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By Helen Bennett

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IN THE summer of 1633 Charles I, accompanied by his court, travelled to Edinburgh to receive the Crown of Scotland. The first visit of the monarch to his northern kingdom since his accession eight years before was an occasion of great moment, and the coronation and subsequent royal progress were accomplished with all the pomp and ceremony the less-favoured country could furnish. On his arrival at Perth early in July the newly-crowned king was met by the provost and bailies of the burgh, with a guard of honour ten-score strong all in red and white. The next day, after hearing a sermon in St John's Kirk, Charles was conducted to the garden of his lodging in the house of the Earl of Kinnoull to view an entertainment given on a stage set on the adjacent river: there was an address, in verse, spoken by a boy costumed as the River Tay; a 'conference' in praise of the monarch between the boy and a second dressed to represent Perth; and, the main event, a sword-dance performed by members of the Incorporation of Skinners and Glovers of Perth.[1] Of this last a detailed account is given in the Glovers' minutes:[2]

> his Majesty's chair being set upon the wall next the Water of Tay whereupon was a floating stage of timber clad about with birks,[3] upon the which for his Majesty's welcome and entry thirteen of our brethren of this our calling of Glovers with green caps, silver strings, red ribbons, white shoes and bells about their legs, shearing[4] rapiers in their hands and all other abulzement,[5] danced our sword dance with many difficult knots[6] and allapallajesse,[7] five being under and five above upon their shoulders, three of them dancing through their feet and about them, drinking wine and breaking glasses. Which (God be praised) was acted and done without hurt or skaith to any.

The Glovers alone had spent 350 merks, that is, £233 13*s*. 4*d*. Scots or £20 sterling, on the entertainment — a substantial sum by Scottish standards, yet one they considered well spent 'because graciously accepted by our Sovereign and both Estates to our great honour and commendation'.

There survives today in the care of Perth Museum and Art Gallery a costume, consisting of a tunic and accessories, which has long been reputed to have been worn by one of the thirteen participants in the Glovers' sword-dance.[8] The outfit, which is well-known to specialists in the history of folk-dance,[9] has formerly been assumed to be of one date, that is, as seen by Charles I in 1633. Recently, however, a period of conservation has allowed a detailed examination of the constituent parts, disclosing a complex series of additions, alterations and repairs, most made within the last two centuries.[10] This paper sets out to chronicle the evolution of the costume as revealed during treatment, and to discuss the style and date of its original form.

History

As is clear from the description in the Glovers' minutes, the dance seen by Charles I was not the Scottish Gilly Callum in which sword and scabbard are laid crosswise on the

ground; rather it was a version of the hilt-and-point sword dance, an ancient tradition common to many areas of Europe.[11] Whereas some forms of the dance are still alive in northern England,[12] and another survived into the present century in Shetland,[13] our knowledge of the Glovers' version is confined to a brief period in the seventeenth century.[14] It seems that the 1633 performance was the last and, the dance temporarily forgotten, there is an hiatus of nearly two centuries before there is any mention of a survival of a relic of the occasion.

The first that is heard is in connection with a dramatization of Sir Walter Scott's novel *The Fair Maid of Perth*[15] performed at the Theatre Royal, Perth, on 23 September 1828. A critic was particularly struck by the performance of the actor Macgregor in the role of the hapless Oliver Proudfute, who appeared in 'the identical dress of one of the Morris-dancers who figured before Charles I when that Monarch visited Perth', borrowed for the occasion from the Incorporation of Glovers.[16] No details of the costume are given in the review, but a contemporary description is available in the footnotes to *The Fair Maid*, publication of which was delayed until 1833, that is five years after the appearance of the novel itself:

> This curious vestment is made of fawn-coloured silk, in the form of a tunic, with trappings of red and green satin. There accompany it two hundred and fifty-two small circular bells, formed into twenty-one sets of twelve bells each, upon pieces of leather, made to fasten to various parts of the body.[17]

A supplement to this description is available in the form of a pair of engravings, illustrations to the 1846, Abbotsford, edition of *The Fair Maid*[18] (Fig. 1). Given special

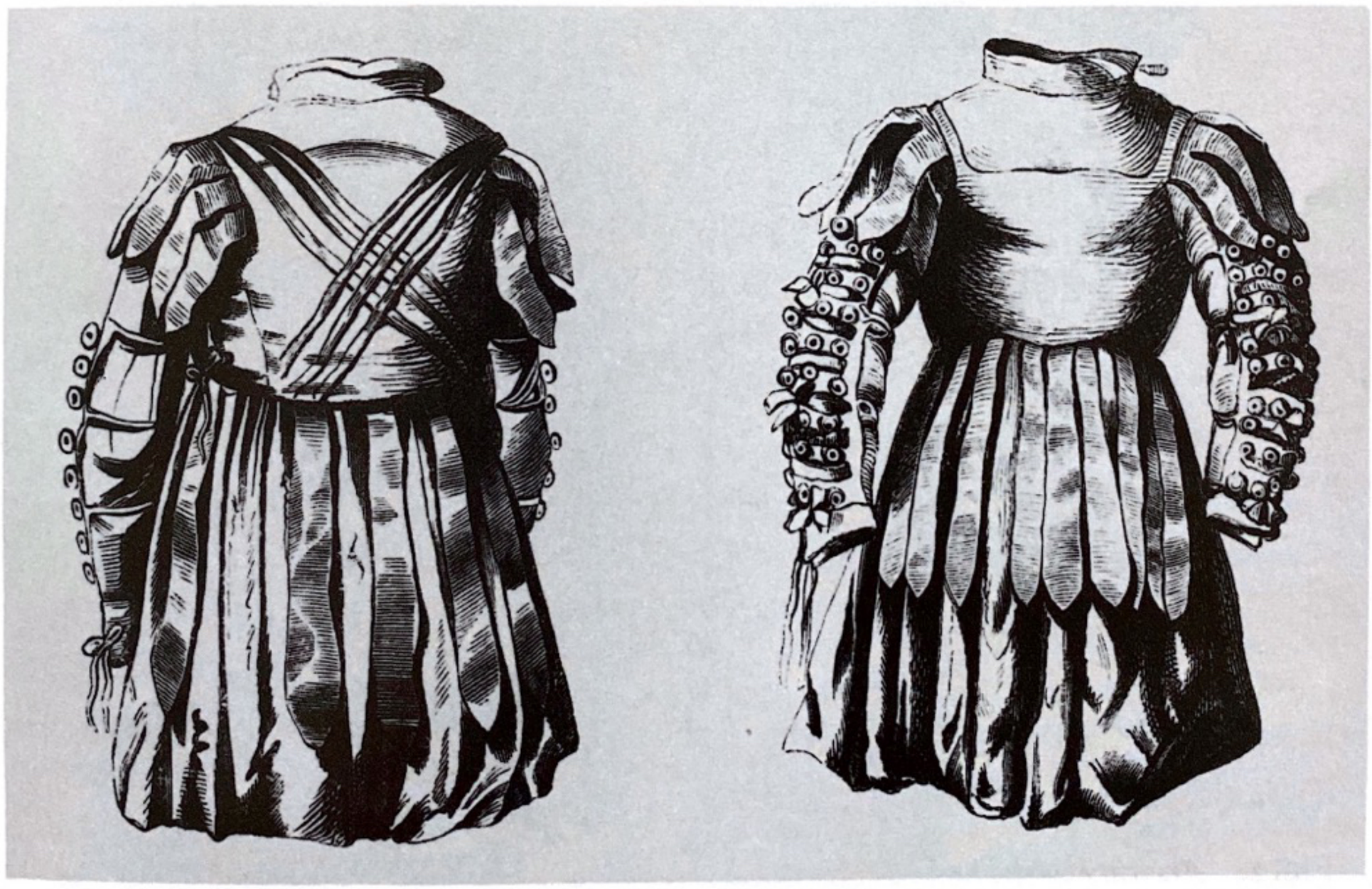

FIG. 1. Engravings from the 1846, Abbotsford edition of *The Fair Maid of Perth*

access by the Glovers,[19] the artist has shown the tunic in minute detail, allowing it to be identified with the garment which survives today.

