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Résumé de l'article

En tant que contribution au domaine naissant de l'anthropologie historique, cet article examine la relation entre deux aspects de l'habillement et l'ordre social qui régnait au début de l'ère moderne en Angleterre. La législation somptuaire concernant l'habillement et les décorations de celui-ci sont interprétés comme articulant et réconciliant les principes contradictoires sur lesquels fut créée la hiérarchie sociale élizabethaine. En conclusion, l'habillement ainsi que d'autres aspects matériels de la culture prennent une signification spéciale aux yeux de l'anthropologue historique. Privé de témoignages oraux, l'anthropologue historique doit attacher une nouvelle importance aux objets existants qui reflètent encore les idées, les préoccupations et les contradictions d'une culture.

Rank and Two Aspects of Dress in Elizabethan England

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As a contribution to the nascent field of historical anthropology, this paper considers the relation between two aspects of Elizabethan dress and the social order of early modern England. Both the sumptuary legislation which governed dress, and the ornamentation which adorned it are seen to articulate and reconcile the conflicting principles out of which the Elizabethan hierarchy was created. In conclusion, it is suggested that dress and other material aspects of culture assume a special significance for the historical anthropologist. Deprived of verbal testimony, the historical anthropologist must attach new importance to the extant objects in which the ideas, preoccupations and contradictions of culture still adhere.

En tant que contribution au domaine naissant de l'anthropologie historique, cet article examine la relation entre deux aspects de l'habillement et l'ordre social qui régnait au début de l'ère moderne en Angleterre. La législation somptuaire concernant l'habillement et les décorations de celui-ci sont interprétés comme articulant et réconciliant les principes contradictoires sur lesquels fut créée la hiérarchie sociale élizabethaine. En conclusion, l'habillement ainsi que d'autres aspects matériels de la culture prennent une signification spéciale aux yeux de l'anthropologue historique. Privé de témoignages oraux, l'anthropologue historique doit attacher une nouvelle importance aux objets existants qui reflètent encore les idées, les préoccupations et les contradictions d'une culture.

History and anthropology have long cultivated a mutual interest.[1] In the last ten years this interest has been sharpened by theoretical and substantive contributions which demonstrate the value of co-operation between the two fields. Macfarlane (1970), Stone (1971, 1979), Thomas (1963, 1966) and Thompson (1972, 1974, 1977) are a few of the historians to have claimed anthropology as a source of inspiration. Cohn (1980, 1981), Gaboriau (1970), Sahlins (1977, 1981) and Silverman (1979) are anthropologists who have sought to impress upon their colleagues the importance of historical study. This intellectual development has seen historians take up evidence the significance of which is illuminated by anthropological analysis; and anthropologists examine the relationship between structure and event, the diachronic construction of cultural categories, and the general place of history in anthropological analysis. As a result of this rapprochement between the disciplines there is now a body of scholarship which may be designated historical anthropology. What was once a gleam in the eye of the interdisciplinary enthusiast is now a field of substance and definition.[2]

Historical anthropology has shown a particular interest in idea, ideology, the structure of thought, and the foundation of belief (see, for instance, Stone, 1971: 17; Thompson, 1972: 45; Cohn, 1980: 217; and Sahlins, 1976: 23, 42). It is evident however that in

pursuing this interest scholars have restricted themselves to the sources of evidence already known to and used by conventional historians. Claiming, correctly, that they have new interpretive skills to employ in the study of these sources, historical anthropologists have stayed within the confines of the established historiographical domain. They have failed to exercise their ability to go beyond these sources and consider new ground. To this extent existing work fails to exhaust or even fully test the potential of co-operation between the two fields. The defense of historical anthropology must be not only that it treats old data in new ways but also that it gives significance to data not yet fully exploited.

This previously unclaimed data assumes even greater significance when one considers the difficulty of historical anthropology. Committed though it is to the study of thought and idea, it is by its very nature denied much of the evidence that aids in such a study. For the student of the distant past there is no verbal testimony to rely upon, no opportunity for the interaction and scrutiny of the interview. The conventional path to matters of ideology and belief is blocked. The historical anthropologist who refuses the special categories of evidence to which he or she has access is put at a particularly grave disadvantage.

