The Power of Lace by Gil Dye

This image appeared on page 3 of *The Times* in September 2013. The article is about a proposal by the University of London to sell a copy of Shakespeare's *First Folio*. The folio frontispiece has a portrait of Shakespeare with a totally plain collar, however the dominant portrait is one that has absolutely no link with the folio, but it does have lace[i] and the picture editor would have been well aware that lace attracts attention and more lace attracts more attention.

A tale full of sound and fury over 'stupid' move to sell Shakespeare's priceless folios

The Times, 4 September 2013

This is the position today as it has been since lace first appeared on portraits in the mid 1500s. For most of those 450+ years lace has wielded a power that is totally out of all proportion to what is no more than a network of fragile threads.

The Beginning

Portrait of Lady Done, early 17th century, circle of Marcus Gheerarts the Younger, currently on loan to the Grosvenor Museum in Chester

The portrait above and this one of Lady Dorothy Done were both painted around 1610 by which time lace was firmly established as a fashion fabric and an important marker of the wealth and status of the wearer.

Lady Done has white linen lace as a ruff and around her neckline and wrists, while her bodice, sleeves and skirt are decorated with long lengths of a simple gold lace. The gold lace and the lace of the ruff are *bobbin lace*; the lace on her cuffs and that around her neck are *needlelace*.[ii]

Bobbin lace and needle lace are considered to be the two classic laces; both evolving during the 1500s. The origins and techniques are very different, but by the end of the century the finished effects were often surprisingly similar.

Needlelace has two origins. One is a development of the little loops and picots that edged the gathered collar and cuffs of sixteenth century linen undergarments (shirts and smocks).

Buttonholed loops and picots on the edge of fabric

The other strand is an elaboration of 'cutwork' where areas of linen threads or fabric are cut away and the spaces filled with openwork stitches.

The '*reticella*' needle lace on Lady Done's cuffs has taken this process one step further. This lace has been worked over a grid of threads couched to a temporary parchment backing, dispensing with the time-consuming process of withdrawing threads from costly linen, and freeing up the techniques to move away from a rigid geometric format to more free-flowing designs.

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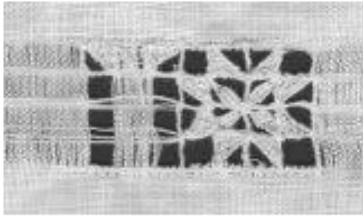
As the name suggests needle lace is worked with a sewing needle and a single thread.



Simple cutwork, worked in spaces where threads have been withdrawn from linen fabric

In contrast, bobbin lace is worked with multiple threads, each thread wound on a small handle known as a bobbin. Most bobbins today are turned wood or moulded plastic, however the early name for the lace was 'bone lace', so it is likely that the first bobbins were actually small bones. Bobbins allow multiple long lengths of thread to be manipulated without tangling and without excessive handling; this is particularly important when working with precious yarns such as silks and metallic threads, which were the materials used to make the wide variety of decorative braids, fringes etc (collectively known as passementerie) that were the ancestors of bobbin lace. The gold lace 'striping down' Lady Done's dress is a clear link to the earlier braids.[iii]

A 4-pair gold lace being worked with leg bones from game birds and rabbits

Lace was highly valued in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and until the 1620s the style was such that artists could (and did) depict it in such detail that it is possible to determine whether it was needle or bobbin lace and also allow copies to be made by a 21st century lacemaker. This level of detail is not always visible in a standard reproduction (for example a postcard), but can be seen in the actual portrait (when it is not high on a gallery wall) or a high-resolution photograph. The added lines on this detail from the neck area of Lady Done's portrait shows how threads flow from one part of the lace to another in the lace of the ruff, indicating that it can be worked with the continuous threads of bobbin lace. The threads do not flow in the same way through the motifs of the other linen lace, instead there are circles or short lines, more suitable for working with a needle.