The 1846 illustrations are not the earliest known, for the tunic is recognizable in the costume of a seated figure on the title-page of *Perth illustrated in eight views . . .*[20], published five years earlier. Less accurately drawn, the picture remains of interest in that it shows not only the tunic and bells but a fringed pill-box cap decorated with St Andrew's cross. This is presumably the same cap as that mentioned by a local historian in 1836 as an accessory to the tunic and bells.[21] Its omission from the official drawings of 1846 suggests the possibility that it was a relatively recent addition, known by the Glovers not to be part of the original outfit.

Since its use as stage costume in 1828, the sword-dance dress has made regular public appearances. When Queen Victoria passed through Perth on 6 September 1842 it was worn by a member of the Craft stationed on a platform beside the route;[22] twenty-one years later it was brought out again for the festivities in honour of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with Princess Alexandra.The former occasion may have provided the opportunity for the painting of an undated watercolour in which the tunic and bells are supplemented by a cap, ruff, hose and shoes (Fig. 2). [23] A photograph of the outfit as

FIG. 2. *Ancient Morris Dancers Dress In possession of the Incorporation of Glovers of Perth*: the watercolour is undated but probably belongs to the 1840s

worn in 1863 also survives:[24] although too faded for reproduction, sufficient detail is visible to indicate that, but for differences in the cap and ruff which will be discussed below, the composition of the outfit was largely the same as in the watercolour.[25] It is also identical in all major details to the outfit lent to the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888, as recorded in a photograph in *Scottish National Memorials*,[26] and as exhibited in Perth Museum until the costume was removed for conservation in 1982.

Description

The Perth Glovers' sword-dance dress currently comprises a tunic of silk and fustian, accompanied by an elaborate fringed cap, a neck ruff, a pair of hose, two pairs of shoes and twenty-one pads of bells. Since some of the accessories are demonstrably of late date it is convenient to consider these first.

The most recent of the garments is probably the *ruff*, a box-pleated frill of white cotton tabby, 135 mm deep, confined in a neckband of linen (Fig. 3). Mainly machine-sewn, it is unlikely to have been made before the middle of the nineteenth century. It appears identical with the ruff used in the 1888 Glasgow Exhibition, and may also be that shown in the photograph of 1863. Presumably it replaced the layered ruff which is recorded only in the undated watercolour. This earlier ruff, supposing it is not an invention of the artist, would have been old-fashioned in 1633 but is in style with the antique revivals of the early nineteenth century.

