.124, 1961,1202.125, 1961,1202.126, 1961,1202.127, 1961,1202.128, 1961,1202.133, 1961,1202.135, 1961,1202.136, 1961,1202.137, 1961,1202.138, 1961,1202.139, 1961,1202.140, 1961,1202.142, 1961,1202.152, 1961,1202.153, 1961,1202.154, 1961,1202.162, 1961,1202.165, 1961,1202.166, 1961,1202.167, 1961,1202.168, 1961,1202.169, 1961,1202.171, 1961,1202.172, 1961,1202.175, 1961,1202.176, 1961,1202.177, 1961,1202.180, 1961,1202.181, 1961,1202.184, 1961,1202.185, 1961,1202.187, 1961,1202.188, 1961,1202.193, 1961,1202.194, 1961,1202.196, 1961,1202.197, 1961,1202.198, 1961,1202.199, 1961,1202.202, 1961,1202.204, 1961,1202.207, 1961,1202.213, 1961,1202.214, 1961,1202.217, 1961,1202.219, 1961,1202.220, 1961,1202.221, 1961,1202.222, 1961,1202.225, 1961,1202.227, 1961,1202.228, 1961,1202.229, 1961,1202.230, 1961,1202.232, 1961,1202.233, 1961,1202.234, 1961,1202.236, 1961,1202.237, 1961,1202.238, 1961,1202.239, 1961,1202.241, 1961,1202.242, 1961,1202.243, 1961,1202.244, 1961,1202.245, 1961,1202.247, 1961,1202.249, 1961,1202.254, 1961,1202.256, 1961,1202.257, 1961,1202.259, 1961,1202.260, 1961,1202.262, 1961,1202.264, 1961,1202.265, 1961,1202.266, 1961,1202.268, 1961,1202.269, 1961,1202.272, 1961,1202.273, 1961,1202.274, 1961,1202.277,

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AF.1343, AF.1350, AF.1352, AF.1354, AF.1357, AF.1359, AF.1360, AF.1361, AF.1363, AF.1366, AF.1369, AF.1371, AF.1372, AF.1374, AF.1376, AF.1379, AF.1380, AF.1381, AF.1382, AF.1384, AF.1385, AF.1386, AF.1389, AF.1391, AF.1392, AF.1395, AF.1398, AF.1399, AF.1401, AF.1405, AF.1407, AF.1408, AF.1409.

Silver Posy Rings (1580-1750). The British Museum: 1961,1202.1,1961,1202.18, 1961,1202.57, 1961,1202.98, 1961,1202.192, 1961,1202.281, 1961,1202.381, 1961,1202.418, 1961,1202.472, AF.1207, AF.1227, AF.1251, AF.1340, AF.1367.

Copper Posy Rings (1580-1750). The British Museum: 1961,1202.37, 1961,1202.40, 1961,1202.41, 1961,1202.42, 1961,1202.47, 1961,1202.50, 1961,1202.53, 1961,1202.54, 1961,1202.55, 1961,1202.87, AF.1282.

Brass Posy Rings (1580-1750). The British Museum: 1961,1202.280, 1961,1202.428.

Jewish Wedding Ring (1699). The British Museum: AF.1410.

William Harsell, Gimmel Ring (1580-1655). The British Museum: 1959,0209.40.

Mourning Ring (1600-1700). The British Museum: AF.1519.

Gold and Enamel Horse Pendant (c.1600). Burghley House, Lincolnshire: EWA08555.

Gold Posy Ring (1400-1500). Burnely Government, Towneley Hall: BGP1.

Gold Posy Bands (1590-1750). Les Enluminures, Paris: 318-3, 319-3, 321-3, 351-2, 359-2, 367-2, 370-2, 374-2, 380-2, 384-2, 393-3, 394, 98-2.

Two Locks of Hair, with jewelled mounts (c1600). Ham House (National Trust): 2 [383].