It is clear, then, that to justify its presence in the historiographical domain, and to pursue successfully the study of the structure of thought, historical anthropology must pay special attention to certain categories of evidence. These include the topics of architecture, dress, folk and fine arts, micro-interaction, and public ceremony. Is is here in topics of material culture and secular ritual that historical anthropology has the most to offer and the most to gain.

In this paper I propose to examine the topic of dress. I shall argue that the study of dress enables one to examine aspects of a social and political world that are not otherwise obvious and to discover cultural meaning hitherto obscure. It is a category of evidence that is both beyond the present analytic sills of the conventional historian and a valuable locus of the "deeper levels of meaning" (Stone, 1977: 10) to which historical anthropology has committed itself.

This paper will treat two aspects of dress in the Elizabethan period. The first concerns the distribution of dress within the social order. Sumptuary legislation formally specified what was already established by convention: that each rank in the hierarchy should dress according to its place in the hierarchy. It has been generally assumed that the intent of both legislation and convention was to make visible the social distinctions of the period. I will seek to demonstrate that the sumptuary legislation bears a

rather more sophisticated relationship to the social order. Even while the sumptuary legislation helped to express the differentiation of social groups, it also served selectively to bind and give commonality to these groups. Not one but two organizing ideas are at work in and articulated by the sumptuary legislation. To see only the presence of differentiation is to misrepresent the nature and sophistication of the sumptuary legislation and the dress it governed.

The second aspect of dress to be treated is ornamentation. Here dress appears to take up the same semiotic purpose: to express and articulate ideas of differentiation and commonality, difference and sameness. In the ornamentation of the doublet and breeches these ideas were rehearsed and the conflict between them mediated.

Elizabethan society was differentiated by rank but unified by the commonality of citizenship and worship. The attempt to sustain this discordant system —to maintain the articulation of sameness and difference without succumbing to the centripetal power of the first or the contrifugal power of the second— was an enduring social problem. With the distribution and ornamentation of dress, Elizabethans contrived a subtle means to contend with it.

The study of dress in Elizabethan England has hitherto devoted itself to a descriptive treatment of the existing evidence.[3] The thoroughness of this scholarship puts at our disposal a relatively complete record of the particular characteristics of the dress of this period. It remains however to determine the manner in which this record may be used to illuminate larger aspects of Elizabethan society.

Social distinctions were perhaps the most important aspect of the symbolic repertoire of Elizabethan dress. Segar (1602: 211), for instance, argued that dress ought to make visible the "degree, profession, and qualitie" of every man. Puttenham agreed, noting some of the distinctions of degree, profession and quality of which dress was capable,

every estate and vocation should be known by the difference of their habit; a clark from a layman, a gentleman from a yeoman, a souldier from a citizen, and a chiefe of every degree from their inferiours, because in confusion and disorder there is no manner of decencie. (1589: 237)

It was an Elizabethan commonplace that distinctions of rank should be reflected in distinctions of dress. It was assumed that the hierarchical order of society would find visible expression in the clothing of its participants.

Nevertheless the possibility of what Peacham calls "confusion and disorder" was a real one. There was always some "taylour or barbour [who] in the excess of apparayle [would] counterfaite and be lyke a gentilman." (Elyot, 1531: 222). To contend with this

problem legislation was enacted to specify a standard of "decent" apparel, and to fix the penalty to be suffered by those who departed from it.

In the Elizabethan period sumptuary law rested chiefly on the earlier Tudor statutes of 1533 and 1554. This law was re-emphasised and supplemented by no less than eight proclamations in the course of Elizabeth's reign.[4] Besides specifying the colour, quality, quantity, price and make of dress materials, the Elizabethan proclamations encouraged the surveillance and detection of inappropriate dress. They also asserted the crown's disapproval of current fashions in ruffs and breeches, and established penalties for violation of the statute.

Penalties were indeed harsh. Thomas Bradshaw, a merchant tailor, had his clothing publicly torn and slashed. He was then forced to walk to his home in this dishevelled state where the process was renewed (Hooper, 1915: 441). It is not clear however that even this rough justice was enough to discourage the pretensions of Elizabethans. There is, that is to say, no firm evidence that legislation served as an effective restraint on Elizabethan dress. Sumptuary legislation remains, nevertheless, a valuable guide to the manner in which Elizabethans supposed dress was to conform to rank. For the purposes of the present analysis this is sufficient.

