

SILVER STUDIES

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Front cover:

Detail of the Emes and Barnard
Piranesi vase [fig 36b, p 61].

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From the editor

All the members of the Silver Society and the subscribers to its journal owe an incalculable debt to Vanessa Brett. In 1993 Vanessa joined John Culme as joint editor of *The Silver Society Journal* and she went on to become sole editor in 2003. Between them they oversaw the evolution of the journal into a serious annual publication with articles on a wide variety of silver-related topics. Under Vanessa's guidance the journal has gone from strength to strength but what has underpinned each edition and is so evident on their pages is her immense passion and love of silver in all its guises. It was a very fitting tribute to her that the last journal she edited, that of 2008, should have been the one to mark the Society's Fiftieth Anniversary. It is an exciting record of how, from very small beginnings, such a body can grow and develop when it is supported by enthusiasts like her.

It is people like Vanessa, who have verve, interest and an enquiring intellect, who transmit their enthusiasm to students and those who may be wishing to take a passing interest in some aspect of silver a step further. They are able to transform a seemingly rather old-fashioned backwater of the decorative arts into an exciting, intriguing and relevant field of research, discovery and enlightenment. I greatly admire how Vanessa has consistently sought to show how the study of silver is so much more than hallmarks and makers and how its design and production are interwoven with so many streams of social, economic and artistic history.

I would like, at this juncture, to thank the membership of the Society for their understanding. I took on the editorship at what has turned out to be a quite difficult time when I have had much more going on than I had anticipated and I must apologise that the publication of this journal is so late and that you are receiving the

2009 edition in 2010. My thanks also go to the committee for their support which I very much appreciate. They have all, and Vanessa in particular, been very supportive and kind. The contributors to the journal have also been very tolerant and helpful in their dealings with a first-time editor. Their articles in this year's journal are very varied in subject matter although, by chance, this edition does seem to focus on the relationships between the Chawner, Emes and Barnard families; illustrating how closely interwoven the strands of the London trade have been. I am also very pleased to be able to include Ross Fox's overview of Lois Betteridge's distinguished career and Dorothea Burstyn's very entertaining and colourful account of the guidance offered by 'etiquette' books.

As I write and contemplate the thought of how to take the journal forward I am very daunted at trying to step into Vanessa's shoes and feel woefully ill-equipped. I have been looking at past editorials and am going to repeat something that Vanessa said in 2003. The articles that are published are not commissioned and we are reliant on members and their associates and colleagues to submit ideas, articles and research. The society is not in a position to pay for articles but we are able to offer small grants towards the costs of photographs, travel etc. If anyone wants to know more they should contact me or the Secretary. Articles do not need to be presented fully finished; I will if I am able, advise on how an idea may be developed or research taken further and expanded.

The format of this year's journal has changed in that it does not contain features such as book reviews, lists of publications, auction results etc. This does not mean that they are going to disappear completely but it is hoped that they will move to the society's website which will mean

that they can be updated more regularly and that they will be available to a wider audience. Like it or not, there are probably few of us who do not use the internet regularly or get others to do so on our behalf and certainly, for many people, seeking information or doing research, it is an invaluable tool and can save many trips to libraries or wearisome journeys. It is essential, therefore, that our website becomes a forum and an asset to those interested in any aspect of silver.

As a society, if we are to maintain our vitality, we must inevitably concern ourselves with the future membership. I do not feel particularly comfortable using words such as inclusion and relevance but they are appropriate to us as a society. It is only by encouraging new membership and interest that we can survive and to do this we have to pursue potentially unlikely avenues. I know from my own children, that they thought that silver was dull and fusty. This half term, however, I took one of them to the exhibition of Hiroshi Suzuki's work at Goldsmiths' Hall and he was entranced and intrigued. We spent a long time looking at the

pieces and we discussed the techniques involved in their creation, the forms and the themes behind them; it was a much more successful outing than either of us had anticipated. Another son who has attended silversmithing classes at the weekends with Anne Hope now goes to exhibitions and shows on his own. His contact with the material has been exciting and stimulating and opened up avenues of interest that the mainstream curriculum at school would not have done. We need to think of ways in which we can ignite these small flames of interest in future generations.

One further apology. Last year's journal, number 23 (2008) included on page 5 the article *The commissioning of cups*. The final paragraph gave the names of the donors of the Chairman's Cup and unfortunately the name of Keith Grant Peterkin, who has done so much for the Society over the years, was omitted from this list. The Society would like to apologise for this serious omission.

Lucy Morton

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Lois Etherington Betteridge, Pioneer of a Craft Revival in Canada

ROSS FOX

With a working career of some sixty years Lois Betteridge MFA, CM, RCA is still at the forefront of contemporary Canadian silversmiths. As a craftsperson she commands a superior mastery of centuries-old handwrought techniques that is rarely matched today; above all, she excels as a virtuoso chaser [fig 1]. She is equally proficient in design. Each of her works embodies a seamless fusion of design and technique that is striking for its innovation and originality. She is motivated by a single indomitable aspiration: technical perfection in the creation of beautiful objects.

She does not use preliminary sketches but begins working metal with a general preconception in mind which she then allows to evolve and assume form in an almost morphogenetic process, until she decides a piece is finished. The process is one of personal psychological expression through the manipulation of metal with hand tools. Functionality remains the determining factor underlying the ultimate appearance of each piece; she does not allow design to take over or subsume function. Her essential commitment is to a traditionalist approach to silversmithing albeit with a contemporary look. The end result is a remarkable and distinctive body of work that extends over a period of more than fifty years. Lois is the only metalsmith of her generation in Canada who had the benefit of an extensive formal training in traditional silversmithing techniques at a university level. Although silver has been her preferred medium, she has also worked in other metals.

Lois's achievement was accorded official recognition in 1997 when she was invested by Governor-General Roméo LeBlanc as a Member of the Order of Canada, the nation's highest civilian honour. The citation underscored her prestige as an outstanding metalsmith, her unreserved sharing of knowledge as a teacher, as well as her role as a Distinguished Member of the Society of North American Goldsmiths (SNAG). Another official award followed in 2002 with the Queen Elizabeth II Golden Jubilee medal, bestowed by the Government of Canada on outstanding Canadians, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the accession of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II to the throne. Other honours of a distinguished nature had presaged these; in 1977 Lois was elected to the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts. The following year she became the second recipient of the recently created Saidye Bronfman Award, Canada's pre-eminent commendation for excellence in the crafts, which is administered through the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC).¹ The award obliges the museum to collect pieces by the winners and it now owns eight works by Lois. In 1991, she received the M Joan Chalmers 15th Anniversary Award, a unique presentation marking



Fig 1 Lois Etherington Betteridge at her workbench, 1976.

(photo: Keith Betteridge)

¹ Stephen Inglis, *Masters of the Crafts: Recipients of the Saidye Bronfman Award for Excellence in the Crafts, 1977-86*, Hull QC, 1989, pp19-20, 54-65.

the first fifteen years of the Ontario Crafts Council.² It is through her students that Lois has had the greatest impact on the craft, placing her at the very fulcrum of its national progress during the late twentieth century; there are few contemporary silversmiths in Canada who have not been under her tutelage. She has taught in a formal educational context as well as taking on apprentices in her studio. The guiding dictum of her teaching is that the perfection of traditional techniques is fundamental to being an accomplished silversmith. Otherwise she encouraged her students to explore aesthetic independence; it is for this reason that her recognizable imitators are few.

Her pivotal importance as a teacher has been celebrated in three exhibitions over the last decade. The first was organized in 2000 by the Macdonald Stewart Art Centre in Guelph, Ontario, in which she and seven former students participated.³ It was followed in 2002 by *Teacher, Silversmith, Mentor: 20 Years in the Highlands with Lois Etherington Betteridge*.⁴ In addition to the work of Lois, this exhibition included pieces by thirty-eight of her students from the Haliburton School of the Arts, Sir Sanford Fleming College. The culminating event was the celebration in April 2009 of her eightieth birthday with an exhibition at the Bancroft-Snell Gallery in London, Ontario. There were twenty-one participants, most of whom were her former students. As a group show it was a veritable 'Who's Who' of Canadian silversmiths and metalsmiths from across the country.⁵

Born in Drummondville, Quebec, Lois was the daughter of Alfred Etherington who, in 1933, founded and became sales manager of the Sovereign Pottery in Hamilton, sixty kilometres west of Toronto.⁶ From that time onwards the Etheringtons lived in nearby Burlington where Lois spent the remainder of her childhood years. Upon completion of high school she attended the Ontario College of Art for the 1946-47 term. She then enrolled at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, because it was one of a few universities in the United States that had a BFA programme in the crafts; there were none in Canada at the time. She was also encour-

aged to attend this university by her brother, Bruce Etherington, who was already studying architecture there. Coincidental with her arrival at the University of Kansas Carlyle H Smith (1912-2004) was setting up a jewellery and silversmithing curriculum in the Department of Design. It was the first such programme at an American university. Lois took Smith's silversmithing classes and it was he who fostered her commitment to a lifetime pursuit of the craft. Smith had studied at the Rhode Island School of Design and, just prior to going to Kansas, under William E Bennett (1906-1967), Head of the Silversmithing Department of Sheffield School of Art in England.⁷ Textile design was another area of specialised study pursued by Lois at the university. She graduated as a BFA in 1951.

Upon returning to Canada in 1952, she set up a studio in Oakville, near Toronto, and soon afterwards in a premises on Yonge Street, Toronto, near the wealthy Rosedale neighbourhood. She has worked as an independent studio-metalsmith ever since, largely in silver and gold, but also in other metals. Her clientele was varied, but initially her mainstay was jewellery-making and liturgical metalwork for Bede House, a local church supplier to mainly Anglican churches. Her chief competitors in Toronto were Harold Stacey (1911-1979) and Douglas Boyd (1901-1972) for handcrafted silver hollowware, and Nancy Meek Pocock (1910-1998) for jewellery. Despite their dominance of the local scene, the young Lois Etherington managed to support herself through her craft, which few others were able to do during this period.

Though working full-time as a silversmith, she nevertheless took advantage of every opportunity to expand her metalworking skills. In 1953, she studied chasing in evening classes at the Provincial Institute of Trades (later Ryerson Polytechnic Institute, now Ryerson University) under the master jeweller and silversmith, Hero Kielman (1919-2008). Kielman had just arrived from The Netherlands, where he had studied at the Vakschool voor Goud en Zilvermeden (Vocational School for Gold and Silversmiths) in Schoonhoven.

2 As a cultural philanthropist, Joan Chalmers provided vital financial support to innumerable organizations and individuals in the areas of dance, theatre, film, the visual arts and music, but her great passion was the advancement of Canadian craft practice.

3 Judith Nasby and Anne McPherson, *Lois Etherington Betteridge: A Tribute Exhibition with Beth Alber, Jackie Anderson, Anne Barros, Beth Biggs, Brigitte Clavette, Kye-Yeon Son and Ken Vickerson*, exhibition catalogue.

4 Exhibition catalogue essay by Barbara Isherwood, Toronto, 2002.

5 *Celebration: The Legacy of Lois Etherington Betteridge*, exhibition catalogue, London OTY, 2008.

6 During the 1940s Sovereign Pottery was the largest maker of dinnerware in Canada. In 1947, the firm was sold to John Bros Ltd, Hanley, Staffordshire.

7 Richard Helzer, 'A Legacy in American Metalsmithing,' *Metalsmith*, vol 14, 1994, pp 16-21.

Most of her liturgical pieces were destined for the Anglican church of Canada or the Roman Catholic church. Examples are a chalice and ciborium [fig 2] of 1955 for the newly founded St Christopher's Anglican church in Burlington. The overall forms and decoration of these pieces display conspicuous echoes of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Their surfaces bear residual hammer marks, while the decoration consists of narrow bands of repeat motifs such as small silver appliqués or cloisons filled with either ebony or ivory. These motifs have an appropriate emblematic character and include a fish, trefoil, equilateral triangle, and so forth. Stylistically these vessels are not necessarily characteristic of her work during this period, which was marked by much experimentation. There is an unavoidable debt in other pieces to Scandinavian Modern, which was the rage in Canada and the United States with persons of more progressive taste. Whether through the mediatory influence of Smith, Kielman or her Toronto contemporaries, or more likely all of them combined, Lois could not escape Scandinavian Modern.

In 1955, she successfully applied for a scholarship to the Cranbrook Academy of Art in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, where she spent two academic years, graduating with an MFA degree.⁸ Cranbrook was, and still is, renowned as an important incubator of modern design in the United States. Its curriculum was shaped by its first director, the Finnish architect and designer, Eliel Saarinen and was based on an apprenticeship method of individual instruction. Lois thrived in this atmosphere. Her mentor was Richard Thomas (1917-1988) who, in 1948, developed a full-time programme in metalwork that was to become the Metalsmithing Department.⁹ The approach to teaching was one of openness; the outlook was internationalist. Thomas expected his students to achieve a thorough mastery of material, tools and processes through disciplined training while encouraging them to explore new design possibilities. The Cranbrook method would have a lasting effect on Lois. Inevitably, her experience there exposed her to the International Style or Americanised version of Bauhaus design, as well as the more fluid, Scandinavian-influenced mid-century modern which would inspire her over the next decade. She admits to being impressed by Eliel Saarinen's iconic silver urn of 1934 which was the centrepiece of Cranbrook social functions.¹⁰

Upon her return to Canada in 1957 she was appointed a lecturer in Applied Arts and Crafts at the Macdonald Institute (now part of the University of Guelph), Guelph, Ontario.¹¹ Her teaching responsibilities were weaving and design; she also taught silversmithing as an extra-curricular pursuit as well as continuing to do studio work. In 1960 she married Keith Betteridge, an emigrant from the United Kingdom, who was a postgraduate student in veterinary medicine at the Ontario Veterinary College in Guelph.¹² Some months previously she had resigned her teaching position with the intention of moving to England to study with William Bennett, but had retained her studio at the Macdonald Institute. It was at this time that Lois completed a set of fourteen Stations of the Cross in lead for the chapel of Marymount College in Sudbury, Ontario.¹³

After Keith Betteridge received an MVSc degree from the University of Toronto in 1961 the Betteridges moved to England so that he could pursue PhD studies at the University of Reading. They



Fig 2 Chalice and ciborium, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1955. St. Christopher's Anglican church, Burlington, Ontario. (photo: Ross Fox)

8 The Cranbrook Academy of Art is just one component of the Cranbrook Educational Community, a complex that incorporates the Cranbrook Schools, Cranbrook Institute of Science and Cranbrook Museum of Art. A product of the Arts and Crafts movement, Cranbrook was the brain-child of Charles Gough Booth, a Canadian-born newspaper magnate, and his son George. Its name is derived from the birthplace in England of Charles Booth's father. See Robert Judson Clark et al, *Design in America: The Cranbrook Vision 1925-1950*, New York, circa 1983.

9 There was an earlier silver workshop at Cranbrook

from 1929 until 1933 when it closed. It was under the direction of Arthur Nevill Kirk. Clark (as note 8), pp152-53, 167, 169-71.

10 Clark (as note 8), pl 32.

11 Founded in 1903 by Sir William Macdonald and Adelaide Hoodless, the Macdonald Institute ranks as one of the leading schools of home economics in North America.

12 Founded in 1862, it is the oldest veterinary college in North America.

13 Since transferred to Notre Dame Chapel, St. Jerome's College, University of Waterloo.



Fig 3 Maker's mark of Lois Etherington Betteridge registered in 1961 with the Goldsmiths' Company, London.

(photo: Keith Betteridge)

remained in England for six years, spending their last two years in Birmingham. During this period they had two children; Lois, with her studio in their home, continued to work at her craft, while managing a household. Her silversmithing was exercised by means of a rigorous organisation of time and tasks. With a children's playpen near her workbench she learned to work in intense twenty-minute intervals during the daytime as well as through long evenings. In this way she managed to juggle craft and household without sacrificing either. She registered a maker's mark [fig 3] with the Goldsmiths' Company in London, in order to have her works assayed and hallmarked according to British law. Although she felt somewhat isolated in her craft this was overcome to a certain degree through regular participation in exhibitions such as those held at the Bear Lane Gallery in Oxford at which she exhibited annually.¹⁴ Dating from this period is a five-piece tea and coffee service (including slop basin), which has subsequently been separated. As evidenced in the teapot [fig 4], with its boat-form body and surfaces of flawless smoothness, it shared in the Scandinavian aesthetic. The use of black nylon in the handle exemplifies her ongoing experimentation with modern materials.



Fig 4 Teapot, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1963. Macdonald Stewart Art Centre, Guelph, Ontario.

(photo: © Keith Betteridge)

In 1967, Lois returned to Canada with her family, settling in Ottawa, where Keith joined the Department of Agriculture.¹⁵ It was a fortuitous move as, in the nation's capital, she was positioned to benefit from a succession of commissions from government circles as well as private patrons. First among the former was a series of silver letter openers fashioned in 1968 for the Hon Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, for presentation to visiting foreign dignitaries. This was followed the next year by a comparable commission from the Hon Alastair Gillespie, Minister of Trade and Commerce. In 1970 she made a bronze sculpture for presentation to the Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, by parliamentary colleagues as a Christmas present. Called *The Ultimate Executive Toy*, it was inset with twelve gemstones representing each of the Canadian provinces.

An ineluctable aesthetic transformation in her work is testimony to her constant search for new expressive means. During the late 1960s her work displays a relaxation of form and an interest in textured

14 Lois Etherington Betteridge, 'An Autobiography,' *Goldsmith's Journal* (later *Metalsmith*), vol 17 2 1978, pp 30-31.

15 He was appointed Head, Physiology Section, Animal Diseases Research Institute.



Fig 5 Set of Liquor Goblets, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1969. Private collection. (photo: Keith Betteridge)

surfaces [fig 5] which suggest a familiarity with the silver of Gerald Benney acquired during her residency in England. By the middle of the 1970s what Lois refers to as her 'art' phase began to emerge. It is characterised by cohesive, organic volumes and highly-worked textural effects that impart an alluring tactile sense to her pieces; they seem to beckon the beholder to touch and to hold them. Form and function are synthesised to such a degree that form becomes emblematic of function in a poetic fusion of witticism and visual beauty; complementary titles often reinforce this effect but the creative intent is even more complex. Her mature pieces appear to be suffused with a celebratory dimension, an elevation of and rejoicing in otherwise mundane activities through their attendant objects, that supersedes mere functionalism. In the words of Lois herself:

For me, the functional object is a way to acknowledge and celebrate the many "rituals" of our daily routines. Rituals we may not be aware of, but which, when celebrated, become meaningful, beautiful and formal, extending the role of objects far beyond mere function. The things we use as a matter of course can enrich our lives by their beauty, by the atmosphere they create, or by evoking personal as well as "tribal" (unconscious) memories.¹⁶

A brandy snifter [fig 6] in the Canadian Museum of Civilization is a transitional piece that contains elements of this new aesthetic. Its bowl with rounded bottom and tall walls that taper inward reproduces the paradigmatic form of glass snifters. Like glass examples, the exterior of the bowl has a perfect regularity of surface making it easy to conjecture that it was spun, yet it was entirely hand raised. Its plainness recalls her earlier work. The stem and foot, in contrast, are cast as a single, rusticated, sculptural unit which acts as a counterpoint to the glistening surface of the bowl. An emerald at the bottom of the bowl, which is reflected on the interior sides, appears to float in the amber brandy when the imbiber, tilting the snifter to sniff and taste, glances inside. Lois's obsession with finish and delight in amusement are further evident in a pearl that is set underneath the foot poised to titillate one's companions in a momentary diversion when the snifter is raised.



Fig 6 Brandy Snifter, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1974. Canadian Museum of Civilization acc.no. 86-101. (photo: © Keith Betteridge)

¹⁶ 'Metalsmith Exhibition in Print 2001,' *Metalsmith*, vol 21 4 2001, p 18.



Fig 7 Spice Shaker, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1977. Collection of L E Betteridge.
(photo: Keith Betteridge)

An intensification of her concern for solid, volumetric forms is seen in a spice shaker [fig 7] where undulating, horizontal folds wrap its vertically ribbed body. It appears organic without reproducing any precise form in nature. Although constructed from sheet silver, the flatness and thinness of the sheet disappear within the plasticity of volume. Some atypical drawings for the spice shaker [fig 8] are instructive as to her creative process. She rarely made preliminary sketches and, when she did, they usually served as an initial point of departure only; otherwise she let a form unfold as she worked the metal. The shaker is no exception. This series of drawings is exceptional, however, because it demonstrates how she stopped at various critical stages in order to rethink where she should go next. Usually she would do this instinctively with the hammer as the instrument of her thoughts rather than pen or chalk. These drawings allow us to envisage the progress of the piece. True to her principles, the end product was finished all over. Her pieces are meant to be seen, touched, held, explored and enjoyed in all their parts, including hidden areas.

A more comprehensible conceit defines a honey pot [fig 9], whose elements are borrowed directly from the natural world. The body is

Fig 8 Drawings by Lois Etherington Betteridge for the spice shaker in fig 7.

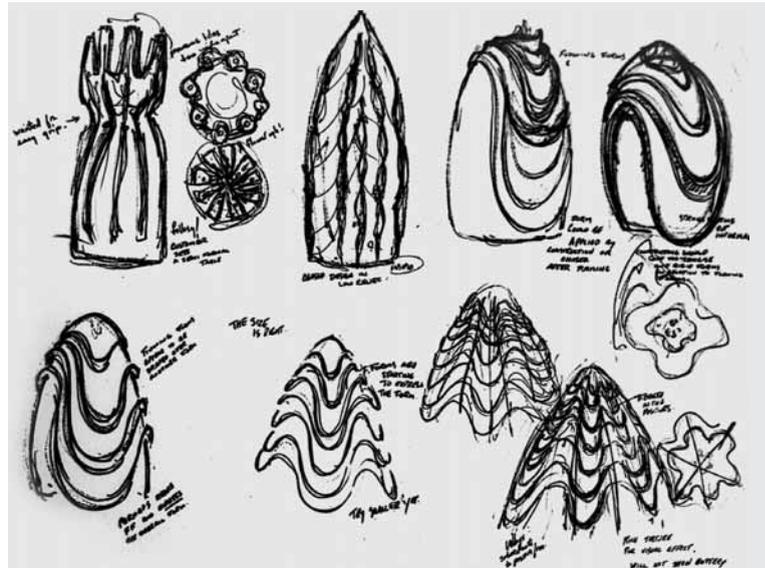


Fig 9 Honey Pot, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1976. Collection of Eric Betteridge.
(photo: Keith Betteridge)



modelled on a wasp's nest; the handle of the recessed lid as a honeycomb with bee. Lois studied the forms first-hand, striving for accuracy in all the details including the anatomy of the bee. Unlike the abstract designs of earlier years her designs now became personalised and more psychologically accessible in their references, where form intimates function and details speak of surprise and playfulness.

Commissions abounded during this period. Some of the most distinguished examples include: a silver rose bowl (1976) for the Canadian Museum of Natural Sciences; a silver pitcher (1977) for the Joan A Chalmers National Craft Collection; a bronze trophy (1977) for the Canadian Nuclear Association; and a multi-media trophy (1978) for the Canadian Construction Association. Towards the close of the 1970s she temporarily abandoned most commissioned work in order



Fig 10 Chalice for Prime Minister Joe Clark, 1979. Collection of the Right Hon Joe Clark. (photo: Keith Betteridge)



Fig 11 Tot Cup for an Insomniac, 1983. Collection of L E Betteridge. (photo: Keith Betteridge)

Fig 12 Ice Cream Cone, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1983. Collection of Keith Betteridge. (photo: Keith Betteridge)

to concentrate on her own personal aesthetic inclinations and not be confined by the choices of patrons. It was an exercise preparatory to her major retrospective exhibition, *Reflections in Gold and Silver*, which travelled to eight galleries and museums across the country from 1981 until 1983. She could not, however, ignore one special commission. It was a silver chalice [fig 10] for the newly-elected Prime Minister, Joe Clark, on the occasion of the opening of the thirty-first Parliament of Canada on 9 October, 1979.¹⁷ The presentation was by the caucus of the Progressive Conservative Party. Lois personalised the chalice by embedding a jasper stone underneath the base, an allusion to Clark's Alberta roots.

Lois's 'art' phase culminated in masterful pieces such as *Tot Cup for an Insomniac* of 1983 [fig 11]. It is actually a goblet for brandy or whisky with an outer casing that extends most of its height. The casing is a cylinder of modulated irregularity with small decorative rivets randomly encircling its waist. Projecting from one side is an annulated, handle-like element with discs of ivory and a terminus embedded with a Seiko watch; there is a second, antique watch face underneath the foot. This piece exemplifies Lois's tongue-in-cheek humour at its best. The vessel's form, together with a spring at the junction of the stem and foot, can be construed as poetic references to the unsettled state of mind of an insomniac, while the watches are ever-present reminders of the slow passing of time. The vessel's liquor may be regarded as a hoped for but not necessarily efficacious curative. From a more personal perspective, this cup resonates with intimations of late hours spent by Lois herself at the workbench.



17 'Ottawa Whirl: Parliament Opening Formal-Casual Affair,' *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 18 October 1979.

18 Keith was appointed NSERC (National Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada) Semex (Smiley-Reeds-McDonald) Research Chair in Animal Biotechnology, Department of Biomedical Sciences, Ontario Veterinary College, University of Guelph.



Fig 13 Coffee Pot for Six Friends, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1988. Private collection. (photo: Keith Betteridge)

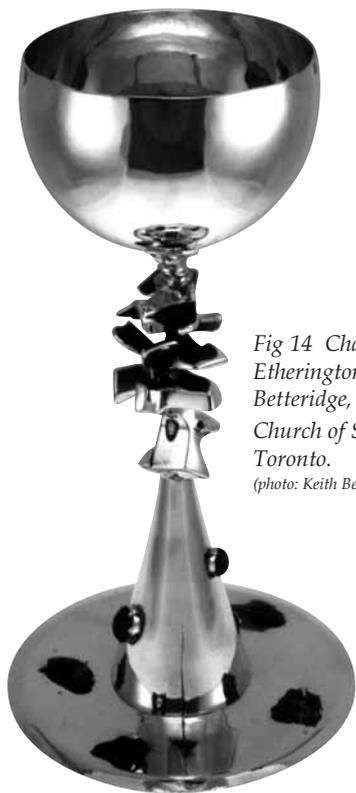


Fig 14 Chalice, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 1994. Church of St. Mathias, Toronto. (photo: Keith Betteridge)

Ice-Cream Cone [fig 12,] from the same year, is replete with an even more personalised content. A beaker with lid, the title explains the shape. The body of the beaker is chased with an all over guilloché-like latticework imitative of the biscuit of a cone. The domed cover consists of overlapping, scalloped layers imitative of melting ice cream. To heighten the sense of illusion the silver of the cover is frosted and the beaker is gilt. A single pearl garnishes the very top of the cover. Again the form is not a mere fanciful container but invested with a deeper significance. On the sides are small oval frames containing pictures of children eating ice cream: Lois's children. It is in effect a personal 'memory reliquary'. Again Lois did not neglect the underside of the beaker where there is a fifth photograph, of a hand holding a cone. In formal terms, the *Ice-Cream Cone* incorporates Lois's preoccupation with organic volumes and a sprouting interest in geometry, in the contrasting elements of cover and beaker.