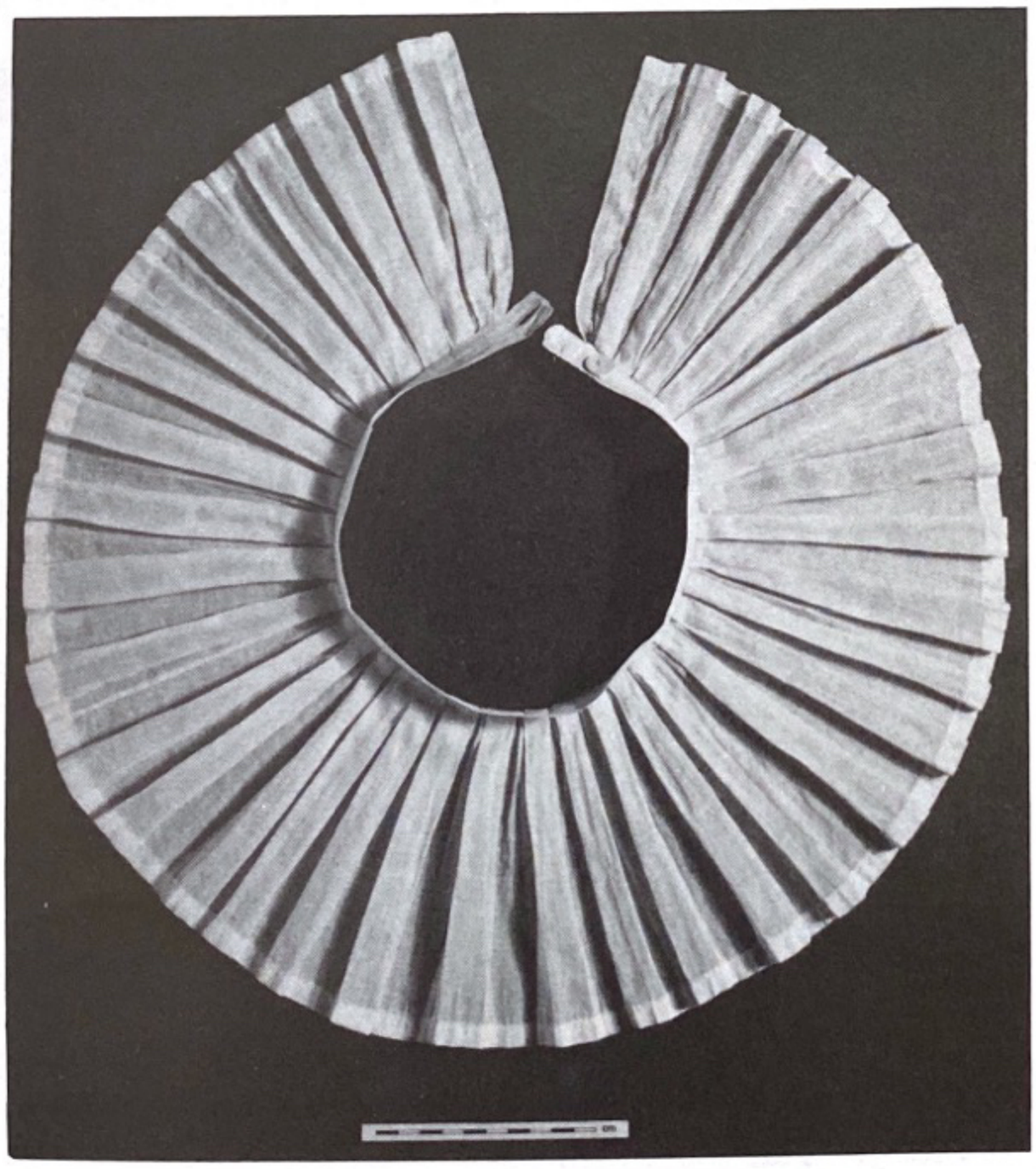

FIG. 3. The ruff after treatment

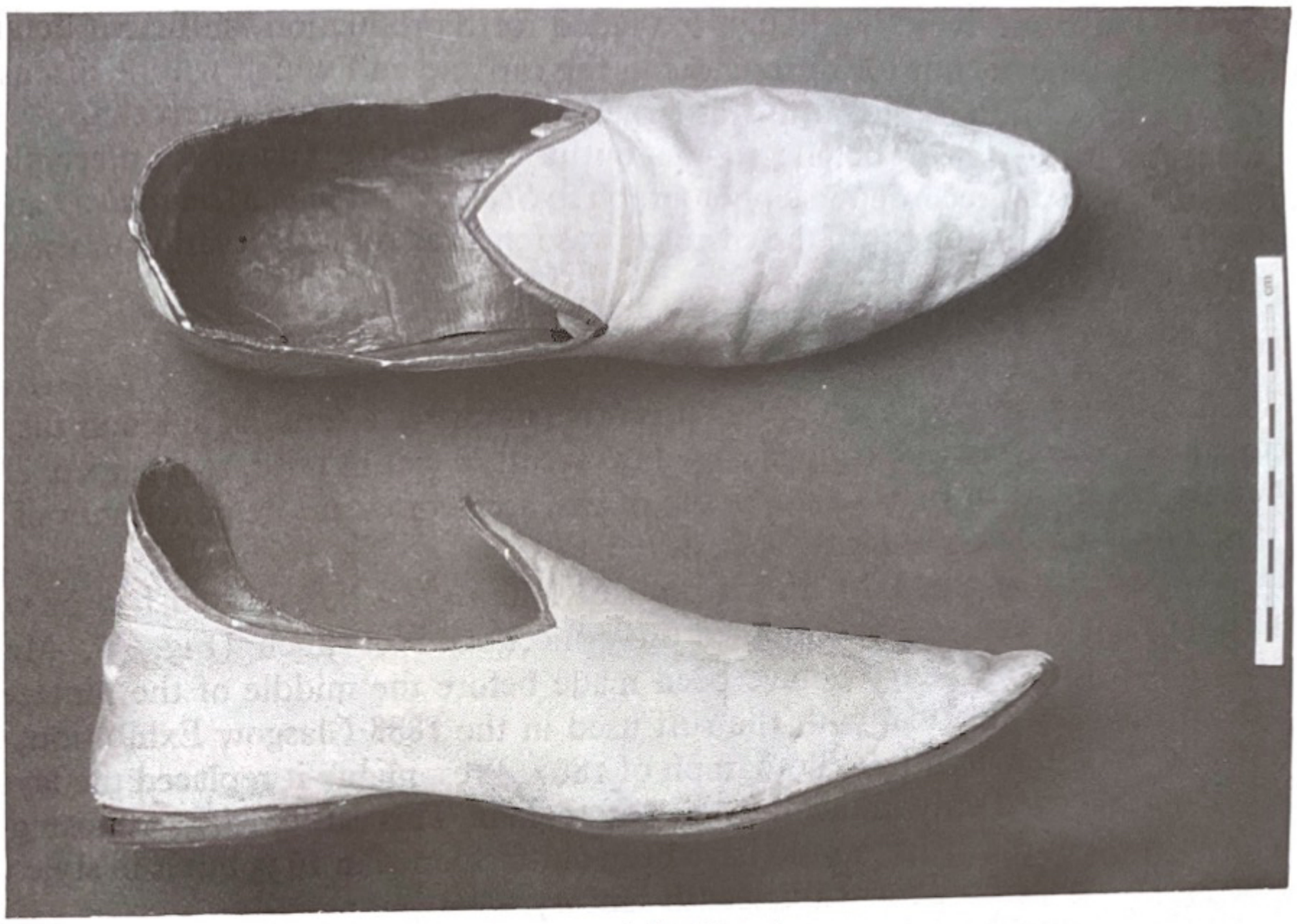

FIG. 4. Pair I of the shoes

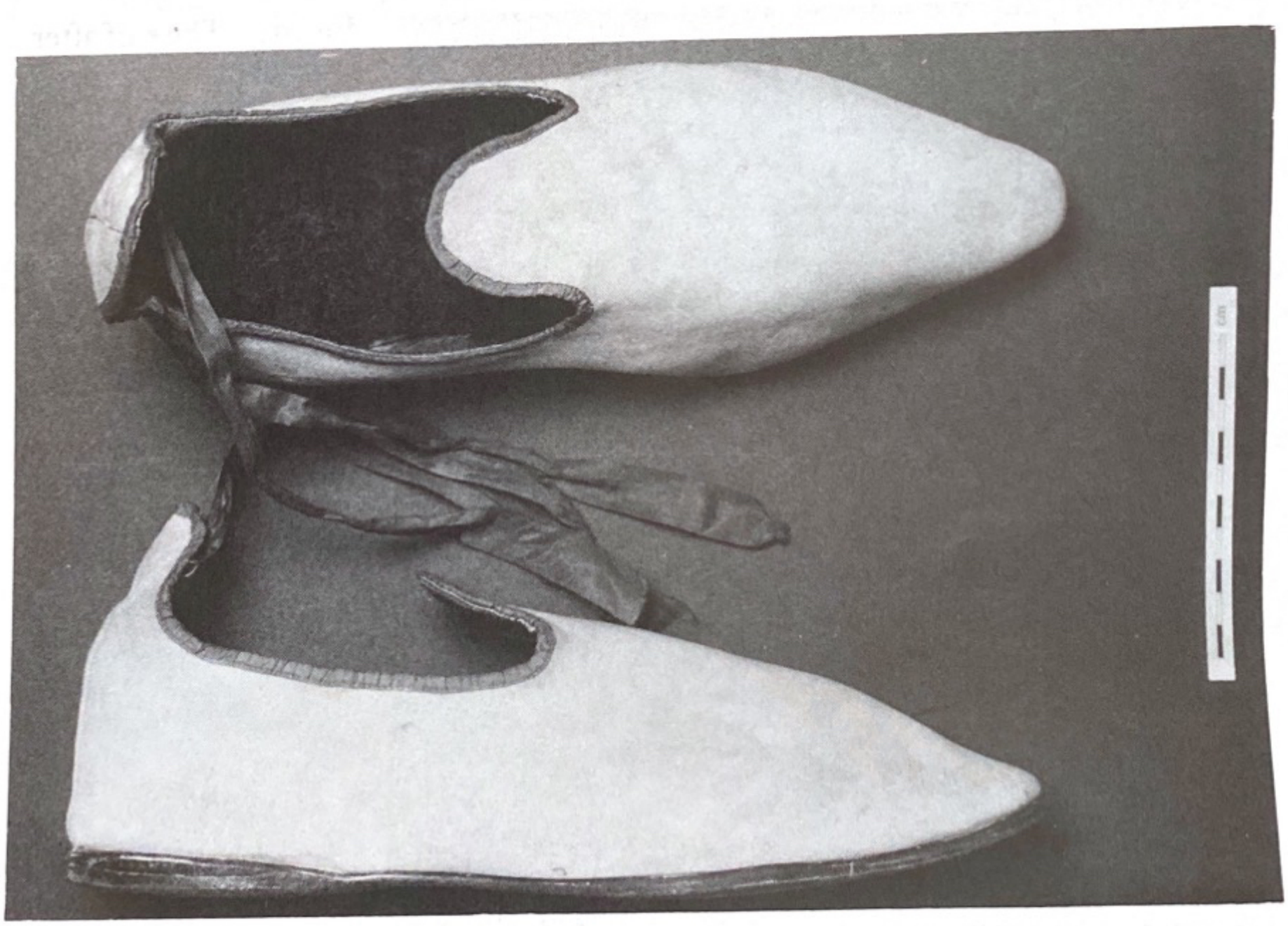

FIG. 5. Pair II of the shoes

Further examples of historical revivals are the two pairs of *shoes* (Figs 4 and 5). Similar but not identical, both pairs exhibit features which refer to styles of earlier periods: they have pointed toes, perhaps intended to evoke the Middle Ages, and uppers raised before and behind in a manner reminiscent of the early seventeenth century (but incorrectly cut). Even so, the workmanship and basic pattern are entirely of the nineteenth century.[27] Pair I, which has uppers of white kid bound with red silk tabby ribbon, and red leather piping in the back seam, has the sole shape of *c.*1810–20. The shape of pair II suggests a slightly later date. This second pair is for larger feet and is provided with ribbon ties sewn to the quarters at the back seam and a pair of horsehair insoles, both presumably to improve the fit; it also differs in having uppers of white buckskin piped in white. It is not known when the shoes became associated with the outfit, except that what appears to be pair I is recorded in the photograph of 1863, and what may be pair II in the illustration in *Scottish National Memorials*; something comparable is also shown in the watercolour. The ill-defined historical flavour is suggestive of stage shoes, so possibly pair II was acquired for the Theatre Royal performance of 1828. If the slightly earlier date for pair I is correct, this may indicate that the sword-dance dress was worn on some previous, but unrecorded occasion at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A theatrical origin also seems likely for the *hose* (Fig. 6), which are probably those shown in the watercolour and the 1863 photograph. Frame-knitted in silk dyed red with cochineal,[28] the garment takes the form of tights, without falls or front opening, set on a waistband of pale pink silk tabby lined with linen, which fastens with stamped brass buttons. The current ample waist is the result of makeshift alterations at an unknown date which included the cutting of the waistband; originally the knitted fabric was probably partly gathered into the waist. Technically the hose are related to the stockingette clothing worn by men at the end of the eighteenth century and for the first part of the following century. They are more loosely cut than the skin-tight pantaloons of fashion but in their unaltered form must have been quite close in general shape and structure to a pair of drawers now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[29] They also resemble the waist-to-toe garments which, if prints may be taken as evidence, were sometimes worn by actors of the period: typically, these are shown as close-fitting in the foot and lower leg but loose around the trunk and without falls — just like the Perth pair.[30] Again, therefore, the hose may be a relic of the 1828 performance, although a date thirty years earlier would not be impossible.