Let us consider one example of this sumptuary law, the proclamation of 1597 (summarized in Baldwin (1926: 228-229) and given in full in Collier (1840: 247-256)). Declaring as its purpose the "inordinate excesse in apparell" this proclamation detailed the several distinctions of rank and the dress appropriate to each. Only an Earl and those superior to this rank were permitted purple silk, and gold and silver tissued cloth. Only a Baron and those superior to this rank (i.e., an Earl and his superiors) were permitted gold and silver cloth, tincelled cloth, and silk or cloth mixed or embroidered with gold or silver. Only a Baron's son and those superior to him (i.e., Earl and Baron) were permitted passemain lace, or lace of gold, and/or silver, and/or silk. Only a Knight and those superior to him were permitted velvet in gowns, cloaks, or coats, or embroidery with silk or netherstocks of silk. Only a Knight's son and those superior to him were permitted velvet in Jerkins, Hose or Doublets, or Satin, Damask, Taffeta or Grosgrain in gowns, cloaks or coats.[5]

It will be observed that there is more at work here than the simple discrimination of ranks. For this purpose it would have been enough merely to assign a particular article or characteristic of dress to each rank. Instead, the sumptuary legislation established a more intricate relationship between the ranks. This relationship served n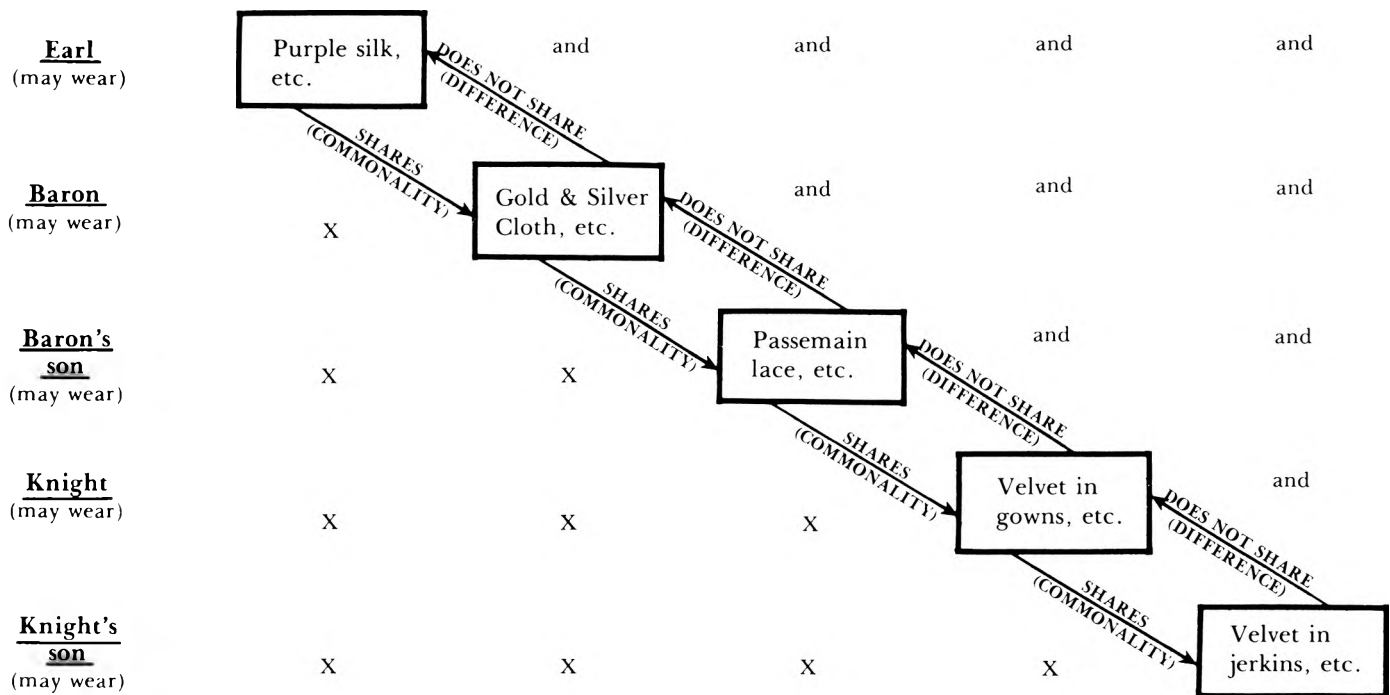ot only to distinguish ranks but also to articulate them. It did so by establishing a system of sameness and difference which worked to establish commonality of dress between some parties while creating difference of dress between others. Moreover, this system worked on sliding scale so that ranks sharing articles or characteristics of dress at one level were prohibited from sharing articles or characteristics at another.