Commissions came to the fore once again, when Lois and her husband relocated to Mont-Saint-Hilaire, Quebec, from 1980 until 1986 and, subsequently, to Guelph where they continue to live¹⁸. Distanced from Ottawa, a public profile was more challenging to maintain, but overcome through frequent exhibiting and for the next few years she was inundated by commissions from both public and professional organisations. Among these was a series of forty desk sets in silver and soapstone for the Canadian Pacific Railway presented in 1981 to the Prime Minister, provincial premiers and board members; this was a rare occasion when Lois duplicated a design in multiples. In 1982, she designed the annual Pioneer Award (in bronze) of the International Embryo Transfer Society, which she casts each year.¹⁹ In 1983 it was the silver medal for the UNESCO-sponsored McLuhan Teleglobe Canada Award to be presented biennially to renowned, international figures in the field of communication.²⁰ In 1984, she produced an honorific piece, *Bringing Home the Constitution*, which was presented to Prime Minister Trudeau for his role two years earlier in the 'patriation' of the Constitution of Canada, marking the severance of the country's last colonial link with the United Kingdom.

By the mid-1980s Lois had begun a foray into multiple aesthetic essays where conflicting aspirations were sometimes pursued almost simultaneously. The guiding principles driving the most conspicuous group are geometry and 'the sheet'. Whereas in proceeding years she strove to disguise her reliance on sheet silver she now underscored its many properties wherever and however possible. One strain in this direction was a reliance on tubular construction which resulted, to great effect, in *Coffee Pot for Six Friends* [fig 13], where the pot consists of a tubular shaft, while the spout and handle are narrow, hemispherical tubes that intersect the pot creating a perfect circle. The square, stepped base is made of acrylic and silver; arcs of acrylic are added to the inside and outside of the handle. Geometry, accentuated by highly polished surfaces, dominates. Elsewhere she highlighted the thinness and flatness of sheet silver in shallow or gently curving bowls with hard, if undulating, edges.

¹⁹ The recipients include members of the United States National Academy of Sciences and Fellows of the British Royal Society.

²⁰ It was named for Marshall McLuhan.

Similar formal concerns were pushed further during the 1990s. Elsewhere she explored openwork in baskets, bowls and cups thereby exposing sheet even further. The curved edges of earlier bowls

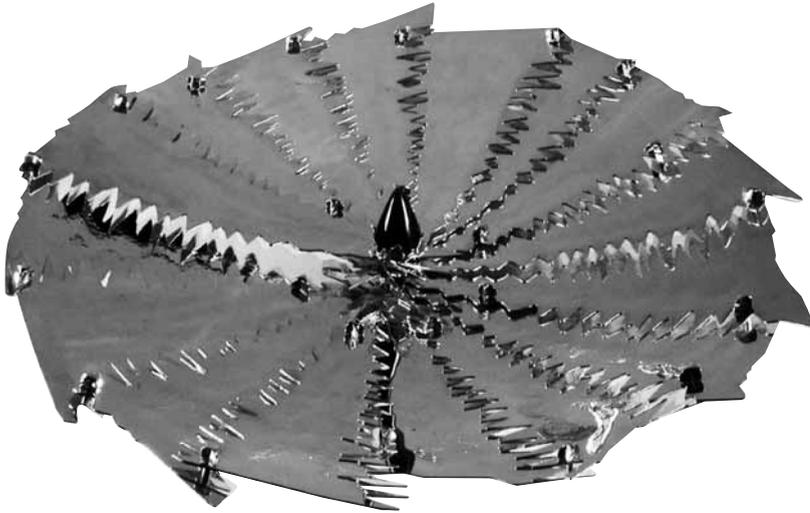


Fig 16 Argentinean Reel, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 2004. Collection of Michael Barnstijn and Louise MacCallum. (photo: Keith Betteridge)

and plates often become jagged and sharp-edged but she also reverted increasingly to flourishes of whimsy that are more reminiscent of her work of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Transitional to this tendency is a chalice [fig 14], a rare late liturgical piece, where a fractured upper stem contrasts with the geometricity of the cone and circular disc of the lower stem and foot. As the decade advanced the whimsy factor blossomed into an alluring romanticism where, among other things, her love of chasing became reinvigorated. Heralding the millennium, the tendencies of the 1990s seem to converge in a lavish goblet called *I Carry the Sun in a Golden Cup* [fig 15]. True to its title, it is a calyx-like bowl of gold with a carnelian at its centre; the lower stem and foot are of silver. The title of the piece is borrowed from the poem *Those Dancing Days Are Gone* by William Butler Yeats.

In 2003 Lois was presented with an entirely new challenge by Michael Barnstijn, a former member of the company that developed the ubiquitous Blackberry phone; he asked her to fashion pieces from a solid bar of pure silver. Until this time she had only worked with prefabricated sterling silver sheet but she recalled the advice of a mentor at the start of her career: never to admit you cannot carry out a commission but instead to adapt, even if it means learning new skills. Finding that pure silver lacked the consistency necessary to hold its form, she had it alloyed into sheet silver that she could work. This she transformed into a plate [fig 16] composed of a series of flat, radiating segments with sawtooth edges that were riveted together. It appears to rotate in an illusory centripetal movement, an impression reinforced by the title that, of course, is a play on the word *argentum* or silver.

Also from this period is a loving cup made for the Toronto-based Honourable Company of Freemen of the

City of London of North America (2003). Most recent commissions are, however, of a private nature. Lois is making pieces for two synagogues; she particularly enjoys making Jewish pieces because, "as long as the work functions it can be of any shape that one imagines."

Lois might be studied against the backdrop of the women's movement, but it would do neither justice. Certainly she was, and still is, a role model for many young women in the crafts. Gender aside, she is a singular achiever, and that is sufficient in itself as she ranks, unrivalled, as the foremost Canadian silversmith of her generation. No Canadian silversmith has received so many prestigious commissions or public honours within modern memory. Moreover, she has a solid international reputation; to date she has had twenty-four solo exhibitions and participated in countless group exhibitions in tens of countries across Europe and North America. Her ultimate goal, successfully attained, has been to create objects that are functional yet beautiful and eloquent, attuned to modern aesthetics yet fashioned in accordance with time-honoured techniques. Under the veneer of modernism lies a traditionalist. Lois Etherington Betteridge, a studio silversmith for fifty-eight years, is eighty-one this year but her indefatigable commitment to the craft has not abated.

Fig 15 I carry the Sun in a Golden cup, Lois Etherington Betteridge, 2000. Private collection. (photo: Keith Betteridge)



The Foundress's Cup of Pembroke College, Cambridge

DAVID BUCKINGHAM AND JAYNE RINGROSE



Fig 1 The Foundress's Cup.
(Photograph by Peter Menzies)

In the *Annual Gazette* of Pembroke College Cambridge for 1931 there is an article on the Foundress's cup (presumably by Ellis Minns, Fellow 1899-1905 and 1913-1953, Disney Professor in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology from 1929).¹ It states that

Sentiment still clings to the idea that the Foundress's cup, since as early as 1546 it is called 'my Lady's cup', must have some connection with Mary of St. Pol, but the weight of documentary evidence is against this view, and archaeology claims the cup for the second half of the fifteenth century, as the gift of Richard Sokburn, who was Fellow of the College, about 1466 and afterwards Vicar of Soham ... He undoubtedly presented to the College about 1497, certain pieces of plate including a mazer of silver gilt with the inscription round it, 'God help at ned.' This mazer appears according to certain old plate inventories to have been converted into a silver-gilt standing cup.

Charles James Jackson's *Illustrated History of English Plate*² shows several mazers of similar shape and style to the Foundress's cup, including the beautiful mazer, the Cup of the Three Kings (so called from the inscription on the cup "Jaspar, Melchior, Balthasar") belonging to Corpus Christi College Cambridge. It dates from about 1490. Jackson provides the following description of Pembroke's Foundress's cup:

Diameter of bowl, 5 inches; depth, 3 inches; height 6³/₄ inches; diameter of foot, 4¹/₄ inches. This fine standing mazer had originally a maple-wood bowl; but, having at some time been broken, it has been replaced by one of silver gilt. The band is of silver gilt, and unusually deep, being 2⁵/₁₆ inches outside. It has plain moulded bands and a broad rayed and scalloped fringe, and is inscribed in black letter: *Saint Denis that is my dear, for his love drink and make good cheer*.³ Its high foot, which was originally removable at will, has a beautiful open cresting encircling it just above the base. This base and cresting were, in the nineteenth century, deliberately sawn off, because they were considered to be of later date than the bowl; but have since been replaced. Midway on the stem of the foot is a band inscribed: god help at ne[e]d above which is rudely scratched the letters VM for 'Valence Mary'.⁴ The print, which stands up higher than usual, is a silver-gilt boss, ⁷/₈ inch in diameter, engraved somewhat rudely with a letter M between two sprigs on a hatched ground, once enamelled, though none of the enamel now remains. In an inventory dated 1491, in the

1 *Pembroke College Cambridge Society Annual Gazette* (1931), 7-8. For Professor Sir Ellis Minns, see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

2 Charles James Jackson, *An Illustrated History of English Plate, Ecclesiastical and Secular*, 2 vols, London, 1911, vol II, p 614 and facing plate; for the Cup of the Three Kings, see also p 618. There is seemingly no archival evidence that the mazer was of wood while in the College's possession, so if the change were made from maple-wood to silver gilt it would have been in the fifteenth century. For the possibility that the Foundress's original gift was broken, see further, below.

3 The original wording of the inscription, also quoted by Jackson at this point, is "Sayn Denes þ' es me d're for hes lof drenk and mak' gud cher".

Colin Wilcockson, Emeritus Fellow of Pembroke College, suggests that 'lof' should be translated as 'praise' rather than 'love'. His translation of the inscription is "Saint Denis who is dear to me, drink and celebrate in praise of him".

4 Marie de St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke, founded the Hall or House of Valence-Marie, afterwards commonly called Pembroke Hall, and later Pembroke College, in 1347. Valence Mary remains a term of affection for the College.

5 The spelling Sokburn was used by Ainslie and by Jackson, but Attwater and Minns use Sokburn. The Register has Sokborn (Pembroke College Archives, College MS I 10, 91v). On Sokborn, see notes on the medieval history of the cup, below.

College Register, is an entry recording the gift of two great salts by Richard Sokborn, fellow.⁵... It seems from these entries that the mazer had a wooden cover surmounted by a silver-gilt knob. This is now lost, but was in existence in 1546 ...The mazer is not much earlier than his time. Its date is probably *circa* 1460.

The history of the Foundress's cup clearly needed further investigation.

College manuscripts labelled Cμ, Cξ, Aη were written by Gilbert Ainslie (Master 1828-1870).⁶ The manuscripts are beautifully hand-written and contain a scholarly account of the Foundress's Cup and other important pieces of college plate. Ainslie provides a carefully reasoned, convincing account of why the cup was the gift of Richard Sokborn and not of the Foundress (its style is that of the fifteenth century, the inscription is in medieval English rather than in French or Latin, it does not bear her arms, the stem carries the wording "god help at ned" inscribed on Richard Sokborn's mazer, and the letters VM on the stem are manifestly of later date than the medieval writing on the bowl and stem).

Alas, nearly all of the Pembroke College plate was sent to Charles I in 1641-42. An inventory taken at the Restoration describes the plate in the treasury to be: "One flaggon, One Chalice and Paten. One Anathema Cup gilt. The Foundresse her Cup."⁷

In Manuscript Cμ, Gilbert Ainslie writes, probably in 1836, that an inventory taken by William Sampson in 1673

sets the weight (of the Foundress's cup) at 20 oz. 3 dwt. On a recent weighing it proved to be 21 oz. 17 dwt.⁸ This increase may be accounted for by a quantity of lead, which has been most injudiciously employed for the twofold purpose, perhaps, of hindering leakage and of uniting more firmly the Cup and the Stem, which appear to have been originally fastened together by a nut and screw. As to its parts – consisting of a Bowl and its Stem, now rudely connected together

externally by two rings, the one plain and clumsy the other resembling a rope, and a Basement encircled by a like rope and ornamented by a sort of coronet – it is matter of wonder that no one should have remarked that they are manifestly of different ages; the Cup and Stem being the original work, the rope uniting them and the Base being of later date.⁹ The Base on a nearer inspection appears to be of a smoother surface and also of a deeper colour in the gilding than the rest of the Cup; and the coronet indicated it to be of the age of the Tudors. I conceive it to have been added to make the Cup stand more steadily, the diameter of the Stem being but small. As however it decidedly spoiled the proportion of the whole, with the consent of the Society I have recently taken it to the most eminent Silversmith in London, who has cut it off.¹⁰ [Ainslie has added in the margin: 'I have since had them rejoined'.] It was our desire that he should at the same time set the Cup itself erect, the Bowl being awry on its Stem. But this he durst not undertake to do, as he said the lead would fuse into the silver, and he could not answer for the damage which might ensue: and he attributed the crack in the rim of the Bowl to an attempt to pull it straight: but it is due to the letter t.¹¹ On the whole I take the facts to be these: That the Base was added not later than the year 1584, when the weight is stated to be 20 oz: and that the lead was poured in as solder after 1673, when the weight is stated to be 20 oz. 3 dwt, raising it to 21 oz. 17 dwt. Since the separation by the saw, which would cause a slight waste, the Cup and Stem are found to weigh 17 oz. 16 dwt and the Base 3 oz. 18 dwt. But without pretending to know the date of the Base with any exactness, it is manifestly ancient; and yet how evident is it that the Cup and Stem are much more so: so that at least we may rest assured that they were never made so recently as the times of Bishop Andrewes. Although wholly unversed in the art of drawing, I have by the strictest admeasurement delineated this Cup (omitting however the Base and the two rings, which encircle

6 The full references are Pembroke College Archives (hereafter PCA), College MSS Cμ, Cξ, Aη.

7 PCA College MS B β.3, 5r, dated 16 October 1661.

8 PCA College MS Cμ, pp 261-4. William Sampson, a great Pembroke financial

reformer after the Restoration, is the only person, according to Attwater, to have refused office after being elected Master. (A Attwater, *A Short History of Pembroke College, Cambridge*; edited with an Introduction and a Postscript by S C Roberts, Cambridge, 1973, p 83).

9 Ainslie adds the footnote (p 262): "I would not have surprized Mr. Cole, the Antiquary. He dined in our hall on 1 January 1773, and writes thus: 'The Inscription not a soul could read in the College and the tradition of it was forgotten. I could not help admiring the utter indiffer-

ence of the Company and Fellows in the Hall concerning the Antiquity of the Cup and its Inscription'."

10 Attwater, p 111, informs us that when Ainslie became Master in 1828 "he found himself head of a society every member of which had been his own

pupil".

11 See Figure 2a where the t, added to the thorn rune (the medieval y) near the rim, is visible.



Fig 2a The mutilated cup - Ainslie's drawing of 1836. (Pembroke College Archives, College MS An p102)



Fig 2b The mutilated cup - J L Williams's engraving. (Pembroke College Archives, College MS CÆ)

the upper part of the Stem) and also the Inscriptions with like fidelity, in another Ms Book [fig 2a].

An engraving of the mutilated cup by J L Williams, taken from J J Smith, *Specimens of College Plate*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Quarto Series no 11, 1845 (Plate 1), is shown in fig 2b.

Gilbert Ainslie did not have the benefit of Charles Jackson's scholarship, but it is surprising that he was apparently unaware of similar medieval cup bases in neighbouring colleges. Jackson's *History* illustrates a number of fifteenth-century mazers and cups with similar bases to Pembroke's cup, including the Foundress's Cup at Christ's, which Jackson dates as circa 1440 [fig 4], and the mazer Cup of the Three Kings at Corpus [fig 5].¹²

Ellis Minns' beautiful drawing of the lettering and decoration on the Foundress's Cup is shown in fig 3. The print or boss is clearly represented. Alas, the top of the print with the letter M is now missing. It was present when the cup was sent to an exhibition in 1975 but at a subsequent audit was found to be missing and could not be traced.

The early History of the Foundress's Cup

In her will, dated 1377, Marie de Saint Pol, the Foundress of Pembroke College Cambridge, bequeathed to her house "ornaments, relics, jewels and other things" which she listed in a schedule sealed with a seal. However, this schedule does not survive, and we have no contemporary list of exactly what was bequeathed to the college.¹³

The first indication of what the list might have contained appears in a register in the college archives, which includes a list of donations dated approximately 1490 on 14r-20r, headed *Nomina benefactorum huius Colegii*.¹⁴ It begins with the Foundress, Marie de Saint Pol, wife of Lord Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and her establishment of the college, commonly called "Penbrok Hawle", and its endowments, and concludes on 15v with a list of the items "*plurima iocalia*" (given by her). These consisted of "*duas pelues argenteas cum armis fundatricis nostre*" (two silver bowls with the arms of our Foundress), "*2° lavacra argentea*" (two silver ewers), "*septem pecies planas*" (seven plain cups) again with the arms of the Foundress, and finally, "*Item unam murrum cum armis staccatis in fundo cum aliis iocalibus plurimis in capella et thesauraria*" (one large mazer with arms stamped on the base, with many other jewels in the chapel and the treasury).¹⁵ We are left to assume that the arms stamped on this mazer were those of the Foundress. These are the only recorded distinguishing features of the earliest cup to be associated with Marie de St Pol.

The first inventory of silver to survive is dated 1491, and contains many hands and annotations. It is headed "*Iocalia inventa in domo thesauri Anno domini millesimo cccc° 91*" (Jewels found in the Treasure House, 1491).¹⁶ It begins with the Foundress's gifts as before, ending (after describing other items possibly not from her benefaction) with the large mazer, described as "*fracta*" (broken), but this word is crossed through, with arms stamped in the base: "*Item magna murrā [fracta] cum armis staccatis in fundo*". This is in fact the last reference to the Foundress's gift which mentions the only distinguishing feature

12 Jackson, *loc cit* especially p 649; also plate facing p 614

13 Hilary Jenkinson 'Mary de Sancto Paulo, Foundress of Pembroke College Cambridge', *Archaeologia* lxvi, 1915, 401-46 at p 433 quotes the Foundress's will dated 1377: "Et par ce que iai done a mes ditz escolers par cedule selle de mon seal ascunes adornemens reliques ioiaux et autres choses, je vueil quilz en aient deliurance' - and because I have given to my said scholars by schedule

sealed with my seal certain ornaments, relics, jewels and other things, I will that they have them delivered to them".

14 PCA, College MS C, known as Registrum Membranaceum [i e The Parchment Register], ff 14r-20r. The list is dated by hand and context to circa 1490. See Peter D Clarke (ed), *The University and College Libraries of Cambridge*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, London, 2002, pp 373-5.

of her mazer, the arms stamped (*staccatis*) on the base.¹⁸ The presence of the word “*fracta*”, albeit crossed through, may hint at a chequered history. A note in the margin in an added hand, repeated, states that the piece is “*in promptuario*” (in the buttery), not in the treasury, and another marginal note, only partly legible, beginning “*deficit ...*” suggests that part at least of the cup may have been missing, although it cannot be said for certain to which item in the list this refers.

Further down the same page are recorded two large silver salts, on the cover of one was a ball, which were the gift of Richard Sokborn, LI D,

duo magna salsaria deaurata quorum unum habet coopertum cum pilo in summitate ex dono magistri Ricardi Sokborn, legum doctoris et huius collegii quondam socii.

Immediately below, in another slightly later hand, is listed:

Item una mirra argentea deaurata cum scriptura circumiente god help at ned et cum coopertorio ligneo pilam argenteam et deauratam in summitate habente. Item 13 cocchlearia argentea deaurata cum calamis cacuminatis in modo turris ex dono prefati doctoris Sokborn).

(one silver mazer gilt with an inscription going round ‘god help at ned’ and with a wooden cover having a silver gilt ball on top, and thirteen gilt spoons with the stems headed like towers, gifts of the said Dr Sokborn).

Thus, what appears to be the Foundress’s original mazer, in so far as this can be indentified, and that of Sokborn, are here mentioned together, on the same page, and, for the first and last time, can be clearly distinguished from one another.

Richard Sokborn, a Yorkshireman, was elected Fellow of Pembroke in 1470, served as Treasurer several times, was Doctor of Canon Law, and importantly for us, was appointed to the college living of Soham in 1479 which he held till his death in 1501. Unusually, we have his will in the college archives.¹⁹ It is of great interest, since it shows that Sokborn was interested in silver, and owned a number of pieces, including “*crateram meam argenteam habentem pedes cum coopertorio*” (my silver cup having feet and a lid) as well as other cups and spoons. These items were bequeathed to members of the Besteney family in Soham, the college is not mentioned. His gifts to the college were made during his lifetime, as recorded in the 1491 inventory.

There are many informal short inventories of the silver and, in the *Registrum Magnum*, some clearly made in haste, and not all of them are dated. One of these, undated, on 94r, appears to list items in the buttery, and mentions “*Item una maior myrra*” (corrected from “*due maiores myrrae*”). If this is in fact a reference to the original Foundress’s cup, then it has lost its identity.

15 Transcription and translation of the Latin, often obscure and difficult, has been facilitated by notes kept with the Registrum Magnum (Pembroke College Archives College MS I 6) by Ellis Minns.

16 PCA, College MS I 6, f91v.

17 The word murra has been overwritten and the original spelling is uncertain.

18 Minns renders “*staccatis*”

as “dotted”.

19 PCA, Soham H 1. For Sokborn, see further A B Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, Cambridge, 1963, p.539.



Fig 3 Ellis Minns' drawing of the lettering and decoration on the Foundress's Cup.



Fig 4 The Foundress's Cup of Christ's College, Cambridge.

(by kind permission of the Master, Fellows and Scholars of Christ's College, Cambridge)



Fig 5 The mazer Cup of the Three Kings

(by kind permission of the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

On 94v is a list of “*jocalia*” dated 1526 written in a hand similar to that of the list on the previous page. In this the Sokborn mazer is described with its wooden lid topped with the silver-gilt ball, and its inscription “god helpe at ned” together with the two great salts and the thirteen spoons are also described, although no mention is made of Sokborn by name, nor of any of the donors of the other pieces. Nothing identifiable as the Foundress’s original cup appears here, although various pieces are mentioned. On 95r however, an inventory headed “*Jocalia inventa in thesaurario anno domini 1546*” includes “*Item picia stans cum coopertorio legneo [id est] my ladis cupp*”. This is the only cup mentioned in this list to have a wooden lid, and may well refer to the mazer under discussion. But we have by now lost any specific reference to Sokborn whose thirteen spoons and two salts appear elsewhere on the list. The cup with the wooden cover now has the name attached to it not of Sokborn but of the Foundress, “*Domina*”, (‘the lady’ or ‘my lady’) being a frequent term for the Foundress throughout college history.

The next dated list appears on 96r “*jocalia inventa in thesaurario Anno Domini 1562*”. The list varies considerably from the 1491 inventory. Only one cup has a wooden lid; but it is now described as “*Item picea stans cum coopertorio ligneo, i[id est] my ladies cuppe*” (one standing cup with a wooden lid, that is, my ladies cuppe). “My ladies cupp” with a wooden cover appears again in a list on 96v dated 1563 and endorsed 1578 and 1579. A subsequent list on 97v signed by William Pemberton and Lancelot Andrewes as Treasurers circa 1580 refers simply to a standing cup named “my Lady’s cup” “*Item una pecia stans nominata my Ladyes Cuppe*” with no indication of a lid. It was Andrewes who was to leave a replica of the Foundress’s Cup to the College in his will.²⁰ Short lists of plate dated 1598-1600 refer only to ‘my’, or ‘our lady’s cup’. The list made in October 1600, 100r, lists “My ladies cupp, gylt 20 [ounces]”. A formal list survives in the second College Register (Pembroke College archives B β 2) f 4 r, headed “The treasure house plate, 1584 Octobris 5^o”. This records “Item my Ladyes Cuppe gilte unc. XX”.

So the Foundress’s cup becomes unidentifiable in the inventories sometime between 1491 and 1526 and Sokborn’s name, likewise, becomes detached from his mazer with its wooden lid. The mazer with the wooden lid had become identified with the Foundress’s cup by 1546. It is unfortunate that, with the exception of the Anathema Cup, none of this early silver survives, and we are not in a position to take the matter further from

surviving documentary evidence.

The Significance of St Denys²¹

The lettering encircling the outside of the bowl of the cup [fig 3] reads “*Sayn Denes þ̄ es me d’re for hes lof drenk and mak’ gud cher*”. This reference to the patron saint of France may have helped to attach the name of the Foundress to Sokborn’s mazer. Later on, the College tended to assume, even until recent times, that the requirement in the early statutes for a meeting of Fellows on or near the feast of St Denys (9 October) meant that the college had a special affinity with the saint, who, it was thought, must surely be most dear to Marie de St Pol. The earliest statutes, dated to the fourteenth century, required college office-holders to yield up their posts twice in the year: on the feasts of St Denys and on the Translation of St Thomas Becket (7 July). In the second, slightly later, statutes, account of office was rendered once a year, on the morrow of St Denys, or during the week following. This day, 10 October, was in fact the day when university lectures began, and the connection with the academic year is the most likely reason for the choice of date, just as 7 July coincided with the year’s end. The earliest statutes had required, moreover, that preference in the election to fellowships was to be given to men from the kingdom of France who were members of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, if such could be found. Both Latin and French were prescribed to be spoken at table, except in cases of necessity. Such circumstances both fortuitous and felicitous would have served to link the St Denys cup to the Foundress. Whether the name of St Denys carried any special resonances for Sokborn, and if so, whether he linked the saint with the Foundress, or, perhaps more probably, with the resumption of college life at the beginning of the academic year, and the convivial dinner which is likely to have accompanied the election of office-holders, cannot be known.

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²⁰ Lancelot Andrewes (Master 1589-1605), in his will dated 1626 PCA College Box L 8, stated: “Item I further give & beq; to y^e said M^r F[ellows] & Sch[olars] & to their Succes[sors] y^e

bason & Ewer of Silver parcell gilt w^h I caused to be made in imitacion as neer as could be to y^e Foundress her Bason & Ewer wth her Armes in y^e midst of y^e Bason. And also I give

& beq. To y^{em} y^e Cup of Silver gilt wth I likewise cased to be made in imitation as neer as Could be, to y^e Foundress Cup, commonly called my Ladyes Cup as a poor memoriall, & thank-

full remembrance of y^e good Lady by w^hch bounty I was so long maintained at my book there.”

²¹ For all of what follows, see Jayne Ringrose,

‘The Medieval Statutes of Pembroke College’ in *Medieval Cambridge: Essays on the Pre-Reformation University*, P N R Zutshi (ed), Woodbridge, 1993, pp 93-127, esp 99 and 109

The evolution of dining habits, modes of entertaining and marketing methods

As revealed by American silver makers' 'etiquette' booklets

DOROTHEA BURSTYN

There was something more in the development of table service than convenience or utility, for in this process came handsomer living and nicer and finer service. No longer did we feed as ravening wolves or hungry animals, but rather as humans of greater refinement.