The most curious accessory is the *cap* (Fig. 7). The foundation is a rectangle of hide, 110 mm deep, perhaps sun dried,[31] now much cracked and worn, and faced with thick paper, which forms the headband. This foundation is entirely covered with green silk tabby, bound with pink silk tabby ribbon, and ornamented with applied vertical strips of a similar but not identical pink silk, each with a length of narrow stamped copper ribbon wound round in a spiral. These decorative details are scarcely visible, for the headband (and the face of the wearer) is largely obscured by the fringe of raw cotton, 180 mm deep, trimmed with nutshells, which is sewn to the upper edge of the hide; in movement the nutshells, falling together, rattle pleasantly. The nutshells have been tentatively identified as a species of thevetia, possibly *T. Peruviana*, originally a native of Tropical America and the West Indies but introduced to cultivation around 1753 and

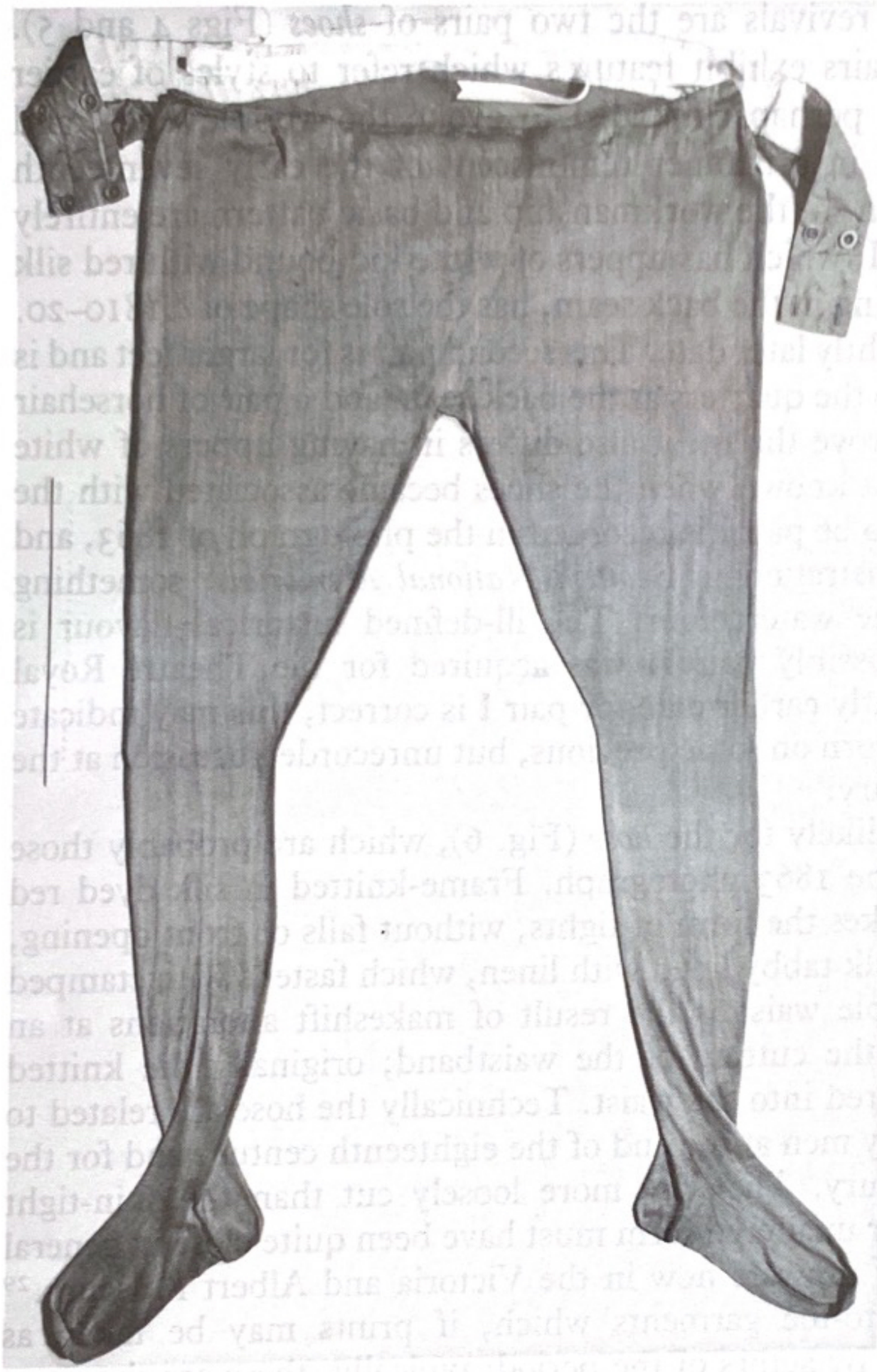

FIG. 6. The hose after treatment; the tape in the back of the waistband is recent, part of the repair

now widely planted throughout the tropics.[32] The unlined parti-coloured crown which completes the cap consists of seven panels of silk satin, five pinkish red and two bright blue, with a plaited tassel of matching satin ribbons falling from the apex; the domed button at the junction of the two is covered in pale green silk satin and a few strands of metal ribbon and purl.

In its present shape the cap is exactly as in the 1863 photograph, but there are indications this is not its original form. Compared with the rest of the structure the crown is crudely made and has the appearance of a hurried repair, perhaps for the 1863 festivities. Redundant stitching on the headband suggests the existence of an earlier crown — presumably the smaller, plain red, untrimmed version shown in the watercolour. This too may have been a temporary addition, for without it (and but for the absence of the St Andrew's cross), the headband and fringe together talley with the cap shown in the 1841 illustration. The date of manufacture of this crownless version is

uncertain, but that it cannot be identified with one of the original green head-dresses mentioned in the Glovers' minutes is confirmed by the discovery that the green silk has been dyed with indigo-disulphonic acid, a synthetic dyestuff not in use before about 1780[33]

There remains the question of the hide and its attached rattling fringe. The components of the fringe are undoubtedly imports, and the hide too may be of exotic origin. The general resemblance to rattling fringes worn for dancing in both South America and parts of Africa suggests that the cotton, shells and, perhaps the hide, together represent an artefact from a distant culture, presumably brought back to Perth by a traveller as a curiosity.[34] Its incorporation in the Glovers' outfit may be explained by the desire to produce a cap comformable to the convention that mummers wore head-dresses which obscured their faces. If a South American origin for the fringe is correct, it is within the bounds of possibility that it had crossed the Atlantic by 1633. If so, however, its state of preservation after 350 years is remarkable, and there is the difficulty, noted above, that there is no mention of any form of head-dress in the earliest nineteenth-century description of the outfit; further, as will be shown below, the outlandish appearance of the fringe would have consorted rather strangely with the elegant lines of the tunic in its original form. In this light, it is safer to regard the cap as an invention of the early nineteenth century no part of which was used in the performance of 1633.

