

THE
SILVER SOCIETY

Journal

11



AUTUMN 1999

THE
SILVER SOCIETY
Journal

No. 11
AUTUMN 1999

126	Our contributors	211	GORDON McFARLAN Robert Gray & Son: goldsmiths of Glasgow
127	From the editors		
127	A note on dating and marks	223	STEPHEN PUDNEY Connell's of Cheapside: 'Pioneers of modern artistic silverware'
129	DAVID EVANS Changes to the Hallmarking Act 1973		
133	JAMES LOMAX Royalty and silver: the role of the Jewel House in the eighteenth century	230	BRIAN BEET and ROBERT B. BARKER A 'Sterling' mark employed by Joseph Richardson Sr
140	EILEEN GOODWAY David Willaume and his apprentices, part II: further research	233	FERNANDO GUTIÉRREZ BAÑOS The chalice of Bishop Bustamante
143	THOMAS SINSTEDEN Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company	236	NICHOLAS MAYHEW Currency and plate: some thoughts based on Oxford coinage and the Civil War
158	IDA DELAMER and CONOR O'BRIEN Dublin hallmarks: a reappraisal of date letters used 1638-1756	240	DAVID PEARSON Bookbinders and goldsmiths: their tools and trade in Oxford
168	DAVID MITCHELL Marks, Manwarings and Moore: the use of the 'AM in monogram' mark 1650-1700	245	MARIA HAYWARD The storage and transport of Oxford silver
178	THEO DEELDER Andrew Moore of Bridewell: almost forgotten and disguised?	252	RALPH HOYLE Candlesticks for Sir William Heathcote
185	PETER HAWKER Lincolnshire makers of church plate	253	Books and exhibition catalogues
189	GUY TURNER Lord Pembroke's inventory of 1561	254	From members' collections CHRISTOPHER WARNER Tumbler cups at Lotherton Hall
193	LESLIE SOUTHWICK 'D.D'. A silver hilt-maker identified (?)	256	On the market recently LUCY MORTON The Gough tea caddies
196	KENNETH QUICKENDEN 'Lyon-faced' candlesticks and candelabra	258	Sales by auction
		261	Index

THE SILVER SOCIETY
JOURNAL is published by
The Silver Society,
a registered charity,
no 279352.
ISSN 0960-8745.

Correspondence
regarding the Journal
should be addressed to:
Vanessa Brett
The Silver Society Journal
PO Box no 1961
Bradford-on-Avon
Wiltshire BA15 2YD, UK.

All other correspondence
should be addressed to:
Keith Grant-Peterkin
Secretary
The Silver Society
22 Orlando Road
London SW4 0LF

Printed in England by
Antony Rowe Ltd

© The Silver Society

Our contributors

Fernando Gutiérrez Baños is associate professor in the History of Art department of Valladolid University. His research relates chiefly to the medieval period but he is preparing further research on the silver at Palencia and is the author of *Las empresas artísticas de Sancho IV el Bravo* (1997).

Robert B. Barker has been interested in colonial silversmiths and their work for over two decades. He has contributed to biographical dictionaries of colonial and London silversmiths and is currently working on his PhD in the Joint Royal College of Art/Victoria & Albert Museum History of Design department.

Brian Beet was chairman of the Society 1997–98. He is a dealer concentrating on the byways of silver rather than its major routes, but can easily be distracted by any promising line of research.

Theo Deelder retired from the Royal Netherlands Navy in 1991 and made hobbies into work by founding the 'Eloy Foundation', an independent charity aimed at collecting and research, making expertise and objects available to interested parties. He lectures regularly. A major project is an attempt to document all Hague silver for the Gemeentemuseum.

Ida Delamer was chairman of the Society in 1982–83. She is a warden of the Goldsmiths' Company of Dublin, where she lives. Publications include *Hallmarks on Dublin Silver 1730–72*, co-authored with Kurt Tischer and W. O'Sullivan (1968) and *The Dublin Civic Swords*, co-authored with Claude Blair (1988).

David Evans is Deputy Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company. Secretariat of Association of European Assay Offices and convenor of CEN/TC 283 WG2 (European Standards Working group preparing a draft European Standard on the 'marking of precious metal articles').

Eileen Goodway worked for many years in the silver department of Sotheby's. She is now a freelance researcher, consultant and valuer specialising in silver.

Peter Hawker was chairman of the Society in 1975. He was a canon of Lincoln Cathedral before converting to Roman Catholicism, and curator of the Lincoln Cathedral treasury for twenty-six years. He is now retired but is chaplain to the Lincoln convent.

Maria Hayward trained and worked as a textile conservator at the Textile Conservation Centre, Hampton Court Palace. Between 1993 and 1997 she studied for a PhD on the possessions of Henry VIII and then returned to the TCC, now part of the University of Southampton, as a member of the teaching staff.

Ralph Hoyle is currently president of the Wine Label Circle, which he joined as a schoolboy in 1966. He started a textile manufacturing operation in 1977 which is still extant – somewhat to his surprise!

James Lomax is chairman of the Society (1998–99). He is Keeper of Temple Newsam House, Leeds and published the catalogue of the silver collections there in 1992 (*British Silver at Temple Newsam and Lotherton Hall*).

Gordon McFarlan grew up in Callander, Perthshire and studied at the universities of Glasgow and Manchester. He worked in Liverpool Museum before moving to Edinburgh City Museums in 1989 where he was responsible for the silver collection. He joined Christie's decorative arts programme at Glasgow University in 1994.

Nicholas Mayhew has worked at the Ashmolean Museum since 1971 and is currently Senior Assistant Keeper in the Heberden Coin room. He is a fellow of St Cross College, Oxford. His special interests include the history of the English mint, money supply and the English economy 1000–1700.

David Mitchell has studied the goldsmiths' trade in London during the second half of the seventeenth century in connection with the 'skilled workforce project' at the Centre for Metropolitan History, University of London. This work has resulted in *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skill, 1550–1750*.

Lucy Morton is an associate director of Partridge Fine Arts and runs their silver department.

Conor O'Brien lives in Ireland. Retirement in 1998 from a career in the pharmaceutical industry provides him with greater time to indulge his passion of some three decades for researching all aspects of old Irish silver. He has published on the subject in *Collectors' Guide*, *Wine Label Circle Journal* and *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*.

David Pearson is librarian of the Wellcome Trust. He was previously head of collection development in the National Art Library at the V&A and in 1995 he worked on a project in its research department which resulted in the paper published here. He is secretary to the Bibliographical Society.

Stephen Pudney is Professor of Economics at the University of Leicester. He is engaged in research into the business history of commercial silversmiths at the turn of the century.

Kenneth Quickenden is head of the School of Theoretical and Historical Studies in Art & Design at University of Central England. He has been researching the Matthew Boulton archives since the 1970s.

Thomas Sinsteden graduated from Trinity College Dublin medical school in 1976. He began to collect Irish silver in the early 1980s whilst with the University of Texas, which led to an interest in Irish history seen through the arts and associated trades, especially the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin.

Leslie Southwick is a freelance consultant and author on arms and armour and has published numerous articles on the subject.

Guy Turner recently graduated from the RCA/V&A course and is currently working as a curatorial assistant in the Metalwork Department of the V&A. He researched the inventory of the Earl of Pembroke for his final dissertation and intends to continue his work on the subject.

from the editors ...

Priority is given to the publishing of talks given at our meetings and the research of members. However, some articles have been sent to us unsolicited from non-members and we are delighted to publish them – proof that the reputation of the Society, and of the Journal, is spreading.

The concept of a day or weekend symposium is proving attractive as a means of airing current research and bringing silver to the attention of a wider public. At a day devoted to 'Royalty and Silver' at Leeds in May all the speakers were members of the Society. Whilst the majority were 'work in progress' papers, we are delighted to publish James Lomax's talk, which he had developed from an earlier paper at the Williamstown seminar in 1997. (As chairman this year he has organised an outstanding programme of events, for which we are most grateful.) We hope the Society will be able to publish similar symposium papers in the future.

On a similar theme, this issue contains three papers which were given as part of a day conference on 'Oxford College Silver' in November 1995, held at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The day was organised as part of the Oxford College Silver Project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, based at the Ashmolean Museum. Several articles have been published in *Apollo*, the *Burlington Magazine* and *Studies in the Decorative Arts* and it is hoped a book will be published. For further information contact Helen Clifford at the V&A.

Other authors who have worked in tandem, so to speak, are David Mitchell and Theo Deelder, urged on by David Beasley who (with his colleagues at Goldsmiths' Hall) has, as ever, been enormously helpful. It is also interesting to see two entirely independent articles appearing simultaneously on Irish silver, Thomas Sinsteden's being based on a talk to the Society.

David Evans has very kindly and with much patience (for we gave him a tricky brief), accepted the challenge of explaining the new hallmarking regulations. We hope that he has succeeded in answering the many questions that seem to arise from these important changes.

Cries for help, issuing from the editorial address, seldom fall on unresponsive ears and our thanks go, once again, to that group of friends who (apparently willingly) assist with queries. One example is Gale Glynn, who has never failed to respond to heraldic and genealogical problems.

We hope readers find useful the ancillary details we try to include, such as family trees, maps or tables of apprentices. If you would find similar information helpful which is currently lacking in the Journal, please let us know.

Vanessa Brett
John Culme

A note on dating and marks

Although according to the present calendar the next millennium does not begin until 1 January 2001 (there was no year 0), some might regard this Journal as something of a turning point, being the last to bear a date beginning 1 – on its cover.¹ An opportune time, perhaps, to advise you of a change in the way we refer to the year in which silver was marked, and give a reminder of the pitfalls of dating that the researcher (and Journal reader) needs to be watchful for.

Useful tidbits of practical information are often hidden in footnotes. It is hoped, when a compendium index is compiled, and in future indexes, to highlight these in easily-found entries.

Date mark on silver

After some discussion, and following a style increasingly adopted by authors, we have decided to alter the way we refer to the date mark. In this issue (we hope – please forgive inadvertent inconsistencies)

and in the future, these will be given, for example, as 1764/65 whereas hitherto they have been written as 1764. This, of course, applies only up to 1974. Until then the year letter was changed in London on St Dunstan's Day, 19 May (although this was not always adhered to, see p177); in Edinburgh it usually changed in September (so the date letter, eg, for 1760 ran from September 1760 to September 1761); and in Dublin, theoretically, in November (but see the articles on pages 143 and 158); other assay offices followed their own conventions. Since 1975 the change-over for all UK assay offices has occurred on 1 January and the year will continue to be shown in the Journal as, for example, 1980.

Continental practices, which differ widely, will reflect author preferences.

Julian and Gregorian calendars

Although Pope Gregory initiated the changes to the calendar in 1582, it was

not adopted in England until September 1752, when eleven days were lost. Scotland changed in 1600. During the period of the Julian calendar the New Year began on 25 March. In order to make some sense of dates in archive material, we refer to dates pre-1752 as 1563/4 (1 January–24 March) and 1564 (25 March–31 December). Publications and authors simplifying the system would describe all twelve months as 1564. With the Gregorian Calendar, New Year was changed to 1 January.

Regnal dates

Some archive material (for example from Oxford colleges), uses dates based on the reign of the then monarch, ie regnal rather than calendar years; these are shown as 1729/30, for example in Maria Hayward's article in this Journal (see her note 49, page 250).² Acts of Parliament also use this form (for example 1798 = 38 Geo III).

1. David Ewing Duncan in *The Calendar, the 5000-year struggle to align the clock and the heavens – and what happened to the missing ten days*, London 1999, begins by saying 'The year 2000 will be 1997 according to Christ's actual birth circa 4 BC; 2753 according to the old Roman calendar....'.

2. See also *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, eg 4th edn 1967 reprinted 1973, p993.

Millennium mark

There is a special mark for the millennium which has been introduced early in order to meet the demands of the retail trade; it will be in use for two years [p129]. Depending on which assay office marks a piece, it may therefore show this year's date letter (Z=1999) and the 2000 mark; alternatively something made this year and not given the year mark (it is now optional) but with the millennium mark, will pose a delightful conundrum for silver specialists of the future. We have yet to work out how such pieces will be referred to in this Journal!

All this depends, of course, on the editor being sufficiently alert to get it right. A tendency to vagueness (synonymous with forgetfulness or being an unobservant copy editor) is all too often apparent – so you are asked to be mindful and forgiving of human frailty – next year might see an improvement!

VB

Addendum

A new cycle of year letters begins on 1 January 2000:

a b c

Recent bullion prices

8 January 1999:

925 standard silver: £2.69 per oz;

22 carat gold: £153.52 per oz

9 July 1999:

925 standard silver: £2.82 per oz;

22 carat gold: £143.33 per oz

Changes to the Hallmarking Act 1973

David Evans

The Hallmarking Act 1973 was amended with effect from 1 January 1999. This article concentrates on the new regulations as they affect marking on silver; gold and platinum marks are also covered by the Act. The changes go some way towards a uniform system for marking precious metals within the EEA, however there are unresolved areas which are still under discussion.

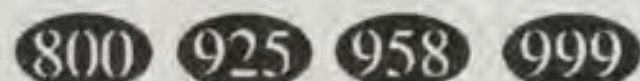
The principal changes are:

1. To recognise hallmarks from certain other hall-marking states in the European Economic Area [EEA]
2. To increase the number of finenesses
3. To indicate fineness by a millesimal number
4. To remove the distinction between UK articles and imported articles¹
5. To make the year date letter voluntary
6. To make the traditional fineness symbols voluntary
7. To permit the description 'silver' on articles of 800 quality silver manufactured before 1920.

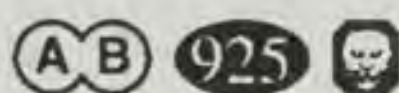
The principle of hallmarking, and the independent guarantee of fineness which it provides, has not changed.

New millesimal marks

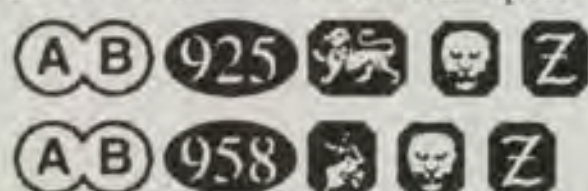
The new compulsory hallmark, one of the following:



indicates that the article has been assayed and marked at a UK assay office, irrespective of whether the article was produced in the UK or abroad. The combination of marks which is now compulsory is, for example:



As a matter of policy, the assay offices are continuing to strike, in addition to the compulsory marks, the traditional fineness symbol and the year date letter, at no extra cost, unless requested not to do so. The effect is to make the '925' or '958' an addition to the pre-1999 hallmark. For example:



Because the traditional marks are now voluntary, and they indicate a *minimum* fineness, the lion passant

can now be struck on '958' and '999'. This will only be done on request, and at an extra charge. It means that, in theory, it would now be possible to have the following combinations:



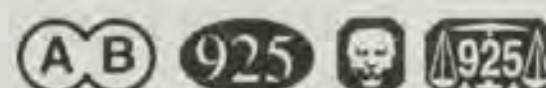
Millennium mark

It is in some respects an unfortunate coincidence that the changes to the compulsory mark coincided with the introduction of the millennium mark, which can be applied voluntarily during 1999 and 2000. Some silver producers have opted to have the millennium mark instead of the year date letter. Alternatively, the year letter 'Z' for 1999 or 'a' for 2000 can be combined with the millennium mark:



The Vienna International Convention on Hallmarking

More popularly known, within the silversmithing trade, as the 'Convention', this is a treaty between governments and not an agreement between assay offices. Each country which is party to the Convention is only obliged to accept finenesses which are legal within its borders. For the UK this was 925, but will now also be 800 and 999. The convention hallmark includes a Common Control Mark [CCM].²



Editor's note

In attempting to understand the new regulations and relate them to the possible interests of readers, I asked the author numerous questions. His responses proved difficult to incorporate into his article and so some of them are given at the end of his article and referred to by footnote numbers in the main text.

	Vienna Convention	EEA compulsory marking	EEA voluntary marking	EEA no marking	EU member	EFTA member	Silver finenesses marked
Austria	*	*			*		800, 835, 900, 925
Belgium			*		*		835, 925
Czech Rep	*						800,835,900,925,958
Denmark	*		*		*		800, 830, 925
Finland	*	*			*		830, 925
France		*			*		800, 925
Germany				*	*		800, 835, 925
Greece				*	*		800,835,900,925,935
Iceland						*	
Ireland	*	*			*		925, 958
Italy				*	*		800, 835, 925
Liechtenstein						*	
Luxembourg				*	*		835, 925
Netherlands	*	*			*		800, 835, 925
Norway	*		*			*	830, 925
Portugal	*	*			*		800, 835, 925
Spain		*			*		800, 830, 925
Sweden	*		*		*		830, 925
Switzerland	*					*	800,835,900,925,950
UK	*	*			*		800, 925, 958, 999

For further information see:
 Timothy Bainbridge, *Penguin Companion to European Union*, 1998; Whittaker's *Almanack*; Vacher's *European Companion*.

Signatories to the various treaties within Europe mentioned in this article.

The Treaty of Rome came into effect on 1 January 1958; six countries formed the European Economic Community (EEC). The UK joined in 1973. After the Maastricht Treaty 1993, the European Union (EU) was established. There are now fifteen members.

EFTA (European Free Trade Association) was established in 1960, originally with seven members. There are now four.

The Vienna International Convention (the 'Convention') was made in 1972 in order to facilitate the free movement of hallmarked articles. At the time the UK was a member of EFTA.

The European Economic Area (EEA) is a free trade area of eighteen countries, which came into effect on 1 January 1994.

Over half the articles hallmarked in the UK last year were 'convention' marked with the CCM. The convention mark does not include a date letter, but now that the date letter is voluntary, it can be added.³

Convention marks, which can freely circulate in the UK, can be struck in: Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom.

The European Economic Area (EEA) and the European Court of Justice

The creation of 'the single market' (EEA) in 1994 was intended finally to achieve one of the aspects of the Treaty of Rome, namely whatever is a legal product in one country should be freely accepted as being legal throughout the EEA. There are eight EEA countries which have compulsory hallmarking; four countries have voluntary hallmarking; four countries have no hallmarking. [see table]

One way of achieving the aim of a 'single market' would be an agreement covering technical matters including finenesses. A directive relating to precious metal articles (setting out changes which have since been incorporated into the 1973 Act) was proposed in 1992 but there has been no consensus between the member states to date.

In 1995, as a result of a case involving manufacturer's marked articles being offered for sale in an EEA member state with compulsory hallmarking, the European Court of Justice issued a judgement known as the Houtwipper Judgement. Hallmarked articles should freely circulate in the EEA, subject to the hallmarks being equivalent to those in the receiving state [equivalence] and intelligible to consumers in that state. The question of equivalence and intelligibility was left for national courts to decide.⁴

Equivalence

The EEA members which have hallmarking systems did not work to the same standards for precious

SPONSOR'S OR MAKER'S MARK	COMMON CONTROL MARK			FINENESS (PURITY) MARK*			ASSAY OFFICE MARK								
	Gold	Silver	Platinum	Gold	Silver	Platinum				Austria	Czech Republic	Denmark			
				375	800	950									
				585	925										
				750							Finland	Ireland	Netherlands	Norway	
												Portugal	Sweden	Switzerland	
											London	Birmingham	Sheffield	Edinburgh	
											</				

metals. One aspect of equivalence is that the fineness indicated should be a minimum (ie no negative tolerance).⁵ This is a requirement of the Act and also the Convention. Countries which are party to both the EEA and the Convention can operate to no negative tolerance. This leaves the non-Convention compulsory hallmarking countries: Spain and France. Spain has no negative tolerance; France permits a negative tolerance but is proposing to change its law.⁶

Intelligibility

The Act has been changed in order to take the Houtwipper Judgement into account, as far as it can. Making the fineness marks millesimal is aimed at overcoming the intelligibility issue.

The Houtwipper Judgement states that manufacturers marking was not equivalent to independent hallmarking. The draft Directive being discussed by EU members would give equal status in the market place to these two different regimes. This is the main area of disagreement, there being general acceptance on the principle of no negative tolerance, and the range of finenesses. The amendments to the Act incorporate these areas of agreement.

It is difficult to foresee a compromise formula which satisfies the dual problem of providing a level playing field for manufacturers whilst at the same time maintaining a high level of consumer confidence, particularly in the UK with its 699 year old independent guarantee of fineness.

How changes affect the antique trade

In response to the antique trade, the date for describing un-hallmarked silver of at least 800 quality as 'silver' has been raised from 1900 to 1920.⁷

Conclusion

The changes to the Act preserve the principle of hallmarking, irrespective of where articles may have been hallmarked in the EEA. The increased range will permit UK producers to hallmark the more popular finenesses and more finenesses can be imported. Free trade means free trade both ways and political commitment to it has been demonstrated by joining EFTA and subsequently the EEA.

1. All articles are struck with the same mark, irrespective of whether they are made in the UK, EEA or elsewhere.
2. *Why is it necessary to put both the millesimal mark and the convention mark when they say the same thing and the former is now accepted within Convention countries?*

Unlike the UK, some of the other Convention countries' law permits the manufacturer to strike the sponsors' mark and the millesimal fineness mark. Additionally, some of these countries permit a negative tolerance nationally. In these circumstances, the Assay Office mark confirms the

registration of the sponsors' mark, and the striking of the CCM by the Assay Office confirms that there is no negative tolerance in the fineness.

3. *When is the Convention mark used?*

Principally for export, but they are legal marks within each Convention country, subject to the caveat on fineness.

4. *Please explain what has been achieved by the changes this year in practical terms. Does Houtwipper relate to EEA and Convention countries? Is the aim to make all EEA countries join the Convention?*

The ECJ ruling only applies to EEA countries. It is not the aim of the ruling to make EEA countries join the Convention.

The Convention could provide the solution to Houtwipper only if it changed its restricted range of fineness.

Is the UK the only country that has complied? Have other countries changed their hallmarking regulations?

Other hallmarking countries are considering changes to their laws. UK happens to be the first. Portugal was second.

5. *You suggested in your covering letter that it is difficult to know readers' grasp of technical language. Equivalence and negative tolerance are perhaps not easily understood. Can you put into layman's language?*

The British Hallmarking Council's criteria on equivalence are: (1) a registered sponsor's mark; (2) a millesimal fineness mark (or fineness number); (3) an assay office mark of our independent assay office which guarantees that the fineness is a minimum (ie no negative tolerance), and that the sponsor's mark is duly registered. This is the same as the Act and the Convention. In layman's terms, the complete hallmark guarantees that the fineness is at least that indicated. Any hallmark should indicate:

Who – made it

What – the fineness is

Where – it was hallmarkd*

6. *How can countries which are Convention/EEA members but operate a voluntary marking system (Denmark, Norway, Sweden), be made to operate the Convention system?*

Denmark, Norway and Sweden are in the Convention. The Assay Office strikes the Assay Office mark and CCM. This is for export. It does not change their internal national arrangements. Other Convention countries can export to Denmark, Norway and Sweden if the articles have the CCM and the appropriate fineness.

7. *Why was the date altered from 1900 to only 1920? If 800 standard can now legally be sold in the UK as silver, why bar objects made between 1921 and 1998 from being described as 'silver'?*
The date was changed to 1920 in response to a request by the antique trade.

800 silver made prior to 1900 can be described as silver. The anomalous gap between 1901 to 1998 has been shortened.

The 1973 Act relates to description of hallmarked articles, the minimum standard being 925. Hence, 800 was excluded, with a concession for antiques prior to 1900.

Import marks

8. *Have import marks been abolished completely? Can you explain the position for objects made 1999 onwards; and also possibly 1921-98?*

The import office mark no longer exists. The same Assay Office mark and millesimal fineness mark will be struck on all articles, whether made in the UK or imported.

Covering the period 1921-1998 would be complicated, especially as the UK offices had different year date letters until 1975.

9. *What happens to UK silver when exported – does everyone accept our marks? What is the position in France for example [where all items in a recent sale had to be hallmarked prior to sale].*

UK silver when exported, unless with the CCM to Convention countries, is not necessarily accepted by the importing state until that state has changed its hallmarking law.

The only problem is the non-Convention countries. It is the view of the Assay Offices that UK hallmarks (from 1 January 1999) are equivalent to French, Dutch and Spanish hallmarks. The 'hallmarking' tax in France cannot be avoided; it applies equally to French and imported articles.

*The British Hallmarking Council has issued A retailer's guide to European hallmarks, available from the Council at PO Box 18133, London EC2V 8JY or any UK assay office.

Royalty and silver:

The role of the Jewel House in the eighteenth century

James Lomax

From the most ancient times, and in a wide variety of different ways, the art of the goldsmith has been used to support the ambitions of kings and their governments. In England the study of the relationship between goldsmiths and the crown in the eighteenth century leads inevitably to a consideration of the role of the sovereign's Jewel House or Jewel Office. This distinct establishment had emerged in the late middle ages with official responsibilities to provide for and safeguard the king's treasure, including the crown jewels, and to supply plate for all royal, governmental and court requirements. Its history under the Tudors and Stuarts, when (in the latter period and afterwards) it had an office in the labyrinthine courts of Whitehall Palace as well as at the Tower of London, has been well studied.¹ At this time the master of the Jewel House was a major figure at court, and the king's treasure an important feature of the national economy. For historians of silver the master's supervision of the king's New Year gifts enabled him and the royal goldsmith, with whom he worked closely, to exercise a pivotal role in the development of new forms.² However, for a variety of reasons the job never returned to its high standing after its re-establishment at the Restoration in 1660.

By the early eighteenth century the Jewel House had become something of a backwater in the royal establishment, having lost much of its status in the same proportion that the personal power of the sovereign had also declined. Indeed it could be argued that its continued existence during the early Hanoverian period hinted to successive Whig governments the unwelcome survival of the royal prerogative, however dormant that had become. Thus when George III tried to revive the sovereign's claims to political power in the 1760s one of the offices he and Bute chose to re-assert was that of the Jewel Office. Thus for no other reason it became identified with the king's personal ambitions. Inevitably, after the loss of the American colonies in 1782 and the defeat of George III's assertion of the royal prerogative, he was obliged to concede a major reform of the court. The Jewel Office was now

ruthlessly suppressed, its duties in future to be undertaken directly by the lord chamberlain's department. The new monarchy of the Age of Reason could not accommodate such archaic trappings.

This short paper aims to discuss the context within which the Jewel House operated during its last years and to consider its role at various levels of court and aristocratic life. It begins by looking at its place in the royal household, its organisation and personnel, its procedures and finances. Some of the various functions it performed will be considered briefly: the custody of the regalia, coronations, the supply of Garter insignia, the provision of plate to the royal family, the household and the court, together with other issues of plate for miscellaneous purposes (christening gifts, race meetings, the Chapels Royal of the colonies). The provision of plate for ambassadors and the other great officers of state, one of its most costly duties, will be examined, together with the question of perquisites. Finally, the last years of the Jewel Office, after the appointment of Thomas Heming as royal goldsmith in 1760 and until its suppression in 1782, will be seen as a period of revived creativity after many years of indifference. Whether or not the Jewel House was a leader or a follower of fashion will also be considered.

Organisation of the Jewel House

The Jewel House was a sub-division of the largest of the four household departments, that of the lord chamberlain, although its officers would have had dealings with colleagues in the three others: the lord steward's (responsible for all the catering arrangements at court), the master of horse's, and the groom of the stole's (for the king's own personal requirements).³ There were about one thousand personnel employed at court in the early eighteenth century, from the grandest nobles (inevitably occupying the best sinecures) to the lowliest kitchen staff. The total cost of running this was approximately £250,000 per annum, or about one third of the annual sum voted

1. Eg Major-General H.D.W. Sitwell, 'The Jewel Office and the Royal Goldsmiths', *Archaeological Journal*, 117, 1960, pp131-55; Martin Holmes and Major-General H.D.W. Sitwell, *The English Regalia*, 1972; Arthur Grimwade, 'New Light on the English Royal Plate', *The Silver Society Journal*, no7, 1995, pp369-80; and Claude Blair (ed), *The Crown Jewels: the history of the Regalia in the Jewel House in the Tower of London*, 2 vols, 1998.

2. A.J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I: the inventory of 1574*, 1955.

3. See John M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, 1967, *passim*.

4. The Jewel Office archives for the eighteenth century are found at the Public Record Office (PRO), LC5 Warrant Books 107-14; LC9 Delivery Books 44-46; LC9 Accounts and Receipts 48-49; LC5 207 Plate Book; LC5 Letters and Inventories.

5. See *The Royal Kalendar or Complete and Correct Annual Register*, 1772.

6. PRO T38/507 'List of Persons Dismissed...with Proposed Pensions'.

7. *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. XXIII pt 2, 1949, p460.

8. Col Charles Godfrey 1698-1704; John Charlton 1704-11; Hon Heneage Finch, Lord Guernsey, Earl of Aylesford 1711-16; Hon James Brudenell 1716-30; Charles Townsend, Lord Lynn 1730-39; William Neville, Lord Abergavenny 1739-48; John Campbell, Lord Glenorchy and Earl of Breadalbane 1748-58; Sir Richard Lyttelton 1758-63; Henry Vane, Earl of Darlington 1763-82.

9. For example the twenty-one piece surtout by Elie Paëot, Lille 1709 probably given to the crown after the siege of Lille in 1709 and apparently disposed of by the Jewel Office in 1730 (Nicole and Isabelle Cartier, 'The Elie Paëot Surtout', *The Silver Society Journal*, no6 1994, pp298-99 and Sotheby's New York, November 1997 lot 138, catalogue notes by Nicole Cartier; see also Lord Chesterfield's twenty-two candlesticks issued by the Jewel Office in 1727, two are considered to be by Elie Paëot of Lille, 1710 (see Cartier *op cit supra*), and the rest cast from these prototypes by Crespin (verbal information by Philippa Glanville). Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy: Silver from the Hartman Collection* 1996, p105 and Sotheby's London 4 February 1988 suggest that the prototype may be a set of twelve, 1701/02, supplied by the Jewel Office to speaker Harley and now at Welbeck. Garrard's popular nineteenth century 'Combermere' pattern was likewise derived from this source (eg Sotheby's London, 4 June 1998 lot 147).

A close variation of this pattern was made by David Willaume for master Brudenell's kinsman the 4th Earl of Cadogan in 1730/31, copied from prototypes made by Nicolas Besnier brought to

by parliament for the entire civil service. The expenses of the Jewel Office were always unpredictable, as will be seen, but for much of the eighteenth century it cost the treasury between £4,000 and £8,000 per annum.⁴ The graph shows its annual expenditure between 1750 and 1782. In coronation years, such as 1761, its expenditure soared not only because of costs associated with the regalia, but also because of the large issues of plate to office holders. Towards the end of its life, for various reasons, the Jewel House gave its critics the impression of being a volatile and unpredictable drain on the nation's finances.

The royal servants who worked most closely on a day-to-day basis with the officers of the Jewel House were the staff employed in the silver scullery (part of the lord steward's department): the yeoman (paid £70pa), his assistant (£30pa), the silver whitener (in 1772 a Mrs Rebecca Harris paid £50 pa), four pan keepers (£50 pa each), a pewter scourer, and two washers.⁵ In addition there was the table decker or dresser, responsible for laying the table and sideboard. All of these would have been strictly and personally accountable to the Jewel House for whatever plate may have been issued to them, which was returnable on demand or might be inspected for audit or inventory purposes. The meticulous ledgers and account books record every item leaving the Jewel House stores and their return.

The establishment of the Jewel House itself consisted of five officers: the master, whose salary was a mere £50 pa, but who could also draw £400 pa for (or in lieu of) board wages. The real administrative work was done by two yeomen (one with £106-15-0d pa, the other with £50 pa), the groom (£105-8-4d pa), and the clerk (who later doubled up as second yeoman).⁶ From time to time they were joined by the office keeper (possibly the cleaning lady): in 1782 this was a Mrs Elizabeth Stephens whose wages were £17-6-7d. At the Tower, looking after the crown jewels and showing them to the public, was the keeper of the regalia, a post held by only four people during the entire eighteenth century, who received no pay, but was amply compensated by visitors' admission charges (during the early eighteenth century these were 1s6d a head for individuals, or 1s per head for groups).

These somewhat meagre salaries were greatly augmented by the fee system whereby a cash payment was receivable both from the royal goldsmith every time he presented an invoice at the office, and also from the warrant holder to whom the plate was being supplied (ambassador, great officer of state, royal godchild etc). At the time of its suppression in 1782 the fees receivable by the officers of the Jewel House were estimated to be about £530 pa, half of which was pocketed by the second yeoman – who presumably did most of the work – and a quarter each by the first yeoman and the groom. No one could claim ignorance of such fees or the amounts

payable: there was even a notice hung on the wall of the office giving the scale of charges. Pepys had been surprised at how high they were in 1661, and in 1709 Lord Townshend tried to re-coup the £22-11-0d he had paid out when collecting his ambassadorial plate for The Hague.⁷ The system was endemic throughout the entire civil service and was a way of compensating middle management for their poor official pay. Its drawback, of course, was that it made the establishment resistant to reform and encouraged needless extravagance: the higher the bills, the higher the fees.

Masters of the Jewel House and their responsibilities

During the eighteenth century there were seven successive masters of the Jewel House,⁸ only three of whom are of any note – the truth being that it was no longer a very important or remunerative post. The Hon James Brudenell (master 1716-30) was connected to that most francophile of English families and hereditary masters of the great wardrobe, the Dukes of Montagu, since his nephew was married to the daughter of the 2nd duke. This association may partly account for the French character of much of the Jewel Office plate at this time: indeed there is circumstantial evidence for the existence of French silver in the stock of the office in the early eighteenth century, probably mainly serving as models for new pieces.⁹

Sir Richard Lyttelton (master 1758-63) must surely have been the nominee of his brother Lord Lyttelton who held power briefly as chancellor of the exchequer having been secretary to the late Frederick Prince of Wales. This more illustrious brother was the builder of Hagley Hall, Worcestershire, with its celebrated rococo interiors, and was a man of considerable taste. He was also a close associate of James Stuart, Earl of Bute who was to move to the centre of the political stage at the accession of George III in 1760, and was therefore in a good position to promote his favoured goldsmith Thomas Heming to the position of royal goldsmith. Otherwise the genial Sir Richard treated the job as a sinecure (like his predecessors) and was abroad for most of his period as master. His successor, Henry Vane, 2nd Earl of Darlington, who nominally presided over the office from 1763 to 1782, also took very little interest in the job although his signature appears on all the important documents. Nevertheless he was a man of considerable taste, employing John Carr of York to make suitable romantic alterations to his seat at Raby Castle, Co Durham.

Even if the master considered his job a sinecure, his officers had heavy burdens in being responsible to the king and his ministers in the treasury for all

royal plate in use, on loan, or in store. This involved making periodic inventories as well as conducting audits. Records of loans and issues of plate, often of considerable quantity, were kept meticulously in the Jewel House books. Likewise they were responsible for the ordering of all new plate from the royal goldsmith, his repair of damaged items and the disposal of old pieces which could be credited against new orders. Procedures and accounting methods were well established: for any new plate the king or his representative would give an order, either verbally or by a warrant from the lord chamberlain. The warrant would describe the articles in general terms and would often give its approximate weight and value. The order went through to the royal goldsmith who sub-contracted the work to any number of favoured craftsmen. On receipt of the new plate the cost was entered in the Jewel Office account books and it was then distributed to those named in the warrant after signature in the delivery or day book. The royal goldsmith then submitted his account or 'warrant' every six months specifying amounts of new or repaired plate, Garter insignia etc and specialist sub-contracted items such as blade-making, engraving, case-making etc. This would be certified by the master and passed to the treasury for payment.¹⁰

Royal goldsmiths and sub-contractors

Who were the royal goldsmiths, or 'goldsmith in ordinary to his majesty' with whom the staff at the Jewel Office worked so closely? Ever since the early seventeenth century the post had been held by a series of banker-goldsmiths who sub-contracted to working goldsmiths. During the eighteenth century, until the appointment of a working goldsmith in Thomas Heming in 1760, there was a succession of appointments of relative nonentities who all appear to have been bankers cum retailers: Samuel Smithin 1702–23, John Tysoe 1723–30, Thomas Minors 1730–59, John Boldero 1759–60.¹¹ They all appear to have had the same address, *The Sign of the Vine* in Lombard Street (except Tysoe). It must be presumed therefore that this is an example of a long-lived continuous partnership whose senior partner changed periodically. A similar example of a partnership holding an official appointment over many generations (recently suppressed) was that of government broker. *The Sign of the Vine* must surely be a reference to the first royal goldsmith after the Restoration, Sir Robert Vyner, and the location in Lombard Street may also have been on the site of his premises.

Working for the royal goldsmith were their sub-contractors, some of whose names can be gleaned from signatures in the delivery books (as well as makers' marks on extant pieces). In the early part of

the century the general trend shows a preference for French-influenced goldsmiths, if not for French-born Huguenots. During Smithin's appointment the Garthornes and Philip Rollos were favoured; under Tysoe and Minors come such high quality figures as Jacob and Samuel Margas, Charles Hatfield, Thomas Farren, John Edwards, John Hugh Le Sage, David and Anne Tanqueray. An apparently one-off appointment by lord chamberlain's warrant was that of Paul de Lamerie as 'royal goldsmith' in 1716. There appear to be no direct payments to him in the Jewel House accounts so it must be presumed that he was paid, like everyone else, via the official royal goldsmith.