Claudia Quigley Murphy, 1921

The really big American fortunes were made after the Civil War and amazing opportunities in mining, manufacturing, railroading, and banking created a new class of wealth. It was the time of the copper and oil barons, silver and steel kings, merchant princes and railroad magnates.¹ The new riches demanded a new way of living, which was mostly found in the imitation of the lifestyles and customs of the European leisured and aristocratic classes. It goes without saying that the spouses of these new millionaires were both creative and ambitious in setting the pace of the social scene. The story of Marie Louise Mackay, wife of John Mackay the silver king and owner of Virginia Consolidated Mines, who convinced her husband, after a visit to the Comstock Lode, to send half a ton of silver to Tiffany to make "something useful out of it", is well known. The outcome was a sumptuous 1250 piece dinner service which kept 200 Tiffany craftsmen busy for two years.²

Hospitality was the mark of civilization and elegant service was recognized as a mark of good breeding. The gala dinner with its array of costly silver, glittering glasses and an opulent succession of dishes of wonderful and sometimes exotic foods became the epitome of pretentiousness and conspicuous consumption at this time. Not knowing which implement to use or how to behave at such a dinner could stamp someone as an inferior outsider; the *faux pas* of a diner could be noticed and commented upon as a story of the presidential candidate Grover Cleveland illustrates. He mishandled a knife at a dinner in 1884; an occurrence which was immediately picked up by the press. Even after his election he refused to shake the hands of the editor responsible for reporting the incident.³ Between the Civil War and the First World War two generations of an American moneyed elite built up a complicated structure of etiquette and it was exactly this audience which John S Holbrook, the chairman of the Gorham Company, addressed when he suggested styles of silver that were suitable "for large banquet halls, great entertainments, and the magnificent homes of wealth".⁴ [fig 1] Most of the styles in Holbrook's



Fig 1.

1 Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons*, New York, 1934, p 315.

2 Ellin Berlin, *Silver Platter*, New York, 1957, p 243; for more information on the Mackay service see also W P Hood Jr et al, *Tiffany Silver Flatware 1845 - 1905, When Dining Was an Art*, Suffolk, 2000, p 292.

3 Arthur Schlesinger, *Learning How to behave, A Historical Study of American Etiquette Books*, the MacMillan Company, New York, 1946, p 41.

4 John S Holbrook, *Silver for the Dining Room, Selected Periods*, printed for the Gorham Company, Cambridge, 1912, p 18.

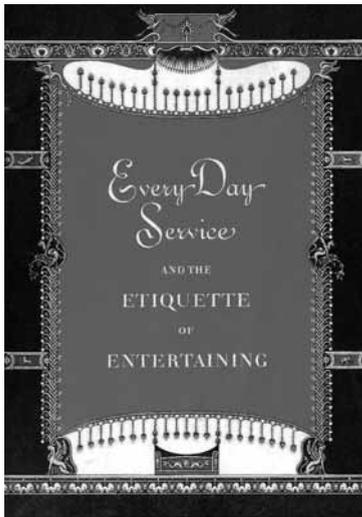


Fig 2.



Fig 3.

Fig 3a.



book were heavily influenced by French taste, particularly from the Louis XIV to Louis XVI periods. French elegance and manners of living were all the rage. He stated:

In looking through these pages, the reader must remember that the original styles as described did not by any means, contain all the articles illustrated. Our upward progress has involved far greater complications of living, and hardly a month goes by that some new utensil for the dining room is not brought out, for some new need, real or fancied.⁵

Mrs Rorer, an often-consulted authority on etiquette and dining, described what was necessary for a successful dinner which would consist of five to ten courses and should be served from 5 o'clock to 8 o'clock. She listed all the flatware that she deemed necessary for such a meal: knives and forks for every course, three different sizes of carving sets (to carve turkey, roast meats and other poultry or game), butter picks, cheese knives, asparagus tongs, cake knives, pie and ice cream servers, Saratoga chip servers, jelly and nut spoons, cold meat forks and salad sets. A whole range of hollow ware completed what she regarded as just the basic requirements.⁶ A hostess who wanted to observe a more rigorous regime knew that a plain lettuce should be dressed by her at the table using a long lettuce fork for tearing up the leaves, after which she would place a salad fork and spoon for serving next to the bowl, and that if asparagus was served as a salad, the service would consist of a silver asparagus platter and tongs. Mayonnaise would, of course, never be served without a silver bowl and ladle and if a pudding was served as dessert instead of ice cream, it would be brought to the table in a large round pudding dish together with large sauce boat and ladle.⁷ These are only a few examples of the myriad rules to be observed.

It was possible to even outdo the Europeans. In *Every Day Service and the Etiquette of Entertaining* published by Wallace & Sons, [fig 2] one reads that "many new table pieces have come into being in America.... and are as yet unborn in the older countries. This statement is followed by the comment:

But it is in the invention of silver for serving that American ingenuity has especially asserted itself. Cake-servers, tomato-servers, egg-servers, jelly-knives, cold meat forks, etc. are rarely seen in Europe, but they add to the beauty and aid in the service and they can be used on every suitable occasion.⁸

The fork, introduced relatively late to the average American table, around 1850, began a triumphant progress and everything that had formerly been eaten with a spoon now required a fashionable fork to be used; as, for instance, ice cream. The maxim seemed to be: never use a knife or spoon, when a fork would suffice.⁹

A slight yearning for simpler entertaining may be seen in the rise in the popularity of chafing dishes in the 1890s [fig 3, fig 3A]. Even Mrs Rorer admitted that a chafing dish was "a great convenience".¹⁰

5 *ibid*, p xiii.

6 Mrs Rorer, *How to set the table*, 1901, p 25. "Mrs Rorer" was Mrs Sarah Tyson Heston Rorer, born 1849, died 1937, both Pennsylvania. In the 1920 and 1930 censuses she was listed as a widow living with her unmarried son, William A Rorer, a farmer, in South Londonderry Township, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. Her occupation was given as "editor and author". According to the *Philadelphia Directory of*

1890 she had a school on Chestnut Street. I am grateful to Mrs Kay O Freeman for this information.

7 *ibid*, p 24/25.

8 *Every Day Service and the Etiquette of Entertaining*, R Wallace & Sons Manufacturing Company, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1925, p 18-19.

9 Arthur Schlesinger, p 42 (see note 3).

10 Mrs Rorer, p 25 (see note 6).

Gorham printed a booklet with one hundred recipes for the chafing dish in 1894 with various pedestrian recipes for warming over-cooked string beans, boiled chicken, scrambled eggs, etc. at the table. The chafing dish was called “the woman’s friend” as it allowed for easy entertaining on the evening the maid was off. Women and men could even share in the cooking responsibilities

The chafing dish not only makes possible the sincerest expression of the most perfect hospitality, but it seems the true symbol of good fellowship. It develops a spirit of royal camaraderie.¹¹

After the First World War the time of the grand dinner was definitely over and entertaining became less elaborate. Winnifred S Fales’ statement that: “The use of soup plates at luncheon or of bouillon cups at dinner, stamps the hostess as ill informed”¹² shows that strict rules for the use of utensils were still being observed but she openly mocked the formal dinner of yesteryear

In place of the twenty-course banquets beneath which tables, and doubtless the guests, of our grandmothers’ day literally groaned, to-day’s hostess offers a few cunningly chosen dishes perfectly cooked and exquisitely served.¹³

Table settings also became simpler. A proper cover did not consist of more than three knives and three forks, not counting the oyster fork and the butter spreader, and rules concerning the various serving utensils were also relaxed. Lilian M Gunn conveyed the new trends of the industry when declaring that a pie server might be used for cakes, or various gelatine moulds, in fact for any food where a flat, wide blade was of assistance. Cream ladles might be used also for mayonnaise, any sauce, jelly or marmalade. A fried egg server was “invaluable” in serving food which had been put on toast and also for tomato and cucumbers. An orange spoon could do double service for nuts and small bonbons, the oyster fork used for pickles, the bonbon spoon for salted nuts and the cheese server for jellies.¹⁴ The reduction in the number of serving and individual place pieces, in former times a tool to ever increase the market, was now recommended by the silver manufacturers for whom the costs of storing such large varieties of old dies and of cutting new ones had become prohibitive. In late 1925 the Sterling Silversmiths Guild of America prepared a “simplification program” of production for the industry limiting the number of piece types in each pattern to fifty-seven, and restricting the number of newly introduced patterns to one every two years.¹⁵ It took until 1931 for a new type of flatware to be introduced, the Viande knife and fork, a longer handled table knife and fork with shortened functional ends.¹⁶ It was hailed by the International Silver Company as “the first idea in table silver in years” and was said to be “enthusiastically received by style authorities, magazine etiquette writers and the public at large.”¹⁷

Since the grand dinner was *passé* and despite “the kaleidoscopic changes which have overtaken entertaining in America, one custom remains unaltered and serene: afternoon tea.”¹⁸ The afternoon or 5 o’clock tea was the ideal form of entertaining to be the subject of the ‘etiquette’ booklets, since it allowed for a large amount of silver



11 H M Kinsley, *One hundred Recipes for the Chafing Dish*, Gorham Manufacturing Co, Silversmiths, New York, 1894, p 22. Another booklet about this implement is *The Chafing Dish, Recipes for the Chafing Dish*, Manning, Bowman & Co, 1898.

12 W S Fales, *The Wallace Hostess Book*, R Wallace & Sons, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1920, p 6.
13 *ibid* p 7.

14 Lilian M Gunn, *The Art of Tablesetting*, Gorham Company, Providence, Rhode Island, 1929, p 11.

15 W P Hood Jr et al, p 40, (see note 2). According to *The Story of Sterling* published by the Sterling Silversmiths Guild of America, 1947, the guild was formed in 1917 and represented: Alvin Corporation, Gorham Company, International Silver Company, Lunt Silversmiths, Reed & Barton, Towle Silversmiths, R Wallace & Sons, Mfg Co.

16 Viande styling was introduced in 1930 as an option in the silver-plated Silhouette pattern by Rogers Bros, a subsidiary of International Silver Company. It was later offered on some silver patterns. For more on Viande, see W P Hood Jr ‘Modern flatware design: the Viande, Grille and Vogue style,’ *The Magazine Antiques*, February 2003, pp 78-85.

17 *Correct Table Setting*, International Silver Company, Sterling Silver Division, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1934, p 15. The Viande knife and fork were offered in this booklet in the following patterns: Continental, Empress, Gadroon, Minuet, Orchid, Trousseau and Wedgwood designs in International Sterling. The knife, but not the fork, was available in Pine Tree.

18 *Table Ways of Today*, prepared by Community Plate, Oneida Community Ltd, 1930, p 19.



Fig 4.

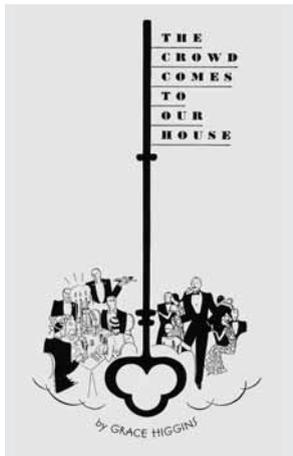


Fig 4a.



Fig 4b.

to be shown off and required relatively little work on the part of the housewife, who was now often managing a household with only a part-time maid or with no servants at all.

But very little is required for tea, and so little more is necessary for a dozen guests than for two or three, that it becomes merely a matter of adding a few more cups and saucers. It is always surprising to find how little is eaten even of the thin bread and butter sandwiches and cookies and cakes that are practically all that is required to provide.¹⁹

The same formula was also valid for the buffet supper, another favourite for the servant-less household, and the silver industry alike.

The 1930s brought an even more pronounced concentration on easy home entertaining, an effect no doubt of the Depression and, to a certain degree, of Prohibition. Grace Higgins wrote in a booklet for the Alvin Corporation:

At any rate, the whole world is all agog to rediscover the home, so we are, you are and they are rediscovering that good talk, laughter and the tintinnabulation of silverware in the hands of friends make the most enjoyable sort of music in the home.

She goes on to say that everybody, except the long-lost uncle just returned from Alaska and the recently burned out, entertained at home and came up with a number of original and easy home entertaining ideas. [fig 4, fig 4A, fig 4B] These included: "The debutante discovers the kitchen", "The rollicking He-man supper", "The Bachelor's Sunday", "The Peacock Chair tea", "Your roof is your night club" and many more. "The Pirate Silver Shower" on which occasion only knives were given to a young couple and "The Moon and Spoon shower" when the young couple received spoons of all kinds sound very self-serving for the silver industry and it is doubtful whether they ever found general acceptance.²⁰

To emphasise their message silver companies enlisted the support of celebrities from various fields. In *Correct Service for the Formal and Informal Table*²¹ the Oneida Community Ltd thanked Miss Louise Galvin, social secretary to Mrs O H P Belmont, and Ms Frances O'Connor, social secretary to Mrs Oliver Harriman, for their suggestions in preparing the booklet. Other members of high society including Princess Margarethe of Denmark, the Marchioness of Dufferin, the Princess Troubetskoy and the Duchess of Rutland, as well as members of American moneyed aristocracy such as Mrs Alexander Morton and Mrs Reginald C Vanderbilt, were listed as "distinguished patrons of community plate". Photographs of smart dining rooms and luxurious settings completed the picture. These endorsements clearly leaned heavily on snobbish values and stood in odd contrast to advice given in this same booklet which was tailored for women who were unable to get domestic help and had to serve at their own tables. A similar impression is gained from a book²² written by "authorities from Vogue" and published by Wm A Rogers Ltd which promoted Heirloom Plate. The arrangements for dinners for up to forty guests, service including silver or gold soup plates, and footmen to arrange the high vases on the table, are

19 *Every Day service and the Etiquette of Entertaining*, p 11 (see note 8)

20 Grace Higgins, *The crowd comes to our house*, Alvin Corporation, Silversmiths, 1930, p 6 and p 8.

21 *Correct Service For the Formal and Informal Table*, Oneida Community Ltd,

Oneida, New York, 1923.

22 *Vogue presents The correctly set table*, published by the Makers of Heirloom Plate, Wm A Rogers Ltd, Niagara Falls, New York, 1922.

23 *Setting the Table correctly by Oscar of the Waldorf*, published by Alvin Manufacturing Co, of Sag Harbor, New York, 1917.

described; buffet suppers were thought more suitable for country homes. It is easy to imagine how useful these instructions would have been to purchasers of Heirloom Plate. Other companies were of course more in tune with their customers' true requirements. Celebrities from the hospitality industry like Oscar of the Waldorf²³ and Louis Sherry²⁴ presented beautiful table settings which could be copied in the average home. The most productive and useful advice came from specialists in home economics. Mrs Rorer, a constant contributor to *Ladies Home Journal*, saw twenty-three consecutive and unchanged editions of her *How to set the table*²⁵ for Wallace Silversmiths, in which she set out strict rules for using silver at an elegant table. Wallace also employed Winnifred Fales²⁶ who was known for her rigid views on housekeeping and her tireless campaigns against any kind of modern design. Diane Beningfield,²⁷ "formerly social secretary to the Viscountess Astor, Mrs Cornelius Vanderbilt and other women of social prominence" was another Wallace author [fig 5] who had snobbish appeal but presented, in the same way as Eileen Cummings on behalf of the International Silver Co,²⁸ a more relaxed view on hospitality in general and table settings in particular. The Gorham Company secured Lilian M Gunn²⁹ as writer for their promotional booklets. Gorham also sponsored the first course on table settings held by an American university. This was part of a Domestic Science course at the Teacher's College, Columbia University which enjoyed the participation of 323 teachers from 183 different cities in the United States and five foreign countries; it was held at the Gorham Building at 36th Street and Fifth Avenue in the autumn of 1921. The companion booklet,³⁰ written by home economics consultant Claudia Quigley Murphy and richly illustrated with examples of Gorham silverware, was given to all participants and was also sent upon request to women's clubs all over the country.

It was the authors of various books on manners and social etiquette who seem to have had the most influence, especially after the First World War, when large sections of the population were faced with deep social change. From 1918 to 1929 sixty-eight different works on etiquette were published in America and the years 1930 to 1945 brought another seventy-eight books on the subject. Numbers speak volumes; the various versions of Lillian Eichler's *Book of Etiquette*, first issued in 1921, had over a million buyers by 1945 and Emily Post's book sold nearly a million of its successive editions in 1922.³¹ Statements such as:

A large amount of silver is neither so desirable nor as fashionable as it used to be. In fact, many brides request that they be given pewter or stainless steel platters, serving dishes, or any such items, rather than silver, as they require little care and are more durable.³²

made by Emily Post, must have given the silver companies grave concerns. They saw the bridal business as one of their most profitable domains and presented sterling silver or fine silver plate as the only possible choice for the distinguished bride.

Towle Silversmiths quickly hired Emily Post to write the booklet *Bridal Silver and wedding customs*³³ to combat this threat. The foreword

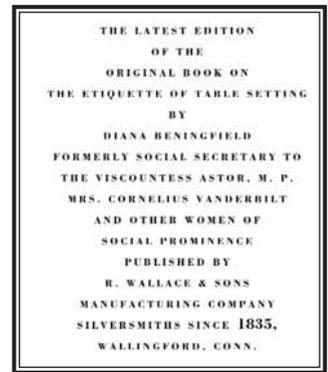


Fig 5.

24 *Silverware, the Autocrat of every table*, Reed & Barton, 1926. Louis Sherry was an established provider of high-range confectionery and catering on both sides of the Atlantic and later became owner of an apartment hotel: The Sherry Netherland Hotel at 781 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Other people called upon were Kathleen Howard of *Harper's Bazaar*, Helen Koues of *Good Housekeeping*, Anna Steese Richardson of *Women's Home Companion*, and others all for *Table Ways of Today*, prepared by Community Plate, Oneida Community Ltd, 1930. Mrs Frances T Heard of *House Beautiful*, Miss Margret McElroy of *House and Garden*, Mrs Augusta Owen Patterson of *Town and Country* and Miss Bertina Foltz of *Vogue* worked on table settings for *Correct Table Setting*, International Silver Company, Sterling Silver Division, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1934.

25 *The Dining Room, Its Decoration and Entertaining*, A treatise on good taste. It shows the little finer points of hospitality and home culture, and inexpensive ways of getting effects. With which is included Mrs. Rorer's *How to Set the Table*, 1912. The first printing of Mrs. Rorer's treatise was in 1901.

26 Winnifred S Fales, *The Wallace Hostess Book*, R. Wallace & Sons Mfg Co, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1920.

27 *Every Day Service and the Etiquette of Entertaining*, R Wallace & Sons Manufacturing Company, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1925 represents a reprint of the latest edition of the

original book on the etiquette of table settings by Diane Beningfield.

28 Eileen Cummings, *Etiquette, Entertaining and Good Sense, Table settings arranged and approved by the Good Housekeeping Studio of Furnishings and Decorations*, International Silver Co, Meriden, Connecticut, 1923.

29 Lilian M Gunn, *The Art of Tablesetting*, Gorham Company, Providence, Rhode Island, 1929 and Lilian M Gunn, *The Art of Table settings and a visit to the Home of the Gorham Master Craftsmen*, Gorham Company, 1929. Lilian Miranda Gunn was also the author of *Table Service and decoration*, published by Lippincott Co, 1928, 1935, 1950.

30 Claudia Quigley Murphy, *The History of the Art of Table setting, Ancient and Modern*, Gorham Company, copyright Murphy, 1921.

31 Arthur Schlesinger, p 50 (see note 3).

32 Emily Post, *Etiquette, The Book of Social Usage*, 1927, p 323. Emily Post's book was first published in 1922, with many reprints, then again in 1927, 1931, 1934. Emily Post was born to wealth and position and started her etiquette books after a failed marriage to a banker and an only moderately successful career as writer of romantic novels. See: Laura Claridge, *Emily Post, Daughter of the gilded age, Mistress of American Manners*, New York, 2008.

33 Emily Post, *Bridal silver and wedding customs*, published by Towle Silversmiths, 1930.



Fig 6.

of this booklet stated that she needed no introduction as she was a well-known authority on 'etiquette' and continued

While full details may be found in the Blue Book, she (Emily Post) has herein made several interesting new suggestions about the selection of the bride's most precious possession – her sterling silver.³³

Emily Post's views were a silver manufacturer's or retailer's dream. She stated that: to choose sterling silver was "of first importance" to the bride-to-be, flatware should be matched to appropriate hollow ware which included a useful bowl, a wide-rimmed dish for fruit or flowers, other ornamental centrepieces, two to four compotieres or other dishes and never less than four candlesticks. She continued that to give a tea service and tray to the bride was seen as a "traditional silver obligation" which fell to either the bride's family or intimate friends. A centrefold photograph showed the bridal presents neatly arranged on a large table on which every silver item imaginable was displayed; it was accompanied by the statement

Perhaps the most treasured portion of the bride's wedding gifts are those which perpetuate the thoughtfulness of the giver in genuine, beautiful, enduring Sterling.³⁴

Slogans such as: "Rice, old shoes, and silverware, The Three Inseparables at Every Wedding"³⁵ [fig 6] and "Wedding bells have a silvery tone"³⁶, illustrate the importance of the bridal business to the silver industry. Silver was portrayed as the only present worth giving to celebrate important occasions

And yet there is one day that silver – the Gift Metal – has almost entirely claimed as its own – the day of high hopes and unconfined joys – the day of fulfilment of plans that have been years in the making – the wedding day!³⁷

The underlying concept was of course that the bride of today was the hostess of tomorrow and that it was vital to secure this specific market. Eileen Cummings gave the sensible advice that a girl starting out could not have everything and should never be tempted to sacrifice quality for quantity but she warned

Each year, however, the service should be added to; for while the world may look leniently on the shortcomings in the service of the bride, it expects the hostess of standing to entertain with dignity and distinction.³⁸

Hospitality was central to all etiquette booklets and one of their main missions was to give guidance to the hostess. The role of the hostess was perceived as an elevated one; she was invariably described as a person who showed her artistry and individuality while entertaining. The table [fig 7] was seen as

A sort of altar to the gods of hospitality, [is] the special and appropriate place where a woman may show her taste and her sophistication – where she can make a picture with candles and flowers

34 *ibid*, centrefold.

Alvin Corporation, Silversmiths, 1930, p 32

35 *Silverware, The Autocrat of every table*, Reed & Barton, 1926.

36 Grace Higgins: *The crowd comes to our house*,

37 *Silverware, The Autocrat of every table*, p 3 (see note 35).

and linen, and china and silver and glass, that will make the simplest dinner a source of deep pleasure to her guests – of deep pride to herself.³⁹

Describing a tea party [fig 8], the author gushes:

And among them all the mistress of the house in the alluring hostess gown of the hour, provocative, exquisite, a queen for an hour at least.⁴⁰

In short it was deemed possible to judge a woman's taste, her sense of beauty, her poise and even her background by the way she organised a party:

The art of entertaining, the art of being the perfect hostess, is thoroughly worth cultivating. Assurance and ease come from the knowledge, not only that the table is correctly set but that the silver itself is correct in design and spirit.⁴¹

While the early etiquette booklets were quite rigorous in their demands as to what silver was required for a dinner party or a worthwhile tea, by 1925 standards had somewhat relaxed as a booklet by R Wallace & Sons illustrates. It recognized that the modern tendency was for less elaborate forms of entertainment and it made suggestions "suitable for the daily life of those who live in the smaller homes of America."⁴² These smaller homes should however still be equipped with: an extensive flatware service, finger bowls, salt cellars, pepper pots, silver centrepieces, a tea service and so on.

The trend towards greater simplicity was unstoppable and with it came a decrease in the demand for table silver. Towle Silversmiths recognized this and cleverly suggested a new form of buying flatware. Instead of starting with dozens of the various flatware pieces, they advocated the buying of place settings. This meant that the silver could be used right away and as the skills of a young woman as a hostess grew, so too would the number of her place settings.⁴³ The International Silver Co, also promoted the buying of flatware as place settings and told the story of "Elinor Ward"; a young woman who was given place settings on her wedding day and went on to be given sterling flatware on every occasion. Once in a while she would buy a serving piece from her own allowance with the result that after five years she had stopped wishing for flatware and was about to get a tea service. The example of this young woman was intended to encourage "older women bent upon replacing their unsatisfactory tableware with solid silver."⁴⁴ *Your Sterling and You* advised the young hostess that she could

Stretch a limited service by a little ingenuity in planning menus, for instance, by serving juices for the opening course and fruit for dessert. Then as your needs grow greater, your entertaining more ambitious – you can add the remaining place settings and all lovely serving pieces.⁴⁵

A schedule was set out: Goal A was six place settings with six extra teaspoons, two table spoons, a butter knife and a sugar spoon; Goal B would be the enlargement to eight place settings with a few more

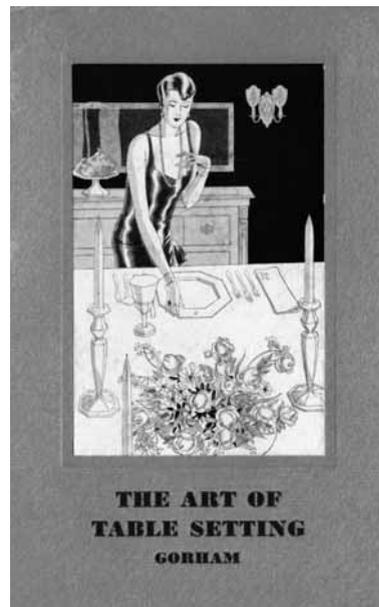


Fig 7.



Fig 8.

38 Eileen Cummings, p 4 (see note 28).

39 *Table Ways of Today*, prepared by Community Plate, Oneida Community Ltd. 1930, p. 3.

40 *ibid*, p 19.

41 C Matlack Price, 'Correctness in silver', in Winnifred S Fales, *The Wallace Hostess Book*, R Wallace & Sons, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1920, p 36.

42 *Every Day Service and the Etiquette of Entertaining*, p 4 (see note 27).

43 *The book of solid Silver*, Towle Silversmiths, 1926, p 19.

44 *Correct Table Setting*, p 9 (see note 17).

45 *Your Sterling and you*, R Wallace & Sons of Canada, Ltd, p 43.

servers; finally Goal C was a full twelve place settings with all the necessary servers.⁴⁶

The Second World War presented the silver industry with serious challenges. Gorham assured its customers⁴⁷ that there were still twelve lovely period patterns available and issued a guarantee that a customer would be able to add to these and also harmonise it with the appropriate matching hollow ware such as tea and coffee services, candlesticks, bowls and dishes.

