The Silver Society Journal

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From the editor

John Culme resigned as co-editor of the Journal towards the end of last year. He launched the Journal in its present form in 1990 and has been involved ever since. I began to help him in 1993 and gradually took on more and more of the work: John has a full-time job, I do not. Over the past ten years John has been on hand constantly with advice and practical support. Telephone calls and, latterly, emails have given immediate replies to the often trivial, but sometimes tricky, details that must be got right in producing a journal of this kind. He is adept at calming a sometimes fraught co-editor. I am happy to say that this help continues, despite his decision to resign from the official role.

Out of the blue, some months back, came a letter from Michael Sherratt, a new member of the Society offering editorial assistance. It was manna from heaven. This year he has eased himself into the job of checking articles and we plan, during the 'quiet period', to sort out guidelines for authors that I hope will save everyone time and angst. I am enormously grateful for his help and advice.

There is no formal commissioning of articles for the journal. We rely on members and non-members to submit their ideas and research. All the work is done voluntarily and we cannot offer remuneration. However the Society does now have a 'research fund' to assist with small contributions towards the costs of photographs, photocopying and travel that may be incurred in the course of research. Please contact me, or the Secretary, if you wish to find out more.

There is no particular theme to this year's articles, but a slight emphasis on crime (and punishment) has emerged, running from the seventeenth century through to the twenty-first. I am delighted to have contributions from two members of the Nuremberg research project and also from France, Portugal and Australia. As I wrote last year, we are keen to publish more on European silver and also on American silver. Tours organised by the Society for its members have always included foreign as well as British venues and this interest is central to the Society's purpose.

I am conscious that the strength of the Journal has increasingly been history-based rather than design-based. I do not overlook the fact that we are dealing with items that are sometimes (sadly not always) of great beauty and which have been central to artistic taste over many centuries. The pieces are the focus of our interests and we must continue to look at them objectively and in the context of their era. There seems also to be a dearth of articles on the nineteenth century. Please pass the word that we look for contributions.

Vanessa Brett

Any opinions stated in this Journal are those of the individual author. Every effort is made to maintain the highest standards but the Council of the Silver Society does not guarantee the complete accuracy of opinions or stated facts published here.

In this Journal dates are written in the following styles:

Calendar year pre 1752, 1 January - 24 March	1563/4
Assay year (prior to 1975)	1563/64
More than one calendar year	1563-67

Weights are in grams and troy ounces unless otherwise stated

Recent bullion prices:

August 2003 :

925 standard silver : £2.30 per oz

22 carat gold: £188 per oz

Our contributors

Jean Breckenridge is a silversmith and jeweller. She is a Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company and the daughter of Robert E. Stone.

Simon Bliss is Senior Lecturer in Cultural Studies and Deputy Course Leader of the MA in Three Dimensional Design at the Kent Institute of Art and Design, Rochester.

Vanessa Brett edits this Journal.

Francis Dunlop is the nephew of the silversmith Sybil Dunlop. His career was spent teaching.

Christopher English OBE is Secretary to the trustees of The Silver Trust.

Henry Steuart Fothringham OBE has a particular interest in Scottish silver. He was Chairman of the Society 1993-94.

Gale Glynn was Chairman of the Society in 1990-91. She has a particular interest in heraldry.

Christopher Hartop is Chairman of the Society (2002-03). His *British and Irish Silver in the Fogg Museum*, will be published by Harvard University Press in 2004.

Robin Hull is an ornithologist. His book *Scottish Birds: Culture and Tradition* was published by Mercat Press, Edinburgh in 2001.

Jolyon Warwick James is an international silver consultant, valuer and lecturer, who is resident in Sydney, Australia. He was President of the Silver Society of Australia 1990-94 and 1996-99.

Peter Kaellgren is a Curator of Decorative Arts in the Department of Western Art and Culture at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada.

Timothy Kent has written extensively on West Country silver and on spoons. His research into Sussex silversmiths was published in 2002.

David Mitchell has published widely on luxury trades in the late seventeenth century, including Goldsmiths, silversmiths and bankers...,' in 1995, and in issues 11 & 12 of this Journal.

Conor O'Brien lives in Ireland and retired in 1998 from a career in the pharmaceutical industry.

Anthony Phillips is international director of silver for Christie's.

Michele Bimbènet-Privat is chief curator at the Archives nationales, Paris and Associate Professor of Art History at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne. Her field of research is French silver, especially Paris silver of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Jackie Richardson has been librarian at Sheffield Assay Office since 1981. She also looks after the Office Archives and the silver collection and has recently added the task of editing Bradbury's Book of hallmarks to her other responsibilities.

Timothy Schroder is consultant curator for the continental silver gallery at the V&A. His catalogue of silver at the Ashmolean Museum will be published soon. He was Chairman of the Society in 1992-93.

Barry Shifman is Curator of Decorative Arts at the Indianapolis Museum of Art.

David Shlosberg retired from General Practice in October 2001. The intellectual vacuum left by retirement demanded a new interest so he decided to explore the topic of tea tongs. He is a member of the Society.

Fiona Slattery is Fine and Applied Arts Officer at Perth Museum & Art Gallery.

Eric Smith was manager of S.J. Shrubsole Ltd in London 1956-75 and then director of the silver department of Phillips [now Bonhams] until his retirement in 1992.

Gonçalo de Vasconcelos e Sousa is Assistant Professor of the Universidade Católica Portuguesa School of Arts, Oporto, Portugal.

Karin Tebbe received a PhD in 1994. She has been at the Germanische Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg since 1998 and has worked there on the Nuremberg Goldsmiths research project since 2000.

Eleanor Thompson is a freelance consultant specialising in continental silver. She has researched extensively the Valadier family of goldsmiths, in particular.

Ursula Timann received a PhD in 1990. Since 1997 she has worked on the Nuremberg Goldsmiths research project. Previous publications have been on graphics and Arts & Crafts.

Lee Warshawsky and her husband are collectors; they live in Cleveland, Ohio. She is a freelance writer for *Silver Magazine* and the Netherlands American Society of Ohio.

Thomas Wilmot is one of our oldest members, having given a talk to the Society as long ago as 1963. His cousin, Derek Wilmot, recruited him.

Muriel Wilson retired in 1993 from a career in arts administration. She is pursuing various freelance research projects while working as a volunteer for the Association for Contemporary Jewellery, principally as editor of its newsletter, *Findings*.

Obituary

Arthur Girling Grimwade, FSA

TIMOTHY SCHRODER

Arthur Grimwade died on 21 November 2002, a little under three months before his ninetieth birthday. He was a founding member of the Society of Silver Collectors and delivered the very first formal paper to the Society – on the subject of silver tea wares – in March 1959. Until almost the end of his life he played a leading role in the Society, contributing a regular flow of articles to the Journal and serving continually on the Council as Hon Expert Adviser from 1958-2001.

But Arthur had been a prominent figure in the world of silver long before the inauguration of the Society. When he devised an emblem for himself it was in the form of a quill pen crossed with a gavel, symbolising his roles as a scholar and an auctioneer, to both of which he came at an early age. He was a Foundation Scholar at St Paul's School but, failing to advance to Oxbridge as he had hoped, embarked instead on a career at Christie's, starting as a trainee in 1932 at a pound a week. Christie's was then regarded as the leading firm of art auctioneers and although tiny by today's standards handled most of the great sales of the day. It was a fertile learning place for a young man with an enquiring mind and with the opening of its fledgling silver department he happened upon his life's work, transforming the standards of auction house cataloguing and making an outstanding contribution to the study of old English silver in the process. These early experiences were chronicled in a diary which he kept until the beginning of the war and which he published in 1994 as *Silver for Sale, Christie's in the Thirties*.

Arthur Grimwade cataloguing silver from Earl Brownlow's collection in 1964

His most enduring legacy is his monumental *London Goldsmiths, their Marks & Lives*, which was published in 1976 and ran to three editions, identifying hundreds of eighteenth-century makers' marks for the first time and providing a biographical directory of some 2,600 silversmiths. Over forty years in the making, it had its origins in a card index of unidentified silver marks compiled in the 1930s during the course of his regular work at Christie's. When Christie's was burnt out by German incendiary bombs in April 1941 Arthur's second anxiety, not far behind his first for the staff and the building itself, was for the fate of the firm's archive of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sale catalogues and for his precious card index. Happily, both were saved.

Arthur's wartime career as a Naval signalman was relatively uneventful and his return to Christie's in 1946 marked in some ways the real beginning. For it was in the ensuing decades, through an extraordinary combination of professional and scholarly energy that he earned a world-wide reputation as a major authority on silver. In the years immediately following the war silver flooded onto the market and Christie's held more sales than at any time since, while in later years he presided over some of the greatest silver sales of the century. All this he managed to combine with a growing list of books, articles and exhibition catalogues. *The Queen's Silver* in 1953 was followed in 1974 by *Rococo Silver*. He organised the 1952 exhibition, *Silver Treasures from English Churches* and collaborated in a series of other historic exhibitions during the 1950s. His last major work was as one of the main contributors to the magisterial 1994 catalogue of the *Crown Jewels in the Tower of London*, which was edited by Claude Blair.

Not all of his work, however, was so visible and Arthur always took extremely seriously his role as an advisor to collectors. Some of the most important collections formed in the middle decades of the last century were the result of his advice and one in which he took particular pride was the Assheton Bennett collection, now permanently housed in the Manchester City Art Gallery.

An auctioneer with a sharp eye is well placed to make discoveries and his was sharper than most. Among the most important of his career was the 'Burghley nef', a masterpiece of French Renaissance goldsmiths' work, which he found neglected and black in a cellar at Burghley House and which is now a treasured exhibit at the V&A. But his discoveries were not limited to the saleroom. It was he who first recognised the importance of a unique set of eighteenth-century silversmith's ledgers, the 'Wickes ledgers', as they are known – although they cover most of the eighteenth century and some of the nineteenth – which have transformed our knowledge of the silver trade before the industrial revolution and which, by his timely intervention, narrowly escaped being pulped.

Wine cup commissioned by Arthur Grimwade when elected a member of the Court of Assistants of the Goldsmiths' Company. Jocelyn Burton, London 1976. Height 19.5cm (7¾in). (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

Another of his discoveries was the true identity, shortly after the publication of Charles Oman's *English Engraved Silver* in 1979 of an important late seventeenth-century engraver, dubbed by Oman 'the Master of George Vertu' but who was in fact Blaise Gentot, a French (but apparently not Huguenot) engraver who worked in this country and eventually returned to France.

Arthur Grimwade was an authoritative auctioneer, always in his element on the rostrum,

Prime Warden's medal, by Michael Rizzello, 1993. The emblem on the reverse stands for 'Arthur, Author, Auctioneer'. (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

Pair of wall sconces, Jocelyn Burton, London 1988, Arthur Grimwade's commission as Prime Warden, they are placed in the exhibition room at Goldsmiths' Hall and lit at Livery dinners. Height 37.8cm (15in). (Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths)

but although Christie's was in many ways his life, he had keen interests outside the firm too. In addition to the Silver Society, he was an active and enthusiastic member of a number of societies and clubs. He was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1953 and he served for many years on the London Diocesan Advisory Committee. He loved the Garrick Club, where he was a famously generous and entertaining host and he loved his cottage in Suffolk where he and Helen would retire each weekend and where he developed a deep knowledge of Suffolk history. The Goldsmiths' Company, too, which is neither a society nor a club but has something of the qualities of both, played an important part in his life. He joined the Company in 1952 and rose to be Prime Warden in 1984, chairing the House Committee in 1988-92, which oversaw the hugely ambitious refurbishment of the Hall. Always an enthusiastic promoter of contemporary craftsmen, he was, as Prime Warden, responsible for one of the most visible of its recent commissions, the pair of silver-gilt sconces by Jocelyn Burton, which hang in the Exhibition Room and which is in many ways a permanent memorial to him.

On a personal level, Arthur was known for his directness. He always spoke as he found and it was a trait that some found disconcerting. But he also had a rare and remarkable gift for friendship that spanned the generations. Had he chosen another career it might not have been as a diplomat, but it might very well have been as a teacher. He was generous with his knowledge, whether in the lecture theatre or with a junior colleague. He was quick to encourage the young but frank where he found fault. Bluntly reviewing the efforts of a novice auctioneer on one occasion, he paused to reflect on what he had said and pronounced with a chuckle that he was in fact 'praising with faint damns'. His sense of humour prevailed, even in the most unlikely of circumstances. Painfully undergoing one of the first double hip replacement operations in the early 1970s, he was struck by a strange feature of his post-operative X-rays and showing the images to a colleague, managed to convince him that they were of a pair of eighteenth-century Scottish silver duelling pistols!

Many members of the Society were present at St Luke's Church, Chelsea on 10 February 2003 – which would have been Arthur's ninetieth birthday – for a magnificent concert given in his memory. The Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields gave a fine performance of Mozart's clarinet concerto and John Herbert, Sir Donald Sinden and Richard Came spoke about Arthur as a member of Christie's, of the Garrick Club and of the Goldsmiths' Company.

Saint Eloi (circa 588-660)

Patron saint of Scottish goldsmiths

HENRY STEUART FOTHRINGHAM

Saint Eloi (Eloy, Eligius), was a very remarkable man of international standing. Goldsmith, priest, bishop, adviser to royalty and known as the Apostle of Flanders, he stood high in the estimation of both God and man. This article looks briefly at his life, his veneration by the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh and by the incorporations of hammermen elsewhere in Scotland.[1] Finally there are some remarks on the liturgy used on his different feast days until the Scottish Reformation in 1559.

Until that time almost everybody of craftsman status, man, woman and child, was a practising Catholic and went to church on an almost daily basis. The church played a central role in people's lives at all levels, personal, social and work-related. When the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh acquired its side-chapel in St Giles' Church in 1525, the freemen members chose St Eloi to be their patron saint. Saint Eligius, as he is called in Latin, meaning 'beloved of God', was known all over Europe as St Eloi, patron saint of goldsmiths, north to Poland and Scandinavia, eastward to Hungary and south across the Alps to the Mediterranean. Being a Franco-Flemish saint his name would have been pronounced on the continent as it is today in the French manner, 'Ellwa', while in Scotland it came to be sounded as 'Eeloy' and was frequently written 'Eloy'. He represents the first recognisable link between Scotland and Flanders, a connection which is several centuries older than the Auld Alliance with France.

Life of St Eloi

Eligius, Bishop of Noyon, was born at Chaptelet, in the Haute-Vienne, six or seven miles north of Limoges, probably in 588. Alban Butler points out that his name, and those of his father, Eucherius and his mother Terrigia, show him to have been born not of French but of Roman Gaulish extraction.[2] His parents, who were virtuous and in good circumstances, brought him up from his infancy in the fear of God. Seeing him to be naturally industrious, his father apprenticed him to a goldsmith named Abbo, who was a considerable person, master of the mint at Limoges,[3] and also a devout servant of God. Eloi turned out to be a youth of uncommon gifts and rapidly arrived at an eminent skill in his profession. Having some business which called him into France, he became known to Bobo or Bobon, treasurer to Clotaire II (died 629), in Paris. He entered the service of Bobon who recommended him to the king, who gave the saint an order to make him a magnificent chair of state, adorned with gold and precious stones. Out of the materials the king furnished to him, Eloi made two thrones instead of one. Thus his reputation was based not only on excellent design but also on economical use of materials. He afterwards received more commissions from Clotaire II and from his successor, Dagobert I (605–39), to decorate tombs and shrines and to make chalices, crosses and plaques.

The date when he became a priest is not recorded but he was made bishop of Noyon in 641.[4] He became a successful and popular preacher and founded monasteries at Noyon, Paris and Solignac. He was especially active in the Tournai area and was the pioneer apostle of much of Flanders, the country that adopted him as her own. Of his surviving homilies one is specially notable for his warnings against pagan superstitions such as fortune-telling, watching the omens and keeping Thursday holy in honour of Jupiter. Instead of these, he

1. He was also patron saint of blacksmiths, farriers and all other professionals who came under the general category of hammermen.

2. Revd. Alban Butler (ed), *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and other principal Saints*, vol IV, pp1493-1500. Virtue & Co Ltd, London, Dublin & Belfast, no date (circa 1936); the first edition was in the 1750s

3. St Eloi later became mint-master at Paris. Gold coins bering his name have been recorded from the reigns of Dagobert I and Clovis II.

4. David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1978, p130.

exhorted, Christians should arm themselves with the sign of the cross, with prayer and with the eucharist.

Late in life Eloi became a councillor of St Bathild, the queen-regent, an Anglo-Saxon who had been liberated from slavery and subsequently made good. To their joint influence may be traced the decree of the Council of Challon, which forbade the sale of slaves out of the kingdom and insisted on their freedom to rest on Sundays and holy days. After a long life of hard work and pious devotion, Eloi died on 1 December 660, aged about seventy-two. That day became his principal feast day, adopted into the universal calendar of the Catholic Church, but he also had two subsidiary feasts as noted below.

It seems that no surviving piece of goldsmith's work is certainly Eloi's, although the shrines of Saints Quentin, Julian, Germanus, Brice and Martin (all now in France) are all attributed to him. His plaque above the altar of St Denis was admired in the Middle Ages, and his chalice at Chelles, which disappeared during the French Revolution, is known from a surviving drawing.[5]

His veneration

St Eloi's reputation both as an apostolic bishop and as a distinguished craftsman who became the patron of goldsmiths, blacksmiths and farriers ensured the diffusion of his cult from Picardy and Flanders over most of Europe. In England, where only one ancient church was dedicated to him, he was so well known through his feast, miracles, legends and representations, such as that at Shorthampton, Oxfordshire, that Chaucer chose him for the Prioress's strongest oath, 'by Sanct Loy'. His principal emblem is a gilded horseshoe. Like St Dunstan he is sometimes depicted holding the devil by the nose with a pair of pincers.[6] He is a good example of a genuine saint of antiquity whose cult attained its widest popular diffusion in the later Middle Ages. Within a few years of his death he was canonised and was rapidly adopted as patron saint not only by goldsmiths and hammermen. At what date he was superseded by St Dunstan as patron saint of goldsmiths in England is unclear but it may have been a gradual process.

Veneration of St Eloi in Edinburgh

The High Church of St Giles stands at the heart of Edinburgh and the medieval goldsmiths' quarter lay close around it. It seems to have received its dedication from the fact that it was founded, sometime in the twelfth century, by the Order of St Lazarus at Harehope, an order dedicated to ministering to the sick, particularly lepers; St Giles was patron saint of lepers so the choice of dedication is a straightforward one. A relic and a statue of St Giles (whose feast-day is 1 September) were kept in the church, both of which were done away with at the Reformation.[7]

The Goldsmiths of Edinburgh had their aisle, or chapel, and altar, dedicated to St Eloi, off the north side of the nave, between the old north door and the north transept. Previously belonging to the merchants and dedicated to the Holy Blood, the chapel was bestowed on the Incorporation of Goldsmiths by the town council by an Act of Council dated 31 January 1525/6.[8] Sir Andrew Adamson was assigned to be their chaplain at that time. In that document they were enjoined to repair and improve the neglected altar 'to the honor and plesour of God'. The Incorporation's early minutes give some references to this aisle and altar, stating that it was decayed and unfurnished when they took it over and that their first act was to install a window. Stalls were built and a screen separated the aisle from the nave of the church (1526); three years later brass pillars were put up; in 1532 they brought from Flanders a tapestry hanging for the front of the altar, depicting Our Lady of Loretto.[9] The Incorporation sometimes held its meetings there also, not at that time having a hall of their own. How they all fitted into so small a space is hard to envisage. The excellent history of St Giles Kirk by J. Cameron Lees[10] contains some confusion concerning the identity and position of this altar, mixing it up with that of the Hammermen, also dedicated to St Eloi, which stood close by, only

5. Farmer (as note 4), p130.

6. See eg, the Stonyhurst Chasuble, circa 1470, illus John Cherry, *Goldsmiths*, London 1992 fig 59; and a thirteenth-century window at Angers.

7. The relic, contained in a silver reliquary, consisted of the bones of the saint's left hand and forearm; his right arm (the so-called *Sanctus Dexter Aegidii*) in a matching reliquary, still exists in St Giles' Church in Bruges, another medieval goldsmithing link between that city and Edinburgh.

8. Act of Council [the town council of Edinburgh] in favour of the Incorporation, 31 Jan 1525/6. (NAS: GD1/482/21).

9. Minute Book of the Incorporation, vol 1, 1525/6–1738 (NAS: GD1/482/1).

10. J. Cameron Lees, *St Giles, Edinburgh, Church, College and Cathedral, from the earliest times to the present day*. W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh and London 1889. 423 pp (contains some small errors).

a few yards away against one of the pillars of the crossing, and which had been endowed for them in 1477. Much of the confusion is cleared up by John Smith in his work on the early records of the Hammermen of Edinburgh.[11]

The feast of St Eloi was celebrated in Scotland, as elsewhere, on 1 December, the day of his death. As such, it was always in danger of being overshadowed by that of St Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, on the previous day. St Eloi's day was the day when an annual collection was taken up in the churches of the royal burghs throughout Scotland for their respective incorporations of hammermen. Because of this the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh were unable to hold their collection on that day, being pre-empted by the Incorporation of Hammermen there. When the Goldsmiths were granted their altar in St Giles in 1525/6, they had 25 June allocated to them as the day for their public collection, this being St Eloi's secondary feast day, the commemoration of the translation of his bones to their present resting place in Bruges. His third day, 14 March, was only a minor commemoration of the saint in Scotland and does not appear at all in the general calendar of the church.[12] It was probably commemorated privately only by goldsmiths and hammermen.

The fact that St Eloi is the patron saint of goldsmiths in Scotland, as St Dunstan is in England, is of extraordinary interest. It points up, more clearly than anything else could do, the independence of the different cultures prevailing in the two countries. St Dunstan (909–88) was an English Benedictine monk, born at Glastonbury. He eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury, where he died, aged almost eighty, two days after Ascension Day, on 19 May 988.[13] Like St Eloi he was a statesman as well as a bishop. It is clear that all his life he had nothing whatever to do with Scotland or Scotland with him. St Eloi, on the other hand, who was born four hundred years before St Dunstan's death, was Flemish. It was he who brought Christianity to Flanders just as St Augustine did to England. He is the earliest link in a long concatenation of circumstances forming a strong and direct bond between Scotland and Flanders, one that leapfrogged over, and was entirely independent of, England. It was the beginning of an economic and cultural exchange more than six centuries older than the Auld Alliance with France. In this respect Dunstan is the odd one out, his patronage of the goldsmith and blacksmith trades being confined entirely to his native England. By contrast, St Eloi's standing was truly international; he was patron of goldsmiths and hammermen throughout virtually the whole of civilised Europe, from Hungary to Spain and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean.

Veneration of St Eloi elsewhere in Scotland

St Eloi was the patron saint of others besides goldsmiths. He was adopted by the various incorporations of hammermen throughout the country, some of which included goldsmiths among their number. Thus armourers, pewterers, blacksmiths, lorimers and all other workers with metal and hammer looked on him as their patron. The earliest reference to his patronage of any incorporation is to the Perth Hammermen's Incorporation. In 1431 a Perth goldsmith named Andrew Lufe (Love), gave an endowment to an altar to be dedicated to St Eloi and is supposed to have made and presented a reliquary to house some relic associated with the saint. Considering that the first Act of Parliament authorising deacons of craft had been passed only seven years earlier in 1424, this is the earliest recorded reference to an incorporated trade in Scotland, and the earliest reference to an altar dedicated to St Eloi. By the early sixteenth century Eloi was venerated in many town churches throughout Scotland and nearly all the hammermen's incorporations maintained altars dedicated to him.

Liturgy of St Eloi

The feasts and commemoration of St Eloi are no longer to be found in the Scottish calendar. Up to the Reformation the liturgy of the church was somewhat different from that afterwards ordained by the Council of Trent. However, the

11. John Smith, *The Hammermen of Edinburgh and their Altar in St Giles Church. Being Extracts from the Records of the Incorporation of Hammermen of Edinburgh 1494 to 1558.* Published at John Knox's House by William J. Hay, Edinburgh 1906, 201pp.

12. Adam King, 'Adam King's Kalendar' in Alexander Penrose Forbes, *Kalendars of Scottish Saints with personal notices of those of Alba, Laudonia, & Strathclyde*, Edmondston and Douglas, Edinburgh 1872, 468pp.

13. Walter Farquhar Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, 12 vols., Richard Bently, London 1860. See vol I, pp382-426.

prayers used during the vespers and mass of St Eloi up to 1559 appear to have been the same as they were in the subsequent Tridentine Rite. After the Council of Trent[14] the form used in those parts of Christendom which remained Catholic was the Tridentine Mass,[15] the form which is still in use today, though Latin is now seldom used. St Eloi's mass was based on that of the Common[16] of a Confessor Bishop with appropriately different Collect, Secret and Postcommunion. There are two masses to chose from in the relevant common, the *Missa Statuit* and the *Missa Sacerdotes Tui*; of these the first would have been the normal choice. As to the music used for the Proper[17] of the Mass (the unchanging parts such as the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria*, the *Credo*, etc), one of the masses by Robert Carver would be the most appropriate for use in St Giles. The Incorporation, however, would probably have used plainsong, either the *Missa de Angelis* on the first and second feasts or the *Missa Orbis Factor* on the commemoration day. Additional optional prayers were permitted as second Collect, second Secret and second Postcommunion. The hymn *Iste Confessor Domini* (originally composed in the ninth century in honour of St Martin) was sung at Second Vespers.[18]

One of the devices used by the medieval Church in its liturgy was to apply a passage of scripture in any way it saw fitting. Thus in the Epistle reading from *Ecclesiasticus*, the merits of different figures from the old testament are drawn together and are intended, by implication, all to be applicable, in this instance, to St Eligius. Thus he is directly compared in the mass successively to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Moses and Aaron.[19] Similarly there are occasions when a passage from, for example, the Psalms, includes the name of King David or some other such laudable person; in such an instance the church would sometimes insert the name of the saint being commemorated or celebrated, in place of the original person, to draw attention to the comparison. An example occurs in the Introit of the *Missa Statuit*, where Eligius takes the place of David in the psalm, assuming at the same time the quality of meekness which the psalmist gave to David. These allusions would doubtless have had attention drawn to them in the sermon, which usually followed immediately after the Gospel and before the Creed.

If 1 December happened to fall on a Sunday, it would be the first Sunday of Advent, when the Mass of the Sunday would take precedence over that of St Eloi and would be celebrated in purple vestments proper to the season. There would probably be a second Collect commemorating the saint, but no more. The celebration of St Eloi would, in that case, take place on the following day but without the First Vespers (because the Second Vespers of the Sunday would take precedence). 2 December was an unimportant day in the Church's calendar, being a feria day[20] with an interpolated commemoration for St Vibiana, a little-remembered Roman virgin martyr. This commemoration being of such low rank, the superior feast of St Eloi would supersede it wholly. Falling as it does on the cusp of two seasons, the feast day might occur in either the final week of the Church's year, the last after Pentecost, or in the first week of Advent, the first of the new ecclesiastical cycle. In either instance white vestments would be worn in honour of the feast-

14. The nineteenth ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church, held in three periods divided by two lengthy interruptions, 1545-49, 1551-52 and 1562-63. Convoked by Pope Paul III (pope 1534-49) at Trento (northern Italy), it was opened by his legate on 13 December 1545 and later moved its deliberations to Bologna. The disastrous Pope Paul IV (pope 1555-59) was opposed to the council and it did not sit in his reign. It was reconvened and completed by Pope Pius IV (pope 1559-65). The purpose of the Council was to spearhead a counter-reformation. The doctrines of the Church were defined or redefined, ritual and liturgy were revised and some objectionable practices were abolished. These measures, however, were not sufficient to satisfy the Reformers, such as Martin Luther, John Calvin and John Knox, whose protests had ignited the crisis and brought matters to a head.

15. The form of the Mass approved by the Council of Trent. The prayers discussed here differed little from what had preceded them except for the rearrangement of the different parts. The Mass falls into two sections known as the Proper and the Common. The Common of the Mass is the fixed framework which is, with only some slight variations, the same for all Masses. It includes, among much else, the sections familiar from musical settings of the Mass, namely the Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei. The Proper consists of the readings and prayers which are proper to the particular day or season of the liturgical year.

St Eloi features prominently in a number of paintings and, indeed, on objects. For example:

Dish, Cornelis Buis, Cracow 1609, Historisches Museum der Stadt Krakow, exhibited Treasures from Poland, *Vienna 2003 cat no11.15.*
Painting: St Eligious, fifteenth century (Leiden).
The following are illustrated in: John Cherry, Goldsmiths, *1992, figs 21, 22, 60, 63:*
Painting: Taddeo Gaddi (attr to), St Eligius as a goldsmith, fourteenth century (Museo del Prado, Madrid).
Engraving: Master of Balaam, St Eligius in a workshop, late fifteenth century.
Painting: Niclaus Manuel, St Eligius at work, 1515 (Kunstmuseum, Bern).
Seals: of goldsmiths' guilds of Vienna, Breslau and Kashau.

day, regardless of the liturgical season.

The last time the liturgy would have been used publicly in Scotland would have been, in all probability, on the feast of the Translation of St Eloi, 24 June 1559. This was only a week or two before the iconoclasm in St Giles which marked the Reformation in Edinburgh. By the date of his main feast day on 1 December that year there were no masses in the high kirk of St Giles and the new religion had assumed a dominant position of Protestantism throughout Scotland, in which the celebration of saints' days was absolutely prohibited as being idolatrous.

The following selection from the old liturgy of St Eloi may serve to give a flavour of the high regard in which he was held by his devotees.

Antiphon at the Magnificat, during Vespers

Eligie, sacerdos et pontifex, et virtutum opifex, pastor bone in populo, ora pro nobis Dominum. Per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, &c.

[O Eligius, priest and bishop, thou worker of all virtue, good shepherd among thy people, pray unto the Lord for us. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, &c]

First Mass of St Eloi: Missa Statuit

14 March, 25 June and 1 December.

Double;[21] white vestments.

Collect:

Da, quaesumus, omnipotens Deus: ut beati Eligii Confessoris tui atque Pontificis veneranda solemnitas, et devotionem nobis augeat et salutem.

[Grant, we beseech Thee, almighty God, that the venerable solemnity of blessed Eligius, Thy confessor and bishop, may both increase our devotion and promote our salvation.]

Gradual

Ecclus. 44. 16, 20: Ecce sacerdos magnus, Eligius, qui in diebus suis placuit Deo. Non est inventus similis illi, qui conservaret legem Excelsi.

[Behold a great priest, Eligius, who in his days pleased God. There was not found the like of him, who kept the law of the most high.]

Alleluia

Ps. 109. 4: Alleluia, Alleluia. Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech. Alleluia. Hic est sacherdos, Eligius, quem coronavit Dominus. Alleluia.

[Alleluia, Alleluia. Thou art a priest forever according to the order of Melchisedech. Alleluia. This is the priest, Eligius, whom the Lord hath crowned. Alleluia.]