Completing the accessories there are twenty-one pads of *bells* (Fig. 8). Each consists of a rectangle, slashed, of soft white leather from deer or goat,[35] typically 140 x 110 mm, with ties of the same sewn to each corner, mounted with twelve brass

FIG. 7. The cap: the fringe conceals a deep headband covered with silk and decorated with contrasting silk and metal ribbon

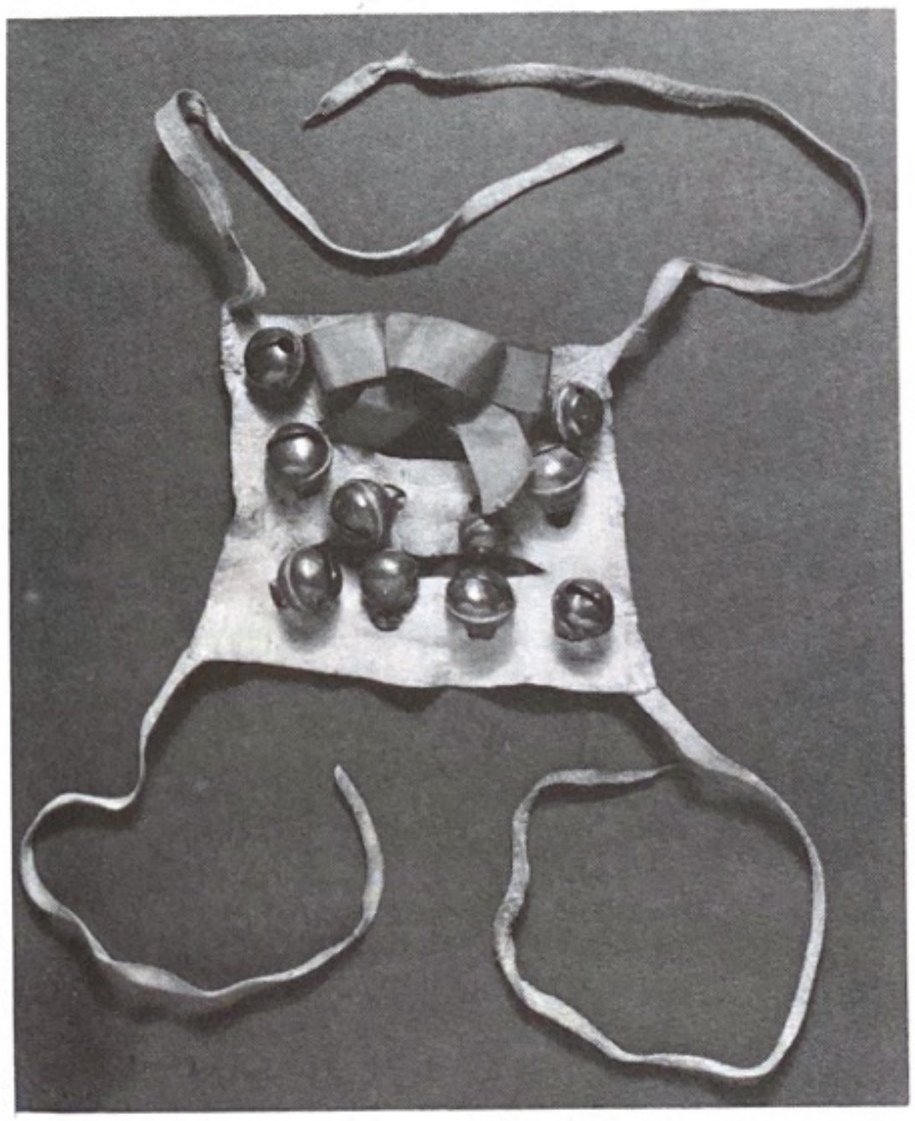

FIG. 8. One of twenty-one pads of bells

bells up to 25 mm in diameter, and decorated with a bow of red silk tabby ribbon; a few of the bells are missing, and there is evidence of some replacement. Alone of all the accessories the bells are mentioned in the earliest, post-seventeenth century-description of the outfit (1833), and their form today agrees both with this description and the earliest illustrations. Unfortunately there is no means of verifying their date of manufacture. The shape and technique of making of the bells are of ancient origin, and analysis of the bell metal has only confirmed that they are not products of the twentieth century.[36] Nor is stylistic analysis more helpful. Similar pads of bells have been a feature of morris dress in recent times[37] but, equally, something comparable is shown, worn by Will Kemp, on the title-page of his *Nine Daies Wonder Performed in a Daunce from London to Norwich*, published in 1600. The best that can be said is that there is no reason why these should not be the bells mentioned in the Glovers' original account of the sword dance. The manner of their wearing will be discussed below.

FIG. 9A, B. The tunic, front and back, after conservation and with the skirt returned to its original length; the ribbons are nineteenth-century additions or replacements