The practice of sub-contracting can be seen most clearly in the famous example of Lord Chesterfield's wine coolers. In 1727 Paul Crespin was ordered by the royal goldsmith to provide new ambassadorial plate for the embassy to The Hague. Presumably he realised that he would be unable to complete all the the objects himself and therefore 'bought in' a pair of wine coolers from his neighbour and rival Paul de Lamerie who had already struck his own maker's mark on them. On delivery to Crespin's workshop this proof of their authorship was obliterated by the latter overstriking his own maker's mark over Lamerie's. The existence of an earlier identical pair by Lamerie,¹² also with a Jewel House provenance and struck with the date letter for 1723, suggests that this model may have been seen previously by Chesterfield who ordered it to be copied.

The names of other sub-contractors used by the royal goldsmiths can be deduced from surviving plate with appropriate makers' marks: some recent examples on the art market include pieces by David Willaume (Wentworth ambassadorial plate 1705/06), Louis Mettayer (York gold cup 1713/14), Nicholas Clausen and Abraham Buteux (royal service of 1720/21), and many others. After Heming's appointment in 1760 there was clearly less need for this practice thus enabling something of a house style to emerge.

Crown jewels and coronations

The most important traditional function of the Jewel House was its duty to safeguard the regalia, housed at this time in the Martin Tower in the Tower of London where it was shown to visitors in the basement for a fee by the otherwise unpaid keeper. However, this is not the place to describe the fascinating history of the display of the crown jewels or to repeat the stories of the casual way in which they were treated, with visitors being allowed to handle them through their protective railings.¹³

At coronations the activities of the Jewel House suddenly and briefly went centre-stage. Not only did the crown jewels themselves often require consider-

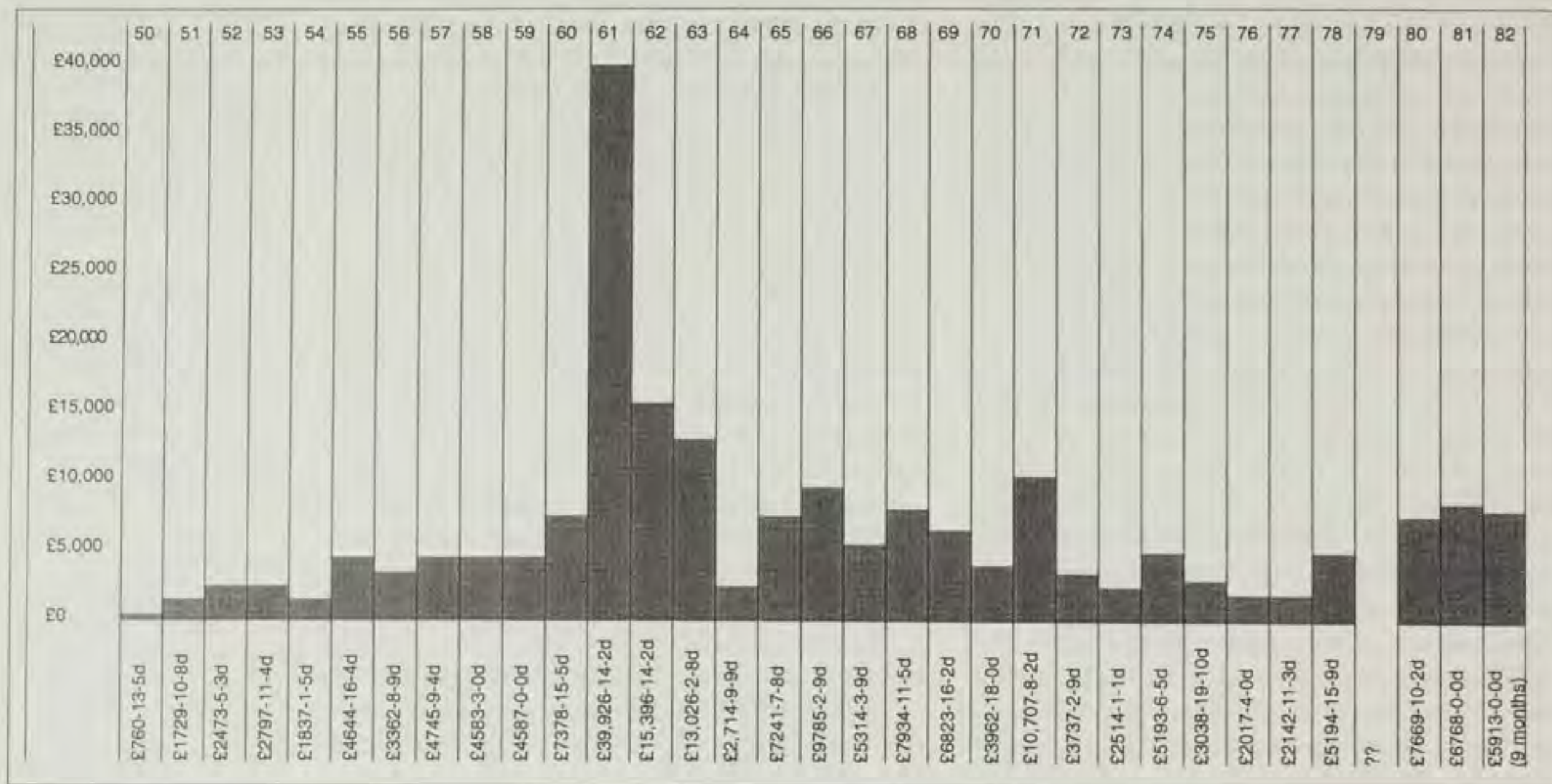
England by the diplomat William Bateman in the 1720s (Hartman op cit p105). Lord Warrington owned at least one pair of this latter pattern, by Peter Archambo 1731/32, Christie's London 27 April 1995 lot 84, subsequently returned to Dunham Massey.

10. See Shirley Bury, 'The Jewel House in the Tower of London', in Claude Blair (ed), *The Crown Jewels*, op cit, pp681–721 passim.

11. Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200–1800*, 1935, p88 and passim.

12. At Arundel Castle, traditionally said to have been acquired in 1808 at the sale of the royal plate. See also Isabelle Cartier, *Things*, 1, Winter 1994. The date of 1723 has been given to the author verbally as correct by the curator, Dr John Martin Robinson, although in his guide *Arundel Castle*, 1994, p85, an illustration of the coolers is captioned with the date 1727.

13. See Shirley Bury op cit pp704–21 and Martin Holmes and Major-General H.D.W. Sitwell, *The English Regalia*, 1972, passim.



Graph showing Jewel Office expenditure 1750-82; figures for 1779 not available.

14. See Shirley Bury, 'The Coronation from the Restoration of the Monarchy to 1953', in Claude Blair (ed), *The Crown Jewels*, op cit, pp355-605.

15. See PRO LC5/109 Warrant Book 1710-31, 'Order from James Vernon at the Privy Council to George Brudenell to provide lists of particulars that will be needful in the offices under his charge for the necessary preparations at the Coronation'. This was provided three days later. As well as the regalia for the king and queen, the items Brudenell specified are shown in the appendix.

16. Indeed, one of the most consistent entries in the Warrant Books is for the supply of new badges for the royal watermen as well as trumpets and escutcheons for the king's messengers.

17. Sotheby's London, 5 June 1997 lot 123, with references.

18. A punch bowl, made out of the silver content of the canopy staves in 1727/28 was presented to the town of Hastings by the barons in that year. Edward Perry, 'Gift Plate from Westminster Hall Coronation Banquets', *Apollo*, 1953, pp198-220.

able repair, but also the hereditary and other officials who were to take part in the ceremony had to be provided for. St Edward's crown, used for the act of coronation itself, usually only needed refreshment, but many other items of the regalia might need re-gilding. Most crucially, the state crown, used throughout the rest of the ceremony and later for state occasions, always required re-setting with jewels for this one occasion, in place of the artificial stones with which it was set at other times. The cost of the hire of these jewels was prodigious, and represented a high proportion of the total cost of each coronation: for Queen Anne and George I over £14,000; for George II and III (who both had queen consorts) over £24,000. The actual value of the hired jewels used for each of these ceremonies was £375,000, or nearly half the annual cost of running the entire civil service. For the coronation of George I a new state crown was made which was adapted and used by subsequent monarchs down to Queen Victoria.¹⁴

The list of hereditary officers who required new plate at each coronation, either in order to perform their functions at the ceremony, or purely because of precedent, was a long one.¹⁵ It included such grandees as the earl marshal, the chief cup-bearer, the king's champion, and continued down to the mayor of Oxford and the prebends of Westminster, ending with all fifty of the royal watermen who required new badges, as did the royal herb-strewer.¹⁶ By this time it had become customary for almost all of such figures to retain their official plate as a perquisite. Thus the post of lord high almoner, held by the Earls of Exeter, was entitled to two large gilt basins: a group of them dating from various coro-

nations since 1660, are visible on the sideboard at Burghley in the etching by Lady Sophia Cecil of 1820. However, after the 1761 coronation Lord Exeter's perquisite was challenged, and one of his basins (in an archaic style of Charles II) was returned to the Jewel House from where it re-emerged thirty seven years later when it was chosen as a christening gift for the infant Lady Georgiana Greville.¹⁷ The barons of the Cinque Ports, holders of the royal canopy, were entitled to the silver bells which stood at each corner, as well as the staves which supported it.¹⁸

Other commissions

Apart from coronations the only other occasions when the Jewel House had the opportunity to commission expensive jewellery was whenever the Order of the Garter was conferred. With only twenty-four knights this did not occur very frequently, nevertheless it was an important and expensive item. The insignia provided for the Duke of Mecklenburgh-Strelitz in 1764 amounted to £236, consisting of a gold and enamelled collar at £182, a gold and enamelled great George at £16, a gold lesser George at £12, a gold lettered garter at £22, and a box for the seal at £4.

At a more mundane level a fundamental duty of the Jewel House was the provision of everyday plate for the royal family and the wider household. This might be very ordinary items such as pap boats for the royal nurseries, bottle tickets for the table of the maids of honour, or plates and dishes for the king's

use on military manoeuvres. William III and Queen Anne had enjoyed good plate and had ensured that they were surrounded by fine pieces. Queen Anne indeed had used the Jewel House to provide gold cups for race meetings at York and Newmarket twice a year, thus encouraging her aristocracy to continue this practice in later years. On the other hand George I and II were relatively unconcerned about their personal requirements and the impact of their own taste.¹⁹ This defect was to be amply rectified by their successors.

In a different category were those civil servants whose office entitled them to receive plate from the Jewel House. This ranged from clerks of the treasury who could claim ink standishes, candlesticks, snuffers and trays – all genuinely necessary for their work. Other office holders included for example the royal apothecary whose instruments were surely more than ornamental; likewise chancellors and other functionaries whose duties included the custody of maces and seals which required appropriate boxes. The obligation was that all such government property must be returned unless this duty was expressly discharged by order of the privy council.

Another important job of the Jewel House was the provision of royal christening gifts for the lucky children to whom the king agreed to stand as godparent. In such cases the parent of the child would receive a warrant redeemable at the Jewel House, allowing a gift of plate of the recipient's choice, weighing an amount varying between 20oz and 200oz depending on the status of the family. Thus the Earl of Carlisle successfully petitioned the king to be godfather of his eldest child in 1773; he was awarded a warrant for 130oz which he redeemed by choosing some items then in stock at the Jewel House: an elegant two-handled cup and cover by Thomas Heming of 65oz (a standard model), and a basin long since disappeared from Castle Howard.²⁰

Yet another consistently recurring item in the Jewel House refers to the provision of plate for the chapels royal of the colonies with every new Governor.²¹ It invariably comprised two flagons, a communion cup and paten and an alms dish. Shapes, styles and sizes varied little during the eighteenth century, although the design of engraving moved along with secular trends. The cost of these sets of altar plate remained almost entirely consistent at £80. They were returnable by the governor on his recall, thus making the Bermuda set of 1786, now at Williamstown, a remarkable survivor.²²

Officers of state and ambassadors

But the biggest expense of the Jewel House in the eighteenth century was the never-ending supply of plate to those great officers of state, ambassadors, and others who were entitled to it by custom. This

tradition of providing the king's closest servants and representatives with sufficient plate in order to entertain in the name of the king was steeped in history, as was the problem of recovering it. By this date the personnel to whom standard quantities were always issued were the four heads of the household departments (the lord chamberlain, the lord steward, the master of the horse, and the groom of the stole) as well as the treasurer and comptroller of the household. They all received warrants on their appointment entitling them to 'the usual allowance of 1,000 ounces' while speakers of the House of Commons had become entitled to 4,000oz, and ambassadors – the biggest customers – to 5,893oz of white plate and 1,066oz of gilt, and their secretaries and other envoys to 1,000oz.

There were two main problems for the lords of the treasury from whose budget the Jewel House was financed.²³ The first involved its recovery when those to whom it had been issued retired from office. Ever since Tudor times the Jewel House had had little authority to force the return of such plate from extremely powerful noblemen who often deliberately withheld it if they held a grudge against the crown. Needless to say it was easy enough to recover plate from lowly kitchen staff within the palaces. Thus as late as 1692 the commissioners of public accounts reported to the House of Lords that no less than 58,322oz of plate remained in the hands of numerous named ambassadors from the reigns of Charles II and James II.²⁴ Clearly a regularisation of arrangements was necessary. Thus when John Robinson, Bishop of London, returned home in 1714 after negotiating the treaty of Utrecht, he claimed that it was 'usual for the Crown to grant to ambassadors who have done their duty abroad a discharge from the obligation of returning the Plate'. He may well have had in mind Sir William Temple, ambassador to the states general in 1674, who had had this responsibility discharged by order of the privy council in 1680. Thus it became the general rule that such public servants were discharged their duty to return their official plate – the wording usually stating that this was 'in consideration of the good and acceptable services performed and to be performed'. There were exceptions however, like the cups and stands issued to Lord Bingley as ambassador to Spain in 1714, returned to the Jewel House in 1725, and reissued for the king's visit to Hanover two years later. Or, if an embassy turned out to have been a disaster, like Lord Carlisle's in 1778 'to heal the divorce in America', there was no question but that the 1,200oz issued to each of the commissioners was returnable.²⁵ On at least one occasion an heir reimbursed the treasury at least a token amount after the posthumous delivery of some official plate. Thus six years after Sir Brownlow Cust inherited the plate of his father the speaker of the House of Commons, he paid the treasury £138 for much of the latter's second (1769) issue of speaker's plate, including the

19. See Philippa Glanville, 'Dining at Court from George I to George IV', in O.V. Krog (ed.), *A King's Feast*, 1991, pp106-17.

20. See James Lomax, 'The Castle Howard Silver: 300 Years of Investment and Fashion', *The Art Quarterly of the National Art Collections Fund*, no9, pp32-35.

21. The chapel plate of embassies abroad might also be furnished from the Jewel House: the pair of large baroque altar candlesticks of 1697/98 by Denny and John Backe (now at Anglesey Abbey) were supplied to Charles Montagu, 1st Duke of Manchester, presumably for his embassy to Venice that year.

22. See Beth Carver Wees, *English, Irish and Scottish Silver in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*, 1997, pp97-98. Other survivors at St Thomas', Barbados. See Neville Connell, 'Church Plate in Barbados', *Connoisseur*, 1954, p10.

23. Viz the Jewel House was not at this stage financed from the Privy Purse.

24. A.J. Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I, the inventory of 1574*, 1955, p146 ff citing HMC, MSS of the House of Lords 1690-91, pp ix, 405, 425-26.

25. PRO LC 5/113 fo 221.

26. PRO LC 5/114 and T 1/113.

27. Some of lord chancellor King's plate sold Sotheby's London, 8 June 1995 lots 117-122.

28. A scholarly assessment of his achievement as a patron is being prepared by Francis Russell.

29. Perhaps in the same way Bute advanced the careers of a number of his protégés (usually Scots), including Allan Ramsay as principal painter in ordinary to the king.

30. Christie's London, 3 July 1996, lots 78-79, 81-82.

31. See Hilary Young, 'Thomas Heming and the Tatton Cup', *Burlington Magazine*, May 1983, pp285-87.

32. Christie's London, 3 July 1996 lot 79.

33. Christie's London, 3 July 1996, lots 81-82.

34. E.A Jones, *The Gold and Silver of Windsor Castle*, 1911, pl 45.

35. PRO LC 9/48 fol 202-08.

36. A payment of £1,000 to Thomas Hemings is recorded for 11 July 1761 (see Christie's London, 10 July 1996 lot 77). However, as this date is well before the order of the gilt dinner service it seems more likely that it referred to items for the royal wedding or coronation.

37. Christie's London, 19 May 1819 lots 63 ff.

38. Christie's New York, 11 April 1996.

39. Eg PRO LC5/114 Memo of the Duke of Grafton 7 February 1767 '...[in future] no person [is] to receive the same allowance of plate a second time...by virtue of one or more offices'. This did not apply to speakers of the House of Commons, thereby allowing Sir John Cust to receive a new issue of plate on two different occasions.

famous cistern, which had not been delivered until after his father's death.

The second major problem related to the vagueness of the wording of the warrants, which usually stated that the specified quantity of plate was 'to be made into such vessels and after such fashion as his Lordship shall direct'. It thus allowed the recipient an entirely free hand to choose the most expensive 'fashion' (chasing, engraving and general ornament) with total impunity. As the century advanced the extravagance of some ambassadors began to worry the lords of the treasury. Lord Bingley's cups and stands, previously mentioned, weighing 490oz in total, had been invoiced at 12s7d per ounce including fashion, totalling £308-5-10d. Earlier estimates that an ambassador's issue of plate might average £2,500 began to look absurdly small, but it was not until 1727, after two particularly extravagant ambassadors, that an official enquiry took place.²⁶ It revealed that costs had been rising prodigiously: in 1715 Lord Stair, ambassador to France, had plate issued to him to the value of £3,074; in 1720 Sir Ralph Sutton had £3,490; and most recently Lord Chesterfield's plate for The Hague had cost over £3,800 with most of the items charged at 13s per ounce.

The solution now proposed by Brudenell, the master, was to follow the precedent of lord chancellor King's warrant of earlier that year which had specified a maximum cost of his allowance of 2,000oz ('...so that the charge of plate workmanship and fashion do not exceed £1,700').²⁷ He now recommended that 8s6d per ounce be the maximum cost permitted for any individual item in future. He conceded that this would probably only allow for standard plates and dishes which he feared their lordships would not be content with. Nevertheless the suggestion was acted upon, and until the arrival of the new regime in 1760, ambassadors' and other officials' plate was heavily restricted.

The truth was that these earlier ambassadors, culminating in Lord Chesterfield, had spoiled it for the next generation. The products of the Jewel House during the period up to 1727 were often magnificent and truly in the van of taste, not just in style, but also in the introduction of new types from abroad. No doubt this was partly due to the growth in the number of foreign goldsmiths (especially Huguenots) in London. But it may also have been because certain key members of the court and aristocracy were (up to this date) particularly receptive to foreign styles: seeing impressive new pieces while abroad was a real impetus to have them copied back home. The existence of early eighteenth century French silver in the Jewel House has already been considered, together with the generally francophile style of its products: this must surely have helped to spread the taste for the *régence* style in England. However, for the spread of the subsequent rococo style one must look elsewhere: from 1727 onwards

the restrictions imposed on the Jewel House generally precluded it from ordering fanciful rocaille pieces for ambassadors or others: 8s6d per ounce did not go far in the 1730s, 1740s or 1750s.

George III and Lord Bute

Thus from 1727 to 1760 the Jewel House remained in the doldrums. But the new regime which came to the fore with the accession of George III was led by the refined and ambitious man of taste James Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute.²⁸ He had been close to the king's late father, Frederick Prince of Wales, sharing much of his sense of style and love of the arts. In this he had attempted to influence the young king, together with a belief in the royal prerogative. The consequences of attempting to revive the latter doctrine were of course disastrous and to lead to the loss of the American colonies, but the former ideal was to result in a few glorious years of royal patronage.

Bute himself had a developed taste for fine late rococo plate and was already an important client of Thomas Heming whom he now brought forward as the new royal goldsmith, no doubt bringing pressure to bear on his friend Sir Richard Lyttleton, the master of the Jewel House, to make the necessary appointment.²⁹ The pieces made for Bute between 1756 and 1760³⁰ are possibly some of the most appealing silver of their date to be found anywhere, owing as much to Augsburg in their inspiration as to Paris; the pair of cups of 1757/58 are a development of a model peculiar to Heming;³¹ the epergne of 1756/57 is a transformed version of William Kent's famous centrepiece for Frederick Prince of Wales;³² while the tureens and dishes of 1758-60³³ have an elegant sophistication quite different from the hidebound products of the Jewel House.

This inspired late rococo style, exemplified in the work of Heming, now became the official one of the court. Within a few months of his coronation, almost as if to flout the lords of the treasury and exercise his authority, the king ordered a massive new gilt dinner service from the Jewel House. This was one of its biggest and most extravagant commissions received by them for years: eight dozen gilt plates at 11s3d per ounce, dishes and tureens at 15s9d per ounce, and culminating in the gilt 'epargne' of 288oz at 16s9d per ounce. This latter object, with its trellised canopy and vine leaf dishes is a close imitation of Bute's earlier example.³⁴ The total cost of the service, which was ordered between October 1761 and April 1762, was over £6,583.³⁵ It could have been more: a bank account with Campbell & Coutts, administered by Bute, also appears to have been used for the purchase of plate for the king.³⁶

The queen also received a new gilt toilet service in 1762, costing over £530, although this was probably not the one illustrated in Zoffany's famous

painting which may well have been an Augsburg service. As part of her personal property it was sold at Christie's after her death, many of the individual items being bought by Earl Grosvenor.³⁷

Clearly the young king enjoyed good plate and took a personal interest in it. The toilet service ordered by him from Heming as a wedding present for his sister Queen Caroline Matilda of Denmark in 1766 does not appear to have passed through the Jewel House books. It was presumably therefore a personal gift of the king, paid from the privy purse and must therefore represent something of his own taste and that of the royal family at this date. Like most discriminating patrons, the king chose the work of French goldsmiths when this was possible, hence the dinner service for Hanover supplied by Robert-Joseph Auguste between 1777 and 1783, or his purchase (second-hand, in 1800) of Henri Auguste's pair of tureens originally made for the Marchese di Circello in 1787.³⁸

The quality of Heming's plate supplied to the Jewel House in the 1760s and 1770s was almost always excellent. Arguably his best work is in an international late rococo style, albeit sometimes deliberately pastiche, but he also developed a characteristic neo-classical style, perhaps owing more to Sir William Chambers than to Robert Adam in inspiration. The quantity of his work was prolific, not only in his official capacity, but also for his private clients.

There is every indication that (as in 1727) the lords of the treasury were distinctly uneasy at the increased and erratic expenditure at the Jewel House over these years. From 1760 onwards the ledgers are scattered with auditors' marks and ticks in red pencil. There were increasing demands for reports, and small penny-pinching amendments to existing practices.³⁹ For official issues of plate the same constraints of 1727 were applied. Thus most of the domestic items received by Sir John Cust in his second issue of speaker's plate in 1768 were charged at 7s11d per ounce. To hide the fact that the giant cistern (part of this issue, still at Belton) clearly cost at least twice this amount, it was described as weighing 2,352oz whereas its real weight was only 1,457oz. This was exactly the balance to complete the usual speaker's allowance of 4,000oz, and was charged at a fictitious 7s11d per ounce.⁴⁰

Expenses were indeed rising: it was increasingly difficult to equip an ambassador for as little as £2,500; and more ambassadors than ever were being appointed – an average of two a year during the 1760s. From the mid-1770s the war in America was putting further strains on the economy. The final straw might well have been the huge cost of providing plate for the new household for the Prince of Wales in 1781 (expenditure for the first half year alone £6,069). The prospect of having to do the same for all the royal siblings in the years to come did not auger well for the future of the Jewel House.

With so much resentment stacked up against it the Jewel House became a scapegoat for the royal cause, and thus under Burke's Economical Reform Act of 1782 it was suppressed, along with a number of other archaic departments and its duties taken over by the lord chamberlain. Altogether 105 royal servants were dismissed, only some of whom received pensions.⁴¹ Heming was asked to tender for future work, and when his estimates were shown to be considerably more than William Jones of the retailers Jones & Jeffries he too lost his place. It was a shabby end to an organisation which had served the crown so well.⁴²

This paper was first read at the symposium 'New Perspectives on English Silver' held at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts in November 1997, and subsequently in an edited version at the symposium 'Royalty and Silver 1714–1837' held at Leeds City Art Gallery in May 1999.

40. Christie's London, 29 May 1963 lot 24 (property of the Rt Hon Lord Brownlow).

41. PRO T 38/507 'List of Persons dismissed from their Employment whose Circumstances and Situation under them [make them] Objects of the Royal Bounty, with the Proposed Pensions'. The offices of the master of the revels (responsible for censorship) and of the master of the great wardrobe (responsible for furnishing the royal palaces and government departments) were also suppressed and their duties transferred to the lord chamberlain.

42. For the later history of the royal goldsmiths, the Jewel House at the Tower of London, and the crown jewellers see Sitwell, Holmes and Sitwell, and Blair op cit.

Appendix

List of hereditary officers issued with plate at a coronation (see note 15)

For the Lord High Constable a staff pt gold pt silver gilt	
For the Earl Marshall a gold staff and a gold cup	
The Champion a gold cup	
For the Captain of Horseguards a staff with a gold head	
For the Lord Mayor of London a gold cup	
The Chancellor of ye Garter	} Each a gold chain and badge
The Prelate	
The Register	
The Master of Ceremonies a gold chain and badge	
The Black Rod a gold chain and badge	
Garter King of Arms a gold crown chain and badge	
Capt of Band of Falconers	} Each a staff with a gold head
Capt of Yeomen of Guard	
Clarenceaux King of Arms a gold chain and badge and a crown of silver gilt	
Norroy King of Arms the same	
Duke of Argile a gilt cup and cover	
Mayor of Oxford the same	
The Lord Almoner two large gilt basons	
Lord Great Chamberlain two large gilt basons, one ewer and an assay cup	
The rest of the regalia in the Tower to be new gilt	
All the chaple, all the Maces and all other plate in HM's palaces to be new gilt	
The Prebends of Westminster a silver standish	
Serjents at Arms each a collar of SS	
Heralds and Pursuivants the same	
50 setts of new badges for the Watermen	
Messengers all new badges	
Lieuts of Band of Pensioners	
Ditto of the Yeomen	
Ditto of the Horseguard	
16 staffs to support the canopies covered with silver	
8 gilt bells for ditto	

David Willaume and his apprentices

part II: further research

Eileen Goodway

1. A.G. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their marks and lives*, London 1982. Hugh Tait, 'The Peter Wilding Bequest', *Connoisseur*, 1972, quoting J.F. Hayward, *Huguenot Silver in England 1688-1727*, London 1959.

2. Sun Fire Insurance registers, vol 10 p193, Guildhall Library.

3. Westminster Archives, Deed 105/5.

Printed sources¹ note David Willaume I as being born in Metz in 1658, coming to England prior to 1687 and a mark being entered at Goldsmiths' Hall by the following year, 1688. The archives at Metz confirm his date of birth, but I cannot substantiate the latter two pieces of information. The first original source that I have found so far for his residence and business in England appears in an issue of the newspaper *The London Gazette*, for 9 March 1690. Willaume placed an appeal, as follows:

Lost, on the 4th instant, a ring with 7 diamond stones, the middle one is of a large bigness, having 3 little ones on each side, all inlaid in silver. The ring is of gold, fit for a little Finger, of the value of about 50 Lewis d'ors. Whoever brings it to Mr Willaume, a goldsmith at the sign of Windsor Castle near Charing Cross shall have a good reward.

This simple paragraph immediately tells us about his business, seemingly implying that he was a retailer, and a retailer of jewels at that, and that his client was French, given the value is in French currency. Moreover he tells us an address but as yet I have not found him in the rate books at any address in the Charing Cross area. With this meagre information we now begin to wonder what his apprentices were being trained in. Was it silversmithing or was he training them in the art of the retailer: of jewels, of gold and of silver? Certainly when Willaume appears in the various parish registers of the French Huguenot chapels he is listed not as a goldsmith but as a merchant goldsmith. Over a period of some sixty years David Willaume I and his son, David II, had twenty-five apprentices, the majority being taken on by the father, two or at most three, at a time. This would be consistent with having a couple of juniors working in a shop and as runners to fetch and carry. Of these twenty-five, I believe at least twelve hall-marked wares and this encourages my view that they, too, entered the retail trade. Virtually all those taken on by David Willaume II appear not to have made the grade and disappear from view.

I may be entirely wrong about the Willaumes as retailers, but two other important pieces of information lend credence to this idea.

Lewis Mettayer and David Tanqueray

All those entering a mark at Goldsmiths' Hall gave an address. Willaume and his apprentices, Lewis Mettayer and David Tanqueray gave theirs as Pall Mall. This is a splendid address and hardly the place for a noisy workshop. However more to the point, the registers of the Sun Insurance Company record the following:

20th October 1719. David Tanqueray at the Golden Ewer in Pall Mall for his goods and merchandise in his dwelling house only and not elsewhere Premium £3.10s.²

Did he have his workshop elsewhere or is this just the insurer's language, making it quite clear that merchandise was only insured whilst on the premises in Pall Mall?

I have also found a deed relating to the rental of part of Lewis Mettayer's house in Pall Mall.³ In his will, proved in 1740, Mettayer divided his house in two for the benefit of his sons. The back part overlooked St James's Square and initially I thought this might have been a workshop. But there is a plan and fulsome description of the premises as a house, admittedly a very well secured house, with a variety of locks, bolts, bars and shutters both inside and out. Furthermore, Mettayer listed in his will other freehold property which is not nearby in the West End but in Spitalfields, hardly a logical site for a workshop. Before 1748 it was being let to a Mr Claude Croque, distiller.

Other apprentices

William Cripps was undoubtedly important as a retailer as he eventually took over the Willaume premises. Others whose names we are familiar with include Aymé Vedeau, William Kidney, Charles Hatfield, Thomas Pitts, Francis Pages and John Robinson. Knowledge of the remaining apprentices

remains sketchy or a complete blank, with the exception of Samuel Rapillart about whom I have already written.⁴ David Macret is thought to have ended up in Jamaica. Henry Gignilliat returned to the land of his birth, America, and ran a successful inn in South Carolina. And then there is Francis Vaillant. [see table]

Francis Vaillant

Francis Vaillant was Willaume's first, and illegal, apprentice. Illegal because he was taken on three months before Willaume had obtained the freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company by redemption in 1693.⁵

Francis Vaillant was the son of the bookseller of the same name. Originally from Paris, the family had moved to Saumur in the Loire valley where Francis was born in 1678. In 1685, just prior to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Vaillant Sr obtained permission to move his wife, children and all his goods to England. They were obviously of no mean status as the allowance of the removal of goods was rare. Family tradition has it that they were smuggled to these shores in barrels, a not-infrequent occurrence for Protestants fleeing persecution. Once here they settled in Strand, now Southampton Street. The bookselling business grew; they were retailers of second hand books, French volumes and, as devout Protestants, religious tracts. Francis's elder brothers, Paul and Isaac, appear to have entered their father's business leaving their younger sibling to pursue a different career. There is no evidence as yet that the Willaumes and Vaillants were connected by marriage but their respective premises in Charing Cross and Strand were very close, so it would seem that this proximity was the reason that Francis entered the care of Willaume in June 1693 at the age of fourteen, or thereabouts. The indenture of apprenticeship⁶ is not of the usual type, as it has no City livery company armorials and the wording differs from the normal. Nonetheless it is printed in English and may be a translation of the French form. Vaillant became free on 10 July 1700 and on the reverse of the indenture paper Willaume has inscribed, in French, words to the effect that Vaillant has finished his time with all the fidelity required of an honest man with which he is very happy and satisfied. However Willaume does not appear to have accompanied Francis Vaillant to his freedom ceremony as the witness is another apprentice, Lewis Mettayer. Willaume must have known that the apprenticeship was irregular and, sure enough, a few months later a query arose over the correctness of the apprenticeship and freedom. Court minutes at Goldsmiths' Hall⁷ record that a letter had been received from the chamberlain of the City of London noting that Vaillant had been apprenticed three months before

his master took up his freedom but unless there was any other objection he could be made free of the Company. The Court of Assistants at the Hall decided that he might do so on payment of a fine of three guineas. Vaillant paid forthwith.

Five years after his freedom was at an end, and presumably after working his time as a journeyman, Francis Vaillant married Catherine Pearson at St Paul's Covent Garden.⁸ They had five children but only two, William and Susan, appear to have survived for more than a few years. He was in New Exchange Court in Strand in the early 1700s and, according to his policy with the Sun Insurance Company,⁹ he moved with his goods to the 'Angel' next door to Boyles Alley also in the Strand in 1710. There he stayed for two years before disappearing. Neither I nor Vaillant family members have found any mention or evidence of Francis or his whereabouts after that date. The only clues are two mentions of his children. One is that William and Susanna were beneficiaries under their grandfather Francis Vaillant's will written in 1715. Francis Vaillant Sr writes that his estate is to be equally divided between his children with the exception of the share of Francis, which is to be used for the benefit of William and Susan Vaillant and excluding any claim from their father.¹⁰ The other mention is that of Susan, who in 1724 was apprenticed to two women in St Giles-in-the-Fields; no parents were listed.

I seem to have drawn a blank¹¹ with Francis but for the following quote in the records at Goldsmiths' Hall:

On Monday 13 July 1709 at a court of Wardens Mr Vaillant appeared and submitted himself for working silver salts worse than standard.

He was then excused on payment of a fine of 2s 6d.¹²

So we know that he did indeed trade as a silver-smith, and this leads me to two unidentified hall-marks noted by Arthur Grimwade, VA an anchor above, and VA an anchor between; found on a tea caddy 1704/05, Easter and coffee pot 1709/10, and an inkstand 1703/04.¹³ These I contend, admittedly on little evidence, are the marks of Francis Vaillant.

We already know that his apprenticeship was not straightforward, so it would not be surprising that he might use a mark without formally registering it. In 1709 he was supplying substandard wares. The only other possible contender with a surname beginning VA in Goldsmiths' Hall records is a Richard Vaughan. But it is a fourth point that I believe lends more substance to the attribution. Francis's family, as I have mentioned, were strongly religious and were booksellers; the sign and trade card of the Strand bookshop was a ship. The early Christian symbol of hope is an anchor. I think that Francis had every reason to choose an anchor as a symbol in his mark.

4. *The Silver Society Journal*, no10, 1998, p56.

5. This further confirms that David Willaume did not enter a mark in 1688, as mentioned in the first paragraph.

6. City of London Record Office, CP1/164/101.

7. 17 April 1701.

8. IGI, Guildhall Library.

9. Sun Fire Insurance registers, vol 1 p19, MS 11936

10. Will of Francis Vaillant Sr, PROB 11/579/62.

11. Since giving this talk I have received new information, however it is as yet unsubstantiated.

12. Goldsmiths' Company Court Minutes, no11 1708-19.

13. A.G. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their marks and lives*, 2nd edition, London 1982, nos 3850 and 3851.

A further snippet of information

As I have already mentioned I believe these men were retailers and I am actively pursuing those who supplied them with goods or who worked for them. This is not an easy task, so you may imagine my glee when I stumbled across a chaser and the names of those he worked for. Moreover, and here I am happy to be corrected, I believe I have found the earliest discussion as to whether a layman should be able understand hallmarks. All this information is contained in a court case of 1754.

Nicholas Byron, a chaser, was working on a number of pieces for Aymé Vedeau, William Cripps, William Grundy and Peter Archambo & Peter Meure. Instead of returning the pieces Byron pawned them and ran off to France with the money. The goldsmiths then prosecuted the pawnbroker for the return of their goods as they said he should have recognised their hallmarks and known that they were not the property of the chaser. The broker responded that as he didn't understand the hallmarks he had no reason to believe they belonged to anyone but the chaser. However he did supply the court with a list of the silver, giving a description, drawings of the hallmarks, weight and the money lent. Sadly I do not know the outcome of the case.

I had always thought of Aymé Vedeau and William Grundy, particularly, as chasers. But now I

must think again. Interestingly, too, parts of objects seem to have been sent for chasing, ie a lid of a coffee pot, various parts of tables and waiters, a foot, possibly a dish and a basin. Two were listed with the maker's marks and the date letter for 1754, which would seem logical, but there is also mention of a silver punch ladle, maker's mark WF and the date letter M. I don't know whether this was for 1727 or 1747 – but either way it was being later chased! This case puts paid to the present wisdom that if the chasing is through the marks it is always later. There is now no doubt that these silversmiths kept plain hallmarked wares in stock and presumably only sent them for chasing when clients requested further fashioning.

The text of a talk given to the Society on 25 January 1999, with the addition of a few details discovered subsequently.

Note

As readers will realise, this is an update of work in progress and much may change: for example the date of first and last work so far noted, in the table. Any comments on the content of this paper will be welcomed – as indeed will any clues regarding David Willaume and his apprentices.