Offertory

Ps. 88. 21-22: Inveni Eligium servum meum, oleo sancto meo unxi eum: manus enim mea auxiliabitur ei, et brachium meum confortabit eum.

[I have found Eligius My servant; with My holy oil I have anointed him; for My hand shall help him and My arm shall strengthen him.]

Secret

Beatus Eligius tuus, quaesumus, Domine, non ubique laetificet: ut, dum ejis merita recolimus, patrocentia sentiamus. Per Dominum nostrum, &c.

[May blessed Eligius, we beseech thee, O Lord, in every place bring us joy; that while we commemorate his merits, we may experience his patronage, Through our Lord &c.]

Postcommunion

Praesta, quaesumus, omnopotens Deus: ut, de perceptis muneribus gratias exhibentes, intercedente beato Eligio, Confessore tuo, atque pontifice, beneficia potiora sumamus.

[Grant, we beseech thee, almighty God, that by showing gratitude for the gifts we have received, we may, by the intercession of blessed Eligius, thy Confessor and Bishop, obtain yet greater benefits. Through our Lord, &c.]

These include the Introit, Collects, Epistle, Gradual, Tract, Sequence, Alleluia, Gospel, Offertory, Secret, Communion and Postcommunion. Not all of these are necessarily provided for on lesser feast days.

16. See note 15.

17. See note 15.

18. Vespers: the sixth of the seven daily offices of the Catholic Church, equivalent to Evensong in the Church of England. It is now usually called Evening Prayer. It consists of the singing or reciting of psalms and certain readings and prayers, which always include the *Magnificat*. The *Magnificat* is preceded and followed by an antiphon which varies from day to day. Double feasts (see note 21) begin with Vespers on the previous day, known as First Vespers. The Vespers on the feast-day itself are called Second Vespers.

19. Ecclesiasticus 44. 16-27; 45. 3-20.

20. A day in the Church's calendar when no particular feast is celebrated. It is therefore permitted to include in the ordinary Mass any appropriate commemoration of a patron or other saint.

21. Double feasts are those which take precedence over all other days except Sundays. Doubles are in turn ordered into first, second and third class to help determine precedence in case of two falling together on the same day. Where two feasts of equal rank fall on consecutive days, the second vespers of the first day takes precedence over the first vespers of the second. See Vespers, note 18.

About candlestick cups

URSULA TIMANN

In 1961 John F. Hayward published an article in the *Connoisseur* about a curious type of silver drinking vessel comprising several units: the so-called candlestick cups. Hayward described two made by Nuremberg goldsmiths. One of the cups contains a beaker and a candlestick, the other additionally contains a salt screwed into the underside of the foot.[1]

As Hayward pointed out, cups of this sort were mentioned as being in the possession of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Accused of high treason, he was arrested and condemned to death in 1553 at the instigation of Queen Mary; his personal property was forfeited to the Crown. The candlestick cups were listed in an inventory made after these pieces had been seized:

ij almon bolles wt candelsticks in the bottome all gilt

The word *almon* points to the German provenance of the cups.

One of the surviving Nuremberg candlestick cups belonged to Karl von Rothschild in 1885, and Hayward bought it at auction in 1959. It is now in a private collection.**[1&2]** The vessel is struck with the Nuremberg hallmark and the mastermark IE in a rectangle ($R^3$3992). The second candlestick cup described by Hayward was shown in Budapest in 1884, when it was the property of Count Emanuel Andrássy.**[4&5]** It was auctioned at Christie's in London on 8 July 1959; its present owner is unknown. The cup bears the mark $R^3$3864 that Marc Rosenberg attributed to Arnold Schmidt or Christoph Cunat.

3 *Plaster casting from silicone mould of the mark on a double bowl [12], maker's mark IE now attributed to Jörg Ernst, Nuremberg*

1. John F. Hayward, 'Candlestick Cups', The *Connoisseur*, August 1961, p18-21. This article relies on John Hayward's publications and the information given by the present owner of one of these cups, as it has not been possible for the Nuremberg research project to examine either of them *in situ*. What has been possible, however, is a reappraisal of the marks (both date and master) through photographs and related objects, and analysis of the casting patterns on these and similar pieces. I wish to express my gratitude to the owner of the cup made by master IE for his kind support.

2. Andreas Tacke, 'Der Mahler Ordnung und Gebrauch in Nürnberg', *Die Nürnberger Maler(zunft)bücher ergänzt durch weitere Quellen, Genealogien und Viten des 16., 17., und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Bearbeitet von Heidrun Ludwig, Andreas Tacke, Ursula Timann,

1&2 *Candlestick cup, maker's mark IE now attributed to Jörg Ernst, Nuremberg, circa 1560-70. The cup is also seen as half of a double cup in [9]. (Private collection)*

Mastermark IE ($R^3$3992)

Marc Rosenberg was not sure whether the mastermark IE in a rectangle (which he numbered $R^3$3992) or another mark, IE in an oval ($R^3$3991), should be attributed to the Nuremberg goldsmith Jobst Heberlein. Heberlein became a master in 1575 and lived until at least 1586. Obviously he died before 1601 – the year when his son Leonhard was apprenticed as a painter – because not he, but his wife then acted as a guarantor.[2]

The research project about Nuremberg goldsmiths at the Germanische Nationalmuseum made a close examination of the marks struck on the double bowl in Écouen (discussed below) that has the IE in a rectangle mastermark, and took silicone moulds.[3] One of the results of this investigation was to realise that the Nuremberg mark on the Écouen bowl has to be dated to circa 1560-70.[3] This dating is too early for Jobst Heberlein, who did not become a master until 1575. Furthermore, the mastermark IE in a rectangle can also be traced on other works that cannot be attributed to Jobst Heberlein for the same reason, such as the half of a double cup in Moscow (Inv no MZ-990, see below). Therefore the mastermark $R^3$3992 will now, with a proviso, be attributed to an older Nuremberg goldsmith, Jörg Ernst, to whom no mastermark has yet been attributed. Ernst became a master in 1550 and died in 1579.

Mastermark for Arnold Schmidt ($R^3$3864)

For stylistic reasons Arnold Schmidt has to be considered the more probable maker of the second candlestick cup formerly in the Andrássy collection. He became a master in 1543 and died in 1572, whereas Christoph Cunat (Rosenberg's alternative attribution) did not pass his master's exam until 1603. The half of a double bowl in the Kremlin treasury in Moscow (Inv no MZ-1002, see below) is struck with the mastermark $R^3$3864 that Rosenberg had attributed to Arnold Schmidt or Christoph Cunat.[6] The Nuremberg research project was able to take a close look at the marks in July 2001, with the result that it became clear that the bowl could be ascribed to Arnold Schmidt on more than stylistic considerations. The Nuremberg hallmark complies with the shape used in the 1560s (just like the mark on the double bowl in Écouen), ie a period when only Schmidt was active. The hallmarks in use at the time of Christoph Cunat, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, look decidedly different.[4]

Zusammenarbeit mit Klaus Frhr. von Andrian-Werburg, Wiltrud Fischer-Pacher. Genealogien und Viten Friedrich von Hagen, München-Berlin 2001, p440.

3. The author of this article has been using not yet published findings for dating the Nuremberg hallmarks, worked out by the research project on Nuremberg goldsmiths, active at the Germanische Nationalmuseum. I would like to express my gratitude to Karin Tebbe and Birgit Schübel for their kind help.

4. They have been discussed by Ralf Schürer, 'Markenzeichen. Nürnberger Beschauzeichen zur Zeit Christoph Jamnitzers', *Ausst. Kat. Der Mohrenkopfpokal von Christoph Jamnitzer,* Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums München vom 17.4.-7.7.2002. München 2002, pp125-33.

6 *Plaster casting from silicone mould of the mark on a bowl [13] attributed to Arnold Schmidt, Nuremberg*

4&5 *Candlestick cup, probably Arnold Schmidt, Nuremberg, circa 1560-70 (Present whereabouts unknown, formerly in the Andrássy collection)*

This cup, formerly in the Andrássy collection, has the shape of a baluster typical of Nuremberg goldsmiths' work between the 1530s and the late sixteenth century, a shape that was no longer fashionable in the early seventeenth century. The body of the cup is embossed with two rows of small lobes reminiscent of grapes. Lobes of this sort can also be traced in etchings by Virgil Solis showing cups as patterns for goldsmiths. According to O'Dell-Franke, these etchings should date from the first half of the 1550s.[5] Hayward points out that the candlestick cups formerly belonging to the Duke of Northumberland obviously had lobes of a similar sort. The cups were mentioned again in the inventory of Queen Elizabeth I in 1574, described as

> two Almain bolles chasid with vine knottes on thoneside and like wise within and fyve studdes a pece with womens heddes ther feete to serve for Candelstickes.[6]

According to this description, five female heads were applied to the cups. They might have looked like the heads on a bowl by Melchior Baier in the treasury of the Residenz, Munich.[7]

Both the surviving candlestick cups have comparatively broad bodies. The one made by the master IE is additionally studded with medallions showing the figures of St Matthew, St Mark and St Luke. The shaft and the body are connected by a cast hollow cylindrical middle-piece also forming the stem of the footed beaker when the vessel is taken apart. This cylinder covers the socket of the candlestick when the vessel is put together.

Casting models

Such cast cylinders can be found on the shafts of many Nuremberg cups and footed beakers made in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The casting models for these cylinders were widely spread in Nuremberg goldsmiths' shops but were also used outside Nuremberg.

The production of casting models (or patterns) as lead plaques based on woodcarvings was a phenomenon typical of Nuremberg at that time. Peter Flötner (active in Nuremberg from 1523, died 1546) and the shop of Wenzel Jamnitzer were especially productive inventors of casting models. The latter employed several woodcarvers to cut models, partly following his own designs. One of the carvers may have been Michael Fuchs from Nördlingen, who according to an agreement dated 4 July 1542 was allowed to choose between paying back his debts either by instalments or by work.[8] Perhaps some of the casting models used for important works by Jamnitzer such as the Merkelsche Tafelaufsatz (dated 1549, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) originated in carvings made by Fuchs. In 1552 and 1554

5. Ilse O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis*, Wiesbaden 1977, i 43 and i 70.

6. Hayward (as note 1), p18.

7. Max Frankenburger, *Die Silberkammer der Münchner Residenz*. München 1923, p53 and fig 23a-b.

8. Max Frankenburger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Wenzel I Jamnitzers und seiner Familie* (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 30. Heft). Straßburg 1901, p2, no7.

9. Frankenburger (as note 7), p8, no29; p12, no41.

10. David von Schönherr: 'Wenzel Jamnitzers Arbeiten für Erzherzog Ferdinand von Tirol', *Gesammelte Schriften*, Innsbruck 1900, pp484-501, especially pp492-3.

11. Ingrid Weber, *Deutsche, Niederländische und Französische Renaissanceplaketten 1500-1650*, 2 vols, München 1975, no577. 'Ein gekrönter Frauenkopf auf einer Rollwerkkartuche ist nach den Seiten durch Schleierbögen mit Füllhörnern verbunden. Den Abschluß bilden Ranken mit Satyrmasken im Profil'.

7 *Detail of half of a double bowl, silver-gilt, Arnold Schmidt, Nuremberg, circa 1560-70 [13], showing the medallion of Cleopatra (Armoury of the Kremlin, Moscow, inv no MZ-1002)*

Jamnitzer supported a sculptor named Andreas Albrecht (perhaps he had been working for Jamnitzer, too) by persuading the Town Council to permit Albrecht to stay in France for a certain time without having to give up his Nuremberg citizenship.[9] During the late 1550s the goldsmith and engraver Mathias Zündt was employed as a carver and caster by Jamnitzer.[10]

The cylinder of the candlestick cup made by the master IE originates in a casting model of which Ingrid Weber published a lead plaquette now kept in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Köln. She describes it as 'a crowned woman's head on a cartouche of strapwork, connected on both sides with cornucopias by bows of veils. The outer ends are defined by creepers and satyr's masks'.[11] Weber attributed the model to the Netherlands or to north-west Germany ('in der Art des Theodor Bry' – in the manner of Theodor Bry) and dated it the third quarter of the sixteenth century. She did not know of any use of this casting model, but it can also be found on a cup by the Strasbourg goldsmith Lienhard Bawer, who became a master in 1555.[12] On the same piece Bawer also used plaques after Peter Flötner, showing the Christian virtues *Spes*, *Fides* and *Caritas*.[13]

No lead plaque has been found yet for the cylinder of the beaker that is part of the candlestick cup made by Arnold Schmidt. It shows strapwork and a satyr sitting, his knees spread wide apart, flanked by birds. However, the same model has also been used for the shaft of another Nuremberg goldsmith's work, a glass cup with a silver-gilt rim, dated 1574.[14] The feet of the bowl of the Schmidt candlestick cup and the glass cup also originate from the same casting model. The pattern of the knop of the Schmidt cup comes from a pattern used for other Nuremberg silver pieces. The half of a double cup in the Kremlin (MZ-990 – mastermark IE in a rectangle, ie Jörg Ernst)[15] has the knop also seen on a double cup by an unknown master, catalogued in 1978 as 'wohl Frankreich' (probably France), second half of the sixteenth century.[16]

8 *Design for a candlestick cup, Virgil Solis (O'Dell'Franke i 62), circa 1550-55*

The sources

According to Hayward no candlestick cups can be traced in published German inventories. However, two of them were mentioned in the inventory of the late Duke Johann VII of Mecklenburg (died 1592) published by Hüseler in 1934.[17] One of them is described as:

> Zwey getriebene verguldete Leuchter mit aufgeschrobenen Trinckgeschirn und Confectschalen
> *Two chased candlesticks with beakers screwed on and bowls for sweets*

the other one:

> Noch ein geduppelter verguldeter Schawer daran zwey angeschrobene Fueße, so man zu leuchtern gebrauchen kann
> *Another gilt double cup with feet screwed on that can be used as candlesticks*

Furthermore Hüseler mentioned two globes

12. Formerly in the possession of the London Rothschilds and now in the Museum of Art in Toledo, Ohio. *Exhibition of a collection of silversmiths' work of European origin*. Burlington Fine Arts Club, London 1901, pl 72.

13. This has also been pointed out by Ingrid Weber, (as note 11), 64, 1-3

14. It was formerly in the possession of the Imhoff family and is currently in the Kunstgewerbemuseum Hamburg, inv no 1961.60/St 161. The mastermark has not yet been identified. The glass cup is published by Renate Scholz, *Goldschmiedearbeiten. Renaissance und Barock* (Bilderhefte des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg 11). Hamburg 1974, no6 with ill and additional literature.

15. Kept in the armoury of the Kremlin, Moscow (inv no MZ-990) Galina Anatoljewna Markova: *Njurnbergskoe serebro v Oruzejnoj palate Moskovskogo Kremlja. Cast' 1-2 [Nuremberg silverwork in the Armoury of the Moscow Kremlin, part 1]*, see Muzej, vol 1-2, 1980-1, p90-135 and p130-64, especially no48 with ill.

16. Auction Neumeister, Munich, 20-21 September 1978, no338, pl 100. The same casting model was also utilized for a knop of a baluster-shaped cup dated 1577, unmarked, formerly in the Rothschild collection. See Ferdinand Luthmer, *Der Schatz des Freiherrn Karl von Rothschild. Meisterwerke alter Goldschmiedekunst aus dem 14.-18. Jahrhundert. Erste und zweite Serie*. Frankfurt am Main 1883 und 1885, series 1, pl 36b.

17. Konrad Hüseler, 'Die Silberkammer der Mecklenburger Herzöge'. In *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde*, III/IV, 1934, p252-76, especially pp262-3.

18. Konrad Hüseler: *Hamburger Silber 1600-1800*. Darmstadt 1955, p12.

19. Ilse O'Dell-Franke, *Kupferstiche und Radierungen aus der Werkstatt des Virgil Solis*. Wiesbaden 1977, pp67-8 and No i 56-59, i 61-63, i 68-69, i 71 and i 77.

20. O' Dell-Franke (as note 19), i 56 and i 62.

9 *Double cup, silver-gilt, both halves bearing the mark IE attributed to Jörg Ernst, Nuremberg, circa 1560-70. One half can also be seen in [1],[2]&[11] (Private collection)*

10 *Design for a candlestick cup, Virgil Solis (O'Dell'Franke i 56), circa 1550-55*

screwed on shafts that could serve as candlesticks when the globes were taken off. The globes were divisible into four bowls. These vessels belonged to the Swedish crown in 1655 and later came to Russia. They were described in an old inventory of the Kremlin but are no longer there.[18]

This species of drinking vessel is furthermore mentioned in Nuremberg sources of the sixteenth century. The Nuremberg etcher and engraver Virgil Solis published a series of 24 sheets showing patterns of cups (some of them divisible) that included candlestick cups which Ilse O'Dell-Franke dates to the first half of the 1550s.[19] One of these designs shows a lidded cup consisting of a bowl, a detachable finial (a silver bunch of flowers in a vase), a beaker, a salt and a little clock.**[10]** When the lid is removed and turned upside down, and the finial is detached, it forms a footed bowl. The stem serves as a salt containing a small clock in its foot, but it does not contain a candlestick. Another design contains a clock, a beaker, a salt and a candlestick.[20] **[8]**

Candlestick cups have not only been proven in Nuremberg by etchings but also by written sources. In 1564, the Nuremberg Council bought two divisible double cups from Paulus Flindt the Elder (master in 1563, died 1572) for its treasury. One of them was described as

Ein zwifache vergultte Scheuern, so man zerlegen kan in 8 Stück, 2 Schaln, 2 Trinkgeschirr, 2 Leuchter und 2 Saltzfeßla

A gilt double cup that can be divided into 8 pieces, 2 bowls, 2 drinking vessels, 2 candlesticks and 2 salts[21]

The Council presented this candlestick cup to the Bohemian Chancellor Ladislaus von Bernstein in Prague in 1567.[22]

11 *Candlestick cup, maker's mark IE attributed to Jörg Ernst. This is the same cup illustrated in figs 1, 2&9. The double bowl which rests on top of the body of the cup is most probably shown in [12]. (Photographed in 1885)*

The Jörg Ernst cup divided

A photograph, published in the catalogue by Luthmer on the Rothschild collection, shows the candlestick cup by the master IE in the condition of 1885.**[11]** The drinking vessel is shown with a double bowl on top, in the manner of the aforementioned works of Paulus Flindt and one of the cups in the inventory of the Duke of Mecklenburg, which was missing by 1937.[23] Hayward supposed that the double bowl had gone to another member of the family after the division of Karl Rothschild's collection. Indeed, the double bowl marked by the master IE in a rectangle ($R^3$3992) in the Musée National de la Renaissance in Écouen, (inv no E.Cl.20587a,b – the property of Salomon Rothschild until 1922) appears to be identical with the one formerly belonging to Karl Rothschild illustrated in the Luthmer catalogue.**[12]**

12 *Double bowl, maker's mark IE attributed to Jörg Ernst, Nuremberg, circa 1560-70. The bowl matches the upper part of the cup in [11] (Musée National de la Renaissance, Écouen)*

In the Luthmer catalogue the candlestick cup of Jörg Ernst was described as a double cup, but only one half is illustrated in the catalogue, combined with the double bowl (total height 50cm (19 3/4in). Confusingly, the cup was wrongly captioned and muddled with an Augsburg cup photographed alongside it. When illustrated by Hayward in *Virtuoso Goldsmiths* in 1976[24] the cup was shown with a second half (ie a complete double, height 42.5cm (16 3/4in)). Both halves were illustrated by Gruber in 1982 and Fabian Stein in 1990.[25]**[9]** According to the information given by the present owner to the author (UT), Jacques Kugel bought one of the halves after the Second World War and it was in turn acquired in 1959 by Hayward at auction. Later, Kugel discovered the other half of the double cup at an auction in Paris and bought it; he then also re-acquired the half that had belonged to Hayward and so reunited the cups. Both halves, now in a private collection, show the same mastermarks and hallmarks.[26]

The Schmidt cup divided

The outside of the double bowl in Écouen by

21. Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Rst. N., Stadtrechnungsbelege Rep. 54 a 11, no266.

22. Franz Freiherr von Soden, *Kaiser Maximilian II. in Nürnberg. Zur Geschichte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Nach archivalischen Quellen bearbeitet*, Erlangen 1866, p19.

23. Luthmer (as note 16), series 2, pl 22, left. The cup is shown reversed, as can be recognised from the N of the Nuremberg hallmark struck at the lip of the beaker. In the catalogue the candlestick cup is indicated as made in Augsburg. Apparently there was a confusion with another cup illustrated next to the candlestick cup. The double bowl had already been separated from the candlestick cup when it was auctioned as a part of the collection of Victor Rothschild in 1937. It was replaced by a lid with a medal showing Philip II of Spain, but this too was missing when Hayward bought the cup in 1959.

24. John F. Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism 1540-1620*, London 1976, pls 442, 444, 445, 446.

25. Alain Gruber, *Gebrauchssilber des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*, Fribourg and Würzburg 1982, figs49 and 50. Fabian Stein, 'Conversation with a Silver Collector', *Apollo*, April 1990, pp252-5, especially p253.

26. According to the information of the present owner, the double cup is also struck with an Austrian hallmark for Cracow from 1806/07 (see $R^3$7875 and 7978) and an import mark for Paris as in use since 1893 ($R^3$6626).

27. Inv no MZ-1002. It can be traced back only to 1924; the older provenance is unknown.

28. Hayward (as note 1), p20.

Jörg Ernst is covered with an etched mauresque ornament between lobes alternately shaped as pomegranates or medallions with female figures. The lower part of the bowl is embossed with lobes in two inverted rows, similar to the candlestick cup by Arnold Schmidt. The half of a double bowl by Schmidt in the Kremlin armoury (MZ-1002) is conspicuously similar.[27] **[7]** It is covered with an etched mauresque ornament with lobes in between in the same shape as those on the bowl in Écouen. The lobes with medallions show the figures of Lucretia, Cleopatra and Ruth. The figures of Lucretia and Ruth on the bowls of Schmidt and Ernst can be traced to the same model. The main difference between the bowls in Écouen and Moscow is that the two inverted rows with small lobes on the bottom side are missing in the work of Schmidt.

The question is whether the half of a double bowl in Moscow might have belonged to the candlestick cup of Arnold Schmidt. If so, the bowl must have been separated from the cup a long time ago as it was not mentioned when the candlestick cup was in the Andrássy collection in 1884. Perhaps the vessel of Arnold Schmidt, too, originally consisted of two candlestick cups plus a double bowl, similar to the work by Jörg Ernst.

Conclusion

The 'ij almon bolles wt candelsticks in the bottome' formerly in the possession of the Duke of Northumberland, may have formed a double cup. They might have been made about a decade or two earlier than the vessels of Schmidt and Ernst. Because of the similarity in the works by the Nuremberg masters, especially in the bowls, it could be that one of the vessels might have been a model for the other. Some affinities were pointed out by John Hayward,[28] who noted that the candlestick cup of Jörg Ernst has no thread on the underside of the foot to screw in a little salt. Hayward suggested that because of the double bowl a salt might have become unnecessary. However the vessels of Paulus Flindt and presumably Schmidt had both salts and bowls.

13 *Half of a double bowl, silver-gilt, Arnold Schmidt, Nuremberg, circa 1560-70. A detail is shown in [7] (Armoury of the Kremlin, Moscow, inv no MZ-1002)*

There is no 'canonical' shape known for divisible cups in the sixteenth century. Virgil Solis published many variations of patterns for cups of this sort, with or without candlesticks, bowls, clocks, salts, so the goldsmiths could find their own solutions. Unfortunately, no such cups can be found in public collections, although divisible cups were well known in Nuremberg in the sixteenth century .

It appears that the double bowl now in Écouen may once have belonged to the Ernst candlestick cup and that the Schmidt half of a double bowl in Moscow could be linked to the now-missing candlestick cup by the same maker. Despite this uncertainty, it has been possible to be fairly positive in attributing the marks on all these pieces. The research project of Nuremberg goldsmiths would be very happy if the candlestick cup by Arnold Schmidt showed up some day and was accessible for closer examination.

The Nuremberg record of a cup by Paulus Flindt in 1564 suggests a double cup containing many pieces. This seems to be similar to the double cup illustrated by Hayward and Gruber. However, there is also evidence, from other objects mentioned in inventories and from illustrations by Virgil Solis, that some candlestick cups had bowls as lids (reversible covers) on top, rather than a second matching cup.

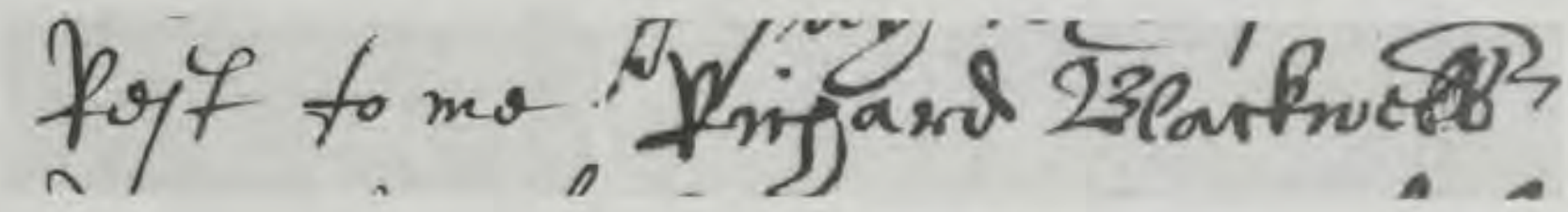
Figs 1&2 are taken from Hayward (as note 24); ill 4 &5 are taken from Hayward (as note 1). Figs 7&13 are courtesy of the Armoury of the Kremlin, Moscow.

Richard Blackwell & Son

ERIC J.G. SMITH

For to candlestickes imbosed and gilt over ... your servant, R+B ... I rest, Richard Blackwell ... 1638

For making a new mase of silver and dobell Gilte ... Rest to me, Richard Blackwell ... 1660



The evidence for attributing the hound sejant mark to Richard Blackwell rests in a group of bills and references to him in accounts ranging in date from 1651 to 1662; one of these, the Faversham bill, is for a surviving object struck with the hound sejant mark. What details we have of Blackwell's life tie in with the dates of extant hound sejant silver. Moreover there are documents dating from the 1630s referring to another Richard Blackwell, without doubt his father, which provide evidence to link this maker with two marks incorporating the initials RB appearing between 1611 and 1640. To this can be added the evidence of continuity between the RB and hound sejant makers' businesses: both father and son's marks appear on the Staunton Harold communion set and their respective marks are struck on two virtually identical objects which even in the mid-seventeenth century would have been highly unusual in London shops – the two wager cups illustrated.**[6&7]** The documentary evidence surrounding Richard Blackwell II also refutes the oft-repeated idea that the hound sejant maker worked solely for royalist clients; in 1651 he replaced the royal arms with those of the Commonwealth on the four bedells' staves for Cambridge University and provided the pro-Parliamentary city of Coventry with maces.

A matter of identity

Acknowledging that it is virtually impossible to identify the majority of London goldsmiths' marks before 1697,[1] authorities such as the late Charles Oman nevertheless made every attempt to put a name to the goldsmith who used the hound sejant maker's mark. Indeed, Oman was the first to draw our attention to the high quality plate bearing this singular mark. Thus he wrote

> The most important goldsmith active in the middle years of the century used the mark of the hound sejant but remains nameless.

Oman traced the earliest example of plate bearing the hound sejant mark to 1646/47 and the latest to 1666/67. He continued:

> ... much of his work was made to order and escaped hallmarking ... his period of activity was during the Commonwealth ... his customers were Royalists and half of his surviving output is made up of plate for the Anglican Resistance which needed to equip private chapels when Prayer Book services were banned in parish chapels.[2]

Elsewhere he wrote:

> Most marks give the owner's initials, some only his emblem ... such marks can only be identified by the happy discovery of a document.[3]

There can be little doubt that, when Charles Oman wrote this passage elsewhere in the same work, one of those he had in mind was this goldsmith, who used as his singular maker's mark the heraldic crest of the hound sejant.

That such a document was discovered by two eminent scholars over 100 years ago[4] and published in a work familiar to Oman and apparently overlooked by him and other authorities, is extraordinary. According to Jewitt and Hope a total of seven maces and four beadles' staves, one subsequently lost, would appear to have been supplied or altered by the hound sejant

Illustrated above: detail of the Faversham mace bill [20]; marks of Richard Blackwell I & II see [25-28]

1. C.J. Jackson, *English goldsmiths and their marks*, 2nd edn, Dover Publications Inc 1964, p46.

2. Charles Oman, *Caroline Silver*, London 1970, pp27-8 (hereafter Oman 1970).

3. Oman 1970 (as note 2), pp24-5.

4. Llewellyn Jewitt and W.H. St John Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Corporate Towns of England and Wales*, London 1895, vol I, pp330-1.(hereafter Jewitt)

1 *One of a pair of flagons, Richard Blackwell II, London 1646/47. Height 25.5cm (10in). Originally from Thirkleby parish church, Yorks. (Courtesy Temple Newsam House, Leeds; the other flagon now in the V&A Museum)*

goldsmith.[5] Suffice to state that part of the document has been extracted to make the heading for this article. The extract is from a bill for making a 'new mase' ordered by the Wardmote[6] or Town Council of Faversham in Kent. The bill is signed by the goldsmith[7] and the mace is punched three times with the hound sejant maker's mark. The signature reveals him to be a Richard Blackwell. Apart from regilding in 1747 the mace is still in good condition. The full text reads as follows:

For the Right Wor Corporasion of Fethersham 1660.

For making a new mase of silver and dobell Gilte

	£	s	d
waying 49oz15wett at 10s. 6d. the ounce is	26	2	4
For the new gildinge the lower parte of the mase wayinge 20oz at 1s.4d. the oz	1	6	8
For the newe case for this mase which is to be seen after	0	15	0
Some is	28	4	0
For the heade of the Rompe waying 14oz 10we at 5s 7d the ounce is	13	16	7
Rest to me	140	7	05

Richard Blackwell

The equivalent cost in modern monetary value is approximate, but the new mace, gilding the lower part and supplying a new case would have cost about £2,010 at 2001 values.[8] However in part exchange for the 'Rompe head' Blackwell credited the sum of £13-16-7d (equivalent to £984) which left a balance outstanding equivalent to £1,025 [Appendix 3].

It is important at this stage to note that the goldsmith's surname, Blackwell, must not be confused with that of his better-known contemporary, Alderman Edward Backwell, the goldsmith banker.[9&10] Goldsmiths' Hall has no record of a Richard Backwell. However I was able to compare the distinctive writing, the form of the numerals itemising the cost of the plate and, importantly, the goldsmith's signature, on the three accounts for the Townshend family referred to by Glanville[11] **[22&23]** with a photocopy of the Faversham mace bill.[12] **[20]** This confirms that all three are in the same hand and have the characteristic signature of Richard Blackwell. In the same work Philippa Glanville suggests that the hound sejant maker may have been 'a junior member of a Flemish landed family'.[13] However with the evidence of the Faversham bill and the Townshend accounts, and more to be related, there is every reason for accepting the goldsmith concerned was Richard Blackwell and, so far as it is possible to tell, he was a native-born Englishman. The hound sejant mark is heraldically English in its form;[14] would a Flemish craftsman refer to the Faversham mace head as 'Rompe'; or address his account to 'The Right Wor corporasion of Fethersham'? Also, the particular way of ending and signing a bill, Rest to me Richard Blackwell, was characteristic of another Richard Blackwell, who I believe to be the father of the hound sejant goldsmith, and who was most probably involved in his son's enterprise.