Detail of Lady Done's portrait

At this time men and women were equally lavish in their use of lace. There is a companion portrait of Lady Dorothy's husband Sir John in which he wears lace cuffs and ruff. In this case both are bobbin lace, with the lace of the ruff being the same as that on the cuff (with the addition of an extra band at the neck edge). This is a common practice and one that is of great benefit to a lacemaker hoping to make a copy, since the cuff is usually shown flat and painted with a high degree of accuracy.

Portrait of Sir John Done, early 17th century, circle of Marcus Gheerarts the Younger, currently on loan to the Grosvenor Museum in Chester

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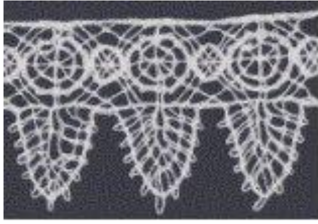

Sample of linen lace copied from Sir John's cuff

In most portraits it is the white linen lace that is most obvious, however during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries vast quantities of gold and silver lace were worn. In addition to the surface decoration, there were edgings of various widths to be found on items such as gloves, waistcoats, caps and coifs. Men also wore sashes with wide lace ends, either knotted around the knee or worn across one shoulder and tied on the opposite hip. Much of this gold lace was threaded with small flat tear-drop shapes, known as spangles, which would have twinkled in the candle-light with every movement. Many of the larger-than-life full-length portraits, notably those by William Larkin, show that men and women were also wearing gold lace shoe roses. Both linen and metal thread lace are illustrated in this 1613 portrait of Edward Sackville, 4th Earl of Dorset, where he is wearing a wide needlelace collar with matching cuffs and a mass of gold lace on his knee sashes and shoe roses.[iv]

Portrait of Edward Sackville, by William Larkin, 1613, Kenwood House

Changing Styles

Most of the early lace was linear and geometric, however around 1630 there was an abrupt change in style when soft falling bands replaced the stiff standing collars and the lace changed to feature areas of dense cloth stitch, as in this portrait of Thomas Bruce. The specific bobbin-lace techniques needed to produce this type of lace are quite different and it is surprising that there seem to be few transitional examples in either portraits or surviving lace.

Thomas Bruce, 1st Earl of Elgin, Cornelius Johnson, 1638, Kenwood House

By this date there was much greater differentiation between male and female dress. The men still wore closely fitting doublets with the high necks that provided a base from which a wide linen band (collar) could fall, while the ladies favoured an open neckline, often edged with a similar lace to that on the men's bands. In addition they might wear a triangle or folded square of fine linen edged with wide lace that gave an effect very similar to that of a falling band.

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Although there are needlelace examples, it was the soft bobbin laces that were preferred for these styles; most were Flemish, but they were also made in England and in other countries across Europe. Similarly needlelace was made in many countries, but it was Italy, and in particular Venice, that was the main centre.

Portrait of a Lady, c.1630, V&A 565-1882 (once thought to be Countess of Derby, by Gilbert Jackson)

Needlelace evolved slowly from tiny cut-works through geometric *reticella*, then more free-flowing *punto in aria* (literally 'stitches in the air') and finally the magnificent three-dimensional needle laces seen in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The needle laces with raised work were known collectively as *rose points*; the boldest were worked in rich baroque designs in tiny stitches with the motif edges padded and decorated with loops and rings, these in turn embellished with tiny picots. This was a very expensive lace – Margaret Simeon records that James II paid £36.10s.0d (at least £5,000 in today's money) for the cravat he wore at his coronation in 1685, possibly the one in this portrait by Godfrey Kneller. The lace shown here is part of a rose point cravat from around 1670 displayed with James's wedding suit in the British Galleries at the V&A.

Portrait of James II by Godfrey Kneller, Royal Hospital Chelsea

Cravat of raised needle lace, V&A T.41 & A-1947

The connecting 'brides' or bars on this type of lace break relatively easily however the motifs are tough and many survived and were copied or remodelled in the nineteenth century to suit the fashions of the day.[v] The nineteenth century lace rarely has the richness of the seventeenth century originals and it is interesting to see in this portrait that the 'restoration' on the right (as viewed) of Sir John Crewe's cravat is similarly lacking in quality of design and workmanship compared with the original on the left.