NAME	BORN	APPRENTICED	FREEDOM	FIRST MARK	FIRST & LAST WORK NOTED BY AUTHOR	DIED
David Willaume I	1658		1693	1697	1698-	1741
Lewis Mettayer	pre 1687	1693	1700	1700	1706-1721	1740
Isaac Cousin		1693				
Francis Vaillant	1678	1693	1701		see text	after 1721
Pierre le Cheaube	1684	1700	1707	1707	? - 1734	after 1726
Jean Petry	pre 1689	1700	1707	1707		1723
David Willaume II	1693	1707	1723	1728	? - 1750	1761
Henry Gignilliat	1692	1707				1742
David Tanqueray		1708	1722	1713	1718-1723	post 1727
John Marin	1695	1709				1718
John Robinson		1710	1717	1723		post 1726
Samuel Rapilliat	1697	1712				1718
Philip Jacobus Everett		1712				
William Peach		1713	1742			
Charles Hatfield		1711	1727	1727	1727-1740	1740
Pierre Vouigny	1704	1718				
Francis Pages		1718	1734	1729	1730-1740	1767
Aymé Vedeau	1708	1723	1734	1734	1735-1755	
William Kidney	probably 1702	1723	1734	1734	1734-1766	post 1748
John Quakly		1724				
Peter Darthus		1728				
William Cripps	1715	1731	1738	1743	1744-	1766
John Vowels	1716	1730	1743			post 1756
David Macret	1719	1733				? post 1750
William Smart		1738				
Edward Parry		1739				
Thomas Pitts		1737	1744	c 1744		

Four selected assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company

Thomas Sinsteden

The work of Dudley Westropp and Sir Charles Jackson¹ with considerable help from Robert Day,² John R. Garstin and Dr Waterhouse³ laid a solid foundation for the study of Irish silver which led to two excellent books by Douglas Bennett.⁴ This paper adds considerable detail of the Dublin goldsmiths' trade and examines the type and amount of silver assayed in Dublin for each of the Dublin goldsmiths' workshops over selected periods from 1638 to 1788. Not only does this study confirm the prominence of the most familiar goldsmiths but also brings to light several new names, especially from those workshops that were not large or lucky enough to have any of their silver survive the ravages of time.

In order to emphasise and differentiate a Dublin assay year and date letter (1 November to 31 October) from a London assay year and date letter (May to May) reference to the Dublin assay year and date letter will be preceded by a symbol ♣.

For example: The date letter and assay year for 1 November 1702 to 31 October 1703 will be written ♣1702/03. If the date letter was used for two years, for example 'R' for 1 November 1705 to 31 October 1707 this will be written as ♣1705/07.

This in no way affects the way in which calendar years are written (see p127) yet it clearly depicts a Dublin assay year, which is made up of two months of one year and ten months of the next.

The assay records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Hall are patchy before 1800 but reasonably intact thereafter, with some 120 ledgers extant. They contain unique records of the type and quantity of silver submitted for assay by Dublin goldsmiths. An inventory of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company's possessions taken in 1696 records seven books of entry. Of those it appears that five have survived.⁵

A detailed analysis of the records covering a period of 150 years gives us a wonderful insight, from the goldsmiths who were most productive to those that seemed to just barely make a living. This analysis also leaves us with an impression of Dublin as a city in good times and bad seen through the goldsmiths' trade. Detailed entries exist only for short periods but they contain a wealth of informa-

tion and represent a unique source for the terminology used to describe an item. They also tell us which items were the most popular and how many were made and by whom. This in particular will help us identify and verify the marks of many goldsmiths on surviving items.

Under Charles I, in 1637, the Dublin Goldsmiths' Guild was granted its second charter stipulating the harp crowned, known as the 'king's mark', as the standard mark. The charter did not stipulate a date letter but a similar date lettering system to London was adopted starting with 'A' in 1638. The earliest assay records to survive start in April 1638 [1] and are entered in a ledger in a neat hand covering the years 1638 through 1649. This ledger was probably copied from a 'waste book' or rough ledger sometime after 1649. William Cooke was master warden for the first year and assay master for the first few years.

1638-1649

Table 2 shows the number and type of items that were submitted in the first twelve years. For example from the first block of entries [1] we see that William Cooke brought in

4 beer boules, 2 sugar boxes, 2 Spanish cupps and a cover of a caudle cup - 124oz5dwt.

Beer boules or beare booles appears to be a term used for a beer container,⁶ however their shape is unclear. John Woodcock brought in

a bason, 18 trenshers and one spoon - 300oz

1. Sir Charles Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, London 1909 and 1921. Ian Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver & Gold Marks*, Woodbridge 1989.

2. Robert Day, antiquarian, was one of the first Irish silver collectors who took an academic and an investment interest in this field. He maintained a detailed account of his collection, published several articles especially on provincial silver and sold his collection at auction on three occasions.

3. Waterhouse was the first person who laid out the Dublin date lettering system with reasonable accuracy.

4. *Irish Georgian Silver*, London 1972 and *Collecting Irish Silver*, London 1984.

5. [1] Assay Ledger (recently restored) contains assay records from 1638 to 1649 and a few pages of notes concerning touch money and diet signed by the company clerk, William Pridham. There is a note dated 9 November 1660 stating a total of 21,977oz was assayed from 12 February 1656/7 to 9 November 1660 and a diet of 78oz11dwt remained on hand. A further notation states that from 10 November 1660 to 27 October 1663 33,437oz were assayed and from 27 October 1663 to 26 October 1666 31,428oz were assayed. (note cont'd)

That is about 10,000oz a year. This assay ledger continues with complete entries from 1694 to 1700. [2] Apprentice Ledger, from 1637 to 1703. [3] Quarterages Ledger from 1654 to 1701. [4] Minute Book from 1686 to 1731. [5] Yearly Accounts Book from 1692 to 1716.

6. 'Come to plate, every taverne can afford you flat bowls, prouet cups, beere bowles, beakers; and private householders in the citie... can furnish their cupboards with flagons, tankards, beere-cups, wine bowles, some white, some percell gilt, some gilt all over, some with covers, some without, of sundry shapes and qualities' from Thomas Heywood, *Philocathonista*, or *The Drunkard Opened*.

In Prompt of Surg
Plate ad hath been
touched in goldsmiths Hall
from the 6th April 1638

4 beere bowls 2 sugar
bowls 2 spanish supps & a
towel of a tawdle cup of
of with 1 book 0124:05
now for him 24 spoones
and 3 salts 0079:15
a bason & ewer, w^m Hampton 0117:00
a bason 18 trenchers & one
spoon. John Woodroffe 0300:00
2 Cans with books 0045:05
6 salts matron Thomas 0006:00
D. A. I. with 12 salts 0012:00

1 The first entry of plate submitted for assay. 'An Account of silver plate and hath been touched in goldsmiths Hall from 6th April 1638'

These 'trenchers' are probably trencher salts. However the entry 'salt' also occurs and their weight varies considerably. For example Mathew Thomas brought in '6 salts' (in all 6oz) and William Hampton brought in '1 salt' (in all 31oz17dwt). A spool-shaped scroll salt marked by George Gallant with date letter 'C' survives at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. George Gallant submitted several salts in ♣1640/41.

Under the next block of entries [2] James Vanderbeck brought in

1 ewer, 1 bason, 1 stoope - 205oz

and William Cooke brought in

2 basons and ewers - 224oz

Cans commonly weighed around 20oz and a ewer and bason around 120oz. The term 'stoope' was popular in the early seventeenth century for a large and tall tankard for wine. One can find the term used today in the inventories of university plate. A stoope marked by James Vanderbeck with the date letter 'A' survives in Trinity College, Dublin and may represent this very entry. In the ledgers four tankards, one stoope and no flagons were recorded. Ten wine

1. Ex. ar, 2 rans. G. Gallant 0068 : 05
 1. Ex. ar. 1 bason. 1 spoon. of
 Jacob Vanderbort — 0205 : 03
 7 point. G. Gallant — 0088 : 10
 2. Boulb. Mathew Thomas — 0021 : 05
 2. porring. P. Vantyntho — 0015 : 10
 1. Chan. 1 Boulb. W. Hampton — 0026 : 03
 2 Bason. 1 Ex. ar. W. Hook — 0224 : 05
 now. 1 toll. 7 pot. 24 Spoon. — 0074 : 14
 6 Boulb. 5 Spoon. W. Hampton — 0058 : 00
 21 point. G. Gallant — 0212 : 06
 4 point. Ja: Vanderbort — 0021 : 16
 6 point. P. Vantyntho — 0057 : 03
 5 Spoon. D. Underwood — 0006 : 06
 2 Boulb. 7 Spoon. W. Hampt — 0045 : 10
 1. Ex. ar. — 0021 : 15

2 The beginning of the second block of entries. This block has no title but may represent the quarter August to October 1638.

cups were submitted for assay. One wine cup by William Hampton also with the date letter 'A' survives today.⁷ Peter Van Hoven (also spelled Vaneinthoven) brought in twelve spoons weighing about 2oz each. George Gallant brought in twenty-four spoons also weighing 2oz each and six pieces more weighing on average 10oz each. Five 'aqua-vita cups', all weighing around 1oz were submitted. These small cups are probably those that later became known as dram cups. Three tasters were submitted at 1oz each; it is probable that they represent wine tasters. Four sugar boxes were submitted but no tea or coffee pots were recorded. 432 spoons were submitted and represent by far the most common item; unfortunately only two survive, one made by George Gallant with the date letter 'B' for ♣ 1639/40 (in the National Museum of Ireland) and one of circa 1638 with no date letter (at the Ulster Museum).

Many of the items submitted were entered as 'pieces' without describing the items. There were

288 pieces recorded. The weight of these pieces varied considerably and thus they do not represent one type of item. I have no convincing explanation why the recorder did not describe those items in detail. Most Irish silver surviving from this period is church silver, yet only two chalices and no communion cups were entered for assay. However eight communion cups, some with paten, with date letters 'B', 'C' and 'D' survive.⁸ Taken together, this data suggests that church silver may have been exempt from assay fees, yet hallmarked. A further conflict arises from these records in that a pair of flagons with inscription 'ex dono T.B. 1638' and a communion cup and paten with date letters 'B' and 'C' and maker's mark 'IT' for John Thornton survive at St Finbar's in Cork. From table 1 one sees that John Thornton did not submit any silver for assay from 1638 to 1649, which is not surprising as he only became free of the Company in 1653.

In all 10,393oz were submitted for assay from

7. Presently on display at the National Museum of Ireland on loan from a church in Wales. Published in Alfred Jones, *The Church Plate of the Diocese of Bangor*, London 1906, pl xiv no2.

8. Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, Dublin 1996.

Table 1 Ounces submitted by each goldsmith 1638-49	
Cooke, William	2948
Gallant, George	1949
Vaneyndhouen, Peter	1033
Vanderbeck, James	984
Hampton, William	867
Woodcocke, John	630
Bellingham, Daniel	412
Chadsey, Edward	220
Tongues, Gilbert	178
Stoughton, Nathaniel	142
Wright, Christopher	116
Gallant, William	106
Thomas, Mathew	96
Underwood, Daniel	71
Vaneyndhouen & Tongues	56
Cuffe, Robert	53
Greene, George	48
Burfeld, Daniel	44
ffrutrill, Ambrose	36
Parnell, Thomas	8
More, John	6
Total ounces	10393

1638 to 1649 [table 1]. William Cooke submitted almost 3000oz in the first few years. Clearly he was the most active goldsmith in Dublin before the Civil War. George Gallant submitted almost 2000oz and this was followed by Peter Vaneintheven and James Vanderbeck with almost 1000oz each. Most Dublin goldsmiths submitted less than 200oz each annually from ♣1638/39 to ♣1648/49.

Coinage

In October 1641 major rebellion broke out as a result of racial and religious discrimination and dispossession of the Catholic Irish people from their lands, particularly in Ulster. Although the confederates failed to take Dublin Castle the city suffered considerable damage.

A mint was established in 1642 and Gilbert Tongues, clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company, was appointed mint master. Additional coin was urgently needed and the lord justices ordered the people to redeem their plate. This plate was roughly cut up into specific weights and struck with pennyweights and grains and then circulated at their bullion value.⁹ This first issue is known as 'Inchiquin money' since Lord Inchiquin was commander of the Protestant forces. After two further issues of cut plate money in 1646 the lord lieutenant, the Marquess of Ormonde, ordered gold coins to be struck (the double pistole 8dwt 14gr and the pistole 4dwt 6gr). These are the only gold coins to have been struck in Ireland.

With silver being cut up for coinage it is not surprising that no silver appears to have been assayed

Table 2 Items submitted for assay 6 April 1638-49	
Spoon	432
Peices	288
Trenshers (salt)	70
Boules	64
Salt	53
Can	27
Plate	24
Dish	14
Tumbler	11
Wine cup	10
Porringer	10
Cup	8
Ewer	7
Candlestick	7
Sawcer	6
Tunne	6
Bason	6
Beer bowl	5
Aquavita cup	5
Tankard	4
Sugar box	4
Wine bowl	3
Taster	3
Cup & cover	3
Caudle cup	3
Spurrs a pair	2
Spanish cup	2
Pot	2
Nut ??	2
Fruit Dishe	2
Chalice (chalin)	2
Sword hilt	1
Stoope	1
Small cup	1
Lampe	1
Foot of dish	1
Cover of caudle cup	1
Caudle cup and cover	1
Chaffing dish	1
College pot	1

in ♣1642/43 and ♣1643/44. From ♣1644/45 to ♣1647/48 the annual amount of silver assayed was around 200oz. In ♣1648/49 when the war ended, 526oz were assayed. Most of the items submitted for assay were small: spoons, wine tasters, tumblers, aquavita cups and two nut garnishes (one by Edward Chadsey 4oz10dwt and one by Gilbert Tongues 5oz16dwt). Robert Cuffe submitted one chalice in ♣1645/46. The largest items were a few cups and covers and a few tankards, one in ♣1647/48 by Daniel Bellingham (who became the first lord mayor of Dublin)

Date letters

Only rarely are notations made in the Dublin Goldsmiths' records of the date letters used for specific years. In this regard it is especially noteworthy that the start of the new assay year is five months later than in London. In London, until recently, the date letter changed in May on the feast of St

Plate assayed and touched in
 1647 and 1648 the letter
 being K: Peter Vanoynd
 & Gilbert Tongues
 Assay masters

3. Heading for the assay entries for ♣1647/48.

Dunstan, the patron saint of the London Goldsmiths' Company and the wardens were elected on that day. The Dublin Goldsmiths' has All Saints as its patron, which falls on 1 November. The new master and wardens took office and the master warden handed in all accounts on 1 November.

At the beginning of each assay year from ♣1644/45 to ♣1648/49 the records were headed with an entry, such as for ♣1647/48 'Plate assayed and touched 1647 and 1648 the letter being K & Peter Vaneynthoven & Gilbert Tongues assay masters'. [3] This clearly indicates that the date letter was changed during the year and was intended to be changed every year.

In the 'quarterages ledger' in 1659 one finds a notation

Order that the letter b a small roman capital letter be struck by the assay master upon all the silver plate which shall be brought to his office and approved of by him after the day of the date here until the first of November next.

This is the only record telling us the date of change over.

Six months of 1694

The next assay records that have survived start on 13 February 1693/4 with Thomas Bolton as assay master. Unlike the previous assay entries, which were entered neatly and copied from a waste book, these entries were entered in the rough as the items were brought in. For a period of about six months the recorder dutifully described the items brought in for assay under each goldsmith.

On 9 May 1694 when Thomas Bolton brought in a pair of servers, 6 spoons, 2 candlesticks, and a hand

candlestick, - 4 lb 10oz

Mr John Billing brought in

1 bason, 2 beakers, and a pair of sconces, - 3 lb 3oz

and Mr Joseph Walker brought in

1 hilt and pommel, - 8 oz

Figure [4] shows that occasionally larger job lots were submitted. On 4 May 1694 Mr John Cuthbert brought in

5 tankards, 4 servers, 2 pairs of candlesticks, 18 salts, 2 sets of casters, 2 cans, 3 cups, 12 forks, 12 hafts, 8 spoons and a ladle in all 34 lb 4 oz or 412oz

Table 4 shows the type and quantity of items submitted for assay over a period of six months in 1694. Again we see that spoons were the most common item submitted: 151 by David King, 109 by Thomas Bolton, 98 by John Humphries, 83 by John Cuthbert, 70 by John Billing, 72 by Joseph Walker, 56 by Vincent Kidder, 50 by John Phillips, 30 by James Thompson, 26 by George Cartwright, 26 by Andrew Gregory, 19 by James Welding, 17 by Robert Smith, 14 by Anthony Stanley and less than ten by each of six other goldsmiths.

At the end of the seventeenth century we see many forks and knife hafts compared to none in the 1640s. For example John Phillips submitted 54 forks and Thomas Bolton 40. A total of 103 servers or salvers were submitted of which Thomas Bolton submitted 27, John Cuthbert 13 and John Billing 12. I suspect that these are salvers on foot since several with the date letter 'K' survive. Sixty-eight cups and 12 cups and covers were submitted. John Clifton made most of the cups submitting ten but almost all goldsmiths submitted at least one cup. Thomas Bolton submitted two cups and three cups and covers (one fine cup

10. It is interesting that both the term porringer and bleeding are used to describe the item. This suggests, as with many other utilitarian silver articles, that they were made to be used for a variety of purposes. For a discussion of bleeding bowls see *Connoisseur*, June 1942, p142.

11. Sotheby's London, 28 February 1974.

12. Twenty-four communion cups are listed in Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, Dublin 1996. The date letter K continued to be used until at least 1696 so many more could have been made later.

May 4th 1694
 Mr Cuthbert tankards
 4: saunas 2: payn of candle
 sticks 18: salts 2: salt of cuss
 tars: 2: Cans 3: cups -
 12: forks 12: haffs 8 spoons
 1: Leadle

34 04 00

4 Assay entry for 4 May 1694.

and cover with date letter 'K' by Thomas Bolton is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Ten monteiths (sometimes spelled montooth or montoth) were submitted: Joseph Walker submitted three, John Humphries and John Cuthbert one each.

Fifty-five cans and 33 tankards and 5 booze or beare cups were assayed, of which James Thompson submitted three, William Myars one at 5oz and Andrew Gregory one at 6oz. One trimming pot and one trimming basin were assayed for James Wilding and one bleeding porringer for Thomas Bolton.¹⁰ On 31 July 1694 Thomas Bolton submitted one combe (coombe) box, two powder (poader) boxes, two patch (pach) boxes and one glass (glas) frame. A partial dressing set with the date letter 'K' by Thomas Bolton survives.¹¹ Two-hundred-and-nineteen salts of around 2oz each were assayed. In the 1640s salts were described as trenchers or salts and varied considerably in weight, whereas in ♣ 1693/94 they were entered as salts only. Unfortunately I am not aware of a single surviving salt with the date letter 'K' so I can only assume that these salts were similar to English examples. On 29 June 1694 David King brought in one mustard pot and one pepper box, in all 17oz. Note that the mustard article was described as a pot and not caster or box. If this were a mustard pot to serve mustard paste it would be an early example. Twenty-three sets of casters were assayed of which Thomas Bolton submitted five and John Billing four, John Cuthbert four, and David King three.

It is surprising that only one communion cup and cover was recorded as assayed, yet many with the date letter 'K' still exist to day.¹² Is it possible that church silver was still generally exempt from assay fees? Most communion cups of this period have hallmarks, verifying presentation to the assay master.

Table 3 shows the total ounces submitted by each

Table 3 Ounces submitted by each goldsmith 25 March - 1 November 1694	
Bolton, Thomas	2081
Cuthbert, John	1418
Phillips, John	920
Billing, John	896
Walker, Joseph	853
King, David	818
Humphries, John	807
Kidder, Vicnent	565
Gregory	473
Smith, Robert	426
Thompson, James	364
Clifton, John	197
Stanley, Anthony	184
Weldon, James	159
Nelthorpe, Anthony	155
Wildar	103
Cope, John	101
Mackay, Alex	90
Cartwright, George	84
Voiseen, Abraham	64
Dixon, John	60
Pemberton, Benjamin	44
Swan, David	39
LaRoche, Guy	32
Buck, Adam	24
Myars, William	18
Drayton, William	13
Hevin, Timothy	10
Kennedy, Stephen	8
Archbold, William	7
Total	11013

goldsmith in roughly the same six month period.

After November the recorder only entered the occasional description of an item brought in. Clearly the output of the Dublin goldsmiths increased and to record each item brought in became tedious. Since individual item recording was unnecessary it ceased. At this time only the silversmith's name and the total

Table 4
Items submitted for assay
1 April - 31 October 1694

Spoons	848
Forks	263
Salts	219
Knife hafts	123
Serwars or salvers	103
Cupp	68
Canns	55
Candlestick	34
Tankard	33
Casters, set of	23
Dramp cup	22
Tumbler	19
Porringar	15
Ladle	15
Plate	13
Cup & cover	12
Kayne heads	8
Caudle & cover	6
Skonce or sconce	5
Montoth	5
Booze or beer cup	5
Snuffers & pan	4
Patch box	4
Beaker	3
Stand	2
Snuff pann	2
Powder box	2
Porringar & cover	2
Mustard pot	2
Glas Frame	2
Cruthos	2
Chalice	2
Chaffing dish	2
Box groattan	2
Basson	2
Triming pott	1
Triming bason	1
Topp piece candlestick	1
Tobackow box	1
Snuffer box & extinushar	1
Skillett	1
Savvy? spoon	1
Ring	1
Pin cushon	1
Pepper box	1
Pap spoon	1
Hilt & pomell	1
Hand candlestick	1
Grater?	1
Dressing plate set	1
Cover	1
Coombe box	1
Comuon cup & cover	1
Bleeding porringer	1

weight in pounds, ounces and pennyweights of the job lot of each goldsmith was entered. On 24 May 1695 there is a note in the assay ledger stating 'Paid Mr. Foster for A Booke to sett doune the tuch-money—05/00/00'.¹³ From 6 August 1695 both weight of the silver assayed and the charge of one penny an ounce was entered for each goldsmith. From 31 September 1697 both the 'in' weight on one side of the page and the 'out' weight with assay fees on the other side of the page were entered.

As has been stated before, in general the date let-

ter changed yearly on 1 November. However it appears that from the Williamite wars to 1723 this system was not rigidly adhered to. Several letters appear to have been used for more than one year.¹⁴ I have recorded the output on a yearly basis to allow for any further clarification of date letters. We know when the date letter 'K' was in use in ♣1693/94 because the ledger states 'Plate assayed and touched part of in the year 1693 and 1694 the date letter K Mr. Bolton Assay master'.¹⁵

1694-1699

Table 5 shows the output from each goldsmith from 13 February 1693/4 to 31 October 1699.

In ♣1693/94 John Phillips was master warden and Thomas Bolton assay master. Thomas Bolton had the most silver assayed and John Cuthbert, John Phillips, John Billing and Joseph Walker all submitted over one thousand ounces each. Stephen Kennedy and a Mr Wright, cutlers, submitted their first hilts. These cutlers were not free brothers of the company and did not pay quarterly dues yet had to submit their hilts for assay and pay the assay fee. I have not been able to find a silver hilt of this period to determine if these cutlers put their maker's mark on them. Most hilts weighed 8oz; therefore by dividing the total ounces submitted by the cutlers from ♣1693/94 to ♣1698/99 by eight will give us a figure of at least 290 hilts. One would hope a few have survived.

In ♣1694/95 Captain Benjamin Burton¹⁶ was master warden and Thomas Bolton assay master. The date letter 'K' was still being used although by convention it should have been changed on 1 November 1694. A total of over 17,000oz was assayed over the twelve months. Five goldsmiths submitted more than 2000oz, most increasing their output over the previous year. John Billing had died in 1694 and Thomas Billing, his brother, was admitted to the guild on 2 February 1694/5 and sworn a free brother on 1 May 1695. The maker's marks of John and Thomas Billing have yet to be identified. Since several marks have been attributed to Thomas Bolton it is possible that one of these may actually belong to Thomas Billing.

Captain Benjamin Burton was master warden for the second year ♣1695/96 and submitted accounts for the year in November. Thomas Bolton was assay master. Dublin was in a mode of recovery. The population was estimated to be around 40,000 and was growing rapidly, as were the number of houses.¹⁷ Five goldsmiths produced over 2000oz each and the total silver assayed was just short of 20,000oz. This converts to about 1/2oz of Sterling per inhabitant of Dublin. Plate surviving with the date letter 'K' includes works by Thomas Bolton, Joseph Walker, John Cuthbert, Andrew Gregory, John Humphries,

13. The 05/00/00 was entered under the weight 'in' column so I am not sure whether it represents the weight of the book or the price. On 31 July 1693 Mr Foster was paid 16s for three books, thus I must presume the five pounds is weight not Sterling.

14. Sir Charles Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, London 1909 and 1921.

15. Benjamin Burton, banker and lord mayor of Dublin in 1706 (Ormonde Papers, MS 2477 p383, NLI), was a free brother of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company but I have found no record of any silver assayed for him.

16. William Peity estimated that Dublin population was about 32,000 or one twelfth of London in 1681 and had grown to 40,000 in 1696 and to 50,000 in 1705. (J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, vol V-VI, Dublin 1895/6).

part of
 Please Paid and watched in the year
 1693 and 1694 the both R the
 may Bolton Gaymays

5 Ledger for February 1693/4.

17. J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, 1896, vol VI, p179-180.

18. Now in a private collection.

William Drayton, James Thompson, William Myers and Anthony Stanley.

For ♣1696/97 Vincent Kidder was master warden and submitted the accounts in November 1697; Thomas Bolton was still assay master. The minute book records that differences arose between the wardens and Mr Bolton. This led to the resignation of Thomas Bolton as assay master on 5 June 1697 and he was amicably discharged on 2 July that year. These differences appear to have arisen from the failure to adhere to principles of the oath taken by Thomas Bolton on swearing in as assay master on 16 March 1692/3. Again the minute book records:

Mr. Bolton also on reading of his petition further proposed to quit his shop and trade within six months and the corporation should be at liberty to discontinue him from the employ as assay master if upon due examination he should not be found qualified for the same.

Clearly he did not quit his shop or his trade. In addition, he was continually late in paying his assay fees. On 6 August 1695 he paid £ 9-1-3½d for fees going back to 13 February 1693/4. Following Mr Bolton's discharge, Vincent Kidder took over as assay master and no silver appears to have been assayed for Mr Kidder from that time on. The order that no assay master shall keep shop while in office was respected from then on.

On 21 June 1697 there is a note in the accounts 'paid for two letters 4 shillings'. This may represent the cost of two new date letter punches 'L' for ♣1697/98 and on this occasion starting in July 1697. However it remains unclear when the date letter changed from 'K' to 'L'. It may have changed on 1 November 1696 with the election of the new master warden Vincent Kidder.

In ♣1696/97 over 25,000oz were assayed. Thomas Bolton submitted over 5000oz. John Cuthbert, David King, John Phillips and Joseph Walker submitted over 2000oz each. Vincent Kidder submitted 1921oz from 1 November 1696 to 2 July 1697. Seventeen goldsmiths submitted less than 200oz each. Thirty-three goldsmiths submitted plate for assay that year. Thomas Bolton had 11oz of gold assayed on 13 August 1697, ten days after the Dublin Corporation council awarded the chief justices a gold

freedom box to the value of £30 each and the lord chancellor a gold box not exceeding £20.¹⁷ Thomas Bolton paid 5s6d in assay fees. This translates to 6d an ounce. The going rate for gold was 1s an ounce. The lord chancellor at the time was John Methuen. None of these boxes has come to light. James Weldon (also spelled Welding) increased his output to over 1000oz. The style of Mr James Weldon's W of his signature is similar to Mr Joseph Walker's W and interestingly the W in both their maker's marks resembles the W of their signature. This makes it difficult to tell them apart. Mr Weldon's marks are on a pair of salvers-on-foot of ♣1685/86¹⁸ well before Mr Walker was a free brother.

John Clifton was elected master warden for ♣1697/98 and Vincent Kidder maintained his position as assay master. Date letter 'L' appears to have been used for another year. This may have occurred because the date letter 'K' may have changed to 'L' in July 1697 and therefore 'L' had not been used for a full year. Thomas Bolton's workshop was now in top gear and submitted over 10,000oz. Mr Bolton no longer had obligations to the assay office and as a sheriff on the council of Dublin corporation he was in an advantageous position to increase his orders. Several other goldsmiths increased their output but not to the same extent. Joseph Walker submitted over 5000oz and David King over 4000oz. Thomas Billing and Anthony Stanley submitted over 1000oz for the first time. A total of close to 38,000oz was assayed in 1698.

John Humphries was elected master warden for ♣1698/99 but David King was subsequently appointed acting master warden while Mr Humphries was away on business in England. Mr King submitted the accounts for ♣1698/99. Because the date letter 'L' was used for more than one year the date letter 'M' may have started on Mr Humphries' election. A total of over 45,000oz was assayed in ♣1698/99. Thomas Bolton still submitted most silver for assay, although a little less than the previous year. Joseph Walker and David King increased their output considerably. Thomas Bolton submitted a gold box (5oz) for assay on 3 November 1699 and paid 5s for assay fees, the standard rate. Dublin Corporation awarded this box on 27 October

Table 5
Ounces submitted for assay by each goldsmith February 1694 - 31 October 1699

	♣1693/94	♣1694/95	♣1695/96	♣1696/97	♣1697/98	♣1698/99	Total
Archbold, William	7						7
Aspole [cutler,hilts]				17	63	8	88
Bennet				18			18
Billing, John	1041						1041
Billing Thomas		254	605	960	1129	1846	4794
Bolton, Thomas [gold]				11		5	16
Bolton, Thomas	2259	3324	3652	5524	10,436	9239	34434
Buck, Adam	24						24
Cartwright, George	97						97
Clifton, John	207	308	391	739	830	1414	3889
Cope, John	125	40	121	74		217	577
Cuthbert, John	1563	2195	2000	2536	2541	2375	13210
Dickson, John	60	77	8				145
Desbrough, Thomas				123			123
Drayton, William	13	168					181
Eakin [cutler,hilts]					7		7
Garrett, John			11	82	91	255	439
Gregory, Andrew	515	604	844	931	895	303	4092
Griffiths [cutler,hilts]						104	104
Heavin, Timothy	10	40	4		63	99	216
Humphries, John	835	1552	1529	650	2622	963	8151
Ince, Robert			247	16		44	307
Jackson [cutler,hilt]						6	6
Jones				58	26		84
Kennedy, Stephen [cutler]	8		8	38	584	843	1481
Kidder, Vincent	601	948	1149	1921			4619
King, David	979	1499	2394	2617	4033	6652	18174
LaRoche, Mathew	36	15					51
Mackie, Alexander	119	84		7	26	20	256
Mathews, John				51	15	4	70
Mius				7		22	29
Myers, William	18	41					59
Nelthrope, Henry	167	66					233
Pemberton, Benjamin	50	19	87	148	71	95	470
Phillips, John	1113	1403	2149	2729	2119	2949	12462
Rummiou, David					140	95	235
Sherwin, Henry					17	14	31
Sinclair, Alexander		329	182	469	2149	3623	6752
Six, Flor					35		35
Skinner, William						14	14
Slicer, Edward Jnr				19			19
Smith, Robert	593	736	293	368	868	890	3748
Stanley, Anthony	184	781	420	541	1085	2051	5062
Stoyde [cutler,hilts]					24		24
Swan, David	39		5	26	9	99	178
Thompson, James	456	254					710
Voizin, Abrahm	64	15	38	195	142	276	730
Waggoner, Christopher				248	509	1004	1761
Walker, Joseph	1038	2154	2274	2811	5312	7422	21011
Weldon, James	159	253	463	1253	1171	2012	5311
Whitchurch					19		19
Wildar, Samuel	171	121	396	285	480	523	1976
Wright [cutler,hilts]	6			48	437	257	748
Total ounces	12557	17280	19270	25520	37947	45743	158317

1699 to George Berkely, one of the lord justices, to a value not exceeding £30.¹⁹ It would be rewarding to find this box to confirm that the date letter 'M' was used. Five cutlers submitted hilts for assay. Understandably, because Mr King was appointed acting master for ♣1698/99 during Mr Humphries' absence, he was elected master warden for the ensuing year of ♣1699/1700 during which date letter 'M' was used.

Looking at the last column of table 5 showing the combined output for each goldsmith up to 31 October 1699, one can see that most of the goldsmiths produced less than 5000oz in that six-year period. Thomas Bolton, on the other hand, submitted almost a quarter of all silver assayed. Unfortunately little is known of the size of his workshop and how many apprentices and journeymen he employed at that time.²⁰ If one considers a fashion-

19. J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, 1896, vol VI, p227.

20. John McCormack, 'The Sumptuous Silver of Thomas Bolton (1658-1736)', *Irish Arts Review* 1995, vol 11, p112-116.

21. And that is a conservative estimate in that Andrew Gregory was paid £1-18-9d for fashioning a 76oz15dwt cup for the Hall in 1699, that is 2s an ounce (account book).

22. At a city council meeting on 19 July 1728 Thomas Bolton petitioned for support for the relief of himself and his family having had many misfortunes and troubles which had left him very much reduced and low in his circumstance. Whereupon £30 was granted to John Bolton the petitioner's son and that £50 per annum be paid quarterly for the support of his children. J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, vol VII, pp424-425.

23. It is interesting to note that David Rummiou only submitted 61oz, giving him a 50% survival rate.

24. Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, Dublin 1995.

25. A two-handled cup and cover with harp handles with date letter R and 'IP script' was sold Christie's New York, 28 October 1988 lot 388.

26. J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, vol VI, p368.

27. In the collection of the National Museum of Ireland at Collins Barracks, Dublin.

28. J.T. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, vol VI p397.

29. At a meeting at Goldsmiths' Hall on 4 February 1704 it was ordered 'that Anthony Stanley be prosecuted (as council shall advise) for keeping open shop he being not free of this city or this corporation'. (Minute Book p119)

ing fee of one shilling an ounce²¹ Thomas Bolton's workshop would have had a gross income of £1750. It is therefore not surprising that he was in a position to act as banker and loan the Goldsmiths' Company £200 at 7% for building their own new hall on Werburgh Street in 1707. What is surprising is that after being lord mayor of Dublin in 1716 a comfortable retirement eluded the lord mayor.²²

The next assay ledger starting on February 1699/1700 has unfortunately been lost. The next extant ledger runs from 2 November 1705 to 31 July 1713 but is only covered in this paper up to 31 October 1709.

1705-1709

James Welding, master warden from November 1704, died in June 1705 and Robert Smith was elected master warden for the remainder of the year. James Welding's widow handed in the yearly accounts in November 1705. Robert Smith remained master warden for ♣1705/06. The date letter 'R' appears to have been used for a second year. Vincent Kidder was assay master. A total of close to 40,000oz was submitted for the year. Alderman Thomas Bolton was still running an active shop and submitted over 11,000oz for the year. On 24 September 1706 Mr Bolton brought in 281 lb (or 3374oz) of plate for assay and paid £14-1-2d for his assay fees which, not surprisingly, took a few days for the assay master to collect. Unfortunately it was not recorded what these items were, but this lot was split into several groups and weighed separately. It was the largest recorded lot and it could represent a large order for an important appointment such as lord lieutenant. Seven goldsmiths produced over 1000oz: Joseph Walker submitted over 8000oz, David King close to 6000oz, Alexander Sinclair 2500oz, John Cuthbert Jr 1800oz, Edward Workman 1300oz, Edward Barrett 1300oz and John Pennyfather 1000oz. Nineteen other goldsmiths submitted less than 1000oz each. Only a few items seem to have survived from those goldsmiths who submitted less than 1000oz a year each. For example a beaker and a paten survives of Henry Matthews, a soap box of Christopher Hartwick, a knife of John Clifton, a set of four trencher salts and a pair of table spoons of Robert Cuffe, a communion cup and paten of William Archdall, and a tankard of 30oz8dwt of David Rummiou.²³ Considerably more items survive with maker's mark of Thomas Bolton (17 or more items), Joseph Walker (19 or more items) and David King (15 or more items).²⁴ In most instances the survival rate compares with the individual's yearly output.

In November 1706 Edward Slicer was elected master warden for ♣1706/07. He was the son of John Slicer (free 1654) and became free by patri-

mony 1 August 1693. No silver appears to have been submitted for assay by Edward Slicer. A total of close to 42,500oz was submitted. In this year Joseph Walker submitted over 10,000oz, Thomas Bolton 8590oz, David King 6845oz, Alexander Sinclair 2533oz, Edward Barrett 1682oz, Edward Workman 3036oz, John Cuthbert Jr 1539oz, John Pennyfather 1388oz, and John and Henry Mathews 1258oz. John Pallet submitted 78oz. The makers mark 'IP script' has been attributed to John Pennyfather or John Pallet. Because John Pennyfather submitted over 1000oz this year and John Pallet only 78oz it is likely that any items surviving with the date letter 'S' are by John Pennyfather.²⁵ The Dublin city corporation awarded a freedom box not exceeding £25 to Richard Freeman, lord high chancellor of Ireland, on 24 June 1707. Another gold box was awarded on the same day to Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant, not exceeding £30 sterling.²⁶ There are no assay records for these two gold boxes. However the Freeman freedom box survives and was made by Thomas Bolton and has the date letter 'S'.²⁷ Although there are no assay entries for these gold boxes, it is most likely that the boxes were made in June or July of 1707. Twenty-four goldsmiths submitted less than 500oz for the year. For example Mrs Welding brought in 13oz on one day. Because this is the only lot she submitted it is unlikely that she attempted to carry on her husband's shop and trade. Other widows of Dublin goldsmiths, such as Mary Barrett and Esther Forbes, successfully carried on the workshop of their husbands.

In November 1707 Edward Slicer was elected master warden for a second year (♣1707/08). The date letter 'S' was probably used for a second year. Vincent Kidder remained assay master. A total of almost 44,000oz was assayed. Joseph Walker submitted over 11,000oz, just 11oz short of Thomas Bolton's record output of 11,251oz in ♣1705/06. Thomas Bolton submitted 8540oz, David King 7489oz, Edward Workman 2969oz, Alexander Sinclair 2732oz, John Cuthbert Jr 1620oz and John and Henry Mathew 1145oz. The two Matthews are grouped together because the entries on occasions did not specify which Mathew was submitting plate for assay. Adding up the weight of all items listed as hallmarked in *Irish Stuart Silver* for ♣1706/07 and ♣1707/08 results in at least 2000oz. Therefore at least 2% of the silver made in those two years survives to-day.