Such items can be seriously anticipated as production limitations are lifted. And exquisite designs, still in model-form, await their creation when war-working facilities are released to peace-time products. Get Gorham Sterling, start your service soon, confident that you can complete it when their famous craftsmen again return full time to making its incomparable silver, which strangely enough costs no more than the ordinary kind.⁴⁸

Another threat to the silver industry in a time of limited production would have been second-hand silver, large amounts of which must have come on the market and which would have been cheaper than the newly produced lines. Warnings against second-hand silver appeared in the silver companies' booklets: "True artistry is never on the auction block"⁴⁸ and "Remember, real artistry is never sold at bargain prices!"⁴⁹ The silver companies were definitely suffering and a new low was reached when Towle Silversmiths declared "Many girls start with a single place setting, with half a dozen teaspoons, or even with one teaspoon", and suggested that: "A Penny Budget or a Dime Bank will make it come true" and finally pleaded: "By the Place Setting Plan you buy a Place Setting at a time - it costs no more than a dress."⁵⁰

Ingenuous new marketing methods for silver were the new home buying clubs which worked on a scheme whereby women could earn more sterling by suggesting new club members; they could order silver without giving a down-payment and were presented with tempting

easy-payment schedules. One such venture was Prestige Division of Home Decorators, Inc⁵¹ which secured the services of Emily Post; by now very matronly and old-fashioned [fig 9]. More up-to-date were Nancy Prentiss, who led the advisory service for Westmoreland Sterling Division⁵² and Amy Vanderbilt, the spokesperson for the Royal Crest Society⁵³.

These new home buying clubs cut out the retailer and could be more competitive, but although representing a new marketing concept they did not come up with any new ideas for entertaining or buying silver and resorted to the same arguments of the last fifty years. When Emily Post wrote in *Silver Etiquette*⁵⁴ of the permanent value of silver and praised it as a "priceless heirloom" or Amy Vanderbilt called silver "the most treasured addition to the estate you are building"⁵⁵ they were echoing the views of the International Silver Co of 1923⁵⁶ or Towle's remark in their *Book of solid Silver*:

Fashion is fickle and temporary, solid silver is permanent.....silver, if solid, will endure, not only throughout your own lifetime, but also through succeeding generations.⁵⁷

Many other examples from various 'etiquette' booklets which repeat similar phrases could be given. Silver as an important educational tool in the correct upbringing of children was often alluded in the 'etiquette' booklets. Gracious daily living, and the constant observance of etiquette in the family circle even without guests present, was laudable. Nancy Prentiss remarked in 1958, that:

A slovenly set table with things thrown on any old way can only make for poor table manners. On the other hand, a correctly set table is a great aid to proper eating habits, especially if there are small children in the family.⁵⁸

Her mantra sounded almost identical to Claudia Quigley Murphy's 1921 warning: "The value of correct table service for children cannot be overestimated."⁵⁹ The earlier

46 *ibid*, p51.

(see note 15).

47 *Entertaining the Sterling way*, Gorham Company, Providence, no date but clearly written during the Second World War.

50 *For Gracious Living*, p 16 (see note 48).

48 *For Gracious Living*, Towle Silversmiths, circa 1946, p 3.

51 Emily Post, *Your reference book of silver etiquette*, published by Prestige Division of Home Decorators Inc Newark, 1952.

49 *The Story of Sterling*, p 18

52 Nancy Prentiss, *Your dreams come true*,

Westmoreland Sterling, 1949 also Nancy Prentiss, *The perfect hostess*, Westmoreland Fine Tableware, Wear Ever Aluminium Inc, New Kensington, Pennsylvania, 1958.

53 Royal Crest Society Members' Book, circa 1940.

54 Emily Post, *Silver Etiquette*, published by Prestige, 1952, p 31.

55 Royal Crest Society Members' Book, no page numbers.

56 *Solid Silver in the American home. Showing new trends in silver usage as developed by modern decorators*, International Silver

Company, Conn. 1923, p 9: "Solid silver has been, since Roman times, the symbol of family, of position, of high standard of living. Working in this precious metal has always been held a fine art. Creations out of it have survived centuries of use."

57 *The book of solid Silver*, p 5 (see note 43).

etiquette booklets pushed the purchase of children's silver; objects such as a silver tray, a pretty silver porringer, a silver cup, a dainty bib-holder or special small flatware would give children a sense of ownership⁶⁰, and be of great cultural value:

Children, who are brought up to appreciate and treasure those things that are beautiful and genuine, have had training in taste that will influence their whole lives. All lovely domestic possessions play their part in this training, but none more surely than solid silver. Unchanging in beauty, imperishable and fine, its use sets the standard of appreciation you desire your children to have.⁶¹

The later 'etiquette' booklets put less emphasis on fine living and more stress on the beneficial effect of silver on good table manners.

While earlier booklets never mention the cleaning of silver or only advertise silver cleaners, all the cleaning was considered to be done by servants and was not much of a consideration, the later booklets abound with declarations about how easy this task really was. Daily use, the rotation of flatware and polishing once a month was the standard advice. It is easy to imagine how much assurance statements like "Your sterling silver actually requires less care than almost any possession in your home!"⁶² carried for a tired housewife who would much rather spend her free time sitting in the garden or reading a book. This would have been only one factor counting against buying silver. After the Second World War much entertaining was more casual and silver was not needed for tailgate⁶³ or garden parties.

The 'etiquette' booklets might not always have been a true mirror of social circumstances; they were, after all, promotional material intended to sell luxury goods. They do, however, show the enormous upswing of the silver industry as the wealth of the nation increased. The adoption of a more relaxed lifestyle and simpler forms of entertaining meant a decrease in demand for table silver; it was possible to eat in a civilized manner without masses of silver. In this respect the 'etiquette' booklets are reflection of the change of customs and do paint an amazingly accurate picture of the downfall of a once proud industry.

I am grateful to Dr W P Hood Jr for his useful suggestions after reading this manuscript.

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Fig 9 Emily Post.

58 Nancy Prentiss, p 17 (see note 52).

59 Claudia Quigley Murphy, p 46 (see note 30).

60 Lilian M Gunn, p 30 (see note 29).

61 *Correct Table Settings*, p 5 (see note 17).

62 *How to be A Successful Hostess*, Reed & Barton, 1961, "Easy Care".

63 A tailgate party is a social event held on and around the open tailgate of a vehicle; (often combined with a sports event such as a football game).

LIST OF "ETIQUETTE" BOOKLETS:

Alvin Corporation:

Grace Higgins, *The Crowd comes to our house*, the Alvin Corporation, Silversmiths, © 1930
Setting the Table correctly, by Oscar of the Waldorf, the Alvin Manufacturing Co, of Sag Harbor, New York, 1917 (photocopy Winterthur Library NK 7240 A47 TC)

Colonial Silver Company:

Arranging your table and points of etiquette, Colonial Silver Company, 247 Hurt Building, Atlanta, Georgia, with advertisement of the International Silver Co, Meriden, Connecticut, c 1930

Gorham Manufacturing Company:

H M Kinsley of Hollandhouse New York and Kinsley's, Chicago, *One hundred Recipes for the Chafing Dish*, published by the Gorham Manufacturing Company, Silversmiths, New York, 1894

John S Holbrook: *Silver for the Dining Room Selected periods*, The Gorham Co, Panama Pacific International Exposition San Francisco, © 1912 Lilian M Gunn, *The Art of tablesetting*, the Gorham Company, Providence, Rhode Island © 1929

Lilian Gunn, *The Art of Tablesetting and a visit to the Home of the Gorham Master Craftsmen* 3rd edition of *The Art of Tablesetting*, 1929 (distributed by Rank & Motteram Co, E Wisconsin Avenue, Cor N Water, Gorham, 1929

A Fitting Tribute to Skill, Gorham Silver Co for Shreve, Crump and Low Company, c 1930

When Her Motor Waits, Gorham Silver Co for Shreve, Crump & Low Company, c 1930

The Gorham Company, *Entertaining the Sterling way*, 1946. Distributed by Geo T Hitch, Jeweler 90 Main Street, Pulaski, Virginia

International Silver Company:

Eileen Cumming, *Etiquette. Entertaining and good sense - Table-settings arranged and approved by the Good Housekeeping Studio of Furnishings and Decorations* © 1923 International Silver Co Meriden, Connecticut. On the back cover 1847 Rogers Bros Silverplate - booklet stamped with No 51

Solid Silver in the modern American home - showing new trends in silver usage as developed by modern decorators, International Silver Company, Meriden, Connecticut © 1923

What to serve and How to serve it, A Guide for correct Table usage, 1927, International Silver Co (The Holmes & Edwards Silver Company, International Silver Co, Successor)

Northumbria Sterling Silver

Marie Holmes, *Glamour and the Hostess, A guide to Canadian table setting*, Northumbria Sterling Silver, 158 Sterling Road Toronto

Oneida Community Ltd

Table Ways of Today, Oneida Community Ltd, 1930, contains various essays of prominent journalists of Harper Bazaar, Good Housekeeping, etc
Correct Service for the Formal and Informal Table, Oneida Community, Ltd Oneida New York © 1923

Reed & Barton

Silverware, The Autocrat of every table, Reed & Barton, 1926

Sandra Bruce, *How To Be A Successful Hostess*, Reed & Barton, 1961
Printed for Henebrys (registered Jeweler American Gem Society, Fayetteville)

The History of the Spoon Knife and Fork Down Through the Ages, by Reed & Barton and Dominick & Haff © 1930

A century of silversmithing 1824-1924, Reed & Barton, 1924

Rogers

Vogue presents: The correctly set table, published by the Makers of Heirloom Plate (from generation to generation) © 1922, Wm A Rogers, Ltd, Niagara Falls, New York

The Bride Book, published in principal cities and all rights reserved by

William E Rogers

Towle Silversmiths

The Book of solid Silver, the Towle Silversmiths, Newburyport, Massachusetts © 1926 The Towle Mfg Co

For Gracious Living, Towle Sterling Newburyport, Massachusetts. Enclosed is a personal letter, dated 17 July, 1946 by Brides Personal Service and signed by Priscilla Towle

R Wallace & Sons, Wallace Silversmiths

The Dining Room R Wallace & Sons, Mfg Co Wallingford, Connecticut © 1912 with which is included Mrs Rorer, *How to set the table* (this is the twenty third edition of *How to Set the Table* since the first copyright in 1901 by R Wallace & Sons

Mrs Rorer, *How to set the table*. (Wallace & Sons, Co, Wallingford, Connecticut - nineteenth edition since 1901) [Photocopy of Winterthur Library NK7240 N95 TC]

Every Day Service and the Etiquette of Entertaining. The latest edition of the original book on the etiquette of tablesetting by Diana Beningfield, formerly social secretary to the Viscountess Mrs Cornelius Vanderbilt and other women of social prominence, published by R Wallace & Sons, Wallingford, 1925
Beauty moods in Silver, Wallace Silversmiths, Wallingford, Connecticut, 1943
Your Sterling and you, published by R Wallace & Sons of Canada, Ltd Winnifred S Fales, *The Wallace Hostess Book*, R Wallace & Sons Manufacturing Co, Wallingford, 1920



Westmoreland Sterling:

Nancy Prentiss, *Your dreams come true*, Westmoreland Sterling, 1949,
Nancy Prentiss, *The perfect hostess*, Westmoreland Sterling, 1958

Prestige, Div of Home Decorators, Inc:

Emily Post, *Your reference book of silver etiquette*, published by the Prestige Division of Home decorators, Inc, Newark, New York. (First edition 1952, price \$ 25.00 included lifetime membership of Emily Post's consultation services)

Emily Post, *Silver Etiquette*, published by Prestige, 1952.

'A vast quantity of handsome plate': recent silver acquisitions by the National Trust

JAMES ROTHWELL

2008 was an exceptionally fruitful year for the securing of important silver for National Trust houses. The most substantial acquisition, via Acceptance in Lieu (AIL), was of silver associated with that great patron of the first half of the eighteenth century, George Booth, 2nd Earl of Warrington (1675-1758)¹. The allocation, to Dunham Massey in Cheshire, includes pieces by a whole host of the best Huguenot makers of the period amongst which are the most impressive survivals of the table silver: two weighty tureens of 1740/41 by David Willaume [fig 1] with lion and mask feet reflecting the earl's armorial bearings. There are also four salts (Peter Archambo, 1741/42) with their accompanying spoons, a trio of cups and covers, two by Daniel Garnier of circa 1695 and the third by Daniel Piers of 1746/47 (the latter presumably a replacement rather than an augmentation), one



Fig 1 Pair of tureens, David Willaume, London, 1740/41 at Dunham Massey, Cheshire. (photo: Brenda Norrish © the National Trust Photographic Library)



Fig 2 Tea kettle, lamp and stand, Edward Feline, London, 1746/47 at Dunham Massey, Cheshire. (photo: Brenda Norrish © NTPL)

of a pair of bread baskets (Peter Archambo, 1730/31) and four waiters (John Liger and Peter Archambo, all 1731/32), the two smaller of which were, according to Lord Warrington's plate inventory, intended "to give drink on".² Yet more waiters come from the tea equipage, two "to give Tea on" (Peter Archambo, 1731/32) and two for the tea pots. Sadly the teapots themselves (by John Jacob, 1737/38) remain elusive but the AIL allocation does include the only survivor of three cream ewers, an elegant if decidedly old-fashioned helmet-shaped piece by David Willaume, of 1743/44, and Edward Feline's tea kettle of 1746/47 [fig 2].³ This, in contrast to the ewer, has rococo flourish-

1 A total of forty three items accepted by HM Government in lieu and allocated to the National Trust for display at Dunham Massey Hall, settling £686,000 in tax.

2 John Rylands University Library Manchester (henceforth JRULM), Stamford

MS, EGR 3/6/2/11, *The Particular of my Plate & its Weight*, 30 April 1750, amended 1 August 1754, p 2.

3 The tea pots last appeared at Sotheby's, London, in the sale of Important English Silver, 19 November 1987.

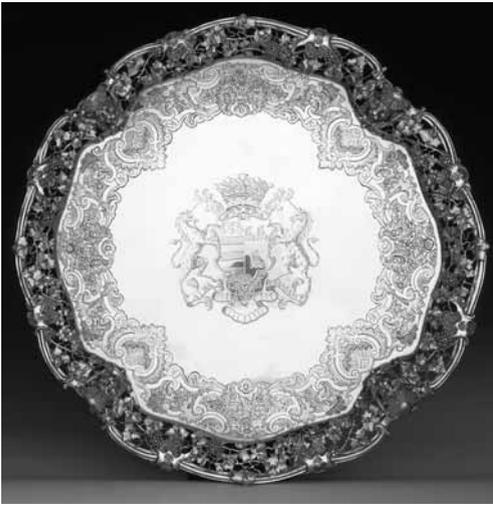


Fig 3 Wine table, Peter Archambo, London, 1739/40 at Dunham Massey, Cheshire. (photo Brenda Norrish@NTPL)



Fig 4 Two of four candelabra, Parker and Wakelin, London, 1772/73 and 1773/74 at Dunham Massey, Cheshire. (photo: Brenda Norrish@NTPL)

es, albeit restrained. The simplicity of Lewis Mettayer's perfectly spherical wash ball box of circa 1716 belies its immense associational importance to Dunham, having formed part of the patron's personal chamber plate. Even more potent is a cup and cover of 1734/35 by John Jacob which is of somewhat mundane quality and is not listed in *Particular of my Plate* but does bear the monogram of Mary Walton. Although purportedly the daughter of Lord Warrington's steward she may actually have been the earl's own child and it was to him and his family that she left her worldly goods, including this cup, on pre-deceasing him in 1754.

The patronage of goldsmiths at Dunham did not stop with the death of the 2nd Earl of Warrington in 1758. Also secured by this settlement are numerous items associated both with his legitimate daughter and heiress, Lady Mary Booth, wife of the 4th Earl of Stamford, and with her successors. A magnificent salver, or table [fig 3], by Peter Archambo with a diameter of over twenty-two inches is the earliest of an interesting group by various makers which all boast a finely cast rim of vine leaves, shells and masks.⁴ The salver and a baluster-shaped caster by Samuel Wood are both marked for 1739/40, the year of Lord Stamford's succession to his earldom and paternal estates, whilst two gadroon bordered sauce boats (Walter Brind, 1762/63) are from the later years of his tenure. His son, George Harry Grey, 5th Earl of Stamford, acquired the four 'festoon' candelabra by Parker and Wakelin (1772/73 and 1773/74) [fig 4] which are in the highly fashionable neo-Grec style and derive from an original probably developed by the great Parisian *orfèvre* Robert-Josephe Auguste in the mid 1760s.⁵ The 5th Earl is also associated with the Chester gold cup for 1798 (Peter and Ann Bateman, 1791/92), four salts by Paul Storr (1810/11) and a pair of wine coolers by Robert Garrard I (1803/4). An additional pair of matching coolers was com-

4 These include at least five by Paul de Lamerie, three by Phillips Garden, one by Thomas Gilpin and at least one other by Peter Archambo. James Lomax and James Rothwell, *Country House Silver from Dunham Massey*, London, 2006, pp 130-133.

5 *ibid.*, pp 147-8.

6 See note 4, above.

7 Bought at Christie's, 25 November 2008 (Lot 32), for £42,000 hammer price

(£51,650 including buyer's premium), funded from gifts and bequests and a grant of £21,244 from independent charity The Art Fund.

8 *Kedleston* (National Trust guide book), 1998, p 47.

9 John Cornforth, 'A Splendid Unity of Arts', *Country Life*, 13 June 1996, p 130.

10 *Kedleston* (National Trust guide book), 1998, pp 47-9.

missioned from William Burwash in 1820 by the 6th Earl of Stamford from whose granddaughter, Lady Margaret Milbank, the late Lord Deramore (1911-2006) who owned the allocated silver was descended. The pieces had been placed on loan at Dunham by him some years before his death and all are fully described in the catalogue of the collection published in 2006.⁶

Silver for dining made up a considerable proportion of the weight of most eighteenth-century collections, not least the many dozens of plates that were required for service *à la française*. Of the six dozen of 1758/59 by William Cripps that were originally at Kedleston in Derbyshire the National Trust already had a representation of those for the first courses but has now managed, with the assistance of the independent charity the Art Fund, to add twelve of the silver-gilt dessert plates [fig 5].⁷ Their return gives the opportunity of augmenting the silver on display in the buffet niche (the table is set with white plate for the beginning of the meal) and thereby equating it more accurately with its likely late eighteenth-century appearance, as shown in Adam's drawings [fig 6] and described by the Duchess of Northumberland following a visit in 1766

adorn'd with a vast quantity of handsome plate judiciously dispos'd on Tables of beautiful Marble.⁸

The Kedleston dinner service is outstanding both for the rarity and sophistication of its design and for its carefully considered integration into the architectural schemes of James 'Athenian' Stuart and Robert Adam for Sir Nathaniel Curzon's new dining room. Shortly before his father's death in November 1758 Sir Nathaniel, 5th Bt and later 1st Baron Scarsdale (1726-1804), commissioned the large, elaborate and expensive service from the goldsmith Phillips Garden, at a cost of £2,918 6s 7d.⁹ It consisted of four salts, six dozen plates of which one dozen were gilded, "four candlesticks with historical figures", a pair of "very curious Tereens with Venus" and silver and silver-gilt flatware and knife handles. Charges were also made for "new doing up 2 Cisterns & 2 fountains" of late seventeenth-century date and for altering the magnificent epergne and its silver "table" by Thomas Harache that Sir Nathaniel had purchased three years earlier. Sir Nathaniel had already decided to build a grand new house at Kedleston when he commissioned the dinner service and at an early stage he had been in consultation with James 'Athenian' Stuart over design-



Fig 5 One of a set of twelve silver-gilt dessert plates, William Cripps, London, 1758/59 at Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire. (photo: John Hammond©NTPL)

ing the interiors of the building. In 1757-58 Stuart had provided drawings for a dining room and the magnificent ormolu perfume burner and the Sicilian jasper wine cooler, still in the room and part of the arrangement in the buffet niche, were executed to his design as was, in all likelihood, the plate-warmer in the form of a Greek vase.¹⁰ Given Stuart's involvement with these elements and the use on the dinner service of running bands of interlacing rosettes and leaves which reflect his palette for the rest of the room and are quite unlike anything else of the period on silver, it is highly likely that the design of the service is his also, in part at least.

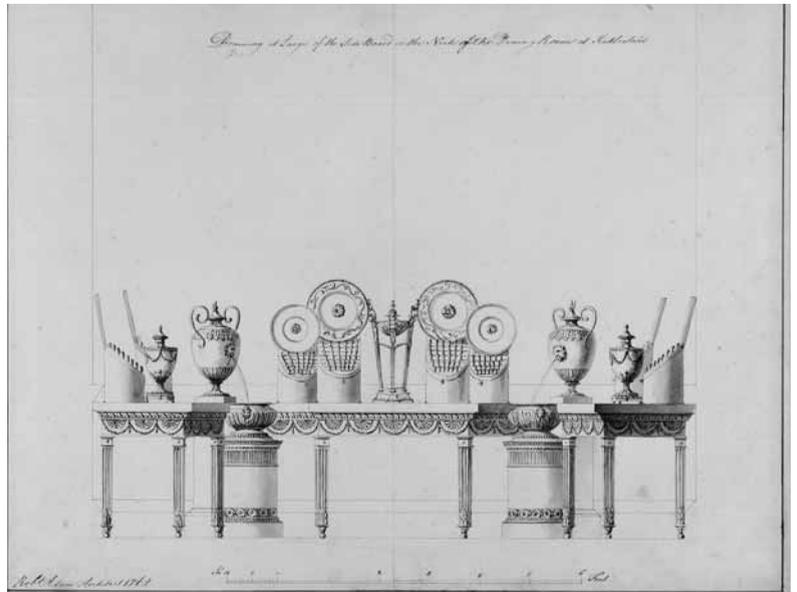


Fig 6 Robert Adam's design for the buffet niche in the dining room at Kedleston Hall, 1762.

(photo: John Hammond©NTPL)



Fig 7 Set of three casters, Edward Wakelin, London, 1757/58 at Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire. (Christie's)

Also associated with dining and contemporaneous with the Kedleston service were the other two silver acquisitions of the year: a set of casters of 1757/58 [fig 7] by Edward Wakelin for Sudbury Hall and a basting spoon for Ickworth bearing Spanish hallmarks for 1760-62 [fig 8]. In spite of a tenure of over thirty years there are comparatively few reminders of George Venables-Vernon, 2nd Lord Vernon (1735-1813) at Sudbury. His personal estate, including the family jewels and silver, passed on his death to his only surviving child, Georgiana, Lady Suffield (1788-1824) and his full-length portrait by Gainsborough was sold from Sudbury in 1919 and is now in Southampton City Art Gallery.¹¹ It is particularly satisfying, therefore, to see the return of an elegant set of vase-shaped casters for display in the Little Dining Room at the house.¹² They must have been acquired at the time of the future 2nd Lord Vernon's first marriage in

1757 to the heiress Louisa Mansel (1732-1786) and they are engraved with the arms of both husband and wife.

A humble piece that was not intended to be seen during dinner but which formed an essential part of the otherwise magnificent ambassadorial plate of George Hervey, 2nd Earl of Bristol (1721-1775) has been presented to Ickworth by Perry and Cynthia Foster who run the Argentum silver dealership in San Francisco. Pre-Napoleonic Spanish silver is a rarity and this basting spoon is particularly interesting for bearing full and clear marks for 1760-62, the Court maker Eugenio Melc6 and for the Valencian silversmith Carlos Gomis de Fornas (master, Madrid 8 February 1746).¹³ Lord Bristol was Ambassador to the Court of Madrid at the time and the marks probably indicate a repair (of which there is visible evidence) to an English piece damaged whilst in use in the embassy kitchen. The Earl had previously been Ambassador in Turin and round tureens were acquired there from a Turinese goldsmith to match oval ones by Frederick Kandler which he had taken out to Italy with him. The acquisition of the basting spoon means that there is now silver at Ickworth mapping Lord Bristol's complete diplomatic career.

After such strong gains in 2008, 2009 saw some equally important additions to National Trust collections through the imaginative loan of related pieces from the Gilbert Collection under the guidance of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Tessa Murdoch of the Department of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics and Glass. The two state bedroom chamber pots (Isaac Liger, 1722/23) are already on display at Dunham Massey and Lady Tyrconnel's toilet mirror (Paul de Lamerie, circa 1732) is at Belton. It is hoped that more pieces are to follow over the next few months.

James Rothwell is the National Trust's advisor on silver and is also curator of the Trust's houses in Cheshire. He is the co-author, with James Lomax, of *Country House Silver from Dunham Massey* (2006).



Fig 8 Basting spoon, probably English circa 1758, repaired by Carlos Gomis de Fornas, Madrid, 1760-6 at Ickworth, Suffolk. (photo: Kate Hill©NTPL)

11 *Sudbury Hall* (National Trust guide book), 1998, p 44.

12 The casters were bought at Christie's, 25 November 2008 (Lot 212) for £6,000 hammer price (£7,500 including buyer's

premium), funded by Sudbury Hall and from gifts and bequests.

13 I am grateful to Christopher Rowell and José Manuel Valdovinos for this information.

Thicker than water: The Chawners and their connections

TIMOTHY KENT AND LUKE SCHRAGER

The history of the London silver trade provides many examples of country boys, frequently the sons of yeomen, coming to London for apprenticeship under the Goldsmiths' Company before commencing their own careers. Once established in business they began to take apprentices of their own who were often relations, sometimes younger brothers, or other connections from the same home territory. Thus circa 1600 we find a whole group of spoonmakers from the Cary, Hole, Saunders and Hodges families originating from the Castle Cary district of Somerset; while later in the century Marlborough and North Wiltshire furnished the Fowle, King, Stevens, Duck and Spackman families¹. Then in the eighteenth century the specialist candlestick makers of the Gould, Cafe and Quantock families² had their roots in the Somerset villages of Kingsbury Episcopi and Blackford. If not actually related by blood (Daniel Cary and Edward Hole were first cousins), their families would probably have known each other in the local farming community, no doubt foregathering for business and refreshment on market day³. These yeoman families were solid hardworking folk and there would have been undoubted prestige in having a son apprenticed to a London goldsmith. The King family of Bremhill went to the limit in producing no fewer than four goldsmith sons: Thomas, Robert, John and Adam, the latter three all being spoonmakers. It is noteworthy that the head of such families usually made his first appearance in

records described as 'yeoman' but often elevated himself to 'Gent' or even 'Esquire' as time went by. In the period concerned, as at other times, there was plenty of 'upward mobility' linked, in the present context, to agriculture prosperity.

The Chawner family, with its connections to the Fearn, Eley, Emes and Crossley families⁴, fits easily into the aforementioned scenario. All five families came from the farming country of south Derbyshire, even now largely unspoilt, between Derby and Uttoxeter, close to the Staffordshire border. In their home villages, within a few miles of each other, they would have been mutually acquainted if not related [fig 1].