Sir John Crewe, 1683, by John Michael Wright, Grosvenor Museum Chester

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Brides and Grounds

'Milanese' (Flemish) bobbin lace assembled as a christening bib; V&A 900A-1864, second half of seventeenth century

Venetian *rose points* were certainly the dominant lace form in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, however many other lace styles were also in production. The bobbin-lace equivalent of the baroque needlelaces is now often referred to as *Milanese*, although as much was made in Flanders as in Italy. Working linked motifs in needlelace is relatively easy; this format is more difficult with bobbins since each motif requires the starting and finishing of multiple threads. *Milanese* lace with its scrolling decorative braids provided a transition between the continuous laces of the early 1600s and the increasingly detailed motif-based (pieced) laces of the1700s.

Bars or brides were originally purely functional, being worked where necessary to hold segments (motifs or braids) together. As the solid areas of the design got smaller and the spaces between got larger, needlelace brides became more elaborate with branches, loops and picots. One type of needlelace, known as *point de neige,* can appear to be built up almost entirely of tiny picots; this lace was favoured for use on the towering headdress known as a fontange, and largely disappeared when the fontange went out of fashion.

Queen Mary II possibly by Nicolaes Visscher II, after Jan van der Vaart, mezzotint, circa 1683-1729.
© National Portrait Gallery, London

From the 1660s onwards bobbin laces were appearing with a *réseau* (network) of threads in place of the brides. The réseau, now usually referred to as a *ground*, was initially quite irregular, but gradually became more organised with different lacemaking centres developing their own variations. A similar process happened with needlelace, starting a decade or so later.

Increase in the use of grounds coincided with the demand for lighter laces. As the eighteenth century progressed dense areas became smaller, concentrated along the free edge of the lace or as small motifs, with the rest made up of wider and wider areas of net ground with the overall look closely reflecting fashionable design in other areas such as woven fabrics and ceramics. Identification of surviving lace often depends on a study of the ground, however the meshes are too fine for an artist to copy, so it is usually only possible to guess at the lace depicted in portraits of the period. On the whole the best needle laces were made in Italy or France and the best bobbin laces were Flemish, however both bobbin and needle laces were made across Europe and preference for needle or bobbin lace swung backwards and forwards throughout century.

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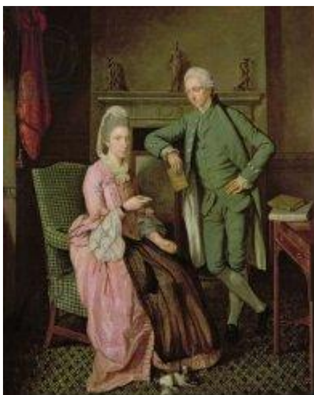
It is difficult to comprehend how lacemakers could work with the incredibly fine linen thread used for the best of the eighteenth century laces; great skill and dedication was needed at every stage of the process from selection of the seed, through the growing, harvesting and preparation of the flax fibres, then the spinning and working of the threads in a moist atmosphere without the benefit of artificial light or heat (a room over a cowshed was apparently favoured). Light-weight bobbins would have been used to avoid breaking the fragile yarns, but how anyone made, let alone threaded, a fine enough needle is a total mystery.

The froth of lace around neck, sleeves and skirt in this 1764 portrait of Mme de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame gives an idea of lightness and gathering quality of the delicate French needle lace of the period.

Madame de Pompadour at her Tambour Frame, 1763-4, François-Hubert Drouais, National Gallery, NG6440

Conversation Piece

This late eighteenth century portrait illustrates the clear contrast in lace usage between men and women, which was the norm by that time: the gentleman has just a discreet lace cravat tucked inside his jacket with narrow lace ruffles at his wrists, while his lady has lace from top to toe.



Conversation Piece, c 1775, Temple Newsam, © Leeds Museums and Galleries

The fashion for lace 'heads', consisting of a cap-back, frill and long panels known as lappets, had originated at the end of the seventeenth century and was to continue, for formal occasions at least, until well into the nineteenth. Hundreds of lappets have survived (including more than 300 pairs in the Blackborne Collection at Bowes Museum) and between them they illustrate two centuries of design and lace development.