In November 1708 Thomas Browne was elected master warden for ♣1708/09 and Vincent Kidder was assay master. The date letter 'T' was used. Thomas Browne was an engraver and seal cutter. He was responsible for cutting the punches for the hall and occasionally paid his quarterly dues by supplying the hall with new punches. The total output for the year rose to 45,000oz. Joseph Walker and David King submitted close to 10,500oz each. Thomas Bolton submitted just short of 8000oz, Edward

Workman 3298oz, Alexander Sinclair 2599oz and John Cuthbert Jr 1941oz. Robert Smith submitted 1587oz – considerably more than in previous years. John Hamilton, who was sworn a free brother during the year, had 728oz assayed. The Hall received its first delivery of silver made in a provincial town. A Mr Ferrendine from Cork delivered 78oz18dwt on one day but only 12oz passed assay. Cork was trying to establish their own assay office and with only 12oz passing assay this probably hastened their effort but without avail. Thomas Bolton submitted another gold box of 5oz on 10 May 1709. This box was awarded to Thomas Wharton, lord lieutenant on 6 May 1709.²⁸ John Cuthbert Jr submitted 4oz of gold rings. Surprisingly little gold seems to have been assayed. The gold that was assayed appears to have the same hallmarks as silver and there is no evidence for a separate ledger for gold. Thomas Slade, a quarter brother, submitted 42 hilts and Anthony Stanley, a quarter brother, submitted only 42oz compared to his usual of 500oz and even 2000oz in 1699. Quarter brothers were not allowed to employ journeymen or to keep shop. This rule stood until 1722. Stanley was caught trying to set up a retail shop and was taken to court and fined.²⁹

Reviewing the combined output for the four years shows that this time Joseph Walker submitted most of the silver assayed, almost a quarter of the total. Thomas Bolton and David King submitted over 30,000oz each. Again most of the silver surviving has the marks of these three goldsmiths and silver from workshops that produced less than 10,000oz over the four years is much rarer. The ledger continues until 31 July 1713.³⁰

1787-1789

The last assay ledger analysed in this paper, of 1787-89, is what assay ledgers should have looked like all along. It offers an enormous insight into the goldsmiths' trade of Dublin in the late eighteenth century. This meticulously kept ledger contains detailed descriptions of all the items submitted for assay by the individual goldsmiths during those years.

This ledger is subject to a thesis (by Alison Fitzgerald of University College, Dublin) and thus I only report an analysis for the first full four quarters from 1 May 1787 to 30 April 1788. From this we can gain a sense how the goldsmiths' trade had developed since Queen Anne's time.

Fig [6] shows the entries on one page for 18 March 1788. Eighteen goldsmiths submitted silver for assay that day. The number of goldsmiths working in Dublin had increased from thirty during Queen Anne's time to fifty. However the increase in the population of Dublin was even greater and the type of silver produced was quite different. Smallworkers were definitely the predominant producers.

	♣1705/06	♣1706/07	♣1707/08	♣1708/09	Total
Archdall, William	399	37	437	595	1468
Aspole				110	110
Barrett, Edward	1306	1682	868	1251	5107
Beaulieu, Peter	125				125
Billing, Thomas	250	137	233	32	652
Bolton [gold]				5	5
Bolton, Thomas	11251	8590	8540	7975	36356
Buck, Adam		288	25	81	394
Cartor, John	202	332	623	469	1626
Clifton, John	588	661	737	482	2468
Cuffe, Robert	415	239	509	17	1180
Cuthbert [gold]				4	4
Cuthbert, John Jnr	1791	1539	1620	1941	6891
Cuthbert, Mrs			29		29
Daniell, Henry				56	56
Eakin			8		8
Farrendine [Cork]				12	12
Forbush, Robert	212	217	278	218	925
Girard, Francis	223	243	614	358	1438
Gregory, Andrew			6		6
Hamilton, John				728	728
Hartwyck, Christopher	853				853
Hauley, Benjamin			12		12
Jackson [?cutler]		8			8
Jones, Joseph	8				8
Killright?				9	9
Kindt, Christian		130	91	184	405
King, David	5923	6845	7469	10460	30697
Ling, George	116	47			163
Mackey, Alexander	99	48			147
Mathews, Henry				725	725
Mathews, John/Henry	633	1258	1145		3036
Palett, John		78	32	13	123
Parker, Thomas/ George		5			5
Pattison, John		42	83		125
Pemberton, Benjamin			5		5
Pennyfather, John	1024	1388	469		2881
Phillips, John	144	147	62		353
Pilkington, Robert				21	21
Rummiou, David	61	175	756	773	1765
Ruston	14	7	5	7	33
Sherwin, Henry	8	37	4	10	59
Sinclair, Alexander	2549	2533	2732	2599	10413
Skinner, William	522	712	761	28	2023
Slade, Thomas	40	182	152	338	712
Smyth, Robert	521	337	671	1587	3116
Stanley, Anthony	497	519	311	48	1375
Swan, David		17	44		61
Tough, Philip	134	298	364	203	999
Walker, Joseph	8284	10605	11240	10508	40637
Welding, Mrs			13		13
Williamson, John				24	24
Workmann, Edward	1313	3036	2969	3298	10616
Wyos	51	10	58	42	161
<i>Total ounces</i>	39556	42428	43975	45211	171170

Specialisation allowed for efficient production and this appears to have been well established by the 1780s. Many goldsmiths, such as buckle makers or button makers, probably still worked their own silver for the most part, yet were specialised in that they only produced one or two types of items. Others with a larger output had a team of workers with an 'assembly line' type of production.

Table 7 shows the ounces assayed for each goldsmith or workshop and the ounces 'broke' if not up

30. I am continuing my work on this ledger and the following: the next extant ledgers of 1725-1729, 1729-1733, 1744-1748 and two ledgers of 1748-1758 with parts missing.

to standard. In [6] this was the case with Nicholson, Pittar and Connor. Close to 4000oz or about 5% of silver submitted were broke and returned to the goldsmith having tested below standard. Not in all cases would a goldsmith's entire lot be returned, and frequently those items that were returned appeared again on the following touch day in slightly different numbers. If a goldsmith submitted less than five ounces on an assay day, such as watchcases, buckles or mason's jewels, no assay fee was due and those weights were entered in a separate column. John Pittar and John Stoyte submitted most ounces of silver for assay with 10,200oz and 8800oz respectively; both exclusively submitted flatware. The most prominent buckle makers were Thomas Connor who submitted over 5000oz of buckles, William Law close to 3900oz of buckles and Peter & Co almost 3400oz. The large plate workers were: Mathew West who submitted 6000oz, Joseph Jackson 4000oz, Thomas Jones around 3500oz, William Bond close to 2800oz, Robert Breaden 2750oz, Christopher Haines 1800oz, James Fray 1500oz, Richard Williams 1275oz and Ambrose Boxwell 700oz.

Table 8 shows the total number of each item that was submitted for assay. About 50% in weight of all silver assayed was flatware. For example John Pittar submitted 8476 teaspoons, 2044 tablespoons, 1352 dessert spoons, 213 gravy spoons, 199 sauce spoons, 46 tureen ladles, 627 table forks, and 121 dessert forks. John Stoyte submitted 10,782 teaspoons, 1439 tablespoons, 980 dessert spoons, 146 gravy spoons and 38 tureen ladles and no table forks or dessert forks. James Kenzie, another flatware specialist, concentrated on forks submitting 400 table forks, 18 dessert forks, 212 tablespoons and 326 dessert spoons. In addition to the above mentioned Michael Keating, John Daly, John Osborne and William Ward were flatware specialists. Considering that 30,000 teaspoons and 6000 tablespoons were made yearly it is not surprising that many survive. It is interesting however that only a quarter as many table forks as table spoons were made. For dessert forks this ratio is considerably greater, making dessert forks a relatively rare commodity. Almost 600 gravy spoons and 262 sauce spoons were submitted. It is unclear whether the gravy spoons were both stuffing spoons and divider spoons (these terms did not appear in the ledger). Twenty-one asparagus tongs, 8 fish trowels, 3 fish slices, 4 trowels and 4 shovels were submitted. Thomas Connor submitted over 2000 shoe buckle pairs and over 1000 knee buckle pairs and a Mr Cassidy 454/384, William Law 1011/1156, Nicholson 38/1080, Ambrose Nicklin 649/493, John Nicklin submitted 26 shoe buckle pairs and only 5 knee buckle pairs but 461 buckle pairs; Mr Harley 764 buckle pairs and 91 shoe buckle pairs. I am unclear whether there is a difference in shoe buckle pairs and buckle pairs. They both weighed about the same. Samuel Teare made most of the buttons with 513 coat buttons, 194 vest

Table 7
Silver assayed
1 May 1787 - 30 April 1788

<i>Goldsmith</i>	<i>Oz</i>	<i>Under 5oz</i>	<i>Broke</i>
Pittar	10207		510
Stoyte	8798		453
West	6001		45
Connor	5399		275
Keating	4250	4	351
Jackson	4026	20	43
Law	3866	12	77
Jones	3374	11	3
Peter & Co	3373	4	131
Osborne	3166		535
Daly	2964	1	401
Bond	2778	10	39
Breaden	2744	12	3
Nicklin, A	2030	5	148
Harley	1938	4	169
Hill	1897	12	74
Haines	1789	7	8
Kenzie	1532	14	249
Fray	1488	19	
Williams	1275	4	
Cassidy	1259	4	56
Nicklin, J	1259		50
Homer	1249		
Taitt	764	49	52
Boxwell	702	4	44
Ward	609	3	70
Kennedy	535	87	8
Daffron	362	42	83
Nicholson	309	195	82
Cock	191	14	11
Kavanagh	191	4	9
Teare	103	34	
Nangle	94	16	12
Beauchamp	82	13	
Hamill	57		
Ticknell	53	15	
Broome	29		13
Sherwin	14	6	
O'Neill	11	46	2
Greene	6	14	6
Cooley	5		
Hutchinson	3		3
Ryan	2	33	4
Alley		4	
Bolland		14	5
Harrison		9	
Huddy		2	
Close		2	
Total	80784	747	4024

buttons and 47 pairs of sleeve buttons. He also made 84 shoe clasps and 3 asparagus tongs. Other button makers were Bolland, Cassidy, Cooley, Greene, Harley, Huddy, Law, Nangle and West. Benjamin Taitt made 106 wine labels, John Sherwin 94, Daffron 62 and William Law 45. Benjamin Taitt also made most of the asparagus tongs numbering nine. William Bond was another semi-specialist who submitted 94 out of the 112 tundishes (wine funnel) and 85 of the 96 saucers (funnel stand). He also made cups, sugar dishes, boats, ewers, tea trays, waiters, salts, tea pots, one butter cooler and one wine taster.

Table 8 Items submitted for assay 1 May 1787 - 31 April 1788					
Buckle - shoe pr	5804	Bowl	14	Kettle - camp	1
Buckle - knee pr	4949	Bowl & cover	2	Tankard	5
Buckle - bridle pr	25	Boat	353	Cann	12
Buckle pairs	2110	Boat - cream	22	Tumbler	21
Children's buckles	10	Bowl - cream	2	Jewel set Mason	9
Shoe clasps pr	306	Ewer - cream	9	Snuffer tray	9
Stock	103	Ewer	119	Snuffer pr	12
Ladle - tureen	171	Pan - sauce pan	9	Spurrs pr	13
Ladle - sauce	9	Pan; cream [saucepan]	2	Argyle	1
Spoon - sauce	262	Dish ring	23	Frippery stand	2
Tea shell	3	Dish stand	4	Tureen	2
Tea ladle	7	Basket - bread	12	Tureen & cover	5
Spoon - tea	28,160	Basket; bread handle	2	Tureen - sauce	18
Spoon - table	6087	Coaster pr	28	Tureen - sauce & cov	4
Spoon - desert	4783	Coaster	59	Tureen stand	8
Tongs pr - sugar	1486	Cruet frame	29	Dish - salad	3
Tongs pr	135	Cruet frame handle	3	Dish - stake & cover	2
Wine lable	312	Cruet mounts	30	Dish - table	53
Spoon - Egg	6	Cruet ring	12	Dish cover	14
Spoon - gravy	598	Cruet top	143	Pistol or gun mount	15
Spoon - salt	2829	Plate - table	82	Large cup	1
Spoon - butter	192	Plate - desert	4	Castor top	30
Spoon - cream	55	Tray - large	1	Casseroles & cover	4
Spoon - sugar	1	Tray - tea	21	Milk pot	1
Trowel	4	Tundish	112	Milk tub	4
Trowel - fish	8	Waiter - large	1	Whip mount	1
Fish slice	3	Waiter	54	Egg cup	13
Skewers	174	Saucer	96	Pistol cap pr	10
Skewer head	7	Tray - spoon	13	Pistol guard	2
Shovel	4	Salt pr	100	Pistol mount pr	2
Scoop	61	Salt	121	Candlestick	8
Spoon - marrow	22	Mustard pot	17	Hand candlestick	8
Scoop - beef	6	Pepper caster	4	Extinguisher	6
Fork - table	1535	Pepper box	2	Socket	8
Fork - desert	306	Wine taster	2	Chalice	5
Fork - salad	17	Epergne	5	Patten	4
Fork - haft	30	Epergne bottom	9	Methes	1
Tongs - asparagus	21	Epergne bason	2	Pen pr	2
Knife haft handle	160	Epergne collets	13	Mercury pr	1
Knife & fork haft	68	Epergne branch	48	Cork screw	4
Haft	129	Epergne baskets	32	Toast rack	2
Knife - fish	61	Epergne frame	10	Pap boat	1
Knife - butter	13	Epergne saucer	4	Feeding boat	3
Knife - desert blade	104	Tea pot	31	Noggin cover	1
Watchcase pr	75	Tea pot stand	14	Slop bowl	1
Watch box	20	Tea kitchen	3	Bushia	1
Snuff box	156	Tea um	1	Porringer plate	5
Snuff box - round	18	Tea caddy	1	Porringer	1
Goblet	46	Coffee pot	5	Pint cup	2
Goblet pr	4	Coffee um	2	Shaving box	1
Cup	346	Chocolate pot	2	Waiter - hand	2
Cup pr	15	Butter cooler	7	Pint cup	7
Large cup	1	Button - coat	1045	Castor	2
Cup - cover	2	Botton - vest	293	Porringer cover	1
Cup & cover	8	Botton - sleeve pr	383	Corner table dish	4
Sugar dish	170	Jug - water jugg	2	Sugarmutt foot	1
Sugar um	5	Jug - punch jugg	5	Tea pot spout	2
Sugar bowl	22	Jugg	3	Grater	2
Sugar basket	2	Pot - water	1	Mason square	1

Christopher Haines made the vast majority of the coasters, cruet frames and cruet tops and many of the epergne parts. Mathew West submitted most of the hollow-ware submitting 262 boats, 189 cups, 101 sugar dishes and 53 ewers amongst other items.

Joseph Jackson submitted two tea kitchens (Robert Breeding one). Jackson also submitted 35 ewers, 34 boats, 16 tundishes, 13 tumblers, 46 table plates, 9 dish rings, 16 sugar dishes, 20 goblets and the two frippery stands.³¹

31. The dictionary defines a frippery stand as a stand for toiletary utensils.

Conclusion

An analysis of the assay records from the beginning of the second charter to the late 1700s has shown us that the Dublin goldsmithing trade grew consistently except during times of war and civil unrest. The Dublin goldsmiths submitted about one tenth as much silver for assay as the London goldsmiths.³² This ratio is similar to the population ratio of the two cities. The number of goldsmiths submitting plate for assay grew from about twenty to fifty. However, many of those goldsmiths submitted only a small quantity annually. Fifty percent of the silver submitted was generally submitted by four to six of the most prominent workshops which produced around 10,000oz annually. To put 10,000oz of silver into perspective, one has to imagine all the Sterling silver offered in a good sale at one of the major auction houses in New York or London being gathered together in a single display. It seems improbable that any one goldsmith could have produced that quantity of silver in one year. Thus even during Queen Anne's time, the Dublin workshops of the most prominent goldsmiths which had a sizeable team of workers, probably had to out-source work to the less prominent goldsmiths. So if thirty goldsmiths submitted plate for assay, at least one hundred skilled persons would have been employed in Dublin at a time. In recent years I have been compiling a list of all persons involved with the goldsmiths' trade in Dublin from 1638 to the middle of the nineteenth century. This list now exceeds 2000 persons. Many of those persons are apprentices and journeymen. This list does not include many skilled

artists such as engravers and chasers and certainly does not include less skilled workmen such as hammermen and polishers.

The data revealed in this study of four assay records, spanning 150 years during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, shows that the Dublin goldsmiths' trade and guild operated on a similar basis to London, albeit at one tenth the size. However, the Dublin Goldsmiths' Hall ran their business quite independently from London, in contrast to English provincial towns which were kept under close scrutiny by the London Hall. Because the Dublin guild evolved from the London model, though through its own charter, it is surprising that I can find little or no communication between the Halls during these 150 years. Except at times of war the Dublin goldsmiths' trade grew throughout this period and the Dublin goldsmiths' guild oversaw a consistently high standard of workmanship and trade. Finally, this study has shown the output of each goldsmith or workshop during the periods examined, providing historical evidence for the surviving pieces: of their goldsmiths' identity, period of manufacture and potential rarity.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company and in particular to assay master Ronald LeBas for access to the records, his warm hospitality and encouragement to pursue this research.

The author spoke to the Society on 22 February 1999. He is continuing his research on this subject.

Tuesday 18th March 1788		lb. of Prep. Receiv.
	Touch money brought over	£45.1.6
W. Wood	2 Gout. 2 table spoons, 1 T. ladle	1.1
Coburn	12 Table, 12 Desert, 21 tea spoons	4.6
	3 p ^r Sugar tongs	
Nicholson	12 p ^r knee buckles	6.11
Teating	12 Desert spoons, 4 Table forks	1.5
Homer	2 Cups, 1 Large waiter	14
Mill	5 p ^r Buckles	2.4
Morley	10 p ^r D ^o	2.5
Victor	7 1/2 p ^r D ^o	1.1
Therrie	20 Desert spoons	1.3
Bond	2 Sugar dishes, 8 Salts, 1 Beate	6.2
	9 Hatts, 4 turn dishes, 4 saucers	
Laur	14 p ^r Shaw, 57 p ^r knee, 4 Stock D ^o	7.5
	10 p ^r Children's buckles	
Pittars	1 Table fork, 24 table spoons	3.5
Therrie	6 Snuff boxes	11
Jones	1 p ^r Gablets	1.2
Williams	2 hand waiters	1
Connor	28 p ^r Buckles	4
Jackson	1 Peagrie frame, 1 D ^o collets	11
	2 Table plates, 2 sugar dishes	
		63.8
	Nicholson 6	7.11
	Pittars 3.5	
	Connor 4	
	Note w th chargeable with Duty	55.9
	Am ^t of touch money on D ^o	2.15.9
	Touch money carried forward	£17.17.3

Dublin hallmarks

A reappraisal of date letters used 1638–1756

Ida Delamer and Conor O'Brien

1. Sir Charles J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 2nd edition London 1921, republished 1964. The revised 3rd edition (Woodbridge 1989) omits Jackson's comprehensive essays on Irish goldsmiths and their marks. All references are to the 2nd edition.

2. Jackson, pp x and 605.

3. W.J. Cripps, *Old English Plate*, 1878.

4. Jackson's discussion of the Dublin date letters is not included in the 3rd edition.

5. Jackson, p588. The scrapings taken for testing from plate submitted to the assay office were known as the 'diet'. Every few years or so the accumulated diet was 'tried' in the presence of the master and wardens. This involved its being weighed, melted together and assayed for purity. Apart from providing a monetary valuation of the diet, the exercise was a check on the performance of the assay master. Since the base metal component of the diet should have been lost during cupellation (the assay method), the residual diet should be pure silver. Occasionally it was found, inexplicably, even to be below Sterling standard. The weight of the diet might also show up the taking of excessive scrapings (above 4 grains per pound) for assay purposes. The residual diet was expected in practice to fall out at 2 grains per pound assayed.

6. *Idem*.

The publication in 1905 of Sir Charles Jackson's definitive history of the goldsmiths of the British Isles, followed by a second edition in 1921,¹ were landmarks in the historiography of antique silver. Each included chapters specially devoted to Irish hallmarks and makers' marks, with Jackson expressing particular personal satisfaction with this section of the work, claiming 'that there is not a book or document in the possession of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company which has not been thoroughly examined. Everything of importance in the elucidation of this subject has been extracted'.² While he owed much to the earlier, ground-breaking studies of the Dublin assay office archives by W.J. Cripps,³ the work of Jackson and his collaborators a century ago was nonetheless an extraordinary achievement and has long satisfied the needs of antiquarians and collectors, such that all subsequent works on Irish silver have, for the most part, adhered unquestioningly to Jackson's attributions. Inevitably though, with the passage of time, some shortcomings have been exposed.

In the course of compiling a catalogue of Irish silver from the collection of the National Museum of Ireland, on exhibition in their new location at Collins Barracks in Dublin, we were prompted to reappraise a considerable number of the attributions for date letters and makers' marks published by Jackson and accepted by later writers. Perusal of the records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company revealed that they had been far from exhaustively utilised to divine the tenure of date letters and, likewise, the identities of makers' marks. Furthermore since Jackson's time, numerous additional items of plate whose date of manufacture may be inferred from inscriptions or other documentary particulars, have come to light. Such pieces have enabled us to confirm, refine or amend as appropriate, several of Jackson's date letter attributions. The tables of hallmarks appended to this article reflect our interpretation of the new information brought to light. The essence of our findings and the conclusion leading to the revisions to Jackson's code are given hereun-

der. In all references in the text to Jackson we are referring to his second edition of 1921.⁴

From the surviving, albeit scant, records of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company, it would seem that it was the intention of the Company, once it had received the royal charter in December 1637, though not a requirement of the charter, to adopt the London practice of stamping pieces with a date letter, in Dublin's case changing it each year on 1 November, the feast of All Saints (after whom the guild had been anciently named). In practice, however, this seems not to have been punctiliously observed. A lax attitude is revealed as early as 1660 when a memo relating to the trial of the diet on 9 November 1660 noted that the date letter in used at that time was the lower case 'b'.⁵ In strict terms, the use of 'b' should have ceased on 1 November 1660 and been superseded by 'c' then, for an ordinance adopted on 12 November 1659 required 'that the letter b, a small Roman letter, be struck by the assay master ... until the first day of November next'.⁶ The times, however, were not conducive to the strict observance of procedures of this nature, possibly considered petty and of little relevance to the uncertain marketplace then, much less of importance to unimagined collectors three centuries later. The country was only beginning to emerge from the cataclysmic Cromwellian regime during which in some years the Company even failed to elect a new master and wardens. Preceding the Commonwealth period had been the collapse of authority in the wake of the departure from Ireland in 1640 of the ill-fated lord deputy Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and the outbreak of insurrection in the following year. In order to pay the army an impoverished government in Dublin was twice in January 1642/3 forced to order citizens to bring in their plate to be coined, Gilbert Tonques and Peter Vaneijndhoven being appointed to appraise it and assay any 'untouched' plate.⁷ Given such circumstances it would be surprising that any significant amount of new plate was being wrought at the time, let alone date letter punches being cut for the assay office.

The use of the date letter

Despite the apparent intention in the early days of the Company to follow London's practice, it would seem that it was not until the 1770s that a serious commitment to apply the date letter as standard practice evolved. It seems probable that for the duration of the original cycle of letters starting in 1638, when a new date letter punch was being cut the letter chosen was that which would have been in operation had the annual sequence commencing in 1638 been observed unbroken. Thus, with regard to the memorandum of 9 November 1660 mentioned above, while its main purpose was to observe that the diet accumulated between 12 February 16576 (when the diet was previously tried) and 9 November 1660 amounted to 7oz 1 ldwt, it concluded with the remark 'letter T and lett.b', as if to place on record that these were the letters used during this period of two years and nine months. It seems significant that no reference was made to letters 'U' and 'a', and given that no examples of these date letters are known, whereas pieces do exist with 'T' and 'b', we have adopted the position that 'T' applied from 1657, being replaced on 12 November 1659 by 'b' as ordered by the Company.

It would appear that about this time the practice was abandoned of assigning a letter to a specific year of office in the Company's calendar, for we find that the same letter punch might be used for longer than one year, and even several years, being replaced without any apparent predictability, perhaps at the whim of the master or when it had become worn or damaged. The irregular pattern in the Company's cash books to entries for payments for punches is further evidence of haphazardness. To give but one example, payments were recorded for letter punches on 1 February 1705 but not again until 9 October 1708.⁸ This might suggest that a new date letter punch was introduced in January or early February 1705, and not replaced until three-and-a-half to four years later. Similarly with other years at this period: seldom is there correspondence between dates of payments for punches and a 1 November introduction date.

It was not until about 1747, with the introduction of a new cycle of letters, that the practice of confining the duration of a date letter to a specific twelve-month period was adopted with any constance – despite an ordinance of the Company in 1686 instructing the assay master to do so,⁹ and an Act of Parliament in 1729¹⁰ implicitly creating a statutory obligation to apply the date letter mark – an obligation as much disregarded as it was honoured during the subsequent forty and more years. This confounding situation with regard to date letters in Dublin is exacerbated by the practice adopted in the assay office from about 1730 until the 1770s of frequently omitting the date letter when marking

pieces. The only pieces to be found from this period stamped as a matter of course with date letters are tablespoons and forks; other pieces may or may not bear a date letter. Unfortunately nothing which might explain such anomalous attitudes to date letters is to be found in the Company's minute books or other records.

Since there are so few references in the Company's records to the appointment of particular letters for specific time periods, decoding of the letters used depends largely on discovering marked pieces whose date of manufacture can be ascertained from data such as contemporary dated inscriptions or purchase records. The changes we propose to the currently accepted date letter codes are based on data of this nature noted over several years. We would stress that the amendments proposed are by no means definitive. They merely represent our efforts to reconcile the date letter codes with the corpus of 'documentary' pieces encountered to date. Undoubtedly in the course of time the discovery of additional 'documentary' pieces will occasion further adjustments.

1642–1674

Since little evidential material of any kind from the period 1642 to 1674 appears to have survived, it is not possible to assign date letters with any degree of certitude at this time. We incline anyhow to the view that until the Old English 'B' punch was introduced about 1674, date letter punches were seldom replaced during the preceding three decades.

1674–1719

Old English 'B' (formerly 1679/80). Two standing cups in the National Museum bear Dublin hallmarks with this date letter and maker's mark of Edward Swan. They are engraved with the arms of the Dublin Merchants Guild and an associated inscription naming the masters and wardens and dated AD 1674. The records of the Guild show that the brethren felt at this time that their plate, consisting of many small pieces, should be turned into two large drinking cups. On 12 January 1673 it was accordingly ordered that the masters and wardens 'do cause 2 great cups to be made of said plate'.¹¹ In the light of these two pieces it is clear that 'B' was in use from at least 1674. Two communion cups also with this date letter are known. One, belonging to St Michan's Church in Dublin, is inscribed 1674; the other, of St Audeon's in Dublin, is inscribed 1677.

Old English 'C' (formerly 1680/81). A pair of tankards now held by the Merchant Taylors' Company, London, are marked with this date letter

7. Though not relevant to the subject of this essay, some readers may nevertheless find it interesting to note the composition of the plate (1201oz, of which 54½oz 'untouched') sent in by Sir Adam Loftus, vice-treasurer of Ireland. The receipt (M.2451, National Archives Ireland) dated 17 January 1642/3 details the items: 36 trencher plates and a trencher salt, a chafing dish, 6 saucers, 2 cruets, a syllabub pot, a sugar box, a cream bowl, 5 fruit dishes, a hoar and 2 small boats, an aqua vitae cup, 2 wine bowls, 2 flagon pots, 2 beer bowls, 2 belly cans, a nest of 9 tuns, a warming pan and a pair of snuffers.

8. Jackson, p591, gives further examples.

9. Jackson, p590: 'the assay master for the time being shall yearly and every year hereafter enter with the clerk of the company the letter of the year with which he marks each brother's plate'

10. Comprehensively quoted in Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, London 1972, pp38–41.

11. 'De Rebus Urbanae', Merchants Guild, vol I, p157. MS in Dublin City Library.

and carry an inscription stating they were made in 1680 for the corresponding Merchant Taylors' Guild in Dublin. An alms dish in St Werburg's, Dublin, is inscribed with the date 1683 and bears this date letter. Extending the tenure of this letter to 1683 better accommodates the available data.

Old English 'D' (formerly 1681/82). A communion cup has been recorded with this date letter and an inscribed date 1683.¹² Having regard to the extension of the previous letter, we suggest 1683/84 as more appropriate for 'D'.

Old English 'E' (formerly 1682/83), 'F' (formerly 1683/84) and 'G' (formerly 1685/87). Three pieces (a trefid tablespoon and two tankards) have been recorded with the Old English 'E' of this cycle but none is date inscribed.¹³ No example of 'F' has yet been identified. Several dated pieces marked 'G' have been recorded, eg a communion cup of St Werburg's, inscribed 1685, a communion flagon inscribed 'Anno Dom 1687',¹⁴ a communion cup and paten of St John the Evangelist's Church with an inscription indicating the plate had been hidden in 1689 and recovered after King William's victory at the Boyne in 1690, a communion cup inscribed 1690,¹⁵ and a paten inscribed 'Deo in usum 1693'.¹⁶ We would suggest that no 'F' punch was used, perhaps 'G' being cut unintentionally in its place and employed from sometime in 1685 until 'K' came into force in 1693, as indicated in the books of the Company,¹⁷ with no letter 'I' punch being cut.¹⁸ The uncertain political state of the country consequent upon the 1685–91 war between the kings, James and William, may perhaps have contributed to the slackness in the assay office towards renewal of date letter punches at this period.

With 'L' assigned to 1696/99, and presuming letter changes every twelve months thereafter, the 'documentary' pieces noted tended to support the dates assigned by Jackson until reaching 'R', when the two-year duration 1705/07 seems to fit more snugly

than his 1704/06. The payment on 1 February 1705 'for cutting letters' may refer to the purchase of the 'R' letter punches. We have moved 'S' forward by a year to 1707/08. An 'S'-marked rare gold freedom box by Thomas Bolton, given to lord chancellor Freeman on foot of a resolution adopted by the corporation of Dublin in July 1707, suggests this letter was already in use in mid-1707. A high incidence of pieces with inscribed dates from 1709 to 1713 and stamped with date letter 'T' suggests that 1708/12 rather than Jackson's 1708/10 would accommodate the date more comfortably.¹⁹ Possibly the 'T' punches were the '2 letter punches' paid for on 9 October 1708.²⁰ The most convincing evidence that 'T' applied later than 1710 relates to two maces. One is the mace of Trinity College, Dublin, made by Thomas Bolton. It bears this date letter 'T', and according to Bolton's receipt for payment, dated 12 April 1712, he supplied it to the college in the previous month, March 1711/2.²¹ The other is the Galway corporation mace. It bears a maker's mark, attributable to John Cuthbert Jr, and the Dublin hallmarks again with date letter Old English 'T', struck in several places. A Latin presentation inscription states that the mace was donated in 1712 by Edward Eyre.²² He had been mayor in 1710, 1711 and 1712.²³ It would seem highly probable that he had the mace commissioned during one of his earlier terms of office, either in 1710 or 1711, and that he made a gift of it at the conclusion of his final term.

Of six date-inscribed pieces noted with the Old English 'U', one was inscribed 1712, two were 1713 (one to 24 December 1713), one 1714 and the other 1715.²⁴ We would therefore suggest that 'U' commenced in 1712, possibly on 1 November, and stood for the year. Two communion cups marked with the Old English 'W' are recorded in Cork churches, one carrying an inscription dated 20 April 1714, the other 'Anno 1714'.²⁵ These being the only dated pieces

12. Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, Dublin 1995, p67.

13. *Ibid.*, p68.

14. *Ibid.*, p73.

15. *Ibid.*, p72.

16. *Ibid.*, p73.

17. Jackson, p589. The reference to the date letter occurs in the caption to a column of entries, commencing 13 February 1693/4, in a ledger presumably kept by the assay master or his clerk. The caption reads 'Plate assayed and touched in part of the year 1693 and 1694 the letter K Thomas Bolton Assay master'.

18. Jackson, p606, shows an 'I' for 1646/47 as pertaining to a paten in Sutton Mandeville. The maker's mark appears very similar to Thomas Bolton's and might suggest that the 'I' should have been assigned to some year in Bolton's working life (1686–circa 1730). This, however, may now be discounted, Jackson apparently having been grossly misinformed about the piece, a recent examination revealing that it bears a hitherto unrecognised Hibernia mark.

19. These are recorded by Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, Dublin 1995, pp157–61.

20. Jackson, p591.

21. E.H. Alton, 'The Plate of Trinity College in the time of Provost Baldwin', in *Hermathena*, lxxv, 1950, pp49–62. See also notes 51 & 52 below.

22. G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 'The Galway Sword and Mace', in *Galway Arch.Soc.Jn.*, xlix, 1960, pp1–28.

23. James Hardiman, *History of Galway*, Dublin 1820, p222.

24. Tony Sweeney, *Irish Stuart Silver*, Dublin 1995, pp171–72; Charles A. Webster, *The Church Plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, Cork 1909, pp23, 77, 117.

25. Webster (note 24), pp53, 55.

26. Sotheby's London, 3 May 1984 lot 2. A manuscript note in the box stated it was presented on 15 October 1714. While the grant of freedom would have been so dated, some time must have elapsed after the assembly meeting for the gold box to be made, hallmarked and engraved before physical presentation to the earl.

27. R. Wyse Jackson, 'Old Church Silver of East Killaloe', in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, ii, 1940–41, p66.

28. St John D. Seymour, *Church Plate and Parish Records, Diocese of Cashel and Emly*, Clonmel 1930, p8.

29. Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, London 1972, p251.

30. In the Ulster Museum there is a loving cup marked with this date letter 'X'. It is engraved with the arms of Skeffington impaling Chichester for Viscount Masserene who married Lady Catherine Chichester in 1713. An inscription states it was made for the marriage. On the assumption that the cup was in being at the wedding reception, Bennett (p250) infers that 'X' was in use in 1713, but this is not a valid conclusion. While the cup

noted, we therefore propose moving 'W' one year forward to 1713/14.

A Thomas Bolton gold freedom box presented to the Earl of Kildare on foot of a resolution adopted on 15 October 1714 by Dublin corporation bears the date letter 'X' of this cycle.²⁶ Six pieces with this 'X' and the inscribed date 1714 are noted by Jackson (p609). Further church plate marked 'X' includes a paten and chalice inscribed 'Nov'ber 1714' in county Limerick²⁷ and a chalice, paten and flagon inscribed 'given ... 27th day of Sept 1715' in Cashel.²⁸ In St Luke's Without in Dublin there are a chalice and paten with the 'X' date letter, both pieces inscribed '1716', the year the church was built.²⁹ A two-year span, 1714/16, is therefore suggested for 'X'.³⁰ Various pieces of church plate with the date inscriptions for 1716,³¹ 1717,³² 1718,³³ and 1719³⁴ have been noted with date letter 'Y'. This suggests the probability that this letter lasted for about three years, 1716/19. Since no example of a piece of this period bearing the Old English 'Z' has yet been noted, we propose to omit this letter.

1719–1747

The court-hand alphabet which succeeded the Old English 'Y' would seem more likely to have been adopted during 1719 rather than 1717 as asserted by Jackson (p593). The earliest relevant documentary piece noted is a flagon in the Cathedral Church of St Faughnan in the diocese of Ross. By William Clarke of Cork, it bears the Dublin hallmarks with the court-hand 'a' and an inscription indicating it was made in 1719.³⁵ One of the Dublin corporation's maces, made by Thomas Bolton, also bears this date letter. Corporation records reveal that it was made and paid for in 1720.³⁶ A chalice belonging to St Werburg's in Dublin is marked with the same 'a'

and carries a presentation inscription from Erasmus Cope dated 1720. The court-hand 'b' is on a paten made by Cope for St Werburg's and this also is inscribed 1720. Some pieces of church plate bearing the court-hand 'c' and with year dates inscribed for 1722³⁷ and 1723³⁸ have been noted. Accordingly we would propose 1719/20 for this 'a', 1720/21 for 'b', and 1721/22 for 'c'. Possibly due to unfamiliarity with the court-hand, the Company reverted to the previous kind of lettering when replacing the 'c' punch, adopting 'D' in the Old English style. Jackson assumed that this new cycle commenced with the Old English 'A', followed by 'B' and 'C'. However, no piece of plate that can be asserted to bear any of these date letters has yet been identified and we feel they should be eliminated from our hall-mark tables. Accordingly we are proposing that the letter punches with engrailed tops and Old English characters from 'D' onwards in this cycle be assigned to 1722/23 with sequential annual replacement until the letter 'K'. In effect this means the letters 'D' to 'K' are given shifts to one year earlier than in Jackson's table. All date-inscribed pieces that we have noted are compatible with this scheme. For example, several pieces of church plate with presentation inscriptions dated 1724,³⁹ 1725,⁴⁰ 1726,⁴¹ 1727,⁴² 1728⁴³ and 1729⁴⁴ reconcilable with the re-scheduled date letters have been recorded.