The Chawner or Chaloner family (the name appears to be of common origin) first appears in the area circa 1540,

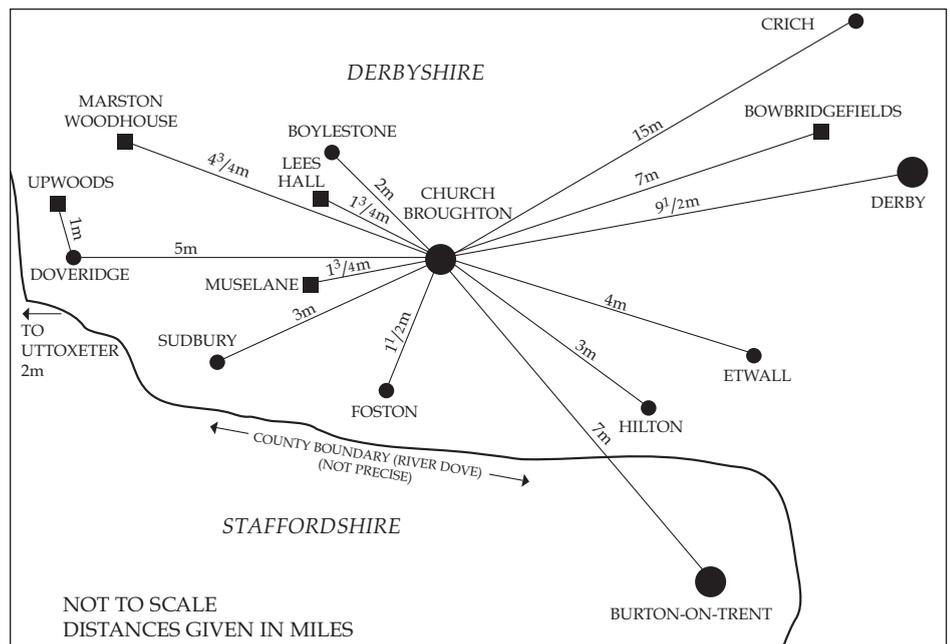


Fig 1 Map of south Derbyshire showing places of family origin.

1 David (Fowle) Mitchell and John Culme, 'A Goose in a dotted circle', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 14, 2002, pp 97-105 and Vanessa Brett, 'Coda

on John Duck', *The Silver Society Journal*, no 14, 2002, p 106-8.

2 John Fallon, 'The House of Barnard', *The Silver*

Society Journal, no 25.

3 T A Kent, *London Silver Spoonmakers 1500-1697*, London, 1981, pp 26, 28, 29, 35, 45 and Arthur G

Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1976, pp 456-7, 526-7, 636.

4 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1976, pp 463-4, 480, 502-3, 504.



Fig 2 Lees Hall, home of Thomas Chawner.



Fig 3 Muselane, home of John Chawner.



Fig 4 Marston Woodhouse, home of the Chaloner family.



Fig 5 Monument to Thomas Chawner and his family of Lees Hall, Boylestone Church.

and their acquisition of farming land may be connected with the dissolution of Croxden Abbey (five and a half miles north-west of Uttoxeter) in 1536. The abbey, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, comprised an abbot (the last of whom was a Thomas Chaloner or Chawner) and twelve monks; it was worth £103 6s 7d per annum at the time of its dissolution⁵. There appears to be no connection with the Yorkshire regicide, Thomas Chaloner, who fled to Holland at the Restoration and died there in 1661. There may be some family connection with the poet Rupert Chawner Brooke (1887-1915), the name possibly being derived from Dr Rupert Chawner (see below).

The present story really begins with the two brothers: Thomas Chawner (1700-1773) of Lees Hall, Boylestone [fig 2] and John Chawner (circa 1705-1775) of Muselane, Church Broughton [fig 3], who married Ann, daughter of Edward Chaloner of Marston Woodhouse [fig 4] and moved up from 'Yeoman' to 'Gentleman' in due course. The elder brother, Thomas, had a large family of eight sons and five daughters [fig 5]; he was on the Grand Jury at Derby in 1762, indicating a certain status, and described himself as "Esquire" when Charles, his eighth and youngest son entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1771⁶. John, the younger brother, through some channel of which we are as yet unaware, in 1754 arranged to apprentice his eldest son Thomas (who in time would inherit Muselane) to Ebenezer Coker, part of whose business was concerned with spoon making. This son, Thomas, was old for an apprentice, being aged nineteen or twenty, and obtained his freedom in 1762, proceeding to the livery of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1771⁷. Heal records him as in business from 1759 at various addresses and in partnership with his next brother William, who had been apprenticed to Francis Pigott under the Pewterers' Company in 1750, received his freedom in 1757 and joined the livery in 1761⁸. William married Dorothy Morton from Kedleston in 1759, and they had issue.

Thomas was listed as a spoonmaker in 1773; this was undoubtedly his main activity as his mark, and that of the partnership, is found

5 Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, vol X, 1536, 1238, p 515.

1837, London, 1990, p 741.

6 J and A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: 1922-1954*, vol II, Cambridge, p 20.

9 Emmanuel College archives.

10 Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, London, 1840, vol II, p 462.

7 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1990, p 463.

11 John Culme, *Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Trades 1837-1914*, Woodbridge, 1987, vol 1, 82-3.

8 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-*



Fig 6 A transitional Old English pattern tablespoon with wrigglework border, Thomas and William Chawner, London, 1763/64. (Private collection)

largely on flatware. An example of their manufacture is a tablespoon of 1763 by Thomas and William Chawner [fig 6]. After the apparent dissolution of the brothers' partnership in 1774 William registered a mark with George Heming, a noted maker of hollow ware, and their partnership lasted until 1781. However it is clear that the two brothers also had a more general retail business; for example Thomas's mark is found on nine very fine beakers or 'Stoups' remade for Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1783 [fig 7]. The original documentation for these has survived⁹; it records their purchase from Mrs S York, a retailer who may have been the widow of the Thomas York recorded by Heal for 1773 [fig 8]. It is interesting to note that Thomas's first cousin Charles (1752-1820) was a recent graduate of Emmanuel College and had been vicar of Church Broughton since 1778.

Thomas evidently carried on a prosperous business. He took William Fearn, who came from similar farming stock at Sudbury, three miles from Church Broughton, as an apprentice in 1762 and, having ultimately retired from business in favour of his son Henry, ended his days at Doveridge, five miles west of Church Broughton, where his wife's family, the Emerys, occupied the substantial farm of Upwoods. Thomas and his wife Sarah (1745-1827) share a grave on the north side of Doveridge church [fig 9]. Thomas also gave a job (not an apprenticeship) to Richard Crossley of Hilton which is three miles from Church Broughton; of whom more below.

A third brother, Jonathan (b 1750), presumably concluding that the occupations of farming and goldsmithing were somewhat overcrowded, removed himself to conduct a tannery business at Horncastle in Lincolnshire where in 1840 it was recorded that "many of the inhabitants were employed in tanning leather"¹⁰. Significantly, in 1773 he married Dorothy Fearn from Sudbury, sister of the William Fearn who had been apprenticed to his eldest brother Thomas. From this couple is descended the family line that produced, until late in the nineteenth century, huge quantities of flatware as Chawner and Company¹¹. Family relationships were close: Jonathan's son William (II) was apprenticed to his uncle William Fearn in 1797, a previous apprentice was William Eley who came from Foston, a small hamlet (it still is), adjacent to Church Broughton.

The detailed family tree [fig 18] shows the various branches of the family, although it omits some elements, particularly the numerous offspring of Thomas and Elizabeth and their descendants. The seventh son, Rupert, became a well known local doctor, from whom Richard Croft Chawner, who took a first in law at Cambridge and was a fellow



Fig 7 'Stoup' remade for Emmanuel College from a previous piece donated by Sir John Pelham. (Courtesy of Emmanuel College, Cambridge)

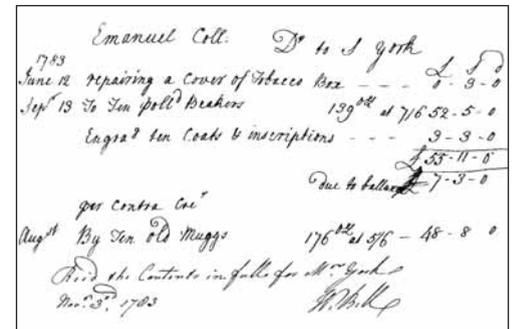


Fig 8 Original bill for 'stoup' received by Emmanuel College Cambridge. (Courtesy of Emmanuel College, Cambridge)



Fig 9 Tombstones of Thomas Chawner and his wife Sarah, Doveridge Church.

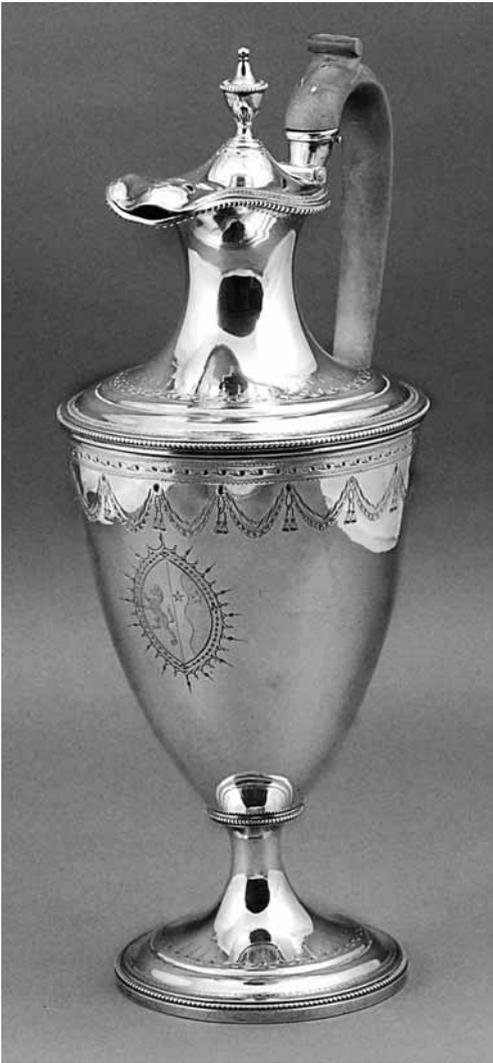


Fig 10 A hot water jug, Henry Chawner, London, 1786/87.
(Courtesy of J H Bourdon-Smith Ltd)



Fig 11 Detail of an engraved beaker, Henry Chawner, London, 1786/87.
(Courtesy of J H Bourdon-Smith Ltd)

of Trinity Hall from 1828 to 1854¹², is probably descended.

Thomas Chawner of Muselane's son Henry (1764-1851), who was made free of the Goldsmiths' Company by patrimony in 1785, enjoyed a long life, a very successful business career and an extended retirement. Described as a "working goldsmith" at the time of his marriage in 1789 to Mary, daughter of Edward Hore, a prosperous London wharfinger "near the Hermitage" with a country house at Esher, he did not follow his father's trade of spoon making but produced a wide range of hollow ware in Adam taste, of good design and excellent quality [figs 10-12]. He took into his employment, and then in 1796 into partnership, John Emes who came from Bowbridgefields in the parish of Mackworth about seven miles north-east of Church Broughton.

For all of the period from 1778 to 1820 the Rev Charles Chawner was serving as vicar of Church Broughton; his faithful churchwarden and parish clerk being Francis Fearn (d 1833) whose tombstone at Church Broughton can be seen in the nave "at a point where he used to stand to wind the church clock".

John Emes entered his mark in 1798 so it would seem that at this juncture Henry Chawner decided that it was a good moment to retire from active business and spend the rest of his life, which turned out to be more than half a century, as a country gentleman. He could well afford to do this because, as John Fallon has discovered, he retained half the firm's profits to the end of his days after it had become John Emes, then Emes and Barnard and finally Barnards¹³. In addition he had his investments, local property holdings, the rent payable by the tenant of Muselane, and his wife's money. Initially he lived at Lime Grove, near Chertsey¹⁴. When his eldest son Edward Hore Chawner entered University College, Oxford in 1822¹⁵ his father was described as "of Chertsey, Surrey, Esquire". By the time his second son Charles Fox Chawner went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1825 Henry was described as of "Newton Manor House, Hants".

The Chawner family features in the diary of the Rev Edmund Yalden White of Crondall, which covers the years 1816 to 1856¹⁶. White was a keen cricketer, and he records for 25 August 1824 "returned from Hambledon after the match, with Edward Chawner". The diary also mentions Charles, Henry's second son, and the marriages of his daughters Caroline and Louisa. An intriguing entry for 3 January 1834 records that "Mr. Chawner tried his Seraphine [an early form of harmonium] in Newton Church".

Henry became a Justice of the Peace in 1831 and was on friendly terms with his neighbour Admiral George Ourry (1787-1864) of Pelham Place, a connection of Paul de Lamerie¹⁷. He was elected to the Court of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1801, and there remains a strong impression that he could have risen to Prime Warden had he chosen to do so. As late as 1842 he was asked to step in after Warden Helps had died, but unsurprisingly at the age of seventy-eight he declined, quoting "distant residence and a failing voice"¹⁸. An underlying reason may have been that "Henry Chawner, Esquire, JP of Newton Valence Manor" did not wish to remind Hampshire of his

previous involvement with trade. *Burke's General Armory* lists¹⁹, under the heading "Chawner (Newton Manor House, near Alton, Co. Hants, and of Muslane, Co. Derby)" the following arms: "Sable a chevron between 3 cherubim's heads Or", crest: "a sea wolf's head" and the motto: "Nil Desperandum". These are also the arms of the Chaloner family, that of Henry's grandmother.

A faded nineteenth-century photograph of Newton Valence Manor shows the east front embellished with remarkable stone plaques and term figures which presumably dated from Henry's time; he enjoyed a local reputation as a connoisseur and art collector. He was said to have

converted the old house into domestic offices and added thereto a villa, in the Grecian style. It contains a large collection of paintings and other works of art, amongst which is the Angouleme China Vase, mounted in ormolu ... the same that was rejected by Geo. IV for whom it was ordered, in consequence of a small flaw which came in the burning²⁰.

Fig 13 shows the south front of Newton Valence Manor as it is today.

Henry Chawner's will, dated 6 June 1850²¹, made provision for his sons Edward and Charles and his daughters Louisa and Caroline. In addition to the Newton Valence property he referred to

My estate partly freehold and partly held by Copy of Court Roll of the manors of East Meon and Langrish in the county of Southampton or one of them called the Bordean House Estate situate in the parishes of East Meon and Froxfield in the county of Southampton and all my copyhold estates called the Green Farm and George's Farm situate in Froxfield afore said.....

By a codicil he made bequests to various servants and "to the clergyman of Newton Valence ten pounds towards the support of the school" trusting that his eldest son would continue the same contribution. Mourning rings were to be provided for various members of the Chawner, Emes and Barnard families as well as Mrs Rivington, the wife of his solicitor, and a local friend Mrs Cole of Holybourne. By a further codicil he made no doubt a very acceptable bequest to his younger son, the Rev Charles Fox Chawner, of "12 dozen bottles of old port wine purchased of Mr. Smith in 1835". Obviously active to the end of his days he requested his executors to

cause the new verandah designed by me and intended to be erected at Newton Manor House to be put up and finished, and also deal with the repairs and alteration to my new organ now in preparation to be completed so that the same may be put into perfect condition and order.

Meanwhile the junior branch of the extended family was prospering. In 1808 the three Williams: Chawner, Eley and Fearn, all of Derbyshire stock and whose families lived within a few miles of each other, entered a joint mark and in the years that followed they produced a vast amount of flatware for the retail trade. Spoons manu-



Fig 12 A milk jug, Henry Chawner, London 1792. (Courtesy of J H Bourdon-Smith Ltd)



Fig 13 Newton Valence Manor.

12 J and A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: 1922-1954*, vol II, Cambridge, p 20.

13 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1976, pp 430-431 and subsequent research by John Fallon. Edward Barnard I had been apprenticed to Thomas Chawner in 1773. He ultimately took over the management of the firm.

14 Private correspondence with the Goldsmiths' Company.

15 John Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, Oxford, 1888, vol I (1715-1886), p 242.

16 Roland P Butterfield (ed), *Ordned in Powder*, 1966.

17 Sale, Sotheby's, 11 November 1993, lot 420 (extensive note).

18 Goldsmiths' Company Archives, courtesy of David Beasley, Librarian.

19 *Burke's General Armory* (1884/1969), p 188.

20 John Culme, *Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Trades 1837-1914*, Woodbridge, 1987, vol 1, pp 29-30.

21 Prob 11/2132.



Fig 14 A silver-gilt fiddle thread pattern teaspoon engraved with the cipher of George III, William Eley and William Fearn, London, 1801/02.
(Courtesy of Schredds of London)



Fig 15 A fiddle thread and shell pattern serving spoon, William Chawner I, London, 1827/28.
(Courtesy of J H Bourdon-Smith Ltd)

factured by them were supplied to all ranks of society, including George III himself [fig 14]. The partnership would appear to have come to an end by 1814 to 1815 when new separate marks were entered and William Chawner entered his sole mark [fig 15]. The split may have had something to do with the marriage of William Chawner II to Mary Burwash in 1816. She came of a goldsmithing family and was clearly a forceful character as after William's death in 1834²² she entered her own marks and directed the business with energy. Their daughter Mary Anne (b 1818) married George William Adams in 1838²³. Following a short partnership with his mother-in-law from 1838 to 1840 Adams entered his mark as a spoonmaker, and a multiplicity of the same mark up until 1881, but the firm continued as Chawner and Company to the end. William III (1817-1877) broke away to follow an entirely different career.

Richard Crossley has already been briefly referred to as belonging to the Chawner group; he was a most interesting character. His father John, had married Catherine Atkins at Etwell, adjacent to Hilton to the east, on 30 June 1730 and many of their children appear in the registers of that parish, although not Richard, who must have been born circa 1740 as he was seventy-five when he died in 1815. The impression is that the Crossleys of Hilton (three miles from Church Broughton) were of lesser standing in the farming community than the Chawners of Muselane. Richard was not accorded an apprenticeship by Thomas Chawner but merely given a job in the workshop carrying charcoal to the braziers. He features in *The Fruits of Experience* published in 1824 by Joseph Brasbridge²⁴, a retail goldsmith whose career had not been a successful one. He wrote

The late Mr. Crosley (sic) of Giltspur Street, was my principal spoon-maker. I have laid out more than fifty thousand pounds with him ... he came to London as a boy, and was employed by Chawner, the spoon maker in Paternoster Row, to carry charcoal to his men; hence he was known by the name of Charcoal Dick: but being a smart lad, and writing a good hand, he was soon promoted to a place in the counting house, and having by the sobriety and frugality of his habits saved a hundred pounds, he began business for himself, and received his first order from me.

Brasbridge continued

There could not be a more honest or industrious man than Crosley: during the long course of years in which we were engaged together in business, there never was a difference of five shillings between us, so punctual was he in his accounts: he began the world with a hundred pounds, and left off business with eighty thousand.

However

As he grew old, however, he carried his frugality to the extreme, and gradually sank into the vice of avarice, too often characteristic of old age. He would not allow himself veal or pork, because they were dearer than other meats, and usually bought a leg of mutton for his Sunday dinner, which used to serve the family till Thursday.

Crossley's will, dated 19 August 1814²⁵, confirms that he died a rich man. He describes himself as "Richard Crossley of Paradise House in the parish of Saint Mary Islington in the county of Middlesex, Esquire" and desired to be interred "at Wooburn in the County of Bucks near to the remains of my first wife and daughter".

The will is very lengthy and made bequests to a wide variety of relations. An interesting bequest was

And I give and bequeath unto my said trustees the sum of two thousand pounds upon trust to invest the same in or upon such stocks funds or securities ... to receive the dividends interest or annual produce ... to apply the same by even and weekly payments unto and for the support and maintenance of John Doughty²⁶, Journeyman Silversmith and at present employed by Messrs. Eley, Fearn and Chawner, silversmiths, for and during the term of his natural life for his own personal use and benefit

The above reference to a journeyman emphasises the important role that such people had in a large business and surviving pieces from Crossley's workshop and those of the others often carry a journeyman's mark. Fig 16 shows two typical good quality serving spoons of 1786/87 with a journeyman's mark to the left of Crossley's mark. Crossley's first mark, registered on 1 May 1775, was in partnership with William Sumner I who had been apprenticed to Thomas Chawner; they entered further marks until 1782. Thereafter Crossley entered a succession of marks until 1812, when it can be assumed that he retired. The business was enormous and financially successful; Grimwade thought that Crossley may have operated more than one workshop²⁷.

Richard Crossley was indeed buried at Wooburn in Buckinghamshire, three miles from Beaconsfield, where his tombstone reads

Sacred to the memory of Richard Crossley Esqr late of Paradise House Islington in the county of Middlesex and formerly of London, Goldsmith, the third son of Mr. John Crossley of Hilton in the county of Derby, Who by Persevering Industry with the Strictest Integrity realised considerable Property which he bequeathed among his Collateral Relations and departed this life a widower without leaving any Issue surviving him On the 29th day of April 1815 Aged 75 years.

Crossley must have been very similar to James Gould, the candlestick maker, of Kingsbury Episcopi, who "acquired a Handsome Fortune with a Good Character"²⁸. The tombstone also records that his wife Sally "daughter of Christopher Wildman and Sarah his wife, formerly of this parish" died in April 1780 aged twenty, followed by their only

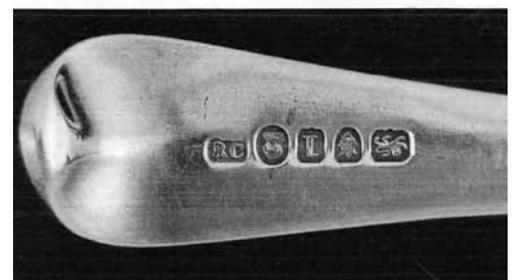
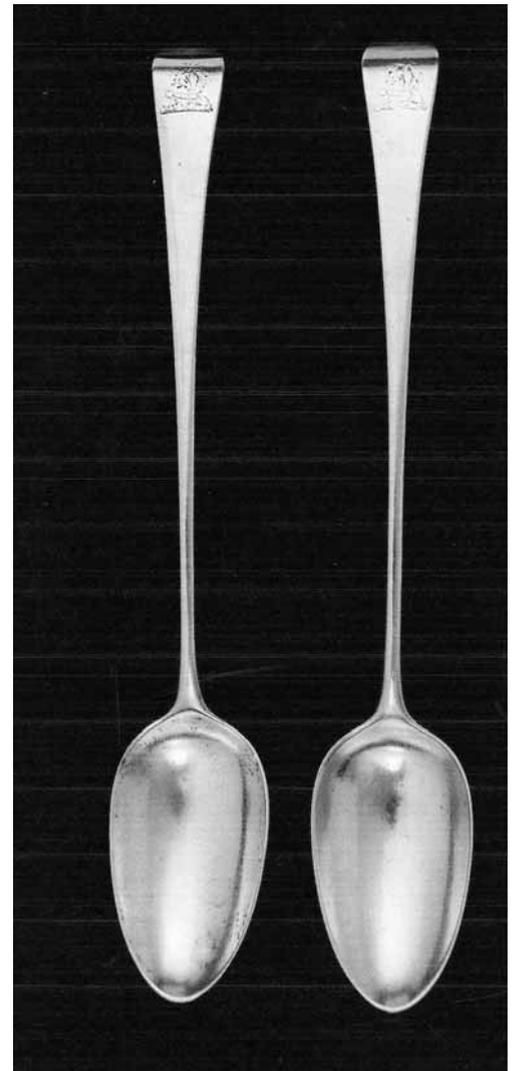


Fig 16 A pair of Old English pattern serving spoons, crest of Sir Thomas Kent, Richard Crossley, London, 1786/87.

(Private collection)

22 Prob 11/1829.

23 John Culme, *Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Trades 1837-1914*, Woodbridge, 1987, vol 2, p 82 under

Chawner and Company.

24 Joseph Brasbridge, *The Fruits of Experience, or Memoir of John Brasbridge*, 2nd edition, London, 1824.

25 Prob 11/1568:

26 John Doughty is described as "son of John Doughty late of the parish of St Bartholomew, London, Labourer

deceased" in his apprenticeship to Richard Crossley through the Goldsmiths' Company on 5 January 1803. Unusually Crossley charged him no fee and as is shown in his

will had a special interest in him.

27 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1990, p 480.



Fig 17 Tombstone of Edward Henry Chawner, Newton Valence.

child Sarah in 1794, aged fourteen years and ten months. The Wildmans were papermakers, and in 1840 it was recorded of Wooburn that "A rivulet, rising at West Wycombe, flows through this parish, turning in its course several paper, mill-board, and flour mills"²⁹.

Without reaching down to the present day, it is interesting to note that the Chawners, like so many similar families, turned their back on trade and followed those careers favoured by the English upper-middle classes: church, army and the bar, or academic life at Oxford or Cambridge. William III (1817-1877), having been apprenticed to his father in 1831, turned over to his mother in 1834 and free in 1838, renounced the goldsmiths' trade, went up to St John's College, Cambridge³⁰, took holy orders and from 1855 to 1875 served as vicar of Crich in Derbyshire, only fifteen miles from Church Broughton. He married Elizabeth Crowther and produced brilliantly academic sons whom he sent to the relatively new public school, Rossall in Lancashire, founded in 1844, which was gaining an excellent reputation, besides quoting special terms to the sons of clergy. His eldest son William (IV)³¹ gained a scholarship to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was 5th Classic and prizeman, became a Fellow in 1871, was Tutor from 1875 to 1890, and from 1895 to 1911 was the first layman to be Master of Emmanuel since its foundation in 1584. He was also Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University from 1898 to 1901 and was noted as an enthusiast for various reforming causes. He produced a pamphlet of Unitarian type entitled *Prove All Things* which aroused considerable controversy. At his memorial service his successor as Master, Peter Giles, is said to have observed:

Poor chap! I wonder if he would have been any the less efficient as Master if he had been able to make people love him as well as respect him³².

His brother George³³, who was also educated at Rossall, gained a scholarship to King's, Cambridge, in 1873; he was 1st Classic, and took both the Porson Prize and Chancellor's Medal. He became a Fellow of that College and was Librarian there from 1896 until his death in 1914.