Let us look at this system more closely. Each rank, except the highest one, was permitted certain articles or materials, or cuts in dress, and was prohibited others. The allowance permitted this rank was also permitted the rank above it, thus establishing a commonality with that rank. But one of the allowances permitted the higher rank was prohibited the lower one, thus establishing a difference between them. This logic worked on a progressive scale so that the allowance one rank shared with a higher rank was denied the rank beneath it. What established commonality at one point in the hierarchy denied it at another. Each class was thus both bound to, and differentiated from, the class above. The article of dress that bound it to the superior rank, was the same one that differentiated it from the class below; even as the article it shared with the lower class was the one that differentiated it from the class above. A chart will simplify:

	Items allowed: 1-5			Items prohibited: X	
Rank	A	1	2	3	4	5
	B	1	2	3	4	X
	C	1	2	3	X	X
	D	1	2	X	X	X
	E	1	X	X	X	X

Rank "A" enjoyed allowances "1" through "5". Rank "B" enjoyed all of these but one (5). Rank "C" enjoyed all of them but "4" and "5". And so on. Now, Rank "B" was prohibited item "5" which was enjoyed by Rank "A". Difference was thus established. Nevertheless "B" shared with "A" item "4". No other ranks but their own shared this item; commonality was thus established. This same item (4) also established difference, for what "B" shared with "A", it did not share with "C". And so on.

Another way of visualizing this system is suggested in the following chart:

Earl (may wear)	Purple silk, etc.	and	and	and	and
Baron (may wear)	X	Gold & Silver Cloth, etc.	and	and	and
Baron's son (may wear)	X	X	Passemain lace, etc.	and	and
Knight (may wear)	X	X	X	Velvet in gowns, etc.	and
Knight's son (may wear)	X	X	X	X	Velvet in jerkins, etc.

Diagonal connectors between boxes are labeled SHARES (COMMONALITY) *and* DOES NOT SHARE (DIFFERENCE).

Elizabethan society was remarkable for the number and severity of its social distinctions.[6] The numerous distinctions separating monarch from lowly labourer created an aggregation of striking heterogeneity. These distinctions were deeply etched by discrepancies of wealth, occupation and status. Indeed the claim of Elizabethans to a common status as citizens or subjects was sometimes no doubt obscured by the overwhelming presence of diversity. In short, social differences were marked enough to overwhelm a putative national, even special, sameness.

It is in this context that the peculiar logic of sumptuary law may be considered. This law created a device capable of asserting commonality between adjacent ranks even as it preserved hierarchical difference. It enabled all but the lowest individuals to enjoy a distinction accessible to its superiors. To this extent it created a bond of mutuality that would otherwise not have existed. Conversely it allowed each rank to distinguish itself from subordinate ranks and so acknowledged the essentially hierarchical nature of Elizabethan society. In the face of striking social diversity sumptuary law created a system which established commonality without effacing difference.

It is worth noting that the logic of the sumptuary system is not without parallels in the Elizabethan world. The "great chain of being", that vast conceptual order which organized all aspects of the universe into a single comprehensive whole, exhibits its own systematic character.[7] The universe of the medieval and early modern world was thought to be organized according to the distribution of three kinds of "soul". Plants were held to possess the vegetative soul, animals both vegetative and sensitive souls, and man, vegetative, sensitive and rational souls. Here too the levels of a hierarchy were united by shared properties and distinguished by different ones. Man, like the highest social rank of the social order, enjoyed all of the distinctions available to subordinate beings. Animals, like an intermediate social group, shared some but not all these distinctions. They were common in some respects but dissimilar in others. Both sameness and difference were thus established. Plants, like a still more subordinate social group, enjoyed a distinction exhibited by superordinate creatures but was excluded from others. Commonality and difference were imposed here as well.[8]

What is noteworthy is that both the social world and the physical universe of the Elizabethan period eschew the simple device of distinguishing hierarchical classes for a more complicated, encompassing one. Neither one assigned to each rank an exclusive characteristic difference, the simplest means of marking distinction. Instead both employ a logic that introduces a distinction between higher and lower ranks only after a commonality has been established between the superordinate party and a still higher one.