Wooden Pendant (c.1700). Historic New England: 1911.70.

Wooden Pendant (1600-1700). Historic New England: 1911.71.



Wooden Pendant (1650-1700). Historic New England: 1912.4.

Governor and Mrs Belcher Slide (1737). Massachusetts Historical Society: 138.

Hair Pendant (1706). The Metropolitan Museum of Art: 2000.532.

Watch (1605-1620). The Museum of London: 34.181/23.

Pair of Cufflinks (1690-1720). The Museum of London: 2009.33/1934.

Gold Posy Bands (1600-1700). The Museum of London: 62.4/1, 62.4/20, 62.4/21, 62.4/24, 62.4/26, 62.4/28, 62.4/32, 62.4/101, 62.4/120, 62.4/179, A6399, A11743, A24745.

Finger Ring, *memento mori* (1670). The Museum of London: 62.120/89.

Gimmel Ring (1590-1620). The Museum of London: 62.121/10.

Mourning Pendant (1600-1700). The Museum of London: A20494.

Pendant (1650-1700). Norfolk Museums and Archaeological Service: 1937.121.2 : C.

Silver/ Silver-gilt Cufflinks/Buttons/Discs (1650-1700). Portable Antiquities Scheme: BM-D961A4, BH-1FFDA3, BH-6A6642, BH-922DC3, BH-4372D5, BH-060552, BM-CAA2C7, BUC-699487, BUC-892044, DENO-7E27C8, HAMP-8FB7E6, IOW-EC3126, IOW-F1FB17, IOW-FAB4F4, KENT-292EC2, KENT-451A33, KENT-B2B611, KENT-B4C157, KENT-E2E596, LANCUM-9E82B6, LIN-023A18, LON-7E4E41, LON-131065, LVPL-791BF7, LVPL-A6FFD3, LVPL-AC3AA1, LVPL-BF30A6, NLM-3691C1, NLM-8818F5, NMS-0A8DD4, NMS-3C11C7, NMS-8191C2, NMS-979527, NMS-BE7442, NMS-C741E1, The Portable Antiquities Scheme-8E6B26, SOM-310F32, SUSS-5904A7, SUSS-611300, SUSS-E88264, SWYOR-52C053, SWYOR-66C262, SWYOR-D31B73, SWYOR-D33EA5, WMID-6E0A37, WMID-52DAF4, WMID-434B32, YORYM-67E9F5, YORYM-878420, YORYM-F14744, YORYM-FBEB18.

Pewter Cufflinks/Buttons/Discs (1660-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: ESS-B32D14.

Tin Cufflinks/Buttons/Discs (1660-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LON-2BE528.

Cast Lead Cufflink/Buttons/Discs (1660-1685). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LON-8A0644, LON-306542.

Copper-alloy Cufflink/Buttons/Discs (c.1662). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LON-F909C5, NMS-4164E5, SUSS-2FA786, SUSS-64A713, WILT-09A111.