A pair of flagons referred to by Philippa Glanville,[15] **[1]** and another pair (see note 106), are hallmarked 1646/47 – the year Richard Blackwell obtained his freedom. Oman considered there had to be an explanation for 'their lavish decoration at a time when economic conditions were so difficult'.[16] I find it difficult to accept that a newly-fledged goldsmith would have fully grasped the complex auricular

5. Jewitt (as note 4), vols I and II; for further reference see Appendix 1 and 2 of this article.

6. 'Meeting of inhabitants of a City Ward', H.C. Wyld (ed), *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*, 1932, p1376.

7. Ref: FA/FV 23, bills, receipts and vouchers 1660 (1 bundle). Centre for Kentish Studies, County Hall, Maidstone.

8. The calculation is based on £71.67 as the equivalent to the 1660 pound. Equivalent contemporary values of the pound, a historical series 1270-2001, Bank of England, 2001.

9. F.G. Hilton-Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers, 1890*, pp4-7. David Mitchell, 'To Alderman Backwell's for the candlesticks for Mr Coventry', *The Silver Society Journal*, no12 2000, pp111-24.

10. Charles Oman (*English Church Plate 597-1830*, London 1957, p185 (hereafter Oman 1957)), includes a note relating to a letter of 1662, which refers to 'Mr Alderman Blackwell'. On the other hand, Philippa Glanville, (see note 11 below) refers to two accounts rendered by a 'Richard Backwell in the 1650s and early 1660s [which] contain several references to spoons of the Italian fashion, French silver and objects unfamiliar to the London goldsmith, such as a "thing for sugar" (presumably a caster) and a salt with candle branches, which was also relatively novel'.

11. Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, London1990, pp116 and 124 (hereafter Glanville 1990).

12. British Library MSS dept, ADD 416, ff 132 and135. Townshend Papers, series IV, vol III 1656-7 & 1658-9.

13. Glanville 1990 (as note 11), p95.

14. A.C. Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry*, 1904, p144. Cyril Davenport, British Heraldry, circa 1900, pp104-5.

15. Glanville 1990 (as note 11), p95.

2 *Staunton Harold chapel altar set, silver-gilt, The chalice and paten Richard Blackwell I (RB mullet mark), London 1640/41; the remainder Richard Blackwell II, London 1654/55. Originally belonging to Earl Ferrars, the set is now owned by the National Trust, on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum (Courtesy the National Trust)*

designs of Daniel Rabel[17] and translated them into chasing as discussed by Glanville.[18] I am of the view that the standard of workmanship of the flagons, and indeed some other examples of the hound sejant maker's work, suggests that they were either wrought by foreign goldsmiths working in London or imported by Blackwell or by his father. This raises the question of the type of enterprise in which the Blackwells were involved.

Daniel Defoe divided such enterprises into three classes:

> Those who do not actually manufacture the goods they sell, those who only make goods for others to sell, and those who make the goods they sell though they keep shops.[19]

Which of these categories applied to the Blackwells will be discussed later. Meanwhile, in order to distinguish between father and son, they will be referred to as Richard Blackwell I and II respectively, Richard I, I believe, being the owner of the marks 'RB with pellet' and RB with a mullet'.**[25-27]**

There is little reason to doubt that the elder Blackwell had some influence over his son's career, firstly as his master and probably later, at least during the early years of his goldsmithing career, although to date there is no evidence of a partnership. Such evidence as there is, is to be seen in their surviving work: for example the two remarkably similar chalices and (more so) patens, discussed by Oman.[20] With hindsight and in fairness to Oman, it has to be said that at the time of writing he would not have been aware of any connection between the two goldsmiths although, curiously enough, he wrote elsewhere in the same work, of Richard Blackwell I by name.

3 *Chalice and paten, silver-gilt, Richard Blackwell II, London 1653/54. Originally at Fulham Palace (Courtesy St Paul's Cathedral)*

16. Oman 1970 (as note 2), p28.

17. Peter Thornton, *Form and Decoration, innovation in the decorative arts 1470-1870*. London 1998, pp96-7. 'Daniel Rabel (circa 1578-1638), a Parisian designer and celebrated engraver in the 1620s and 1630s.'

18. Glanville 1990 (as note 11), p95.

19. Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman*, 1727. See also Dorothy George, *England in Transition*, Penguin 1962.

20. Oman 1957 (as note 10), p177, pl 83 A and B.

4 *Chalice, paten and wafer box, Richard Blackwell I (RB a mullet below), circa 1625-30. Height 28.8cm (11⅜in); diam 7cm (2¾in)*
Engraved with armorials and the initials of Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox (©Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Theodora Wilbour Fund in memory of Charlotte Beebe Wilbour, Gift of Mrs Robert Hamlin by exchange, and Gift of Mrs Stuart C. Welch)

Oman wrote that the chalice with the hound sejant mark of 1653/54 **[3]** 'is exactly copied from one ... made in 1640 by the goldsmith RB ...'.[21] suggesting that the only apparent difference is in the sizes, but the latter is beautifully engraved with the 'Good Shepherd' and the former with Christ's 'Crown of Thorns' and an inscription. Other evidence in establishing the identity of Richard Blackwell I as the maker 'RB mullet below' and of the dealings of both Blackwells can be seen in plate which originally belonged to the ducal family of Richmond and Lenox, who during that period lived at Cobham Hall, near Rochester in Kent.[22] The 2nd Duke was succeeded by his brother Esme. (See p179) The 2nd Duke's wife, Frances,[23] made clear in her will of 28 July 1639, that she

> ... asserted her claim to a widow's legal 'thirds' of Cobham and of the other Lenox estates ... for the purpose of [eventually] handing them over as a gift to her brother-in-law.

The chalice, paten and wafer box[24] made for Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox are an interesting example of work that can be attributed to Richard Blackwell I.**[4]** They bear the mark 'RB mullet below', and were made some time between 1625 and 1630. The otherwise plain body of the chalice is enhanced by superbly engraved armorials surmounted by a ducal crown within a wreath of laurel leaves, and the cover of the box is similarly engraved. Evidence of the duchess's ownership are the initials F and conjoined LR for Frances Lenox.[25] Some rough idea of the cost of engraving the three pieces can be gleaned from a 'byll' rendered by Richard Blackwell I to the celebrated high churchman 'Dockter Cosines', the then Master of 'Peter howse Coledg, in Cambrdg' in 1638 for

> The ingraving of St Peter with to [two] armes on a flagon, and the words to it, 5s[26]

The cup, paten and wafer box are not mentioned in the duchess's will, however James Greenstreet, who transcribed it,[27] noted that the duchess 'was so generous and profuse in her expenditure'.[28] The will mentions a number of articles of silver bequeathed, or monies to buy such articles, precisely valued to include the cost of having the armorials of the duchess and of her husband's family engraved on the piece given. She must have been advised during the preparation of her will. Consider the following

> Two paires of greate Candlestickes of fiefte poundes price a Candlesticke with my Lordes armes and myne[29]
>
> Lady Anne Douglass a water pott of silver to it a kettle with a ladle ... of one hundred poundes price with the Armes of my Lord and my selfe[30]
>
> I give to the Earle of Ancrome a kettle of threescore poundes price with my Lordes armes and myne on it[31]
>
> I doe also will to Executors to buy a cup of gold of twoe hundred poundes price ... and that it be of the fashion of a Communion Cupp ... to have the armes of my Lord and myne together[32]

One wonders whether the executors actually bought a gold communion cup, or substituted a

21. As note 20. The RB chalice is part of the communion service made for Sir Robert Shirley's chapel at Staunton Harold, now belonging to the National Trust and loaned to the Victoria and Albert Museum. The chalice in fig [3] was made for Dr Henry Henchman (see note 93) at Fulham Palace, and is now kept in St Paul's Cathedral.

22. The seventeenth-century spelling 'Lenox' rather than the present 'Lennox' is used in this instance.

23. She was the daughter of Viscount Howard of Bindon and third wife of Ludovic, 2nd Duke of Richmond and Lenox (died 1623), a second cousin of James I. See p 179.

24. Ellenor M. Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol I 1993, no33 pp99-101 fig33.

silver vessel (perhaps the Boston pieces?) and kept the difference in cost. The precise nature of the descriptions and values of the silver bequeathed is evidence of advice during the preparation of her will, from somebody in the trade of goldsmithing with whom the duchess had dealings – but with whom? The answer is to be found at the end of the will, dated 28 July 1639 and executed following the death of the duchess on 8 October the same year:[33]

> WITNESSES vnto and att the sealinge signinge and publicacion of this will by her grace the Lady princes Duces Dowager of RICHMOND and LENOX this eight and twentieth Daie of July Anno domini one thousand six hundred thirty nyne RO[BERT] RICHE, WILLIAM SMITH, JOHN ONSLOW RI[CHARD] HELINE, RICHARD BLACKWELL.

Was this Richard Blackwell the goldsmith responsible for making and engraving the plate listed by the duchess in her will? I am of the opinion that he was. None of the other witnesses was a goldsmith and I could find no reference to a Richard Blackwell in local records.[34]

Little is known of Blackwell's background – 'little' unfortunately being the operative word. Richard I and Richard II were not members of the Goldsmiths' Company but of the Merchant Taylors' which, as Arthur Grimwade noted, was quite a common occurence.[35] Unfortunately the records of the Merchant Taylors' Company are not at present available for research purposes, other than brief references on microfilm,[36] and it is hoped that someone else will make use of them, perhaps with this article as the basis for further research. Meanwhile we can only hazard a guess as to the Blackwells' family origins (births, marriages, deaths) or the whereabouts of their workshops. Parish records show numerous Blackwells and Blackwalls, some even with the first name Richard, but none appear to have any connection with the goldsmithing family. It is, nevertheless, possible to establish when Richard I and Richard II obtained their freedoms and from whom.

5 *Maker's mark RB pellet below circa 1560*

Four generations?

The Merchant Taylors' list of freemen includes two others of the same name and, it would seem of the same family.[37] Whether these two other Richard Blackwells were goldsmiths is not possible to tell: the Goldsmiths' Company appear not to have any account of their names. However the earlier of the two was freed from servitude by a Henry Selibarne [*sic*] on 14 October 1555.[38] Was he the father of Richard Blackwell I? Allowing that he would have been about 20 when made free, he would have been 48 when his goldsmith son was born in about 1583 (see below). Possibly he had married a second time. Interestingly a mark RB pellet below is recorded by Jackson.[39]**[5]** Although the initials are joined by a bar R-B, the shape of the mark is similar to those, I am of the view, used by Richard Blackwell I. That Richard Blackwell I was, indeed, the son of this earlier namesake is strongly indicated by an entry in the Merchant Taylors' list[40] which reads

> Richard Blackwell ... made free by the patrimony of Richard Blackwell (deceased), 7 October 1605

Although made free by patrimony, Richard Blackwell I's master, from whom he was made free by servitude, was the goldsmith William Challicombe.[41]

However, before discussing this further, something has to be said of the fourth Richard Blackwell who, according the Merchant Taylors' apprenticeship list, was made free by servitude from a John Simpson on 13 September 1671.[42] Neither he nor his master's name appears in the records of the Goldsmiths' Company. One can again only hazard a guess - could he, perhaps, have been the son of the hound sejant maker, Richard Blackwell II? If he was, one would have expected him to have

25. As note 24.

26. Equivalent to in the region of £20-47p today. 'The correspondence of John Cosin later Lord Bishop of Durham', The Surtees Society, vol 55 1869, p223.

27. Nineteenth-century Kent historian, who researched the Richmond and Lenox papers and transcribed the will.

28. *Archaeologia Cantiana* II, Wills relating to Cobham Hall: Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox, 1877, p227.

29. As note 28, p241.

30. As note 28, p238.

31. Ibid.

32. As note 28, p241.

33. As note 28, p250.

34. Medway archives and local studies Centre, Civic Centre, Strood, Rochester, Kent.

35. A.G. Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London 1976, pp7-8, 728.

36. J.A. Bayford, deputy clerk, Merchant Taylors' Company. Letter dated 20.1.2000. Company records now lodged with the Guildhall Library and in the process of being catalogued, confirmed by the Keeper of Manuscripts.

37. Stephen Freeth, keeper of MSS, Guildhall Library, letter dated 22.2.2000. Alphabetical lists of Freemen of the Merchant Taylors' Company 1530-1928. Guildhall Library MS 324. The names of four Richard Blackwells are recorded, all of whom were made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company. No biographical or geneological details available; such information as there is, is on microfilm.

38. As note 37.

39. Jackson 1964 (as note 1), p98; on a communion cup, St Mary Magdalen Church, North Oakenden, Essex, 1561/62.

40. Freeth (as note 37), MS 326.

41. David Beasley, librarian Goldsmiths' Company, letters dated 25.9.2002 and 10.2.2003. 'Whilst the apprenticeship to [William] Challicombe may have been one of mere convenience, it would have allowed the apprentice to become free by service of the Goldsmiths' Company.' He notes that Challicombe took another apprentice, William Colborne, in 1608, and (confirmed by telephone) 'Richard Blackwell, at the feast of St James the apostle, 25 July 1599 apprenticed to William Challicombe'.

42. A set of four square-based candlesticks bears the mark RB pellets and crescent below, London 1674/75 (Christie's London, 21 June 1978 lot 167) but no link has yet been found.

served an apprenticeship with his father – but it is possible that Richard Blackwell II had died before the boy began his apprenticeship with John Simpson. Whatever the circumstances, the first and fourth Richard Blackwells have no further part in this article. We return to the role of the father and son who between them, over a period of 60 years or so, were responsible for some of the finest extant examples of secular, church and corporation plate bearing their respective maker's marks.

Richard Blackwell I

What is mostly known of the elder Richard Blackwell's goldsmithing master, William Challicombe is to be found in the registers of St John Zachary, Aldersgate ward. He lived in Stayinge [Staining] Lane between 1598 and 1630, the year of his and of his wife's death.[43] St John Zachary's church was not far from Dean's Court, where some 30 or so years after Challicombe's death, lived the German-born goldsmith Jacob Bodendeich.[44] A William Blackwell is listed as a neighbour of Challicombe's. This Blackwell died in 1606, the year Richard obtained his freedom.[45] It is difficult to believe that William Blackwell was not related to the goldsmith. If the latter's father had perhaps died before he began his apprenticeship, William Blackwell may have arranged for the boy (? his nephew) to learn his craft from Challicombe and, importantly, helped financially in setting up his own workshop.

It is impossible to know whether Richard Blackwell I actually learned the skills of a goldsmith or whether his apprenticeship was one of convenience, so that he could achieve his ends by becoming free of the Goldsmiths' Company by service.[46] On 7 February 1605/6 'Richard Blackwell, merchant tailor', was 'sworn to the ordinances of this Company' and paid three shillings.[47] A few months earlier Richard Blackwell had been made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company, by the patrimony of his father Richard Blackwell deceased, on 7 October 1605.

In setting himself up in business, Richard Blackwell I must have had the capital to do so, either from his father's estate or from such as William Blackwell, possibly his uncle. What type of business was this, which would eventually be inherited by his son and namesake, the hound sejant maker? The answer is a combination of two of Daniel Defoe's classes of trade: 'the sale of plate by others ... and the making and sale of plate on the premises'. Evidence has already been quoted: Frances, Duchess of Lenox's communion set, and the fact of Richard Blackwell's name appearing in her will; two chalices, one bearing the RB mark and the other 'exactly copied' from this, bearing the hound sejant mark.[48] There is another, equally highly chased cup, bearing the 'RB mullet

43. William McMurray (ed), *The Records of SS Anne and Agnes and St John Zachary from the twelfth century*, 1925. Under the heading 'Inhabitants' p438; under 'Interments' William Challicombe is described as a 'goldsmith', p450.

44. Eric J.G. Smith, 'Jacob Bodendeich', *The Silver Society Journal*, no14 2002, p122.

45. As note 43, Inhabitants p438a; Interments p332.

46. See note 41.

47. Goldsmiths Company court book [hereafter GCCB] O, part III, p463. 'Richard Blackwell, merchant taylor. Sworn to the ordnances of this Company' and paid 3s.

48. See note 20.

49. *The Surtees Society* (as note 26), p224.

Richard Blackwell I's bill to John Cosin, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, 1638

I sent a litell silver seall in the first leter, whear in an emblem wase ingraven one it, to your sonne or dafter, as a token from your servant, R+B

Received more from the Colledge: thre beakers, 3 tankards, a coledg pott, a wine cup and one cover wayinge all to gether one hondred five ounces and a half, at 4s.11d is 26L.2s.10d.

Upon the delivery of this letter I will talke with James, whie hee could not deliver the letter as well as the platt

The candellstickes and the other platt for the Colledg came to, as appeares by the byll that your master Docter Cosiens hath, to 98L.2s.3d.

For the ingraving of St Peter with to armes on a flagon, and the wordes to it, 5s

Some delivd 98L.7s.3d

Received formerly old platt as a peres [appears] by his byll. 47L.6s.9d. And in money of the dockter, 15L and nowe this platt the 22 of June, as aperes by the particklers above riten: wayte and prise 26L.2s.10d.

Some recd 88L.9s.7d

Restes to me to cleare, 91 l.17s.8d. RICHARD BLACKWELL

To the Right worll. Dr. Cosines, Mr. Of Peter howse Coledg, in Cambredg

[endorsed in Cosin's hand 'Mr Blackwell's bill for plate'][49]

6 *(left) Wager cup, maker's mark only a hound sejant, Richard Blackwell II, circa 1665. Height 18.5cm (7¼in); weight 236g (7oz12dwt) (Sotheby's).*
7 *(above, detail) Wager cup, maker's mark only, RB mullet below [25B]. Height 17.9cm (7in); weight 230g (7oz8dwt). (Gilbert Collection; photo: Sotheby's)*

mark' 1629/30, belonging to the Haberdashers' Company.[50]

Richard Blackwell, in his bill [shown in full below left], rendered on 22 June 1638 to the Laudian John Cosin (1594-1672, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge) ended the first paragraph with his initials in boldly inked letters, the 'R' and 'B' divided by +. Is this somewhat odd, considering that the goldsmith ends the bill with his names fully spelt? In an age obsessed with secret handwriting and symbols (eg Samuel Pepys) could Blackwell have used this as some form of rebus, to draw Cosin's attention to the plate bearing his RB and mullet mark? The bill lists plate probably thus marked, some of which may have been wrought on his premises, but which would have involved the use of outworkers such as engravers ('litell silver seale' and 'ingraving of St Peter with to armes on a flagon') as well as chasers and casters. Other pieces were possibly imported from Germany or the Low Countries. Blackwell took pieces of old or worn plate in part exchange towards payment. The bill ends in similar fashion to that of his son for the making of the Faversham mace, already quoted.

Allowing for part exchange, by the standards of the time Cosin surely must have baulked at Blackwell's final total. £91.17s.6d, in today's reckoning, would be in the region of £7,890![51] Nevertheless, from other transactions, Cosin would appear to have had limitless money to spend.

John Cosin was elected to the mastership of Peterhouse in the wake of Dr Matthew Wren,[52] later a customer of Richard Blackwell II.[53] In another bill for plate from Blackwell, Cosin acquired a pair of

> Candlestickes imbosed and all gilt over for the Chapell, wayinge 145oz13dwt, at 8s the ounce, is 58£.9s.6d. Paid for the cases to them, 15s ... For the addison to the candlesticks, 26oz17wt, at 8s the ounce, is 9£.4s.9d[54]

and other items, although, as in the case of the other bill, Cosin offset the cost with returning 'mor old platt 105oz10dwt at 4s11d, 26£.2s.10d' allowing for other damaged plate also returned 'So allis dewe, 26£.0s.11d'. Amusingly, Blackwell was annoyed with the carrier:

> And I payed to that nasty Carier James, which did nott deliver my leter in time, for the box he brought from Cambredg, 2s etc ... thus hoping

50. *The Historic Plate of the City of London*, exhib cat, Goldsmiths' Hall, 1951, no89 p36.

51. As note 8. The equivalent value of £1 in 1638 would have been £68 in February 2001.

52. *DNB*: 1585-1667, the uncle of the celebrated Christopher Wren. High Churchman, royalist (yet he upset Charles II), Master of Pembroke and Peterhouse and successively Bishop of Norwich and Hereford. Imprisoned at the Tower during the Commonwealth and after. He was buried in the chapel he had built by Christopher Wren at Pembroke College, Cambridge.

53. A.V. Grimstone, curator, Pembroke College, letter dated 11.3.1993, confirmed the plate bearing the hound sejant mark was bequeathed by Matthew Wren to the college chapel. See *Treasures of Cambridge*, exhib cat 1953, pl 18 nos165 and 171; Fitzwilliam Museum, exhib cat, 1975, fig ECC7, p15 and CS1. See appendix 2 of this article.

54. During the period under discussion, there is no consistency in expressing the pound symbol or in spelling. The pound is expressed either as 'L' before or after, or (small) above, a figure; also as £, before or after an amount.

of your worshipfull good helth, I rest, your faythfull servantt ... RICHARD BLACKWELL

Elsewhere in the same bill Blackwell writes

I ame wonder full of worke, for which I desier your old platt, and shall give all content when I come to Cambredg[55]

It may have been that Blackwell took with him his son, who would have been in the first year of his apprenticeship, and introduced the youth to Cosin, who was the type of client from whom the future hound sejant goldsmith would receive commissions for church plate. Indeed it may well have been Cosin who recommended the Blackwells to other staunch royalist high churchmen, including Matthew Wren and Edmund Boldero (1608-79), Wren's chaplain.[56]

Richard Blackwell I must have been concerned in supplying altar plate ordered by such a highly controversial prelate as John Cosin.[57] He might have wondered if the candlesticks he sold to Cosin were among the plate referred to by the presbyterian lawyer William Prynne,[58] who wrote:

A glorious new alter was set up, and mounted on steps, to which the master, fellows, schollers bowed, and were enjoyned to bow by Doctor Cosins, the master who set it up. There were basons, candlesticks, tapers standing on it, and a great crucifix hanging over it.[59]

According to Charles Oman no silver altar candlesticks made before the Civil War have survived. However a contemporary engraving of the high altar of Peterborough Cathedral shows a pair of trumpet-shaped form with wide grease pans.[60] In the case of Cosin's candlesticks and other plate, it did not matter, for in 1642 the prelate 'was an active instrument in sending his college plate to supply the royal mint at York, and as a consequence was ejected from the mastership'.[61]

Dating from the year 1611/12 there is to be seen a variety of extant domestic and ornamental plate bearing the maker's mark 'RB pellet below in a shaped shield',**[25]** while from the same period similar wrought examples bear the RB mullet maker's mark.[62]**[24]** From the evidence, the latter is attributable to Richard Blackwell I. Such is the similarity of some of the

8 *Cup and cover, Richard Blackwell I (RB mullet mark), London 1629/30. Height 33cm (13in). The cup is finely chased, possibly the work of a Low Countries outworker (Courtesy Hampstead parish church)*

pieces, and because of the closeness in the form of mark and initials RB, there seems every reason for accepting that both marks were those of Richard Blackwell I. As already discussed, in February 1605/6 Blackwell was sworn to abide by the ordinances of the Goldsmiths' Company, and, I am of the opinion, used as his first maker's mark 'RB pellet below in a shaped shield'.[63] At this time he was probably in his early twenties.

If, as has been suggested earlier, one or both of the RB maker's marks were those of Richard Blackwell I, in the period 1611/12 to 1640/1, then there is every reason for believing the goldsmith was operating a concern that involved the selling of plate to important English clients (such as the Duchess of Richmond and Lenox and John Cosin) which bore his RB mullet mark. Concurrently, when supplying imported plate destined for the Jewel House he used his RB pellet mark. It was

55. See appendix 1.

56. Dr F.H.H. Willmoth, archivist Jesus College, Cambridge, letter dated 25.10.2002: a chalice (hound sejant) and unmarked paten were given by Boldero following his election as master on 27 May 1673. The fact that Boldero was previously at Pembroke raises doubts as to the provenance of his present to Jesus. Jesus College archives record 'Dr Boldero's communion bowle and cover' in the communion chest (10 December 1662 and 8 December 1663).

E.A. Jones, *Old Plate of Cambridge Colleges*, 1910, p68 records a plain chalice in Gothic Revival style, inscribed 'Deo et Sacris', circa 1665. Oman (as note 10) pp314 no32, lists the same chalice. I&G Morgan, *Stones and Stories of Jesus College Chapel*, 1914, pp355-6 write that Boldero lost his Fellowship of Pembroke in 1644, suffered long as a royalist and 'narrowly escaped the gallows'.

57. Cosin was a friend of Laud. Publication of his Collection of private devotions in 1627 brought Cosin into still more hostile relations with the puritan party. He aroused the heated anger of the growing numbers of presbyterian puritan supporters of Calvinism, and considered the Anglican church as a purified form of traditional catholicism. *DNB*, 1887, vol 12 pp264-6.

58. Prynne (1600-69) puritan lawyer and antiquarian. He lost his ears for attacking Charles I in his Histriomastic (1634) and following further criticism lost what was left of his ears for attacking Laudian bishops. He was instrumental in procuring the death of Laud. John Cannon (ed) *The Oxford Companion to British History*, 1997, p778.

59. *DNB* (as note 57), pp264-5.

60. Oman 1957 (as note 10), p242.

61. *DNB* (as note 57) p265. The fact that much of the plate is missing from Peterhouse, can be attributed to Cosin's efforts to help fund the royalist

9 *Communion Cup and paten, Richard Blackwell II, London 1647/48. Height 25.7cm (10in) (Courtesy St Laurence Church, Winslow)*

this silver which a few years later was sent as gifts to the Russian court.

Both E. Alfred Jones and Charles Oman refer frequently to the goldsmith RB and confirm the import and sale of foreign wrought plate, examples of which both authorities discovered during their visits to the Kremlin collection.[64] Jones was the first to draw attention to examples of German pineapple and lobed standing cups bearing

> ... the same maker's mark namely RB, with a pellet below, in a shaped shield. This factor suggests that the silversmith who stamped these pieces with his own mark and the London date letter was a considerable importer of German and doubtless of other foreign plate.[65]

In his more up-to-date account, Oman confirmed Jones's observations in respect of the cups bearing the 'RB and pellet' maker's mark, and a number of other pieces by the goldsmith, as well as examples of plate bearing the marks of other London goldsmiths.[66] During this period foreign-made plate was popular in England and imported in large amounts:

> ... some, like the 'Nuremborow' plate about which the Goldsmiths' Company was so agitated in the period 1600-1620, was imported for sale in the goldsmiths' shops of Cheapside ...[67]

The Goldsmiths' Company had every reason to be concerned, as much of the Nuremberg plate was below Sterling standard. The late John Hayward wrote of numerous goldsmiths fined for attempting to sell sub-standard imported plate.[68] However, according to Oman:

> Provided that it was up to English standard, foreign plate could be legitimised by being assayed and marked at Goldsmiths' Hall. Certain London goldsmiths appear to have specialised in selling foreign plate bearing the London hallmark and, of course, their own mark. Such, for instance, was the goldsmith whose mark was RB, who sponsored at the assay four German cups in the Kremlin, but also provided as many pieces from his own workshop.[69]

Oman illustrates five examples of plate in the Kremlin bearing Blackwell's 'RB and pellet' mark.[70] However, I find his account of the pair of flagons 1615/16 confusing, and his indication that they are 'English plate' is frankly nonsense.[71] While I have not had the opportunity of examining the flagons, I am of the strong opinion that the pair is the work of a Low Countries' goldsmith, in all probability Flemish. A standing cup and cover, 1612/13, with a finial of Minerva[72] is in form similar to the cup belonging to St John's Church, Hampstead.[73][8] The 'English' form of the 'Minerva' cup would suggest the piece, along with some of the other extant plate, may have come from Blackwell's workshop, but the technical and stylistic features point to German or Dutch craftsmanship – contracted journeymen or outworkers employed by Blackwell. Philippa Glanville has written extensively on the subject:

> ... the workshop mixture of English and stranger employees can be attributed to pressure from the Goldsmiths' Company which, from time to time, attempted to ensure that the immigrant skills were shared for the benefit of the native community.[74]

Among the best known of the established foreign goldsmiths working in London between

cause. As a result, Cosin was ejected from his mastership in 1644, by a warrant from the Earl of Manchester. The plate destroyed must have included articles by Richard Blackwell I.

62. RB pellet below: Jackson 1964 (as note 1) p112, Jackson revised 1989, p108. RB muller: Jackson 1964 p117, Jackson 1989 p111.

63. Jackson 1964 p112. As noted earlier, the mark is almost identical to that shown by Jackson dating from 1561/62 [fig 9] which may be that of Richard Blackwell I's father and namesake.

64. Charles Oman, *The English Silver in the Kremlin 1557-1663*, London 1961. Oman discusses the Muscovy Company at length, the whole business of exporting plate to Russia and the goldsmiths involved, including the plate bearing the RB pellet mark.

65. E. Alfred Jones, 'Old German Plate with English marks', *Burlington Magazine*, 1913 p275 pl B-D.

66. Oman 1961 (as note 64). Oman gives the impression from the title that the plate was made by English goldsmiths, when in fact only a few pieces can be said to have been the work of London-born craftsmen. The 'English' aspect is in the sense that the majority of pieces bearing Richard Blackwell's maker's mark also bear Goldsmiths' Company hallmarks.

67. Glanville 1990 (as note 11), p101.

68. J.F. Hayward, 'The Destruction of Nuremberg silver by the Goldsmiths' Company', *Proceeding of the Society of Silver Collectors*, vol II 1982 p195.

69. Oman 1961 (as note 64), p73.

70. Oman (as note 64) eg fig 16, one of a pair of salts 1611/12; others by Blackwell are known; fig21, standing cup 1611/12; fig 24, similar standing cup 1619/20.

71. RB pellet mark, sold by the Jewel House in 1627. Oman (as note 64) pl 40, pp60, 80 (n17).

72. Oman (as note 64) pl 49.

73. Edwin Freshfield, *The Communion Plate of the parish churches in the county of London*, 1895, p24.

74. Glanville 1990 (as note 11), p95.

10 *Cup and cover, Richard Blackwell II, maker's mark only, circa 1650. Height 14.5cm (5¼in). Engraved with the crest of the Noble family (Christie's)*

11 *Cup and cover, Richard Blackwell II, maker's mark only, circa 1650. Height 22.8cm (9in). Engraved with the arms of Berkeley (Sotheby's)*

12 *Cup and cover, silver-gilt, Richard Blackwell II, London 1649/50. Height 21cm (8¼in) (Courtesy The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation)*

1634 and 1645 was Christian van Vianen, who apparently 'at least employed 11 Dutch goldsmiths'.[75] There can be little doubt that he was known to Richard Blackwell I and also to his son, the hound sejant Richard Blackwell II, who, from the late 1630s to the mid-1640s was in the process of learning his craft.