Henry's sons did much the same. Edward Hore Chawner (1802-1868) graduated from University College, Oxford, and became a Captain in the 4th

CHAWNER/CHALONER Family

Noted in South Derbyshire since circa 1540: possible derivation from last abbot of Croxden (dissolved 1536)

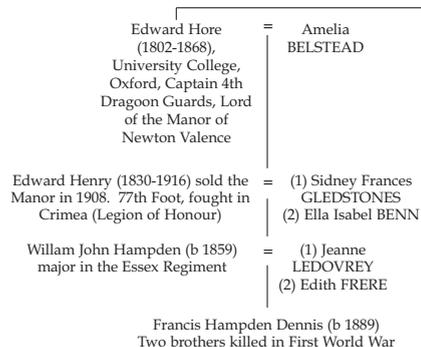
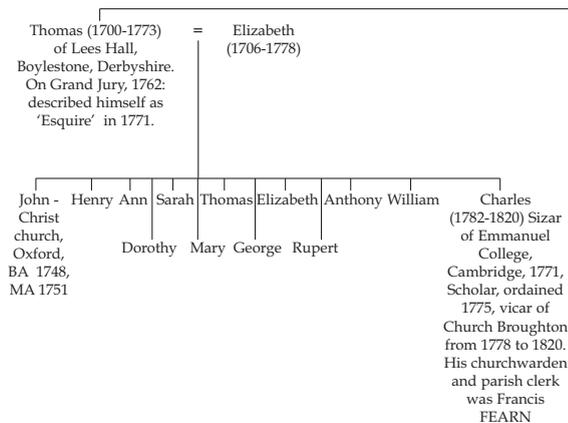
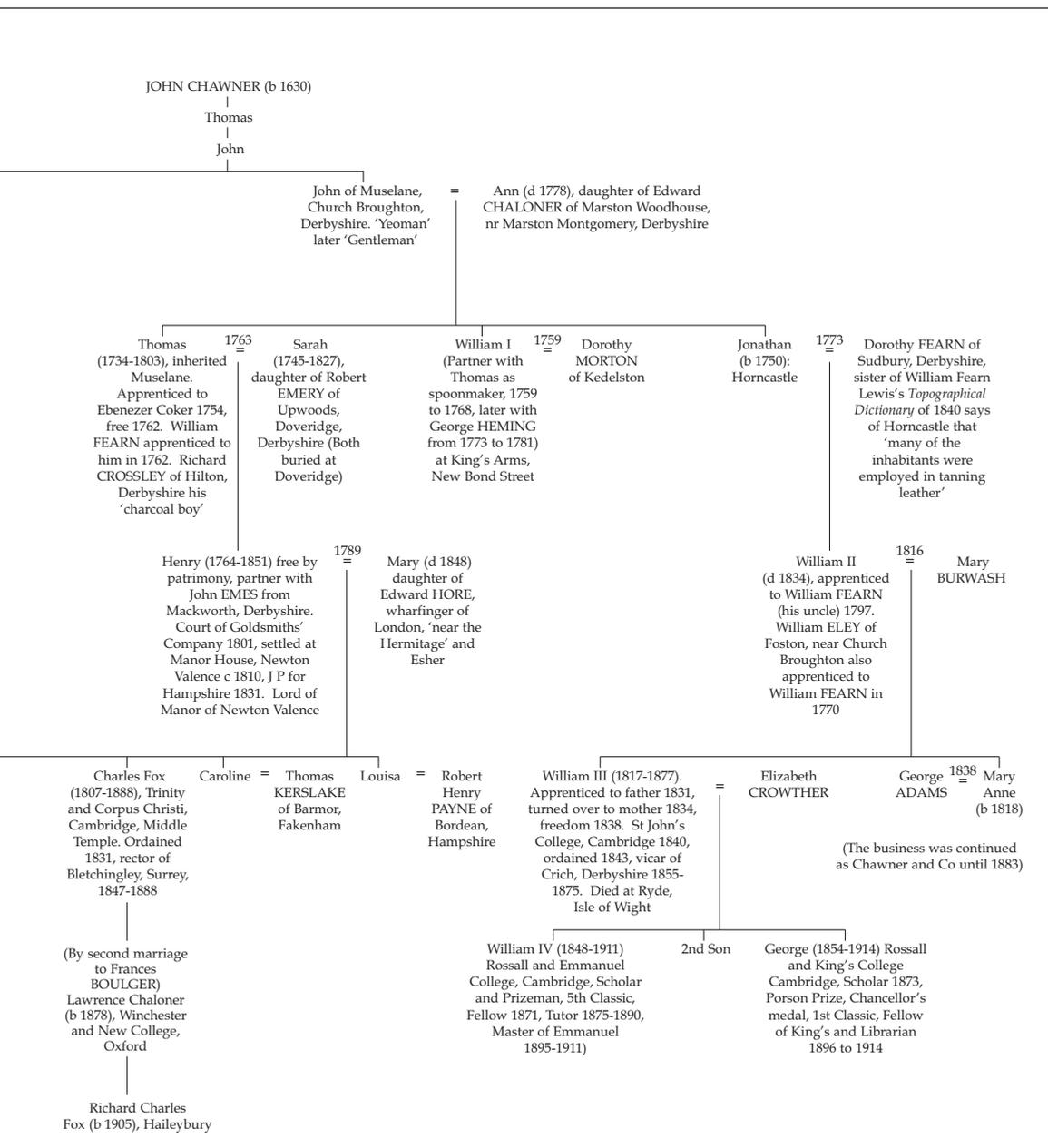


Fig 18.

Dragoon Guards; his commission no doubt purchased by his father. In due course he inherited Newton Valence Manor. His son, Edward Henry (1830-1916) joined the 77th Foot and fought in the Crimea, of which he was very proud, as his tombstone [fig 17] shows. He survived the campaign and, like his grandfather, lived to the age of eighty-six, although he sold the manor in 1908. Later generations produced more soldiers, two of whom fell in the First World War. Henry's second son, Charles Fox Chawner (1807-1888) went up to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1825³⁴, migrated to Corpus Christi, and was admitted to the Middle Temple. He took holy orders, and was rector of Bletchingley in Surrey from 1841 until 1888, a not uncommon length of tenure for a Victorian incumbent.

Timothy Kent has researched the field of early spoons extensively and has published on silver from the West Country and Sussex as well as Masonic jewels. He was called to the Bar but entered the business of insurance in 1959, from which he retired in 1991. He is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Luke Schragar was brought up in the silver trade. After working for the Goldsmiths' Company, undertaking research into the eighteenth-century workmen the documentation of whose marks has been lost, he gained an MA from St Andrews and then a further MA from London University. He now undertakes historical research and deals in antique silver.



28 Altar tomb, Kingsbury Episcopi Churchyard.

29 Samuel Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, London, 1840, vol II, p 462.

30 J and A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: 1922-1954*, vol II, Cambridge, p 20.

31 J and A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: 1922-1954*, vol II, Cambridge, p 20 B.
32 Sarah Bendall, Christopher Brooke and Patrick Collinson, *A History of Emmanuel College, Cambridge*, 1999, p xxx.

33 J and A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: 1922-1954*, vol II, Cambridge, p 20 B.

34 J and A Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: 1922-1954*, vol II, Cambridge, p 20 B.

The House of Barnard

JOHN FALLON



Fig 1 The signatures of Henry Chawner and Rebecca Emes, Edward Barnard and Edward Barnard Junior and John and William Barnard.

This article is based on a lecture given to the Silver Society at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House on 20 October 2008.

The Barnard ledgers are held in the Victoria and Albert Museum's archives in London. There are over two hundred ledgers relating to the firm from circa 1808 to the 1950s. They are an unparalleled, comprehensive set of accounts, exemplary of any nineteenth-century manufacturing silversmith. Of these ledgers, fifty-two Day Books record, in date order, every article of plate manufactured or repaired by Emes and Barnard and Edward Barnard and Sons, in an unbroken span from June 1818 to October 1874 and from July 1879 to August 1944. Each entry records the date of sale and the client's name, gives a description of the article and records its weight and manufacturing costs. However, since there is no index to give assistance when researching any particular piece of silverware, the locating of an original sale entry amongst the thousands recorded each year is very time consuming. It is also unfortunate that three of the early ledgers

are not available for public viewing due to damage requiring conservation which has yet to be carried out. These three ledgers cover the firm's sales from July 1818 to May 1821, March 1824 to November 1826 and October 1834 to August 1837.

Two further ledgers of interest are the fully illustrated Pattern Book and Price Book ledgers showing drawings of Emes and Barnard silverware. The books span a period from circa 1808 to circa 1820 with some later additions; these ledgers are divided into sections, each one illustrating a different type of domestic article. There are also four Stock Debtors and Balance ledgers (numbers 5, 6, 7 and 8) covering the period from 1846 to 1914. A hitherto unrecorded Stock Debtor and Balance ledger (numbers 1 and 2) covering the period from 1808 to 1824 was acquired by the author in 2006. All these ledgers contain the firm's annual financial reports including details of the firm's debts, credits, stock in hand, profits, directors' salaries and shareholders' holdings. Also acquired by the

author in 2006 is an indenture of 1829 wherein Edward Barnard and his three sons bought out Henry Chawner and Rebecca Emes and changed the firm's name from Emes and Barnard to Edward Barnard and Sons.

Previous occupants of the Barnard premises

Anthony Nelme would seem to have been the first of a series of silversmiths recorded as having occupied and traded from the same premises in Ave Maria Lane over a period of many years; the site of the workshops that were to be occupied by Emes and Barnard. Nelme is thought to have set up in business as a silversmith at Amen Corner, Ave Maria Lane in 1680. In 1723 his son, Francis Nelme, took over the business although he did not register his own mark until 1739. When, in due course, Francis disposed of the business it was apparently acquired by the silversmith, Thomas Whipham.

It would seem that the sale of the business occurred between 1751 and 1753 when Whipham moved his business from Foster Lane to Nelme's premises in Ave Maria Lane. In 1757 Whipham took Charles Wright, who had been his apprentice, into partnership; in about 1770 Whipham retired leaving Wright in control.

The next silversmith to occupy the premises was Thomas Chawner. He and his brother, William Chawner, had founded their own business round the corner in Paternoster Row. In 1773 the Chawner brothers disbanded their business and William Chawner entered into partnership with George Heming in Bond Street whilst Thomas Chawner continued trading as a silversmith at his old premises. By 1783 Charles Wright had retired and Thomas Chawner had taken over Wright's business at Amen Corner although he still retained his original premises in Paternoster Row. Presumably he amalgamated Wright's business with his own but he continued to trade from both the Amen Corner and the Paternoster Row premises.

Edward Barnard was apprenticed to Charles Wright at Amen Corner in 1781. He was one of nine children and his father, also named Edward, was a silver flatter, with his own business in Nichol's Square, engaged in producing silver sheets and stampings. In 1784 Edward was turned over to his new master, Thomas Chawner, and in 1789 he obtained his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company by Service. He did not, however, return to Nichol's Square to work in his father's business but remained with Chawner's firm initially as a journeyman, then as a foreman, and eventually became works manager in 1798 at the age of thirty.

Thomas Chawner's son, Henry, who was only three years older than Edward Barnard, had obtained his free-

dom of the Goldsmiths' Company by Patrimony in 1785 at the age of twenty-one. His father then made him a partner and he took over the running of the business in 1786. In 1788 he married Mary Hoare, an heiress, a union which enabled him to become a gentleman of independent means and placed him in a good financial position to expand the business. In 1796 he took John Emes, an engraver and freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company, into partnership, apparently on an equal basis. Within two years Henry had partially retired, leaving Emes to run the firm and register his own mark at Goldsmiths' Hall in January 1798. Henry was now a thirty-three year old sleeping partner who still owned fifty percent of the firm; this meant that the firm's profits were shared equally between Chawner and Emes at the end of each year. This status quo continued with Chawner as a sleeping partner, Emes running the firm and Edward Barnard being employed as works manager, where he might have remained for the rest of his working life but for the sudden death of Emes in June 1808.

Up until this time the firm's workshops had been manufacturing good quality domestic silverware in the neo-classical style. Much of it displayed typical bright-cut engraving, a form of decoration that was probably encouraged by Emes since he was an engraver himself [fig 2].

The firm expanded considerably under Emes's guidance. The Clients' Account Records ledger of 1805 to 1808 lists of all the clients and their accounts during that three-year period. It contains a total of fifty-seven clients most of whom were regular buyers and retailers although many of them were not London based, an indication of how the



Fig 2 Cream ewer, John Emes, London, 1798/99.
(Courtesy of Nicholas Shaw Antiques)

firm's sales basis had widened. There were clients in: Bristol, Bath, Weymouth, Portsea, Portsmouth, Chichester, Oxford, Derby, York, Hull, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Out of London trade was increasing even though deliveries to these clients would still have taken several days with goods travelling by stagecoach and carters or via coastal shipping where possible.

Most of the firm's clients spent comparatively small amounts of money each year but a few were 'big spenders'. During the first six months of 1805 the firm's biggest client by far was Rundell, Bridge and Rundell who bought a total of 3,421oz 5dwt of silverware at a cost of £1,046 10s 11d (today's equivalent of about £63,000)¹. The next two biggest clients were: Prince and Cattles of York at just over £251 and Green, Ward and Green at just over £194. See Appendix for a list of the company's clients for 1805.²

The Birth of Emes and Barnard

In June 1808, John Emes died intestate. Rebecca, his widow, was suddenly left with two very young daughters to raise and a 50% stake in the ownership of a firm she did not know how to run. On 25 June, she and her brother-in-law, William Emes, obtained Letters of Administration for John Emes's estate and William Emes

was granted Power of Attorney. They then both had themselves appointed guardians of the two daughters, three year old Sally and one year old Ellen. Finally on 30 June, Rebecca and William Emes registered two partnership marks at Goldsmiths' Hall as a temporary measure to keep the business running until such time as John Emes's estate was settled.

The future of the firm would undoubtedly have been a matter of discussion between Rebecca and William Emes and Henry Chawner and it seems highly likely that it was Henry who suggested that Rebecca should take the works manager, Edward Barnard, into partnership in order to maintain the smooth running of the firm. In September 1808 it was agreed that Edward and Rebecca enter into an equal partnership, with him acquiring 50% of her holding, in other words 25% of the firm, while Chawner continued holding his 50% stake in the business.

A total valuation of the firm was carried out which valued it at £16,662 16s 10d. This may not seem a great amount to us but it equates to about a million pounds today [fig 3]. On 29 September 1808, this valuation was signed off as correct by the co-partners, Henry Chawner and William Emes, acting on behalf of John Emes's administrators. At the same time, the new firm of Emes and Barnard was born and commenced trading from

1808, Sept. 29 th Stock Cr. P. & D	
Total Amt of Stock	8407 12 ..
Total Amt of Book Debts	6541 6 6
Deduct Total Amt of Stock Dr.	14958 18 6
Balance	11948 18 6
Polishing Pum & Sweep 2 Bales 20 2/2 1/2 238 2 2/4	17 12 11
Amt of Tools Fixtures &c	766 6 ..
The Leases of the Houses in R.N. Row & Amen Corner together with the Good Will	900
Sum Total	£16662 16 10

Note
The New Firm Bro't a Capital of £16,000 into Trade, & Borrow'd of J. Emes's Admin. £2,000 (on their Note) out of which some they paid the above £16,662 16s 10d. and took an Assignment of all the various things Entred in the Book Mark'd Stock &c. together with the Leases &c.

Wm. Emes
Henry Chawner Sep^r 29th 1808

* The Emes must be Valued at their 1809. Only 1808. And at every succeeding Year. They must continue to be Valued 1808

Fig 3 Valuation of John Emes's firm, September 1808.



Fig 4 Edward Barnard, from an original drawing circa 1825 when he was approximately fifty-eight years old.

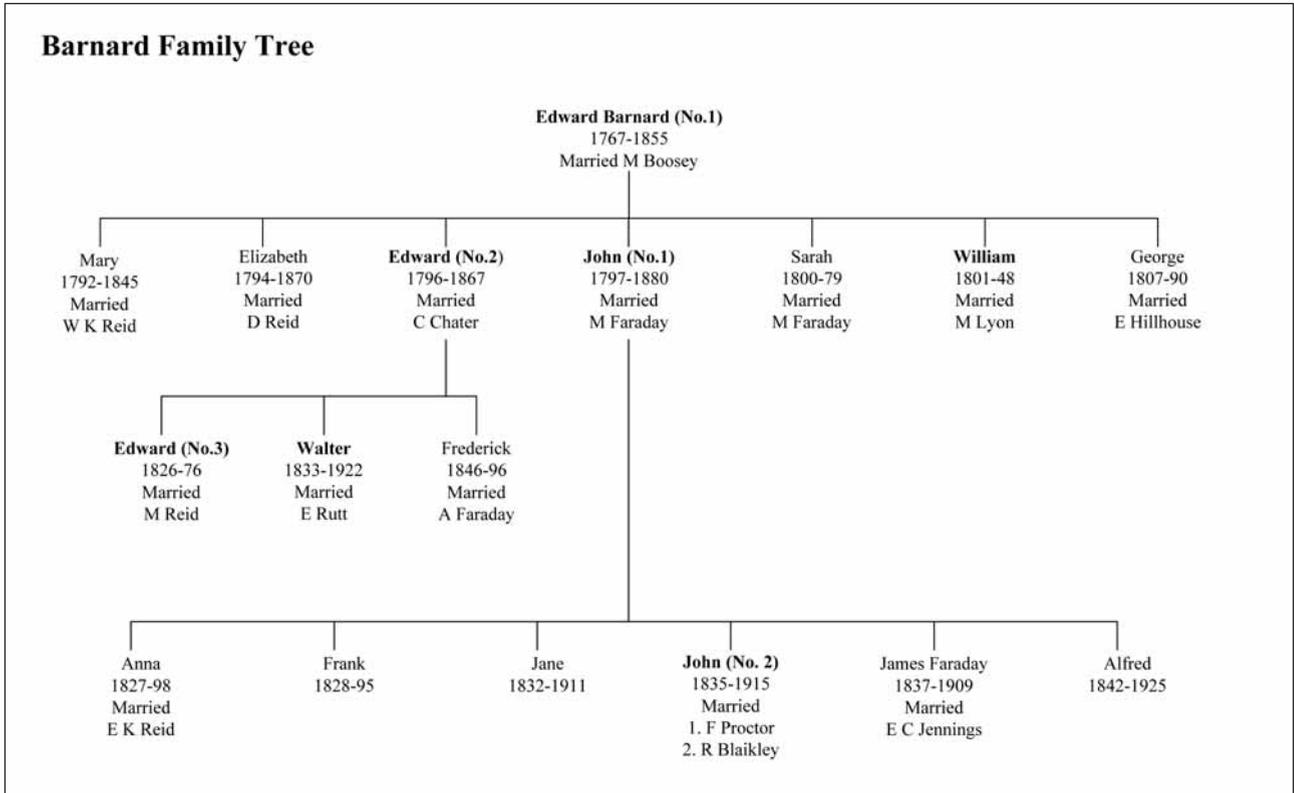


Fig 5 The Barnard Family Tree.

Amen Corner and Paternoster Row. The firm had capital of £16,000 plus £2,000 borrowed from the administrators of John Emes's estate enabling it to buy the old firm and its goodwill; to acquire the leases of the two properties and backyards at Amen Corner and Paternoster Row for £900 and to cover various other extras. In December 1808 a ten-year partnership agreement was signed with Henry Chawner and Rebecca Emes continuing to be sleeping partners.

The forty-one year old Edward Barnard [fig 4] was suddenly part owner of the firm in which he had started as an apprentice and which now bore his name. He must have been a competent, practical workman, well versed in the ways of manufacture and, as works manager, well able to organise and supervise the workshops, making sure that standards of workmanship were upheld. Now he was to be the driving force in charge of the firm, the 'managing director' making his own decisions and running the business on a daily basis.

Edward Barnard and his Family

Edward Barnard and his family [fig 5] were members of the Sandemanian church. Sandemanians were an obscure Puritan sect who believed every word in the bible to be literally true and thought that the natural world was created according to God's plan. The Sandemanian doctrine advocated that its members should attempt to live simple Christian lives; they tended to socialise and marry within their own sect.

1 All comparative monetary values are for the year 2008 and are taken from the Retail Price Index on the internet at: www.measuringworth.com/ppoweruk/index.php.

2 Information on the occupants of the premises at Amen Corner is taken from leases in the archives at the

Stationers' Company and from the records of Freeman, marks and addresses at Goldsmiths' Hall. Further information from John Fallon, *Marks of London Goldsmiths and Silversmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1972 and John Fallon, *Marks of London Goldsmiths and Silversmiths 1837-1914*, London, 1992.



Fig 6 Michael and Sarah Faraday, circa 1850.
(Courtesy of the Royal Institution)

In 1791, Edward Barnard married Mary Boosey, a cousin of William Boosey who founded the firm of music publishers that eventually became Boosey and Hawkes. Edward and Mary had ten children of whom seven should be mentioned. There were three girls: Mary, Elizabeth and Sarah and four boys: Edward junior, John, William and George.

Mary, born in 1792, married the silversmith William Ker Reid in 1812; he was the son of Christian Ker Reid the well-known Newcastle-upon-Tyne silversmith who had founded the firm of Reid and Sons. William Ker Reid moved to London to work as a silversmith at Emes and Barnard where presumably he met Mary. After their marriage he entered into partnership with the silversmith Joseph Cradock; in 1825 he set up his own business in London.

Elizabeth, born in 1794, married William Ker Reid's brother, David Ker Reid, in 1815. He was also a silversmith working in his father's firm in Newcastle; they must have been introduced to one another as a result of the marriage of William to Mary. David and Elizabeth Ker Reid spent their married life in Newcastle and David went on to become a partner in his father's firm.

Sarah, born in 1800, married the scientist Michael Faraday in 1821 [fig 6]; he was nine years older than her. They had met at the Sandemanian church meetings held

in a small chapel in Paul's Alley, Red Cross Street where both their families attended. After their marriage they lived in Faraday's accommodation at the Royal Institution where he worked as a laboratory assistant to Sir Humphrey Davy.

The couple enjoyed the company of her artist brother, George; they often went on boating and sketching trips with him and his artist friends including Edwin Landseer and J M Turner. George regularly dined with them at the Royal Institution and after dinner they played games or sometimes rode round the lecture theatre on a velocipede which was then a new invention.

Faraday gave his first lecture at the Royal Institution in 1824 and in 1825 was made director of the laboratory at a salary of £100 per annum. From 1826 onwards, he was allowed to spend all his time on original research which culminated in his producing a current of electricity through magnetism in 1831. In 1840, however, he suffered a mental breakdown and it took two years for him to return to a reasonable state of health with his wife's help.

In 1857 Faraday refused both the presidency of the Royal Society and a knighthood from Queen Victoria but in the following year she presented him with a house on Hampton Court Green and paid for its repair as recognition of his scientific work. It was here that Faraday died in 1867 while sitting in his favourite chair.

Edward Barnard's son George, born in 1807, was apprenticed to his father at Emes and Barnard in 1822 but after a year he decided that he wanted to be an artist rather than a silversmith. As a compromise he was sent as a pupil to James Duffield Harding, an engraver, lithographer and artist. Eventually George became a noted landscape artist and from 1843 until his retirement in 1880 he was the art master at Rugby School. He was particularly keen on painting mountains and lakes and in 1841 he and his wife Emma together with Sarah and Michael Faraday went on a three month walking and painting tour of the Alps.

Edward Barnard's three other sons: Edward (II), born in 1796, John, born in 1797 and William, born in 1801 were each apprenticed to their father at Emes and Barnard where they obtained their freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company by Service, became partners in the firm in 1829 and eventually took over when their father retired in December 1838 at the age of seventy-one.

Edward (II) obtained his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1817 and married Caroline Chater in 1822; they had twelve children including Edward (III), Walter and Frederick. Both Edward (III) and Walter became silversmiths and subsequently partners in the family firm

whilst Frederick became a black and white illustrator of magazines and books including those of Charles Dickens.

John obtained his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1819 and married Michael Faraday's sister, Margaret, in 1826. They had fourteen children, including Anna who married William Ker Reid's son Edward Ker, Jane who became Michael Faraday's secretary, James Faraday who founded his own engraving firm called James F Barnard and Son and Frank, John (II) and Alfred, each of whom became a silversmith within the Barnard firm with John (II) subsequently becoming a partner.

William obtained his freedom of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1823 and married Martha Lyon in 1832; they had only three children.³

Emes and Barnard's Annual Stock-taking

The firm's first stock-taking account and financial report was produced in December 1809 following which it was recorded annually in the firm's Stock Debtors and Stock Balance ledgers; ledgers 1 and 2 contain these annual reports up to and including 1824. A new ledger, 3, was commenced in 1825 and continued until 1835; in 1992 this volume was in the possession of Judith Banister but it has since disappeared. The annual reports listed all the firm's debits and credits at the time of stock-taking, mostly for the last quarter of the year. The amount left after deducting the total debits from the total credits

became the net profit to be shared between the three partners at the end of the year [fig 7].

Fig 7 shows the firm's annual profits from 1809 to 1824 and their distribution between the three partners. The first column shows the year, the second column the firm's net profit in December of each year and the third, fourth and fifth columns give the distribution of that money between the three partners.

1812, 1816 and 1819 were poor years and 1814 was a particularly bad year when the firm's net profit was down to just £990 and Edward Barnard's income was only £309 (today's equivalents of about £53,000 and £16,500). Some of the lack of trade in 1812 and 1814 could be due to general unease in the country as a result of the Napoleonic Wars.

The December 1810 report was the first, following the firm's inception, to show a healthy profit. It was a very good year with a net profit of £2,380 (today's equivalent of about £130,000). The report commences with the usual list of payments made to other firms and tradesmen over the past three months. The tradesmen listed include blacksmith, bricklayer, carpenter, charcoal supplier, coke supplier, hardware supplier, ironmonger, painter and glazier, plumber, stove maker, postman, printer, two stationers, three brush makers, melting-pot supplier, case maker, caster, clock maker, three glassmen, gilder, haft maker, handle maker, lapidary, modeller, polisher, two

Partners' Annual Net Profits 1809-1824				
Year	Emes & Barnard £ - s - d	H. Chawner £ - s - d	R. Emes £ - s - d	E. Barnard £ - s - d
1809	2597- 1- 11 (incl. 15 months)	1298-10-11	649- 5- 6	649- 5- 6
1810	2380-17- 8	1091- 4-10	545-12- 4	744- 0- 6
1811	2314-11- 2	1060-16-10	530- 8- 5	723- 5-11
1812	1442- 2-10	721- 1- 5	360-10- 8½	360-10- 8½
1813	2876-12- 2	1318- 5- 7	659- 2-10	898-18-10
1814	990-19- 0	454- 3- 6	227- 1- 9	309-13- 9
1815	2421-16- 0	1061- 8- 0	530-14- 0	723-10- 0
1816	1183- 7- 0	543-11- 4	271-15- 8	368- 0- 0
1817	3187- 0- 0	1460-14- 2	730- 7- 1	995-18- 9
1818	2824-10- 0	1294-11- 4	647- 5- 8	882-13- 0
1819	1185- 9- 0	543- 6- 7	271-13- 4	370- 6- 3
1820	1665-13- 0	763- 8- 5½	381-14- 2¾	520-10- 3¾
1821	1968-19- 0	923- 5- 6	461-12- 8	584- 0-10
1822	2343- 7- 0	1074- 0- 9	537- 0- 4	732- 5-11
1823	2609-18- 0	1196- 4- 1	598- 2- 1	815-11-10
1824	3067-13- 0	1406- 0- 2	703- 0- 1	958-12- 9

³ Information on the Barnard family is taken from John Fallon, *Marks of London Goldsmiths and Silversmiths 1697-1837*, London, 1972 and John Fallon, *Marks of London Goldsmiths and Silversmiths 1837-1914*, London, 1992. For further information on the Sandemanian sect see John Good, Olinthus Gregory and Newton Bosworth, *Pantologia - A new cyclopaedia*, London, 1813.

Fig 7 The annual net profits of the partners in the business from 1809-1824.