This similarity is of course only a very general

one. Still it is grounds enough to wonder whether there was a logic according to which both social world and physical universe in the Elizabethan period were construed.

The second aspect of Elizabethan dress that bears on the political organization of the period is the ornamental design of doublet and breeches.

Doublets clothed the trunk of the body from shoulders to the waist. The doublet of earlier Tudors, Henry VIII and his son Edward were straight bodied, full and long skirted. In the reign of Elizabeth the doublet took on a different appearance, narrowing sharply from the shoulder to padded point at the stomach. This "peas-cod" doublet, all but eliminated the skirt. (Planché, 1876, Vol. I : 171-174; Macquoid, 1916: 103-104). Like the ruff, the doublet grew in proportion as the reign wore on until it became excessively large and pointed in the period 1575-1590. Breeches reached from the waist to mid-thigh or the knee. At the beginning of the reign "trunk", "round", "bombasted", or "French" breeches were fashionable. These reached to mid-thigh and were stuffed with hair, wheat or bombast, sometimes assuming pumpkin-like proportions. (Linthicom, 1936: 205; Fairholt, 1885, Vol I : 262-264; Vol. II : 55; Norris, 1938: 403, figure 496). "Venetians" were another variety of breech which reached to just beneath the knee. These were close fitting 1569-70, bombasted 1570-1595, and pleated or bellows shaped till 1620. (Linthicom, 1936: 211-212; Norris, 1938: 528, fig. 616), Galligascons (or "gaskins", "galligaskins" or "gally slops") ran to just above the knee. They were a relatively new style in the Elizabethan period. They could be bombasted or not (Linthicum, 1936: 208-209; Norris, 1938: 529, fig. 618).

The ornamentation of these two articles of dress consisted in the creation of long bands which ran horizontally around the doublet, and vertically over the breeches.[9] An inch or more in width these bands ran parallel to one another over the entire surface of doublet and breech. Typically they were created through the use of embroidered metallic thread which stood raised from the fabric. The pattern of this thread was sometimes that of tiny bands running in close proximity. A geometrical pattern and a lace pattern were also used. In a few instances these borders were created merely through the systematic pinking or slashing of the material. Breeches were created with vertical panes which stood slightly apart from one another. This gave a natural boundary to each vertical band. This division was sometimes emphasised by embroidery. Typically the space between these borders was filled with a design. This design could be created with embroidered material, or

with slashing and/or pinking. Normally one design for the borders and bands was used for the doublet and another for the breeches.

It is suggested in the anthropological literature that design of this sort is worthy of formal study.

Franz Boas was an early and general contributor to this question. In *Primitive Art* (1927) he suggested that there was a systematic and significant pattern to ornamentation of this sort. In Boas' view this pattern reflected an encoding of the distribution of phenomena in nature.

More recently John Fischer (1961) has considered the relationship of design features not to nature but to social organization. He has proposed for instance that the art of equalitarian and hierarchical societies should differ systematically. In equalitarian societies one should expect to find a large amount of irrelevant space, symmetrical design, and figures without enclosure, while in hierarchical societies fully used space, asymmetrical design and enclosed figures will be the rule. This difference is, in his view, a reflection of the difference in the nature of security and harmony in these two types of society. He concludes that a work of art may be regarded as a kind of map of the society in which it is created, informing us of the structure and preoccupations of this society. It is my intent to treat the "art" of Elizabethan dress as just such a map, one illustrative of particular Elizabethan conceptions of social organization.