Gold Posy Rings (1500-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: DOR-FE5245, IOW-5BD4F4, LIN-FB3454, The Portable Antiquities Scheme-B63FB4, The Portable Antiquities Scheme-B622E7, SWYOR-9DB476, BERK-5F4478, BERK-8ECBF5, BERK-B85A87, BERK-E8E7C6, BH-6ED076, BH-7C9BF0, BH-9C3076, BH-9C3076, BM-174F06, BM-F9ECF6, BUC-8A2E64, BUC-8ABFD2, BUC-068008, BUC-834314, BUC-F0E2D5, BUC-F183D2, CAM-658F86, DENO-08EE90, DENO-C3FDD4, DENO-C84DE1, DENO-D8DA37, DOR-506515, DUR-9EC4D6, ESS-0B24A4, ESS-00F456, ESS-5D0577, ESS-745A21, ESS-3299E6, ESS-BC20F6, ESS-EC2997, ESS-EDA7E6, GLO-0A2A00, GLO-1B3252, GLO-3FD673, GLO-717CE0, GLO-A6EA36, GLO-D67CD3, GLO-EF2971, HAMP1183, HAMP1218, HAMP2367, HAMP-23B0C4, HAMP-62C152, HESH-CD76A7, IOW-0AA2D4, IOW-0FCA07, IOW-04F783, IOW-6C0F12, IOW-8D4F41, IOW-36E4D5, IOW-43FDA2, IOW-461BE6, IOW-879D84, IOW-570400, IOW-E7CB83, IOW-FA3E30, KENT1331, KENT4525, KENT-3EF154, KENT-1AC0E1, KENT-9FA874, KENT-12A8B4, KENT-250BB4, KENT-B945A6, KENT-BCE986, KENT-D0E578, KENT-D3BBB0, KENT-D94F66, KENT-D01955, KENT-F55EB6, LANCUM-3CF2C0, LANCUM-38B283, LANCUM-396AD0, LEIC-2E0A04, LEIC-38B896, LEIC-71FAE8, LEIC-97DE14, LEIC-290856, LEIC-BEF8C3, LIN-33D707, LIN-76B104, LIN-764E24, LIN-AFAED2, LIN-C8E742, LON-AA2432, LVPL-00A457, LVPL-

11DBC3, LVPL-734D14, LVPL-2232A6, LVPL-5932B5, LVPL-D84992, NARC-7B4A32, NARC-8827B7, NCL-231226, NLM4205, NLM-1E5C37, NLM-BE8630, NMS560, NMS1611, NMS-01E153, NMS-2C9E06, NMS-6F2545, NMS-8CEFD5, NMS-572348, NMS-A54722, NMS-AB3402, NMS-C872E4, NMS-E97505, NMS-EE2A25, NMS-FC6A81, 3AAF34, 3B0F14, 3B64E3, 3B5388, 3B8404, 8CDA26, 8D7E16, 8D9952, 8DA451, 8DE860, 8DF291, 382E72, B6A247, B8CB06, ED9585, FE21B1, SF8230, SF-2E93F5, SF-3A8B11, SF-4DEE72, SF-698D33, SF-249221, SF-698002, SOM-5E7AD0, SOM-25BE95, SOM-39F176, SOM-2655A7, SOM-4584B7, SOM-D4E3C1, SOMDOR-6FF421, SUR-1B3954, SUR-4C5F81, SUR-6A3232, SUR-787B56, SUR-923A04, SUR-5946F6, SUR-A79772, SUR-B32318, SUR-C00767, SUSS-0B4144, SUSS-58B078, SUSS-73E152, SUSS-610EE6, SUSS-C8F972, SUSS-D21D31, SUSS-DB9583, SUSS-EABFA7, SWYOR-6A6A21, SWYOR-057BC8, SWYOR-B03065, SWYOR-B03852, SWYOR-D36764, SWYOR-F4AAE1, WAW-7ECC04, WAW-F31E71, WILT-6B93B2, WILT-765627, WILT-A75095, WILT-AFE9A5, WILT-BA3553, WMID-5A2DD5, WMID-38F105, WMID-A11376, WMID-C2A201, WMID-F6E7A2, YORYM-9AA838, YORYM-064A27, YORYM-389B36, YORYM-8970C6, YORYM-ADB5C7, YORYM-EAE3C2.

Silver/ Silver-gilt Posy Rings (1550-1780). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: DOR-71A791, BUC-F613F1, CAM-B79C81, DENO-EC60B2, DOR-35C820, ESS-010B24, ESS-F11933, GLO-0A21C1, GLO-19A336, IOW-18A9C4, KENT4950, KENT-DE8C71, KENT-F48398, LVPL-C79E74, NMS-353268, SOM-914708, SOM-C64172, SOM-D4A002, SOM-D4ABB7, SOMDOR-06DAF2, SOMDOR-C1B8C2, SOMDOR-E15786, SUR-22EB62, SUSS-5568D6, SUSS-AC5476, SUSS-C86B41, SUSS-F23328, WILT-8FB813, WILT-94F777, YORYM-178016, YORYM-DF7845, YORYM-FCC991.