A full 'head' of fine lace would have been a very expensive item and there must have been considerable conflict about whether to wear an inherited – and therefore old-fashioned – piece, or demand the latest style.

A cheaper alternative to a new set would have been to change the way in which the lappets were worn. In the *Conversation* portrait the lappets are tied loosely under the chin; they would more often have been hanging down the back (so barely visible in a portrait), but they could also be folded on top of the lady's head, as in the 1720s painting, *A Family of Three at Tea*. The V&A also has a book called *The Exact*

'Lace head' with cap, frill and lappets, Brussels lace c1740, courtesy of the V&A, ref T.26-1947

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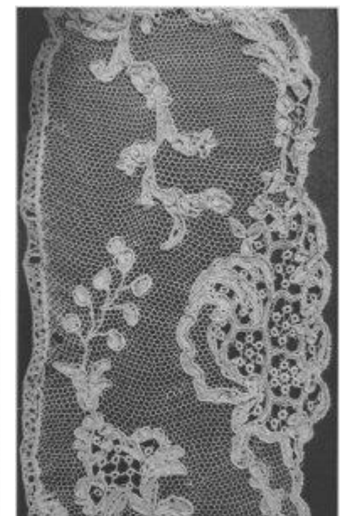
Dress of the Head (ref E.1677-1926) which illustrates a variety of 1725 styles. In some social set-ups there would have been strict rules of etiquette determining the length and style of lappets worn.

A Family of Three at Tea c.1725, courtesy of the V&A, ref P.9-1934

{The wearing of lappets obviously had potential for embarrassment: the fashion editor of the monthly *Ladies' Treasury* reported that at the opening of parliament in 1876 Queen Victoria wore 'on her head a small pointed cap, having at the back very long lappets; upon the cap a small crown of diamonds..... As Her Majesty took her seat on the throne, she unfortunately sat on the lappets which pulled the crown nearly off her head.}

In the *Conversation* portrait both the lappets and the sleeve ruffles show sketches of the lace design. There is insufficient detail to say for sure what type of lace was used for either, however it does appear that the pattern on the ruffles might be slightly more open than that on the lappets which indicates the ruffles might be the more up-to-date. It is quite likely that the ruffles were of French needle lace, this example is of the style known as *Alençon*. There are large areas of a light hexagonal mesh worked in twisted buttonhole stitch, with motifs and edging worked in closer stitching with raised outlines and fancy fillings. There are several European bobbin laces of the period which would give a similar effect, including *Mechlin* and *Valenciennes*, and English laces from the East Midlands (later called *Bucks Point*) and Devon (*Honiton*). Earlier in the eighteenth century these laces had a higher proportion of solid areas linked either by bars or small areas of mesh. When looking at examples of actual lace it is the technique used to make the mesh that usually determines what lace it is – although not necessarily where it was made – however there is no way an artist could show the detail of these tiny meshes in any portrait.



Alençon border, c.1750, and detail © Jean Leader

The Artist's Wife, Margaret Lindsay of Evelick by Allan Ramsay, National Galleries of Scotland

The gentleman's cuffs and cravat are likely to be of a similar lace to that of his wife's sleeve ruffles, but it is possible that they were actually embroidered muslin (*Dresden work*). Muslin might also be used for the plain areas of the ruffles.