James Fernandez (1966) takes this argument a step further. In his study of Fang aesthetics he argues that the ancestral figures carved by the Fang are more than a reflection of the order of their society. He suggests that ancestral figures and the social order are both expressions of the same aesthetic principle. This is a more far reaching claim than the Elizabethan evidence on dress will allow. I will argue merely that dress ornament does no more than reflect the issues of another domain.

Fernandez's study bears on the present one in another respect as well. He suggests that the Fang system of aesthetics resembles Fang social structure, adult male maturity, and dance, in so far as it exhibits a pattern of balanced opposition. Far from seeking to reconcile these contradictory elements, Fang aesthetics preserves their opposition. I will argue that Elizabethans also preserved the opposition between variant conceptions of their political universe and that they did so in the medium of dress. Elizabethans, like the Fang, treated the conflict of opposed elements as a natural and necessary condition of existence.

The anthropological literature reviewed here treats the relationship between art and society without taking up the question of dress in particular. One study to do so is the work of Schwarz (1979). In his

examination of Guambiano clothing Schwarz detects a pattern similar to the one which characterizes the structure of their social relationships. He treats this similarity as evidence of a "transformation of the principles of Guambiano social logic to the level of clothing." (1979: 39).

The chief aspect of Guambiano organization exhibited in dress is the principle of equality. Similarity of dress serves to mask individual differences of wealth and power. In this and other respects Guambiano dress serves to emphasize certain social principles while concealing or maintaining an ambiguity about others. In the Elizabethan case, in rough conformity to the Fang example, dress does not conceal contrary principles but serves instead to give them simultaneous expression.

Elizabethan doublet and breeches exhibit characteristics amenable to the sort of analysis employed by Fischer, Fernandez, and Schwarz. Their ornamentation creates a pattern in which ideas of hierarchy and equality, sameness and difference are bodied forth. They exhibit the dual conceptions of Elizabethan society and the two principles which underlay these conceptions.

Looked at abstractly, both doublet and breeches create a sort of grid. In the case of the doublet, horizontal bands create the lateral aspect of this grid while the design elements within the bands, positioned as they are above and below one another in continuous series, create the other, vertical aspect. Conversely, breeches with their vertical bands establish the upright aspect of the grid while their design elements create the lateral, horizontal one.

Clearly this grid is given different emphasis in each of the two cases. Doublets emphasize, or foreground, the horizontal, while de-emphasizing, or backgrounding, the vertical. Breeches foreground the vertical while backgrounding the horizontal.

In graphic terms the ornamentation of doublets and breeches may be represented as follows:

Doublet:
```
              _____
              X  X  X  X  X
              _____
              X  X  X  X  X
              _____
              X  X  X  X  X
              _____
              X  X  X  X  X
              _____
              X  X  X  X  X
              _____
```

Breeches:
```
        X | X | X | X | X
        X | X | X | X | X
        X | X | X | X | X
        X | X | X | X | X
        X | X | X | X | X
```

These alternate patterns of emphasis create two different versions of the relationship between sameness and difference. The horizontal bands of the doublet join all the design elements running in a lateral direction, thus obscuring the vertical relationship between them. The vertical bands of breeches join all the elements running in the longitudinal direction, so obscuring their horizontal relationship.

This too can be given graphic representation:

Doublet: sameness d
                                      i
                                      f
                                      f
                                      e
                                      r
                                      e
                                      n
                                      c
                                      e

Breeches: difference s
                                       a
                                       m
                                       e
                                       n
                                       e
                                       s
                                       s

In short doublets give a picture of identity running in horizontal rows and difference running in vertical ones. Breeches give a picture of identity running in vertical rows and difference running in horizontal ones.

This characteristic of ornamentation of doublets and breeches may now be considered in a larger cultural context. Elizabethan society was a hierarchical one. This system of hierarchy created an elaborate system of sameness and difference. The several ranks of the hierarchy represented a series of well defined and much emphasized set of differences. Within each of these ranks, however, there was supposed to exist a rough equality. While it is certainly true that individuals within a rank were quick to assert their superiority to the fellow members of their rank, looked at in broad perspective common

membership in a rank assumed an essential equality, especially when this rank was compared to other ranks. This supposition of equality was joined to another such supposition: the essentiel equality of individuals as citizens, as members of the same status in the great chain of being, and as believers in God.[10] In short, the Elizabethan concept of hierarchical difference presupposed the existence of a kind of equality, while the concept of equality or social sameness presupposed the existence of a kind of difference. This mutual presupposition can be said to have created a kind of tension between the two principles. It is this tension that the ornamentation of Elizabethan dress may be seen to embody.