Copper/Copper-alloy Posy Rings (1500-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: BERK-C015D2, BERK-ECAB87, BH-651A06, DUR-4E0D35, GLO-336305,

HAMP-691A92, HAMP-688244, IOW-769502, LON-3EFD56, LON-A11C97, LON-DEA407, NCL-1753A3, NLM-4E5FE8, SF2691, SOM-7E9D55, SOM-8995F4, SUR-8F5F51, SUR-688892, SUSS-2435B3, SWYOR-1FB027, YORYM-3EBAD3.

Brass Posy Ring (1500-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: HAMP-D394C1.

Lead Posy Rings (1500-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: HESH-0AE237.

Bone Ring (1600-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LON-B8A321.

Posy Rings, shaped as buckles (1500-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LIN-099EA6, NMS-411415, SUR-23F942.

Gold *Fede* Rings (1600-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: ESS-013793, ESS-D942D7, GLO-864248, KENT-9E4876.

Gold Wedding Ring, with coat of arms (1667). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: -B8CB06.

Silver *Fede* Rings (1550-1750). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: KENT-A81E58, NLM-9710A3, WMID-479A04.

Copper-alloy *Fede* Ring (1500-1600). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: NMGW-C8DB58, SUSS-A327D8.

Copper-alloy Ring (1500-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: WMID-2CD2C8.

Finger Ring, *memento mori* (1668). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LON-43C1F0.

Finger Ring, *memento mori* (1698). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: NMS-2DBBE5.

Gold Mourning Rings (1550-1650). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: WMID-565CB5, WMID-A20C57, YORYM-47B500.

Finger Ring (1500-1650). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: IOW-9E6B77.

Finger Ring, puzzle/*fede* ring (1600-1800). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: KENT-342BA7.

Silver Locket/Scent Carrier/Seal (1600-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: DENO-FA82E5.

Silver Pendant or Locket (1600-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: NARC-5BD1F6.

Silver Pendant (1600-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: SWYOR-817B56.

Silver-gilt Pendant (1500-1600). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: SF-28FE61.

Cast Lead-alloy Medal (1660-1700). The Portable Antiquities Scheme: LANCUM-E564F0.

Gold Mourning Ring (c.1680). Pilgrim Hall, Massachusetts: PHCR.

Gold Ring with three rubies (1600-1700). Ranger House, London: K011190.

Intaglio Brooch of Venus and Cupid (1600-1700). Ranger House, London: M020389.

Pendant, *memento mori* (1701). Rowan and Rowan, Antique Jewellery, London: ref ECC3.

Slide, *memento mori* (c.1680). Rowan and Rowan, Antique Jewellery, London: ref GT6.

Double-sided Pendant, *memento mori* (1697 and 1699). Rowan and Rowan, Antique Jewellery, London: ref HM3.

Wooden Necklace/token (1550-1800). Salford Museum and Art Gallery: G.7441.

Gold and Enamel Posy Ring (1600-1700). Shrewsbury Museum and Art Gallery: SHYMS: A/2006/001.

Enamelled Gold Pendant (1620-1640). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.110-1975.

Necklace/chain from Cheapside hoard (1590-1620). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.1140-1926.

Slide (1690). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.125-1962.

Mourning Ring (1661). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.156-1962.

Enamelled Gold Ring (1630-1680). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.157-1962.

Mourning Buckle (1725). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.1581-1902.

Gold Slide (1700-1725). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.1634-1903.

Mourning Brooch (1675-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.21-1960.

Cupid Love Ring (1550-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.216-1870.

Gimmel Ring (1600-1650). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.224-1975.

Gold Slide Clasp (1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.24-1960.

Enamelled Gold Ring (1575-1650). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.281-1962.