A steeple salt made in 1614/15, in the V&A, similar to the example in the Kremlin, bears Blackwell's 'London' mark.[76] Steeple salts were essentially English in concept and a number have survived. Evidence of Blackwell's employment of foreign goldsmiths, whether as journeymen or outworkers, is to be observed in the make-up of the gourd cup, 1611/12, bearing the RB mullet maker's mark.[77] Similarly, the standing cup, RB mullet 1629/30 referred to earlier,[78] has decoration that Philippa Glanville suggested was drawn 'from contemporary Low Countries silver'.[79] It may be that Blackwell had the piece made by one of a number of Dutch or Flemish immigrant goldsmiths. Again, the earlier mentioned cup of 1629/30 (later inscribed 1701) is embossed and chased with alternating scrolls, foliage, fruit and birds that are to be found in designs by the Nuremberg goldsmith Paul Flindt (working circa 1600-18).[80] Does this suggest that the cup was possibly the work of a German immigrant goldsmith contracted by Blackwell?[81]

Richard Blackwell II

What do we know of the early years of Richard Blackwell II, for so long referred to as the 'nameless' hound sejant goldsmith? What little documentary details are available at present show that on 25 September 1646

> Richard Blackwell the younger, free of the Company of Merchant Taylors using the trade of a working goldsmith was sworn to the ordinances of this Company and paid for his oath as of custom 2s4d.[82]

Now it would appear that although Richard Blackwell was able in effect to trade as a goldsmith in 1646, it was not until 1649 that he was made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company:

> 12th April 1649. Richard Blackwell, son of Richard Blackwell Merchant Taylor, is admitted into the freedom of this Company by Patrimony upon the report of his father be [?] noted and William Tedder Merchant Taylor.[83]

Working backwards from these recorded dates, it would appear that Richard Blackwell II was born in about 1624, which make him fifteen when starting an apprenticeship with his father in 1639. As has already been suggested, the senior Blackwell's business probably combined the making of plate on the premises (including journeymen and apprentices and outworkers) with the sale of plate made by other goldsmiths, including imported wares. Presumably the young Blackwell would have

75. Peter Thornton (as note 17), p97 states: One of the eleven who remained in London when Christian van Vianen returned to Holland was 'John' Bodendick. This surely is an error as no-one of this name is recorded.

76. 41cm (16 3/8in) high. See Charles Oman, *English Silversmiths' work, civil and domestic*, London 1965, pl 42 (M10-1931).

77. A later inscription shows it to have been presented to the Broderers' Company by 'Edmund Harrisson, Imbroderer to our late Sovereign King James deceased...'. See exhib cat 1951 (as note 49), no71, and Glanville 1990 (as note 11), fig 30 p86.

78. Exhib cat (as note 49) n50, inscribed 'The Guift of Thomas Ivatt, deceased AnoDom 1629', chased with panels depicting the ancient Book of Tobit.

79. Glanville 1990 (as note 11), fig 80 p161. The style suggests Adam van Vianen's influence.

80. *Ornamentprenten I, 15de & 16de eeuw*, Rijksmuseum 1988, pp324-27, 77a, 654.

81. Glanville 1990 (as note 11), p95.

82. GCCB, X, fo 92r.

83. As note 37.

13 *Cup and cover, gold, Richard Blackwell II, circa 1660. Height 14.5cm (5¾in) (Courtesy Exeter College, Oxford)*

14 *Cup and cover, Richard Blackwell II, London 1666/67. Height 18.5cm (7in). The finial is the crest of the donor, Edward Capel, whose arms and inscription are engraved on the body (Courtesy Wadham College, Oxford)*

learned the various techniques of his craft and, importantly, how to relate printed design sources to the making of plate in a wide range of styles originating in Italy, Germany, France and the Low Countries. During his seven or eight-year term, he would almost certainly have had daily contact with the highly skilled goldsmiths from these countries.[84]

The period of Richard Blackwell II's apprenticeship was marred by bitter religious controversy and taxes forced through by Charles I, culminating in the vicious Civil War. Charles I was executed shortly before Blackwell was made free of the Merchant Taylors' Company. That somehow, throughout this period and surely at some risk, the Blackwells managed to produce plate for royalists and high churchmen, some of whom were executed, imprisoned or exiled, was remarkable. Nor can it be said that Richard Blackwell II used the hound sejant mark as a subterfuge to avoid Cromwell's commissioners linking him with the royalists, for the maker's mark is found on fully hallmarked pieces that could be traced to Goldsmiths' Hall registers.

As stated earlier in the article, it is not known where the Blackwells had their premises but there are two possible ideas, and these are no more than guesses. Firstly, they could have rented premises from the Goldsmiths' Company in Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside.[85] The goldsmith Robert Wygge (Wekes) and his successor William Bereblock, lived at the sign of 'The Greyhound' in the Row between the years 1534 and 1578.[86] Could either of the Blackwells have moved into the premises at a later date? The second possibility lies in the fact that between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries a number of Merchant Taylors were listed as buried in the Fleet Street churches of St Bride's and St Dunstan's.[87] Could the Blackwells have had their premises in this part of the City? In Fleet Street between 1539 and 1667 was the Greyhound Tavern.[88] The truth is that it would have been unlikely for Richard Blackwell II to base his mark on a shop sign; indeed there appears no evidence that goldsmiths who marked their plate with a symbol or crest had a connection to whatever sign swung outside their premises. Why Blackwell used such a mark must for the time being remain unanswered. In passing, it must be mentioned that some Blackwell families have the crest of a 'greyhound's head couped, sable collard'. Could the goldsmith have added a body to the hound's head? *The Boke of St Alban's* (1486) considered 'A greyhounde shoulde be heded like a snake, And necked like a Drake, Tayled like a Rat; Syded like a Teme, Chyned like a Beme'. Certainly such attributes are to be seen in Blackwell's maker's mark.

An early example of church plate bearing the hound sejant mark is a chalice belonging to the parish church of St Laurence, Winslow,

84. Glanville 1990 (as note 11) p95.

85. I.F. Reddaway, 'Elizabethan London – Goldsmiths' Row Cheapside 1558-1645', *Guildhall Miscellany II* (1960-9). He cites a number of goldsmiths belonging to other livery companies, eg a John Erlie (free of the Clothworkers' in 1558), and William Dyxson, a minstrel working as a goldsmith (free in 1555) who ended up as Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1581.

86. Reddaway (as note 85), appendix 49.

87. Stow's *Survey of London* 1603, 1956 edn. John Stow (born circa 1525) died in 1605, the year the elder Richard Blackwell was made free. Interestingly Stow was made a freeman of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1547.

88. Brian Lillywhite, *London Signs*, 1972, p252 no8033.

Bucks.[9] Made in 1647/48 the piece is typical of the period and is inscribed 'Winslow in Buckingham Sheire. The guifte of Joane Foorde borne in this Paris 25th December, Ano Domi: 1564 and Deceased Ano Domi 1647'.[89] The present churchwarden sent me an extraordinary 1990s NADFAS report which, under the heading of 'manufacture & history' records the name 'Richard Blackwell'.[90] In spite of every effort to find the NADFAS source, there appears to be no trace of any document giving the origin of this information.

A survey of objects

Church plate

A number of chalices or communion cups bearing Richard Blackwell II's hound sejant mark have survived, in some instances still in use, and with matching patens. Two are in Derbyshire churches: one dating from circa 1660/61 in St Chad's church, Longford, the other identical, inscribed 'Edensore 1661', made for the church of that parish, St Peter's.[91] Other extant chalices and articles of church plate and their provenance are listed in Appendix 8. Nevertheless, because of their importance some examples of church plate by the goldsmith require further comment.

It will be recalled that Oman wrote of the 1653/54 chalice and paten by Richard Blackwell II, which he stated was an exact copy of the 1640/41 piece by Richard Blackwell I. Oman suggested that the hound sejant chalice (and a matching covered paten, both in the revived Gothic style) was likely to have been commissioned by Dr Gilbert Sheldon who, during his tenure as Bishop of London 1660-3, resided at Fulham Palace.[92] In fact both articles belonged to another Bishop of London, Dr Humphrey Henchman (1592-1675),[93] remembered for arranging the escape of Charles II after the Battle of Worcester in 1651.[94]

Fig [2] shows the silver-gilt communion set formerly in Staunton Harold private chapel.[95] As if to confirm the continuity of the enterprise, the aforementioned 1640/41 'Good Shepherd' chalice and paten by the elder Blackwell, matches the other pieces of the set made in 1654/55 bearing the junior Blackwell's hound sejant mark. A feature of plate by both Blackwells is the cast orb and cross finial. Surely the superb cast, chased and embossed altar candlesticks (57.5cm (22½in) high) in the Baroque style, must have been wrought for Blackwell, at least in part, by French or Flemish immigrant outworkers.

The Blackwell goldsmiths' connection with another aristocratic family, already mentioned, is to be seen in the Rochester Cathedral altar plate set, bearing the hound sejant mark 1653/54.[17] It is virtually the same as that made for Staunton Harold. The set was originally made for the private chapel at Cobham Hall, Kent, built by James, 4th Duke of Richmond and Lenox,[96] and was taken by Charles 6th Duke, as ambassador, to Denmark in 1673.[97] The service originally comprised sixteen pieces; it now has nine. The chalices and patens were originally mounted with orb and cross finials which, in an act of vandalism were removed in 1922 by order of the then Dean and Chapter.[98]

15 *Chalice and paten, Richard Blackwell II, London circa 1655.*

16 *Alms dish, Richard Blackwell II, London 1655/56. Both pieces are engraved with the Good Shepherd. (Both courtesy St Andrew's Church, Wimpole, Cambs)*

89. The chalice has been the subject of numerous accounts. *The Church Plate of Buckinghamshire* wrongly dated it to 1639. Oman first followed this, but later altered it to 1647. Brig D.W. Jackson, *A survey of antique plate in the County of Buckinghamshire*, 1992, p89 no3, illustrated the marks.

90. John W. Dale, warden and sacristan, St Laurence Church, Winslow, letter dated 17.2.2000, 'information taken from NADFAS 'Ornaments and Furnishings', but he could not give any further information.

91. S.A. Jeavons, 'The Church Plate of Derbyshire 1491-1850', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 1961, LXXXI, pp16, 40 nos215-16 and 219-20 pl XVIII and XIX.

92. Oman 1957 (as note 10), n21.

93. The Revd Canon R.J. Haliburton of St Paul's Cathedral, letter dated 30.8.2002, confirmed that Henchman was the owner of the Fulham Palace plate and not Sheldon.

94. *DNB*. Henchman was Bishop of London 1663, a Laudian high churchman and royalist.

95. Now belonging to the National Trust, it is exhibited at the V&A. See Oman 1957 (as note 10) p177. The plate belonged to the Shirleys of Staunton Harold, Leics. Robert Shirley was imprisoned in the Tower and died there in 1656. The family papers are at the Leicestershire Record Office.

96. Canon Scott Robertson (ed), 'Cobham Hall, letters to the Duke of Lennox 1667-72', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol XVII 1887. The chapel was built in 1653-4.

97. BL MSS 21950, 'a note of the goods that are in the trunk marked 10th, the Numbr 3', dated 4.3.1677, f 391 'Chapple Plate'. The set was subsequently acquired by Sir Joseph Williamson (as note 28, p291), who bequeathed the plate to the cathedral. The set is frankly in a disgraceful state; it appears not to have been cleaned for a

Fig **[16]** shows an alms basin, the centre engraved with the 'Good Shepherd', belonging to St Andrew's Church, Wimpole, Cambridgeshire. The moulded borders and concave panels resemble an octafoil basin made in 1655 by Johannes Lutma.[99] En suite there is a chalice,**[15]** unmarked paten and a pair of flagons, one with the hound sejant mark struck four times, the other unmarked. As if to confirm that Blackwell was the maker, there is a distinctive scratch weight for an ounce (a sort of 8 within a curl) that is virtually the same as that scrawled by the goldsmith on his Townshend bills [Appendix 5-7]. The set was given to the church by Sir Thomas Chicheley (1618-94).[100]

17 *Rochester Cathedral altar set, Richard Blackwell II, London 1653/54. The set formerly belonged to the 4th Duke of Richmond and Lenox for use at Cobham Hall, Kent. Top left are shown the covers in their original condition, before removal of the finials in 1922 (Illustration from Archaeologia Cantiana, Kent, 1877)*

Corporation plate

Before discussing corporation maces attributed to Richard Blackwell II, consider what Jewitt and St John Hope wrote. They observed that about a score of maces were seemingly 'altered or remade at the Restoration that are not that easy to date'.[101]

Fig **[21]** shows the Faversham mace and **[24]** the 'rompe' or head of the Windsor, Berks, great mace, which Jewitt and St John Hope noted 'is capable of being removed for use as a drinking cup'.[102] The mace, surely one of the earliest post Commonwealth maces, is inscribed 'William Galland, Mayor, ano domini 1660'. In making these maces Richard Blackwell II, like the great mace maker Thomas Maundy, would have employed the skills of draftsmen, casters, chasers, embossers and engravers.

Oman asserted that the hound sejant goldsmith made plate for royalists and High Anglican churchmen. However the two gilt maces belonging to Coventry Corporation were supplied by Richard Blackwell in 1651. The small mace (48cm (19in) long) still has the unaltered 'States Arms' of the Commonwealth. The great mace (91.5cm (36in) long) was altered after the Restoration to have the royal arms of Charles II. Neither mace has hallmarks. Blackwell's Coventry bill is transcribed in Appendix 2. The characteristic composition of the goldsmith's 'Bill for the mases of Coventry', his individual spelling and ending in the familiar 'So there restes to me clear', leaves no doubt that this is the same Richard Blackwell who rendered his bill for the Faversham mace and for plate supplied to the Townshends.[103] Richard Blackwell is named in a 'letter of attorney' dated 1 April 1660.[104]

See Appendix 4 for Richard Blackwell's bill for 'Bedells Staves' supplied to Cambridge University and Appendix 8 for further maces bearing the hound sejant maker's mark.

Secular plate

I turn now to some of the more important examples of secular plate bearing the hound sejant mark. To date the earliest known pieces are the flagons, finely chased with panels of dolphins and sea monsters, made in 1646/47, which originally belonged to Thirkleby Church, Yorkshire.[105] Another virtually identical pair made in the same year is in the Metropolitan Museum.[106]

Three items of secular plate from the Clothworkers' Company suggest a connection

long time. In the circumstances, the illustration is from an 1877 publication (as note 28) p379. The set is on permanent loan to Guildhall Museum, Rochester, used once a year at a service in the cathedral to mark Sir Joseph Williamson's 'mathematical school' founder's day. Attempts were made by the Dean and Chapter to sell the candlesticks to raise money for a visitor centre, but following an outcry were withdrawn from sale (Sotheby's London, 30 November 1978 lot 128). See Claude Blair, 'The Rochester Plate', *Connoisseur*, vol 210 1979 pp256-59.

98. Dean and Chapter of Rochester, letter dated 16.1.2003; John Stow was Dean 1913-28. The finials were removed by the Goldsmiths & Silversmith Co, London.

99. 1585-1669, born in Emden but worked in Amsterdam. J.W. Frederiks, *Dutch Silver*, 1952, vol 1 ch III fig 145.

100. Local cataloguer's notes of the church's records, circa 1980. The set was viewed by Christopher Hartop who reported (letter 16.7.2003) that they have nineteenth-century gilding. Chicheley was Master General of the Ordnance and Privy Councillor to Charles II, 1679; he was punished severely for loyalty to the monarch during the Commonwealth (*DNB*).

101. Jewitt (as note 4) vol 1, p liv.

102. Jewitt (as note 4) vol 1 pp30-1.

103. Jewitt (as note 4), vol II, pp386-7. See Appendix 1.

104. Susan Worrall, City Archivist, Coventry: letter dated 22.11.2001. Unfortunately she was unable to trace the original bill for the maces, however Jewitt (as note 4) gives a transcription.

105. Christie's London, 19 December 1956 lot 142.

106. Yvonne Hackenbroch, *English and other silver in the Irwin Untermyer collection*, rev 1969, fig 35 p21.

18 *Sugar or sweetmeat box, Richard Blackwell II, London 1650/51. Width 19.7cm (7 3/4in) (Sotheby's)*

between the two Richard Blackwells.[107] A fine parcel-gilt rosewater dish, 1616/17, embossed and chased with a variety of auricular decoration associated with Christian van Vianen, bears the RB and mullet mark.[108] A regilded drum salt, again reflecting the auricular style, is dated by Philippa Glanville to circa 1620-30.[109] The Clothworkers' *Quarter Warden's Accounts 1662-63* includes also the third piece, a standing cup and cover:

> Item paid to Richard Blackwell Goldsmith for two pieces of silver and gilte plate ... a salt cellar ... and a cup ... given to this Company by Danielle Waldoe Esq Deceaseded [*sic*], one of the worshipful Assistants of this Company £49.16.00.[110]

Could the salt have been made by Richard Blackwell I? Allowing that it has the later applied arms of the donor, could the salt have been refurbished from old stock in the Blackwells' shop and sold to Waldo by the younger Blackwell? This assumption would seem to be confirmed by the cup and cover itemised in the bill. The regilded cup, 1660/61, is of exceptional quality, inscribed and with Waldo's and the Company's arms. On the subject of the maker Wickham[121] noted that Philippa Glanville, in 1987, thought that the mark on the Waldo cup is (?) a hound sejant, not a bird in a shaped shield.

A rare example of plate by Richard Blackwell II is an oval covered sugar or sweetmeat box, 1650/51. Plain, with a simple socket and ring clasp, the cover is engraved with the contemporary arms of George Weld and Mary his wife (née Pinder).[111] **[18]** As will be seen from appendix 5, in his bill of 1656[112] 'For the Right Wor Fredericke Townshend', Richard Blackwell charged

> For a Fayre hamper [?] Shuger box with 28 : 15dwt at 5s 9d the oz £8.5ds.5d

An early example of royalist silver by Richard Blackwell II is a standing loving cup, 1648/49, in the possession of Plymouth City Corportion. It is engraved with the donor's and city's arms, and inscribed 'the guift of Sr John Gayer, Alderman of London, Ano Domini 1648'. Plymouth born and Lord Mayor of London 1646-7, Gayer was branded a delinquent and was removed by parliament from his office of Alderman the year he died, 1649.[113]

Fig **[19]**, bearing only the hound sejant mark and dating from about 1650-1, is the superbly wrought Savile cup and cover at Chatsworth House. The embossed and chased body has escutcheons of a male and female with the arms of Savile and Coventry. The cover has a cast owl crest, perhaps for Sir George Savile, 1st Marquess of Halifax (1633-95), an ancestor of the Duke of Devonshire. The quality of the cast caryatid handles and the auricular decoration all point to a Dutch or Flemish outworker commissioned by Blackwell.[114]

Preserved at Williamsburg, Virginia, is a silver-gilt plain twelve-sided cup and cover, 1649/50, with cast caryatid handles that stylistically reflects mid sixteenth-century cups at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[115] **[12]** A number of two-handled segmented cups bearing Richard Blackwell II's mark are extant and all appear to date from the 1650s and 1660s. A good example of 1650/51, engraved with the crest of the Noble family, is illustrated.[116] **[10]** An identical cup and cover, circa 1650-51, **[11]** with the arms of Berkeley, also survives.[117]

Two further cups are worthy of mention. The first is one of two known gold cups by the goldsmith dating from circa 1660-61. It was given to Exeter College, Oxford by George Hall (1612-68), dean of the college, chaplain to Charles II, Bishop of Chester (1662-8), and a staunch royalist. **[13]** It is of fine workmanship, involving probably Dutch or Flemish outworkers. The upper part has floral embossing, the lower has auricular scrolls across which can be seen Hall's engraved inscription.[118] The silver-gilt two-handled cup and cover, 1666/67 **[14]** belonging

107. D.E. Wickham, *Catalogue of the plate of the Clothworkers' Company*, unpublished 2002 version.

108. This was attributed earlier in the Clothworkers' records to Robert Brocklesbury.

109. The effect of salt erosion has long since resulted in no surviving hallmarks. Glanville 1990 (as note 11) fig 81, p161.

110. As note 107, *Silver Book*, W1.W9 (1998).

111. Sotheby's London, 12 December 1974 lot 203.

112. As note 12, Townshend Papers, f 132.

113. Jewitt (as note 4), vol 1 p152, the cup illustrated.

114. *Treasures from Chatsworth, Devonshire Inheritance*, intro by Sir Anthony Blunt, 1979-80, pp45 & 207 fig148.

115. John D. Davis, *English Silver at Williamsburg*, 1976, fig44 pp54-6. Sold in the Swaythling collection, Christie's London, 6-7 May 1924. Another by the same maker, 1652/53, is at Temple Newsam House, Leeds.

116. Christie's London, 12 December 1967 lot 33.

117. Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver 1600-1940*, London 1986, no411. Sotheby's London, 16 March 1961 lot 147.

118. *Treasures of Oxford*, exhib cat, Goldsmiths' Hall 1953, no69 p22. H.C. Moffatt, *Old Oxford Plate*, 1906, pl XIV.

119.Oman 1970 (as note 2), p27 pl 91B; exhib cat (as note 118) no73 p23; Moffatt (as note 118) pl XC.

120. Glanville (as note 11) p95.

121. As note 107.

to Wadham College, Oxford, is the latest piece referred to by Oman bearing the hound sejant mark. It is finely embossed with scrolled panels that reflect elements of Dutch or Flemish interpretation of the auricular style. The cast demi-lion crest and the arms are those of the donor, Edward Capell, who matriculated in 1666.[119]

Conclusion

There is, of course, still much to seek out about the life and work of the Blackwell family of goldsmiths. Was the maker who used as his mark RB pellet below (seen on the 1561/62 chalice at North Oakenden) a Richard Blackwell, grandfather of Richard Blackwell II? Interestingly the Merchant Taylors' Company possess a parcel-gilt basin engraved with the company's arms, hallmarked 1597/98 and the maker's mark RB with mullet below. Could this be another mark used by this earlier Blackwell who, like his son and grandson, was a freeman of that company? We need to know more about Richard Blackwell I, who I believe used as his marks the RB and pellet and/or the RB and mullet.

It has to be stressed constantly, whether we are discussing the Blackwells, Jacob Bodendeich or Paul de Lamerie, that none could have produced their fine work without the use of a variety of highly skilled outworkers. Certainly in the case of Richard Blackwell, who punched his plate with the mark of the hound sejant, outworkers were very much involved. Indeed, were the more elaborate pieces, such as the Exeter College gold cup and the Chatsworth and Wadham cups, for the most part the work of immigrant goldsmiths from the Low Countries? To quote Philippa Glanville further on the subject:

> To maintain their cross-channel links, a fruitful source of design and techniques, and also because of the convenience of a common language, men trained overseas were brought over by their compatriots ... This factor may have played a part in the undoubted design revival demonstrated by some English goldsmiths' work of the 1620s and later.[120]

Certainly also the goldsmith RB pellet below, who I am of the view was Richard Blackwell I, sold plate by foreign goldsmiths, including those from Nuremberg.

19 *The 'Savile Cup', Richard Blackwell II, circa 1650. Width 27cm (10⅝in). Superbly wrought, evidently the work of a Flemish or Netherlandish outworker. (Courtesy the Duke of Devonshire and Chatsworth Settlement trustees)*

Finally, I dispute the passage from Oman that I quoted at the beginning of the article:

> The most important goldsmith active in the middle years of the century used the mark of the hound sejant

Yes he was important, but no more so than a dozen or so contemporaries known only by their makers' marks, examples of whose work Oman described in his various publications.

In publishing this research the author is all too conscious of gaps in the story. As is suggested in the article, there is much for future researchers to look for should they choose to take up the baton. For example key personal facts of birth, marriage and death remain to be discovered. The archives of the Merchant Taylors' Company wait to be trawled; the Drapers' Company archives also refer to Blackwell. Earl Ferrers' papers, now deposited in the Record Office for Leicestershire have not been examined. These include the account book relating to the building and furnishing of the chapel at Staunton Harold (ref 6D61).

Appendices 1-8 follow

Richard Blackwell I
Appendix 1 : For the Right Worshipfull Docktor Cosines, 1638[122]

For to [two] candlestickes imbosed and all gilt over for the Chapell, wayinge 145oz13wt, at 8s the ounce, is 58L.4s.6d.
Paid for the cases to them, 15s
For seven bekers, weight 81oz.15wt, at 5s.6d. the oz, 22L.9s.9d.
For Armes and wordes on them, 15s
For a Trencher Salt, weight 3oz, the silver comes, 15s
Or the fashone of it, 3s
Paid to Mr. Hoper, or lent one acount for the Colleg ewse [use] 15L
For graving the armes one [on] a flagon and words, 5s
Some [sum] delivd. 98L7s.3d.
Received in parte in old platt, 190oz.19wt, at 4s.11d. the oz is, 47L.6s.9d.
Received mor in partt of the Right worshipfull Doctor Cosines in money, 15s
Received mor olde platt 105oz.10wt. at 4s.11d, 26L.2s.10d.
Some recd. In part, 88L.9s.7d
Restes to me of olde one thatt acount, 9L.17s.8d.
For the addision to the candelsticks, 26oz.17wt, at 8s the ounce, is 91.4s.9d.
For the Sencor [censer], 36oz.4wts, at 8s the ounce is, 14L.9s.6d.
For altring and mending the cases, and making a newe case to the Sencor, and portredge to and frowe for Cambr[idge], 16s
Some totall dewe, 35L.17s.11d.
I shall receive in part from mr Thomson, 101
Rests for the Colledg to paye, 25L.17s.11d.
And I payd to that nasty Carier James, which did nott deliver my leter, in time, for the box he brought from Cambrdg, 3s. So all is dewe, 26L.0s.11d

I gave my leter to James him self in the taverne, and hee made at the recayt of it greatt protestations of his love to your worshipp. I hope at last he brought you my leter which came with the platt. I ame wonder full of worke, for which I desier your old platt, and shall give all content when I come to Cambredg. Thus hoping of your worshipfull good helth, I rest,
your faythfull servantt, RICHARD BLACKWELL
uly, 1638 Paid him since in 2 old gilt candlesticks 10L, and in money 10L
[memorandum in Cosin's handwriting]

122. The bill dates to when Cosin was Master of Peterhouse and was for the college chapel (Mickleton MSS.xci.28). The bill, and the other rendered by Blackwell (see text) is from 'the Correspondence of John Cosin later Lord Bishop of Durham', *The Surtees Society*, vol 55 pp223-4. Permission to reproduce kindly given by Mrs A.M. Robinson, University Library, Durham.

123. Taken from Jewitt (as note 4), vol II, pp386-7. The archivist in Coventry searched for the original Blackwell bill but could not find, from the record books, the document quoted by Jewitt and Hope. Seemingly there is a large quantity of contemporary papers not collated. Although the maces are not marked, there is little doubt from the composition of the bill that Blackwell was the goldsmith concerned. In particular the curious use of the term, by both Blackwells: restes or rest to me. At some time following the Restoration, the great mace was obviously altered to have the royal badges of Charles II on the head and foot; and in 1817 it was repaired and regilded, which would account for the missing hallmarks. The 'litell mase' has remained unaltered apart from later repairs. Coventry supported the Commonwealth during and after the Civil War. In 1642, for example, it barred the gates to Charles I's attempt to enter. (See Eileen Castle, *The Town Wall and Gate*, circa 1980. This seems to contradict the premise of Oman, and others, that the hound sejant's 'customers were royalists'.

Richard Blackwell II
Appendix 2 : Bill for the mases of Coventry[123]

	£	s	d
1651 – Delvd. The Great mase, dobell gilt, wayinge 107oz.15dwt at 10s. the ounce, is	53	17	6
For the stafe which Rones throo the mase	0	3	6
Paid for the Box it was in	0	2	2
For the litell Mase, 17oz.13dwt, at 8s.6d the oz	7	10	0
For the stafe and box to it	0	1	0
For the porter to the carier	0	0	4
	64	14	6
R cd. In partt of Mr. Hopkings the old Mase, 72oz.7dwt. and the litell Mase, 15.idwt, alltogether 87oz 8dwt, at 5s.3d. the ounce, as it was sold to the finer	22	18	9
So there restes to me cleare	38	15	9

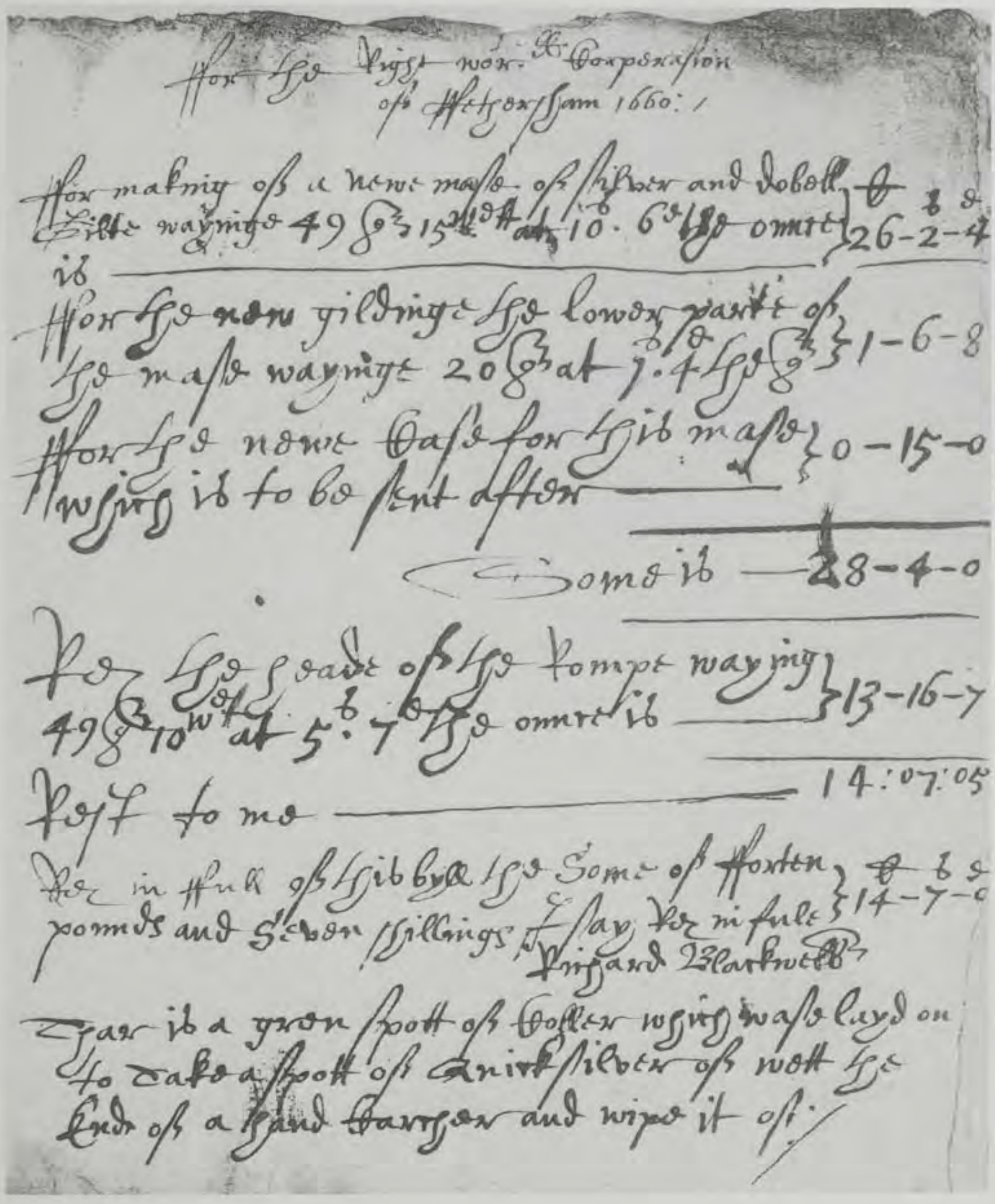
I hope, Mr Mayor, and the rest of your worshipfull Brethren, ar plesed with my worke that I have done for them. I shall be glade, to dooe them anye serves that lies in my power, and shall ewse them well as ocasion shall serve, and Rest Thar oblidg servant,
RICHARD BLACKWELL

Appendix 3 : Bill for the Faversham mace 1660

For the Right Wor Corporasion of Fethersham 1660.