Doublets with their emphasis on the horizontal identity and their emphasis on vertical difference create an interesting abstract, geometrical representation of the Elizabethan hierarchy. They establish a pattern that portrays the sameness or equality of individuals within a single hierarchical rank. This pattern also serves to represent the vertical difference between ranks. Doublets give us the concept of hierarchy writ small, woven into the dress of the members of the hierarchy.

Breeches present a different pattern and social comment. With their emphasis on vertical identity and horizontal difference they create a geometrical representation of the identity of all individuals, regardless of their place in the hierarchical order. They also create a representation of difference within each rank. This pattern stresses the essential equality of all men, in the process muting the sharp differences created by membership in the several hierarchical ranks. It also reveals the diversity of men within each class —a diversity bred of differences of ability and opportunity. To this extent the pattern acknowledges the fact of heterogeneity but succeeds in shifting it from the collective social realm to an individual one. The pattern established by the ornament of breeches represents the contention that before all is said and done, men are essentially equal in status. The important differences between them are not those of society but fortune.

It is possible to suggest then that the ornamentation of dress took up the tension between difference and sameness which ran throughout the conceptual scheme and daily lives of 16th century Englishmen. Dress made this tension visible and concrete; it gave tangible expression to what was otherwise formal, abstract and indistinct. It would be quite wrong to suggest that this representation resolved the conflict between sameness and difference. The two were after all mutually presupposing. From the Elizabethan point of view it was enough to give them simultaneous expression. The choice of dress to represent them may

appear surprising. But then it was not only in verbal modes of communication that Elizabethans enjoyed a remarkable skill.

Taken together, the logic of the sumptuary law and that of the ornamentation of doublet and breeches, display the use of dress as a medium for the consideration of important political and ideological issues. They have been treated together here because both reflect the problems created by the hierarchical organization of the Elizabethan world. The logic of the sumptuary law proposed a way to bind ranks even as it specified the manner in which they were to be differentiated. A kind of commonality was woven into a system devoted to the creation of discrepancy. In the case of the ornamentation the matter of hierarchy was addressed in another way. Here the equality within ranks and the difference between ranks was balanced against the essential equality of all individuals regardless of rank and the accidental differences between them. The system of sameness and difference created by a hierarchical society was set against a system that reapportioned sameness and difference, thus qualifying the severity of social distinction.

Dress was clearly not the only medium in which to address these social, political issues. There are however some aspects of social, political discourse which are more effectively treated in non-verbal terms.

The people (saith Seneca) give more credite to their eies, than to their eares: that is to say, they beleeve that which they see, sooner than that which they heare. (La Primaudaye, 1586: 590)

What the people preferred by choice the historical anthropologist must "prefer" by necessity. Deprived of verbal testimony as a guide to the ideas, preoccupations, and contradictions of a past culture, the historical anthropologist must advance to a new place of importance the extant concrete objects in which ideas, preoccupations and contradictions still adhere. For the historical anthropologist dress and other aspects of "material" culture must assume a special significance.

This paper has sought to demonstrate that dress in the Elizabethan period clothed the body politic in the logic according to which it was organized. The principles of sameness and difference were given simultaneous and mutual expression that turned contradiction into complementarity. Dress was a mneumonic of these principles for a period prone to political amnesia, error and confusion. It exists now as a mneumonic to which historical anthropology can turn in its efforts to recover these principles and the conceptual order of the Elizabethan world.

NOTES

1. The research on which this paper is based was conducted while the author was a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. Thanks are also due to the Canada Council for its support, to Marshall Sahlins, my thesis advisor, for his advice, and to the staff on the Rare Books Room of the Cambridge University Library for their assistance. The paper is better for the advice of K.O.L. Burridge, and an anonymous reviewer of this journal.