*Fede* Ring (1706). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.302-1867.

Heart-stamped Silver Locket (1670-1680). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.3-1958.

Slide (1690). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.31-1951.

Locket (1670-1680). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.326-1870.

Gold Posy Rings (1550-1750). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.381-1864, M.67-1960.

Scottish Gold Ring Brooch (1600-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.45-1975.

Brooch (1610-1620). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.461-1936.

Glass Necklace (1650-1675). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.50-1967.

Brooch (1575-1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.66-1975.

Double locket (1600-1650). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.7003:1, 2-1860.

Enamelled Gold Posy Rings (1695). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.80-1960.

Gimmel Ring (1550-1650). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.851-1871.

Gimmel Ring (1607). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.854-1871.

Gold Gimmel Ring (1660-1700). The Victoria and Albert Museum: M.909-1871

Heart-stamped Silver Locket (1670-1680). The Victoria and Albert Museum: T.452-1990.

Gold Gimmel Ring (1766). The Winterthur Museum: 1965.0536.A, B.

*Monuments (given in alphabetical order of surname of the deceased)*

The Grave of Hope Howland Chipman (1689) located in Lothrop Hill Cemetery, Barnstable Massachusetts.

Monument to Robert Codrington (1618) located in Bristol Cathedral, Somerset.

Monument to Lady Margaret Denny's (1600) located in the church of the Holy Cross and St. Lawrence, Waltham Abbey, Essex.

Monument to Jane Done and Mary Crew (William Stanton, c.1690) located in the church of Saint Helen, Tarporley, Cheshire.

Monuments to Giles and Mompesson (1619) located in St. Mary's church, Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire.

Monument to the Glanville family (c.1600) located Saint Eustachius church, Tavistock, Devon.

Monument to Thomas Hanham (1650) located in Wimborne Minster, Kent.

Monument to Sir Richard Hutton (1648) located in Bilton Ainsty Saint Helen, West Yorkshire.

Monument to Laurence Hyde and his wife Anne Sibell (1590) in Tisbury Church, Wiltshire.

Monument to the St John family (1615) located in St Mary's church, Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire.

Monument to the Wives of Barnabas Leigh, Elizabeth Bampffield and Gartrude Percevall (c.1620) located in Shorwell Church, The Isle of Wight.

Monument to Gabriel Livesey (1622) located in Eastchurch All Saints, Kent.

Monument to Henry and Elizabeth Maddison (1634 and 1653) located in Cathedral Church of St Nicholas, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Monument to Sir John Manners (1611) located in All Saints Church, Bakewell, Derbyshire.

Monument to the Seymour family of Berry Pomeroy (c.1593) located on the north wall of north aisle Seymour Chapel, Berry Pomeroy Church, Devon.

Monument to William Temple (1679-1722) located in Westminster Abbey, London.

Monument to Edward Younge and Joanne Hyde (1607) located in Great Durnford church, Wiltshire.



*Portraiture*

Bara, Johan, *Engraving of Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Richmond and 2nd Duke of Lennox* (1624). The British Museum: 1848,0911.520.

British School, *Portrait of Agnes Impel* (c.1652). Seaton Delaval, Northumberland (National Trust): 1276835.

British School, *Portrait of a Lady* (c.1650). The Captain Christie Crawford English Civil War Collection: 43.

British School, *Portrait of a Lady thought to be Anne Fettiplace* (c.1614). Chastleton, Oxfordshire: 1430427.

British (English) School, *Portrait of Anne Spencer* (c.1610). The Knole (NT): 129912.

British School, *Portrait of the Elder Brother of the 1st Duke of Devonshire, Lying Dead* (1638). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 1129281.

British School, *Portrait of Unknown Boy, presumed to be Lord Charles Cavendish* (1670-1700). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 1129141.

Burghers, Michael (possibly), After van Dyck, *Portrait/Line Engraving of Sir Kenelm Digby* (1680-1700). NPG: D27872.