An especially interesting example is the so-called Portarlinton (correctly Athlone) mace, now in Goldsmiths' Hall, London. This has the Dublin hallmarks with the Old English date letter 'H' which we have now referred to the year 1726/27. It is engraved with the arms of Handcock impaling those of the Corporation of Athlone. The earlier of two inscriptions states that it was 'The Gift of Will. Handcock Esqr. of Willbrook 1728'.⁴⁵ The fact of the armorial bearings being a combination indicates that the mace was made while Handcock held office as sovereign of Athlone (as the mayoral equivalent was

may have been procured to commemorate the marriage, it would be unlikely to have been available for the reception: several months at least would have elapsed after the wedding before obtaining the grant of arms for the couple.

31. R. Wyse Jackson, 'Old Church Silver of East Killaloe', in *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, ii, 1940–41, p68.

32. A flagon by Edward Workman in St John's Dublin, is inscribed '1717'.

33. Webster (note 24), p105, lists a paten salver by Joseph Walker, inscribed 'Ex Dono Randolphi Claytonis, Anno Domini 1718'; likewise (p89) a communion cup by John Cuthbert inscribed 'The Gift of Cornelius Callaghan, Esq to ye Church of Clonmeen, Anno Dom. 1718'.

34. R. Wyse Jackson, 'Old Church Plate of Lismore Diocese' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 85, 1955, p51, where a chalice by Edward Workman, with presentation inscription dated 1719, is listed.

35. Webster (note 24), p137. The inscription reads: 'Guliel:Hull: Thesaur Rossens me fieri fecit 1719'.

36. Sir John Gilbert (ed), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, Dublin 1898, vii, p116.

37. J.J. Buckley, *Some Irish Altar Plate*, Dublin 1943, nos 1722a, 1772e; Wyse Jackson (note 34), pp55–56.

38. Webster (note 24), p83; C.B. Warren, 'Notes on the Church Plate of Waterford Diocese' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 97, 1967, p122.

39. Webster (note 24), p107; C.B. Warren (note 38) p124.

40. Cashel Cathedral's dean's verge, supplied by Dorothy Manjoy, is hallmarked with date letter Old English 'F'. Particulars regarding payment

for it are entered in the Chapter book under August 1725; see St John Seymour, *Church Plate and Parish Records, Diocese of Cashel and Emly*, Clonmel 1930, p9.

41. Webster (note 24) pp25, 115; Warren (note 38), p124.

42. Wyse Jackson (note 34), p56.

43. Warren (note 38), p123; Buckley (note 37), 1728a.

44. Wyse Jackson (note 34), p56; Buckley (note 37), 1729a.

45. Following a statue of 1840 abolishing the old municipal corporations, the mace was sold to a Dublin firm of jewellers. Afterwards it was acquired by a Mr T. Poynder who, as a second inscription notes, presented it in 1864 to the Goldsmiths' Company of London where it is now placed on the table at meetings of the Court of Assistants. It is not clear how it became known as the Portarlinton mace.

46. A.C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 1969, p455, states that mayors are permitted to impale their arms with those of town councils during their tenure of office.

47. Dr Harman Murtagh of Athlone advises us that records are not available to show who held the office of sovereign of Athlone in the years immediately preceding 1730. Handcock was, however, sovereign in 1731, and again in 1733 and 1740. We are greatly indebted to Dr Murtagh, and also to Gearóid O'Brien, Athlone Public Library, for their assistance on this matter.

48. Sir John Gilbert (ed), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, Dublin 1898, iv, pp224–25, 440; this mace was refurbished in 1720 by Thomas Bolton.

49. The Gregorian calendar was adopted by a statute of 1751 (24 Geo. II, c.23), which prescribed that the official beginning of the year should be 1 January in and after 1752.

50. Sotheby's London, 13 June 1983 lot 47.

51. [1] J.P. Mahaffy, *The Plate in Trinity College, Dublin*, London 1918. In this publication Provost Mahaffy presumed to correct the work of Dudley Westropp, a scholarly antiquarian *par excellence*. At the request of the college, Westropp had catalogued their plate in June 1916. The provost rejected many of his findings with absurd arguments, even Westropp's attribution of the crowned A mark to Archdall. [2] Douglas Bennett, *The Silver Collection, Trinity College Dublin*, Dublin 1988. This catalogue was issued in connection with the college's quartercentenary in 1992.

52. The college also possesses a set of miscellaneous oval dishes which, in common with the dinner plates, bear Archdall's mark and date letter 'N'. It is tempting to conclude that these comprised another unusually large parcel of plate, assessed at 668oz, submitted by Archdall on 12 May 1732. Rather inexplicably, in their catalogue entries for these dishes both Mahaffy and Bennett assign the date letter 'N' to 1732/33, in contrast to 1733/34 for the plates.

designated in the town's charter).⁴⁶ While the inscription might suggest at first that the mace was made in 1728, this does not necessarily follow. It would be more seemly for a mayor, having procured a mace to enhance the dignity of his office, to wait until his term of office had been vacated before bestowing such a gift as a parting gesture of magnanimity on the corporate body. It seems probable therefore that Handcock had been sovereign in a session preceding 1728, probably 1726 or 1727, and commissioned the mace then.⁴⁷ In that light, the attribution of this date letter 'H' to 1726/27 is not anachronistic. A mayoral precedent may be seen in Edward Eyre's presentation of his mace to Galway corporation in 1712, while a less magnanimous one may also be seen in Sir Daniel Bellingham's sale to Dublin corporation in 1668 of the mace he himself had arranged to be made during his mayoralty in 1665.⁴⁸

We have assigned the Old English 'L' of this cycle to the six-month period 1 November 1729 to 20 April 1730 when unaccompanied by the Hibernia mark. While Jackson and other writers seem not to have taken full cognisance of it, it should be borne in mind that the Julian calendar operated at that time, which meant that the year-change took place on Lady Day, 25 March.⁴⁹ A Statute of 1729 imposed a duty on plate manufactured in Ireland after 25 March 1730. A month's grace seems to have been allowed in the assay office for clearance of earlier wrought work: a caption in the assay master's work book for 21 April 1730 notes 'This day ye duty came on'. Presumably it was on that day that the Hibernia mark was introduced. Continuance of the same date letter 'L' until 31 October of that year, to be followed by 'M' on 1 November 1730 for the subsequent year, seems most probable. A finely chased, shaped square salver, *en suite* with a cup and cover, formerly in the Altamont collection, bears this Old English 'M' and an inscription stating that the piece was a present 'to Mrs Browne of Westport Decr. 1.1731'.⁵⁰ Allowing for some time for chasing and engraving after return from the assay office, and some further time for transport to Westport by 1 December, a pre-1 November 1731 assay date for the piece in the rough is probable. A Thomas Walker flagon, now in the National Museum, bears this letter 'M' along with the crowned harp and Hibernia, and an inscription 'St Nicholas Without Anno Dom-1731'.

The 'N' of this cycle is now assigned to 1731/32. Some important plate substantiates this. A gold freedom box presented by Dublin corporation to the Duke of Dorset, lord lieutenant of Ireland, bears this date letter. The resolution to present the lord lieutenant with his freedom in a gold box was adopted by the City assembly on 15 October 1731. It is reasonable to assume that the gold box was made shortly afterwards. Other famous plate bearing this date letter is a set of sixty-five dinner plates in

Trinity College, Dublin. They are stamped with a maker's mark 'A beneath a crown'. Unaccountably, Jackson attributes this mark to a Matthew Alanson of whom the only mention in the Dublin assay office archives is that he was enrolled as an apprentice to Mark Martin, a jeweller, in 1727. In the two official Trinity College catalogues of their silver collection, these plates have been listed as by Matthew Alanson, Dublin 1733/34.⁵¹ Given that at best Alanson would barely have completed his apprenticeship to a jeweller at this time, it seems unlikely that the college would have placed such a valuable commission with an inexperienced plateworker. There is hardly any doubt but that the maker's mark in question is that of William Archdall. He had a long and distinguished career as a goldsmith from 1703, when he became free by service to David King, until his death in 1751. He was master of the Dublin Goldsmiths' Company in 1713–14. Assay office ledgers survive for various periods of Archdall's career, 1705–13, 1725–28, 1729–30 and 1730–32, and show that he had parcels of plate assayed throughout these periods. In the books for 1725–28, 1729–30 and 1730–32 he is the only person with the surname initial 'A' listed as having submitted any plate.

On 10 February 1731 Archdall submitted a parcel calculated as 1019oz. In assessing weight for duty purposes, it was the practice to discount the actual weight of a parcel by a generous one-sixth to allow for losses in the finishing process after the plate had been marked at the hall. The parcel of 1019oz may therefore be taken as representing a gross amount of 1223oz. The Dublin assay office records show that it was extremely unusual to receive a parcel of such a high weight on any assay day. Archdall's typical parcel would weigh in the region of 50oz and it is highly probable that his exceptionally large parcel on this occasion comprised Trinity College's sixty-five dinner plates. In his catalogue provost Mahaffy noted that while the weight of the plates varied, the majority were in the 18–19oz range. Assuming an average weight of 18½oz, this would result in a weight of 1202goz for the lot – credibly close to the gross weight of the parcel in the rough.⁵²

In the light of the foregoing revision to the tenure of 'N' we have moved 'O' to the earlier position 1732/33 with 'P' commencing in 1733, tentatively on 1 November, though it must be said, however, that concrete evidence as to exactly when the date letter changed in the immediate post-1733 years, or indeed most other years, is not forthcoming. We have tentatively allotted two-year spans to 'P' (1733/35) and 'Q' (1735/37). Possibly the appointment of William Archdall as assay master in 1736 may have resulted in a tightening up of the attitude towards date letters, albeit for a short period, and a twelve-month duration for 'R' (1737/38) and 'S' (1738/39), in agreement with Jackson, presents no incongruities. Four pieces inscribed 1741 have been

noted with 'T' of this cycle and none with any other date. A two-year span (1739/41) as against Jackson's one-year (1739/40) is therefore proposed. No date-inscribed piece with 'U' has been noted; it has been allotted to 1741/42. 'W' has been allotted to 1742/43.

The indications are that 'X' applied from the cessation of 'W' until the end of the calendar year 1744, that is 24 March of the Julian calendar. In the Trinity College collection there is a chased and engraved silver-gilt alms dish of exceptional quality. The source was a bequest of £50 for plate for the college chapel, made by Dr Claudius Gilbert, vice-provost, who died in 1742. In addition to the standard marks, the dish bears the Old English 'X' date letter and a retailer's mark 'Let' overstruck twice on another mark, probably the maker's mark. It is clear that the supplier of the dish was John Letablere. His bill dated April 1745 and amounting to £55-2-9d, including £23-13s for the gilding, survives in the college muniments. The college appears to have been dismayed at the cost exceeding Dr Gilbert's bequest and queried the charge for gilding. In response, an affidavit was sworn by the gilder, William Williamson, to the effect that he had used virtually two ounces of gold on the dish. The affidavit was dated 25 March 1745, that is New Year's day of the Julian calendar. Since gilding would have to be applied after the return of the piece from the hall, this means that the date letter 'X' had been applied before 24 March 1744. Jackson (p611) notes two communion flagons dated 1743 in Belfast with this date letter, while a chalice with the same mark is in Sharraghan parish church in Co Tipperary, its presentation inscription dated 'Novr 9 1743'.⁵³

Jackson (pp593-94) states that at some time between 1743 and 1747 the date for changing the annual letters appears to have been altered and that there was reason to believe that 'X' was used from 1 November 1743 to 31 December 1744, a period of fourteen months. He did not explain this conclusion. However, we would suggest that if for some reason the Goldsmiths' Company wanted to adopt a different change-over date they would have been more likely to adopt New Year's day, 25 March, rather than 1 January which had not then an official status. Accordingly we are positing 25 March 1745 as the commencement of the year for the Old English 'Y', and the corresponding day in 1746 for 'Z'. The mace of the Borough of Athy is marked with this date letter, the year assigned agreeing well with the inscription on it recording it was 'The gift of the ...Earl of Kildare to...Athy Sept 29th, 1746'. The earl, later Marquess of Kildare and subsequently Duke of Leinster, was proprietor of Athy, Co Kildare, effectively controlling its corporation. No mean patron of goldsmiths, presumably during the summer of 1746 he was persuaded by the corporation's officers to commission the mace so that the town's status and their dignity would be elevated.

1747-1756

With the succeeding cycle of Roman capital letters, it would seem more sensible to continue with 25 March as the changeover date, rather than 1 January as stated by Jackson. Accordingly, we are positing the old style year 25 March 1747 to 24 March 1747 for 'A'; of the new cycle, and the corresponding ensuing years for letters 'B,C,D,E' and the 'F' for 25 March 1752 to 24 March 1752 (OS). A statement by Jackson that the assay office records show the approval on 2 February 1747 of the payment of '7s7d for two punches letter A' is somewhat misleading. The expenditure item in question is given in a list of disbursements by Andrew Goodwin during his year of office as master warden, November 1746 to October 1747. The entry concerning letter punches is not specifically dated; it is one of a number of entries made some time between 2 February 1746 and the following 1 May (1747). It cannot be claimed to show that the new punches Jackson presumed to have been used from 1 January were paid for in February.

Support for our contention that the date letters at this period were changed on 25 March may be gleaned from a ledger maintained by the assay master for a few years commencing on 27 March 1752. His accounts for touch money for the first twelve-month period are captioned 'F'. Likewise for his year beginning 26 March 1753 the page is captioned 'G' with entries continuing until 24 December 1753. Significantly, the ensuing list of entries commence on 8 January 1754, with the page being captioned 'H'. This shows that the company was rather slow at adapting to the new style calendar which came into effect on 1 January 1752. The ledger shows that the next new account period was commenced by the assay master on 7 January 1755 but this is not captioned with any date letter and it would accordingly appear that 'H' was maintained for two years. Three gold freedom boxes marked with 'H' bear this out. One was presented by the Corporation of Cutlers, Stationers and Painters to the Earl of Kildare on 23 May 1755;⁵⁴ the other two were presented by Dublin corporation on 16 July 1756, one again to the Earl of Kildare and the other to John Ponsonby, speaker of the House of Commons.⁵⁵


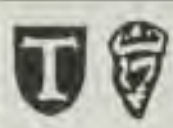

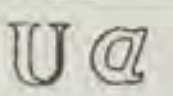



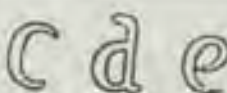
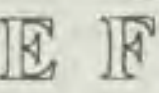




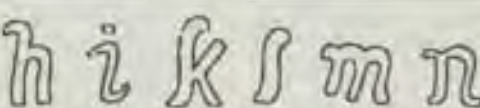



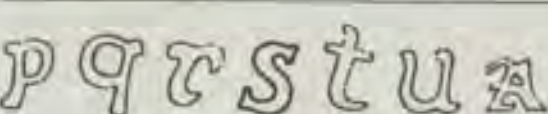



The ledger referred to above closed on 29 July 1755 and there are no other records remaining in the assay office which would appear to illuminate further the situation regarding date letters at this period. Regarding Jackson's attributions for the post-1756 date letters, nothing has come to our notice which might indicate that adjustments should be considered.

53. R. Wyse Jackson (note 34), p59.

54. Sotheby's London, 3 May 1984 lot 7.

55. Rosa M. Gilbert (ed), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, Dublin 1903, s. p231.



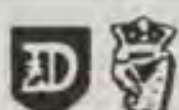
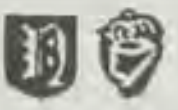














DUBLIN HALLMARKS 1638-1756

Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed		Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed		
1638/39		Communion flagon or stoupe, dated 1638, Trinity College, Dublin, by James Vanderbeck. Chalice, parish of Llangybi, Bangor, Wales, by William Hampton	1657/ 12 Nov 1659 	Communion cup, dated 18 January 1656, St David's Church, Naas, Co Kildare. Carlow mace, National Museum of Ireland, by Joseph Stoker. Armagh mace, Armagh Library, by Nathaniel Stoughton.
1639/40		Communion cup, dated 1639, Fethard, Co Wexford, by IT (maker unidentified). Slip-top spoon, National Museum of Ireland, by George Gallant. Wine cup, National Museum of Ireland, by William Cooke.		No evidence of use
1640/41		Communion paten, Fethard, Co Wexford, by IT (maker unidentified). Chalice and paten, dated 1640, St John's Church, now at St Werburgh's church, Dublin, by William Cooke.	12 Nov 1659/63 	Communion cup and paten, dated 1659, St Peter's Cathedral, Drogheda, by Joseph Stoker.* Communion cup and paten, Dromore Cathedral, by Joseph Stoker.*
1641/42		Communion cup, dated 1641, Derry Cathedral, by William Cooke.		No evidence of use
		No evidence of use	1663/69 	Cup and cover, dated 1665, Drogheda Corporation, by Joseph Stoker.* Communion cup and cover, dated 1665, Church of Kells, no maker's mark. Drogheda mace, Drogheda Corporation, by Joseph Stoker.* Communion cup, paten and flagons, dated 1667, St Peter's Drogheda, by Joseph Stoker.*
Recorded in assay office '1644/45'		No known examples	1669/73 	Paten, dated 1671, Church of Kells, Co Meath, by Able Ram.
Recorded in assay office '1645/46'		No known examples		No evidence of use
Recorded in assay office '1646/47'		No known examples	1673/74 	Dudley Westropp noted two pieces but none with inscribed date.
Recorded in assay office '1647/48'		No known examples		No evidence of use
Recorded in assay office '1648/49'		No known examples	1674/80 	Pair of silver-gilt standing cups, dated 1674, Guild of the Holy Trinity, now in National Museum of Ireland, by Ed. Swan. Communion cup and cover, dated 1674, St Michan's Dublin, by Samuel Marsden. Communion cup, dated 1677, St Audeon's, Dublin, by James Kelly.
M N O P Q R		No evidence of use		
1655/57		Slip-top spoon, National Museum of Ireland, by Daniel Bellingham.		

*Joseph Stoker's father Thomas was mayor of Drogheda 1658-59.

*Joseph Stoker's father Thomas was mayor of Drogheda 1658-59.

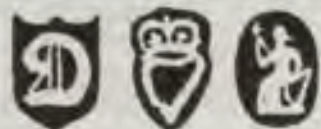




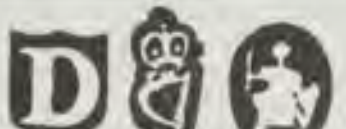
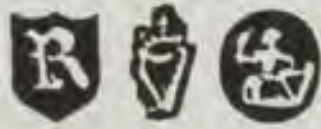

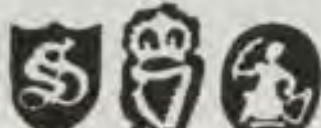

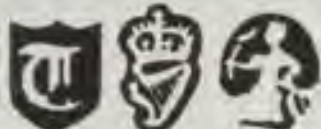

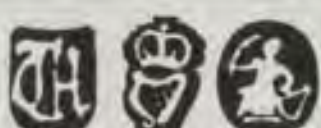


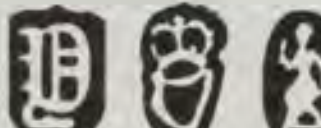


DUBLIN HALLMARKS 1638-1756

Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed			Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed		
1680/83		Pair of tankards, dated 1680, Merchant Taylors' Company, London, by Andrew Gregory. Alms dish, dated 1683, St Werburgh's Church, Dublin, by Walter Lucas or Walter Lewis.	1699/1700		Communion cup, dated 1700, Abbeylax Church, Co Kildare, by Anthony Stanley or Alexander Sinclair. Communion cup, dated 1700, Trinity College, Dublin, by Thomas Bolton.
1683/84		Communion cup, dated 1683, the 'Richard Duddel Vic.' Rep.Ch.Body, Dublin, by John Cuthbert.	1700/01		Communion paten, dated 1700, St Mary's Donnybrook, Dublin, by David King.
1684/85		Tankard (noted by Dudley Westropp), Christie's London, by James Kelly. Trifid tablespoon (noted by Dudley Westropp), by Andrew Gregory.	1701/02		Pair of maces of Lifford, dated 1701, British Museum, London, by David King. 'The Ballycolloe Races' salver, dated 1702, The Ulster Museum, Belfast, by Joseph Walker.
		No evidence of use	1702/03		<i>Impressed on Dublin assay office ledger, P 1702-3</i> Plate, dated 1703, Dromore Cathedral, by Thomas Bolton.
1685/87		Communion cup, dated 1685, St Werburgh's Church, Dublin, by IF, probably John Farmer. Plate, dated 1686, St John's Church, Dublin (now in St Werburgh's Church, Dublin), by John Humphreys. Communion flagon, dated 1687, Rep.Ch. Body, Dublin, by Andrew Gregory.	1703/05		Monteith or punch bowl, dated 1704, National Museum of Ireland, by Thomas Bolton.
1687/93		Dudley Westropp noted two pieces but none with inscribed date.	1705/07		Communion paten, dated 1705, St Mary's Church, Dublin. Communion cup, dated 1706, Church of St Nicholas Without, Dublin, by Joseph Walker.
		No evidence of use	1707/08		Communion cup and paten, dated 1707, Staplestown, Co Carlow, by Thomas Bolton. The Palliser cup, dated 1709, formerly Trinity College, Dublin, by Thomas Bolton.
1693/96		<i>Assay office records indicate K used during 1693-</i> Communion paten, dated 1693, St Michan's Church, Dublin, by William Drayton. Communion cup, dated January 1694-5, Abbeylax Church, Co Kildare, by Anthony Stanley or Alexander Sinclair. The Williamson cup, dated 1696, Dublin Corporation, by Thomas Bolton.	1708/12		Communion plate, dated 1709, Dromiskin Church, Co Louth, by David Rommieau. Galway mace, dated 1712, by John Cuthbert Jnr. Trinity College mace (no inscribed date), invoice dated March 1711/12, by Thomas Bolton (see text).
1696/99		Two-handled cup, dated 1697, Hunt Museum, Limerick, by Samuel Wilder. Two communion flagons, dated 1698, St Michan's Church, Dublin, by John Phillips. Mace of New Ross, dated 20 October 1699, maker unknown.	1712/13		Two communion patens, dated 1712, 'given by Dr Pooley, Bishop of Rathpoe', St Mary's Church, Dublin, Maker's mark indistinct. Communion cup, dated 1713, Killeshandra, Co Cavan, by David King.

DUBLIN HALLMARKS 1638-1756

Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed		Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed			
1713/14		Two communion flagons and paten, dated 1713, St Mary's Church, Shandon, Co Cork, by Edward Workman. Communion cup, dated 1714, Rathclaren, Co Cork, by William Archdall.	1723/24		Chalice and paten, dated 1724, St Patrick's Church, Waterford, maker unidentified.
1714/16		Communion cup and paten, two alms dishes and two flagons, dated 1714, St Bride's Church, Dublin, by William Archdall. Freedom box, dated 1714, presented to the Earl of Kildare 1714, by Thomas Bolton. Chalice, paten and flagon, dated 1715, Cashel, Co Tipperary, by William Archdall. Chalice and paten, dated 1716, Church of St Luke Without, Dublin, by William Archdall.	1724/25		Verge, paid for Aug 1725, Cashel Cathedral, Co Tipperary, by Dorothy Manjoy.
1716/19		Communion flagon, dated 1716, Killeshandra, Co Cavan, by David King. Flagon, dated 1717, St John's Church, Dublin, by Edward Workman. Paten, dated 1718, Mallow, Co Cork, by Joseph Walker. Chalice, dated 1719, Assane, Lismore Diocese, by Edward Workman.	1725/26		Flagon, dated 1726, Shandon Church, Co Cork, by Mathew Walker. Flagon, dated 1726, Middleton Church, Co Cork, by Thomas Bolton.
			1726/27		Paten, dated 1726, Dunkerrin Church, by Thomas Bolton. Paten, dated 1727, St Werburgh's Church, Dublin. Athlone mace, dated 1728, Goldsmiths' Company, London (see text), by Thomas Walker & William Williamson.
			1727/28		Chalice and paten, dated 1727, Killoternan Church, Co Waterford, maker unidentified. Flagon, dated 1728, Tramore Church, Co Waterford, maker unidentified.
			1728/29		Alms dish, dated 1729, Grasmere, Diocese of Carlisle, maker's mark indecipherable.
			1 Nov 1729 / 20 April 1730		1 November 1729 to 20 April 1730 without Hibernia (see text) Communion paten, St Anne's Church, Belfast, by David King.
			21 April-31 Oct 1730		Hibernia commenced 21 April 1730 (see text) Chalice and paten, dated 1730, Kilculliheen Church, by Thomas Sutton.
			1730/31		Flagon, dated 1731, St Nicholas without the walls, Dublin, by Thomas Walker. Salver, dated 1731, formerly in Lord Altamont collection, Sligo, by Erasmus Cope.
			1731/32		Duke of Dorset's gold freedom box, dated 1732, recorded in Dublin corporation records. Trinity College plates, by William Archdall (see text).
1713/14		Two communion flagons and paten, dated 1713, St Mary's Church, Shandon, Co Cork, by Edward Workman. Communion cup, dated 1714, Rathclaren, Co Cork, by William Archdall.			
1714/16		Communion cup and paten, two alms dishes and two flagons, dated 1714, St Bride's Church, Dublin, by William Archdall. Freedom box, dated 1714, presented to the Earl of Kildare 1714, by Thomas Bolton. Chalice, paten and flagon, dated 1715, Cashel, Co Tipperary, by William Archdall. Chalice and paten, dated 1716, Church of St Luke Without, Dublin, by William Archdall.			
1716/19		Communion flagon, dated 1716, Killeshandra, Co Cavan, by David King. Flagon, dated 1717, St John's Church, Dublin, by Edward Workman. Paten, dated 1718, Mallow, Co Cork, by Joseph Walker. Chalice, dated 1719, Assane, Lismore Diocese, by Edward Workman.			
1719/20		Flagon, dated 1719, Cathedral Church of St Faughnan, Diocese of Ross, Co Cork, by William Clarke of Cork. Chalice, dated 1720, St Werburgh's Church, Dublin, by Erasmus Cope. Dublin Corporation mace, recorded 1720 in corporation records, by Thomas Bolton.			
1720/21		Paten, dated 1720, St Werburgh's Church, Dublin, by Erasmus Cope.			
1721/22		Plate, dated 1722, Lismore Church, Co Waterford.			
1722/23		Flagon, dated 1723, Mallow Church, Co Cork, by Thomas Sutton. Communion cup and paten, dated 1723, Glanworth Church, by John Hamilton.			

DUBLIN HALLMARKS 1638-1756

Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed		Specimen date-lettered pieces. 'Dated' indicates that the piece is so inscribed			
1732/33		Chalice dated 1733, 'Caulfied-Eustace', by Thomas Sutton (see Buckley, 'Irish Altar Plate'). Flagon, dated 1733, Waterford, Rep.Ch.Body, Dublin.	1748/49		Tablespoons, various collections.
1733/35		Tablespoons, various collections.	1749/50		Tablespoons, various collections.
1735/37		Perforated spoon, dated 1736, St Werburgh's Church, Dublin, by Joseph Taaffe.	1750/51		Tablespoons, various collections.
1737/38		Lavabo dish, dated 1737, St Patrick's Church, Waterford, now in Waterford Cathedral.	1751/52		<i>Newly adopted Gregorian calendar begins 1 January 1752.</i> Tablespoons, various collections.
1738/39		Two-handled cup, dated 1739, Trinity College, Dublin	1752/53		<i>Assay office records indicate 'F' applied 27 March 1752 -25 March 1753.</i> Tablespoons, various collections.
1739/41		Chalice, dated 1741, Clonegan, Portlaw, Co Waterford, by John Hamilton. Communion cup, dated 1741, Kildare Cathedral, by Francis Williamson. Tuam racing salver, dated 1741, by John Hamilton.	1753/54		Tablespoons, various collections.
1741/42		Tablespoons, various collections.	1754/56		<i>8 January 1754-31 December 1756.</i> Gold freedom box, 23 May 1755, Earl of Kildare, presented by the Corporation of Cutlers, Stationers and Painters, by TW incuse, possibly Thomas Williamson. Gold freedom box, 16 July 1756, Earl of Kildare, presented by Dublin Corporation, by William Currie.
1 Nov 1743/24 Mar 1744/45		<i>1 November 1743-24 March 1744/45 (see text).</i> Chalice, dated 1743, Sharraghan Church, by Mathew Walker. Large silver-gilt alms dish, Trinity College, Dublin (see text).			
1745/46		<i>Date letter changed 25 March 1745 and thereafter until 8 January 1754 New Style calendar.</i> Tablespoons, various collections.			
1746/47		Athy mace, dated 26 September 1746, by IW unidentified.			
1747/48		<i>Date letter A, for 1747, recorded in the assay office books.</i> Tablespoons, various collections.			

Marks, Manwarings and Moore:

the use of the 'AM in monogram' mark 1650–1700

David Mitchell

1. London, Goldsmiths' Company Court Book [hereafter GCCB] 7, 5 February 1676. Until 1752, the year changed in England on Lady Day, 25 March. To avoid confusion, dates in this article taken from contemporary records lying between 1 January and 24 March will be written, for example, as 5 February 1676/7.

2. See *Victoria County History, Shropshire*, vol 2, p68.

3. London, Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Book [hereafter Apprentice Book] 1, f334.

4. International Genealogical Index [hereafter IGI] has no appropriate entries in Shropshire but records two baptisms of Arthur, son of Andrew Manwaring at Warrington, Lanes on 27 February 1619 and 27 February 1620. Perhaps the first child died and the next son was called Arthur, a common practice at the time. It may be that this younger child was the future silversmith. Alternatively, the two entries may be owing to a muddle of the date of New Year's Day.

5. GCCB V, f207, 'Poll money' list dated 12 August 1642 includes 'William Tyler, St John Zacharies' among those willing but unable to pay the assessment of £3. His sponsor's mark is unknown but may be WT with two small circles above the initials. Ian Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver & Gold Marks*, Woodbridge 1989, [hereafter Jackson 1989] p118. (Perhaps the two circles represent the holes for pegs or

In his accompanying article, Theo Deelder describes a number of splendid pieces of plate and silver furniture, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century, with a variety of makers' marks containing the initials AM in monogram. These have been severally ascribed by scholars to Arthur Manwaring and Andrew Moore. Confusion between marks is not a modern phenomenon for at the Court of Assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company on 5 February 1676/7 the complaint was recorded that

John Hutchins in Exeter Street, Joseph Hughes in Salisbury Court and Hugh Humphreys in East Harding Street neere Shooe lane being all working Goldsmiths doe strick their markes on their severall workes so much alike that the same cannot be distinguished each from other.

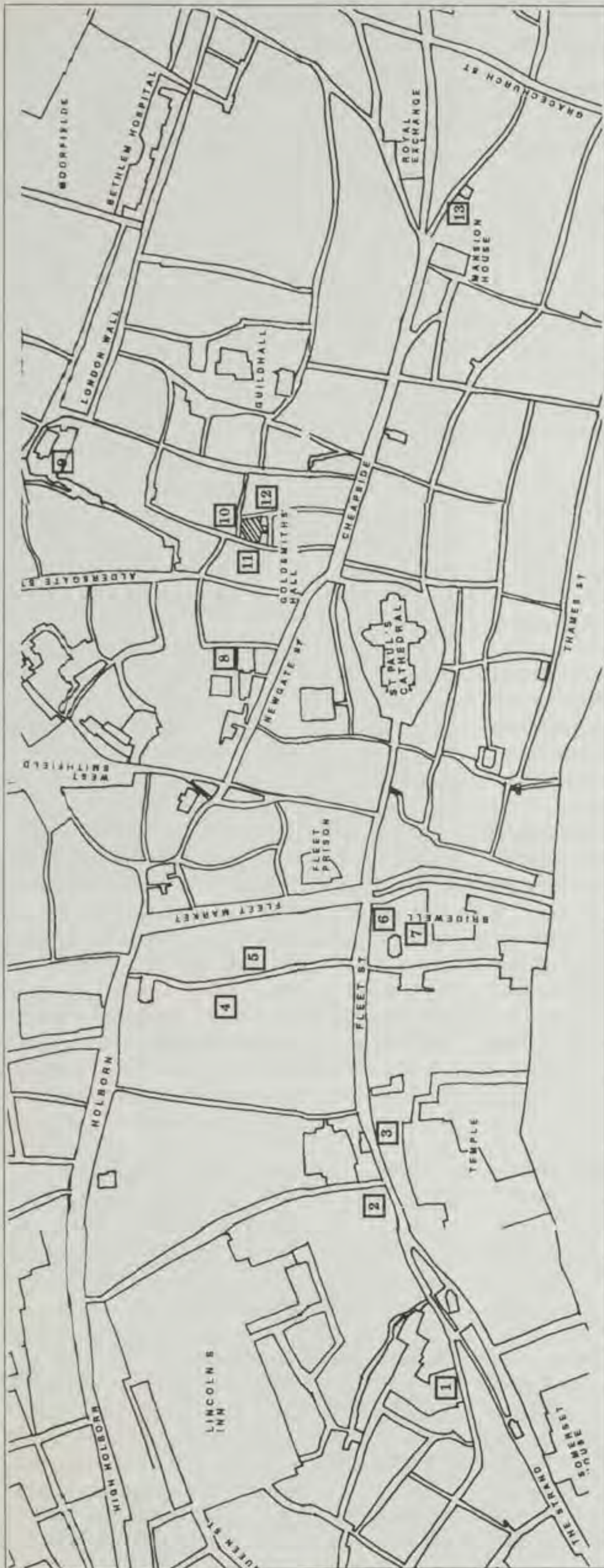
The three were directed to meet the Wardens to agree the necessary changes and 'to strick those markes when soe altered on the Workemans Table in the Assay Office'.¹ This direction by the Court suggests that if Arthur Manwaring and Andrew Moore used very similar marks at the same period like action would have been taken, particularly as the Company clearly admired Manwaring's work, having commissioned several pieces from him during the 1660s.

This paper, therefore, considers Arthur Manwaring, his sons Thomas and Andrew, and Andrew Moore to see whether the chronology of their working lives sheds light upon the use of the various AM marks. The sources used include parish registers and local tax assessments, as well as the records of the Goldsmiths' Company. In all such investigations, little is certain and judgements of probability have inevitably to be made. In this case, the particular difficulties are that there were many Moores in London at this time and although the Manwarings were markedly fewer in number, they tended to be kinsmen with a penchant for using the Christian names Arthur, Andrew and Thomas.

Arthur Manwaring

Arthur Manwaring [Maynwaringe, Mainwaring, Manwareing] was the son of Andrew Manwaring, gentleman of the Heath House, Shropshire.² [2] The family had branches in the adjoining counties of Cheshire and Lancashire, and a number of younger sons were apprenticed to London trades or studied at the Inns of Court. Arthur was apprenticed to the goldsmith William Tyler for eight years from Christmas 1635.³ He would have been between the ages of fourteen and sixteen and was therefore born about 1620.⁴ Tyler was a plateworker in the parish of St John Zachary where Goldsmiths' Hall was situated.⁵ He was also the master of Gilbert Sheppard and Francis Walton, who was turned over to Anthony Ficketts, possibly on Tyler's death.⁶ Like Manwaring, both Sheppard and Walton became established as plateworkers in the vicinity of the Hall.⁷

Arthur Manwaring became free by service on 20 January 1642/3 about a year before the end of his eight-year term. It seems that this was owing to a youthful indiscretion for on 6 December 1642, 'Thos. sonne of Arthur Manwareing, Goldsmith' was baptised in St Giles Cripplegate.⁸ Three months previously, Arthur had apparently married Alice Tompson of the parish of St Faith under St Paul.⁹ He probably remained in St Giles Cripplegate until January 1652/3 when he was successful in his request for a lease from the Company of a tenement in the New Rents, Kerry Lane, immediately to the south of the Hall.¹⁰ The term was twenty-one years at £8 per annum with a rent-free period until the following Christmas, on the understanding that he should pay for the repairs necessitated by the building standing empty for the two previous years. In April 1653, Manwaring declared that he had spent £12 on repairs but was 'not able to spare soe much money out of his trade beeing but a younge beginner'.¹¹



1 Map showing locations of dramatis personae, circa 1635-1706. The street layout is taken from John Rocque's map of 1747.