2. Historical Anthropology differs from ethnohistory in so far as the latter is devoted to the history of "non-industrial peoples" outside the "western tradition". This focus, formalized and made "official" at the 1960 Indiana meeting of ethnohistory (see, for instance, Washburn, 1961), is beginning perhaps to give way to a broader definition (see, for instance, Axtell, 1979). Historical Anthropology, as it is practised by most of the anthropologists and historians cited here gives special attention to the history of the west, especially its early modern and industrial periods. It is too early yet to determine whether this substantive difference will result in a theoretical one. It is certainly true that to the extent that historical anthropology deals with a much fuller and more detailed historical record, already considered in depth by conventional historians, the historiographic problems before it differ from those faced by the ethnohistorian for whom the historical record is often slim and previous historical scholarship limited.

3. The following authors have contributed to the literature on Elizabethan dress: Cunnington (1954, 1974), Fairholt (1885), La Mar (1958), Linthicum (1936), Macquoid (1916), Norris (1938) and Planché (1876). Primary evidence of dress, in the form of Elizabethan portraiture, can be found in Duleep Singh (1928), Mercer (1962), Reynolds (1951) and Strong (1969a, 1969b).

4. For the details of the Elizabethan use of the 1533 and 1554 statutes, see Baldwin (1926: 218-219) which gives a summary of the first proclamation of the period. For a summary of the final Elizabethan proclamation, see Baldwin (1926: 228-229). This latter proclamation is reproduced in full in Collier (1840: 247-256).

5. For ease of exposition I have omitted some of the details of this proclamation. I have excluded reference to parties defined by public office, membership in Knights of the Garter, or wealth.

6. Discussions of the social distinctions of Elizabethan England may be found in Stone (1967), Cressy (1976), and for a later, but not dissimilar period, Zagorin (1969).

7. A succinct statement of this conceptual order may be found in Tillyard (n.d.).

8. It is clear that the insistence of some Elizabethans in dressing above their station must have destroyed the intent of this system. The presence of those who appropriated the distinction normally reserved for their superordinates would have effaced a difference the system was designed to create, and claim a commonality it did not intend. It is worth asking in this regard whether the vital presence of innovation in Elizabethan dress was not intended merely to provide novelty but also to preserve the fact of difference. It is the suggestion of both Bigg (1973: 38)

and Simmel (1957: 545-546) that this latter is often the burden of fashion innovation in hierarchical societies.

9. Good examples of the type of ornament on doublet and breeches considered here can be found in Elizabethan portraiture. These include:

— a portrait held by the Earl of Derby: (Sir Francis Drake by Nicholas Hilliard), no. 125 in Strong, 1969b.

— National Portrait Gallery portrait no. 2162: (Sir Christopher Hatton by an unknown artist), no. 265 in Strong, 1969b.

— a portrait held by the Ditchley Foundation: (Sir Henry Lee by Marcus Gheevaerts the Younger), no. 376 in Strong, 1969b.

— National Portrait Gallery portrait no. 247: (The Earl of Leiscester by an unknown artist), no. 385 in Strong, 1969b.

— a portrait held by the Earl of Warwick: (Sir Philip Sidney by an unknow artist), no. 567 in Strong, 1969b.

10. The notion of equality took several different forms. The Church argued that men were all equal before God but it was not content with the more thoroughgoing equalitarian sentiment it so inspired (White, 1944: 126). Folklore and even works as well known as those of More also created what Major calls "a small but disturbing body of democratic opinion." (1964: 18). Zeeveld is another modern scholar to observe the existence of "democratic modes of thought not far below the surface of a nominally authoritarian regime." (1946: 191). The equalitarian sentiment was also endorsed by the "theory of the Norman Yoke" according to which the inhabitants of Anglo-Saxon England enjoyed freedom and equality prior to the Norman imposition of status difference (Hill, 1958: 57). Hobday (1979) reviews some of the contemporary evidence for the equalitarian argument.

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ERRATUM

In Vol. II, No. 1, p. 28 of R.M. Vanderburgh's article, "When Legends Fall Silent Our Ways Are Lost: Some Dimensions of the Study of Aging Among Native Canadians", the second bibliographic entry was omitted. It should appear as:

SWINTON, George
1979   Foreword to Jackson Beardy — Life and Art, by Kenneth James Hughes, Canadian Dimension 14 (2).