Van Ceulen, Cornelius Janssen, *Portrait of Alice Lucy* (c.1630). Charlecote Manor, Warwickshire (National Trust): 533821.

Van Ceulen, Cornelius Janssen, *Portrait of George Villiers* (c.1619). Leicestershire County Councils Museums Service: L.F46.1938.0.0.

Van Ceulen, Cornelius Janssen, *Portrait of Lady Coventry* (c.1635). Museums Sheffield: VIS.3718.

Van Ceulen, Cornelis Janssens, *Portrait of Lady Diana Cecil* (c.1635). Dunham Massey, Greater Manchester (National Trust): 932280.

Van Ceulen, Cornelis Janssens, *Portrait of Richard Young* (c.1630). Christ's Hospital Foundation: 91.

Van Ceulen, Cornelius Janssen, *Portrait of Sir Thomas Lucy III* (c.1630). Charlecote Manor, Warwickshire (National Trust): 533820.

Van Ceulen Cornelius Janssen, *Portrait of Sir Thomas and Lady Lucy with seven of their children* (c.1630). Charlecote Manor, Warwickshire (National Trust): 533841.

Van Ceulen, Cornelius Janssen, *Portrait of Sarah Harrington* (c.1629). Hatchlands Park, Surrey (National Trust): 1166138\_CC339.

De Critz the elder, John (after), *Portrait of Robert Cecil* (c.1624). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 1129112.

Cornelisz, Hendrik, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady in Black* (c.1640). Holburne Museum, Bath: A247.

Van Dyck, Anthony, *Portrait of Dorothy, Lady Dacre* (c.1630) The Denver Art Museum, The Berger Collection: BCDN.

Van Dyck, Anthony (after), *Portrait of Frances Stuart in Mourning* (c.1633). The portrait was sold to a private collector on 9 July 2009, lot 3 at Sotheby's Auction House, London.

Van Dyck, Anthony (after), *Portrait of Katherine Manners* (1633). Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire: BEL465973.

Van Dyck, Anthony, *Portrait of Lady Venetia Digby on her Deathbed* (1633). Dulwich Portrait Gallery, London: DPG194.

Van Dyck, Anthony (after), *Portrait of Sir Kenhelm Digby with a sunflower* (c.1670).

Antony, Torpoint, Cornwall (National Trust): 353062.

Gaywood, Richard, after Anthony Van Dyck, *Portrait of Sir Kenelm Digby* (1654).  
NPG: D16450.

Gheeraerts the younger, Marcus (after), *Portrait of a Lady* (1610-1630). Burnely  
Government, Towneley Hall: BURGM:paoil185.

Gheeraerts the younger, Marcus (after), *Portrait of a Lady in Court Dress* (c.1590).  
Salford Museum and Art Gallery: 1958-30.

Gheeraerts the younger, Marcus, *Portrait of Lady Frances Cavendish* (c.1610).  
Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 1129107.

Gheeraerts the younger, Marcus, *Portrait of Mary, Lady Scudamore* (1615). NPG:  
3063.

Gheeraerts the younger, Marcus (after), *Portrait of Robert Devereux* (c.1596).  
Colchester and Ipswich Museums Centre: R.1950-179.

Gheeraerts the younger, Marcus, *Portrait of Robert Devereux 2nd Earl of Essex,  
Soldier and Courtier* (c.1597). Trinity College, Oxford: TC Oils P 52.

Gheeraerts the younger, Marcus, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady, possibly Anne  
Keighley* (c.1585). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 1129106.

Des Granges, David, *Miniature of Lady Rachel Fane* (1656). The Fitzwilliam  
Museum: 3848.

Des Granges, David, *Portrait of the Saltonstall Family* (1636-7). Tate Britain,  
London: T02020.

Hilliard, Nicholas, *Miniature of Henry Percy, 9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Northumberland* (c.1595).  
The Fitzwilliam Museum: PD.3-1953.