ARTHUR MANWARING

- [10] 1635-42 St John Zachary
- [9] 1642 St Giles Cripplegate
- [12] 1652-66 Kerry [Cary] Lane, St John Zachary
- [5] 1677-78 Goldsmiths' Court, St Bride Fleet Street

THOMAS MANWARING

- [9] 1642, St Giles Cripplegate
- [12] 1652-63 Kerry [Cary] Lane, St John Zachary
- [8] 1675 Christ Church, Newgate Street
- [4] 1677-80, Newstreet, St Bride Fleet Street
- [3] 1689-93 Falcon Court, St Dunstan-in-the-West

ANDREW MANWARING (A)

- [9] 1673-81 St Giles Cripplegate

ANDREW MANWARING (B)

- [1] 1683-99 Witch Alley, St Clement Danes

ANDREW MOORE

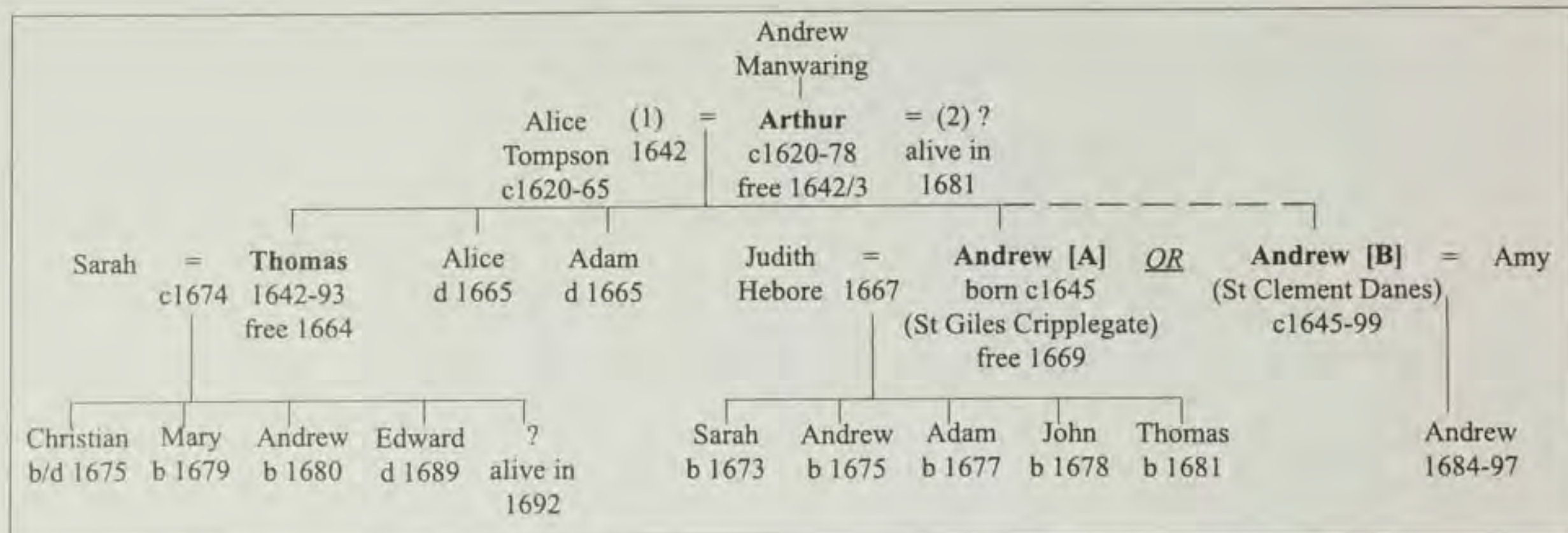
- [13] 1640 Lombard Street, St Mary Woolnoth
- [6] 1677 Fleet River Westside, St Bride Fleet Street
- [7] 1692-1706 Bridewell Precinct

ANTHONY FICKETTS

- [11] 1642-85 Foster Lane, St John Zachary

SIR THOMAS FOWLE

- [2] 1664-92 Black Lion, Temple Bar, St Dunstan-in-the-West



2 Manwaring family tree, constructed from various parish registers, including St Giles Cripplegate and St Clement Danes: references are given in the footnotes.

Times must have been very hard for young silversmiths like Manwaring, as from his freedom in 1643 during the first months of the Civil War, until the end of 1648 very little plate was touched at Goldsmiths' Hall. Even after the end of the wars and the execution of the king in January 1649, the market was slow to recover, with for example the quantity of plate touched in 1652 being only about half of that in 1639.¹² The economic difficulties are reflected both in the terms of Manwaring's lease in the New Rents and his receipt of payments from two of the Company's charities for poor goldsmiths during 1652.¹³

Despite the problems Manwaring took the first of his twelve apprentices in March 1650/1. Among contemporary pieces of plate struck with the AM mark in monogram are a basin of 1650/51 and a pair of candlesticks of 1653/54, both of good quality and austere form.¹⁴ From the second half of the decade are a number of chased covered cups with cast handles and matching footed salvers, an example from 1655/56 being described by Michael Clayton as 'one of the most important pieces made during the Commonwealth period'.¹⁵ As described below, both

Andrew Manwaring and Andrew Moore were boys at this time and it therefore seems reasonable to ascribe all these pieces to Arthur Manwaring's workshop. During this period, Thomas Manwaring served his apprenticeship with his father, becoming free in 1664.¹⁶

In the spring of 1663, the Goldsmiths' Company decided to have various gifts that had been melted down in 1637 to be 'new made'.¹⁷ The first commission for 'Mr Croshawes Cann' was given to Henry Starkey but the remaining eight consisting of six standing cups, a salt and a spout pot, were all placed with Arthur Manwaring.¹⁸ These pieces were delivered between June 1664 and July 1666. Unfortunately, this programme of replacement was brought to an abrupt halt by the Great Fire which destroyed much of the Company's property causing severe financial difficulties. These were partially relieved in December 1667 by melting down part of the Company's plate, including several of the pieces recently made by Manwaring. Fortunately, the Feake and Hanbury cups survived, although it appears that the present cover of the Feake cup originally belonged to the Wase cup.¹⁹ The Feake cup [3] car-

nails used to fix a roof tile to the battens – a fanciful variation on the use of a rebus, such as the crook on the mark attributed to Gilbert Sheppard, p123.)

6. Apprentice Books, 1, f.257 & 2 f.11.

7. GCCB V, f.205. 1642 list, Gilbert Sheppard and Anthony Ficketts, both of 'St John Zacharies' were among the 'poore freemen' assessed at 12d each. For illustrations of pieces ascribed to Sheppard, refer to Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver, 1600-1940*, London 1986, [hereafter Brett 1986] nos. 421-23.

GCCB 1, f.185, 20 August 1656, Francis Walton, plate-worker in Maiden Lane, was fined for six 'Canns & Covers' delivered to Mr Knight in Cheapside untouched, and two bowls for a country goldsmith in Worcester. Also see GCCB 5, f.223v, 4 November 1663.

8. London, Guildhall Library MS 6419/3.

9. IGI gives two marriages for Arthur Manwaring both in London and on the same day, 16 September 1642, to Alice Tompson of London and to Ann Thompson, St Faith, London. It is clear from later evidence that his first wife was called Alice.

10. He had applied unsuccessfully as early as 2 August 1644, GCCB W, f.243. For details of his tenement and lease, refer to Book of Leases no1729: B393.

11. GCCB Z, ff.132v & 166v. The Company repaid him £9.

12. David Mitchell, 'Innovation and the transfer of skill in the goldsmiths' trade in Restoration London', in David Mitchell (ed), *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the Transfer of Skill, 1550-1750*, London 1995, p12, fig2. Plate touched at Goldsmiths' Hall 1600-1700.

13. GCCB Z, ff.70 & 123, payments from Middleton and Croshaw bequests.

14. Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of the Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, New York 1971, [hereafter Clayton 1971] no67. Brett 1986, no426. Also discussed and illustrated in Hannelore Müller, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, European Silver*, London 1986, no2.

15. Michael Clayton, *Christie's Pictorial History of English and American Silver*, Oxford, 1985, [hereafter Clayton 1985] p52, no7. For other examples, see Brett 1986, nos 424-25, 427-29.

16. Apprentice Book 2, f.84.

17. GCCB 3, ff.282v & 287v.

18. GCCB 4, ff.103, 114, 214v & 225; GCCB 5, ff.40, 47v & 48.

19. Charles Oman, *Caroline Silver 1625-1688*, London 1970, [hereafter Oman 1970] p30, note 4.



3 Feake cup, silver-gilt, Arthur Manwaring, London 1663/64, the cover 1665/66, 50.2cm (20 1/2 in) high, (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

ries the AM in monogram mark which is also struck on the cup and cover made for the Cooks' Company in 1666/67.²⁰ These cups were chased in a particular auricular style which was described by Charles Oman as 'well digested and not merely copied from the Van Vianen prints'.²¹

This was a period of renewed difficulty for the trade, for when Manwaring delivered the Wase and Alsop cups and covers (his fifth and sixth commissions) in July 1665, the plague had London in its grip. Wealthy retailers in the luxury trades along with many of their customers fled the City for their country houses or to stay with relatives. The disruption to trade was reflected in the 'Daybook' of Thomas Fowle, a goldsmith-banker at Temple Bar.²² During the summer his sales declined noticeably and on or about 22 July he closed the shop, presumably returning to his family in Wiltshire. He re-opened some six months later on 15 January 1665/6. Across the road from Fowle, Robert Blanchard who drove a similar trade also shut up shop between 15 July and 9 January.²³

Apart from economic hardship great dangers faced those that stayed in the City. For Arthur Manwaring tragedy struck in September when his wife Alice died, compounded less than a month later by the deaths of two of his children, Alice and Adam.²⁴ Manwaring's financial difficulties, however, were eased during October when he was a recipient from the Company of 'Mr Ashes guift' and in December when he was included among the poor goldsmiths to receive 'Mr Jenners guift'.²⁵ The following summer Manwaring was awarded his last two commissions from the Company, the Hanbury cup and Williams salt which he delivered that July.²⁶

The nascent recovery in trade during 1666 was abruptly halted on Sunday, 2 September, when fire broke out in the heart of the City. By Tuesday, Thomas Vincent recorded,

the fire burning up the very bowels of London ... Now Cheapside fire marcheth along Ironmonger Lane, Milk Street, Wood Street, Gutter Lane, Foster Lane ... From Newgate Street it assaults Christchurch and conquers the great building and burns through Martin's Lane towards Aldersgate, and all about so furiously as if it would not leave a house standing upon the ground.²⁷

Manwaring's house in Kerry Lane was either destroyed or at least badly damaged, for he assigned the lease sometime before July 1667 to John Jackson who successfully petitioned the Company to rebuild 'according to the Act of Parliament', the tenement being 'demolished by the late Fier'.²⁸ At this time Manwaring again received charitable gifts from the Company.²⁹ It is unclear where he moved but it was probably to one of the parishes to the west, possibly St Bride Fleet Street where he was living in Goldsmiths Court before 1677.³⁰ This supposition is supported by his close contacts with Thomas Fowle at Temple Bar from whom he received twenty-five payments 'for fashon' in as many weeks, starting on 15 April 1667.³¹ It seems that together with the strangers Wolfgang Howzer and Jacob Bodendick, Arthur Manwaring supplied wares for Fowle in the 'new' or 'French fashon'. Although Fowle's 'Daybook' only records his transactions between 1664 and 1667, the relationship clearly continued for in 1674 Thomas' nephew William Fowle became Arthur Manwaring's last apprentice.³²

During the 1670s, wares with the mark AM in monogram include the wonderfully chased vases from the Ashburnham garniture, a number of toilet boxes, and several tankards one of which has fine cut card work and a splendid finial.³³ The latest date mark on these pieces appears to be 1677/78 which correlates with Arthur Manwaring's death and subsequent burial on 5 July 1678 at St Bride Fleet Street.³⁴ On his death, one apprentice John Snelling was turned over to William Hall, but the other William Fowle remained with Manwaring's second wife and widow until he was set up in business by his uncle Thomas Fowle in May 1681.³⁵ William

20. Oman 1970, pl 33.

21. Oman 1970, p30.

22. London, Public Record Office, C114/179.

23. For Fowle's trade, see D M Mitchell, "'Mr Fowle Pray Pay the Washwoman': the trade of a London goldsmith-banker, 1660-1692", in *Business and Economic History*, vol 23, no1, Williamsburg, Va., Fall 1994, pp27-38. For Blanchard, see London, Royal Bank of Scotland, Child's Ledgers, CH/194/1 & 2.

24. Guildhall MS 10,952, Registers of St John Zachary, 27 September, 19 and 25 October 1665.

25. GCCB 5, f.6v & 11v.

26. GCCB 5, f.40 & 47.

27. Thomas Vincent, *God's Terrible Voice in the City*, London 1667 quoted in: Gustav Milne, *The Great Fire of London*, London 1986, pp49 & 50.

28. London, Goldsmiths' Company, Committee of Contractors of Leases, no1917; B393, f.23, 3 July 1667.

29. GCCB 5, f.78, 18 December 1666, 'Sir Hugh Middleton's money'; f.96, 5 April 1667, Vyners' legacy.

30. Guildhall MS 6613/2, St Bride's Book of Assessment for the Watch, 1677/8.

31. See D. M. Mitchell, 'Dressing plate by the "unknown" London silver-smith "W.F."', *Burlington Magazine*, June 1993, [hereafter Mitchell 1993] p386-400. Payments totalled £33.

32. Apprentice Book 3, f.37, 29 July 1674 'William Fowle ... to Arthur Manwareing ... for the terme of seaven years from this day'.

33. Oman 1970, pl 78; vase from Ashburnham garniture; Clayton 1985, p69, nos12 & 13, toilet boxes; Brett 1986, nos431-33, toilet boxes, tankard & salver; Clayton 1971, no603, tankard.

34. Guildhall MS 6540/2, Registers of St Bride Fleet Street.

35. Mitchell 1993, p400, debit account.



4. Pair of toilet boxes, Arthur Manwaring's workshop, London, circa 1680, maker's mark only, 8.5cm (2 3/8 in) high (Christie's)

36. GCCB 8, f.227.

37. Clayton 1985, p.79 and Christie's London, 8/15 July 1998 lots 263 & 264.

38. PRO C104/108, Mr William Fowle Creditor. Reproduced in full in Mitchell 1993, pp.399 & 400.

39. Mitchell 1993, p.391, no.37.

40. GCCB 7, ff.193v & 194.

41. GCCB 5, ff.257, 265v & 267v.

42. In his will dated 16 February 1686/7, he left bequests of £4,000 including £100 to the poor of the parish of St John Zachary and a further £100 to the Goldsmiths' Company to provide 40s to two poor working goldsmiths at Christmas. PRO Prob.11/382, sig.16. In November 1683, he had lent the Company £1,000. GCCB 9, f.92v.

43. Apprentice Book 1, f.282, Anthony Ficketts.

44. GCCB V, f.158, 19 November 1641. Apprentice Book 2, f.11, Francis Walton. Apprentice Book 2, f.145, John Benham.

45. GCCB 6, f.161v, 1670/1 & 7, f.200, 1676.

46. London, Royal Bank of Scotland, Backwell Customer Ledgers, Q, f.619; S, f.449; T, f.25; R, f.25, Jan 15 1668/9, For 24 trencher plates 361oz at 5s5d, £98-10-0d.

became a freeman on 9 September 1681, his service testified by his mistress.³⁶

There are two small chased boxes of bombé form and three toilet boxes with scenes of Venus and Mars with just the AM in monogram mark which have been dated to circa 1680.³⁷ [4] These must either have been made before Arthur's death in 1678 or subsequently by William Fowle or a journeyman, presupposing that his widow continued to use the same mark. William Fowle was clearly capable of making splendid toilet services for in June 1681 he was credited by Thomas Fowle for 'a comb box 2 powder 2 patch 2 Jessemy Boxes 2 candlesticks a pin-coshen 2 brushes a glass frame & Toppiece all weight 183oz 5wt att 6s6d per ounce'.³⁸ This was the rate that he received for cast and chased services like the Calverley and Al Tajir toilet services, in contrast to 6s4d per ounce for the 'Japan', flat-chased chinoiserie services such as the Normanton in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Nevertheless, although there is a certain logic in ascribing to Arthur Manwaring all these pieces from 1650 until 1678 with the AM in monogram marks, was he in fact the author? Modern scholars have suggested that certain pieces marked by Englishmen were either chased or wholly made by strangers, employed as journeymen or as subcontractors. In addition to evidence in the Court Books that stranger journeymen were employed by English goldsmiths, against the Company's rules, it is known that there were several highly skilled alien masters without the right to mark their own wares.³⁹ Further, contemporary accusations were made that Englishmen marked strangers' wares; as in 1676, when Jacob Harris and Arthur Manwaring himself were accused of the practice, 'but each of them denied the fact'.⁴⁰ Through his work for Fowle and probably for other important goldsmith-bankers Manwaring presumably knew the leading stranger goldsmiths in London. It seems most unlikely, however, that the Company

would have placed their major commissions with him during the 1660s if it was thought that he would subcontract the chasing to a stranger or even to another English silversmith. Thus, in view of the quality of the chasing on the Feake cup, it is reasonable to accept Oman's view of Manwaring as one of the great seventeenth century silversmiths, and by extension that his pupil William Fowle and, as is argued below, his son Thomas were both accomplished craftsmen.

Thomas and Andrew Manwaring

Thomas Manwaring was born in St Giles Cripplegate in 1642. He was apprenticed to his father in Kerry Lane in 1656 just before his fourteenth birthday and became free of the Goldsmiths' Company in February 1663/4. During 1667 and 1668 he worked as a journeyman for Anthony Ficketts in Foster Lane. Early in 1669, Sir Robert Vyner complained to the Court that three candlesticks bought from Robert Tempest in the Strand but made by Ficketts and bearing his mark were 'deceptfully charged with Copper'. The Court summoned Edward South and Thomas Manwaring to give evidence as Ficketts apparently blamed his apprentices. South declared 'hee was entertained in Mr Ficketts service principally to oversee the Actings of his said Apprentices who was suspected by their Master to bee unfaithfull in his concernes'. Manwaring stated that he had worked for Mr Ficketts for some two years immediately before the late visitation [search] but never saw any plate 'overcharged with sawder'.⁴¹

Ficketts seems to have fashioned plate on some scale and was indeed among a comparatively few plateworkers who made any money.⁴² He was the son of a Wiltshire clothier and was apprenticed to James Peigbourne in 1627.⁴³ Ficketts had established his own trade before 1641 when he was fined for two cream bowls, worse than standard, and subsequently took ten apprentices between 1646 and 1664; the second, Francis Walton, was turned over to him from William Tyler, Arthur Manwaring's master, and the last, John Benham, was turned over from Ficketts to Thomas Manwaring.⁴⁴ Anthony Ficketts had further difficulties with the Company and in 1669 withdrew from the Court of Assistants. Some years later his re-admission was discussed but ultimately rejected.⁴⁵ Between 1668 and 1672, there are a number of entries in Alderman Edward Backwell's ledgers with Fickett's account totalling more than £2,000 in 1671 and 1672. Unfortunately, the proportion of money on deposit as opposed to credits for fashioning or supplying plate is unclear. These entries, however, include the supply of twenty-four trencher plates to the Earl of Carlisle, who led three embassies during the 1660s to Muscovy, Sweden and Denmark.⁴⁶ A number of covered cups, tankards



5 Fluted dish, silver-gilt, maker's mark AF with a mullet and two pellets, London 1664/65 (Christie's; photo: Sotheby's archive)



7 Cup and cover, maker's mark AF, London 1651/52, 16cm (6 1/4 in) high (Sotheby's)

and dishes survive from between 1640 and 1670 with various AF maker's marks, some of which were doubtless fashioned in Ficketts' substantial workshop. [5 & 7]⁴⁷

Apparently, whilst working for Ficketts Thomas Manwaring had been assigned the lease of one of the Company's tenements in Gutter Lane 'which was by the late dreadful Fire in London totally burnt down and consumed'. Presumably Thomas could not raise the money to rebuild the house, for in 1669 he assigned the lease to John Eaton.⁴⁸ Soon after this he married and his wife Sarah bore a daughter Christian who was baptised at Christ Church, Newgate Street in 1675.⁴⁹ They moved to the parish of St Bride Fleet Street where in 1677 Thomas Manwaring was recorded in New Street not far from his father in Goldsmiths' Court.⁵⁰ A daughter Mary



6 Fluted dish, maker's mark TM in monogram, London 1675/76, 59cm (22in) diameter. It is thought that the shells were engraved at a later date. Note the similarity between this dish and that with the AF mark (fig 5). (Christie's; photo: Sotheby's archive)

and son Andrew were baptised before the family moved to St Dunstan-in-the-West, to Falcon Court just across Fleet Street from the church.⁵¹ The poll tax returns for 1692 record that Thomas was living there with his wife and three children, two servants but no apprentices.⁵² This is in accordance with the Goldsmiths' Company records which show that Thomas took seven apprentices between John Benham being turned over to him from Ficketts, probably about 1668, and Thomas Tayler who was bound for eight years from 26 March 1684.⁵³ The two servants were presumably either both journeymen or a female domestic servant and a single journeyman. The house was substantial, being assessed at a rack rent of £40 per annum, which should be compared with the tenements in Kerry Lane at about £8.⁵⁴ Thomas was not, however, assessed for any stock which suggests that he was not engaged in retail trade.

Thomas Manwaring died in December 1693 and was buried in the Lower Ground of St Dunstan-in-the-West.⁵⁵ Although none of the baptismal records or tax assessments refer to Thomas Manwaring as a goldsmith, it is clear that this was indeed his trade. His widow, Sarah, noted as the mother of Christian, Mary and Andrew at their baptisms, continued Thomas's trade at Falcon Court where she was assessed for the 4s in the pound tax in 1694.⁵⁶ On 8 May in that year Edward Hatton was bound apprentice to 'Sarah Manwaring Relict of Thomas Manwaring Cittizen and Goldsmith of London'.⁵⁷ In July 1695 Sarah Manwaring was recorded in St Dunstan-in-the-West with two lodgers, Edward Hatton and Sarah his wife, and Elizabeth Morrice, servant.⁵⁸

Although this biographical sketch indicates that

47. Fig 7 (cup and cover) Sotheby's London, 12 November 1998 lot 247; fig 5 (one of a pair of dishes) Christie's London, 13 March 1939 lot 58.

48. London, Goldsmiths' Company, Assignments 1653 to 1669, No. 1924: B393.

49. London, Corporation of London Record Office [CLRO], Christchurch & St Leonard Foster Lane, Tithe Assessment, 9 March 1673/4, 'Thomas Manwaring in St Sepulchres Precinct', *Harleian Society Registers*, vol 21, Registers of Christchurch Newgate Street 1538-1754, p40 baptism '22 April 1675 Christian dau. of Tho & Sarah Manwaring'; p288 burial '20 August 1675 Christian dau. of Tho & Sarah Manwaring'.

50. Guildhall MS 6613/2, St Brides Booke of Assessment for the Watch 1677/8.

51. Guildhall MS 6540/2, St Bride Fleet Street registers; baptisms: '29 April 1679 Mary Daughter of Thomas Manwaring and Sarah his wife'; '4 Nov. 1680 Andrew son of Thomas Manwaring & Sarah his wife'.

52. London, Centre for Metropolitan History [CMH], 'Metropolitan London in the 1690s database' (prepared from the Poll Tax returns of 1692 and 4s in the pound tax returns of 1694). The move to Falcon Court took place before August 1689, when a son Edward was buried. Guildhall MS 10,348, St Dunstan-in-the-West Registers, burials, '19 Aug. 1689, Edward Manwaring A Child out of faulken Corte in the Lower Ground'.

53. Apprentice Book 3, f.134, 26 March 1684, Thomas Tayler.

54. Nearby at Temple Bar, the wealthy goldsmith-bankers Sir Thomas Fowle and Sir Francis Child were assessed for rack rents of £100 and £70 per annum respectively.

55. Guildhall MS 10,348, St Dunstan-in-the-West Registers; burials, '14 December 1693, Thomas Manwaring out of Faulckcon Court in the Lower Ground'.

56. CMH '1690s database'.

57. Apprentice Booke 4, f.38.

58. CLRO, St Dunstan-in-the-West, July 1695, Marriage Assessment, 106.



8 Porringer and salver-on-foot, Arthur Manwaring, London 1655/56, silver 28.6cm (11 1/4 in) diameter (Christie's)



9 Porringer and cover, arms of 2nd Earl of Peterborough, maker's mark TM in monogram, London 1673/74, 20.3cm (8in) high. This is a late example of chasing in the auricular style. It is similar to that of Arthur Manwaring in contrast to the more dramatic 'gristled' chasing of Wolfgang Howzer and John Cooqus. (Asprey & Garrard)

59. Jackson 1989, p127.

60. Clayton 1971, Winchester porringer, pl 33; also see no372. Clayton 1985, p68 no7. Oman 1970, pl 15B & 40A.

61. Jackson 1989, p121.

62. GCCB 6, f. 58v. Andrew Manwaring's freedom. Testimony of Dan. Goddard & Peter Downham. Apprentice Book 3, f.71. Edmund Streater.

63. *Harleian Society Registers*, vol 13, St James Clerkenwell Marriages 1551-1784, p132, 31 May 1667, Andrew Mannering & Judith Hebore.

64. Guildhall MS 6419/8, St Giles without Cripplegate registers. Baptisms: 13 March 1672/3, Sarah D. of Andr. Mainwaring Souldier & of Judith; 4 April 1675, Andrew S: Andrew Manwaring Brewer [?] & of Judith; 5 February 1676/7, Adam S: Andrew Manwaring Bellman & of Judith; 28 June 1678, John S. of Andrew Mainwaring Labor. & of Judith; 8 November 1681, Tho. S. of Andrew

Thomas Manwaring was a skilled and financially successful plateworker, it does not directly link him to any surviving plate. Nevertheless, a corpus of work survives with the maker's mark TM in monogram which is similar in style to that of his father Arthur Manwaring.⁵⁹ The pieces are mostly from the 1670s and appear to be of uniformly good quality.[6 & 9] They are both plain and finely chased with an outstanding example being the Winchester porringer at The Queen's College, Oxford.⁶⁰ Clearly, further study is necessary to make a connection between these pieces and Thomas Manwaring's workshop.

It has been suggested that Arthur Manwaring's son Andrew may have used the mark AM in monogram surmounted by a crown, which is first noted by Jackson for 1668/69.⁶¹ Andrew Manwaring took his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company by patrimony just after this, in October 1669, and bound a single apprentice in January 1671/2, Edmund Streater.⁶² Apart from these two references, he is not found within the Company books. Further, an extensive trawl through the London records has not revealed Andrew Manwaring's baptism, which presumably took place about 1645, but has provided a few details of two adult 'candidates' living in London during the last third of the century. The first of these apparently married Judith Hebore on 31 May 1667 at St James Clerkenwell.⁶³ The couple settled in the parish of St Giles Cripplegate where five children were born

between 1673 and 1681. The baptisms to Andrew and Judith variously describe Manwaring as soldier, brewer, bellman and labourer.⁶⁴

The second candidate was living in the parish of St Clement Danes in February 1683/4 when 'Andrew Manwaring son of Andrew and Amy' was baptised. In 1687, Andrew Manwaring in 'Witch Ally' was assessed by the Surveyors of the Highways and Bridges and paid 6d. The following year he was paired with John Bond and no payment was made. Subsequently in the 1690s only John Bond 'poore' and 'widow Bond' were listed, but were always excused payment owing to their reduced circumstances.⁶⁵ The registers of St Clement Danes record the burials on 24 August 1697 of 'Andrew Manwaring a youth' and on 2 August 1699 of 'Andrew Manwaring a man'.⁶⁶

Indeed, if either of these men was Arthur Manwaring's son, Andrew, he does not seem to have been a silversmith. The first in St Giles Cripplegate may be discounted in view of his various job descriptions. The second Andrew Manwaring in St Clement Danes is more problematic for he may have been a silversmith and have fallen on hard times for some reason. Nonetheless this seems unlikely in view of the quality of some of the pieces marked with AM in monogram crowned, particularly as his brother Thomas was a successful plateworker and might have been expected to help if the problem was simply financial. Further, as this Andrew Manwaring lived until 1699, why is the crowned mark not found in the 1680s and 1690s.

Several pieces of late seventeenth century silver mounted furniture and pairs of andirons in England and the Netherlands with royal connections have been attributed to Andrew Moore. From the same period, similar objects survive from the Danish royal collections attributed to Jean Henri de Moor.⁶⁷ In view of the similarities of both the names and artefacts, it is necessary to consider whether there was any connection between the two men.

Jean Henri de Moor, a native of Arnhem in Gelderland worked in Paris as a goldsmith although he was never a *maître* of the Paris guild. In 1674 he was living in the rue des Petit-Champs.⁶⁸ By 1678 he was in London when 'Jean Henri Demoor' appears in the Lord Chamberlain's list as 'silver-smith in ordinary'.⁶⁹ However, in 1680 he had returned to Paris where he worked under the protection of his father-in-law, the *maître orfèvre*, François Leuret. Over the next two years he had considerable difficulties with the Paris authorities and in 1683 left for Denmark where he worked under the protection of Christian V.⁷⁰ In 1687, 'he was given a 12-year royal monopoly to manufacture furniture that was otherwise imported'.⁷¹

Although there were a number of de Moors in London during the seventeenth century who came as immigrants from the Low Countries and were members of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars, it is unclear whether there were any ties of kinship with Jean Henri.⁷² Further, there does not seem to be any family connection between Jean Henri de Moor and Andrew Moore, the similarities between their names and wares being purely an aggravating coincidence.

Andrew Moore was the son of a London goldsmith and took his freedom by patrimony on 15 July 1664 [10].⁷³ His father Samuel was the son of Robert Moore, a yeoman from Westbury in Gloucestershire, and had been apprenticed in 1616 to Thomas

Vyner.⁷⁴ After taking his freedom he established his own business near Vyner's in Lombard Street, where he was recorded among a 1642 list of liverymen.⁷⁵ The nature of Samuel Moore's trade is presently unclear but it is likely he concentrated upon retail sales and the provision of financial services. Samuel maintained his close relationship with the Vyner family for one of his eight apprentices was Samuel Vyner, the elder brother of Robert who was subsequently apprenticed to his uncle, Thomas Vyner.⁷⁶

Samuel Moore's wife Isabell bore eight living and three stillborn children between 1632 and 1645. The baptisms and burials were all recorded in the registers of St Mary Woolnoth, including Andrew's baptism on 8 April 1640.⁷⁷ Like Andrew, two of his brothers became free of the Goldsmiths' Company by patrimony, Richard on 5 October 1655 and Hector on 1 July 1681.⁷⁸ Although Richard appears to have traded as a goldsmith, Hector on his marriage in 1673 was described as 'Mariner'.⁷⁹ Perhaps Hector forsook the sea upon taking his freedom in 1681, for at his death in 1696 he was apparently trading in a modest way as a retailer of jewellery. His inventory records the repayment of £16 and an outstanding debt of £50, secured 'upon bond', both from 'Mr Andrew Moore'.⁸⁰

Nothing is known of Andrew Moore's education and training before he became free of the Company at the age of twenty-four in 1664 and indeed very little thereafter. An Andrew Moore was, however, recorded living in St Bride Fleet Street at Fleet River Westside in the assessment for the watch of 1678.⁸¹ A year later a marriage took place at St Giles Ickenham in Middlesex between Andrew Moore and Martha Munday.⁸² In 1680, the goldsmith Andrew Moore took his nephew William, son of his late brother Richard, as an apprentice.⁸³ Subsequently in the 1692 poll tax returns, Andrew Moore, 'silver-chaser', was living in Bridewell Precinct with his wife, daughter and a woman servant. His house was modest, being assessed at a rack rent of £6 per

Manwering Bellman & of Judith.

65. London, Westminster Archives, The Account of Surveyors of the Highways and Bridges within the parish of St Clement Danes, year ending 25 March 1658, B6.

66. Westminster Archives, St Clement Danes registers.

67. M. Bencard, *Silver Furniture*, Copenhagen 1992, nos13-15, 17-18.

68. Paris, Archives Nationales, Min. centr, XLV, 237. The author is very grateful to Michèle Bimbenet-Privat for her notes on Jean Henri de Moor.

69. Oman 1970, p8.

70. Archives Nationales, Cour de Monnaie, Z1B, 520, 704-5.

71. M. Bencard, *Silver Furniture*, Copenhagen 1992, p62.

72. W.V.C. Moens, *Registers of the Dutch Reformed Church, London*, Lymington 1884, pp52 & 123. J.H. Hessels (ed), *Ecclesia Londini - Bataviae Archivum*, Cambridge 1897, vol.3, nos2500, 3922 & 3963.

73. Andrew Moore, GCCB 4, 15 July 1664.

74. Apprentices Book 1, f.228, ten years from 22 November 1616. Thomas Vyner, Lord Mayor in 1653, was knighted in 1654.

75. There is no record of his freedom. The livery list is a loose paper filed at the back of GCCB V. He was admitted to the livery on 17 October 1638, GCCB T, f.130.

76. Apprentice Book 1, f.371, Samuel Vyner, 1643, Apprentice Book 2, f.4, Robert Vyner, 1646. Lord Mayor in 1666, when he was knighted. Their father was William Vyner late of Warwick, Gentleman.

77. Prepared from J.M.S. Brooke & A.W.C. Hallen (eds), *Registers of St Mary Woolnoth*, London 1886.

78. Richard Moore, GCCB 1, 5 Oct. 1655. Hector Moore, GCCB 8, 1 July 1681.

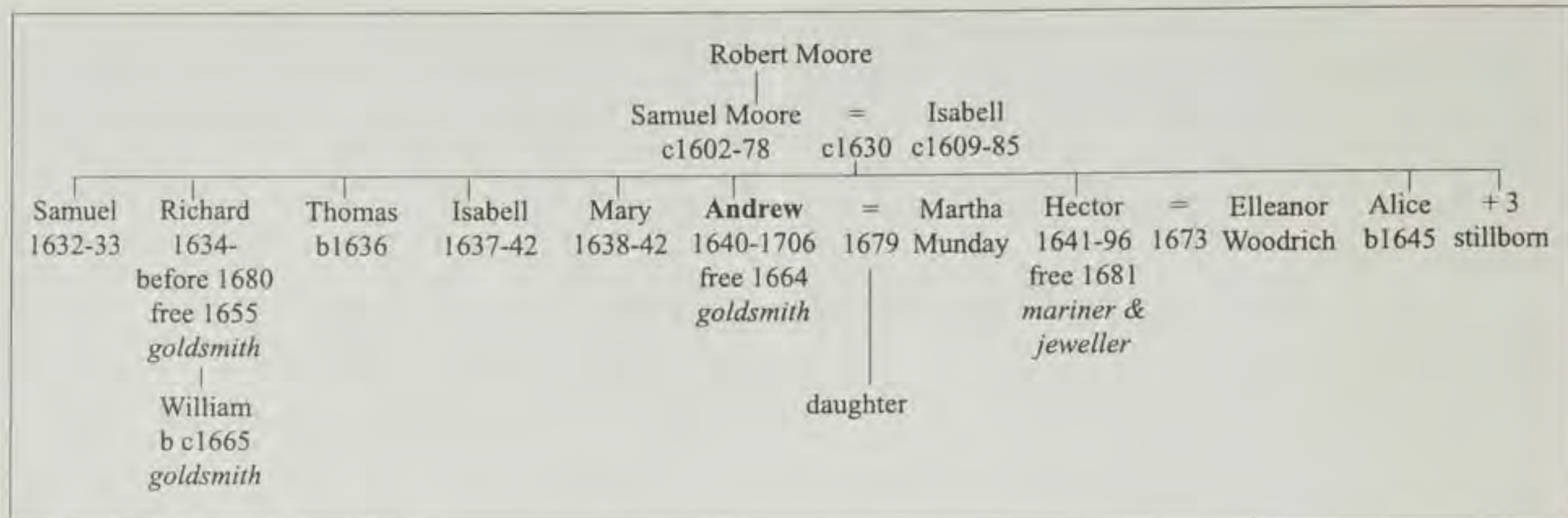
79. There seem to have been three Richard Moores trading as goldsmiths in London during the seventeenth century, Brooke & Hallen (eds), *St Mary Woolnoth*, Marriages 18 February 1673, Hector Moor of Wood Street, Mariner and Eleanor Woodrich of Hackney, Widdow, by archbishop's licence.

80. CLRO, Orphans Court Inv.2245, 7 & 13 May 1696, exhibited 13 October 1696. He had clearly married a second time as his widow was Elizabeth.

81. Guildhall MS 6613/2, Andrew Moore was in the First Precinct near to Francis Leake.

82. London Metropolitan Archives, Registers of St Giles Ickenham, X001/089, 10 June 1679.

83. Apprentice Book 3, f. 94, William Moore.



10 Moore family tree, constructed largely from the registers of St Mary Woolnoth

84. CMH, '1690s database'.

85. Goldsmiths' Company, 1697 plate and addresses, under 'K', p. 29.

86. GCCB 10, f.302, 18 January 1705/6; Guildhall Ms 8310/2, Bridewell Chapel Registers, burials, 'February 1705 Andrew Moore the 12th'.

87. For Mundays, see A.G. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837. Their Marks and Lives*, London 1990, p.603.

88. Oman 1970, p.31.

89. E. Freshfield, *The Communion Plate of the Parish Churches in the County of Middlesex*, London 1897, p.35.

90. Oman 1970, p.31, pl 63B.

91. Oman 1970, p.29, pl 43B & 41B.

92. The previous tables and books of names and addresses were destroyed by a fire in the Assay Office, see GCCB 9, f.28v, 12 September 1682. Although the workmen were required 'to bring in their marks' and strike them on the new plates, 'some of them have refused to conforme thereto'.