1810		16	
Christmas		Stock D ^o	
		11 dwt. P ^d	
Began	(Blacksmith)	18	16 1/2
Borne	(Spencer & Co)	2	16
Follows	16°	n	12
Smith	Turner	18	16 6
Neville	16°	24	12 3
Barnard	16°	71	17 10
Sixon	Carpenter	33	18
Olway	Turner	18	11 8
Chapfrell	Blacksmith	23	n
Gardner	Lapidary	n	14
Rivernore	Printer	2	19 9
Martins	Brush Maker	3	12 3
Whiffles	16°	1	17 6
Ive	16°	2	8
Sea Coal Comp ^y		3	16 9
Crampston	Medaler	24	n
Wilmet	Plumber	1	6 9
McDonough		144	7 9
Jones		74	5
Coe	Polisher	1	12
Dunkin		119	1 11
Perkins	Turner	n	11 2
Solomon	Glasman	1	5 10
8706		585	16 10 10
Burton	Turner	5	2 10
Preslice	Brush Maker	7	19 3
Brent	Knife Maker	11	3 14 15 10
Maister	Stamp	116	15 8
Stevens	Brush Maker	11	14
	Car ^d Over	726	19 876 16 10

Fig 8 Stock-taking, Christmas 1810, showing John Barnard (flatters) and Eley, Fearn and Company.

1810		16	
Christ ^m		Stock D ^o	
		11 dwt. P ^d	
	16°	726	19 876 16 10
Webster	Carter	2	14 6
Wilmore		n	4 9
Cropland		3	2
Haskins	Shoe Maker	1	10
Rivernore	Shoe Maker	n	7
Steele	16°	9	n 2 1
Straker	Handl. Maker	7	n 3
Pette Low	Shoe Maker	7	7 2
Hillman	16°	22	9 1
Smith	Glasman	16	6
Ellerby	Handl. Maker	28	12
Osar	Turner	1	7 3
Chesbrough		55	4 9
Peake	Shoe Maker	30	19 6
Dagnall	Stamp	27	1 6
Phelps	Stationer	n	13 6
Grosvenor	16°	23	2 6
West	(Shoe)	10	9
Crouch	Waiter	418	8 54 1 8
Westbrook	Chaucer	50	n
Smith Knowles	16°	247	17 33 1 9
Doutson	16°	22	16
Browning	16°	8	1 4
Angell	Stamp	2	n
Blunt & Bowman		16	13 4
Edelgrave		1	18
Mocatta	16°	9	n
Wholman		2	12 8
	Car ^d Over	1393	13 1365 14 5

Fig 9 Stock-taking Christmas 1810, showing John Crouch Junior.

stampers, steel snuffers maker, five turners and two flatters [fig 8].

By far the largest of Emes and Barnard's debts in the December 1810 report were to Eley, Fearn and Company: a total payment of 685 oz 16 dwt of bullion and £106 10s 0d in cash (today's equivalent of about £5,800) for goods received during the last quarter. This constitutes a considerable amount of business and indicates that Eley, Fearn and Company was a major supplier of flatware to Emes and Barnard and remained so until the death of William Eley in 1824. From 1802 to 1824 this flatware manufacturing firm traded from Lovell's Court, a cul-de-sac off Paternoster Row, only two minutes walk from Barnard's workshops. William Fearn had served his apprenticeship under Thomas Chawner so there was also a personal bond between the two firms.

Another payment shown is £71 17s 10d to the Barnard firm of flatters at Nichol's Square; by this time the firm was run by Edward Barnard's brother, John. The firm continued to supply Emes and Barnard for many years with silver from its rolling mills and presses.

John Crouch was paid 418 oz 8 dwt of bullion plus £54 1s for waiters (today's equivalent of about £2,900). Crouch junior was in partnership with Thomas Hannam until 1808; they traded as Crouch and Hannam and were well-known as manufacturers of trays and waiters [fig 9].

Another amount listed in the 1810 report is the interest paid on the £2,000 loan from John Emes's administrators and payments of £25 every three months to Henry Chawner for his regular visits to the firm, presumably to discuss any business and financial problems that might have arisen. By 1813, however, these attendance payments to Chawner had been reduced to just £30 per annum probably because Chawner was satisfied with Barnard's running of the firm.

Other outgoings listed included rents and taxes paid on the two properties as well as land tax and window tax on the house in Paternoster Row which was a residential property as well as a business premises, poor tax, church tax, tithe tax, watch tax (for the nightwatchman), lamps and pavement tax, water rate, sewer rate and even a tax of two guineas per quarter on a clerk and six warehousemen cum porters at the Paternoster Row premises. The 1810 report includes numerous other debit items [fig 10].

As a counter balance to all these debits there is a long list of credit items of which the main item is the

“finished stock” that is to say silverware that was hallmarked and polished ready for sale. This amounts to some 13,000 oz with a selling price of just over £6,500, an increase of approximately 73% from the previous year (1809) when the “finished stock” amounted to under 7,500 oz valued at just over £1,600. In addition there is silverware waiting to be polished, silverwork still in hand, sundries and other works.

This total credit valuation amounted to £10,786 11s 8d. Further credits comprised monies owed to Emes and Barnard by various clients and retailers, money in the firm’s bank account and the value of tools, equipment, fixtures and leases on the two properties. A total credit of £23,644 2s 8d was given and after deducting all of the firm’s debts, a net profit of £2,380 17s 8d remained to be shared between the three partners (today’s equivalent of about £130,000) [fig 11].

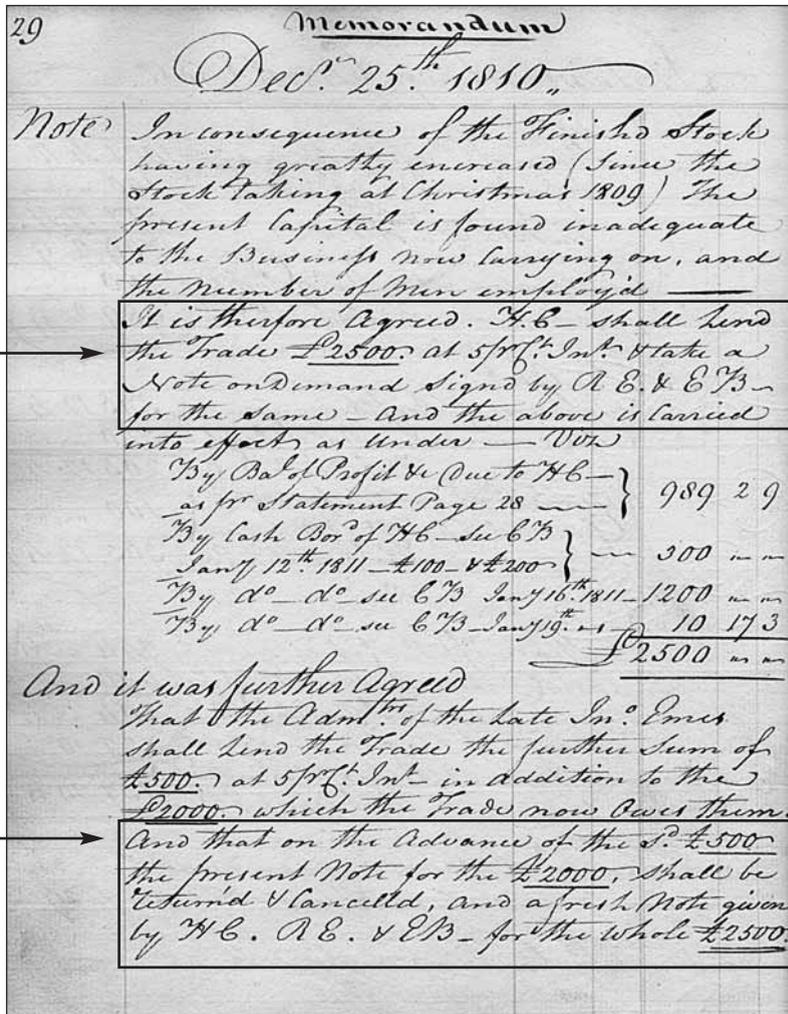
Henry Chawner and Rebecca Emes must have been so impressed with the way that Edward Barnard’s efforts had increased the firm’s production while still maintaining a healthy net profit that they allowed him to take an additional sixteenth of the net profit

Christ ^y 1810. } for Rent & Taxes		£ s d	
P.N. Row	Rent to Christ ^y 4/6	25	00
	Rent Tax 3	5	12 6
	House Tax by Vent 1/6	1	1 6
	do by Windows 1/6	3	17
	Poor 1/6	1	5
	Church 1/6	1	17 6
	Watch 1/6	10	5
	Lamps Pavement 1/6	1	10
	Water Rate 1/2	16	00
	Tythe 1/6	6	3
	Lectures 1/6	5	00
	Sewer Rate 1/6	6	3
	Trophy Tax 10/5	10	5
	Tax on 1 Clerk & 6 Warehousemen 2/2	2	2
	Laster Offeing 2/6	2	6
		£48	2 4
Ames Corner	Rent to Christ ^y 1/2 1/6	17	10
	Rent Tax 1/2	2	10
	Poor 1/6	2	5
	Watch 1/6	15	9
	Church 1/6	11	9
	Lamps Pavement 1/6	18	9
	Water Rate 1/2	13	00
	Tythe 1/6	7	6
	Lectures 1/6	2	6
	Laster Offeing 1/6	2	6
	Sewer Rate 1/6	5	00
	Trophy Tax 5/0	5	00
		£26	6 9

Fig 10 Stock-taking Christmas 1810, showing lists of rents, rates and taxes to be paid.

Christ ^y 1810. } Totals Stated		£ s d	
Total valuation	The Amt. of Stock finished & unfinished	10786	11 8
	The Amt. of Book Debts	8500	11 10
	The Amt. of Sundries Various	2037	17 6
	The Amt. of Cash ^{in Advance}	1700	00
	The Amt. of Goods Note from J ^r Gray	302	8 8
	The Estimated Amt. of Bad Debts	252	00
	The Addition made on price of silver	65	00
Total credit		23644	2 8
	Deduct Total Amt. of Stock	5218	5 00
		18425	17 8
	Deduct Capital	16000	00
	Amt. of Profits for a Year from Christ ^y 1809	2425	17 8
	Paid to Ballam £25 & to Reid 20	45	00
Total net profit	Amt. of Net Profit Car ^d Over	2380	17 8

Fig 11 Stock-taking Christmas 1810, showing the total valuation of the company, the total credit and the total net profit.



Henry Chawner's Loan of £2,500

John Emes estate's loan of extra £500

Fig 13 Stock-taking Christmas 1810, showing Henry Chawner's loan of £2,500 and John Emes's estate's loan of £500.

And that on the Advance of the said £500 the present Note for the £2,000 shall be returned cancelled, and a fresh Note given by H.C., R.E. & E.B. for the whole £2,500.

This extra £3,000 (made up of £2,500 from Chawner and £500 from the Emes estate) was a substantial sum of money to inject into the firm in order to keep it viable (today's equivalent would be about £163,000).

The contents of this 1810 financial report are just one example of the mass of information to be gleaned from these annual reports covering the period from 1809 to 1824. For example, in 1812, due to external circumstances (namely the Napoleonic Wars) the firm's net profits plummeted with the result that Barnard ended the year with his personal account overdrawn for the first time. In 1814 the firm's net profit fell to its lowest, a mere £990. In 1818 Barnard borrowed more money in the firm's name from Chawner to carry out major repairs and

renew the roof on the Amen Corner premises.

By the end of 1824 the firm owed £3,000 to Chawner and £1,500 to John Emes's estate; in addition Barnard's personal loan from the firm had grown to £2,000. In 1827 Barnard authorised a clearance sale of some of the firm's old stock at Robins's auction rooms in Covent Garden. The sixty-one domestic items in the sale, which ranged from muffineers to teapots, raised £335 0s 2d. It seems that the firm's existence was a constant balancing act with finances that went up and down like a yo-yo.

Emes and Barnard's transformation into Edward Barnard and Sons

In December 1818 a new ten year agreement was drawn up between the three co-partners: Chawner, Emes and Barnard. Once again the firm's annual net profit was divided between them as before, namely: Chawner 50%, Emes 25% and Barnard 25%. When this second agree-

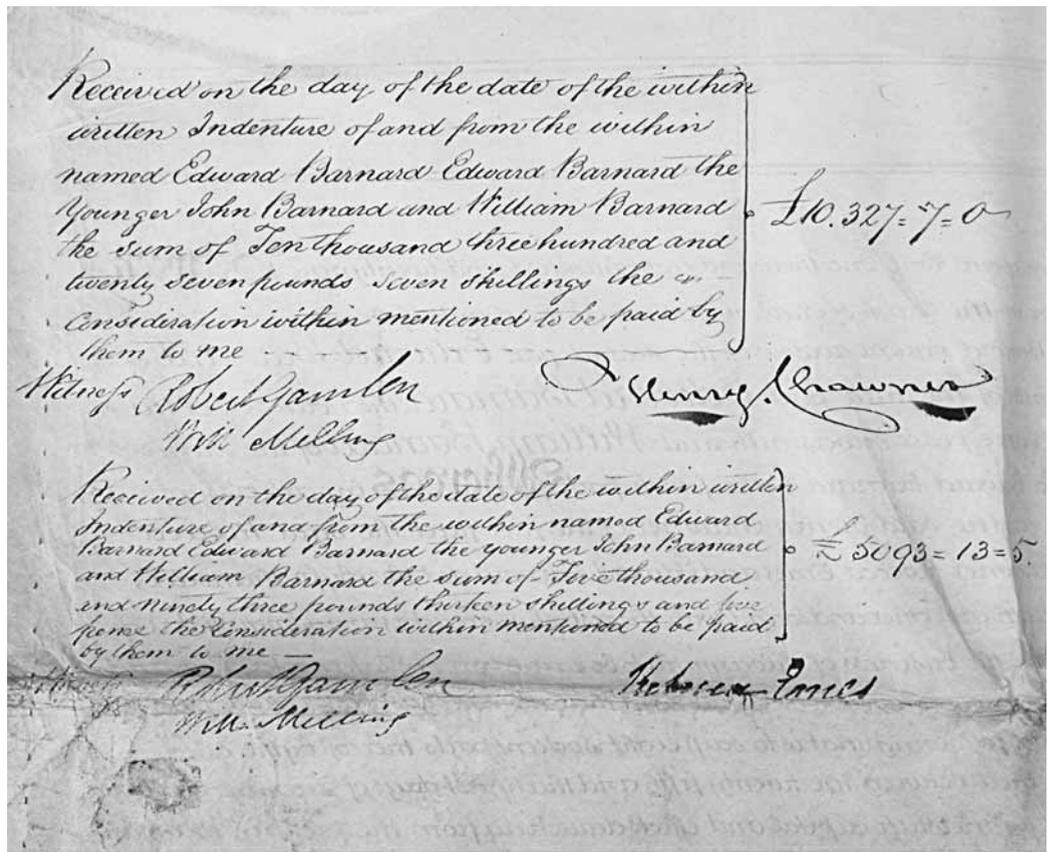


Fig 14 Indenture valuation signed 20 February 1829.



Fig 15 Designs for cream ewers. ©V&A Archive of Art & Design)

ment expired in December 1828, Chawner and Emes decided to terminate their partnership and cease to be part owners of the firm. It fell to Edward Barnard to form a new partnership with his three sons and on 20 February 1829, an indenture was signed between Henry Chawner of Newton Manor House, in Newton Valence, Hampshire, Rebecca Emes of Charlotte Street, London and Edward Barnard (I) together with his three sons, Edward (II), John and William, each of them silversmiths of Paternoster Row, London. This indenture ended the existence of Emes and Barnard, it was replaced with the firm of Edward Barnard and Sons [fig 14].

Within the indenture, the four Barnards agreed to buy Henry Chawner's shares, goodwill, etc. in the old firm for £10,327 7s 0d; they agreed to a similar buyout with Rebecca Emes of £5,093 13s 5d, a total of £15,421 0s 5d (about £1,090,000 in today's money). The Barnards could not afford to pay such a sum of money in cash so Chawner and Emes were instead given shares to those amounts in the new firm with a guaranteed 5% annual interest payable each December. The Barnards also agreed to take over the lease, held with the Stationers' Company, for the premises at Amen Corner and the lease, held with the governors of St Thomas's and King Edward's hospitals, for the premises at Paternoster Row.

Emes and Barnard had existed for twenty years but now, with the retirement of Henry Chawner and Rebecca Emes, it was time for the firm to move on and metamorphose into Edward Barnard and Sons.

Fig 16 Designs for commemorative cups.
 (©V&A Archive of Art & Design)



Silverware manufactured by Emes and Barnard

In about 1808 the firm commenced producing an illustrated Pattern Book ledger and a Price Book ledger as a record of its products for reference within the firm and possibly to illustrate its wares to potential clients. The two ledgers are divided into sections, one for each different article of silverware manufactured by the firm. The miniature illustrations in each section are separate ink drawings glued on to the page. In the Pattern Book ledger these illustrations are annotated with written notes on costs, etc. The costs are in letter codes that have yet to be deciphered into figures. In the Pattern Book ledger the comprehensive drawings in each section give an excellent picture of the wide range of items manufactured by the firm and of the designs and variations produced for any one article.

The sections are: argyles, butter coolers, basins, beakers, bottle stands, bread baskets, butter knives, bottle tickets, caddies, cream ewers [fig 15], cake baskets, cruet frames, coffee biggins, coffee pots and commemorative cups to commemorate various events such as weddings or outstanding achievements but usually races of some description [fig 16], cans (now known as christening mugs or open tankards), communion plate, candlesticks, cheese toasters, dishes, egg frames, escallop shells (used as butter dishes), egg cups, funnels (for wine filtering), fish knives, funnel stands, ice pails and ink stands [fig 17], jugs, knife rests, liquor frames, mustard pots, muffin dishes, muffineers (small casters, usually for spices), pap boats,

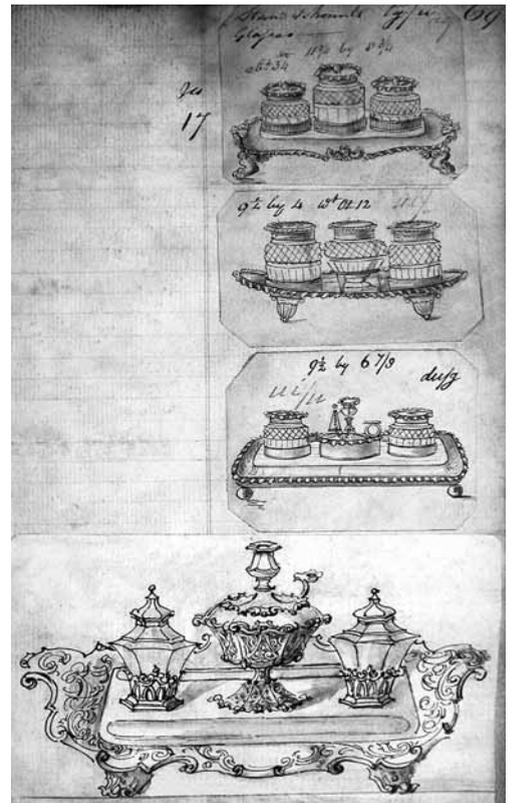


Fig 17 Designs for inkstands.
 (© V&A Archive of Art & Design)



Fig 18 Designs for rummers.
© V&A Archive of Art & Design

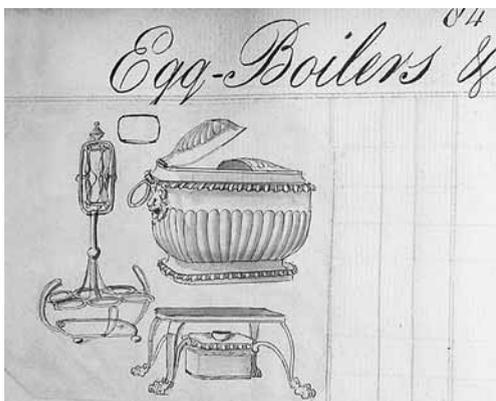


Fig 19a Design for a six egg boiler.
© V&A Archive of Art & Design



Fig 19b Four egg boiler and stand, 1808/9.
(Courtesy of National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, DC)

pannikins (small saucepans without spouts or lids), punch strainers, pepper casters, rummers or goblets [fig 18], salts, snuffers and snuffer trays (the steel parts were made by an outworker and then assembled and hallmarked by Emes and Barnard), soy frames, sauce boats, saucepans, salad stands, salt dishes, slop basins, tea kettles, toast racks, tea bells, teapot stands, tea urns, taper candlesticks and tureens. Waiters are not listed in the Pattern Book because they were being bought in from John Crouch junior and then presumably hallmarked by Emes and Barnard and flat chased by the firm's chaser.

From this extensive list it is clear that the firm produced a wide range of domestic articles. It did not, however, manufacture flatware other than butter knives and fish knives, known today as fish servers. The firm bought in flatware from its regular suppliers: Eley, Fearn and Company, William Chawner (later to become Chawner and Company) and William Eaton (later to become Elizabeth Eaton). The firm did not produce its own electro-plate flatware until the 1840s.

A six-egg boiler is illustrated in both the Pattern Book and the Price Book. The Price Book illustration shows a pot with two hinged lids, a stand with a burner, a six-egg rack to stand inside the pot and a swivel egg timer incorporated into the rack's handle. This design was clearly the basis for a four-egg boiler and stand of 1808 now in the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, D C under the misconception that a woman silversmith was responsible for its manufacture [fig 19a, 19b].

The section on teapots in the Pattern Book contains seventy different design drawings. They were clearly a very popular item when compared with only thirty-three cream ewer designs, twenty-six coffee pots and a mere eight tea urn and tea kettle designs. One extremely ornate drawing stands out from the rest; it is an overblown eighteenth-century rococo design [fig 20]. In the firm's Day Book sales ledger for 1818 onwards the occasional sale of one of these ornate teapots is noted and includes a sale to a Miss Edwards on 21 August 1819. The entry reads:

A quart round, double bellied Teapot with hammered convex pitch [whenever the word "hammered" is used it indicates that that part of the object was hand raised by hammering], collet foot, antique scroll edge, flower button [whereas on the Pattern Book drawing it shows a Chinaman], eagle's head cast spout, boar's [head] socket [for the handle] and cast bottom. Chased all over [with] scroll flowers, etc. by her and cast work done by her.

The pot weighed 27 oz 7dwt and the price was the considerable sum of £13 13s 9d. From the description it would seem that Miss Edwards, one of the company's outworkers, was the chaser and caster of the eagle's head spout and boar's head socket and that in this instance she bought one of her own teapots once it had been completed. The firm's annual Stock-Taking ledger entries for 1818, 1819 and 1821 confirm her in this capacity. In 1818 she was paid £1 16s 0d for work carried out during the last quarter of that year up to Christmas (today's equivalent of approximately £133). One of her



Fig 20 Drawing for a teapot circa 1808.
 (© V&A Archive of Art & Design)



Fig 21 Teapot, 1818/19, cast and chased by Miss Edwards.

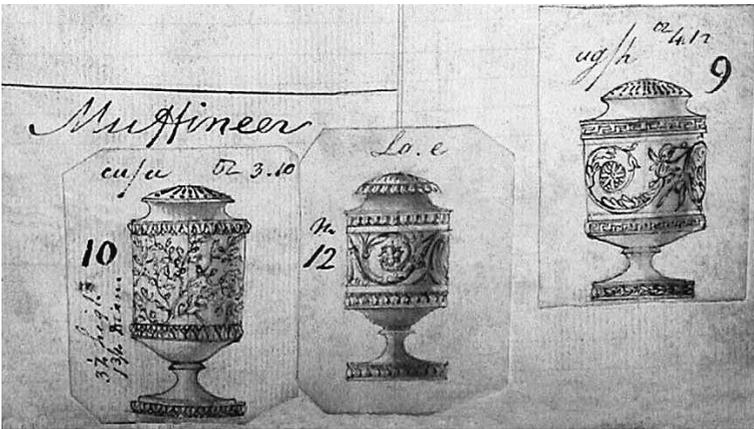


Fig 22a Designs for muffineers, circa 1808.
 (© V&A Archive of Art & Design)



Fig 22b Muffineer, 1809/10.

teapots sold on 18 February 1819. It is decorated all over with scrolls and embossed and chased flowers and has a cast spout of an eagle's head rising from a female caryatid-type face [fig 21]. It would seem that Miss Edwards was a chaser and caster of considerable ability but where and how she acquired that expertise is unknown.

The Pattern Book also contains drawings of muffineers, used for sprinkling cinnamon on hot muffins. There are three drawings of the same form of muffineer but each is decorated with a different cast pattern around the body [fig 22a]. Design number 9 can be seen on the muffineer of 1809/10; it has the same pattern around its waist as in the drawing [fig 22b]. Design number 10 evolved into a fruiting vine trailing round the muffineer's body and on the muffineer of 1815/16 the fruiting vine had developed into a bold design [fig 22c]. The demand for muffineers gradually diminished during the first quarter of the nineteenth century with only an occasional sale by the 1830s. This reduction in demand would seem to have occurred in parallel with the demise of the muffin dish.



Fig 22c Muffineer, 1815/16.
 (Courtesy of Spencer Marks Ltd, Massachusetts)



Fig 23b Underside of rim, showing scratch number.

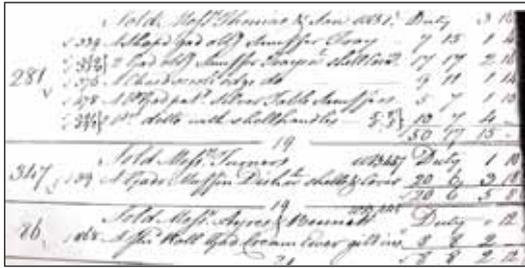


Fig 23c Ledger entry for muffin dish, 19 February 1820.



Fig 23a Muffin dish and cover, 1819/20.

A muffin dish and cover of 1819/20 was sold to the firm of John and Charles Turner and Sons, retail jewellers and goldsmiths on 19 February 1820 [fig 23a]. The dish has a foliate and shell rim whilst the lily-fluted cover has a gadroon edge and is surmounted by a finial in the form of a pumpkin surrounded by foliage. Scratched on the underside of the dish is “39 = 20.6 = ty” [fig 23b]. These scratched figures and letters indicates that the dish and cover were held in stock until sold, their individual stock number being “39”; the original weight was 20oz 6dwt and their manufacturing cost in code was “ty”. All this information was subsequently recorded in the firm’s sales ledger at the time of their sale [fig 23c]. The Day Book Sales ledger records the stock number “39”, a brief description of the dish and cover, the overall weight of 20oz 6dwt, the duty payable on the silver used and the retail price, making a total of £5 8s 6d.



Fig 24 Tea and coffee set, 1821/22.
(Courtesy of Christie’s, London)



Fig 25 Tea and coffee set, 1828/29.
(Courtesy of Woolley & Wallis)

Throughout the duration of Emes and Barnard’s existence weights were generally scratched on the underside of silverware wherever possible. Sometimes the manufacturing cost was added in code letters; if an article was put into stock its allocated stock number was also scratched on the article and recorded in the Stock ledger. This practise continued throughout the 1840s and into the 1850s, although the use of stamped incuse workshop numbers was gradually introduced in parallel, the first being found on teapots as early as January 1832.

Items could be held in stock for many months before they were sold. A “gadroon Wedgwood” cream ewer which was manufac-

tured in about November/December 1824, was put into stock having been scratched with the stock number "499 = 5.7 = ut"; it then remained in stock for some six months until sold to a Mr Wilkinson on 7 June 1825.