Hilliard, Nicholas, *Miniature of Henry Wriothesley* (c.1598). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 3856.

Hilliard, Nicholas, *Miniature of Man against the flames* (c.1600). The Victoria and Albert Museum: P.5-1917.

Holbein the Younger, Hans (after), *Portrait of an Unknown Woman, formerly known as Catherine Howard* (1640-1680). NPG: 1119.

Kneller, Godfrey, *Portrait of Sarah Jennings* (c.1700). Althorp Estate: Sarah Jennings Portrait.

Van Miereveld, Michiel Jansz., *Portrait of a Lady* (c.1630). The Captain Christie Crawford English Civil War Collection: 32.

Van Somer I, Paulus, *Portrait of Catherine Vaux* (1617). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 442.

Van Somer I, Paulus, *Portrait of Elizabeth, Countess of Kent* (1620). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 2484.

Oliver, Isaac, *Miniature of A Man consumed by Flames* (c.1610). Ham House, London (National Trust): 2 [379].

Oliver, Isaac, *Miniature of Ludovick Stuart, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Richmond and 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Lennox* (1605). NPG 3063.

Oliver, Isaac, *Miniature of Unknown Lady, thought to be Frances Harrington* (c.1610). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 3902.

Oliver, Peter, *Double Miniature of Kenelm Digby and Veneta Digby* (c.1630). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University: sh-000463.

Oliver, Peter, *Miniature of Venetia, Lady Digby on her Deathbed* (1633). The Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University: sh-000464.

Priwitzer, Johannes (after), *Portrait of Lucy Harrington* (1600-1630). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 1129113.

Souch, John, *Portrait of Sir Thomas Aston on the Deathbed of his Wife* (1630-1640). Manchester City Galleries: 1927.150.

Van Somer I, Paul, *Portrait of Ludovick Stuart, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Richmond and 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Lennox* (c.1620). NPG: 5297.

Unknown artist, *Miniature of a Woman with a lock of hair* (1662). The Victoria and Albert Museum: P.28-1941.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland, with his Wife and Daughter* (1600-1650). The Captain Christie Crawford English Civil War Collection: 33.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of Edward Winslow* (c.1651). Pilgrim Hall, Massachusetts: PHEW.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of Elizabeth Vernon, Countess of Southampton* (c.1598). The Buccleuch Collection, Boughton House. Dimensions: 142.2 x 89 cm.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of the Holme Family* (1628). The Victoria and Albert Museum: W.5-1951.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of the Honourable Dorothy North* (c.1630). The Vyne, Baskinstoke (National Trust): 719365.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of Josiah Winslow* (c.1651). Pilgrim Hall, Massachusetts: PHJW.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of Lady Diana Cecil* (c.1624). Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust): 1129100.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of Lucy St. John* (c.1590). Lydiard House, Swindon:  
LHLHP.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of Penelope Pelham Winslow* (c.1651). Pilgrim Hall,  
Massachusetts: PHPP.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady, thought to be of the Talbot family*  
(1598). The Fitzwilliam Museum: 1773.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady* (c.1645). Holburne Museum, Bath: A7.

Unknown artist, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady* (1525-1575). Holburne Museum, Bath:  
A21.

Unknown artist, *Print entitled The Happy Marriage* (1700). The Victoria and Albert  
Museum: M.300-1986.

*Wall Pieces and Windows, made of stone, glass and wood*

Heraldic Stone Chimney Piece (c.1600). Baddesley Clinton, West Midlands (National  
Trust).

Heraldic Stone Chimney Piece (c.1620). Barrington Court, Somerset (National Trust),  
located in the master bedroom.

Moulded Plaster Ceiling, at Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire (National Trust).

Fireplace in the Blue Room depicting the marriage of Sarah and Tobias (c.1600).  
Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (National Trust).