	£	s	d
For making a new mase of silver and dobell Gilte waying 49oz15wett at 10. 6 the ounce is	26	2	4
For the new gildinge the lower parte of the mase wayinge 20oz at 1.4 the oz	1	6	8
For the newe case for this mase which is to be seen after	0	15	0
Some is	28	4	0
For the heade of the Rompe waying 14oz 10we at 5s 7d the ounce is	13	16	7
Rest to me	14	07	05

Richard Blackwell



For the Right wor. Corporasion
of Fethersham 1660:/

For making of a new mase of silver and dobell
Gilte waying 49 oz 15 wt at 10. 6 the omnt } £ s d 26-2-4
is

For the new gilding the lower parte of
the mase waying 20 oz at 1.4 the omnt } 1-6-8

For the new Case for this mase
waying is to be sent after } 0-15-0

Some is — 28-4-0

For the heade of the Rompe waying
14 oz 10 wt at 5. 7 the omnt is } 13-16-7

Rest to me — 14:07:05

Per in full of this bill the Some of fourteen } £ s d 14-7-0
pounds and seven shillings I say per in full
Richard Blackwell

There is a gron spott of Solder wching was layd on
to take a spott of Cuirt silver of wott the
End of a hand Barrger and wipe it off.

20 *Bill for the Faversham mace (By kind permission of the Centre of Kentish Studies, County Hall, Maidstone, Kent)*

21 *The Faversham mace Richard Blackwell II, London 1660/61. (By kind permission of Faversham Town Council)*

Richard Blackwell II
Appendix 4 : Cambridge Bedels' Staves[124]

Item paid to Mr Blackwell for altering John Holdens Staffe and for carriage of it to London and recariage.	01	00	06
Item paid for altering 3 Bedells staves, ex concessione Auditorum	08	16	9

Richard Blackwell II
Appendix 5 : Townshend papers[125] 1656 (illustrated opposite **[22]**)

For the Right Wor" Fredericke
Townshend 1656[126]

		£	s	d
For Eyght 8 Square saltes wtt 26 § 3 dwt At 5s 2d the ownce is	}	6	15	1
For the fashon or making of them at 4s the pese is	}	1	12	0
For 12 spoones of the Italion fashon[127] Wtt. 25 § 8 dwt at 5s 2d the § silver	}	6	11	3
For the making of them at 2s 6d the pese		1	10	0
For the armes one all the salts and the Spoones in number 20 at 8d the pese	}	0	13	4
For a Fayre hamper Shuger box wtt 28 § 15 dwt at 5s 9d the §	}	8	5	5
For the armes one it at large		0	3	0
Some is		25	10	1

[different hand; the same as Faversham bill]:

		£	s
June 25th 1656 Receaved this day & yeare aforesaid of Sir Horatio Townshend Barronet the some of twentie five pownds tenn Shillings in full of this bill and all demands I say recds	}	25	10

by mee Richard Blackwell

[on verso]:
Blackwells
Byll for plate

124. Cambridge University College Archives. U.Ac2(1), the university Audit Book 1545-1654, pp766-7, record 3 November 1651. The same commonwealth decree of 1651, that ordered the removal from maces of the royal arms and replacement with those of the State, applied to the colleges' beadles' staves. Clearly Blackwell was prepared to alter such articles. The entries are those of the college's bursar or clerk.

125. The Townshend Papers, series lv, vol III. British Library Add.41656. Presented by F. Marcham, Esq 13 October 1928. Note the curious use, in various forms, of ending 'rest to me', which does not appear on other goldsmiths' bills of the period. The signature of Richard Blackwell matches the Faversham mace bill. The curious mark § is again peculiar to Blackwell and is to be seen on his Faversham bill also.

126. Note that the first half of this bill has probably been written by Blackwell's clerk and is addressed (?in error) to Frederick Townshend. The receipt for payment, in a different hand, is to Horatio Townshend.

127. Whether the spoons were Italian, or of English form, is impossible to know. John Emery, European Spoons before 1700, 1976, illustrates a few Italian seventeenth-century examples, with lozenge, tablet, clenched hand and hoof terminals. Others, including an example with a cast Renaissance shell crowned head, Venice, are illustrated in *Posate, Pugnali, Coltelli da caccia*, Bargello Museum, Florence, 1999, nos 144 & 149, p116.

22 *Bill from Richard Blackwell II, 1656, Townshend papers (By permission of the British Library, BL Add 41656 f 132)*

For the Right Wor: Sr Frederick Cordon Bart 1656:

132

For Eight 8 Square Salts w^ott 26 ℔ 3 w^ott at 5s. 2d the ounce lb — £6 - 15 - 1

For the fashion or making of the them at 4s the ounce lb — 1 - 12 - 0

For 12 spoones of the Italion fashion w^ott 25 ℔ 8 w^ott at 5s 2d the ounce — £6 - 11 - 3

For the making of them at 2s. 6d the peece — 1 - 10 - 0

For the armes on all the Salts and the spoones in number 20 at 8d the peece — 0 - 13 - 4

For a Major Samson Singer box w^ott 28 ℔ 15 w^ott at 5s 9d the ℔ — 8 - 5 - 3

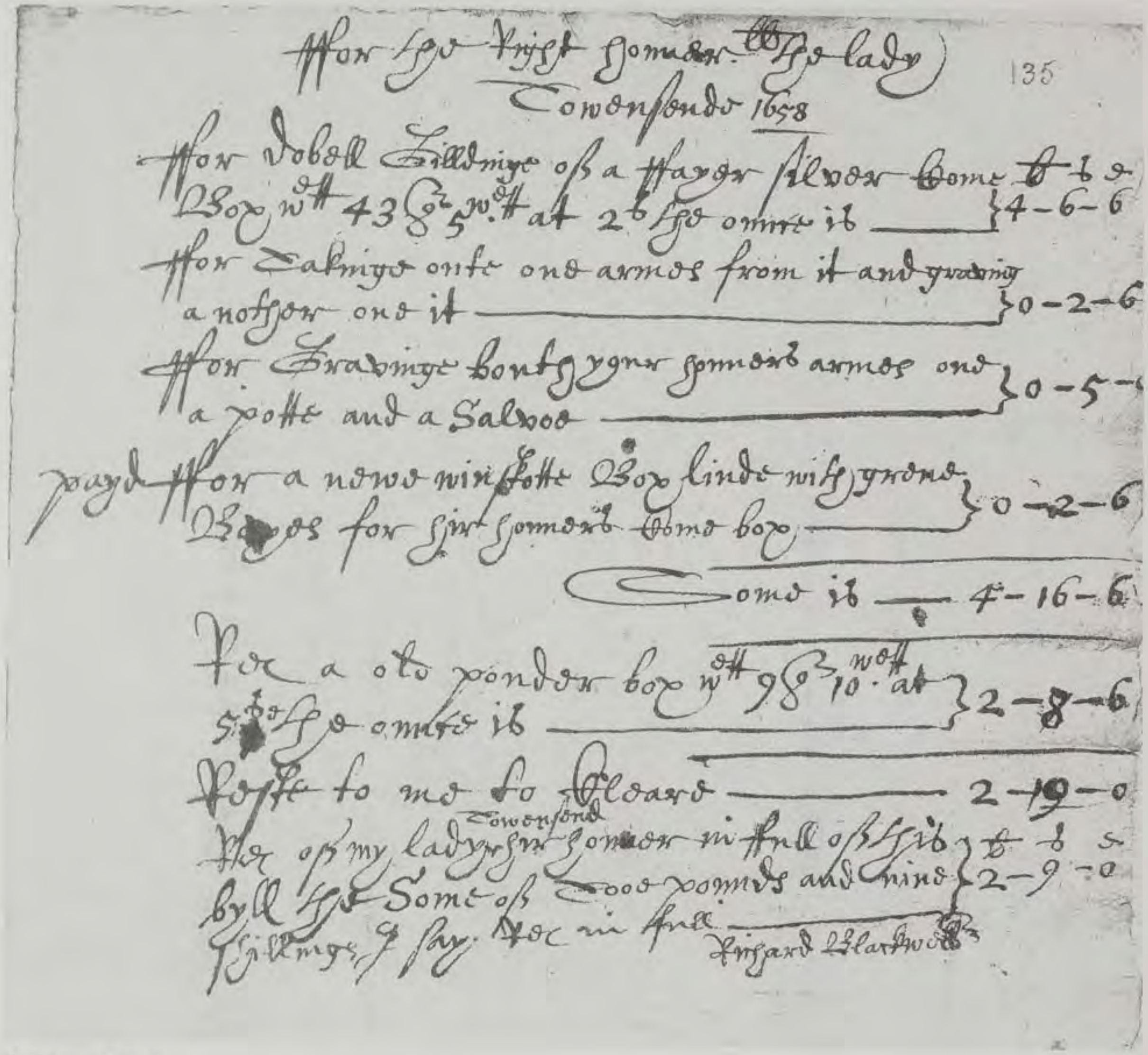
For the armes on it at large — 0 - 3 - 0

Some lb — £25 - 10 - 1

Received this day & year
a bond said of Sir Horatio
Townshend Barronett this
found of twenty five
pounds tenne shillings
in full of this bill and
all demands I say received
by me Richard Blackwell

£25 - 10 - 00

22



For the Right Honour: the lady Townshende 1658

For double Gilding of a Mayor silver Bowe & Box wt 43 g 5 wt at 2s the ounce it — 4-6-6

For taking onte one armes from it and graving a notter one it — 0-2-6

For Graving bothe gynr honors armes one a pottle and a Salvee — 0-5-

paid For a newe wintcotte Box linde with gronde Boxes for the honors bowe box — 0-2-6

Come it — 4-16-6

For a oto ponder box wt 9 g 3 wt 10 at 5s the ounce it — 2-8-6

Pottle to me to Clearke — 2-19-0

For of my ladyes Towonsend honor in full of bill & bill the Some of 2000 pounds and nine shillings & pay. Doc in full — 2-9-0

Richard Blackwell

23 *Bill from Richard Blackwell II, 1658, Townshend papers (By permission of the British Library, BL Add.41656 f 135)*

Appendix 6

An undated manuscript from the Townshend Papers[128]

128. British Library, Townshend Papers (series IV) vol III, BL Add.41656 f 160.

A list of undated miscellaneous disbursements evidently made for Lady Townshend; many such as 'To my Lady in halfe crownes 02=00=00'

To the gouldsmith in Lumber Street	02	=00	=00
[and further down]			
To Mr Blackwell	02	=09	=00

For the Ryght honerb" the lady
Townshend 1658

		£	s	d
For dobell gilding of a Fayer silver Come Box wtt 43 § 5 dwt at 2s the ownce is	}	4	6	6
For takinge oute one armes from it and graving Another one it	}	0	2	6
For gravinge bouth your honors armes one A potte and a salvoe	}	0	5	0
Payd For a newe winskotte Box linde with grene Bayes for her honors come box	}	0	2	6
Some is		4	16	6
Rec a old pouder box wtt 9 § 10 dwt at 5s the ownce is	}	2	8	6
Reste to me to Cleare		2	19	0

Townshend

	£	s	d
Rec of my lady / her honor in full of this Byll the some of tooe pounds and nine Shillings I say rec in full	2	9	0

Richard Blackwell

Appendix 8
Plate attributed to the Blackwells, father and son*

Abbreviations used in the following list:

CL	Christie's London
CLSK	Christie's London South Kensington
CNY	Christie's New York
Exhib	Exhibited (see Bibliography)
PBNY	Parke Bernet New York
Prov	Provenance. A comma between the names of two former owners indicates that the piece passed directly from the first to the second. A semi-colon indicates a gap in documentation
Pub	Published (see Bibliography)
P-WNY	Parish-Watson New York
SL	Sotheby's London
SNY	Sotheby's New York
SPBNY	Sotheby Parke Bernet New York

24 *Rompe or head of the great mace, Windsor, Berks, Robert Blackwell II, dated 1660 (Courtesy of the Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead, Berks)*

25A 25B

Richard Blackwell I
(working circa 1605-circa1646)
RB mullet below in shaped shield

129. This cup has previously been dated circa 1680 because of its similarity to a small group of evidently post/Restoration examples: one bearing London hallmarks for 1682/3 and another with the maker's mark of Thomas Jenkins (*fl.* 1668/1694), both of which belong to the Vintners' Company; a pair in the Unternyer Collection which bear the mark of another post/Restoration maker; IA conjoined, and another example with the maker's mark of Richard Blackwell II, a hound sejant. However as Timothy Schroder observes when discussing this RB with mullet below example, "The clockwork mechanism in the Gilbert cup, by which the figure can be made to roll around the table, is an interesting anachronism, since the majority of such mechanical table ornaments are of south German origin, dating from the late sixteenth to the mid/seventeenth century." (Schroder pp123-24; see also Lee p36 and Hackenbroch no48 ppp27-28).

130. The minister of the church was Humfrey Toney and the churchwardens were John Spirewood and Thomas Purchas. The Vestry Account Book for May 4 1623 records the payment 'for the exchange of a newe Communion Cupp' but no mention is made of the silversmith (CRO 29/6/43)

131. The Churchwardens Accounts for this parish have a gap between 1629 and 1641 (ORO PAR/209)

*With the exception of Coventry's small mace the other maces above were altered following the Restoration in 1660. In the case of the Stratford-upon-Avon mace the initials of the maker EL are found in addition to the hound sejant.

Secular plate

1611/12
1. EDMUND HARRISON STANDING GOURD CUP AND COVER. Broderers' Company. *Pub*: Glanville 1990 pp84-5 fig308

1614/15
2. STANDING STEEPLE SALT. Silver-gilt. V&A Museum. *Pub*: Oman 1965 p4 pl 42; Glanville 1990 p462 no95

1614/15
3. STANDING STEEPLE SALT. Silver-gilt. Innholders' Company. *Pub*: Warner p184

1616/17
4. JOSEPH JACKSON ROSEWATER DISH. Clothworkers' Company. *Pub*: Wickham W1–W9; Glanville 1990 p462; *Exhib*: London 1901 no10 p32

1623/24
5. STANDING CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt. St Mary's Church, Redgrave, Suffolk. *Prov*: Given to the church by a lady of the Bacon family in the seventeenth century. *Pub*: Hopper p316

1626/27
6. STANDING CUP AND COVER WITH LION'S HEAD CREST FINIAL. Silver-gilt. *Prov*: Thomas Taylor of Chipcase Castle, Northumberland CL 28 vi. 1938 lot 114

1629/30
7. THOMAS IVATT STANDING CUP AND COVER. Haberdashers' Company. *Pub*: Glanville 1990 pp160-1 fig80

Undated.
8. AUTOMATON WAGER CUP.[129] No hallmarks. Compare with no57. *Prov*: The Property of a Lady, SL, 24 x 85 lot 381; Arthur Gilbert. *Pub*: Schroder no28 p122 **[7]**

Church Plate

1623/24
9. COMMUNION CUP. Engraved under the base: *FOR THE PARRYSHE OF SENT GILES IN 1622 CAMBR+H.T.MINISTER+I.S+T.P+CHURCH W+*.[130] St Giles' Church, Cambridge. *Pub*: Cambridge 1895 p99 no183

1624/5
10. COMMUNION CUP AND PATEN. Arms of Henry Vane. Engraved on the cup *EX DONO MARGARETAE D'NAE CUTTS 1625* [his widow]. Parish church of Shipborne, Kent. *Pub*: Robertson p59; Cripps p420

1629/30
11. STEEPLE CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt. St John's Church, Hampstead, London. *Prov*: Presented by Mrs Susannah Weedon in 1747. *Pub*: Freshfield 1895 p24; Glanville 1990 p253 fig144. *Exhib*: London 1955 no100 **[8]**

1632/33
12. COMMUNION CUP AND PATEN. St Mary Magdalene Church, Littleton, Middlesex. *Pub*: Freshfield 1897 p39

13. PAIR OF FLAGONS. Silver-gilt.[131] St Mary the Virgin Church, Oxford. *Exhib*: Oxford 1928 no23 p16 (one only); Oxford 1951 no11 p7

1636/37
14. PAIR OF FLAGONS. Arms of Percivall. Inscribed *St Maryes Church in Douer Anno Dom. 1636. Ex dono Domini Antonii Percivall equities aurati.* St Mary's Church, Dover. *Pub*: Robertson p63

1637/8
15. PAIR OF COMMUNION CUPS AND PATENS. Silver-gilt. St John of Jerusalem Church, Hackney, London. *Pub*: Freshfield 1895 p22

1640/41
16. CHALICE AND PATEN. Silver-gilt. The rest of the set struck with the hound sejant (see no62) Staunton Harold, Leicestershire (The National Trust, on loan to the V&A Museum, London). *Prov*: Sir Robert Shirley, Bt (1629-56), by descent to the 12th Earl Ferrers (1895-1954), by whom given to the National Trust. *Pub*: Trollope vol I L247.8 pp11-15; Oman 1957 pl 83; Clayton 1985a p52 pl 7; Glanville 1990 p127 fig56 **[2]**

circa 1625-30
17. COMMUNION CUP, PATEN COVER AND BOX. No hallmarks. Ducal arms of Stuart impaling Howard. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *Prov*: Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox (1577/1639); the cup: by 1924 St Mary's Convent, Wantage; John Kennedy, Esq., SL, 9 v 1957 lot 142, H.R. Jessop Ltd, John Bell of Aberdeen, H.R. Jessop Ltd., How of Edinburgh (reunited with box); acquired by MFA 1984. *Pub*: Glanville 1987 p213 fig80; Alcorn pp99/100 fig33 **[4]**

Richard Blackwell I
RB pellet below in a shaped shield

Secular Plate

1611/12
18. STEEPLE STANDING SALT. Silver-gilt Kremlin Moscow. *Prov*: Sir John Merrick's embassy to Russia 1615. *Pub*: Oman 1961 p32 pl 16; Shifman and Walton p237 no59. *Exhib*: Indianapolis 2001-2 no59

19. STANDING SALT matching the preceding but without cover. Silver-gilt. Kremlin Moscow. *Prov*: Believed presented to the Patriarch Filaret. *Pub*: Oman 1961 p32

20. STANDING GOURD CUP (cover missing). Silver-gilt ?German. Kremlin Moscow. *Pub*: Jones 1909 p9 pl IV; Oman 1961 p35 pl 21

1612/12
21. STEEPLE STANDING CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt ?Foreign workmanship. Kremlin Moscow. *Pub*: Jones 1909 p34 pl XVII; Oman 1961 p66 pl 49

1613/14
22. LOBED STANDING CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt 'Doubtless German' (Jones). Kremlin Moscow. *Prov*: Simon Digby's embassy to Russia 1636. *Pub*: Jones 1909 p36 pl XVIII; Oman p37 pl 24

1615/16
23. PAIR OF WATER POTS. Silver-gilt ?English. Kremlin Moscow. *Pub*: Jones 1909 p44 pl XXII; Oman p60 pl 40. see note 66

1616/17
24. WINE CUP. St Mary's Church, Icomb, Gloucestershire. *Prov*: Given to the church in 1758. *Pub*: Evans p125

1618/19
25. LOBED STANDING CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt 'Doubtless German' (Jones). Kremlin Moscow. *Prov*: Simon Digby's embassy to Russia 1636. *Pub*: Jones 1909 p36 pl XVIII

1619/20
26. STANDING GOURD CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt. 'Doubtless German' (Jones). Kremlin Moscow. *Prov*: Simon Digby's embassy to Russia 1636. *Pub*: Jones 1909 p46 pl XXIII; Oman 1961 p37 pl 24

Richard Blackwell I
RB pellet below in a plain shield

26 27

Apparently a variant of the mark RB pellet below in a shaped shield. Could it have been reserved by Blackwell for use on recusant plate?

circa 1640
27. RECUSANT CHALICE. Silver-gilt No hall-marks.Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. *Pub*: Hartop no16

RB (form of mark unknown)

1628/29
28. CIRCULAR DISH. *Prov*: Mrs R.M. Robertson, Cambridge, Ontario, CNY 27 x 1987 lot 449. *Exhib*: London 1929 no181

Richard Blackwell II, the hound sejant
(working circa 1646 – circa 1667)

28

Corporation Plate

1648/49
29. SIR JOHN GAYER CUP. Corporation of Plymouth. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol I p153

1651/52
30. GREAT MACE. Silver-gilt.* Coventry City Council. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol II pp386-7

1651/52
31. SMALL MACE. Silver-gilt. Coventry City Council. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol II pp387

32. GREAT MACE. Silver-gilt.* Corporation of Banbury. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol II p255

1653/54
33. MACE. Silver-gilt.* Corporation of Stratford-upon-Avon. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol II p397. *Exhib*: London 1901 no10 pp 56-7

1659/60
34. GREAT MACE. Silver-gilt.* Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol II pp30-1

35. 1660/61
GREAT MACE. Silver-gilt*
Faversham Town Council. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol I pp330-31

College Plate

1660/61
36. GEORGE HALL TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER. Gold. Inscription in Latin. Exeter College, Oxford. *Pub*: Moffatt pl XIV;

circa 1650
29A. MACE. Corporation of Warwick. *Pub*: Jewitt & Hope vol II p382.

The illustrations of marks in figs 5, 25A, 26 & 28 are taken from Jackson, 1905 edn. 25B is taken from the wager cup fig 7 (Schroder 1988). The mark in fig 27 is from the dish no28 in the list of plate.

132. Originally a set of eight

133. Whether one of the Blackwell family made the staves, three of which can be dated between 1626 and 1628 and the other between 1628 and 1648, is not known. Richard Blackwell II did however invoice the university for their alteration, in 1651/52, from Royal to Commonwealth! They were subsequently altered back to Royal in 1663 by Samuel Urlin, the Cambridge silversmith.

Jones 1907a p4 pl VII. *Exhib*: Oxford 1928 no99 p26 (electrotype copy); Oxford 1951 no39 p11;London 1953 no69 p22 **[13]**

1666/67
37. EDWARD CAPEL TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt. Arms and inscription of Edward Capel. Wadham College, Oxford. *Pub*: Moffatt pl XC. *Exhib*: Oxford 1928 no101 p27; Oxford 1951 no43 p12; London 1953 no73 p23 **[14]**

1652/53
38. CAPELL TWO-HANDLED CUP. Silver-gilt. Arms of the school. Winchester College. *Pub*: Oman 1970 p39 pl 9A. *Exhib*: London 1929 no598 pl XXXI

circa 1657
39. SEVEN PART-LOBED TWO-HANDLED DRAM CUPS.[132] No hallmarks. Winchester College. *Pub*: Oman 1970 p42 pl 20B

Altered in 1651/52
40. BEDELLS' STAVES. Silver-gilt.[133] University of Cambridge. *Pub*: Humphry pp207-18; Jewitt & Hope vol II pp601-2. *Exhib*: Cambridge 1895 pp109-11; Cambridge 1975 M2, 3 pp10-11

Secular Plate

1646/47
41. PAIR OF FLAGONS. Decoration after Daniel Rabel. Arms *circa* 1687 of Thyssen. One Temple Newsam, Leeds, the other V&A Museum. *Prov*: Presented to Thirkleby Church, Yorkshire, sold by them CL 19 xii 1956 lot 142, bt. NACF. *Pub*: Oman 1970 p28 pl 31A; Clayton 1985a p189 fig285a; Clayton 1985b p60 fig8; Glanville 1987 p232; Newman p172; Hernmark vol II fig263; Glanville 1990 pp434-5; Lomax no33 pp49/51; *Exhib*: (the Leeds example) Leeds 1954 no72; London 1955 no109; Liverpool 1958 no104; Bristol 1970 no18 **[1]**

42. PAIR OF FLAGONS. Decoration after Daniel Rabel. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *Prov*: Judge Irwin Untermyer, New York, by whom given. *Pub*: Hackenbroch no35 pp21-2; Davis no44

43. SEAL/TOP SPOON. Silver-gilt
Prov: CLSK 10 xi 1998 lot 109

1649/50
44. PORRINGER OR 'BLEEDING BOWL'. Arms of Weld impaling Pindar. *Prov*: The late Galfry William Gatacre SL 12 xii 1974 lot 204 (bought in); SNY 1/2 iii 1978 lot 731. *Pub*: Brett no409

45. TWELVE-SIDED CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt. Colonial Williamsburg. *Prov*: Sir George Buller CL 11 iv 1883 lot 80, S.J. Phillips; Sir Samuel Montagu (Lord Swaythling) CL 6 v 1924 lot 89, Crichton Bros.; William Randolph Hearst P-WNY 1938, when acquired. *Pub*: Jackson p709 fig928; Wenham p171 pl VII; Oman 1970 p39 pl 8; Davis no44 p54; Hyman no1 p1. *Exhib*: London 1901 no78 p93 **[12]**

1650/51
46. OVAL SUGAR BOX. Arms of Weld impaling Pindar. *Prov*: The late Galfry William Gatacre (descendant) SL 12 xii 1974 lot 203. *Pub*: Brett no410 **[18]**

1652/53
47. TWO-HANDLED TWELVE-SIDED CUP AND COVER. Arms unidentified and probably later. Temple Newsam, Leeds. *Prov*: 'an Englishman domiciled in one of our dominions' (Cdr How), How of Edinburgh from whom purchased 1971. *Pub*: How 1953 pp7/8, figs. 3, 3a and 3b; Davis p56; Lomax no24 p51

1653/54
48. PAIR OF LARGE WINE CUPS
Prov: CL 9 xi 1994 lot 244

1657/58
49. SILVER-MOUNTED COCONUT TANKARD OR TANKARD. No hallmarks. *Pub*: How 1948/49 p31 pl 23. *Exhib*: London 1948 cat. P. 54, exhibited by How of Edinburgh

Undated
50. FLUTED TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt. No hallmarks. Eighteenth-century arms of Berkeley of Cotheridge. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *Prov*: R.B. Berkeley, Esq., CL 13 vi 1929 lot 35, bt. Goldsmiths' and Silversmiths' Co.; Richard C. Paine, Boston, PBNY 15 iv 1950 lot 57; Thomas Lumley from whom purchased 1958. *Pub*: Alcorn 1990 no43 p114. *Exhib*: London 1929 no475

51. TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER. Gold. No hallmarks. Made for Henry Weston, High Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex in 1661. Engraved on base *22 Carats*. *Prov*: Major C.F.R.N. Weston CL 27 xi 1935 lot 145; CL 25 vi 1952 lot 155. *Pub*: Grimwade 1951 pp76-8

52. FLUTED TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER. No hallmarks. Arms of Berkeley and Bridgeman and, on cover, Fust impaling Tooker. Kimball Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas. *Prov*: R.W. Walker CL 11 vii 1945 lot 200; The Makower Collection SL 16 iii 1961 lot 147, bt. 'Ashmore'. *Pub*: Brett no411 **[11]**

53. FLUTED TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER. Silver-gilt. No hallmarks. *Prov*: Sir John Noble, Bt., by descent to the Rt. Hon. Michael Noble M.P. CL 13 xii 1967; S.J. Shrubsole 1967, The Hahn Family CNY 23 x 2000 lot 291. *Pub*: Clayton p53 pl 12 **[10]**

54. TWO-HANDLED SILVER/MOUNTED SERPENTINE CUP. No hallmarks. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *Prov*: S. Eckman, Jr; SPB 26 x 1967 lot 178; Judge Irwin Untermyer, New York, by whom given. *Pub*: Hackenbroch no43 p25

55. TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER chased with mythological scenes within auricular cartouches. Silver-gilt. No hallmarks. Arms of Savile (later Halifax) and Coventry. Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth. *Prov*: Sir William Savile m. Anne, dau. of Thomas, Lord Coventry and their son William became Lord Halifax in 1668; he was the grandfather of Dorothy Savile, wife of the 3rd Earl of Burlington, then by descent. *Pub*: Devonshire p132. *Exhib*: Chatsworth 1979 no148 p75 **[19]**

56. LOBED TWO-HANDLED CUP with later chased decoration and foot. Silver-gilt. No hallmarks. Holburne Museum, Bath. *Pub*: Butcher & Smith no421 p62

57. WAGER CUP. No hallmarks. American private collection. *Prov*: CL 3 xi 1954 lot 99; SL 24 x 1989 lot 520 (virtually identical to example above (no8) by Blackwell senior) **[6]**

58. SILVER-MOUNTED LAVA TANKARD. No hallmarks. Arms of Sir Cyril Wycke K.T. in wreath. *Prov*: CL 15 v 1916 lot 91

Church Plate

1647/48[134]
59. JOAN FORDE COMMUNION CUP AND PATEN COVER. St Laurence Church, Winslow, Buckinghamshire. *Pub*: D.W. Jackson no3 p89 **[9]**

1650/51
60. COMMUNION CUP AND PATEN COVER. Kirk German Church, Isle of Man. *Pub*: Jones 1907 p65

1653/54
61. ALTAR PLATE comprising pr chalices and patens, pr candlesticks,[135] pr flagons, pr standing patens and covers and an alms dish. Silver-gilt. Rochester Cathedral. *Prov*: Made for James, 4th Duke of Lennox (1612-55) for the chapel at Cobham Hall; bequeathed to the cathedral by Sir Joseph Williamson in 1701. *Pub*: Robertson p67; Oman 1957 pp207, 242

62. ALTAR PLATE comprising standing paten and cover, pr candlesticks, alms dish [and chalice and paten, 1640, by Richard Blackwell I (see 16)]. Silver-gilt. Staunton Harold, Leicestershire (The National Trust, on loan to the V&A Museum, London). *Prov*: Sir Robert Shirley, Bt. (1629-56), by descent to the 12th Earl Ferrers (1895/1954), by whom given to the National Trust. *Pub*: Trollope vol I L247.8 pp11/15;Oman 1957 pl 83; Clayton 1985a p52 pl 7; Glanville 1990 p127 fig56**[2]**

63. CHALICE AND PATEN COVER AND STANDING PATEN AND COVER. Silver-gilt. Fulham Palace, now at St Paul's Cathedral. *Pub*: Oman 1957 pp218 pls 83B,104B **[3]**

1655/56
64. ALTAR PLATE comprising chalice and paten cover, pr of flagons and lobed deep oval alms dish. Silver-gilt. St Andrew's Church, Wimpole, Cambridgeshire. *Prov*: Sir Thomas Chicheley presented to the church by him in 1679 *Pub*: Oman 1957 p236 pl 125 **[15-16]**

1659/60
65. CHALICE AND PATEN COVER (maker's mark only) and flagon (hallmarked). Silver-gilt. St Mary's Church, Hawkedon, Suffolk. *Prov*: Presented by Anthony Sparrow (1612-86), royalist divine who was restored to the rectory of Hawkedon in 1660. He was subsequently Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich. *Pub*:Hopper *ix* p5

1660/61
66. PAIR OF COMMUNION CUPS, THREE PATENS AND TWO FLAGONS. Silver-gilt. Gloucester Cathedral. *Pub*: Oman 1957 pp210, 246 pl 90A

1661/62
67. PAIR OF ALTAR CANDLESTICKS. Silver-gilt. Gloucester Cathedral. *Pub*: Oman 1957 140C

Undated
circa 1660
68. CHALICE AND PATEN COVER.[136] Silver-gilt. Jesus College, Cambridge. *Pub*: Jones 1910 p68 pl LXXIV. *Exhib*: Cambridge 1931 no356

69. CHALICE AND PATEN COVER
St Chad's Church, Longford, Derbyshire. *Pub*: Derby p40 pl XVIII

70. GOTHIC CHALICE AND PATEN COVER.
St Francis Xavier (RC) Church, Liverpool. *Pub*: Oman 1957 p314

circa 1661/62
71. CHALICE AND PATEN COVER
St Peter's Church, Edensore. *Pub*: Derbyshire p40 pl XIXa

134. Oman 1957 p207 says 1639.

135. The candlesticks were included in SL 30 xi 1978 lot 128 but were withdrawn before sale and returned to the cathedral.