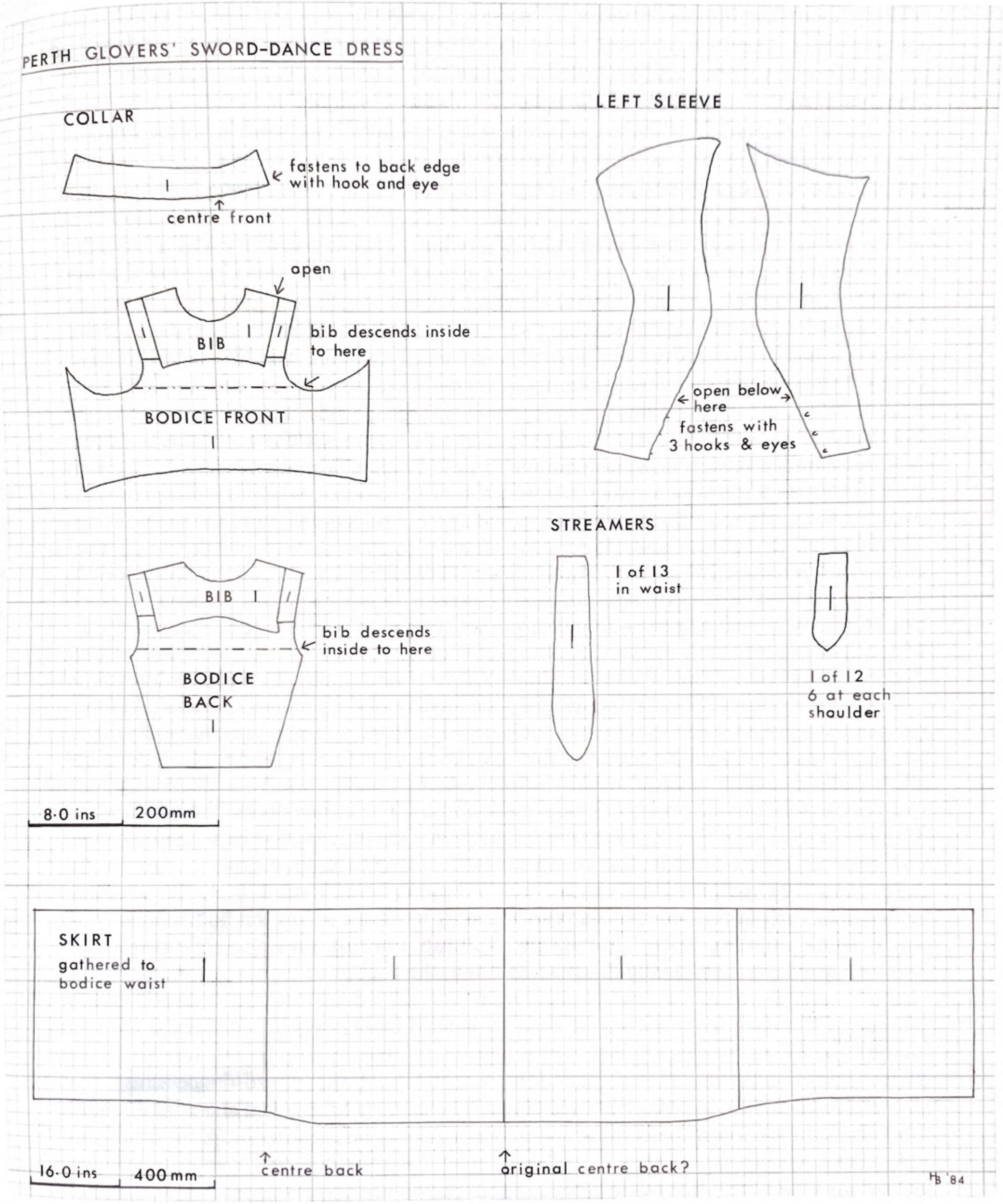

FIG. 10. The original cut of the tunic

The principal feature of the outfit is the *tunic* (Figs 9 and 10). The bodice is cut from a light-weight silk tabby, dyed green with indigotin, that is, either indigo or woad, and a yellow; the sleeves, bib and high collar are an unbleached fabric of linen and cotton mixed — fustian[38] — and the whole is lined with linen tabby. The streamers which fall from the shoulders and waist are of the same green silk, lined with a coarse linen or hemp, also dyed green. The skirt is made from four complete widths of silk similar to that of the bodice except undyed and originally bleached white or cream, now aged to a pale shade of coffee.

Not surprisingly, given its eventful history during the last century and a half, the tunic was in a weak and damaged condition before conservation; it also proved to be something of a costume palimpsest, showing several stages of alteration and repair. Only short lengths of original stitching survive on the bodice, for at some stage all the green silk has been removed and turned to refurbish the garment; this seems to have been the opportunity to interline the streamers with a stiffened white cotton. During or after the turning of the fabric, a gusset of dark green silk, matching that on the headband of the cap, was introduced to the left side to increase the girth; the bodice is now open under the left arm, fastening with ties of pink silk tabby ribbons 19–23 mm wide, but it is uncertain whether this was the original arrangement. Similar ribbons decorate the cuffs and back of the bodice (and also the pads of bells and the shoes). The additions of the gusset and ribbons pre-date 1846, for they show clearly in the engravings published that year (Fig. 1). That these ribbons were not the first applied after the turning of the silk was indicated by traces of other ribbons — broader, and bright yellow as well as red — found in the waist seam attached to the face of the silk which had been turned outwards. How far, if at all, the present ribbons follow the decorative scheme of those mentioned in the Glovers' minutes is, of course, unknown.

The skirt too has suffered modification. The turning of the green silk necessitated the temporary separation of the skirt and bodice, as did a later repair in the course of which the skirt was lined with beige silk tabby, interlined with domett, and quilted through all three layers. Contrary to the earlier arrangement, the skirt was re-applied with one seam open, to match the open left side of the bodice. The curious bunched appearance of the skirt visible in the 1846 engravings and later illustrations, was explained when it was discovered that the skirt had been worn with a deep turn up. As may be seen from the pattern (Fig. 10), the skirt was cut with a dipping hem. Since at least 1863, on the evidence of the photograph of that year, the skirt has been set on the bodice in such a way that the longest portion falls over the right hip, but it is not impossible that it has been misapplied and originally this portion was at the back.

Discussion

An examination of the materials and workmanship of the sword-dance dress has shown that the outfit has many late elements. The cap, ruff, hose and shoes — all parts other than the tunic and bells in fact — may reasonably be regarded as products of the nineteenth century or, at most, the last part of the previous century; furthermore, alterations which may be assigned to the same period are detectable in the tunic itself. After cleaning and support, with the old repairs removed and the skirt restored to its

original length, the tunic is revealed as a garment of considerable presence, but one which is not immediately recognizable as typical of a particular epoch. The design is based on the late-medieval skirted tunic which although out of fashion before the end of the sixteenth century, experienced a long revival or series of revivals, which lasted well into the nineteenth century. There is no reason to doubt the belief that the sword-dance dress, as represented by the tunic and bells, was already old when used in the theatre in 1828, but there are hints that this was not the first time in recent years that the outfit had been worn. Pair I of the shoes seems to be rather earlier than 1828, as may be the hose, and there is also a cryptic reference in a local history which may be evidence that it was brought out for a recruiting drive in Perth for the Athole Highlanders *c.* 1777.[39] Is the tunic a relic of the 1633 performance, as tradition relates, or is it an invention for some later and unrecorded occasion?

The internal evidence offered by the tunic is ambiguous but, on balance, in favour of the traditional date. The basic materials — silk, linen, fustian — are all plain fabrics which give little indication of period. None has the machine-made appearance of the materials used for the alterations and repairs, no synthetic dyestuff has been traced in them, and all would be appropriate to seventeenth-century Scotland — although equally, none of the fabrics is specific to that time. More persuasive is the use of massive hooks and eyes of ferrous metal to fasten the cuffs and, originally, the collar, where on a later garment one might expect fastenings of brass and less crudely made. On the basis of the cut of the bodice, which is slightly short-waisted, close-fitting in the torso and sleeves, cuffless and high-collared, it would be possible to support a date of manufacture early in the 1800s or a little before. The long full skirt, however, would be an anomaly: skirts worn by men at this period, whether tunics for theatrical or fancy dress or the native kilt, tended to brevity and frequently left a considerable area of upper leg exposed, whereas the tunic was at least calf length in its original state. Conversely, although a late-seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century date of making might be considered — on the grounds that portraits of the time occasionally show sitters in classical guise with flowing skirts which end well below the knee,[40] by then the high-necked, tight-sleeved and short-waisted bodice, appropriate enough early in the seventeenth century, would have been hopelessly out of date.

In the search for parallels to the tunic, the available evidence for the clothing worn for sword dancing, or even morris dancing, in the seventeenth century and before, is neither plentiful nor particularly helpful.[41] Nothing comparable in the form of an actual garment is known to have survived. From Scotland there are a number of documentary references to morris and sword-dancing,[42] but of these the 1633 account in the Glovers' minutes is by far the most informative; unfortunately, no visual material is available to provide additional clues. There are some relevant illustrations from England and the Continent, including a few examples showing hilt-and-point sword-dances, but these reveal nothing similar to the tunic. Perhaps the best known is the watercolour of a dance performed in Zurich in 1578:[43] the faces of the dancers are blackened (or masked?), they wear turban-like caps, some plumed, and bells below their knees, otherwise their clothing is the full-sleeved shirts and short breeches of the time; similarly, the main garments of sword dancers shown in a version by Hieronymous Cock of a drawing by Bruegel the elder, are contemporary shirts and long

hose.[44] Closer in date to the supposed period of the tunic is the stained glass window showing morris dancers from Betley Hall, near Crewe, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum: this is no more enlightening, however, for although made about 1620, it reuses designs of a century and more before; some of the dancers have streamers falling from their shoulders and bells sewn to their costumes or attached at knee level, but their basic dress is the fashionable short doublet and hose.[45] In the same way, the garb of the famous set of morris dancers carved by Erasmus Grasser in 1480 for Munich Town Hall,[46] although elaborated with streamers, bells and exotic details, is essentially of its period. Indeed the small amount of information available suggests that, unlike the Perth tunic, clothing for these dances tended to be standard contemporary dress which relied solely on the plentiful addition of bells and other embellishments for a festive effect. Only in the less bucolic performances, for example the *moresche* (mummeries) associated with the court of Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519) and his highly theatrical triumphs,[47] is there evidence of elaborate costuming.

If the Perth tunic cannot profitably be compared with dress for folk dance, analogies are to be found in fancy costume worn by royal and noble families in the early 1630s.