Partly because of this record and the recognition that as young goldsmiths became free and established their own trade they would add their marks to the plate, the dating of its marks has been a matter of some conjecture. (Presumably most of the active silversmiths in 1682 marked the plate within a few weeks and it is therefore necessary to establish the break point when new

annum. In addition, he was assessed for stocks of £50 which suggests that he had an element of retail trade.⁸⁴ In 1697 or soon thereafter, Andrew Moore entered a Britannia standard mark at Goldsmiths' Hall with his address given as Bridewell precinct.⁸⁵ In January 1705/6 he was among the seventy-four poor goldsmiths to receive Sir Hugh Middleton's gift from the Company, but some three weeks later he died; the burial of Andrew Moore being entered in the Bridewell Chapel Registers on 12 February in that year.⁸⁶

Although the Andrew Moore working as a silver-chaser in Bridewell precinct was almost certainly the son of Samuel Moore, was he also the man living on the Fleet in 1678 and the husband of Martha Munday in 1679. There are reasons for thinking this may be the case. Firstly, several important plateworkers including Arthur and Thomas Manwaring and Francis Leake lived in St Bride's during the 1670s. Secondly, there were several Mundays, free of either the Goldsmiths' or Merchant Taylors' Company, working in London as goldsmiths during the seventeenth century, when it was not uncommon for tradesmen to marry the daughters or widows of men in the same trade.⁸⁷ Thirdly, although this may be purely coincidental, Ickenham was where Sir Robert Vyner had his country house Swakeleys.⁸⁸ Indeed he presented the parish church with a flagon and paten in 1683. These have the date mark for 1682/83 and the maker's mark 'S crowned' which has been identified with Robert Smythier.⁸⁹

Quantities of plate bearing the 'S crowned' mark were made both for the Jewel House and other important patrons. Some pieces were plain but others were splendidly chased, including the 'Judgement of Solomon' sconces among the royal holdings, which Oman suspected included the work of a second hand.⁹⁰ Another plateworker closely associated with the Vyners was Francis Leake who has been identified with the mark 'FL above a bird'. This mark appears on an altar basin which was chased by

Wolfgang Howzer. Oman argued that Leake also used a specialist to chase the dish of 1683/84 belonging to the Marquis of Exeter.⁹¹

The copper mark-plate, or 'workeman's table', started in 1682 includes a fine AM in monogram mark which in view of Arthur Manwaring's death in 1678 would appear to be that of Andrew Moore.⁹² However, it is only rarely found, notably on magnificent chased pieces made towards the end of the century. This suggests that before then Moore was largely concerned with chasing wares made and marked by other silversmiths. In view of his strong family connections with the Vyners, plateworkers such as Robert Smythier and Francis Leake who are thought to have worked for Sir Robert Vyner are possible collaborators. Nonetheless, he may conceivably have also worked with others such as Thomas Jenkins who appears to have marked part of the set of silver furniture, now at Knole, that was supplied by the furniture maker Gerrit Jensen in 1680-81.⁹³ Clearly detailed stylistic and technical analyses would be necessary to add any conviction to such conjectures.

The conclusions of this brief biographical study can be simply summarised: that plate with the AM in monogram marks dated before 1678 or perhaps 1681 is likely to have been fashioned in Arthur Manwaring's workshop, whereas that with the finer AM in monogram mark on the copper plate started in 1682 and the MO mark from the 1697 plate were most probably made by Andrew Moore.

Unfortunately, conclusions as to the significance of the two marks noted by Jackson with the AM monogram surmounted by a crown or a pawn, cannot be drawn without an extensive schedule of the dated maker's marks. This cannot be prepared from published sources as detailed descriptions of the maker's marks are rarely given. Such a schedule therefore requires an inspection of a significant number of pieces bearing AM marks. Clearly, the supposition that the four AM marks recorded by

Jackson, the last being dated to 1675, were all used by Arthur Manwaring would be severely challenged if two of the marks were found on pieces of the same date. Nonetheless, it should be noted that on 16 March 1668/9, the Court of the Goldsmiths' Company accepted a committee report 'about workemen and the assay & weigh office'. Its first clause stated that, 'All ... to enter respective marks in the Assay office ... distinct from those formerly used by them'.⁹⁴ It is therefore significant that

Jackson notes a communion cup with the simple AM in monogram mark dated 1668/69, and two patens on feet with the mark surmounted by a crown from the same year.⁹⁵ The new date letter for 1669/70 was issued in July 1669 which gives a four-month period from the Court's decision in which the patens could have been marked.⁹⁶ Thus, theoretically there is no reason why these two marks at least could not have belonged to Arthur Manwaring.

independent freemen started to enter their marks.)

The plate includes: Col 1, no34: WF knot above, rosette below, William Fowle, free September 1681, died July 1684. Col 3, no24: TM in monogram, possibly Thomas Manwaring, free February 1664, died December 1693. Col 4, no71: AM in monogram, probably Andrew Moore, free July 1664, died February 1706.

93. Gervase Jackson Stops (ed), *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, New Haven 1985, no129, states 'the table is stamped with the letter for 1680-81 and an unknown maker's mark: TL with a millet above and escallop below'. However, the mark may be TI between escallops in quatre-foil, described by Arthur Grimwade and Judith Banister, 'Thomas Jenkins unveiled A leading Caroline

Goldsmith', *Connoisseur*, vol 195, no785, July 1977, pp173-181. The author is grateful to Adriana Turpin for a copy of Gerrit Jensen's bill to the Countess of Dorset of 5 June 1680. Maidstone, Kent Record Office, Kent A192/10.

94. GCCB 5, f.263.

95. Jackson 1989, p121.

96. GCCB 5, f.27v, 7 July

1669. There are other examples of modifications to marks in 1669, see Jackson 1989, p126: TP, pellets and rosette below, 1664/65 and TP, three stars below, 1669/70; PP, star below, 1665/66 and PP, rosette below, 1668/69; TA, mullet between, 1665/66 and TA, star below, 1669/70.

Andrew Moore of Bridewell

Almost forgotten and disguised?

Theo Deelder

Sir Charles James Jackson's attribution of the mark 'AM in monogram' to Andrew Moore of Bridewell has apparently disappeared from the third edition of *English Goldsmiths and their marks*. A recent find of a yet unpublished 'AM in monogram' mark indicates that one can't be too careful in making changes to this still outstanding book and Jackson's line of thought.

The marks

Jackson's first edition gave three different 'AM in monogram' marks in 1650 [1A], 1665 [1F], and a crowned one in 1668 [1D]. The 1650 mark was suffixed 'This is probably the mark of Andrew Moore'. The attribution was probably made because of the very similar 'MO in monogram' mark entered by Andrew Moore, as required for the New Standard, from April 1697 [1C].¹ The second edition showed a change in the 1665 mark [1G] and also added another crowned mark from 1674 [1E].² According to Jackson there were now four, and possibly five, variations of the mark, all 'probably A. Moore'. The third edition (edited by Ian Pickford) presented the same four marks, also omitting the slightly different 1665 mark from the first edition.³

A major change was made in this last edition, with Susan Hare's attribution of all 'AM in monogram' marks to Arthur Manwaring, stating: 'His mark is found up to 1696 on much important silver, he did not register a new mark in 1697'.⁴ In consequence Andrew Moore of Bridewell, the illustrious maker of silver furniture and so often quoted in the major works on European silver,⁵ evaporated from the pre-1697 scene. The attribution to Manwaring was worked out by the late Charles Oman and even the andirons in the Royal Collection bearing the 'AM in monogram' mark and the London hallmarks for 1696 were now considered to be among the last works of Arthur Manwaring.⁶

The recent find of another, different, 'AM in monogram' mark [1B] on a pair of Huguenot-style andirons [6] in the collection of Duivenvoorde castle,⁷ restores Andrew Moore as a pre-1697 maker of silver furniture and does credit to the line of thought that 'AM in monogram' was in some way linked with the later 'MO in monogram' mark.⁸

Very much to my surprise, this newly discovered and clearly different 'AM in monogram' mark [1B] was found to be struck on the 1682 London copperplate at Goldsmiths' Hall [4], and according to its location on that plate had been entered there somewhere between 1685 and 1690. This mark has, for reasons unknown to me, never been published before.

The most likely solution now is that the 'AM in monogram' marks were used by at least two, maybe even three silversmiths.⁹









- The early, 1650, mark [1A & 3]: no doubt used by Arthur Manwaring (free 1642, no occurrence of this mark after 1677).
- The later, circa 1685, mark [1B & 4] no doubt used by Andrew Moore of Bridewell (obtained his freedom by patrimony in 1664, described as a chaser in 1692).
- The crowned marks [1D & 1E] possibly used by Andrew Manwaring, son of Arthur (free by patrimony in 1669).¹⁰ The possibility that the crowned marks will later prove to be 'late Arthur Manwaring' or 'early Moore' marks is not excluded.
- The 1665 mark [1F] (Jackson, first edition), and the clearly different 1665 mark [1G] (from the later editions) may be deleted as they are most likely copies of inadequate drawings, not closely resembling the mark. The same applies to Jackson's MO mark [1H].

1. Sir C.J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, London 1905, pp123, 128, 146. The AM mark on p128 [1F] and the MO mark on p146 [1H] are probably copied from drawings by W. Chaffers in *Gilda Aurifabrorum*, 1883, new edition circa 1895, pp120, 176.

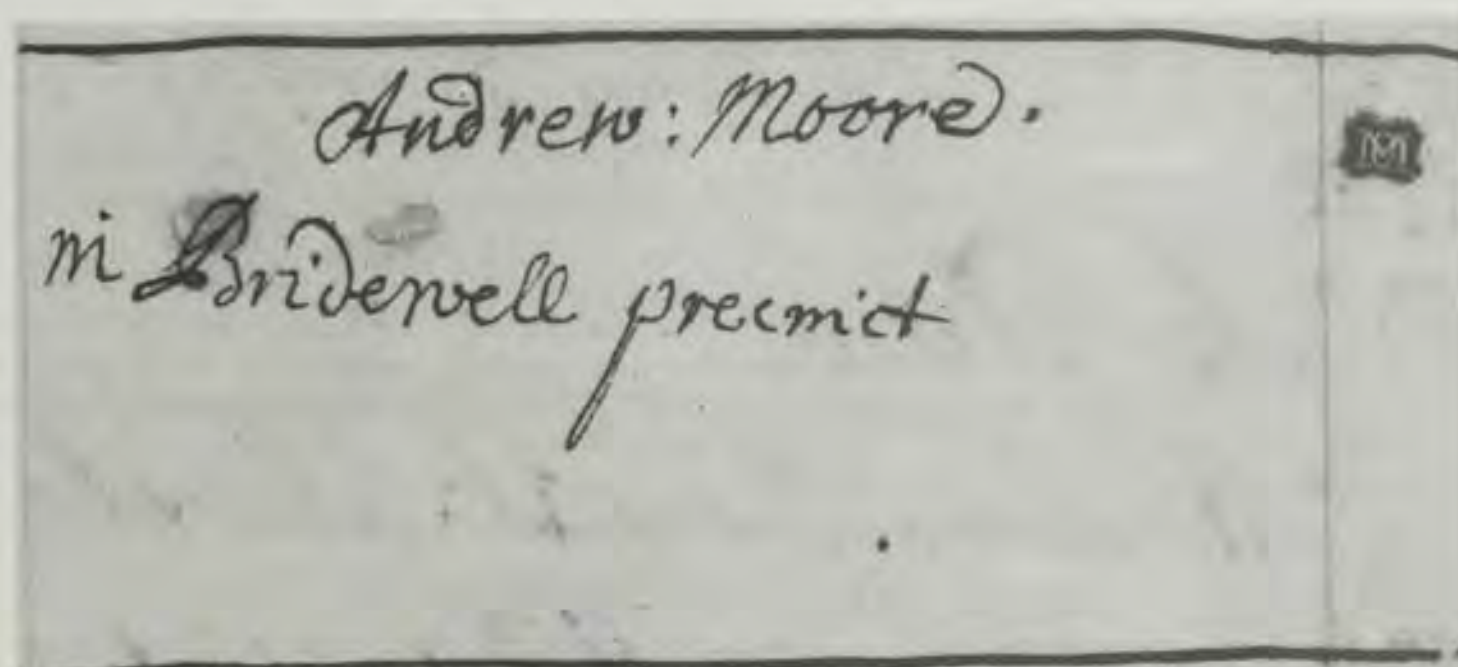
2. Sir C.J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, London 1921, pp124, 129, 130, 135. Why the AM mark [1F] from the first edition was replaced by the clearly different 1665 version [1G] remains a mystery as the 1665 Hanbury cup could only be stamped with one version of the mark.

3. Ian Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver & Gold marks*, Woodbridge 1989, p121. The photograph on the right-hand side of that page shows the only correct version of the AM mark on the 1665 Hanbury cup. The mark [1G], which is 'way out', should have been subject to the 'more than 10,000 corrections' in the third edition.

4. The fact that Arthur Manwaring did not register a new mark in 1697 may not lead to the conclusion that he stopped working in 1696, as his old mark already complied with the new regulations (AM in monogram = MA in monogram).

		Published	Attributed to	Observed on
IDENTIFIED MARKS				
A		1650. 1st edn p123; 2nd edn p124; 3rd edn p121	Arthur Manwaring	Feake and Hanbury cups, Goldsmiths' Company [3]
B		circa 1685-97	Andrew Moore	1682 copper plate Goldsmiths' Hall [4] Duivenvoorde andirons [6]
C		Grimwade 2047. 1697 register Goldsmiths' Hall 1697/98 2nd edn p154; 3rd edn p151	Andrew Moore	Table, Windsor Castle [5] Teaspoons (note 33)
UNIDENTIFIED MARKS				
D		1668. 1st edn p128; 2nd edn p130; 3rd edn p121		Various objects
E		1674. 2nd edn p135; 3rd edn p121		Various objects noted by Jackson
DUBIOUS MARKS				
F		1665. 1st edn p128		Probably copied from Chaffers
G		1665. 2nd edn p129; 3rd edn p121		
H		1697, Britannia Standard. 1st edn p146 2nd edn p152, 3rd edn p149		- ditto -

1 Marks attributed to Andrew Moore, Arthur Manwaring and possibly Andrew Manwaring. References are to Jackson.



2 Entry for Andrew Moore in 1697 register (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)



3 AM mark, for Arthur Manwaring, as on the Feake and Hanbury cups. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)



4 AM mark, for Andrew Moore, from Goldsmiths' Hall 1682 copper plate.

5. C. Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Goldsmith 1430-1830*, London 1977, vol 1, pp215, 219.

6. Charles Oman, *Caroline Silver*, London 1970, pp30-31.

7. Situated halfway between Leiden and The Hague and seat of the Barons van Wassenae from the thirteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. This mark was first published by the author in *Antick*, May 1997, p453.

8. It is not clear whether this attribution was originally made by Jackson, as Cripps, in *Old English Plate*, London 1899 (6th edn) p393, gives the 'AM in monogram' mark on the 1696 andirons in the Royal Collection as 'probably Andrew Moore' but surprisingly with no mention of his later MO mark.

9. This conclusion was reached after correspondence starting in 1997 between the author and David Beasley, librarian of the Goldsmiths' Company. [See also David Mitchell's article in this *Journal* for further biographical information- ed.]

10. Author's assumption, based on the fact that sons of silversmiths sometimes adopted their father's mark with a crown added. Examples of this are known in the Netherlands. As both in this case had the same initials, and to my knowledge initials were compulsory in London, this seems a logical solution.



5 Table, Andrew Moore, maker's mark only, re-dated by the author to 1697. (The Royal Collection © 1999 Her Majesty The Queen)

11. The most important are: J.F. Hayward, *Huguenot Silver in England*, London 1959, pp59–60; C. Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Goldsmith 1433–1830*, London 1977, vol I, p215; P. Glanville, *Silver in England*, London 1987, p70; John Martin Robinson, *Royal Palaces, Windsor Castle, a royal collection*, 1996, p54, his new dating 'circa 1695' is slightly better but still not correct.

12. Charles Oman, *English Engraved Silver*, London 1978, p64. Oman probably based his dating 'about 1700' on the Moore research by Arthur Grimwade, as published in *London Goldsmiths 1697–1838*, see 3rd edn London 1990, no2047 on p150 and p599. See note 16.

13. P. Glanville, *Silver in England*, London 1987, p70.

14. R. Bastiaanse and H. Bots, *Glorious Revolution, The World of William & Mary*, The Hague 1988, p77; Henri & Barbara van der Zee, *William and Mary*, London 1973, chapter XXXIX 'A Doubtful Peace', pp425–36.

The silver table

The table in the Royal Collection [5] played a crucial role in reaching the above solution. Most authors on English and European silver have included in their work this really superb and only remaining example of the high baroque almost solid silver table as promulgated by Louis XIV. Presumably for stylistic reasons, all but one have dated this magnificent table circa 1690 (or have they copied their illustrious predecessors in doing so?), putting their readers and also me, completely on the wrong foot.¹¹ After checking at Windsor Castle, only Charles Oman proved to be right in his statement that this table bears the (new) mark of Andrew Moore as required for the Britannia standard [1C].¹² Surprisingly, Oman then failed to make the logical connection with the 1696 andirons, also in the Royal Collection, bearing the (old) 'AM in monogram' mark [1B]. Perhaps his full support of the earlier attribution of this mark to Arthur Manwaring was still a bit in the way.

Now that we have got the dating on the correct side of April 1697 it is clear that the table could not have been presented to William & Mary (she died in 1694)¹³ but was a present for William alone, most likely a very appropriate 'thank you old boy' for bringing the long and costly wars with France to an end. Since 1689 that war had apparently cost no less

than £5.5million annually. Agreeable terms with Louis XIV were negotiated and the treaty of Rijswijk concluded in 1697. William returned to England on 14 November that year and was welcomed in London on 16 November 1697 in great triumph, such as no monarch before him had ever experienced in the English capital.¹⁴

The tools of war engraved on the tabletop and the emblems of England, Scotland, Ireland and France in the four corners are a very clear reference to William's victory at the Rijswijk negotiations. Louis XIV had now to accept William III, his enemy and cousin, as king of England in all his rights (including his rights as 'king of France'). And that is what the silver table is all about.¹⁵ It should therefore be re-dated to 1697.¹⁶ A confirmation of this date is also to be found in the proceedings of 16 November 1697:

The lord mayor and aldermen of London have resolved to receive his majestie on horseback in their scarlet gowns and gold chaines, with the citty companies in all their formalities, as they did King Charles.

It now also becomes clear why different authors have referred to the donors of the table as variously as: the City of London (Glanville), Corporation of the City of London (Hernmarck), the merchants of the City of London (Oman). Most likely the Lord Mayor

did the presentation on behalf of all London bodies that had donated.¹⁷ As I cannot think of any other occasion in the reign of William III (alone) that could justify the presentation of this table, the year 1697 must have been the one and only possibility. All former datings 'about 1690, 1695' are impossible, as explained earlier, and also 'about 1700' must be considered as too late. Already by the autumn of 1698 anti-Dutch feelings had become much more prominent, as is well illustrated by one of the many rhymes then circulating in London:

To pay our just taxes was once thought too much,
But now extra ordinary charity is such
We bankrupt ourselves for maintaining the Dutch.¹⁸

In that new mood (now that the absence of collective aims in wartime failed to unite), a silver presentation table would have been out of the question.

Why then, was the undercarriage of the table (now given the date 1697) for the greater part still made in the old-fashioned baroque court style of Louis XIV (with heavily cast caryatid figures following the designs of Charles le Brun for the tables at Versailles that had been melted some ten years earlier),¹⁹ and not in the new and fashionable Huguenot style (as can be seen in the table's ball feet and even more clearly in the Sneyd chandelier made for William III by Daniel Garnier circa 1694–97)?²⁰ Andrew Moore had certainly mastered this new style, as is proven by the existence of the pre-1697 andirons at Duivenvoorde bearing his mark.

There are still a lot of other questions to be

answered regarding this table. Andrew Moore, in contemporary documents described as a chaser,²¹ surely made the chased bits and pieces, as they all carry his mark. Who then supplied the apparently unmarked cast caryatid legs, who did the wooden frame, and who put it all together? Most likely not Andrew Moore, but a yet unknown furniture maker.²² And who is the engraver whose initials 'HR conjoined' appear on the table top? And to whose design was the table made? Daniel Marot, perhaps, as in 1700 he still designed 'old fashioned' caryatid-legged tables for Het Loo.²³ And what is the significance of the prominent, and at that time rather un-English, pineapple in the position that is normally left empty on contemporary wooden tables.²⁴ The easiest question is regarding the casters attached under the ball feet, which are most likely later additions.

As the four stretchers, the four ball feet and the four side panels supporting the engraved top all carry Moore's 'MO' mark (twelve in total) in clearly visible locations on the exterior, it is unlikely that the caryatid legs would carry his mark in a completely obscured spot. So it seems that they are unmarked and made by another silversmith, most likely a refugee Huguenot as they mastered the new heavy casting techniques. It would be too far-reaching to presume a completely French origin, but nothing in the world of silver is impossible. How sure are we that all Louis XIV's tables were melted down? Could four caryatids have survived, sold to England or Holland as works of art, thus making a better price on the silver?²⁵

15. This conclusion is also supported by the engraving in the middle panel of a vigorous young man (France?) – located between the two cannon – suggested to be grounded with hands tied behind his back.

16. Oman's dating 'about 1700' can now be amended to 1697 (early 1698 at the latest), as presumably it should not have taken more than a couple of months to make this table. The official negotiations at Rijswijk lasted about five months (9 May to 5 October 1697). The draft peace treaty containing the very good news reached London on 14 September 1697, so work on the table might have begun about that date. The presentation table could then, as a joint effort of various craftsmen, have been completed by 16 November 1697 when William returned to London.

Besides that, Grimwade completely overlooked the fact that the MO mark was correctly entered between April 1697 (earliest) and November 1698 (latest) and definitely not (see note 12)

'between April and December 1700'. Moore's entry is undated like all the other early entries (from April 1697 onwards). The earliest dating of entries occurred in November 1698. That the undated Moore entry 'lies between others of 1700' is a misinterpretation, as the preceding dated entry (April 20: 1700) is very clearly a later second entry by the same silversmith changing his mark and address and was, for obvious reasons, located just underneath his first entry of April 1697. This observation now opens the way to change 'about 1700' (the best dating until now) to 'almost certainly 1697'.

17. The livery companies (guilds) were entitled to a number of seats in the Corporation of the City of London, the body which administers the City and its affairs, for example the election of the Lord Mayor. The merchants (via the livery companies) were thus influential in the proceedings.

18. Quoted in Henri & Barbara van der Zee, *William and Mary*, London 1973, p449.

19. Deborah Sampson Shinn in *Courts and Colonies, The William and Mary style in Holland, England and America*, exhibition catalogue, New York 1988 p142. Silver furniture had been popular in French, Dutch and English royal households during the previous decades but was less favoured by the 1690s.

20. Now on view in Colonial Williamsburg. See John D. Davis, *English Silver at Williamsburg*, Williamsburg 1976, cover and p13.

21. Andrew Moore was the only one described as a silver chaser in a poll tax assessment of 1692. Information kindly supplied by David Mitchell to David Beasley.

22. There also seems to have been a Moore family in London engaged in making furniture, and people called De Moor, who made furniture for the Danish court. (Information kindly supplied by David Beasley.) This interesting possible connection justifies further research into the Moore workshops.

23. Deborah Sampson Shinn in *Courts and Colonies, The William and Mary style in Holland, England and America*, exhibition catalogue, New York 1988 p144.

24. The empty place was often part of the design to allow another object to be placed there. Most likely the pineapple, as fruit of the sun, was not intended as a mere ornament but as a very clear reference to the Sun King, Louis XIV, only in his proper place 'under the table'. This view is also supported by the engraving on the table-top (middle upper panel) of a sun encircling a devastating snake. Scabrous references to the Sun King were also made on other silver objects. One of

the cartouches on the base of the 1690 royal lion drinking cup presented by William III to the Auserre Stand of Bern reads 'FRANCIA. Etiam Soli sunt sua deliquia', apparently meaning 'Even the Sun has her faults' (Sotheby's London, 22 February 1999 lot 41).

25. Testing of the caryatids will not provide the answer to a possible French origin. The Paris silver standard was fixed from 1554–1797 at 11 deniers 12 grains (with an allowance of 2 grains), that is 958/1000, thus exactly the same as the Britannia Standard in which the table is supposed to be made.

26. Inventory Foundation Duivenvoorde (no2294).

27. R.J. Baarsen, 'The court style in Holland' in *Courts and Colonies*, exhibition catalogue, New York 1988, p31, fig29.

28. The base is chased from heavy gauge silversheet with applied cables and fleur-de-lys like motifs. The gadrooned vases are cast and attached to the base by screw-thread. The iron layers are attached with applied silver bolts and silver nuts. Height 39cm, width 23.5cm, depth including iron layer 45.5cm. Weight excluding the iron bars 2930gr each. They belong to the smaller type of andiron compared to most other existing examples of earlier date.

29. Holland and Zeeland suffered a considerable loss of silver objects during the 'velvet revolution' of 1795 when the Dutch reluctantly opened the gates to the French, hoping to be better off. Stadholder William V fled to England. All worked silver except cutlery and church silver, in these two provinces, had to be handed in to fill the treasury. Objects could only be saved when substituted by their weight in cash. To indicate that obligations were fulfilled the object was then marked with a discharge mark, being the 1795 date letter of the town where the owner lived. Production of cutlery was then prohibited to avoid melting of objects and reshaping into exempted forks and spoons.

30. When the Van Wassenaer van Duivenvoorde line died out in 1771 most of the silver went to Rosendaal Castle, near Arnhem, residence of the heirs of Duivenvoorde. (The majority was sold at auction in Amsterdam less than twenty years ago, its whereabouts now unknown.) Duivenvoorde became derelict and was nearly demolished at the end of the eighteenth century, the furniture having been sold in 1793. How the andirons survived at Duivenvoorde remains a mystery. As they also lack the 1795 discharge mark (see preceding note) one may presume that the out-of-use andirons lay forgotten in some attic, black and dirty looking like pewter, so escaping the melting pot and/or transfer to Rosendaal.



6 Andirons from Duivenvoorde Castle, Andrew Moore, circa 1694-97.

The Duivenvoorde andirons

The silver andirons (or 'vuurbokken' in Dutch or better in double-Dutch as andirons come in pairs) at Duivenvoorde Castle have until recently been regarded as 'French about 1700'²⁶ or even possibly 'Dutch 1701-10'.²⁷ If so, they would have been 'more than unique' as no other French or Dutch silver andirons are known to have survived. As they are not hallmarked the dating was mainly based on the applied shields depicting the arms of Arent van Wassenaer van Duivenvoorde (1669-1721) and Anna Margaretha Bentinck (1683-1763) who were married in 1701. The mark 'AM in monogram' [IB] which is struck on the base and on the detachable gadrooned vase, has now identified the andirons as London-made, pre-1697.²⁸ They are therefore no longer 'unique' as fourteen pairs of English/London-made seventeenth century andirons can easily be found.

Although they are of English make, the Duivenvoorde andirons still remain very important to the Netherlands because of their likely royal provenance and the fact that they are the only known silver pair that not only survived turbulent times in the Low Countries²⁹ but somehow also remained *in situ* at Duivenvoorde Castle.³⁰ Arent van Wassenaer van Duivenvoorde (son of Jacob, envoy to the

English court), accompanied William on his 1688 sailing trip to Brixton and ride to London, an outing often referred to as the Glorious Revolution. Anna Margaretha was the daughter of Hans Willem Bentinck, William's confidant. A royal present at their wedding in 1701 thus looks very likely. Possible proof, such as an engraved 'William Rex' is perhaps hidden under the later applied shields with the coat-of-arms of the happily married couple.

Testing of the shields indicated 'a possible fractional higher' silver content than the andirons, that averaged 930/1000. Definitely higher (958) or definitely lower (833) silver content would have indicated London or The Hague as the sure place of application. Unfortunately 930/1000 is just in-between English Sterling (925) and Holland's Grote Keur (934). Although the year 1701 lies clearly in the compulsory Britannia standard period, one can imagine that a London silversmith would still use the readily available Sterling standard for a minor modification, such as the application of the shields, on the (Sterling) andirons, instead of the more expensive New Standard. Testing, alas, didn't give any answers.

If the Duivenvoorde andirons do have a royal provenance – as is indicated by strong circumstantial evidence only – a question that can then be asked is why the Dutch couple was presented with andirons from William's existing English plate rather than his Dutch plate.³¹ The answer doesn't appear to be all that difficult. At the end of the century the wood fires in the London palaces were apparently replaced by coal fires in grates and the redundant andirons found their way to the country houses where wood was still in use. Most of William's residences in the Netherlands were no more than country houses/palaces, so it seems logical that in William's Anglo-Dutch court there only developed a surplus of London-made andirons that could easily be given away.

Andrew Moore of Bridewell

It is amazing that still so little was known about Andrew Moore of Bridewell that he could easily be replaced by Arthur Manwaring without anybody objecting. A reassessment of all the later 'Manwaring' silver now appears to be necessary. The difficult years are the overlap in working periods, circa 1664-85. Charles Oman noted 'From this time (circa 1670) Manwaring's work is notable for its fine embossing, as can be seen from the fine flask of 1675 from the Ashburnham collection'.³² This fine flask could therefore possibly be by Moore rather than Manwaring, as it seems very unlikely that Andrew Moore only made silver furniture. He must have been an outstanding and very capable silversmith long before receiving royal commissions.³³

It is hoped now that the two remaining 'crowned AM in monogram' marks can be positively attributed in the near future, either to Andrew Moore or otherwise to the Manwaring family. Maybe even one day written proof will be found of William III being the first owner of the London-made andirons at Duivenvoorde Castle. Didn't all royal plate have to pass through the Jewel House?

Acknowledgements

Without the very kind assistance and patience of David Beasley and the co-operation of Hugh Roberts, director of the Royal Collections, the writing of this article would not have been possible.

Editor's note

The tables in the Royal Collection can now be seen in The Queen's Ballroom at Windsor Castle.

Postscript

Because of problems with the editor's computer, I read David Mitchell's impressive and detailed account of Manwaring and Moore only after completion of my own contribution. I now add a reaction to his careful suppositions.

We seem to agree that the 'AM monogram' marks [1A & 1B] belong to Arthur Manwaring and Andrew Moore respectively and that all work marked [1A] predating 1678-81 is Manwaring's (workshop) and that work marked [1B] postdating 1682 must be Moore's. Work with the crowned marks [1D & 1E] remains a problem.

From David Mitchell's article it is now clear to me that Arthur Manwaring's son Andrew did not make a career as a silversmith, so therefore the frequently appearing crowned mark [1D] is not his. As suggested earlier, as Andrew was free in October 1669 and took Edmund Streater as apprentice in 1671/72, he most likely started his working life as a silversmith but soon gave up. Perhaps he then used the mark 'AM conjoined crowned'³⁴ which only recently came to my notice. The layout of the letters looks very similar to the 'TM conjoined' mark that perhaps (as suggested by David Mitchell) belonged to his more successful brother Thomas.³⁵

This leaves the two 'crowned AM' marks to be divided between Arthur Manwaring and Moore as it now seems unlikely that there ever was a third person using these marks. David Mitchell argues with good reason that these two marks could have belonged to Arthur Manwaring (at least that there is no reason why they should not). However, it can also be argued that they are Moore's – despite the fact that the 'crowned AM' known with hallmarks apparently does not appear after 1678 (Manwaring's year of death). There are, however, many 'crowned AM' marks struck without hallmarks that might very well be far beyond that date. What accuracy do we normally reach when dating work that isn't hallmarked? Five years, ten years?

The argument I now put forward is found in David Beasley's letter to me of 10 February 1997: 'According to Gerald Taylor's notes there is no occurrence of this maker's mark after 1677'. He is referring to the early AM mark [1A] (as found on the Feake and Hanbury cups), and this matches Manwaring's death in 1678, as indicated by David Mitchell but apparently unknown to Taylor, as he presumed Manwaring to have died by 1681. This observation indicates that the AM mark [1A] was indeed used up to and including 1677 and it becomes evident that this mark was used next to the 1668 crowned mark [1D] unless Taylor's notes were wrongly interpreted.

Would it have been possible for a silversmith held in high esteem by the Company to use two different maker's marks at the same time? Or may we con-

31. S.W.A. Drossaers, *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes*, The Hague 1974, part 1, p417. The inventory of 1696 made up by Adam Loofs, keeper of the king's silver in the Netherlands, indicates the existence of four pairs of Dutch andirons and two pairs of English make, presumably William's 1677 wedding presents. A comparison of weights indicated that the Duivenvoorde andirons were not listed there. All William's andirons mentioned in the inventory were unfortunately melted down in the second half of the eighteenth century.

32. Charles Oman, *Caroline Silver*, London 1970, fig 78. Now in the Victoria & Albert Museum.

33. It is most surprising that his later mark is apparently also to be found on more humble objects such as the 1697/98 teaspoons (Jackson, 2nd edn p152, 3rd edn p149).

34. As given by Chaffers only and struck on a 1672 tankard Gilda Aurifabororum, new edition, circa 1895, p121.

35. Jackson 1989, p127

36. This confirms Oman's view that Manwaring was one of the great seventeenth century silversmiths, but forgetting that Oman thought Manwaring lived until 1697 and thus included Moore's work in his appraisal of Manwaring (see note 6).

37. Vanessa Brett, *Sotheby's Directory of Silver 1600-1940*, London 1986, no430.

clude that these two marks belonged to different silversmiths, which would then make [1D] a pre-1682 Moore mark instead of a Manwaring mark?

Jackson did not give the source of his 1674/75 crowned mark [1E], only stating 'Marks noted by the author'; while almost all his other entries very clearly state 'object and owner' as often still traceable sources. Why are there two clearly different crowned marks? The possible origin of the first 1668/69 crowned mark [1D] is explained by David Mitchell on p176, but where does the mark [1E] come from? Does it exist or is it in the same category of 'dubious Jackson marks' as [1F, 1G & 1H]? This would leave [1D] as the only serious problem. But conversely, there is good reason to assume there to be two silversmiths using differently crowned AM marks – unless Manwaring changed his mark again in 1674.

I agree with David Mitchell that an extensive stylistic and technical study of all objects carrying 'AM monogram' marks is necessary to understand the crowned AM marks.

For the 'AM monogram' marks the division is 1681/82. If a work is not hallmarked the illustrations of the marks for Manwaring [1A & 3] and for Moore [1B & 4] should be consulted. There is enough difference in the details to distinguish them.

Unfortunately the 'crowned AM' marks are still unclear, partly because objects marked [1D] often have no hallmarks. David Mitchell argues that it is unlikely that Manwaring had his work chased by others.³⁶ On the other hand, he shows that important platerworkers (including Francis Leake, Arthur

Manwaring and also an Andrew Moore) in the 1670s lived near to each other in St Bride's, and that more than once use was made of specialist chasers, in general suggesting Andrew Moore (later defined as a chaser and living in Bridewell) as a possible candidate. So another difficulty is that, in theory, it is not impossible that Moore also chased Manwaring's work.

A final question that unfortunately remains unanswered is why the marks [1B & 1C], here attributed to Andrew Moore of Bridewell, only seem to appear on high quality plate of the 1690s with a royal provenance (to my knowledge only the 1697/98 teaspoons from Crichton's are exempted) when Moore supposedly mainly worked/chased for others? Why was he – as a subcontractor – allowed to strike his mark on these highly important royal pieces? This seems to contradict human nature and I am convinced that there is much about Moore that we do not know, despite all our efforts to lift the veil.

A future task is a survey of all 'AM in monogram' plate between circa 1664-68 and 1678-82, including the Ashburnham flasks and the superbly chased beakers with the crowned AM mark [1D] only and probably wrongly dated at circa 1660.³⁷ Or should we start with a completely different approach, leaving the marks for what they are (signs of responsibility rather than signs of workmanship) and try to evaluate all magnificently chased London plate between 1664 and 1697 (including work by Bodendick, Jenkins and others) in the hope of recognising the hand of Andrew Moore? If he had been an artist-painter we would have no choice.

Lincolnshire makers of church plate

Peter Hawker

It appears that the great majority of chalices in the diocese of Lincoln were changed in 1569 to the new shape of an ordinary drinking-cup with a paten that would hold a priest's host and a few lay hosts underneath it. The fact that these pieces are not fully hall-marked may perhaps be explained if we remember the high cost of travel between the places of re-making and the London, Norwich or York assay offices. If, as Charles Oman once suggested, the only payment to the goldsmith was the difference between the bullion value of the newly-fashioned plate and that of the old, unlawful, pre-reformation plate, the work would not have been very rewarding. Susan Hare points out that in fact the goldsmith would have made a loss – he was converting a chalice, for the priest's use only, to a much larger communion cup for the use of laity.

John Morley (mark 1)

I had been worried by the sixty-seven examples of silver by a maker very active in Lincolnshire, whose mark was I over M when, in 1956, I received a letter from Charles Oman saying that he had just found an entry in the Goldsmiths' Company records noting that a John Morley of Lincoln had been fined in 1573 for making substandard silver.¹ His malprac-

tice (from over-work in those busy years of re-fashioning?) disclosed his name – to those interested a great joy, I think it probable that perhaps twenty unmarked communion cups can, by shape and decoration, be ascribed to his hand also. There are several marks, listed below, which appear in conjunction with Morley's mark.

Star mark

A star mark is also associated with Morley, for example on a communion cup and paten at Woodford St Mary (Northamptonshire), star mark alongside I over M mark; at Upton and Aubourn (Lincolnshire), dated 1570, a letter I is also incised.

A somewhat similar star mark is found alone at Westborough and at Long Sutton, Lincolnshire. The star mark used in Norfolk and Suffolk is now known to be the mark of William Cobbold.