136. Only the chalice is marked.

circa 1663

72. MATTHEW WREN ALTAR PLATE comprising chalice and cover, two patens, flagon and alms dish. Silver-gilt. Pembroke College, Cambridge. *Prov*: Bequeathed by Bishop Matthew Wren in 1667. *Pub*: Jones 1910 p24 pls XXIV and XXV

Attributed to Richard Blackwell II

Dated 1664

73. FLUTED TWO-HANDLED CUP AND COVER. No hallmarks; maker's mark unclear. Engraved *ANTHO=LD=ASHLEY CHANCELLER OF HIS MA=TIES EXCHEQUER 1664*. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *Prov*: The Earl of Shaftesbury; CL 14 xii 1966; Judge Irwin Untermyer, New York, by whom given. *Pub*: Hackenbroch no46 p26

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Seen on a Society visit

In February 2003 one of the Society's many outings during the year was to Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire. The image on the right caught the eye of your editor. It is part of a screen in the yellow drawing room. The group of panels depict the senses : here is 'taste'.
(By kind permission of the Duke of Bedford and the Trustees of the Bedford Estates)

Sales by auction

Thomas Hendricksz de Keyser (1596-1667), *Group portrait of three gentlemen in an interior*, oil on panel. Christie's London, 11 December 2002.

For another painting by Keyser, possibly a portrait of Christian van Vianen, see *The Finial*, vol 13/05 April/May 2003 p12.

Words or images: descriptions of plate in England and France 1660–1700

MICHÈLE BIMBENET-PRIVAT and DAVID MITCHELL

Introduction

This paper examines how contemporaries in London and Paris described, in words or images, certain types of dining and toilet plate during the second half of the seventeenth century.

The first part of the paper is concerned with written records: principally the ledgers of London goldsmith-bankers from the 1660s, which describe certain pieces of silver as 'French', 'French fashioned' or 'new fashioned'. But what is the significance of these descriptions: were the pieces indeed made in France, or alternatively in England, using what were perceived as French forms and/or decorative styles? Further, does the term 'new fashioned' have a different meaning from 'French fashioned', or is it synonymous, and why were only particular types of plate described in this way.

In contrast, the second part is concerned with visual records: a group of prints published in Paris between 1680 and 1700 which show the nobility and bourgeoisie at their dining and dressing tables, and taking the new beverages: chocolate and coffee. But how accurate are these visual descriptions? Do they illustrate the latest fashions in both manners and artefacts, and convincingly differentiate between the behaviour of different social groups? Further, can they be relied upon to give a clearer understanding of the forms, uses and ownership of plate for a period from which very few French artefacts survive?

The authors, who have previously written on the design and production of plate in Paris and London, share the belief that social and cultural attitudes were the principal motor for change, whether in dining ceremony or the *toilette* and that, as a consequence, new types and forms of artefacts were developed.[1,2] Apart from this presumption and the similar working methods of the authors, the two sections have certain similarities: for example, significant ownership of plate was confined to the wealthy in France and England, who were both affected by changes in France regarding cuisine, table manners and concepts of civility. There are, however, notable differences: such as the time periods and the class structures in the two states. Further, the decorative design sources were different, for at the 'top of the market' in the 1660s, London relied upon foreign silversmiths from a late mannerist tradition, whereas in Paris from 1680, the design influences were almost wholly French.

This paper developed from two lectures given under the heading 'Design in Translation', at the Design History Conference held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in September 2001. Both lectures strictly interpreted the brief and in consequence the paper, which has two distinct parts, concentrates upon the meaning of the words and the accuracy of the images. Accordingly, contentious and difficult questions regarding the transmission of fashion and perceptions of the 'fashionable'; class structures and concepts of gentility; and forms of social emulation and the mechanisms of the adoption of manners, are only considered when required to interpret either the words or the images. Nevertheless, it is hoped that some of the results of these studies will provide insights into these wider questions.

1. Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, *Les orfèvres Parisiens de la Renaissance*, 1506-1620, Paris 1992 and *Les orfèvres et l'orfèvrerie de Paris au XVIIe*, 2 vols, Paris 2002; (hereafter Bimbenet-Privat 2002).

2. David Mitchell, 'Dressing plate by the "unknown" London Silversmith "WF"', *The Burlington Magazine*, June 1993, pp386-400; (hereafter Mitchell 1993). '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, pp5-22; (hereafter Mitchell 1995).

DAVID MITCHELL
Social change and the design of plate : the debt to France

During the decade following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the commercial records of several London goldsmith-bankers and the

warrants issued by the Jewel House included pieces of dining plate described as 'French', 'French fashioned' or 'new fashioned'. However, only certain types of plate were described in this way: particularly candlesticks, salts, sugar boxes, porringers, and spoons and forks. Moreover, some groups are never so defined, notably drinking vessels such as tankards and cans as well as salvers and baskets.

Alderman Backwell in Lombard Street was a major financier to the Crown who also provided a range of financial services to City merchants and tradesmen. In addition, between 1663 and 1665 he sold quantities of plate. Many of these wares were plain, typically costing 5s-7d per ounce; 5s-3d per ounce for the Sterling silver plus 4d per ounce for fashioning.[3] A small proportion, some 10 per cent were sold at more than 6s-4d per ounce with a fashioning charge of 13d or more. These included the wares described as 'French' and 'French fashioned' which were sold not only to the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, and noblemen including the Earl of Carlisle but also to leading London merchants and office holders such as Sir John Shaw and Sir Nicholas Crisp.[4] It is interesting that the 'present' given by Backwell to another office holder, Sir Robert Long, Auditor for the Receipt of the Exchequer, consisted of a 'coasted [cast?] French fashion bason & Ure' and a 'French fashion sugar box'.[5]

On the western edge of the city at Temple Bar, two emerging goldsmith bankers, Robert Blanchard and Thomas Fowle, also sold expensive plate in the 'French' or 'new fashion'. From 1666, Blanchard used both descriptions but Fowle who only began to sell expensive plate after the Great Fire invariably used the term 'new fashioned'. They both sold a considerably higher percentage of wares costing more than 6s-4d per ounce than Backwell, presumably owing to their proximity to 'the Town', with its expanding developments of gentry housing. As a consequence, their more fashionable clienteles had fewer merchants and tradesmen, and a higher proportion of the nobility and gentry.[6]

During the second half of the century, 'the Town' centred on Covent Garden became the fashionable heart of London in contrast to the centre of commerce and trade in the City, and to the court and government at Westminster. William Wycherley sets his play *The Country Wife* of 1675 in Covent Garden and refers to 'the married women of this end of the town' as opposed to 'the whisperers [gossips] of Whitehall' and to 'the city dames'.[7] In the first edition of *Town-Talk* in 1715, the essayist Richard Steele writes of 'the Town' as a concept as well as a physical place,

> The Town is the upper part of the world, or rather the fashionable people, those who are distinguished from the rest by some Eminence. These compose what we call the Town, and the Intelligent very well know, that many have got Estates both in *London* [ie the City] and *Westminster* ... that could never get into Town. As the [Royal] Exchange is the Heart of *London*; the great hall ... the Heart of Westminster, so is *Covent Garden* the Heart of the Town.[8]

These three separate physical and conceptual geographies were not isolated, however, for both the Court and the City had close links with the Town. The City establishment had many contacts with the Town, as merchants like Sir John Shaw and Sir Nicholas Crisp served, together with courtiers and landed gentry, on various councils such as that for Trade, or the Plantations.

Although some English noblemen owned plate manufactured in Paris, it seems likely that most, if not all, of the plate detailed in English records as 'French' or 'French fashioned' was in fact made in London. It was possible for men like Backwell to obtain plate from direct contacts in Paris or through merchants like Thomas Verbeck, the London-based son of Madeleine Turgis, *La veuve Verbeck*, the widow of a Parisian *marchand mercier joallier* who continued his business and supplied magnificent chased vases and other wares to Louis XIV.[9] There are, however, no signs in his ledgers that Backwell did this on any scale for all the 'French' or 'French fashioned' pieces have references to his 'worke bookes', whilst purchases of finished items of plate or jewellery from other London goldsmith-bankers are cross-referenced to their accounts elsewhere in the

3. D.M. Mitchell, '"To Alderman Backwells for the candlsticks for Mr Coventry". The manufacture and sale of plate at the Unicorn, Lombard Street, 1663-72', *The Silver Society Journal*, no12, 2000, pp111-24; (hereafter Mitchell 2000).

4. London, Royal Bank of Scotland, Backwell's Ledgers, EB/1/1, ff 229, 224, 140, 421; (hereafter Backwell).

5. Backwell, EB/1/1, f331, 14 September 1663. In addition, he was given 24 trencher plates: the total value was £175.

6. See Mitchell 2000 (as note 3), pp113-19.

7. William Wycherley, *The Country Wife*, London 1675, Act 1, Scene i.

8 [Richard Steele], *Town-Talk, in a Letter to a Lady in the country*, Number 1, London, Saturday, December 17, 1715, p12.

9. Jules Guiffrey (ed), *Inventaire General du Mobilier de la Couronne sous Louis XIV (1663-1715)*, 2 vols, Paris 1885-6, vol 1, nos561-73 and 658-61.

ledgers.[10] Unfortunately, the work books have not survived but clearly contained details of the costs and workmen that fulfilled particular orders.

The provision of dining plate in a household including the numbers and types of different vessels, depend upon both the nature of the cuisine and of dining ceremony. Alterations in the provision, therefore, indicate a response to changing social and cultural attitudes. In the light of this, the first part of the paper will consider why only certain objects were made in 'the French fashion'; and further, whether the description referred simply to the form of the object or to both its form and style of decoration.

France influenced fashions in England even during the Commonwealth for John Evelyn wrote in *Tyrannus or the Mode* of 1661,

> I knew a *French woman* (famous for her dexterity and invention) protest, that the English did so torment her for the *Mode* . . . that she us'd monthly to devise us new fancies of her own head, which were never worn in *France* to pacifie her Customers. But this was in the days of *Old Noll*.[11]

This was heightened at the Restoration when the Royal Family and a number of peers and gentlemen returned from exile in France and the Low Countries where they had observed, and in some cases adopted, the current fashions in dress, manners and cuisine. Certainly at Court all things French seemed *à la mode*. In February 1664, Charles wrote to his sister Minette, who was married to Monsieur, the brother of Louis XIV,

> I thanke you for the care you have taken of the snuffe, at the same time pray send me some wax to seale letters, that has gold in it, the same you seald your letters with before you were in mourning

A month later he thanked her, adding

> I desire to know whether it be the fashion in France for the wemen to make use of such a large sise of wax, as the red peece you sent me; our wemen heere find the sise a little extravagant, yett I beleeve when they shall know that 'tis the fashion there, they will be willing enough to submitt to it, and so I am yours. C.R.[12]

Among the gentry, Evelyn recorded in his diary his extensive travels in France and Italy during the Commonwealth. He was impressed by many aspects of French intellectual life including the design and cultivation of gardens, and translated Nicholas de Bonnefons, *Le Jardinier François*, first published in Paris in 1651. Evelyn notes on 6 December 1658, 'Now was published my *French Gardiner* the first and best of that kind that introduced the use of the *Olitorie* [kitchen] Garden to any purpose'.[13]

Throughout the rest of his life, he continued to engage with French scholars and translated further works into English. Yet like many of his contemporaries, his attitudes to France were ambivalent; for example, in 1662 he wrote,

> one of His Majesties Chaplains preached: after which, instead of the antient, grave and solemn wind musique accompanying the *organ* was introduced a consort of 24 violins betweene every pause, after the *French* fantastical light way, better suiting a Tavern or Play-house than a Church.[14]

Earlier in the seventeenth century, few Englishmen shared Evelyn's interest in fruit and vegetables. Indeed many seemed to have agreed with Robert Burton, who in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* of 1621 wrote

> Amongst herbs to be eaten I find gourds, cucumbers, coleworts, melons, disallowed, but especially cabbage. It causeth troublesome dreams, and sends up black vapours to the brain ... Some are of the opinion that all raw herbs and sallets breed melancholy blood, except bugloss and lettuce.

Burton noted that 'our Italians and Spaniards do make a whole dinner of herbs and sallets', but expressed his disdain citing Plautus and Horace. Similarly, he used various authors to voice his objections to fresh fruit, including Crato who, 'utterly forbids all manner of fruits, as pears, apples, plums, cherries, strawberries, nuts, medlars, serves [sorb-apples], etc'.[15]

William Rabisha in his cookery book of 1661 recommended preserved or cooked fruit but also warned, 'beware of green Sallets and raw fruits for they will make your Lord sick'.[16]

With changing medical opinion, the strength of such views weakened during the second half of the century, although Evelyn's plea 'let none

10. Eg Backwell, EB/1/1, f 1; EB/1/8, f 112.

11. William Bray (ed), *Memoirs of John Evelyn*, vol 2, London 1818, p325.

12. Ruth Norrington (ed), *My Dearest Minette. The Letters between Charles II and his Sister Henrietta, Duchesse d'Orléans*, London 1996, pp73 and 77.

13. E. S. De Beer, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Oxford, 1955, vol 3, p225.

14. As note 13, vol 3, p347.

15. W.H. Gass (intro), *Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy*, New York 2001, pp220-222. (First published in Oxford, 1621.)

16. William Rabisha, *The Whole Body of Cookery dissected*, London 1661, p242.

reproach our *Sallet-Dresser*, or disdain so clean, innocent, sweet, and Natural a Quality' probably fell largely on deaf ears.[17] In many gentry and some noble households, vegetables and herbs played a minor part in the diet well into the eighteenth century; for example, the cook book of Rebecca Price, a Buckinghamshire gentlewoman, started in 1681, contains no recipes for 'sallets' although it has instructions for pickling various vegetables.[18]

In contrast, by 1650 in France vegetables, herbs and fruit began to play a more important part, certainly in courtly cuisine but seemingly also in that of the bourgeoisie. Not only were herbs used in the *potage* that came to dominate the first course at dinner, but individual vegetable dishes began to be served as both entrées and hors-d'oeuvres. Fruit, both preserved and fresh, was provided in the final dessert course at dinner and played a major role at supper and in the *collations* served during balls and other entertainments at Court and in great houses. Indeed guests, who earlier in the century had generally been entertained at dinner in the middle of the day, were during Louis XIV's reign as likely to be invited to events in the evening. Indeed, the unknown author L.S.R. of *L'Art de bien traiter* of 1674 clearly preferred such evening diversions in gardens or on the water as they had the additional charms and delights of myriads of candles in *'des lustres, des flambeaux, plaques et miroirs ou gyrondoles'*.[19] A reporter of the *Mercure Galant* described such a collation at Fontainbleau in 1677,

> The spectacle enchanted my eyes ... when the lights of the candlesticks shone on the crystal of the candelabra, and those of the candelabra on the gold of the candlesticks, they were all augmented by the reflection of the luster of the caramels ... and from the crystallised sugar of the glistening preserved fruit. Add to this what the variously colored fruit, the ribbons on the baskets and the crystal of basins could do ... it is impossible to imagine anything ... more brilliant[20]

In England, the King would have loved to emulate the French court in staging ballets and masquerades but as he explained to Minette,

> We had a designe to have a masquerade heere, and had made no ill design in the generall for it, but we were not able to goe through with it, not having one man here who could make a tolerable entry.

More modest evening entertainments were nevertheless to be enjoyed in London, for Charles wrote from Whitehall in June 1664, 'I am just now cald away, by very good company, to sup upon the watter, so I can say no more but I am entirely Yours. C.R.'[21]

Interest in fresh fruit was also growing in England, for apart from the celebrated presentation of pineapples to the King recorded in both paint and print, Evelyn reported that at Leicester in 1654 he was 'Entertain'd at a very fine Collation of Fruite, such as I did not expect to meet with so far north (especialy Very good Melons)'.[22] His fellow diarist, Pepys, recorded,

> And tonight spoke for some fruit for the country for my father against Christmas; and where should I do it but at the pretty woman's that use to stand at the door in Fanchurch-Street – I have a mind to know her.[23]

Clearly there was a demand in London for exotic fruit, for Henry Rosemary, a market gardener in Bermondsey, specialised in growing melons, his inventory of 1673 containing '26 Doz. of Mellon glasses'.[24] Hannah Wolley in her book of 1670 recommended cream cheeses and fruit to conclude the meal, 'one or two scollop dishes with several sorts of Fruit, which if it be small fruit, as Raspes or Strawberries, they must first be washed in Wine'.[25]

These innovations – the eating of fruit at the conclusion of the meal and the growth of entertaining of guests at supper, rather than at dinner in the middle of the day – demanded new types of plate for the service of fruit and for artificial lighting. London goldsmiths responded with elegant salvers and baskets, together with expensive candlesticks, candelabra and sconces. Backwell, Blanchard and Fowle sold numbers of candlesticks, often described as 'French' and sometimes as 'square', typically costing 7s per ounce and weighing about 40oz the pair.[26] Louis XIV's inventory contains forty square candlesticks of similar weight typically described as,

> *Quartres autres flambeaux carrez par le pied, ciselez de cartouches, festons et fruits par le corps, dequels la bobesche est carrée, gravez des armes du Roy.*[27]

17. John Evelyn, *Acetaria, A Discourse of Salletts*, London 1699.

18. Madeleine Masson (intro), *The Compleat Cook by Rebecca Price*, London 1974.

19. L.S.R, *L'Art de bien traiter*, Paris 1674, p317.

20. Quoted in translation in Barbara Ketcham Wheaton, *Savouring the Past. The French Kitchen & Table from 1300 to 1789*, London 1983, p143.

21. Norrington (as note 12) pp63 and 84.

22. 'The presentation of a pineapple to Charles II', English School, circa 1677, see *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, exhib cat, London National Gallery 1985, no91. *Diary of John Evelyn* (as note 13), vol 3, p123.

23. R. Latham & W. Mathews (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, London 1970, 1983, vol 5, p344.

24. London, CLRO, Orphans Court Inventory 921, Henry Rosemary, Citizen & Fruiterer, 5 April 1673.

25. Hannah Wolley, *The Queen-Like Closet*, London 1670, p380.

26. Eg Backwell EB/1/2, f 544 Sir Nich. Crisp, 17 September 1664, a pair of French Candlesticks 41oz 4dwt at 7s per ounce; Blanchard & Child Ledger CH1, f 37, Mr Joseph Garrett, 11 May 1665, a pair of French candlesticks 41oz8 dwt at 7s per ounce. London, PRO, C114/179, Thomas Fowle, 'Day Book 1664', 9 September 1667, a paire of square candlesticks, 35oz at 6s-6d per ounce.

27. Guiffrey (as note 9), vol 1, p50, nos264-67.

28. PRO, LC5/107 Jewell House Warrants, f 109v.

29. For details of Pierre Masse and catalogue entry of the candlesticks, see Bimbenet-Privat 2002 (as note 1), vol 1, p442; and vol 2, p79; also illustrated Vanessa Brett, *The Sotheby's Directory of Silver*, London 1986, no1675.

The plate supplied through the Jewell House in London for the Earl of Carlisle's embassy to Russia in 1663 included six 'square French Candlesticks'.[28] It seems likely, therefore, that 'French' referred to the form of the candlesticks; square bases possibly surmounted by square balusters with clustered columns, similar to surviving pairs with the marks of the Parisian goldsmith, Pierre Masse.[29] There are a number of London-made examples of this type, such as a pair marked WH, presumably for Wolfgang Howzer, who came from a celebrated family of Zurich silversmiths and had arrived in London in 1657.[30]

Backwell also sold a pair of 'branch candlesticks' or candelabra at 8s per ounce and refurbished a pair of 'wall candlesticks' for the Earl of Carlisle in March 1663, presumably the 'sconce candlesticks parcell gilt' which were listed in his 'discharge of plate' at the Jewell House in 1665. Backwell also supplied a pair of 'wall candlesticks' to the Duke of York which were fashioned by Wolfgang Howzer.[31] The payments to Howzer during 1663 to 1665 indicate that he made most of the expensive plate sold by Backwell during that period.[32] Howzer also made plate for Thomas Fowle in 1667 along with another stranger, Jacob Bodendick from Lüneburg, although most of Fowle's fashionable wares were made by the Englishman, Arthur Manwaring.[33]

These observations highlight the fact that none of the 'French' or 'French fashioned' plate made in London during the 1660s could have been made by Frenchmen, for apart from a handful of Englishmen like Manwaring, the leading silversmiths in the city, Christian van Vianen, John Cooqus, John Cassen, Wolfgang Howzer and Jacob Bodendick were either from the Low Countries, Switzerland or Germany.

In France fruit seemed often to have been served in basins, as described by L.S.R., *'On servira plusieurs basins, de citron doux, oranges de portugal, fruits cruds de la meilleure saison'*.[34] Osier baskets which were sometimes gilded were also used. Although pierced and chased silver baskets were made in France, only a few were listed in Louis XIV's vast inventory of plate, and of these, several were German.[35] Nicholas de Bonnefons in *Les Delices de la Campagne*, written in 1654, suggests that for certain courses fruit be served on plates supported by stands, *'porte-assiettes'*.[36] This practice was also recommended to an English audience by Giles Rose (yeoman in the royal kitchen) in his book published in London in 1682; a translation of an anonymous French work of twenty years earlier, 'And last of all he [the Butler] must furnish his Plates for Riders [stands] or enter-messes with Salats and Fruits, as neatly as is possible, for his Credits sake'.[37]

Apparently, fruit was more frequently served in silver baskets in England than in France, for Backwell sold a number of examples at more than 7s per ounce, such as 'a chast basket' to Lord Lauderdale, weighing 208½oz at a cost of £76-10s (the price of a decent coach).[38] These baskets were certainly used at evening entertainments, for Backwell lent a Mr Satterwaights of Grays Inn, two pairs of large Candlesticks and a 'cut throw basket'.[39] None of the baskets sold by Backwell were described as 'French' or in the 'French fashion'. This is not a surprise for the form and style of decoration of the surviving London-made examples show distinct Dutch and German influences.[40]

Preserved, candied and perhaps fresh fruit was also served on footed salvers of the type presented to the Tsar by the Earl of Carlisle in 1663; described by the Jewel House as 'six fruit dishes all large curiously chased & gilt'.[41] In France, *souscoupes* or salvers were generally provided in dining services, either singly or in pairs, and were used primarily to serve drinks. In contrast they are found in sets in England. For example, although Backwell sold single examples such as the 'gilt salver with figures' to Lady Bruce, he supplied a set of six salvers 'of ye best sort of chast worke' to Sir John Shaw and a further six, made by Wolfgang Howzer, to Lady Fanshaw.[42] Apart from the six salvers included in the King's present to the Tsar, Carlisle's own ambassadorial plate for Russia included five 'Large chased salvers', apparently supplied by Backwell and made by Howzer.[43]

Apart from the popularity of entertaining in the evening, there were other significant changes in France, in both cuisine and man-

30. Christie's London, 24 April 1983. Illustrated Michael Clayton, *Christie's Pictorial History of English and American Silver*, London 1985, p74.

31. Backwell EB/1/5, f 404v, 283oz at 9s per ounce.

32. Mitchell 2000 (as note 3), pp119-23.

33. D. M. Mitchell, '"Mr Fowle Pray Pay the Washwoman": the trade of a London goldsmith-banker, 1660-1692', *Business and Economic History*, vol 23, no1, Fall 1994, Williamsburg, Virginia, pp27-38. Bodendick's birthplace has recently been established as Lüneburg, rather than Limburg, see Eric J.G. Smith, 'Jacob Bodendick', *The Silver Society Journal*, no13, Autumn 2001, pp66-80.

34. L.S.R (as note 19), p327.

35. Guiffrey (as note 9), vol 1, p62, nos496 and 510.

36. Nicholas de Bonnefons, *Les Delices de la Campagne*, 3rd edn, Paris 1662, p376. Foreword dated 12 August 1654.

37. Giles Rose, *A perfect School of Instructions for the Officers of the Mouth*, London 1682, p93; translated from *L'Escole parfaite des Officiers de Bouche*, published by Jean Ribou, Paris 1662.

38. Backwell EB/1/4, f 500.

39. Backwell EB/1/4, f 1.

40. See Charles Oman, *Caroline Silver 1625-1688*, London 1970, fig 45, and Michael Clayton, *The Collector's Dictionary of the Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America*, New York 1971, fig 10.

41. PRO LCS/107 f 100. For illustrations and details of salvers, see *English Silver Treasures from the Kremlin*, loan exhib, Sotheby's, London 1991, no106.

42. Backwell, EB/1/1, f 394.

43. Backwell, EB/1/1, f-224, 31 March 1663, 5 'chast salvers', 393oz at 6s-4d per ounce, £124-9s.

ners. Notable technical innovations in the preparation of dishes have been observed with the transition between the seminal works of La Varenne of 1651 and Massialot of 1691 being the subject of great argument among food historians.[44] This is not the place to discuss this transition, but certain general points should be made. Firstly, a growing diversity of dishes was favoured but with a greater simplicity of ingredients and preparation in each. Bonnefons wrote,

> nothing pleases people more than diversity, and the French especially have a particular inclination towards it. That is why you should try as much as you can to diversify what you are preparing, and make them distinct in both taste and appearance. Let a *potage de santé* be a good domestic broth, well enriched with good and carefully-chosen meats, and reduced into *bouillon* ... but let it be simple, since it bears the description 'healthy', and let the cabbage soup taste entirely of cabbage, a leek soup of leeks ... and so on.[45]

Secondly, the striving for refinement must also be reflected in the way in which the dishes were served, as stressed by L.S.R. in *L'Art de bien traiter,*

> Nowadays it is not the prodigious overflowing of dishes, the abundance of ragouts and gallimaufries, the extraordinary piles of meat which constitute a good table ... It is rather the exquisite choice of meats, the finesse with which they are seasoned, the courtesy and neatness with which they are served, their proportionate relation to the number of people, and finally the general order of things which essentially contribute to the goodness and elegance of a meal.[46]

This desire for order is reflected in instructions in cookery books as to the number of courses or *services* in which particular dishes are to be served and how they are to be arranged on the table. Bonnefons writing in 1654 and the anonymous author of *L'Escole parfaite des Officiers de Bouche* in 1662 specified up to eight courses with a main and several secondary dishes in each.[47] Towards the end of the century, Massialot described three basic courses but with more dishes in each course. The English translation of 1702 suggested for a table for twelve persons, 'one large Dish in the middle, four lesser Dishes [entremets in the French edition], and four out-works [hors-d'oeuvres in French] may serve for each course'.[48]

The need for symmetry and order led to the production of silver dining services with sets of dishes of different sizes and to the use of stands, together with salts with branches, to provide dimensional variety and a central focus for round and square tables. For a modestly sized table, Bonnefons advised, '*plusieurs Sallières à Fourchons & Porte-assiettes dans le milieu pour poser des Plats volans*'.[49] L.S.R. described 'the salt in the middle with branches to hold a plate with the liberty to still take the Salt from underneath'.[50]

Finally, the drive towards *civilité* and the introduction of the table fork led to modifications in table manners. These are detailed in Antoine de Courtin's *Nouveau Traité de la Civilité* of 1671 and expressed with a gentle humour in a poem by the Marquis de Coulanges of 1680, which may be roughly translated as,

> Formerly one ate the broth
> From the dish without ceremony
> And one's spoon often
> Sampled the boiled chicken
> At other times one dipped bread
> And fingers into the fricassée
> Nowadays everyone eats
> His broth on his own plate
> It is necessary to serve it politely
> And with spoon and fork.[51]

These changes in France had some resonance in England. Robert May in the Preface to *The Accomplish'd Cook* of 1660, carpingly acknowledged that French cuisine had its admirers in England,

> the *French by their Insinuations* ... have bewitcht some of the *Gallants of our Nation* with Epigram Dishes, smoak't rather then drest, so strangely to captivate the *Gusto*, their *Mushroom'd Experiences* for sauce rather then *Diet*, for the *generality* howsoever called *A la mode*, not being worthy of being taken notice of.[52]

One such bewitched *Gallant* was Samuel Pepys who recorded eating a number of 'French dinners' in private houses, such as Thomas Chicheley's,

44. François Pierre, called La Varenne, *Le Cuisinier françois*, Paris 1651. [François Massialot], *Le Cuisinier royal et bourgeois*, Paris 1691.