FIG. 11. *Children of the King and Queen of Bohemia*, Gerrit van Honthorst, 1631
Royal Collection

Excepting the length of the skirt, the basic outline is similar to that of the tunic worn by the figure to the far right, Prince Rupert (?), in Honthorst's *Children of the King and Queen of Bohemia* of 1631 (Fig. 11). In turn, the prince's tunic echoes the full skirt, raised waist and squared neck of the costume of Princess Elizabeth to the left — which although embellished with symbols signifying that she is in the character of the goddess Diana, is essentially fashionable dress of the moment. The long close sleeves of the Perth tunic do not find a parallel in the portrait, but, none the less, the streamers falling from the shoulders can be seen to mimic the contemporary fullness in the upper arm. That this is not chance is confirmed by a costume design by Inigo Jones for *Tempe Restored*, a masque performed on Shrove Tuesday 1632 (Fig. 12).[48] Here are the close-fitting sleeves of the Perth tunic with fullness provided above by cut oversleeves; although the arrangement of the skirt, with its dagged hem and looped-up folds, is different in detail, the silhouette of the whole is remarkably similar.

Among the costume designs by Inigo Jones for the entertainments which diverted the Stuart court are many more which have points of contact with the sword-dance outfit. Streamers and various forms of skirted tunic are much in evidence, and although above-the-knee skirts are common for male participants, there are also examples of longer versions. One sketch, for a burlesque character 'Wolfgangus Vandergoose',[49] shows a very full calf-length skirt (or, just possibly, padded breeches) overlaid with a skirt of streamers. Closest of all to the Perth tunic is an elegant outfit for 'Basilino, Prince of Valentia' (Fig. 13)[50] for *Shepherd's Paradise*, a play performed by the Queen and her ladies just a few months before Charles I's visit to Scotland. The costume is more elaborate than the provincial Scottish example, the full effect of which is difficult to judge in the absence of the original accessories, but even so the structure — the long gathered skirt, and the tight bodice with long slim sleeves and square neckline, perhaps in this case filled in with some transparent fabric — is essentially the same. The neck is finished with a falling ruff, and although the Perth ruff is undoubtedly nineteenth-century in construction, it is likely that the homely fustian of the bib and collar was originally covered by something similar. In the court costume the skirt falls from the hips, but the design of the bodice still retains a reference to the contemporary high waist. Here too are the streamers. In view of the long ribbons or streamers, mentioned above, prominent in the dress of the dancers on the Betley window, the statuettes for Munich Town Hall, and the *moresco* dancers at the court of Maximilian I — which, it has been suggested, are the ancestors of the ribbons tied round the sleeves of morris dancers today[51] — it is arguable that this aspect of the Perth tunic is derived from a morris tradition. But comparison with the design by Inigo Jones suggests an alternative explanation: as the bodice contrived to represent a *lorica* makes clear, the streamers are an allusion to the leather tunics, their sleeves and skirts cut in strips, of Roman military dress. In this light the presence of shoulder and waist streamers on the Perth tunic may be interpreted as a desire, in conformity with current artistic convention,[52] to give the costume classical overtones.

That the design of the Perth tunic should relate to costume for court masque rather than a more popular tradition of theatre or dance is not entirely unexpected. It has been commented that the sword dance performed in Perth in 1633 seemed to have lost any seasonal or ritual significance and become instead 'a carefully-prepared spectacle with

FIG. 12. *Circe*, design by Inigo Jones for *Tempe Restored*, performed Shrove Tuesday 1632

Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth

FIG. 13. *Basilino, Prince of Valentia*, design by Inigo Jones for a play performed January 1633

Devonshire Collections, Chatsworth

which to honour a royal guest . . .'.[53] Its transformation into a polite (if still slightly bucolic) activity, related perhaps to the 'magnificences' and 'devisings' performed at the court of James VI before his accession to the throne of England,[54] would explain why it had been allowed to proceed at a time when sword-dancing and other seasonal enactments were labelled as 'superstition' by the kirk sessions in Scotland and were actively being supressed.[55] So close is the tunic to the surviving designs of the early 1630s that it may be supposed to be the work of one familiar at least with the current fashionable imagery, if not the latest court entertainments in London or on the Continent. Since George Jamesone, Scotland's foremost artist of the time, was employed by Edinburgh City Council to provide decorations for Charles I's triumphal entry in 1633,[56] it is not impossible that an artist of standing could have been approached to design the costumes for the entertainment in Perth.

If it is reasonable to view the tunic as a provincial cousin of court masque dress, and a relic of the 1633 performance, the status of the bells remains problematical. Neither physical nor stylistic analysis has proved helpful in establishing the date of making, but even assuming they are indentical with the originals there must be some doubt as to the manner in which they were worn. That the bells should have been strapped round the torso as shown in the watercolour (Fig. 2), and has been the practice in the present century, seems unlikely. The account in the Glovers' minutes mentions only bells attached to the dancers' legs, and if the original intention with the surviving costume was to cover the bodice with leather strapping, it is strange that such a delicate fabric as fine silk was chosen rather than the more serviceable fustian. Also, it is only possible for the pads to encompass the chest when several are knotted together, a makeshift arrangement out of character with the careful design and construction of the tunic; in practice, all the pads are of an appropriate size to be bound round the limbs. If the bells were confined to the limbs — whether arms or legs or both — the number is excessive for one outfit. Edinburgh City accounts for July 1558, which record expenses incurred during celebrations in honour of the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots, with the Dauphin of France, mention costumes for dancers with bells sewn over the bodies and legs:[57] 31 dozen bells are listed as sufficient for six outfits — as compared with 21 dozen for the single Perth costume. In the circumstances there must be a suspicion that even if these are identifiable with the bells worn in 1633, they represent the equipment of more than one dancer.

One query remains outstanding, that is, the suitability of the tunic to the purpose for which it is supposed to have been used. With a length of up to 900 mm, the skirt would have reached the lower calf even on a man of, say, 1750 mm (5ft 9in.), while it would have been ankle-length if the wearer, as the dimensions of the bodice suggest, was only of moderate height. Such a long full skirt would have been hopelessly cumbersome in the intricate figures of the dance, with the participants passing over and under the swords linked between them, and still less practical for participation in the building of a human pyramid. Is this then an indication that the tunic was worn not by one of the ten dancers who formed the tower and, presumably, also the sword knots, but one of the three who danced 'through their feet and about them'? In her study of the hilt-and-point sword dance, Violet Alford notes that the dancers are often accompanied by subsidiary characters, all played by men: these vary from region to region but, she comments, 'the Lady, the Old Woman and the Fool are found from one end of Europe to the other'.[58] The exceptionally long skirt would have been appropriate to a female character, one of the two men-women mentioned by Miss Alford — perhaps even transformed for this formal royal occasion into some classical figure such as Minerva?

Acknowledgements

Figure 11 is reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. The remaining illustrations are reproduced by courtesy of the following: 1, Trustees of the National Library of Scotland; 2, Perth Museum and Art Gallery; 3–9, Perth Museum and Art Gallery and the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland; 12, 13, Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement and the Courtauld Institute of Art.

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[1] *The Chronicle of Perth: a register of remarkable occurrences chiefly connected with that city 1210–1668* (Maitland Club, 1831), p. 34.

[2] The following quotation is an extract from an entry entitled 'Memorandum of his majesties Coronatioun and comming to Scotland', in *Minute book of the Glover Incorporation of Perth 1593–1726* (MS in the Scottish Record Office), fols 71–72. I have modernized the spelling and punctuation.

[3] Birks: birch trees or, more probably, twigs used as decoration: *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, hereafter *DOST*, s.v., birk, byrk.

[4] Shearing written as *scheiring*: sharp, having a cutting edge: *DOST* MS files s.v., scheirand, -ing. *Schewing* rapiers is a possible alternative reading, but *scheiring* seems more likely by analogy with the Scottish usage of the period 'shearing sword', meaning a sword with a sharp edge; the same reasoning renders unlikely the suggestion put forward by Violet Alford (*Sword dance and drama* (London 1962), p. 66) that the Glovers were wielding tools of their trade rather than actual swords.