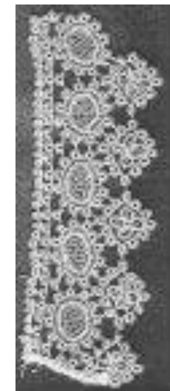
An unusual feature of the *Conversation* portrait is the black lace apron. Decorative aprons had been fashionable on and off since the sixteenth century, however black aprons, even in portraits, are rare. The white lace in the portrait was almost certainly worked in fine linen thread, however linen would not take a black dye so the apron would have been worked in silk. The process of dyeing black threads was complicated and expensive, and the mordants used tend to rot the threads, as a result little early black lace has survived. Identifying the techniques used in black lace can be difficult even

with the lace in your hands, it is certainly not possible to say what lace has been painted here. The most likely fabric is the bobbin lace known as *'black blonde'*. '*Blonde*' lace takes its name from the natural creamy colour of the silk from which it was first made and black blonde is lace made from black silk. The cape worn by Margaret Lindsay in this 1750s portrait is almost certainly of blonde lace and in a portrait by Thomas Gainsborough at Temple Newsam the sitter, Mrs Elizabeth Prowse, wears a triangular scarf of a similar fabric.

Another possibility would be that the apron was made of an early machine lace. A machine for knitting stockings, invented in Elizabeth's reign, had been adapted over the years to produce a variety of knitted items. By the latter part of the eighteenth century these knitting frames could also produce a knitted net, first a plain net then a net with small areas of patterning. These nets required a certain amount of hand-finishing, including a hand run outline for the motifs plus stiffening to provide stability, however they would have been considerably quicker to produce than the hand-made version and they also had considerable novelty value.

Sample of decorated net made on a stocking frame by Robert Frost of Nottingham c.1769, Costume and Textile Collection, Nottingham

An additional item of interest in the portrait is the shuttle in the lady's hands; this is a *knotting* shuttle. The string of knots she is working can be seen against her skirt; these knots might later have been appliquéd onto fabric as part of a richly textured embroidery, or turned into decorative tassels and fringes. However it appears that the main purpose of knotting was to show off elegant hand movements and it was an acceptable activity at a wide variety of social occasions. During the nineteenth century the art of knotting developed into *tatting* where little rings and other motifs with decorative picots were linked to form a lace-like fabric. Although most of this tatted lace was used for doilies and other domestic items, some was formed into collars, cuffs and other dress ornament. I have still to find a portrait in which tatting appears.



A nineteenth century tatted cuff

The Machine Age

The origins of machine-lace were in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but it was not until after 1809 that there was a real explosion of creativity; in that year John Heathcoat invented the 'bobbinet' machine, which could produce wide lengths of a stable hexagonal mesh. Heathcoat's net was copied from 'point ground', the light airy mesh found in *Bucks Point* and numerous other bobbin laces being made across Europe at that time. Initially the machines could only make plain net, however over the following years inventive engineers developed ways of opening up decorative holes, then weaving spots (known as sprigs) and larger areas of cloth work. Many of these fabrics still needed to be hand-finished by running in a thick outline thread. Eventually techniques were invented that allowed the outline threads to be introduced as the net was worked and an army of 'lace runners' was then out of work.

Mechanisation of the lace industry inevitably had an enormous impact on the whole hand-lace industry.
On the plus side numerous hybrid laces used the plain net as a starting point. For *application laces* needle- or bobbin-made motifs and /or edgings were appliquéd to machine net, eliminating the time-consuming, and expensive, process of working bobbin- or needle-made grounds or bars, also allowing innovation and quick response to changes in fashion.

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Limerick was one of several laces that used a variety of needle-made embroidery stitches on net, often combined with *Carrickmacross* where the solid areas are created from a layer of fine fabric, the motifs outlined with a couched thread and the fabric cut away to expose the net below. *Tambour lace* is an alternative technique that used a small hook to work chain stitch directly onto the net, in the same way that Mme de Pompadour is working tambour as embroidery on fabric.

End of early 20th century Maltese collar

At first only the laces with grounds could be copied and some bobbin-lace makers were able to switch to producing the bolder guipure laces, which showed up well against the large areas of fabric of the then fashionable dress. Notable among these was *Maltese*, worked in black or rich cream silk and almost invariably featuring the Maltese cross (an early example of branding!).

In England Thomas Lester designed caps, collars, flounces and other items with intricate stitches, often floral but also featuring exotic animals and birds (inspired by the opening of the London Zoo in 1847). These were pieces that required the skills of expert professional lacemakers. Other high quality laces, such as the needle laces of Alençon and Brussels and the bobbin laces of Chantilly, maintained a place in the luxury market among the aristocracy and the newly wealthy industrial families who were prepared to pay top prices for beautiful hand-made lace.