45. Quoted in Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, Oxford 1985, p73.

46. Mennell (as note 45), p74.

47. Bonnefons (as note 36), pp373-78.

48. J.K. (trans) [Massialot], *The Court and Country Cook*, London 1702, p1. [Audiger], *La Maison réglée*, Paris 1692, also specifies three basic services.

49. Bonnefons (as note 36), p375.

50. L.S.R (as note 19), p42.

51. Quoted in Armand Lebault, *La table et le repas à travers les siècles*, Paris undated, pp602-3.

52. Robert May, *The Accomplisht Cook, or the Art and Mystery of Cookery*, London 1685.

53. Pepys Diary (as note 23), vol 9, pp82, 112 and 423; vol 8, p211.

54. Mitchell 2000 (as note 3), pp113-15.

55. Backwell EB/1/1, f 565, Earle of St Albans, 19 November 1663, for a broth pot & cover wey 404-4 at 6s poz & arms 6s - £121-11-2d.

56. Guiffrey (as note 9), vol 1, p104, *Potagers*.

in Queen-street in Covent Garden; a very fine house and a man that lives in mighty great fashon, with all things in a most extraordinary manner noble and rich about him and eats in the French fashion all.

As his career flourished, Pepys gave elegant dinners at home. His understanding of eating in the French fashion is clear from one of the entries in his diary,

And after greeting them and some time spent in talk, dinner was brought up, one dish after another, but a dish at a time ... and indeed it was, of a dinner of six or eight dishes, as noble as any man need have ... I have rarely seen in my life better anywhere else even at Court.

He also dined at several French 'ordinaries', all situated near the smart neighbourhoods of gentry housing to the west of the City, the Beare in Drury Lane, the Blue Balls in Lincoln Inn Fields, and in Covent Garden at

Mounsieur Robins, my periwig-maker who keeps an ordinary, ... and so we in; and in a moment almost have the table covered, and clean glasses, and all in the French manner, and a mess of potage first and then a couple of pigeons *à l'esteuvé* and then a piece of *boeuf-a-la-mode*, all exceedingly well seasoned and to our great liking.[53]

The service of dinner in six or eight courses possibly explains the high proportion of trencher plates among Backwell's sales, for contemporary writers demanded clean plates for each course.[54] He supplied Henrietta Maria with fifteen trencher plates in 1663 and most probably a large broth pot and cover debited to the Earl of St Albans, her Lord Chamberlain.[55] This weighed 404oz and was rather larger than the two *'grand pots'* listed under *'Potagers'* in Louis XIV's inventory at 303oz each.[56] In France, special plates to eat *potage* were made: Anne of Austria's probate inventory of 1666 listed eleven silver *assiettes potagères* whereas Louis XIV's of 1673 included four gold and two dozen gilt for the King plus several dozen in silver for the household.[57] On her death in 1669, Henrietta Maria had twenty 'deepe potage plates' and Louise de Kerouralle, Charles II's French mistress, was supplied with 'eighteen plates for potage' in 1672.[58] From their descriptions with weights typically between 15oz and 18oz, they appear to have been deep trencher plates. None of the other plate listed in the Jewel House warrants at this period for English Ambassadors or noblemen contained potage plates. Clearly, *potage* slowly began to assume in the English court the position it held in France, for in 1683 Joseph Centlivre, presumably a Frenchman, was appointed 'second master cook and pottagier' in the king's kitchen in London.[59]

Stands were used in England as in France to carry dishes of food. Backwell sold two 'stands for dishes of the French fashion' to the Countess of Dysart in 1659 and subsequently a number of 'wyer collars' and 'stands and hoopes for dishes'.[60] They weighed between 12 and 18oz, rather lighter than the *colliers* in Louis XIV's inventory at 20 to 30oz.[61] Table salts with branches of cylindrical form had been made in both London and Paris from the 1630s.[62] During the 1660s, however, larger square salts began to appear in London, exemplified by the Moody Salt made by Howzer. Presumably the 'white square French fashioned salt' belonging to Lady Fanshaw was of this type as well as many of the 'square', 'French fashion' and 'new fashion' salts sold by Backwell, Blanchard and Fowle.[63] These typically weighed about 30oz and cost between 6s-4d and 7s per ounce. They could well have been used together with stands and 'flying plates' to form centrepieces, although the magnificent salt given to the Queen, Catherine of Braganza by the town of Portsmouth could have served this purpose unaccompanied.[64]

In goldsmiths' ledgers during the 1660s the commonest items to be described as 'French', 'French fashion' or 'new fashion' were spoons and forks, presumably in recognition of their French form with trefid ends and bowls supported by rat-tails.[65] Many more spoons than forks were sold. Forks would have been found on the royal table and on those of the nobility and some wealthy office holders but not on most of the tables of the gentry, merchants and tradesmen. Indeed, even at Court, forks were only provided for the generality of courtiers in the late 1670s and many inventories of wealthy

57. J. Cordey, 'L'inventaire après décès d'Anne d'Autriche et le mobilier du Louvre', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire et de l'Art français*, 1930, p235. Guiffrey (as note 9), vol 1, p105, no99, or, 4 assiettes potagères (30oz each) p105, no83, vermeil doré, 24 assiettes potagères (1oz each) p108, no155, Garde vaisselle de Chambellan, argent, 24 assiettes potagères (17oz each).

58. PRO SP78/128, p198, November 1669, twenty deep potage plates. PRO LC5/107, f 159v, 8 October 1672, 18 Plates for potage, 300oz.

59. J.C. Sainty & R.O. Bucholz, *Officials of the Royal Household 1660-1837, Part II: Departments of the Lord Steward and the Master of the Horse*, London 1998, p86.

60. Philippa Glanville, *Silver in England*, London 1987, p68. Backwell EB/1/1, f 262, the Lord Chamberlain; f 364, Lady Hampden; f 563, Sir Thomas Vynor.

61. Guiffrey (as note 9), p34, no172; p105, nos 97 and 98; p117, no386, p120, no461.

62. Oman (as note 40), fig 16A, salt, maker's mark IM, London 1635/36; fig 46B, salt, silver-gilt, maker's mark FC monogram, London 1638/39. Bimbenet-Privat 2002 (as note 1), vol 2, p157, the engraving by Abraham Bosse of the Feast of the Knights of the Order of Saint-Esprit at Fontainebleau in 1635 shows such salts between pairs of diners.

63. For illustration of the Moody salt see Mitchell 1995 (as note 2), p13; and Charles Oman, *English Silversmiths' Work Civil and Domestic*, London 1965, no63. PRO LC5/107, f 137, Lady Fanshawes ... 'Discharge'. Mitchell 2000 (as note 3), p116.

64. Illustrated Oman (as note 40), fig 49, silver-gilt, unmarked, 1662.

65. For French forks and spoons, see Bimbenet-Privat 2002 (as note 1), vol 2, pp214-15. For London spoons, see T.A. Kent, *London Silver Spoonmakers, 1500 to 1697*, The Silver Society, 1981, Section V.

London merchants only contain forks from about 1700.[66]

A striking feature of the sales of plate in London during the 1660s was the considerable number of chafing dishes. Most of them were small, weighing about 9oz each, and were sometimes described as 'trencher chafing dishes', with a single pair listed by Backwell as 'French'.[67] A handful were much heavier, weighing over 30oz, with that sold to Lady Fanshaw at 50oz.[68] The very few *'rechauds'* in Louis XIV's inventory were even heavier and were possibly similar to that shown in the print of a tête-à-tête across an artichoke.[69]

These chafing dishes, being of silver, were clearly for use at table rather than in the kitchen. Their numbers suggest that the vogue for finishing dishes at the table was fairly widespread among the London élite. The Queen Mother was a keen amateur cook along with her 'Chancellor', Sir Kenelme Digby. His cookery book, published posthumously in 1671, contains recipes which illustrated how chafing dishes were used to put the finishing touches to potages, *pressis nourisant* and broths.[70] A supposed compilation of Henrietta Maria's personal recipes, *The Queen's Closet Newly Open'd* includes a parmesan flavoured broth called the Jacobin's Pottage, which also calls for the use of a chafing dish for the final thickening process.[71] Pepys shared the enthusiasm for the chafing dish, recording that at Petersfield on his return from Portsmouth,

> At dinner comes my Lord Carlingford from London ... He himself made a dish with egges of the butter of the sparagus; which is very fine meat; which I will practise hereafter.[72]

Thus, in conclusion, it appears that pieces of silver, described as 'French' or 'French fashion', and sold by leading goldsmith-bankers in London during the 1660s, were new or modified forms of plate necessary for entertaining in the 'French manner'. Although French in form, their style of decoration owed little to Paris but much to Utrecht and Zurich. Perhaps Thomas Fowle was conscious of this, for his wares in these new forms were described simply as 'new fashioned'. Such plate was bought by a fashionable élite which included important noblemen, some wealthy gentry and a number of City magnates.

There are some indications that certain French ideas about food and dining even penetrated to the 'middling sort', for Hannah Wolley, who dedicated her book of 1670 to the wife of a London woollen draper, observes that 'there are new Modes come up nowadays for eating and drinking, as well as for cloaths'. Further, she instructs the butler, 'to lay a Knife, Spoon and Fork at every plate', and gives a five-page description 'to make a Rock in Sweet-Meats'.[73] This is very similar to the *Rocher* which formed the centrepiece on Louis XIV's table at the feast at Versailles on 18 July 1668.[74]

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that dining in the French manner was widespread, for Count Magalotti, who accompanied the heir of the Grand Duke of Tuscany on his visit to England in 1669, commented on dining with Lord Petre,

> The dinner was served with as much elegance and skill as is usually met with at the tables of English noblemen, who do not keep French cooks: their tables, in consequence, though distinguished by abundance, are deficient in quality and that exquisiteness of relish which renders the French dishes grateful to the palate. This is particularly the case with their pastry which is grossly made, with a great quantity of spices, and badly baked. There is also a great want of that neatness and gentility which is practised in Italy; for, on the English table, there are no forks, nor vessels to supply water for the hands.[75]

MICHÈLE BIMBENET-PRIVAT

New Paris silver as portrayed in so-called *gravures de mode* of the late 1680s

Studying French silver of the seventeenth century is certainly not easy. Today one can rarely handle or even see examples of this plate as most of it was destroyed by the King's order, first in 1689, then in 1709, being sent to the Mint to pay for his wars. In 1689 Louis XIV himself, in spite of his ministers' advice, sent

66. For detailed discussion of forks, see David Mitchell, 'The Clerk's View', Peter Brown (ed), *British Cutlery. An illustrated history of design, evolution and use*, York Civic Trust 2001, pp19-29.

67. Backwell, EB/1/1, f 404.

68. Backwell, EB/1/5, f 1v.

69. Guiffery (as note 9), vol 1, p103, no28 (55oz); p107, no137 (64 oz); p127, nos 592 and 595 (66oz). For print, see Alain Gruber, *Gebrauchssilber des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*, Friburg 1982, p230.

70. The author is grateful to Ivan Day for his help in this matter. Sir Kenelme Digby, *The Closet of the Eminently Learned Sir Kenelme Digby Kt. Opened* ...,London 1671.

71. W.M. *The Queens Closet Newly Open'd*, London 1655.

72. *Pepys Diary* (as note 23), vol 3, p69, 22 April 1662.

73. Wolley (as note 25), pp378, 373, 345-49.

74. Interestingly, the description of this feast illustrated with splendid plates was not published until nine years after Wolley's book. [Felibien], *Relation de la Feste de Versailles du 18 juillet 1668*, Paris 1679.

75. Count Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany through England, During the Reign of King Charles the Second (1669)*, London 1821, p264. The author thanks Philippa Glanville for bringing this and other documents to his attention.

the masterpieces of his silver furniture to be melted down: about twenty-two metric tons were destroyed within a few weeks. The few rare surviving pieces have been preserved because they have been abroad since they were made.

Nevertheless, drawings by Charles Lebrun and his workshop, paintings by Baudrin Yvart and Meiffren Comte executed at the Gobelins Manufactury, the celebrated Gobelins tapestries (*'l'Histoire du Roi', 'les Mois' or 'les Maisons royales'*), written records and prints all give compelling evidence of the important part played by silver furniture and silver plate not only at the Sun King's Court[76] but also among the French nobility and, more generally, in the whole of French society. Taking into account that the representations of royal palaces and collections were strictly censured, we prefer, for a wider study, to analyse the body of prints which were edited in the context of a free and private market. Thus, this paper will discuss the representations of silver provided by a group of about four hundred *gravures de modes*, all printed in Paris between the 1670s and the 1690s.

The prints

Most of the printers were situated near the rue Saint-Jacques on the left bank and along the Île de la Cité: Nicolas Arnoult (died 1722), the three brothers Nicolas (died 1718), Henri (died 1711), and Robert Bonnart, Gaspard Deshayes (died after 1701), Jean Dieu de Saint-Jean (died 1695), Antoine Trouvain (died 1708) and Pierre Valleran (died after 1696).[77] Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, that area had become the most important market for the trade of popular prints.[78] In spite of the limited statistical studies about their cost, print number and distribution, it seems that these fashion plates were enthusiastically received by local and provincial customers.

The prints are rather large (365x265mm), and were initially sold singly, or by short series of four or six sheets (for instance, series of allegorical figures such as *The Four Seasons, The Four Elements*, and so on). Generally they were without text except for a title and sometimes several funny or amorous anonymous verses below the picture. The publications did not respect any periodicity. Most of the sheets are undated.[79] Subsequently, several groups of prints have been bound in leather volumes by collectors. This paper is mainly illustrated from an unrecorded collection in the *Archives nationales* of Paris.[80]

The general title of the prints, *gravures de modes*, needs to be discussed. Although each print shows one main character, a well dressed man or woman, some other elements may be important. For instance, on the print *Dame de qualité en deshabillé* (Lady in informal Summer dress), by Nicolas Arnoult, 1687, a lady is shown sitting in a comfortable armchair without any background; others may be pictured in a furnished room, bedchamber or closet; sometimes an architectural background is shown, generally depicting French landmarks, for instance the gardens of the Tuileries or the palace of the Louvre. Several persons may appear on the same picture: in *Le Matin* (Morning), by Nicolas Arnoult, undated (circa 1680), a maid and her hairdresser are surrounded by many pieces of furniture: a dressing table, dressing articles, and a big mirror hanging on the wall. One can understand why the general title *gravures de modes* does not encapsulate all data and details provided by the prints. It is far wider than a fashion plate; the title *scènes de genre* would be more appropriate.

Some prints provide pictures of particular royal or princely persons; historians usually call them *portraits en mode* (fashion portraits). Presumably, seventeenth-century dealers used portraits of actual well-known people to give added appeal for bourgeois customers. For instance, the lady on the plate *La marquise de Dangeau à sa toilette* (Madame de Dangeau at her dressing table), by Antoine Trouvain, 1694 [1] was born in Germany and in 1686 married le marquis de Dangeau, a military man who served as French ambassador at several foreign courts. Dangeau subsequently became *grand maître des ordres du roi*, a principal officer at the French court. His wife was on very good terms with Madame de Maintenon, Louis XIV's morganatic wife. In this example, Madame de

76. See F. Buckland, 'Gobelins' tapestries and paintings as a source of information about the silver furniture of Louis XIV', *Burlington Magazine*, vol CXXV, May 1983, pp271-83; and 'Silver furnishing at the court of France, 1643-1670', *Burlington Magazine*, vol CXXXI, May 1989, pp328-36.

77. M. Préaud, P. Casselle, M. Grivel, C. Le Bitouze, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris 1986, *passim*

78. See M. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIe siècle*, Geneva pp143-44.

79. Raymond Gaudriault, *Répertoire de la gravure de mode française des origines à 1815*, Paris 1988.

80. Arch. nat., MM 914-17. The author is very grateful to Françoise Tétart-Vittu, conservateur du Cabinet des dessins et des estampes du Musée de la Mode de la Ville de Paris (Palais Galliéra), who first mentioned them to her. There is no reference to this collection in Gaudriault's catalogue.

81. See P. Thornton, *Authentic Decor. The domestic interior, 1620-1920*, London 1984, p66, ill 72.

82. Bimbenet-Privat 2002 (as note 1), vol II, no22, pp88-91.

1 Madame la marquise de Dangeau à sa toilette, *by Antoine Trouvain, 1694 (Paris, Archives nationales)*

Dangeau is sitting at a very rich dressing table, sticking on her patches with a brush.

Were the prints realistic?

Prints showing ladies at their dressing tables and people having meals will be the subjects of this paper since they provide many representations of silver. But our first task will be checking their *vraisemblance* by comparing the details of the prints with silver plate made in Paris at the period. Let us analyse first the *Femme de qualité à sa toilette* (Lady at her dressing table), printed in Paris by Jean van der Bruggen, circa 1680.[81] The toilet or dressing ceremony refers to an established royal and subsequent aristocratic practice: queens, then ladies of the nobility, used to dress (or rather finish their dressing) in their dressing-room in public, or at least in the company of their friends. As dressing was not at all private, all the objects had a social significance, even the little things used for making up, hairdressing or attaching jewels to clothes. This is why toilet sets could be very expensive, impressive and gorgeous silver services. They used to be offered for great events in a lady's life, such as her wedding. They were a father's beautiful gift, and very expensive, too, so that they were considered as a part of the bride's dowry. In this example, it is winter time and a maid is warming the lady's gown in front of the fireplace. The lady is having her hair dressed; beside her is a man sitting in an armchair reading a music score, maybe her singing teacher. The dressing table is covered with a rug (*tapis*) and a white napkin (*toilette*). There is a cloth with pockets, for scissors, brushes and comb, which would be wrapped up after dressing was finished. A complete silver set lies on the table; it looks magnificent: one square mirror between bottles and boxes, all fitted inside two square boxes, chased with matching ornaments. Most of these items can be seen also on Madame de Dangeau's dressing table.**[1]**

Four French silver toilet services of the second half of the seventeenth century are still intact. The oldest one is now the property of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth House.[82]**[2]** Its first owner was Princess Mary, James II's eldest daughter. She was born in 1662 and married William of Orange in 1677; she lived in Holland until she became Queen of England in 1689. The toilet set was made in Paris in 1670 when she was still a young girl. The service is made of twenty-two pieces: salvers, mirror, square boxes (*carrés*), scent bottles (*ferrières*), pin cushions (*pelotes*), snuffers and tray, ewer and basin, porringer (*l'écuelle*, for the morning *bouillon*), powder and sticks boxes, and square candlesticks. All the items are the same as those displayed on the previous prints.

One can check how *vraisemblables* the details are by studying the prints more precisely. For instance, in *L'agrément* (pleasure), printed by Pierre Valleran, circa 1680, another lady is sitting at her dressing table. Besides some items set on the table such as a watch with its ribbon knot, a covered powder box, with its down tuft, a cloth for the scissors and combs, there is a very accurately drawn toilet mirror, with its specific rectangular shape and personalised cresting; the lady's cyphers seem to be engraved rather than separately cast and applied on the top of the mirror. This can be

83. See G. Evans, 'The Lennoxlove toilet service', *The International Silver and Jewellery Fair and Seminar*, London 1990, pp23-30; M. Bimbenet-Privat, 'Pierre Fourfault and the Lennoxlove toilet service', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol CXXXIX, no1126, January 1997, pp11-16. See p179.

84. Musée de Louvre. J.F. Hayward, 'The puzzle of a royal toilet mirror', *The Connoisseur*, August 1966, pp229-31.

2 *Princess Mary's silver toilet service, Paris 1669/70 (Chatsworth, the Devonshire Collection)*

compared with another silver toilet service called the Lennoxlove toilet service (National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh), that was made in a Paris workshop in the 1670s; it belonged to Frances Teresa Stuart, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, a great love of King Charles II.[83] Chasing of rich acanthus scrolls adorns its square boxes (*carrés*). Gorgeous chased decoration, generally of flowers and scrolls, was often used for these female accoutrements. The mirror was the most expensive piece, since big mirrors were still unusual at that time and considered as luxury furniture. The same can be seen on a silver mirror made in Paris, circa 1660,**[3]** that is the only surviving item from the toilet set of Ann Hyde, Duchess of York.[84] This mirror was made at the time of Ann's wedding with James, Duke of York, later King James II; maybe she was given it as a wedding present, or on the birth of her first child. The mirror is also chased with acanthus scrolls; it is a tall piece, about 60cm (23½in). It is known that during that period toilet mirrors became taller and taller, so that by the end of the century the Palatine Princess, Louis XIV's sister-in-law, complained of the size of her dressing mirror in her bedroom, saying that it was so high that she could not even see who was attending her toilet.

Are the prints honest witnesses of French society? Of course, their main aim was the diffusion of Parisian fashions in dress and a certain circumspection is therefore required. Nevertheless, their representation of silver and furniture reflects the differences in manners within the prevailing class structure and seems

See p179 for the families of Richmond and Lennox.

3 *Ann Hyde's toilet mirror, silver, Paris circa 1660 (Musée du Louvre, Paris)*

4 *Princess Hedvig Sofia's toilet service, Paris circa 1680 (Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, Royal Danish collection)*

85. Copenhagen, Rosenborg Palace, Royal Danish collections. See G. Boesen, 'Le service de toilette français de Hedvig Sofia', *Opuscula in honorem C. Hernmarck*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1966, pp22-38; M. Bimbenet-Privat, 'Beauté ciselée. L'orfèvrerie parisienne du Grand Siècle', *Connaissance des arts*, no590, January 2002, pp92-99.

largely convincing. In a picture entitled *Fille de marchand estant à sa toilette* (Merchant's daughter at her dressing table), engraved by Nicolas Arnoult in 1687, there is no cloth on the table, just a wooden mirror with a wooden ribbon knot as ornament, a big brush and a wooden case. The young woman has no maid; she attends to herself. In contrast, the *Femme de qualité en deshabillé sortant du lit* (Lady getting up) is helped by a maid wearing a pretty dress; there is a cloth on the table and the toilet mirror and the square boxes look like engraved metalwork adorned with birds. Here the title *Femme de qualité* means an upper class lady, but not a lady of high nobility. At a higher level, let us analyse the *Dame de qualité à sa toilette* (Lady at her dressing table) printed by Robert and Nicolas Bonnart, circa 1680.**[5]** This lady of the nobility, dressed *'en fontange'* is pictured at the end of her dressing, assisted by a maid and two male servants including a boy. The toilet service looks rather plain, but the way it is used is not; you may notice that the lady is washing her hands, while the boy is pouring water from an ewer and holding the basin under his mistress' hands. This ceremony was considered an exquisite way of ending the toilet. Very few examples of ewers and basins from toilet sets have survived, as they were not included in all, but only in rare royal services, such as the toilet service of Hedvig Sofia of Sweden,[85] that was made in a Paris workshop circa1680.**[4]** This service had not been ordered especially for the young Swedish princess, but was bought by her grandmother from a German merchant dealing on the French market. All European courts were furiously keen on French silver during this period.

These examples emphasise the limits of the transmission of fashion within French society, middle-class women would not have used the same objects as noble ladies, and it was not only a question of wealth, for transgressing these rules would have been considered as a shame, a sin. The ridiculous *Bourgeois gentilhomme*, first performed by Molière in 1670 reflects these sentiments.

Did the prints play a part in the diffusion of new vessels or forms?

Referring to the changes in French dining and table manners, I shall discuss the way new vessels were illustrated by prints. As already mentioned in the first part of this paper, several books were printed in Paris at this time which described changes in cuisine, manners and the setting of tables. The main ones were: *Le Cusinier françois* (La Varenne, 1651), *Le Nouveau traité de la Civilité* (Antoine de Courtin, 1671), and *L'Art de bien traiter* (Bonnefons, 1674), the last referring to the famous parties given at Versailles. These books were generally not illustrated, except François Massialot's *Cusinier Roïal et Bourgeois* (1691). The second edition (1705), had eight folded plates showing laid

5 Dame de qualité à sa toilette, *by Robert and Nicolas Bonnart, circa 1680 (Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des estampes, Paris)*

6 Le Midy, *by Gaspard Deshayes, 1691 (Archives nationales, Paris)*

tables and new silver plate, including a large centrepiece called a *surtout* or *machine*. The *surtout* was intended to gather candlesticks, plate supports, salt, pepper, salt and sugar caster on a common tray. It first appears at the royal table in the late 1680s. At the top of Massialot's illustration in the English edition, the following text was added:

> Machine so-called surtout to serve in the middle of a large table, to be left in place during the meals.

There is no evidence that such new plate was pictured on the Paris prints of the 1680s. On the contrary, table plate looks simple and plain, not at all in the latest fashion. The objects look like the *vaisselle de service* or household plate. The print *Le Midy* (Noon), printed by Gaspard Deshayes in 1691, shows a 'dinner'.**[6]** Plates and dishes are flat and undecorated, with the large borders called *'marlis'* at the king's table. No disorder on the table: knife and bread are set on the left side, glass on the right, a large plate in the middle. Let us analyse the way forks were used, since these items were rather new on French tables of the seventeenth century.[86] People pictured on the prints use three or four-pronged forks, with a trefid end *(Pied de biche)*; they hold them with the right hand, which was actually the correct way of using forks at that time. They use a large napkin. The small salt-cellar is a very common object, which can be compared with a silver salt-cellar made in Paris in 1671 in Théodore Chastelain's workshop; a simple hexagonal shape supported by four cast feet in the form of lion paws *(à rouleaux)*, with a hemispherical cavity in the centre.[87]**[7]** This salt cellar would have been considered as out of fashion in 1691 when Gaspard Deshaye's print was published. This suggests that there was a delay between the introduction of such forms and their common use among middle-class people.

French table manners were very clearly described in the prints. For instance, greediness, considered as a sin, provides the opportunity for depicting what were considered bad manners by the inhabitants of late seventeenth-century Paris. The lady pictured in *La Gourmandise*, printed by Henri Bonnart, circa 1690 **[8]** does not use any napkin; she is hold-

7 *Salt, Théodore Chastelain, Paris 1671 (Private collection, France)*

86. See M. Bimbenet-Privat, 'La naissance du couvert moderne. Cuillères et fourchettes parisiennes du XVIIe siècle', *L'estampille. L'Objet d'art*, no. 366, February 2002, pp58-67

87. Bimbenet-Privat 2002 (as note 1), vol II, no71, p219.

88. Annick Pardailhé-Galabrun, *The Birth of Intimacy, Privacy and Domestic Life in Early Modern Paris*, Cambridge 1991, p99.

89. Bimbenet-Privat 2002 (as note 1), vol II, no62, pp204-05

8 La Gourmandise, *by Henri Bonnart, circa 1690 (Archive nationales, Paris)*

9 Repas de gens de qualité, *by Nicholas Bonnart (Archives nationales, Paris)*

10 *Straight-handled ewer, Antoine Turpin, Paris 1650 (Private collection, France)*

ing a fork with her left hand, but she doesn't even use it to eat. Clearly, she is eating greedily, using her fingers. This suggests that the use of forks had become fashionable among the élite in Paris at this time. (None the less, Annick Pardailhé-Galabrun found that, as in London, forks were not widely used by the bourgeoisie until the eighteenth century.)[88]

But what about the manners of the nobility? Pictures of noble diners provide accurate illustrations of noble table manners, but they do not include new types or forms of vessels. In *Repas de gens de qualité* (Nobility at table), printed by Nicolas Bonnart, undated,**[9]** a gorgeous buffet and an impressive fountain stand close to the table. Two servants are serving drinks, bringing glasses on a salver (in accordance with French manners, there is no glass on the table), people are using forks and many plates of different sizes are arranged on the table, following the 'French manner'. But one may observe that the sugar caster on the buffet shelves looks quite ordinary, except that it is higher than others. The plain ewer looks like a mix of what French people used to call *une aiguière à crosse* (a scroll-handled ewer) and *une aiguière à anse droite* (a straight-handled ewer). These are still found, such as one made in Antoine Turpin's workshop in Paris in 1650.[89]**[10]** In spite of these apparently convincing details, some representations fall short, presumably owing to the lack of access to noble tables of their designers, who were largely middle-class artisan engravers. In contrast, the depictions of dining in middle-class homes seem more convincing.

Another discussion arises from the representations of exotic drinks, such as chocolate and coffee, but not tea, which was comparatively far more expensive in Paris. Indeed all these imported drinks were so costly at first that they were only fashionable at the French court. Queen Marie-Thérèse is said to have been fond of chocolate, like any Spanish lady, since chocolate had first travelled to Europe from the Spanish lands in the Americas. Coffee was not imported into France before the late 1660s. In the 1690s, a lot of new coffee houses (*les 'cafés'*) opened in Paris. Coffee house customers were considered potential trouble makers and severely treated by the Paris police. This provides evidence that coffee had become a popular drink. Tea was more expensive and was

11 Un cavalier et une dame beuyant du chocolat, *by Robert Bonnart, circa 1690 (Archives nationales, Paris)*

12 Dame qui prend du café, *by Robert Bonnart, circa 1690 (Archives nationales, Paris)*

imported later into France than in England, where Samuel Pepys drank his first cup of tea in 1660. Tea was unusual in Paris. Undoubtedly, drinking chocolate was entering French manners. At Versailles, the royal family drank chocolate at the evening parties called *Appartements* in the late 1690s. A scene by Trouvain printed in 1698 shows a chocolate pot standing on a buffet in the royal apartments.

At the same period, presumably as a result of popular curiosity, Paris printers made available a lot of prints of these new drinks and the way they were prepared and served. One of the most precise ones may be *Un cavalier et une dame buvant du chocolat* (A gentleman and a lady drinking chocolate), printed by Robert Bonnart, circa1690.**[11]** A black servant makes reference to exotic fashion. The way of serving chocolate is precisely described: the maid is whipping the chocolate, rolling the mill in her hands. The large chocolate pot with its wooden handle is very similar to the Paris silver chocolate pots of the same period, especially those made in Sébastien Leblond's workshop circa 1690–1700:[90] a tall pot (between 20 and 25cm (8–10in), large belly, pierced cover for the mill. This used to be the Paris pattern for chocolate pots; early surviving London chocolate pots stood on a flat base with no feet and some had a conical cover. Another print, *Dame qui prend du café* (Lady drinking coffee) by Robert Bonnart, circa 1690 **[12]** provides the first picture of a new type of beaker born in Paris in the late 1690s in connection with chocolate and coffee: *la tasse*, a two-handled beaker set on a saucer, and because drinks are hot, sometimes covered.[91] Beakers were different from *gobelets*, those cylindrical beakers with no handles from which people drank fresh drinks such as wine and water. So the prints provide a very precise explanation of the way to prepare and to drink exotic beverages. They are so didactic that maybe they not only provided information but also encouraged consumption.