Windows and Wall Panel commemorating the marriage of Thomas Lyte and Elizabeth  
Worth, and later to Constance Sydney (1590-1620). Lytes Cary, Somerset (National  
Trust).

The Plasterwork Frieze depicting a Skimmington Ride (1600-1620). Montacute  
House, Somerset (National Trust).

The Oak Mantelpiece (1560-1600). Speke Hall, Liverpool (National Trust).

Window Pane (1646). The Victoria and Albert Museum: C.142:1 to 9-1984.

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R. VII. H87 Evidence from an ecclesiastical case, John Benet in defence of Adam Goodyear's marriage to Elizabeth Vessye, alias Revell, 06 May 1602.

### *Buckinghamshire and Luton Archive and Records Service*

HW/85/8, Letter from William Copp to Theodore Eccleston, 23 May 1688.

HW/85/10 Letter from William Copp to Jane Alexander 15 August 1688.

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WSHC/413-440, Quaker Marriage Certificate of Walter Benthall and Mercy Eccleston, 1683.

### *Isle of Wight Record Office*

OG/CC/73, Letter from Anne Lennard to her father, Sir John Oglander at Nunwell, 20 January 1648.

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DDKE/9/30/4, Letter from 'Henr Sherburn' to his mistress (draft in Roger Kenyon's handwriting), 23 February 1631.

DDKE 9/33/10, Love letter in Alice Rigby's handwriting signed Peel, 10 April 1651.

DDKE/9/34/14, Letter from B (name illegible), Nantwich, 16 May 1659.

DDKE/9/39/48, Letter from W Jessop, London, 29 Aug 1668.

DDKE/9/45/24, Letter from Jane Haworth, Parkhead to Roger Kenyon, 6 May 1674.

DDKE/9/55/68, Letter from Eliza Hodgkinson, Preston to Roger Kenyon, 19 Nov 1682.

DDKE/9/56/56, Letter from Jane Parker, Extwisle to Roger Kenyon, 14 Apr 1683.



DDKE/9/66/9, Letter from Thomas Kenyon to his father, Roger Kenyon, 8 June 1693.

DDKE/9/67/85, Letter from A Kenyon [A[lice] to Roger Kenyon, her husband, 26 Dec 1694.

DDKE/9/78, Letters (numbered 1-70) from Mrs Alice Kenyon to her husband Roger Kenyon, 1650 – 1700.

DDKE/9/91/5, Letter from Waldive Lagoe, to James her son-in-law, 18 Jun 1659.

DDKE/9/91/6, Letter from Jane Howorth to her daughter, 17 Dec 1671.

DDKE/9/98/1, Letter from Roger Kenyon to cousin George Kenyon, 15<sup>th</sup> January 1695.

DDKE/Box 48/26, Letter from A[lice] Kenyon to her husband Roger Kenyon, 3 Apr 1694.

DDKE/Box 63/5, Note of the marriage of Hamlet Lowe and Mary Valentine of Longworth in Bolton Parish and a pedigree of the Valentine family, 5 May 1695.

DDKE/Box 72/2, Marriage licence of Alexander Rigby of Wigan, gent and Isabell Cuerden of Leyland, 18 Jun 1605.

DDKE/ HMC/84, A love letter from R[alph] A [ssheton], 1627.

DDKE/HMC/197, Letter from Luke Lloyd [to his wife,] at Brynn in Hanmer parish, 13 June 1644.

DDKE/HMC/182, Letter from Thomas Dickonson to George Rigby, 13 Dec 1640.

DDKE/HMC/834, Letter from Alice Kenyon to her husband, Roger Kenyon, 12 Jan 1693.

DDKE/HMC/840, Letter from Alice Kenyon to her husband, Roger Kenyon, 26 Jan 1693.

DDKE/HMC/866, Letter from: Alice Kenyon to her husband, Roger Kenyon, 29 Mar 1694.

DDKE/HMC/906, Letter from: Alice Kenyon to her husband, Roger Kenyon, 18 Dec 1694.

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