[5] Abulzement: clothing or equipment: *DOST* s.v., abilȝement.

[6] Knots: the formations into which the swords were woven; the term Nut or Knot is still used with this meaning.

[7] Allapallajesse: this has not been traced in any of the dictionaries, but it has been suggested, by P. E. Bennett, that the word is a corruption of the French *allant le pas d'allegresse*, that is, tripping joyfully or nimbly.

[8] Perth Museum and Art Gallery accession no. 10/1944.

[9] See Alford, op. cit., pp. 65–66; 'The Perth Glovers', *Journal of English Folk Dance and Song*, III (1937), pp. 153–54.

[10] The conservation was carried out 1982–83 by Margaret Roberts, Senior Textile Conservator, Council for Museums and Galleries in Scotland (now Scottish Museums Council), and historical research by Helen Bennett. Full technical details are recorded in their reports, copies of which are deposited with the Council and Perth Museum: Margaret E. Roberts, *Perth Museum and Art Gallery: Glovers' Dance Dress. Conservation Report* (December 1983); Helen Bennett, *The Perth Glovers' Sword-Dance: an investigation of its structure and history* (June 1983).

[11] The history and distribution of the instances of this tradition are discussed in detail in Alford, op. cit.

[12] J. Needham, 'The geographical distribution of English ceremonial dance traditions', *JEFDSS*, III, no. 1 (1936), p. 18.

[13] A. Johnston, *The sword-dance of Papa Stour, Shetland* (Lerwick, 1926).

[14] It appears that the Glovers' sword-dance had been performed before royalty on at least one previous occasion, as there is a record of an order from Perth Town Council to the Skinners and Glovers 'to provide for the sword dance' in preparation for the visit of James VI and I in 1617: *New Statistical Account of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1845), x, pp. 44–45.

[15] Published as *Chronicles of the Canongate: second series* (Edinburgh 1828).

[16] *Perth Courier and Advertiser for the Central Counties of Scotland*, 25 September 1828.

[17] Sir Walter Scott, *Introductions, and notes and illustrations to the novels, tales and romances of the author of 'Waverley'* (Edinburgh 1833), II, p. 503.

[18] Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley Novels* (Abbotsford edition, Edinburgh and London 1846), XI, pp. 133–34.

[19] It is recorded in the Glovers' minutes that in 1845 permission was given to Robert Cadell of Edinburgh, publisher, to sketch the relics of the Incorporation to provide illustrations for the new edition of *The Fair Maid of Perth*: G. Wilson, *Annals of the Glover Incorporation* (Perth, 1929), p. 54.

[20] *Perth illustrated in eight views with explanatory remarks, plan of the town and several vignettes* (Montrose, Edinburgh and London 1841).

[21] G. Penny, *Traditions of Perth* (Perth, 1836), p. 322.

22 D. Peacock, *Perth: its annals and archives* (Perth 1849), pp. 603–04.
23 The watercolour is in the collection of Perth Museum and Art Gallery, accession no. PA 5/79.
24 The photograph is published in Wilson, op. cit., opposite p. 13.
25 Three additional items are shown, none of which remains with the outfit today: a scarf worn over the ruff, a wedding favour on the left breast, and a rapier held in the wearer's right hand.
26 J. Paton ed., *Scottish National Memorials* (Glasgow 1890), p. 243 and fig. 171. The only differences, as compared with the 1863 photograph, are the omission of the scarf and favour, the substitution of pale stockings, and the addition of a pair of white gauntlet gloves; neither the stockings nor gloves remain with the outfit. A rapier is mentioned in the text but not shown. The outfit was also lent to Glasgow for the 1901 exhibition, but is not illustrated in the catalogue.
27 I am grateful to June Swann, Northampton Central Museum, for her advice on the dating of the shoes.
28 Analysis of the dye samples was carried out by Helen Dalrymple of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland Research Laboratory.
29 The drawers, of white cotton stockingette and dated *c.* 1795, are illustrated in C. W. and P. Cunnington *The history of underclothes* (London 1951), fig. 46.
30 A particularly good example is the pair worn by the actor Bensley playing King Harold, on the frontispiece to Richard Cumberland's play *The Battle of Hastings* (London 1793).
31 Opinion kindly given by George Barlee of J. Hewitt and Sons Ltd (tanners), Currie.
32 Communication from D. M. Henderson, Regius Keeper, Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, to Miss Roberts, 16 February 1983.
33 Information from Helen Dalrymple, see n. 28 above.
34 I am grateful to Dale Idiens, Royal Scottish Museum, and M. D. McLeod, Museum of Mankind, for their comments.
35 See n. 31.
36 Result of analysis by X-ray fluorescence carried out in the Research Laboratory of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, November 1983.
37 See C. J. Sharp and H. C. Macilwaine, *The morris book* (2nd, revised edition, London, 1912), p. 31.
38 The fabric is a ⅓ twill with linen warp and raw cotton weft; the nap, now worn, has been raised on the outer face, i.e. that on which the cotton predominates.
39 It is recorded by Penny (op. cit., pp. 60–61) that the deacon of the Glovers, one of those acting as recruiting sergeants, was particularly conspicuous by reason of being accompanied by 'the trades' officer, in the fantastic garb of a morris dancer, with jingling bells . . .'.
40 See, for example, J. De Geest's *Alexander, 5th Lord Blantyre and family* (1698), illustrated in R. K. Marshall, *Childhood in seventeenth century Scotland* (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1976), p. 33, fig. 1.
41 Contrary to the view put forward by Sharp and Macilwaine (op. cit., pp. 14–16), more recent opinion holds that the two dance forms are distinct in origin: see Needham, op. cit., pp. 27–29, and Alford, op. cit., ch. I. Since, however, it appears that in Scotland sword-dancing and morris dancing are not always easy to separate (see G. Emmerson, *A social history of Scottish dances*, Montreal and London 1972, p. 23), it is appropriate to look for parallels in the costume in both traditions.
42 Listed in Emmerson, op. cit., pp. 20–31, and Alford, op. cit., pp. 65–67.
43 Zurich Central Library, illustrated in Alford, op. cit.
44 Gemeente Museum, The Hague.
45 Illustrated in Sharp and Macilwaine, op. cit., frontispiece.
46 Stadtmuseum, Munich. For a discussion of these and other aspects of morris dress see the chapter on 'The morris dancers' in Alfred Burton, *Rushbearing* (Manchester, 1891), pp. 95–146.
47 Described in S. M. Newton, *Renaissance theatre costume and the sense of the historic past* (London 1975), pp. 55, 169–170.
48 S. Orgel and R. Strong, *Inigo Jones: the theatre of the Stuart Court* (1973), p. 487, no. 220.
49 Ibid., p. 728, no. 419.
50 Ibid., p. 527, no. 257.
51 Newton, op. cit., pp. 108, 168–70.
52 See D. de Marly, 'The establishment of Roman dress in seventeenth-century portraiture', *The Burlington Magazine* CXVII, no. 868 (1975), pp. 443–51.
53 Alford, op. cit., p. 65.
54 H. M. Sture, *Song, dance and poetry of the Court of Scotland under James VI* (Cambridge 1969), pp. 83–84, 178.
55 In January 1623, for example, guisers in Elgin were fined for having 'past in ane sword dance . . . with maskis and wissouris on ther faces' (W. Cramond, *Extracts from Elgin Kirk Session records*, n.d., n.p.); in Perth itself there were a series of enactments against 'St Obert's Play', performed on 10 December annually by members of the Incorporation of Bakers (see Penny, op. cit., pp. 320–22).
56 D. Thomson, *Painting in Scotland 1570–1650* (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1975), pp. 59, 63.
57 R. Adam ed., *City of Edinburgh old accounts* (Edinburgh 1899), I, p. 271.
58 Alford, op. cit., pp. 212–13.