In conclusion, we must assume that the *gravures de modes* are a suitable path for studying Paris silver, especially middle-class silver. Prints of noble ladies at their dressing tables cannot be considered as 'fancies', as most of them were designed after some famous court portraits, which included precise details. Pictures of middle-class dinners, because they were inspired

90. Ibid. vol II, no92, pp250-51, no95. p255.

91. Ibid. vol II, no91, p249.

92. Concerning the export of French prints to Great Britain, see Antony Griffiths, *The print in Stuart Britain, 1603-1689*, exhib cat, British Museum, London 1998, p19; about the trade of fashion plates on the London market, see Alexander Globe, *Peter Stent, London printseller circa 1642-1665. Being a catalogue raisonné of his engraved prints and books with an historical and bibliographical introduction*. Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 1985.

by the designers' daily life, are very realistic; we can trust them. They illustrate common vessels, sometimes old ones, which were clearly still found on Parisian tables at the end of the seventeenth century. They are important, as much ordinary plate has been subsequently destroyed, either because it was out of fashion or was melted down in times of financial turmoil. Designers of ornament usually did not provide designs for such objects because they disregarded them as poor things. Certainly, the *gravures de mode* played a part in improving public taste and diffusing fashionable silver. By providing pictures of the way Parisians used new plate, they were a real stimulus to consumption. They made the link between upper-class and middle-class furniture, manners and plate. The prints were widely diffused being sold in the provinces, often far from Paris, by travelling merchants. We have to confess that their diffusion abroad has not been adequately studied by French historians and we certainly need the views of English historians.[92]

General conclusions

Although the sources used in the two parts of this paper were of quite different forms, similar comparative methods – using diaries, inventories, cookery and courtesy books in conjunction with the comparatively few surviving artefacts – were employed to 'translate' the words and images. The results indicate the forms and style, uses and ownership of different types of plate by the nobility, gentry and middling sort in London and Paris and the degree and type of influence that French fashion exerted in England.

Both parts of the paper, however, raise nearly as many questions as they answer, particularly in respect to the social attitudes and behaviour of the middling sort in London and the bourgeoisie in Paris. The social structures in the two states were markedly different. In France, there was a rigid class system with the three estates of nobility, clergy and commoners, with the nobility forbidden to engage in trade or commerce. Although a few wealthy families that made their initial fortune in trade did achieve noble status, this generally took at least three generations. None of the Parisian goldsmiths who provided the most splendid plate to Louis XIV's court were ennobled. Further, the crown was the most important patron for luxury goods and consequently the principal arbiter of taste. This meant that innovations in social life and manners were largely driven by the court. The Parisian bourgeoisie subsequently adopted some of these innovations, where they 'fitted' their changing social attitudes and modes of behaviour. The nature and rate of their adoption was probably influenced by the relocation of the court from Paris to Versailles between 1677 and 1682.

In England, social mobility was much greater than in France and the influence of the court significantly less. Many apprentices to the leading livery companies in London were the younger sons of wealthy yeomen and gentlemen, with a few sons of baronets and even peers. Leading City tradesmen and merchants were often knighted and occasionally raised to the peerage. A number of goldsmiths were knighted during this period, including Sir Robert Vyner, Master of the Jewel House, Sir Thomas Fowle, and Robert Blanchard's partner, Sir Francis Child. A minority of these members of the City élite were also fashionable members of the 'Town', and behaved accordingly. This included dining in the 'French manner', which necessitated the adoption of some French forms of plate. Nevertheless, as this was largely fashioned by craftsmen trained in the Low Countries or the German lands, its decoration owed little to France.

In view of this, it would be interesting to investigate whether the incidence of French fashion plates and French mantua makers in London resulted in the modes of the fashionable female attire being more distinctly French. Further, the observations regarding the *scènes de genre* could be significant in future studies of the impact on the production of plate in London by Huguenot silversmiths who arrived in increasing numbers, mostly from provincial centres rather than Paris, during the period when these prints were being published.

In search of the Duke of Ormond's wine cistern and fountain

CONOR O'BRIEN

The illustration and account of a David Willaume cistern and fountain, given by Tracey Albainy in the *Journal* last year,[1] rekindled an interest I had some years ago in tracing the fate of a cistern and fountain owned by the first Duke of Ormond,[2] and with whom it had once appeared superficially that the Willaume items had some tenuous connection. The information about them in the Albainy article synopsised Ellenor Alcorn's entry in the catalogue of the English silver in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts.[3] These particular pieces have also been noted by other distinguished scholars of silver over the past century but there is, however, an extraordinary disparity between the various accounts, which in itself makes for an interesting study.

The earliest account was given in 1911 by Sir Charles Jackson in his *Illustrated History of English Plate*.[4] The property of the Duke of Cumberland, both pieces were illustrated and described as made by David Willaume, London 1708/09, and applied with the arms, supporters and coronet of an earlier owner whom Jackson did not identify.

In the following year, 1912, the same illustration of the fountain as published by Jackson was used by Lady Burghclere in her *Life of James, First Duke of Ormonde*.[5] She described the piece as silver-gilt and 'presented by Charles II to the Duke of Ormonde and now in the possession of HRH the Duke of Cumberland'. Lady Burghclere went on to say that amongst the other tokens of esteem received by the duke from the king was

> a magnificent service of gold plate, emblazoned with the Arms of England and Butler, which by a strange fate now reposes in the Schatzkammer of the House of Cumberland,

adding in a footnote that

> on the attainder of the 2nd Duke of Ormonde this princely gift was appropriated by George I, and remained at Windsor until the accession of Queen Victoria. In the ensuing partition of heirlooms it was sent to Hanover. But after the war of 1866 it migrated once more, and now the gold dishes with the motto *Butler aboo* are in the possession of the Duke of Cumberland.

We shall return to Lady Burghclere later.

Next to refer to the cistern and fountain, in 1920, was E. Alfred Jones, that most prolific early twentieth-century writer on plate.[6] He had examined the Cumberland collection at Pinzing, near Vienna, and at the duke's villa at Gmunden, Austria. Jones's all too brief account of the cistern and fountain reads

> David Willaume was the maker of the magnificent wine cistern and fountain of 1708–9, in this collection, which had belonged to the Marquis of Ormonde. These superb vessels surpass in size and grandeur the cistern and fountain wrought in London by Gabriel Sleath two years later, which are in the possession of the Duke of Portland.[7]

Regrettably, Jones did not explain the putative Ormonde provenance of the items. Interestingly, Jones found only three examples of English gold plate in the Cumberland collection, namely a small footed salver engraved with the cipher and crown of William III and stamped with the maker's mark of Pierre Harache, a two-handled cup and cover with a plate, unmarked but similarly engraved with the insignia of William III, and a cup and saucer engraved with the cipher of George II. None of these objects would appear to belong to the 'gold service' mentioned by Lady Burghclere eight years earlier. Furthermore,

1. Tracey Albainy, 'Hanoverian royal plate in the MFA, Boston', *The Silver Society Journal*, no14 2002, pp15-17.

2. The first duke usually signed himself as 'Ormond' while the second duke invariably adopted the spelling 'Ormonde'.

3. Ellenor M. Alcorn, *English Silver in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, vol II, Boston 2000, pp72-75.

4. Charles J. Jackson, *An Illustrated History of English Plate*, London 1911, vol II, pp790-1 and figs 1024-25.

5. Lady Burghclere, *The Life of James, First Duke of Ormonde*, London 1912, vol II, pp1-2.

6. E. Alfred Jones, 'The Duke of Cumberland's Collection of Old English Plate', *The National Review*, vol LXXIV, Jan 1920, pp679-85.

7. These are also illustrated by Jackson (as note 4), p792.

Jones would not appear to have been aware of any of these items when publishing his catalogue of known gold plate in 1907.[8]

The cistern and fountain were included in an exhibition of Brunswick treasures held in the Victoria and Albert Museum in August 1952. Shortly afterwards L.G.G. Ramsey, editor of *The Connoisseur*, illustrated and discussed them, commenting that

> by far the most outstanding pieces [of silver] were the huge wine fountain and cistern made by David Willaume in 1707 [sic] and engraved with the Prince of Wales' feathers for George II when Prince of Wales. The heraldic escutcheons on which the royal crest is engraved show obvious traces of another coat having been erased, and furthermore, are surmounted by a ducal [sic] coronet and have dragon supporters, while the fountain has as its finial the crest of the Earl of Meath. They were evidently made for Chamber, 5th Earl of Meath, and on his death in 1715 purchased for the use of the Prince of Wales. The process of conversion for use of their new owner was somewhat summarily executed inasmuch as the supporters, coronet, and crest of the former owner were left on them. The size of this wine fountain and cistern is prodigious, and the two pieces together weigh 3,175 ounces. ... According to the Brunswick records, this wine fountain and cistern, along with a quantity of other plate of the same period, were transferred to Hanover by order of George II. The remainder was melted down as being unfashionable, a fate which these pieces have fortunately escaped.[9]

Chambre Brabazon, 5th Earl of Meath

While no documentary evidence has been unearthed supporting it, the proposition that the Willaume cistern and fountain were commissioned by Chambre Brabazon, 5th Earl of Meath, has been accepted by later writers.[10] Alcorn suggested that he may have made the purchase to mark his succession to the peerage on the death of his brother Edward.[11] This seems very tenable, and worthy of further exploration.

Chambre would appear to have been born in the early 1640s. His father, the 2nd Earl of Meath, was drowned in 1675 in passage to England and was succeeded in turn by his three surviving sons, Chambre succeeding as 5th Earl in February 1707/08. He had married Juliana Chaworth, daughter and heiress of the 2nd Viscount Chaworth, in 1662. She died in 1692. Through her he inherited estates in Nottingham but given that he was a junior scion of the Meath family, it is unlikely that he himself had brought any great fortune to the marriage. Two government appointments he had held in Ireland were not particularly lucrative; on 20 May 1675 he had obtained a patent to be the Saymaster of Ireland for life, surrendering it on 8 July 1682, and on 9 September 1679 he was appointed one of two Comptrollers of the Musters and Cheques of the army, an office, suppressed in 1697, which he appears to have held purely in a trustee capacity.[12] His accession to the earldom in 1708 led, as had been the case with his late brother, to his being called into the Privy Council by Queen Anne in May 1710, and by King George I in October 1714. Despite being then widowed and well into his sixties, it was possibly in anticipation of being advanced to the dignity of a Privy Councillor and the obligation to entertain with more spectacle than he might have done previously, as well as his accession to the title itself, that spurred him to commission the cistern and fountain. Weighing about 3,000oz, it is likely that they set back the newly ennobled Chambre in the region of £1,000, a formidable amount by any standards of the time. Additionally, since the display of a silver cistern and fountain at banquets would look somewhat anomalous without complementary services of plate 'in the latest fashion', it is possible that he was obliged to commit further expenditure on plate in order to live up to his family's new social status, unless of course his wife had left him an appropriate treasure trove inherited from her father, Viscount Chaworth. At this stage of his life Chambre appears to have resided principally in England. In 1713 he granted power of attorney to agents to administer his Irish estates, reciting in the legal

8. E. Alfred Jones, *Old English Gold Plate*, London, 1907. Nor are they mentioned in A. Grimwade's 'A New List of Old English Gold Plate, Part III', *The Connoisseur*, vol 127, June 1951, pp83-89.

9. L.G.G. Ramsey, 'Treasures of the House of Brunswick – 1, *The Connoisseur*, vol 130, Oct 1952, pp90-93.

10. N.M. Penzer, 'The Great Wine-Coolers: II, *Apollo*, September 1957, p45; Walter de Sager, 'Our Atlantic Heritage', *The Connoisseur*, vol 165, June 1967, p87.

11. Ramsey and the two Boston writers treat the pieces as made in 1707/08: presumably a *lapsus calami* on each writer's part since the date letter is the 'n' for 1708/09.

12. R. Lascelles, *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae*, London 1824, vol I, part II, pp108, 140. The office of Saymaster or Leather Sealer was concerned with ensuring that leather was efficiently dressed, tanned and made good and merchantable. Brabazon is sometimes incorrectly described as having been Paymaster of Ireland.

instrument that he was 'compelled to live in Great Britain for some time'. He died suddenly at Nottingham on 1 April 1715 and was succeeded as 6th Earl by Chaworth, his elder son. In his will Chambre had provided for his other son and three daughters to receive £2,000 each for their portions and maintenance, the whole amount to be charged on his estates in Dublin and Wicklow.[13]

It may be presumed that Chaworth acquired the cistern and fountain on his father's death. He probably had no immediate occasion to use them. He was not then enjoying a state of connubial bliss – as was revealed sixteen years later by that inveterate correspondent Mrs Delaney, writing from Dublin to her sister in England on 14 December 1731:

> we have had a wedding lately, too, Lord Meath, a man of good sense and great fortune, who was married when he was a boy to his aunt's chambermaid. He never lived with her and she died about a month ago. Yesterday he married Miss Pendergrass: ... he has been in love with her several years.[14]

Moreover, it would appear that Chaworth was short of cash at the time of his accession. Documents surviving at Killruddery, the ancient seat of the earls of Meath, reveal that on 1 September 1715 he raised £300 from his agent, one Oliver Cheney, by granting him an annuity of £50 for life, which seems rather exorbitant. Even as late as 1738 he was obliged to raise £8,000 by way of mortgage in order to settle the obligations to his siblings created by Chambre's will. Given such circumstances it would seem eminently sensible of him to have disposed of the cistern and fountain. Their scratch weights show the pieces combined amounted to about 2,864oz which at, say 5s an ounce, would have raised a much needed £700 at least.[15]

Hanover

The circumstances by which the cistern and fountain ended up at Hanover are not explicitly clear. Alcorn points to indications that they were among a group of silver brought there from England in 1738, noting that the 'English cistern and fountain', presumably these, were used along with two other cisterns and fountains at the Queen's birthday celebrations in 1788 and 1789. The three sets could be seen in a photograph taken in Vienna in 1868 where the Dukes of Brunswick resided after the sack of Hanover in 1866.[16] Albainy mentions that in an inventory of the Hanover silver in 1747, three of six services contained cisterns and fountain, though none precisely matched the description of the set in Boston.[17] Thus the possibility of there being four sets in Hanover at some stage cannot be excluded.

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to advert to the discrepancies in the weights and dimensions reported for the Willaume cistern and fountain, and to contemplate, albeit fleetingly, the possibility of there having been two of each. Jackson gave the weight of the cistern as nearly 1,930oz and the fountain as 1,245oz, a total of 3,175oz. Ramsey recorded the same figure for the two; presumably these details were given to both writers by the Cumberland staff. However, the scratch weight on the cistern in Boston is 1,775oz15dwt and on the fountain 1,088oz6dwt, a total of 2,864oz1dwt. The present actual weight of the pieces in Boston is the cistern 1,768oz6dwt and the fountain 1044oz18dwt.[18] While the original and present weights of the cistern agree fairly well, the loss of 44oz from the fountain seems rather more than might be expected from mere erasure of the original Meath arms, while the difference of over 360oz between the present weight of the set and that reported by Jackson suggests, as the most likely explanation, that information provided by the Cumberland household may have been inaccurate – rather than concluding that a pair of each existed.[19] There are likewise discrepancies between the dimensions of the two pieces as reported by Jackson and by Alcorn but one cannot be sure that identical parameters for height and length applied in each case. All things considered, these various differences do raise doubts about the reliability in general of the information issued about the Duke of Cumberland's plate to Lady Burghclere and Alfred Jones, to whom and the Duke of Ormond we return.

13. John Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland*, revised by M. Archdall, Dublin 1789, vol 1, pp263-84; see also V. Gibbs (ed) *The Complete Peerage*, London 1913, vols III and VIII sub Chaworth and Meath.

14. Lady Llanover (ed), *Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany*, London 1861, vol 1, p330.

15. Unless where otherwise indicated, the information about the different earls of Meath has been culled from the Killruddery archives; see A. Malcomson, 'List and Calendar, Meath Papers', 2 vol typescript, 1986 (copies deposited in PRO, Northern Ireland, Nat. Archives, Dublin, and Nat. Reg. of Archives, London).

16. Alcorn (as note 3), p75.

17. Albainy (as note 2), p17.

18. I am grateful to Ms Albainy for undertaking the difficult task of weighing these massive objects.

19. In fairness to the duke's staff, it should be pointed out that accurately weighing such heavy objects of plate may have been difficult with the equipment then available. Even today, equipment capable of weighing objects of the order of 100kg (3,110oz) to an accuracy of one pennyweight (about 1.5 g) would not be easily accessible.

James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond

James Butler (1610–88), 12th Earl and 1st Duke of Ormond, KG, was created Marquess of Ormond in 1642. In June 1644 he was appointed, for his first term, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Tiring of the war against Cromwell, he left Ireland in December 1650 and remained in exile throughout the 1650s, where in France he became a close confidant of Charles II. At the Restoration he was rewarded with the Lord Stewardship of England and the dukedom of Ormond in the Irish peerage. In 1662 he resumed his duties as Lord Lieutenant, his re-entry into Dublin as Viceroy in July being conducted with great ceremony. The city fathers presented him with the freedom of the city in a purpose-made gold box and also a gold cup, raising a loan of £350 to cover the cost.[20] Ormond remained in office as Viceroy until 1669 but was again re-appointed in 1677. In 1682 he was advanced to an English dukedom. On his death in 1688 he was succeeded as the 2nd Duke of Ormonde by his grandson James (1665–1745).[21] He too served as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1703–07 and 1710–13. After the death of Queen Anne he seemed to support a Jacobite succession and following the accession of George I he was impeached by Parliament in June 1715 when he fled to the continent, dying at Avignon in 1745. Ormonde's English and Scottish honours were forfeited, his English estates seized by the crown in 1715 and his houses at St James's Square and Old Richmond Park with their contents sold by the Forfeited Estates Commissioners. The Prince of Wales bought Richmond Lodge for £600 at auction and it was recorded in the newspapers then that 'no body bid upon his Royal Highness'.[22] In the light of Lady Burghclere's account of events, it is conceivable that the future George II may have acquired some of the Ormonde plate at this time, but this possibility has not been studied as yet.

Inventories of the plate owned by the Ormondes survive in the National Library of Ireland.[23] The earliest of these, taken on 23 July 1674 in Kilkenny Castle, the Ormonde seat, includes one 'large silver fountayne and cover' and one 'large silver sestern'. The only gold item listed was 'one gould cupp & cover'; presumably this was the gift he had received on re-entering Dublin as Viceroy in 1662, though the gold freedom box is not mentioned. In a later inventory, taken on 1 September 1684 when the duke was in residence in Dublin Castle, these objects are more fully described as 'one large fountain with a cock and cover at Kilkenny, 306 oz' and 'one large cistern with a bottom for flowers, 1,858oz15dwt'; the weight of the gold cup and cover was given as 76oz5drams.[24] It is interesting to note that the fountain had not been moved to Dublin; possibly it was considered too small for use at the viceregal banquets in Dublin Castle. Both the cistern and fountain were apparently still extant when an inventory of the duke's goods in Ormonde House, St James's Square, was taken on 24 January 1689. This lists 'one great cistern' and 'one great jarr or fountain with a cover'.[25] These items are not included in later inventories but this does not mean they had been consigned to the melting pot. Movements of their plate and many paintings around the various Ormonde residences in England and Ireland occurred frequently. Furthermore the cistern and fountain are not included in any list of 'ould plate changed'.

Gold or silver-gilt?

Not listed in any of the inventories are any specific gold items which might be unambiguously identified with the 'gold' presentation service mentioned by Lady Burghclere. What then are we to make of her account? It is difficult to imagine that she concocted the information about gold dishes emblazoned with the arms of England and Butler being in the Cumberland silver vault. However, her credibility as a meticulous historian has been somewhat damaged by the illustration of the fountain. It is clear in this that the armorial shield is surmounted by an earl's coronet rather than a duke's. And while she may not have been an authority on antique plate, Lady Burghclere cannot easily be excused from ignorance of heraldic matters,

20. Gilbert, *Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, Dublin 1894, vol IV, p243.

21. See note 2.

22. *Pue's Occurrences*, xvi, no56, 14 July 1719; see further in this connection, Jane Fenlon, *The Ormonde Picture Collection*, Kilkenny 2001, p30.

23. MSS 2521-2525, 2527, 2529. With a view to presenting the results in the *Journal*, a comprehensive study of these interesting plate inventories is in progress by another member of the Society.

24. This inventory has been published in *Calendar of the Ormonde MSS at Kilkenny Castle*, HMC, new series, vol VII (1912), pp 512-13.

25. MS 2529 (as note 23).

since she was no stranger to the world of the armigerous. Her father was the 4th Earl of Carnarvon, her mother the daughter of the 6th Earl of Chesterfield. Her first husband was the son of the Earl of Strafford, her second the first Baron Burghclere, and as well as Ormonde's *Life*, she had also written a biography of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, while a later work dealt with the Duke of Wellington.

It is not clear whether Lady Burghclere relied on information issued by someone in the Cumberland household and accepted it at face value, or alternatively actually viewed the Cumberland collection in Austria. Possibly the latter. An inventory of the duke's 'Guilt Plate' taken in London on 3 July 1714, consists mostly of dressing plate and travelling plate but there is one intriguing entry in the list: '4 guilt plates with ye king's arms'.[26] Presumably these plates also bore the duke's arms since it was customary, both for security reasons as well as display, for plate in such collections to bear the owner's arms or cipher. Given that it was a common error to confuse silver-gilt with gold plate, it is tempting to think that these plates were what Lady Burghclere had in mind when writing of gold dishes with the arms of England and Butler reposing in the Cumberland Schatzkammer.

It is clear that Alfred Jones actually inspected the Willaume cistern and fountain. Presumably he was informed vaguely about an Ormonde provenance, and took it to refer to the family of an Ormonde he knew held the rank of marquess. In his *Old English Gold Plate* Jones had illustrated a gold cup and cover the property of the 3rd Marquess of Ormonde (of the 3rd creation) and which bore a presentation inscription 'Presented at the Coronation of His Majesty King George the Fourth, 19th July 1821 to James, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, KSP, as Hereditary Chief Butler of Ireland'. The recipient was advanced to the dignity of Marquess of Ormonde in 1825. Possibly Jones was not aware that this marquess's antecedent had held the higher rank of duke, and so the confusion.

The foregoing illustrates, to some extent, the vagueness and uncertainty of our present knowledge of important items of gold and silver believed to have reposed at some stage in the vaults of the Hanover princes. While many of these treasures are thought to have been sold after the death in 1923 of Ernest Augustus II, Crown Prince of Hanover, Duke of Cumberland and Duke of Brunswick, the objects now in Boston had remained in the possession of the family until the 1990s.[27] In contrast, another set of a cistern and fountain, made by the Hanover court goldsmith, Lewin Dedeke, circa 1710, was sold privately by the family in September 1924.[28]

I have failed to find any later reference to the actual gold objects identified by Alfred Jones in Austria. The thought that they might have have been consigned to the melting pot is an act of vandalism too horrible to contemplate. Given the events on the continent in 1914–18 and 1939–45 it is not inconceivable that they may lie unrecognised and unappreciated in some vault far removed from their original home. They may well be accompanied by other former possessions of the House of Hanover, such as the Ormonde plate. Should any readers know or learn anything about that possibility it would give this writer great pleasure to hear about it.

Acknowledgement

My thanks to Thomas Sinsteden for sharing some thoughts and information on the subject matter.

26. MS 2521 (as note 23).

27. Albany (as note 1), p17. She mentions (p16) that a substantial portion of the plate was sold privately in Vienna in 1923 and 1924. Timothy Schroder, 'The Duke of Sussex and his collection', *The Silver Society Journal*, no14 2002, p40, mentions that the Cumberland sale was handled discreetly by Crichton Bros, the London dealers, in the 1920s.

28. Christie's New York, 23 October 2000 lot 486, sold for $1,326,000.

Scottish goldsmiths' weights

HENRY STEUART FOTHRINGHAM

The following ten different methods of computing the weight of precious metals and jewels have all been used by goldsmiths in Scotland at one time or another. The Scottish and English computations of Troy Weight differed from one another until the eighteenth century and occasionally later. Troy Weight overlaps Mint Weight. In addition to the following tables, silver and gold were sometimes weighed in terms of specific coins, eg 'weight vij unicorns 5 grains' and similar entries in the Lord Treasurer's accounts and elsewhere. In this last instance the unicorn appears to be used as a money of account[1] rather than as the actual weight of the coin of that name.

Tower Weight (English & Scottish)

The earliest recorded system of calculating weight in Scotland, so far as gold and silver are concerned, appears to be Tower Weight, as used by the Royal Mint at the Tower of London. It was adopted at the Tower in the eleventh century and remained the standard system in England until its abolition in 1527. It is found in Scotland by the end of the thirteenth century when Edward I of England carried off treasure from Edinburgh Castle and elsewhere and had the presence of mind to weigh some of it. To what extent Tower Weight was adopted in Scotland as a whole is not clear. The system is of very early origin and was developed by Saxon moneyers, who had derived it from earlier methods of computation. The denominations were grains, pennyweights, shillings, merks (marks in England) and pounds, complicated by the fact that the pound was not divisible by a whole number of merks, nor did the pennyweight fall into a whole number of grains. This rather awkward system came into being as a result of amalgamating two pre-existing methods of calculation which were not wholly compatible with one another. It will be seen that it corresponds with the pre-decimalised monetary units of

12 pence = 1 shilling

20 shillings = £1

The weight and currency systems evolved together in a symbiotic relationship, the one dependent on the other, in the same way as monies of account had developed all over western Europe. The anchor point which enables one to relate Tower Weight to Troy Weight is the merk. One merk of the Tower equals 7½ oz troy.

22½ grains (Tower) = 1dwt [24 grains troy]

12dwt = 1 shilling (= 270 grains)

13⅓ shillings = 1 merk (=160 dwt) [7½oz troy]

1½ merks = 1 pound (= 20 shillings = 240 dwt)

Merks

The merk (in England called a mark) had various different connotations at different periods and was used in valuing land and other commodities. Here we are only dealing with its use as a unit for calculating the weight and value of silver and gold. Silver coins denominated in merks and fractions of merks were minted at different times from the second coinage of James VI in 1572 to the first coinage of Charles II in 1664. Originally a merk was a certain weight of gold or silver estimated in monetary terms, long before any coin of that value existed. It was incorporated into the system of Tower Weight (see above) but was also used on its own. At its earliest estimation in the twelfth century (and possibly earlier) it was equivalent to the value of two-thirds of a pound Scots, or 13s-4d Scots.[2] By that calculation, the weight of

1. A system of estimating the value of coins of different currencies and correlating them by means of a common denominator. Several different systems existed but most used the three denominations equivalent to pounds, shillings and pence, in which there are 20 shillings to the pound and 12 pence to the shilling, though they were usually called something else. For more, see Peter Spufford, *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands 1433-1496*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1970. Other works by Spufford also treat, *inter alia*, with monies of account.

2. Until the 1390s the currencies of Scotland and England were at parity with one another and were both referred to as sterling, ie, they were virtually a single currency shared by two neighbouring nations. After that time, however, they gradually diverged and the Scottish currency ceased to be referred to as sterling. By the date of the union of the crowns in 1603 one shilling Scots had devalued to become worth only one penny sterling, so the merk Scots had become equal to 13⅓d sterling.

Elsewhere in this Journal weights refer to Troy Weight unless stated otherwise. The following abbreviations are used:

Troy

lb = pound

oz = ounce

dwt = pennyweight

gr = grain

Metric

g = gram

a piece of silver said to weigh one merk would be 7½ ounces troy or 233.275 grams.

Troy Weight (Scottish calculation)

Troy Weight was being used south of the border from some time in the fourteenth century and appears in Scotland in a distinctive form about a century later, gradually replacing Tower Weight. From the fact that the denominations of troy measure in Scotland and England are different from one another, one may suppose that the Scottish troy system had an origin different from the English version and probably came straight to Scotland from the Continent or, more precisely, from France via Bruges. This seems to be supported by a resolution in the Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs (27 February 1578/9) to the effect that

> uniuersally throw the haill burrowis of this realme euer ilk trois wecht keip the iust wecht of xvj vnces for the pund conforme to the Frenche wecht and that the Magistratis of euery burgh put this present ordinance to execution betwix the dait heirof and the first day of September nixttocum.[3]

This resolution should not be read as the beginning of the system of Troy Weight in Scotland, merely a reinforcement and restatement of existing regulations which were not being fully complied with. It is reminiscent of John Hill Burton's remark about the statutes anent the coinage, which he refers to as 'the many denunciatory enactments, ever repeated because they are ever ineffective'.[4] Just as other systems of weights were occasionally employed to weigh precious metals, so troy measure could be used to measure other commodities. In Dundee in 1611, the Bonnetmakers complained against the Skinners because they 'used ane troys weight to sell to thame thair woll whilk thay pulled af thair skinnis'.[5]

The earliest period at which this mode of weighing precious metals was used in Scotland is unclear, but the earliest plausible date seems to be about 1490. The principal reason for adopting Troy Weight is likely to have been connected with the decision of the Scottish Parliament in 1489/90 to adopt the standard of Bruges[6] as the lowest acceptable standard for wrought silver in Scotland. Since that standard was expressed in Flanders in terms of Troy Weight, it would have been a natural progression to start using the same system in Scotland.[7]

Troy ounces and troy grains in Scotland and England were the same as one another, providing a common link between the two modes of calculation in the sister nations, but there the similarity ends. The Scottish ounce was divided into 16 drops and each drop into 30 grains. In practice, however, grains were used mostly for gold and were very little used for silver, except in the mint (see Mint Weight, below), where grains were differently calculated and were also divisible into smaller denominations. Thus the Scottish drop was the same as the drachm, the usual division of the troy ounce as used on the continent (the equivalent in English troy of 1 pennyweight and 6 grains); it was not the same as the dram Avoirdupois. When weighing silver, divisions of a drop, if used at all, were usually expressed as vulgar fractions. Above the ounce were two higher denominations, the pound troy and the stone troy, each of them being sixteen times the next lower denomination. In contemporary documents the ounce was usually written 'unce' or 'vnce', the pound was written 'pund' or 'lib' (being a variation of the usual English abbreviation 'lb.') and the stone was written 'ston'. Pieces of Scottish silver were still being engraved with the weight in unces and drops after the middle of the eighteenth century. The usual abbreviations then in use were 'u' or 'v' for unce and 'd' or 'dr' for drop; 'g' for grains was less frequently engraved. The Edinburgh assay-master's accounts were computed in this measure, 1681–1702, and Scottish goldsmiths continued to use it long after attempts had been made to impose English pennyweights on them after the union of parliaments in 1707. The Incorporation's accounts continue to refer to drops rather than pennyweights into the nineteenth century.

30 grains = 1 drop

16 drops = 1 ounce (unce) = 480 grains

16 ounces = 1 pound (pund or lib) = 7680 grains

16 pounds = 1 stone (ston) (256oz) = 122,880 grains

3. 'Universally through the whole burghs of this realm, every troy weight must keep the just weight of 16 ounces per pound, conforming to the French weight; and that the magistrates of every burgh shall put this present ordinance into execution between the date hereof and the first day of September next.'

4. John Hill Burton (ed), *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol I (1545-69), Introduction, p xxx.

5. Extracts from the *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, vol 1, p67.

6. At that time the standard of Bruges was the same as that of Paris.

7. The standard was also expressed in money of account in terms of groats, a subject too long and involved to enter into here.