Head marks

Jeavons' type A. (mark 2) Found in the west of Lincolnshire and in counties to the west and south-west. Jackson³ said this was possibly a Shrewsbury mark, but there would seem to be little reason for this statement.⁴ In the later edition of Jackson⁵ there are only three of these marks mentioned – in Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire (at Tugby and Saxton) and Derbyshire. Encouraged by Jeavons' book, I felt some time ago there must be some con-

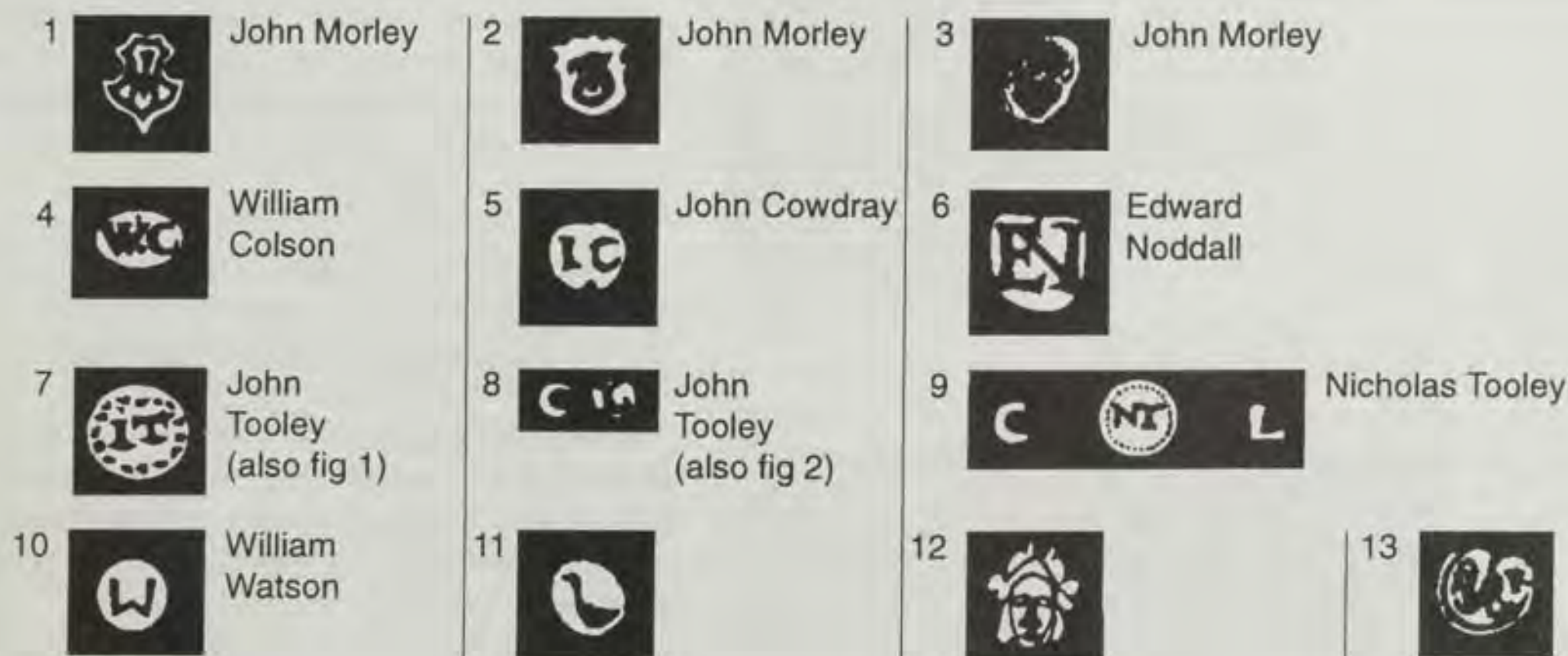
1. Oman also reported this mark on a chalice acquired by Harvard University.

2. Sidney A. Jeavons, *Church Plate of Nottinghamshire*, Nottingham 1965.

3. Sir Charles J. Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their marks*, London 1921, 2nd edition p446.

4. This head mark appears in the arms of the city and it is certainly impressive that the town had such an array of goldsmiths on its books. Following a report in the *Times*, 19 February 1987, which reported the discovery of a paten in the excavations being carried out at Shrewsbury Abbey. Mr Bruce Bennison kindly let me inspect it. This would appear to be the only piece that could possibly be connected with Shrewsbury.

5. I. Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver and Gold Marks*, Woodbridge 1989, p374.



6. I have noted twelve type-A head marks in Lincolnshire; Jeavons notes seven in Derbyshire; one is now in Adelaide Art Gallery, South Australia, where I inspected it in 1995 but there is no indication of origin (formerly Christie's London, March 1962); Revd A. Trollope, *Church Plate of Leicestershire*, Leicester 1890, gives eight examples; Mrs How noted an example at Bemerton, near Salisbury.

7. Sidney A. Jeavons, *Church Plate of Nottinghamshire*, Nottingham 1965. Marks illustrated following p130.

8. Jeavons says that Bawtry St Michael (Yorkshire) has the head mark B alone, although there is no mention of it by T.M. Fallow and H.B. McCall, *Yorkshire Church Plate*, Leeds 1912.

9. In 1953 there was an exhibition of Hull plate in Wilberforce House Museum, Hull. Rather belatedly I was asked if there was any in Lincoln diocese – indeed there was this example. See G. Bernard Wood "Exhibition of Hull Silver", *Goldsmiths' Journal*, no411, May 1953 p238.

10. This identification was confirmed by Charles Oman.

11. My note says: 'Incredibly gauche'!

12. At first I considered that his remark that his estate should be shared between his daughter and his relict (widow) 'share and share alike' might indicate some quarrel between them, until I was told that in those days it was not unusual to find such a phrase in a will.

13. Hatton was very close to Gautby, where I had been rector in the 1950s and I knew the vicar of those days, Dr Lindars. When he died, the parish was united with Hemingby and the vicarage sold. The archdeacon (William Dudman) had this chalice put in the Treasury, rather to my surprise, but this was fortunate, as otherwise June Bennett would never have seen it.

14. Proved 1636/7; now in county archives, Lincoln.

nection, perhaps a loose apprenticeship, with John Morley,⁶ and more recently I thought long and hard as to how I got the impression that type A marks could somehow be associated with Morley. I took up Jeavons again, and saw that he had associated the Morley 'gang' with head mark A only by the shape of many of the unmarked Elizabethan chalices in Nottinghamshire. Jeavons, by putting them in his list of Nottinghamshire church plate in proximity with the head mark B on his map, would appear to think that there is some connection between the two head marks and Morley.

Jeavons' type B. (mark 3) A head mark, rather like an ox, appears on some pieces together with Morley's mark, at: Carburton and Sutton-on-Trent (Nottinghamshire), Glentham (Lincolnshire), and perhaps (it is almost undecipherable) at Harrington (Lincolnshire).⁸

There is a Nottingham goldsmith, Nicholas Golston or Golstein, mentioned by Jackson and Mrs How as using the mark 'N[head]G', but I do not consider this head mark sufficiently similar to either the A or B types that I have seen.

It has also been suggested that the A head could be a forgery of the London leopard's head, but as the Midland mark is an uncrowned leopard, this argument really fails. It is, I suppose, possible that Morley's co-workers could have felt they could use their master's mark on occasion and knew vaguely that London used a head mark, not knowing that the head was crowned.

John Carlill (no illustration)

John Carlill is the son of Peter Carlill, whose mark appears on the earliest dated piece of Hull plate, 1569, at Wootton.⁹ There were fine examples of John's work at St Mary Magdalene (Lincoln), estimated to be circa 1580.¹⁰

William Colson (mark 4)

I cannot pretend that he was a very good goldsmith. The pair of candlesticks at Louth with the mark WC four times (to imitate the London markings at least in number) are certainly curious. He worked between 1707 and 1732. His work is found at Ashby de la Launde and Louth (Lincolnshire) and at Ordsall (Nottinghamshire), attributed to William Colson by Jeavons, and at Stixwould where there is a chalice and a sexfoil salver, both with WC four times.¹¹ His will is extant.¹²

In the name of God. Amen. This is the last will and testament of me William Colson of this city of Lincoln Goldsmith and made this eighteenth day of November in the year of Our Lord 1732. Imprimis I give &

bequeath unto Hannah the daughter of my brother Edward Colson the sum of five Pound.

Then I give & bequeath unto my sister Elizabeth the sum of five Pound to be paid to her for her own separate use independant of her Husband. I give and bequeath unto my cozan Edward Colson to my brother Edward Colson to Mr Joseph Gaze to Mr Langley Gaze to Mr Langley Banks Mr Joseph Dixon of Buslingthorpe Mr William Tomlyn of Ryebury Mr Thomas Howson Mr John Burslom and Mr John Corbett and to every and each of them one Gold ring. Item all the Rest Residue and Remainder of my estate Both Reall and personall after my debts Legacies and funeral expenses are paid and discharged I give and bequeath unto my wife Hannah Colson and daughter Ruth Colson to be equally divided between them share and share alike and I doe hereby make nominate constitute and appoint my said wife Hannah Colson and daughter Ruth Colson joint executrixes of this my last will & Testament hereby revoking all former wills by me att any time heretofore and In Witness whereof I have to this my last will and Testament sett my hand and seal the Day and Year above written.

Wm Colson
12 Dec 1732

Ann Robson
her
Ann+ Wright

John Cowdray – (mark 5)

In mid-1983 I had a letter from Miss June Bennett of Beverly, who was working on the Lincoln diocesan archives, and had discovered the name of a goldsmith called John (Jonne) Cowdray, originally from Stamford, who died in 1613. She pointed out that the cup from Hatton (some miles east of Lincoln) was marked IC – John Cowdray.¹³ The communion cup presumably dates from circa 1600, and this too holds for a cup from St Martin's, Lincoln, also by IC. Thorpe-on-the-Hill (five miles south-west of Lincoln) has the IC mark and a date, on the paten only, of 1663, so it may easily be a replacement after the original had been damaged, stolen or lost. Or perhaps it was by a son of John, using his father's mark. It appears that John Cowdray must have worked in Lincoln, and can be claimed as a Lincoln maker, though he regarded himself as a native of Stamford.

Edward Noddall (mark 6)

The fine communion cup and paten-cover from Gosberton, with the date 1616 on the knop and the initials of the churchwardens on the chalice, has the letters EN in monogram. Since the will of Edward Noddall of Boston, goldsmith, is extant for that period, there seems little doubt that he is the maker.¹⁴ Gosberton is not far from Boston. The paten-cover

is obviously pre-reformation, the paten having been re-used with the vernicle removed.

John Tooley (marks 7 & 8)

These marks appear on a spoon discovered by Mrs G.E.P. How.¹⁵ Certainly the mark illustrated as no7 looks like a copy of what was possibly the mark of his grandfather Nicholas Tooley (or Towley). The CL might also indicate 'Civitas Lincolniensis' as used by Nicholas.

Nicholas Tooley (mark 9)

Jeavons¹⁶ attributed the Babworth (Nottinghamshire) communion cup and paten to Nicholas Tooley.¹⁷ He was certainly a goldsmith of Lincoln and it is not unreasonable, therefore, to consider that the CL incised on either side are the initials of CIVITAS LINCOLNIENSIS (City of Lincoln). The date on the paten cover is 1593. Nicholas was probably the grandfather of John Tooley.

William Watson (mark 10)

This is perhaps the mark of Wm Watson, mayor of Lincoln in 1635 and a goldsmith. Under much magnification the mark looks much like a mis-shapen omega, almost joined at the top, with a very short protrusion in the centre. The paten-cover is engraved 1639, and is certainly very provincial in shape and workmanship.

Bird mark (mark 11)

This curious goose-like bird occurs only on one piece of church plate, at Langtoft not far from Stamford, and I would estimate the date as 1600.

GR conjoined (Jackson (1989) p373)

This remains an unknown Lincoln mark.¹⁸ There are three examples known: the battered remains of a communion cup and paten at Waddington, dated 1569 inscribed on the paten knop;¹⁹ at St Peter-in-Eastgate (Lincoln); St Mark (Lincoln), now at St Mary-le-Wigford or St Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln.



1 Mark of John Tooley (no 7)



2 Mark of John Tooley (no 8)

15. Now in the Usher Art Gallery, Lincoln.

16. Sidney A. Jeavons, *Church Plate of Nottinghamshire*, Nottingham 1965, p13.

17. Luckily I had a good friend in Mr D.R. Clark of Retford who was churchwarden there, so I had an early look at this discovery and felt sure it was right.

18. I once thought it might have been a Bath maker (the Roman road from Bath to Lincoln was a good one), but on writing to Bath I could find no confirmation.

19. The church had a direct hit in the bombing of Friday, 9 May 1941.

20. Said to have been sold at Sotheby's in 1972 without faculty.

21. One expert, on hearing of this from me, said that it was impossible, but on seeing it said no more.

22. These are in the Cathedral Treasury. One night thieves removed the seventeenth century flagon from the church, making the church's name almost unreadable with a file. It was found by the police in a container destined for Holland, the thief was brought to court and I was called in to give evidence of identification. Happily the thieves had not found the standing paten hidden in the top of the box that held the flagon. I remarked in evidence that the rest of the plate was in the cathedral. It would appear that the judge and counsel for the defence were both Catholics and, in an humorous mood, the latter said 'I suggest, m'Lud, that they were stolen in the first place!'

23. I had originally ignored the rather rubbed marking. When, later, the vicar asked me to look at his chalice I looked up the entry in my notes: 'Elizabethan. No marks' – but at re-examination I was thrilled to see the peacock and R.

24. I. Pickford (ed), *Jackson's Silver and Gold Marks*, Woodbridge 1989.

Head mark (mark 12)

This head mark occurs on two pieces of Elizabethan plate near Grimsby: a paten cover (communion cup unmarked) at Somerby; and a communion cup formerly at Bradley.²⁰ No paten-cover is known there. I assume the maker might well have worked in Great Grimsby, but no goldsmith there has come to light.

Not long after seeing these I happened to be in Turin for the exposition of the Shroud, and I was struck by the similarity of this maker's mark with the face of Our Lord on the Shroud. No reason for a representation of the Holy Face on the Shroud on this mark has been discovered.

Peacock (mark 13)

Another Boston maker appears to have the mark of a peacock displayed and the capital letter R on the right.²¹ Three examples have been found. The charming little cup from Rowston has a re-used paten that is damaged, but the vernicle, although partly destroyed, has remains of the letters IHS, which should have been enough to secure orthodoxy!²² Another example is at Kirton-in-Holland and the third at Digby.²³

When I first visited Boston one of the hotels in the centre was called the Peacock and Royal. Canon Arthur Cook, once vicar of Boston, said that there was once a family there called De Ros, whose crest this was.

Spray of hawthorn (Jackson (1989) p373)

This mark is on the communion cup and cover at North Carlton, circa 1590; it is now suggested that King's Lynn is the place of origin.²⁴ A very similar mark occurs on the flagon at Buslingthorpe (London marks for 1578/79), where there is also a very small communion cup hallmarked London 1642/43 but with the maker's mark of Wm Howlett of King's Lynn.

Lord Pembroke's inventory of 1561

Guy Turner

The household inventory of William Herbert, 1st Earl of Pembroke (1506–70) contains a very detailed listing of the gold and silver plate. The distinction between household and probate inventory is an important one, because the lists are annotated with all sorts of additional information. Thus we have a good idea not only of what was owned but also of the social context in which the articles were made and consumed.

Lord Pembroke was appointed captain general of the English army in France in 1557, having previously been an executor of Henry VIII's will and a guardian of Edward VI. He began his career as page (or 'valettus') to a distant relative Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, and went in his service to the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. His first wife Anne was the sister of Catherine Parr, sixth wife of Henry VIII. He was granted the abbey and lands of Wilton, near Salisbury, in 1542,¹ and made earl in 1551. Lord Pembroke's plate was mostly kept at his London residence of Baynard's Castle, a royal mansion by the Thames destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666, but near the spot now known as Paul's Walk, Blackfriars. While some items in the plate inventory are said to be 'at court', others are said to be 'at Wilton', and Baynard's Castle, therefore, is the most likely place for the auditing to have taken place. Other sections cover the furnishings at Wilton as well as at Baynard's Castle, and it seems that the inventory was intended as a record of the total material assets belonging to the earl.

The inventory was commissioned by the earl on 12 December 1561. It contains listings for plate, jewellery, clothing, paintings, furniture, textiles and armour, and runs to some 118 pages.² The plate section, or 'jewel house' as it is referred to, was audited on a number of subsequent occasions, up until 16 December 1567.³ Lord Pembroke's will was written just one week later. Annotations were made as the collection changed and principally when objects were delivered out of it. This happened either through gift-giving, sale or coining, and there was a considerable volume of all three during the period covered. The individuals from whom objects were received are also frequently mentioned. This paper is about the range of information which the document contains.

First and foremost, the inventory brings us into contact with the concerns of Pembroke's household staff. The master of the Jewel House was one Morgan Lloyd. He is mentioned in the title page to the inventory (see note 2), and his precise role is indicated in one description; 'sixe casting bottelles wherof fyve being in the jewell house in Morgans keping at this present inventorie taking...'. The position of master of the Jewel House was a prestigious one. Another casting bottle, 'all gylte and chased with dyamond poyntes', is noted as having gone to the christening of Morgan Lloyd's child, a gift from Lady Pembroke.⁴

The annotations themselves are primarily the work of William Jordan, the earl's secretary. His treasurer, Charles Vaughan, and comptroller, Robert Grove, also appear as signatories in the book of the plate, following one of the audits.

Less immediately, the inventory is an insight into the lives of Pembroke and his family. Lady Pembroke is mentioned because she both gave and received items of plate independently of her husband. Furthermore, certain items were personal to each of them; 'a sylver whyte peice for brothe in my Ladye Annes chambre' for example. For himself, Pembroke commissioned a lavish, all-in-one place-setting with a personal iconography: 'A trencher of

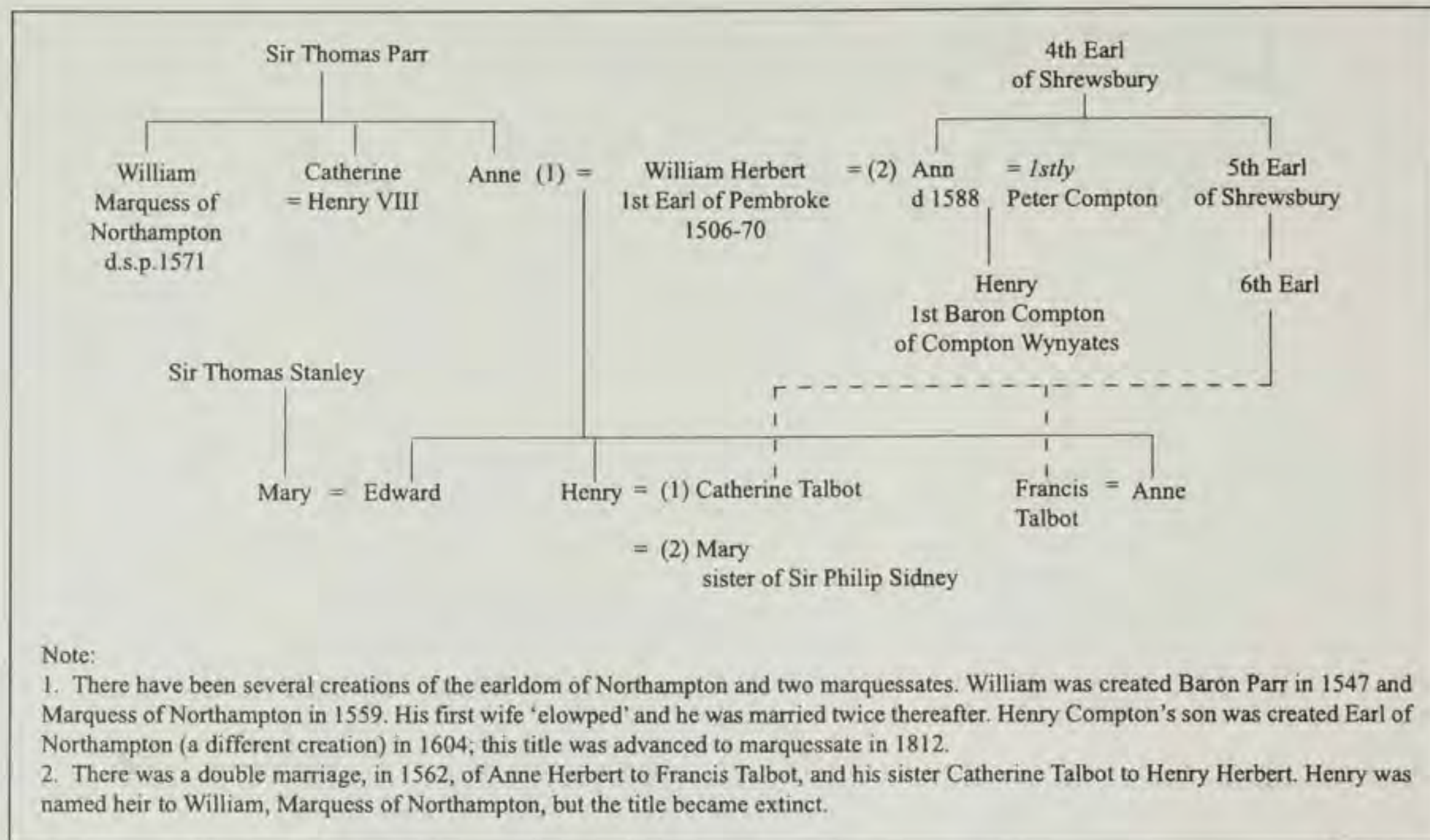
1. Lord Pembroke began rebuilding shortly after acquiring Wilton, but his house was severely burnt in 1647, to be replaced by the house which stands today, designed by Inigo Jones. The east front is the only part which retains its original Tudor features, together with the so-called 'Holbein porch', a renaissance-styled archway which faced the central courtyard. In 1554 Philip II's ambassador, the Marquis de las Navas, was entertained there and was impressed by 'the hansomnes and comodities of Wylton, with the good apoyntment and the good fornyture thereof'. (Quoted in J.E. Nightingale, *Some Notice of William Herbert, First Earl of Pembroke of the Present Creation*, 1878)

2. 'An inventorie of all the golde and sylver plate, Jewelles apparell and wardrobe stuffe, with the furniture of stable, armorie and all other implements of householde belonging to the right honorable William Earle of Pembroke, vewed at the commaundement of the seyd Earle, by the Lorde Harbert of Cardyf his sonne, John Hownde, William Jordan, John Dysteley, Morgan Lloyd, servantes to the seyd earle, the xiiith of December anno domini 1561, Regni Elizabethæ quarto'. National Art Library MS.L.30-1982.

3. Annotations to the inventory, specifically in the 'chapel plate' section, refer to both a 'jewel house' and a 'plate house'. The term 'jewel house' is more usually found

in connection with colleges and other corporate bodies, as well as at the various royal palaces. Contemporary household ordinances do not suggest that such a dedicated chamber was normal in private households of the time. However, this may be because their focus is on the roles of individual servants rather than the layout of rooms; thus plate is the responsibility of the yeoman of the scullery, with some charge also being given to yeomen of the ewery and the cellar. (J. Banks (ed), 'A Breviate Touching the Order and Government of a Nobleman's House', *Archaeologia*, XIII, (1800).

4. Pembroke's second wife Anne Talbot, daughter of 4th Earl of Shrewsbury.



5. There were also: 'Two ewares made sutable for the two laste Frenche basons at my lordes going to St Quynyens' (f.3v).

6. Plus the capture of Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, whose armour Pembroke is said to have retained. F.H. Cripps-Day, 'The Wilton Armour', *Country Life*, 4 June 1921, pp669-71.

7. Henry Compton was a step-son.

8. He wrote to Catherine Grey, 'I require you madam to send me by this bearer those letters and tokens with my tablatore and picture that I sent you'. M. Levine, *The Early Elizabethan Succession Question 1558-1568*, Stanford 1966, p102.

9. Amongst the Goldsmiths' Company Records is an indication of Anthony's role as an intermediary, with a order to one Antone Ecsereche, '...to amend a nest of gilt bowls in gilding and soldering, which came out of his hands unworkmanly handled, being put to him by Derick Anthony for the Earl of Worcester'.

estate curiouslie wrought with ye siege of St Quintyns, with a salte and dragon on the toppe having a small chayne aboute his necke with a cace and one spone, knyfe and forcke...'.⁵ In 1557, as captain-general, Lord Pembroke commanded the English army sent to aid the Spanish against the French. This successful campaign ended with the storming of the town of St Quentin.⁶ The dragon was Pembroke's personal emblem, a reference to his Welsh origins.

A more humble personalising appears in the form of three plain, silver cups, decorated with the initials of Pembroke's younger children; 'the one having on the cover E.H. for Edward Herbert, th'other A.H. for Anne Herbert, the thyrde H.C. for Henry Compton'.⁷ The eldest son, Henry Herbert, does not appear to have his own cup, but is probably to be identified as the recipient of a set of plate 'delyvered to my lorde marques' and comprising; a double-gilt bason and ewer, a parcel-gilt bell salt, six plates and two candlesticks '...knurred lyke garlyke heades'. There are also several references to items 'lost at the mariag of my lorde Herbert'. After an abandoned contract to marry Catherine Grey, sister of Lady Jane, in 1553, Henry married Catherine Talbot, daughter of 6th Earl of Shrewsbury, in February 1562.⁸

Thirdly, the inventory is a source of information on the craftsmen who supplied this 'jewel house'. First among them was the eminent London goldsmith, 'Dirick Anthony'. Anthony was an immigrant engraver from Cologne, employed at the Mint between 1551 and 1596, becoming chief engraver. His skills in engraving evidently made his work highly desirable in the commercial sector too. Above all however, he was a supplier, processing large-

scale transactions. On 6 March 1562/3, Pembroke sold him about 1,900oz of plate (a third of it silver-gilt). In return, the inventory records two items 'bought of Anthony' and nine said to be 'made by Anthony', as well as several 'exchanges' and 'alterations' undertaken by him.⁹

Other goldsmiths, used by Pembroke to a lesser extent, are named as such in the inventory. One in particular, Pope, is worthy of mention because he seems to have specialised in the type of highly engraved wares which were then fashionable.¹⁰ He was the source of, 'twoo cannes graven with justice, tyme, prudence, fortutud', and 'a faier basson and ewer faier graven with a print graving of stories of the Bible'. Indeed, he may be considered as a potential supplier of the 'bason and ewer, with the Scripture history, and some of the kings of England, curiously engraven upon them', dated 1567, which has been tentatively linked with Pembroke.¹¹

Silver was acquired from a great many people however, few of whom were recognised goldsmiths. John Beast, Powle Petnue and Richard Bowyare, are just some of the names mentioned. Bowyare in particular, was dealing in highly decorated pieces; five-different animal drinking cups (including a parrot, a greyhound and an owl) 'verie fayre gylte and frysed', and two panther- and lion-supported candlesticks, also 'verie fayre gylte and fryzed', came from him. Confirming that potential suppliers were widespread, there is the record of an apparently bespoke item received from the queen's agent in Antwerp and subsequent founder of the Royal Exchange, Thomas Gresham:

A statelie neaste of bowles with a cover fayre chased with scalloppe shelles and cravesses, fruytes and antique faces, having my lordes armes enameled in a blew garter in the toppe of the cover, being bought of Thomas Gressham.

The inventory is representative of a period when the domestic use of gold and silver was central to the upper-class economy, and was part of their income and expenditure on a daily basis. Transactions of contrasting emotional intensity are grouped together, and the roles of individuals in the consumption process are often ambiguous.

Sir Thomas Stanley was important to Pembroke as the under treasurer of Tower Mint (1561–71). It was to him that over 7,300oz of the earl's gold and silver were entrusted for coining, in the month between 27 February and 27 March 1567. But from a social viewpoint, it is more significant that Pembroke's second son, Edward Herbert, was married to Stanley's daughter, Mary. The relationship between the two men was further extended through gifts and through patronage. The inventory records for example, the New Year's gift from Stanley to Pembroke in 1563; 'a casting bottell whit, having an opning on the syd with boxes'. In 1562, they were part of a group of nine people to commission silver portait-medals from a visiting Dutch sculptor, Stephen van Herwijek. Pembroke's former brother-in-law, William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, was another to be portrayed, as was Richard Martin, a London goldsmith making gift-plate and jewellery for the queen, who succeeded Stanley at the Mint.

Thomas Stanley's period of control at the Mint was particularly important because it covered the great Elizabethan recoinage of 1560–61. The old money was devalued and counter-marked, using punches designed by Derek Anthony. New money of an improved fineness was minted to replace it, partly fuelled by unserviceable plate from the royal Jewel House. The same need for bullion at the Mint directed Pembroke's plate-dispersals in 1567, and inspired England's first national lottery. Pembroke was charged with promoting the idea among the Merchant Adventurers and the prizes for the lottery, which included plate, tapestry and linen as well as cash, were displayed in Derek Anthony's shop in Cheapside.

Pembroke's chapel plate was sold rather than coined and reveals a different social link. Over 1,300oz, including a 450oz gilt statue of St George and the dragon, was sold to 'Peter de Roulx' on 30 June 1562. A 'Peter de Rues' was among the foreigners naturalised on 10 March 1552/3,¹² and someone of this name is recorded as living in London's Tower Ward in 1564. He was probably of some standing, given that there was a list made of the 'servauntes with Peter', which mentioned one 'Marten de Roulx'. He is mentioned again in connection with the 'exemption from payment of Antwerp merchants

from the Subsidy', which included, 'Francis Wynter, in Peter de Rows howsse...within the Towre Warde'.¹³ If de Roulx himself was an Antwerp merchant then a link between him and the sculptor Van Herwijek, who was made a master of Antwerp's Guild of St Luke's in 1558, becomes a possibility.¹⁴

In one particular instance, the contribution of an individual to Pembroke's 'book of the plate' assumes a special significance. In 1566 Pembroke was asked to arbitrate in a dispute between the port of Southampton and a naturalised Genoese merchant, Benedict Spinola. Spinola specialised in supplying fine cloths, Levant wine and 'banqueting stuff' to the nobility. He was referred to by the Earl of Leicester as, 'the best Italian I know in England', perhaps on account of his ability to supply items like the 'bores speare' for which Leicester paid 20s (as recorded in his household day-books for this period).¹⁵ Spinola's ability to furnish the distinctive and the unusual is ably demonstrated in his thoughtful choice of New Year's gifts for Pembroke. 'A nest [wooden] bowles being footed with silver, having a cover of silver and the grene dragon on the toppe'; 'a boxe of mother a perlle being garnished with silver' and, 'a ewer of venice erthe being garnished with silver gilt'; these three were all given in 1566. A mounted-coconut cup, 'graven with Christes passion, garnished and covered gilt', was also given by him at an unspecified date. Spinola's dispute with Southampton was over their monopoly on the importation of sweet, Malmsey wine into England. Pembroke's decision was to grant Spinola a patent for the import of the wine into other ports, providing that a fee of £50 per cargo was paid to Southampton.¹⁶ That Spinola's gifts to Pembroke were received in the same year as the trading dispute arose, suggests that these items were directly related to the outcome of the arbitration. Pembroke, Spinola, and various Mint employees later joined forces as shareholders in England's first manufacturing companies, set up in 1568: The Company of Mines Royal and The Society of Mineral and Battery Works.¹⁷

Pembroke too, however, was likely not above pursuing specific ends when he gave special gifts at particular times, apparently outside the usual round of New Year's and christening occasions. The gilt bason and ewer of 151oz given to the ambassador to France, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, on 28 August 1564, was certainly an exceptional gift in terms of design and workmanship:

A bason and eware fayre chased being large with diverse storyes of the Bible, and double longe knurres within and in the myddest a woman sytting uppon a dolphin, the handell of the eware being of crotiske carrying a basket of fruyte uppon his backe, the crotiske standing upon an antique head, the body of the eware chased with a bande of antique with naked chyl-dren having whinges.

10. 'Sharpe, the goldesmythe' is mentioned several times, and is probably to be identified as Robert Sharpe, working under the sign of the basket in Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, in 1566. Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, *Warden's Accounts and Court Minutes, 1566–73*, vol 9 (K–L), p462. 'Thomas Pope' is included in the same list.

11. Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See E.M. Alcorn, 'Some of the Kings of England Curiously Engraven: An Elizabethan Ewer and Basin in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol 5, 1993, pp66–103.

12. For the fee of 688d, Benedict Spinola (see below) was naturalised on the same day, although his fee was a much higher one of 100s. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI, 1550–1553*, pp280–1.

13. Huguenot Society of London, *Returns of Aliens in the City and Suburbs of London, 1523–1571*, vol x, part 1, 1900, pp295, 268.

14. S.K. Scher (ed), *The Currency of Fame: Portrait Medals of the Renaissance*, New York 1994, p360.

15. S. Adams, *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558–61, 1584–86*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p41.

16. N.P. Sil, 'Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke: In Search of a Personality', *Welsh History Review*, 11.1, 1982, p104.

17. M.B. Donald, *Elizabethan Copper: The History of the Company of Mines Royal 1568–1605*, Pergamon, 1955. Oliver and Boyd, *Elizabethan Monopolies: The History of the Company of Mineral and Battery Works from 1565 to 1604*, 1961.

18. It was reported by the Spanish ambassador of Pembroke's appointment to lord steward; 'it is looked upon as a favour to Lord Robert [Dudley], who is a great friend of Pembroke's and has always been on his side'. *Calendar of State Papers: Spanish, 1558-1567*, p.631.

19. Together with several French portraits; 'the picture of the Duches of Lorayne', 'the Duke of Burborne' and 'the Bisshop of Arras'. f.92r, probably acquired in 1555 when Pembroke travelled to France to mediate a peace treaty between France and Spain.

On 19 February 1566/7, Pembroke gave the queen; 'a jugg glass mowthed, covered and footed with gowld, the glass being pincked'. Again, the specific date suggests a specific purpose and the object itself is a distinctive one. It may relate to the first and largest of the coinings of Pembroke's plate, which took place just four days later and perhaps raised revenue for the Crown. A year later, in 1568, Pembroke was appointed lord steward of the royal household, but there were times when Elizabeth distrusted him, and her reign marked a decline in his influence.¹⁸ Perhaps it is significant that while in Pembroke's great hall were displayed a conventional sequence of portraits of the Tudor sovereigns (without Mary); his private bedchamber was hung with 'the picture of Kinge Philip', 'the picture of Quene Mary' and 'another picture of Kinge Philipp his face'.¹⁹

It is fitting that one should end this look at the questions and historical tangents suggested by the inventory with this, perhaps the greatest of controversies in that day and age, that of personal loyalty and religious faith. Through the medium of gold and silver, the Earl of Pembroke's household, his family, his social ties, and ultimately his political fortune, are all brought vividly to life. We are fortunate in having available to us a document with so many stories to tell.

Acknowledgements

I wish to record my thanks to Philippa Glanville for introducing me to the manuscript, and to David Mitchell and David Beasley for their assistance.

‘D D’

A silver hilt-maker identified (?)

Leslie Southwick

The earliest fully-marked London silver-hilted sword so far recorded is the small-sword dated 1673/74, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[1] The hilt is small and without a knuckle-guard. The shells have quite pronounced rims, the edges of which have twin drop-shaped swellings embellished with masks. It is further ornamented with pierced, cast and chased grotesques, stems and overlapping leaves, and with the ends of the quillons formed as animal heads. Struck three times on the hilt, in Roman capital letters within a rectangle, is the maker's mark 'DD'. Maker's marks on swords of this period are rare and it is often difficult to find evidence to support a suggestion as to who the maker might have been; but in this case there appears to be enough information to propose that the mark on this hilt is probably that of the London hilt-maker, Daniel Defer.

The name Defer (De Fer or Deffer) is of French origin, although he himself claimed to be one of King Charles II's 'natural born subjects'. At present his origins are obscure, although there are references to various Daniel De Fers in the Huguenot records.¹ Our subject is known to have been indentured to the London cutler, Thomas Leaves, at Cutlers' Hall in 1655, although he did not become free of the company until eighteen years later, probably because he was working outside of the City of London in Westminster for most of his career (see below). In 1662, Defer, with others, addressed a petition for denization to King Charles II:

To the Kings most Excellent Majestie. The humble petition of John Conine, Henry Hoppe and John Walford Aliens borne within the Dominions of the Dutchy of Berg, and Daniel Defer your Majesties liege Subject of this your Kingdom of England.

Humbly Sheweth

That whereas by the Lawes and Statutes of this Realme your Pet^r [petitioners] John Conine, Henry Hoppe & John Walford being Aliens borne, and not beene brought up in England, in the Craft Mistery or occupation of the Cuttlers as Apprentices by the Space of Seaven Yeares, And also your pet^r Daniel Defer though one of your Maj^{ties} naturall borne subjects, yet having not beene brought up in the said Craft mistery or occupaton [sic] as an Apprentice by the Space of Seaven Yeares as aforesaid, Although they have been brought up in the Said Craft Mistery or occupation in



1 Silver-hilted small-sword, London 1673/74, maker's mark 'DD', probably for Daniel Defer. (Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, M23-1979)

fforeign parts for more than Seaven Yeares, And have thereby attayned to the Art and Skill thereof, And have for divers yeares past had their abode in this your Maj^{ties} Kingdome, and threatened to be fined and prosecuted, And your pet^r John Conine, John Walford and Daniell Defer are now actually Serv'd in your Ma^{ties} Court of Common Pleas at Westm^r for using their said Craft and skill have by our ffrancis Colson as Offenders against the said Lawes and Statutes.

That your pet^r have heard that the said Informacons are prosecuted by the means or intigasons [instigations] of some of the Company of Cutlers of London, who have made Agreements by and amongst themselves and the members of their Company, and with severall other Artists of other Crafts, and misteryes, how and for whom only they will worke or be

1. A Daniel De Fer is recorded in the registers of the Wallon or Strangers Church of Canterbury and his son, Daniel, was baptised on 13 June 1619. This Daniel married Penelope Cardroel in the French church in Threadneedle Street, London, on 12 August 1655. The couple had a daughter, Elizabeth, baptised 1 March 1659/60; and this Daniel is later recorded in 1665 as a godfather. (Incidentally, 'A Daniell Defer & Penelope Cardwell', names similar to the above, were married at St Bride's Fleet Street on 9 March 1657/58).