Fashion Plate, 1865, black Chantilly shawl, Maciet collection

Less skilled lacemakers, working in their own homes between domestic duties, made yards of guipure edgings in a variety of materials including cotton, linen, silk and even wool, for use on clothing and household linens. It was these lacemakers who were hit hardest by new waves of machines that could make almost perfect copies of every lace type.

Black worsted lace trimming a dolman jacket, The Ladies' Treasury, 1876

The Great Exhibition of 1851 brought together superb examples of both hand- and machine-made lace, both in the displays and worn by the visitors. In this painting of the opening of the exhibition the ladies of the royal family are resplendent in their lace.

The Opening of the Great Exhibition by Queen Victoria on 1 May 1851, Henry Courtney Selous, V&A 329-1889

Many ladies who had time on their hands took up crafts that produced lace-like fabrics, including knitting, crochet, tatting, netting and *'point lace'* (a combination of machine-made tapes and needlelace stitches). Instructions could be found in a growing range of weekly or monthly

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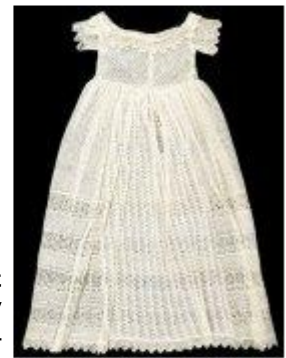
magazines and a variety of instruction books such as the DMC Encyclopaedia, first published in 1886 and never out of print since. The products were used on clothing and household linens for the family, also sold at fund-raising Sales of Work.
Some of these so-called craft laces were also made commercially, notably crochet in Ireland and knitting in the Shetland isles



Child's dress, hand knitted for the Great Exhibition by Sarah Ann Cunliffe, courtesy V&A, ref T.45-1964

The Last Hundred Years

Dorothy Catherine Draper, photographed by her brother Joseph in New York, c1840

The decline of painted portraits through the twentieth century has been more than balanced by the rise of photographic portraits. This photograph of Dorothy Draper was actually taken as early as 1840; sitting for this would have been even more difficult than sitting for a traditional painted portrait since she would have needed to remain absolutely still for up to an hour.

Sixty years later photographic exposure times had been drastically reduced and nearly every town had a studio where ordinary people could have their portraits taken to mark a special occasion, or to send to family and friends – an opportunity only available to the very wealthy in the sixteenth century. Cameras were also readily available to enthusiastic amateurs such as George Jackson who took this portrait of his wife Eliza in about 1910.

Eliza Jackson, early 20th century photograph by her husband, George

It is good to see that both Dorothy and Eliza are wearing lace. Some lace was made in nineteenth century America (mainly in the port town of Ipswich), however it is likely that Dorothy's lace had been imported from Europe. It is probably *Bucks Point* or a similar light weight lace, such as *Lille*, but it could be a machine copy. On the other hand the heavier lace worn by Eliza's is almost certainly crochet, and possibly made by Eliza herself, or one of her family.

Lace had disappeared from male fashion well before 1900, however it does still appear in men's portraits as part of formal ceremonial dress. Senior clergy have deep lace borders to their rochets; and although much of the lace today will be machine-made in cotton or synthetic materials, some may be centuries old, worked in fine linen threads – lace is tougher than it looks, and when well cared for (as it often is in a church environment) it will frequently outlast the fabric on which it is mounted, so can be unstitched and re-mounted many times. The 'choir dress' of cardinals has changed little in the 300 years that separate these two images.

Cardinal Daneels, 20th century; Cardinal Ottoboni c.1690, Francesco Trevisani, Bowes Museum

A variety of official roles outside the church – including mayors and sheriffs and senior academics – still come with the expectation that the incumbent should wear a lace jabot. This has often given lacemakers (individuals and groups) the opportunity to create a unique piece for a specific role.

Devon lacemaker, Pat Perryman created a Honiton jabot for the Speaker of the House of Commons which was worn first by Bernard Weatherill then by Betty Boothroyd, but has now been returned to Honiton.

RH Dye as Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Newcastle University, wearing a Bucks Point jabot, designed and worked by his wife

Women have never abandoned the wearing of lace. For much of the twentieth century it was confined to simple collars and cuffs, underwear and special occasion outfits. However in the twenty-first century lace is again making fashion headlines, a catalyst being the 2008/9 Prada show where Miuccia Prada featured office-style clothing cut from striking guipure lace in strong colours, her inspiration for the collection being 'how lace follows women through their lives from christening gowns to wedding veils and underwear to widow's weeds'. I am not sure about the widow's weeds in modern Britain, but the rest seems a pretty good summary.

Betty Boothroyd wearing a Honiton lace jabot

Lace Dresses from the2008/9 Prada winter collection

Conclusion

In 1573 fifteen-year-old Mary Denton sat for her portrait in her wedding finery. Unusually for this time it is a portrait not of royalty or a member of the aristocracy, but of a girl from the merchant classes: Mary's father, Sir Roger Martin, was a mercer (i.e. a dealer in fine fabrics) who six years earlier had been Lord Mayor of London. The impressive outfit of rich fabrics smothered with lace and jewellery is a very visual statement of the family's wealth and aspirations.

Mary Denton, York Art Gallery, 1573 (attributed to George Gower)

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Katherine Middleton, now Duchess of Cambridge, 2011

In April 2011 a girl from a similar background was married in a very different style. This time she did not sit for a painted portrait to be viewed by a select group of family, friends and colleagues, instead her electronic image was flashed to millions around the world by major broadcasters and individuals with their mobile phones, with reporters commenting excitedly on her lace – and getting their facts completely wrong.

For the record:
Mary's lace is bobbin-made in gold and silver and rich coloured silks with spangles and small jewels;
Kate's dress is an appliqué lace assembled from motifs cut from machine-made lace and hand stitched to silk net.[vi]

So after nearly five centuries lace is still with us and still evolving. Lace machines are now computer controlled and their products can be seen on the catwalk and in every kind of advertising. Making lace by hand is a rewarding and sometimes challenging hobby and the lace, traditional or experimental in style, appears in art works and the digital portraits of many family events. Lace designs are printed on fabric, laser-cut from plastic or metal, projected on to walls.... The power of lace seems set to continue for decades if not centuries to come.

Gil Dye, 2014

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[i] Information about this portrait is in *Shakespeare Found, A Life Portrait at Last*, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 2009, ISBN 978-0-9538203-2-0 and http://www.britishportraits.org.uk/blog/you-should-always-look-twice-by-gil-dye/

[ii] There are two guides to lace identification in the Resources section of the DATS website www.dressandtextilespecialists.org.uk: *Identifying hand-made and machine lace 1750-1950*, by Jeremy Farrell (2008); and *Identifying hand-made lace*, by Jean Leader (2013). For chronologically arranged illustrations of lace, and related information, see: *The History of Lace*, by Margaret Simeon, Stainer and Bell, 1979, ISBN 0 85249 445 9 and *Lace, A History*, by Santina Levey, V&A and W S Maney and Son, 1983, ISBN090128615x.

[iii] See: http://www.britishportraits.org.uk/queries-reviews/research-papers/portraits-and-lace-by-gil-dye/ for an exploration of surface decoration on the 'Darnley portrait' of Queen Elizabeth I.

[iv] More paintings in this series can be seen at Kenwood House and in the Suffolk Collection catalogue, English Heritage, 2012, ISBN 978-1-848020-80-1

[v] The Blackborne study collection in Bowes Museum, County Durham includes examples of items assembled from 17th century motifs; a few are illustrated in Fine and Fashionable, by Joanna Hashagen and Santina Levey, Bowes Museum 2006, ISBN 0-9548182-4-5

[vi] For an illustrated description of the making of Kate's dress see: http://www.jeanleader.net/articles/weddinglace.html

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