When Edward Barnard took over the firm in 1808 he proceeded to modernise it by promoting mass production wherever possible. By the use of stamping presses, drop hammers, fly-presses and dies he was able to produce all the principal parts of teapots, cream ewers, sugar basins, cake and bread baskets and wine goblets. Where strip decorations were required they could be produced as castings from patterns. By the 1820s, when there was an increased demand for design co-ordinated tea sets, he was able to satisfy that demand. A tea and coffee set of 1821/22 has applied cast decorative rims and cast circular foot rings encompassing four panelled feet [fig 24]. Another tea and coffee set of 1828/29 [fig 25] has stamped-convex, lobed and fluted bodies. Although it is an Emes and Barnard design this set was assayed in the spring of 1829, the first year of the Edward Barnard and Sons mark.

Other items created from stampings and decorative strip castings were cake baskets and bread baskets with swing handles. The difference between these two types of basket appears to have been purely their size and weight. In the Sales ledger baskets weighing less than about 30ozs were for cakes while those over 30ozs were for bread. A rectangular-shaped bread basket of 1818 is based on an original design drawing: number 9 in the Pattern Book ledger [fig 26a, fig 26b]. It is a typical example of early nineteenth-century design; its multi-fluted body is trimmed with decorative cast gadrooned strips with cast shells and leaves at the corners. On its base is scratched: "842 = 41.1 = Lga" this being its stock number, weight and its manufacturing cost in coded letters. In the firm's sales ledger, it is described as "a bold, twisted, gadroon, shell & leaf-cornered, oblong Bread Basket with twisted, French flutes one way on body & fluted foot" [fig 26c]. Its weight was recorded as 41oz 1dwt which ties in with the scratch weight on the basket itself. It was sold on 30 December 1819 and, since it was made at some time between May 1818 and May 1819, the basket could have been held in stock for up to nineteen months before being sold.

By the 1820s, oval and circular baskets had become fashionable. A circular cake basket design from the cheaper end of the firm's range of baskets has a plain body stamped with minimal fluting to give it strength and is trimmed with standard decorative cast strips [fig 27]. It has a plain circular foot and a cast swing handle of standard design and its weight is approximately 22 oz. Although this particular cake basket was assayed in 1835, the design was originally produced by Emes and Barnard in the late 1820s.



Fig 26a Bread basket 1818/19.
(Courtesy of Christie's London)

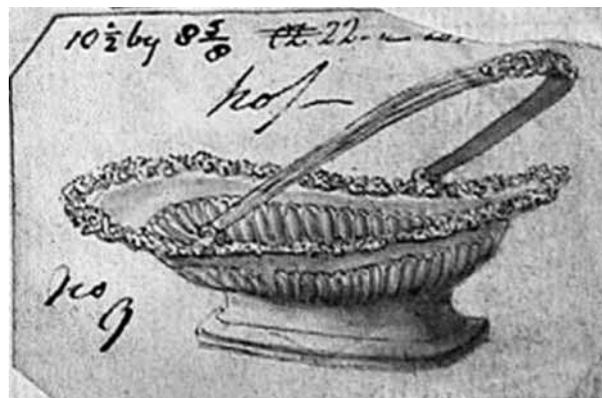


Fig 26b Bread basket, drawing number 9 from the Pattern Book of 1808.
(© V&A Archive of Art & Design)

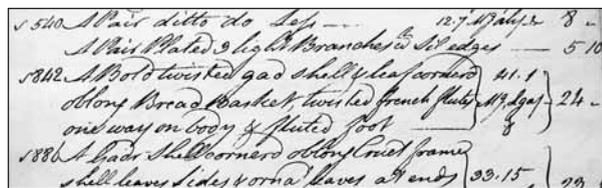


Fig 26c Ledger entry for bread basket, 30 December 1819.



Fig 27 Cake basket, 1835/36.

179	A Cream River	9	9	2	14
180	1 1/2 In. round Bread Basket with flow. edge throu over scald. bold flower etc in 8 Compart. shaped foot antique supports struck handle S.D.W.	53	9	12	12
181	A 3 Quart Floral Vase S.D.W. @ 1/2	73	18	18	10

Fig 28b Ledger entry for bread basket, 15 July 1826.

Fig 28a
Bread basket, 1826/27.
(Courtesy of Bonhams, London)



Fig 29a Can (tankard), 1818/19.

1819	A Pint Hooped Can gilt inside	12	9	1	18
1819	Sold Mr Beavan	12	9	3	18
1819	A Pint Hooped Can gilt inside	12	9	1	18
1819	Sold Messrs Ayres & Bennett	12	9	3	18
1819	Sold Mr Beavan	12	9	1	18

Fig 29b Ledger entry for can, 1 January 1819.



Fig 30 Rummer (goblet), 1817/18.

At the other end of the price range was a 'Rolls Royce' of bread baskets assayed in 1826 [fig 28a]. A basket of this type would only have been made to order; they did not sit in the stock room waiting to be sold. This one was made for the retailer F J W Marshall and it was sold on 15 July 1826 as

A 14 inch round, Bread Basket with a scroll & flower edge & chased bold flowers, etc in 8 compartments, a shaped foot & a struck handle with antique supports.

It weighed a massive 53oz 9dwt [fig 28b]. The "antique supports" was the term used by the company to describe the swing handle's S-scroll ends which were similar in style to those on mid eighteenth-century bread baskets.

Cans, known today as christening mugs and open-top tankards, were very popular during the first half of the nineteenth century. Evidence of this can be seen in the firm's Pattern Book where there are some forty-six different design drawings. One of the simplest designs is an open-top tankard of 1818, described in the sales ledger as "a Pint hooped Can". It was sold from stock on 1 January 1819 to Mr Beavan [fig 29a]. The entry in the Day Book Sales ledger gives the date of its sale together with its stock number of "916" and weight of 12oz 9dwt [fig 29b].



Fig 32a Cup and cover, 1817/18.
(Courtesy of Christie's, London)



Fig 32b Design for cup and cover, number 15 in the Pattern Book ledger.
(©V&A Archive of Art & Design)

Rummers, known today as goblets or drinking cups, came in various sizes and sold very well to the public; there are thirty different designs in the Pattern Book. A rummer of 1817/18 [fig 30] has two applied bands of decoration: the upper one has scrolling foliage encircling acorns, thistles and shamrocks emblematic of England, Scotland and Ireland and the lower band has fruiting vines interspersed with roses and leopards' masks. It is described as a "tiger head & vine band" in the firm's Sales ledgers. On a rummer of 1824/25 [fig 31] both the fruiting vine band around the rim and the acanthus leaves around the foot, have been stamped out, instead of being applied. This rummer was originally one of a pair that was put into stock with the shared stock number "734" and their combined weights of 16oz 3dwt scratched on the bases of both. On 2 August 1824, however, only one was sold to a Mr Norman, so the remaining one had its scratch weight amended to 8oz 7dwt and was subsequently sold to a Mr Gilbert on 16 August of the same year.

Edward Barnard built up a considerable business manufacturing and supplying commemorative cups and vases and, in particular, racing cups. A cup and cover of 1817 with loop handles terminating in satyrs' masks and decorated with an applied band of fruiting vines [fig 32a] was perhaps commissioned to celebrate a marriage between two families. It can be found as design number 15 in the Pattern Book's cup section [fig 32b], a standard Emes and Barnard design which could be made in a variety of sizes ranging from three pints up to four quarts.

As far as racing cups were concerned many of the trophies were commissioned annually for meetings, such as the Newmarket Coursing Meeting for greyhounds and the Malton Coursing Meeting near York. Horse races were held at Blandford near



Fig 31 Rummer (goblet), 1824/25.
(Courtesy of Nicholas Shaw Antiques)

Fig 33
Weymouth
Regatta cup,
1827/28.

(© V&A Images,
Victoria and Albert
Museum, London)



Shaftsbury, Buxton, Doncaster, Newcastle, Northallerton and Richmond near Darlington, Nottingham, and Shewsbury. Trophies for sailing regattas such as the one held at Weymouth were also produced. A five pint Grecian cup and cover of 1827/28, has a sailor and anchor finial and is chased on one side with a view of cutters sailing across Weymouth Bay and is engraved "Weymouth Regatta" etc [fig 33]. The additional chasing and engraving and modelling of the sailor cost an extra eight guineas making a total of £60 2s 0d (about £4,400 today). It was sold to John Sly of Weymouth on 18 August 1827. He was probably a local retail silversmith acting on behalf of the Regatta's committee.

A Malton Coursing trophy of February 1830, with its couchant greyhound finial is described in the firm's sales ledger as "a 5½ pint, low, Grecian Cup & Cover" with "oak branch handles and terminations". It weighed 79 oz 15dwt and cost £52 10s 0d; it is now part of the Temple Newsam silver collection. The Doncaster cup of 1825 is described as "a 9 quart, low, pear shape Vase and Cover" [fig 34]. It has a basket of fruit as a finial and rampant horses as handles. Originally it stood on a pedestal engraved with the words "Doncaster Races 1825" but the pedestal has been lost.

Fig 34 Doncaster cup, 1825/26.

(Courtesy of Bonhams, Chester)



The Doncaster cup of 1828/29 was a scaled down replica of the "Buckingham Vase" [fig 35a]. The original vase was a forty-six inch high marble vase excavated from Hadrian's Villa outside Rome in 1769 and bought by the 1st Marquis of Buckingham in 1774. The vase was included in the Stowe sale of 1848 and is now in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Emes and Barnard's version of the "Buckingham Vase" is covered with vines entwined with boys and has double-headed snake handles; it holds six quarts and weighs over 170 oz. The firm's Pattern Book ledger contains a design drawing for the vase by Edward Barnard based on engravings of the original vase by Giovanni Piranesi [fig 35b]. The firm produced a large number of these Buckingham vases in various sizes with both snake and vine-stalk handles. A Buckingham vase of 1830 by Edward Barnard and Sons illustrates



Fig 35a Drawing for Buckingham vase in the Pattern Book ledger.

(© V&A Archive of Art & Design)



Fig 35b Doncaster cup, 1828/29.

(Courtesy of Temple Newsam)



Fig 35c Buckingham vase, 1830/31.

(Courtesy of Marks Antiques, London)

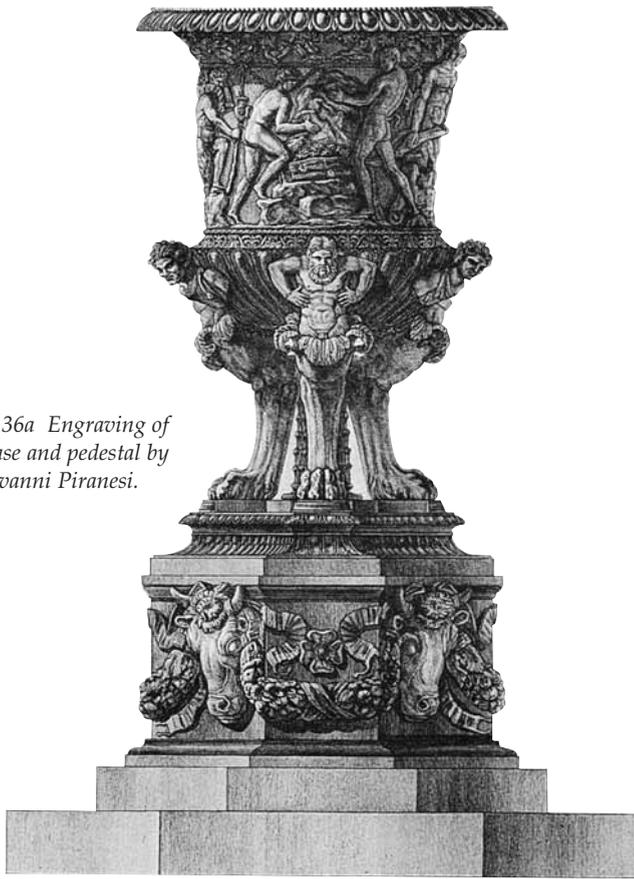


Fig 36a Engraving of a vase and pedestal by Giovanni Piranesi.



Fig 36b Piranesi vase and pedestal with candelabrum and branches, 1824/25. (The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection)



Fig 36c Detail of the frieze of the Piranesi vase.

the alternative design of double, grape-vine stalk handles; this type of handle was more appropriate when the vase was intended for use as a wine cooler [fig 35c].

A large vase and pedestal with additional candelabrum branches from the Gilbert Collection is based on a marble vase and pedestal excavated at Hadrian's Villa outside Rome in 1769 and eventually acquired by the Englishman John Boyd ⁴. In 1778 Piranesi, produced three engravings of the vase and pedestal [fig 36a]. In 1824 Emes and Barnard produced a silver copy of the vase, based on the Piranesi engraving to which were added three removable candelabrum double branches [fig 36b]. The triangular plinth is decorated with three applied bulls' heads with flower and ribbon swags and the vase itself is supported by three lion's paw feet from which emerge Silenus torsos. The busts of three fauns are applied over the fluted lower portion of the vase whilst the main body is decorated with a classical frieze in high relief. A detail shows seven naked figures of Fauns variously employed in picking and collecting grapes into baskets and crushing them in presses [fig 36c]. The three double scroll candelabrum branches are in the form of fruiting vines topped with basketwork pans and sockets. The overall height is just over 30 in (76cm) and it weighs 1,277 oz 7 dwt. It was made for the retailer, Fisher, Braithwaite and Jones, one of Emes and Barnard's regular clients and was sold to them on 21 August 1824 for a total of £895 17s 2d. (about £63,000 today). The vase was commissioned by the Civil and Military Services of Ceylon as a presentation to Sir Edward Barnes on his appointment as governor of Ceylon in 1824.

⁴ Timothy Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver*, Los Angeles, 1988, no 121, pp 446-451.

Conclusions

Although Emes and Barnard ceased to exist when the indenture was signed on 20 February 1829, it continued to trade under the name of Edward Barnard and Sons for the remainder of the nineteenth century. Looking back over Emes and Barnard's twenty years of existence (1808-28), the dominant factor appears to have been Edward Barnard's constant balancing act between the desire to expand and maintain the firm, versus the need to temper that desire for fear of overstretching the firm's financial resources. Fortunately he had a wealthy co-partner in Henry Chawner and without his constant financial backing it is highly likely that the firm would not have survived.

When forty-one year old Edward Barnard was asked to become a partner and to take over the firm of John Emes

in 1808, it must have been an opportunity that was too good to refuse. It seems that Edward was full of ideas for expanding and improving the business and now he had the opportunity to carry them out and prove himself worthy of his new role as motivator, partner and part-owner. If it had not been for Emes's death, he would probably have remained as the works manager for the rest of his working life and the firm may well have taken an entirely different path, never to become a major firm of manufacturing silversmiths in London.

John Fallon is a Freeman of the Goldsmiths' Company and a member of the Silver Society. He is also a contributor to the Society's journal, and an author on silver and hallmarks. Since retiring as an architect over a decade ago, he has been able to concentrate on his research into the Barnard family, as well as practising as a silversmith and engraver.

Appendix List of clients of Emes and Barnard from 1805 to 1808

Mr Wiltshire	Mr Gilbert	Mr James Gray, Glasgow
Mr Masterman	Mr Godney	Mr Jas Evill, Bath
Messrs Thomas & Evans	Mr Wirgman	Mr Brown, Bristol
Mr Wm Moore	Messrs Horne & Ash	Mr Harvey, Weymouth
Messrs Green, Ward & Green	Mr John Thomas	Messrs Lock & Son, Oxford
Messrs Rundell, Bridge & Rundell	Mr Butt	Mr Josh Holland, Oxford
Mr Squire	Mr Wm Gray	Mr Wm Parker, Derby
Mr Plumley	Messrs Turner	Messrs Prince & Cattles, York
Mr Brasbridge	Mr Rd Davies	Mr A Jones, Hull
Messrs Harrison & Noble	Mr Thos Gray	Messrs Ollivants, Manchester
Mrs E Clark	Mr Garrard	Mr Rt Jones, Liverpool
Mr Robins	Messrs Parker & Birketts	Mrs Langlands, Newcastle
Mr Harper, Fleet Street	Messrs Makepeace & Harker	Mr Wm Aitchison, Edinburgh
Messrs Twycross & Son	Lndn Milroy	Mr Alex Cunningham, Edinburgh
Mr Barnard	Mr Stephens, Portsea	Messrs Marshall & Sons, Edinburgh
Messrs Barnard & Kidder	Mr Read, Portsmouth	Messrs Morton & Milroy, Edinburgh
Mr Salter	Mr Wolferstan, Chichester	Mr Robt Morton, Edinburgh
Mr Drury	Mr Chaldecott, Chichester	
Mr Isaac Fisher	Mr Ferris, Chichester	

Silver at the French Hospital

TESSA MURDOCH

This article is based on a lecture given to the Silver Society at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House on 23 March 2009.

Walking down Rochester High Street past the cathedral towards the station, the visitor will notice on the left a handsome Regency square: La Providence. By 1958 the square of nineteen two storey houses, still with gas light fittings and outside privies, then known as Theobald Square after a local brewer, had fallen into disrepair. It was rescued by the directors of the French Hospital, a charity originally founded in Finsbury, London, in 1708, and formally established by Royal Charter granted by George I in 1718. The charity provided care for elderly, infirm and needy Huguenot refugees who had fled from religious persecution in France in the late seventeenth century.

The French Hospital acquired the square and the adjacent house fronting the High Street from Rochester Council for £51,000 and converted the houses into one and two bedroom flats. Theobald Square was transformed from an eyesore into a place of which the city could be proud and was renamed La Providence. This name derived from the seal of the charity which had been commissioned in 1718 by the original directors of the charity from Pierre Marchant, a London jeweller, it showed Elijah fed by the ravens and incorporated the motto "Dominus Providebit" (God will provide). The hospital soon acquired its associated name La Providence by which it was affectionately known amongst the Huguenot community.

The first French Hospital was established in premises in Old Street, just north of the City of London. However by the middle of the nineteenth century the building in Finsbury had become run down and the directors decided to commission a new, purpose-built, hospital in the style of a Renaissance *château*, near Victoria Park, Hackney. It was probably at this time that a painting of the old hospital buildings was commissioned as a record before the buildings were demolished; the name of the artist is not recorded. The painting shows the main pedimented building which housed the refectory with kitchens beyond and the directors' Court Room to the right. A door on the left opened into the chapel. The wash-house, larders and stores were in an adjoining building.

A contemporary watercolour view of the new French Hospital, Victoria Park, Hackney, seen from the south-west, circa 1876, is attributed to the architect Robert Lewis Roumieu who was of Huguenot descent. Set in three acres of grounds, the new buildings provided accommodation for forty women and twenty men, the steward and his wife and for nurses and servants, as well as a chapel,



*Fig 1 Communion cup, maker's mark IT, London, 1631/32, inscribed "IBM A L'eglise vuallonne de Cantorbery, 1632".
(The French Hospital)*

1 Edward Alfred Jones, *The Old Silver Sacramental Vessels of Foreign Protestant Churches in England*, London, 1908.

2 Published by John Adamson, Cambridge, 2009.



Fig 2 Royal Charter granted by George I in 1718. (The French Hospital)

library and spacious day rooms. After the Second World War, the charity was forced out of London as the hospital buildings had been bomb-damaged in 1944 and were then requisitioned in March 1945 by the War Damage Commission. The hospital was briefly established in a remote country house at Compton's Lea, Sussex, a situation which was not ideal for the elderly. The nineteenth-century building became St Victoire's School for Girls and then in the 1970s the Cardinal Pole Roman Catholic School took it over. The restored Rochester square provided the necessary facilities and a more appropriate location for sheltered housing for qualifying residents of Huguenot descent. The charity continues to flourish today.

Kent has long standing associations with French-speaking Protestant refugees. One of the first Huguenot congregations in Britain met in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral in the reign of Edward VI; others were recorded in Maidstone, Sandwich, Rye and Whitstable. It is particularly appropriate that a service of Communion is still taken every week by the visiting chaplain, the Rev

Howard Daubney, and that the silver cup [fig 1] used is one of twelve made in 1631/32 to service the needs of the Canterbury Huguenot and Walloon congregation which numbered over a thousand.¹

Today the French Hospital enjoys a special link with Rochester cathedral. In 1958, the then Bishop, the Rt Rev Christopher Chavasse, established the Anniversary Evensong which is held on the second Saturday in June to commemorate the establishment of the French Hospital by Royal Charter. This is followed by a strawberry tea in the crypt of the cathedral for the residents, their families and the Friends of La Providence.

To mark the tercentenary of the founding bequest of the hospital and to celebrate fifty years of La Providence in Rochester, two of the current directors, the present author and Randolph Vigne, have written a book: *The French Hospital in England: Its Huguenot History and Collections* which provides a richly illustrated account of this extraordinary institution.²

The hospital, or La Providence as it soon became known, was founded in 1708 through a bequest from Jacques de Gastigny, who had served as Master of Buckhounds to William of Orange and had accompanied his patron from the Netherlands to London at the time of the Glorious Revolution in 1688-89. De Gastigny's portrait hangs in the Court Room in the French Hospital at Rochester and presides over the monthly meetings of its officers and directors. Painted by a French artist in the circle of Pierre Mignard, circa 1680, it retains its late seventeenth-century gilt-wood frame. Jacques de Gastigny bequeathed £500 to build apartments for at least twelve "poor, infirm, or sick French Protestants men or women above the age of 50 years". He left a further £500; the interest on which was to provide beds, linen, clothing and other requisites for the inmates.

By 1716 the Huguenot community, represented by a French Committee which administered the Royal Bounty (a nationwide collection made to support the first generation refugees) had resolved the challenge of finding an appropriate home for the new institution. In its early years it occupied a former Pest House, previously used to accommodate victims of the plague. This was situated to the north of the City of London, in Finsbury. The first Governor of the French Hospital, the Earl of Galway, was well known at Court and lobbied George I who subsequently granted the Royal Charter in 1718 [fig 2]. The hospital owns a rare mezzotint portrait of Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway (1648-1720), by John Simon, of circa 1705. Galway had fought at the Battle of the Boyne and founded the military refugee community at Portarlington in Ireland. He served as Commander-in-Chief of the British army in Ireland and twice as ruling Lord Justice. On the accession of George I de Ruvigny presented the new king with an address on behalf of the Huguenot community in London congratulating him on the establishment of the Protestant succession.

The French Protestant Hospital, near Old Street, is illustrated in an engraving by B Cole in Maitland's *History of London* published in 1756. This shows the western quadrangle situated on the other side of Pest House Row from the Peerless Pool. To the east of the hospital, French Alley led to St Luke's church, completed in 1733 to the designs of John James and Nicholas Hawksmoor. The first hospital building was the work of Huguenot builder Peter Le Grant. The founding directors came from many walks of life: they were successful merchants, doctors, army officers, craftsmen and silk weavers. An appeal for funds for the new building was supported by prosperous members of the Huguenot community but also attracted donations from the English aristocracy, including the francophile Duke and Duchess of Kingston and George I's First Minister, Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland. Little is known of the previous occupants of the Pest House, but they included in 1718: Edme Boursin of Paris, 72, a retired goldsmith, and Madeleine Boursin of Paris, 78, a jeweller's widow, described as "en enfance" (second childhood); reassuringly Edme Boursin is recorded by Michele Bimbenet Privat in Paris in the late seventeenth century.³

From the outset the directors met monthly to discuss hospital business and although they ate off pewter plates, their cutlery was silver. Amazingly the complete original set of twenty-four three-pronged forks made for their use in the early 1720s [fig 3] survives; they are still regularly used at the directors' monthly Saturday meetings. Marked by the



Fig 3 One from a set of twenty-four three pronged forks, William Scarlett, London, 1722/23, each inscribed "French Hospital". (The French Hospital)

3 Tessa Murdoch (ed), *Beyond the Border: Huguenot Goldsmiths in Northern Europe and North America*, Brighton, 2008, p 120.



Fig 4 A pair of sugar casters, Thomas Bevault, London, 1714/15.
(The French Hospital)

London goldsmith William Scarlett, each fork is engraved "French Hospital" a security device which has helped to ensure their survival. The inventories of the contents of the hospital, compiled in French in 1742 and 1766, list, for the use of the directors, these twenty-four silver forks as well as twenty-four soup spoons, two larger soup spoons, twenty-two smaller spoons and six salt spoons for salt and mustard. "24 Couteaux a manches d'ivoire" were listed as the responsibility of Daniel Aubertin, one of the hospital servants. A pair of Britannia standard silver sugar casters, with the maker's mark identified as that of Thomas Bevault, London, 1714/15, inscribed: "FRENCH HOSPITAL" were listed in the 1742 inventory as in the care of widow Carcin, and in the 1766 inventory as "sucriers" amongst silver used by the directors [fig 4]. One of the casters has had its blind decoration drilled suggesting that it was originally intended for an alternative use. Thomas Bevault, also a first generation Huguenot goldsmith, registered his own maker's mark in 1712, when he was living in Foster Lane in the City of London, adjacent to Goldsmiths' Hall.

Pewter for the hospital's use was supplied by H Perchard. A surviving bill, dated 1739, in the Huguenot Library, indicates that he supplied plates, porringers and spoons for the dining tables; chamber pots and stool pans for bedroom use and that he exchanged a "communion pot" for the chapel. Perchard often received old pewter in exchange for new. He may be identified with Hellier Perchard, a native of Guernsey, who served his appren-

ticeship in London under Charles Johnson in 1702 and worked there until his death in 1759.⁴ Another possibility is the pewterer, Hollis Perchard, who is recorded in Kent's London Directory of 1740 as working in Cannon Street.

The French Hospital continued to attract donations from members of the Huguenot community during the early years of its existence. The distinguished painter Louis Chéron, brought over to London by Charles II's former ambassador to Louis XIV, Ralph Montagu, who later founded the St Martin's Lane Academy of Art, left a bequest of £1,000 sterling to the hospital and to the poor French Refugees on his death in 1726. A further bequest of £100 to each of his sisters living in Paris, who had abjured their Protestant faith, was also to pass, if they were already deceased, to the poor of the French Hospital. Louis Chéron left a ring to Moses Pujolas and his will was translated by Philippe Crespigny.⁵ Both Pujolas and Crespigny were early directors of the hospital so Chéron would have had close knowledge of the aims of this new charitable foundation.

From the beginning, the hospital demonstrated its pioneering attitude towards mental health problems by providing care in a separate wing for the "mad" who were given individual rooms and treated caringly unlike the official London hospital for the insane, Bedlam in Lambeth, where viewing the inmates was regarded by Londoners as a source of entertainment.

One of the earliest documents relating to the admission of those with mental health problems is housed in the archives of the French Hospital in the Huguenot Library at University College, London. This is an affidavit signed by the celebrated goldsmith Paul de Lamerie for his fellow goldsmith Jacques Ray, in 1737. De Lamerie together with “La Veuve Cluny” (probably the widow of the goldsmith Louis Cuny) and the goldsmith Jean le Sage recommended Ray’s referral to the French Hospital and de Lamerie, le Sage and Henri Hebert served as guarantors against the costs of any damages that might be caused in the future by Ray as an inmate of the hospital. The document was witnessed by Amos James Brissac and Solomon Paul Julliot; the latter a relative by marriage of de Lamerie. Prior to admission, Jacques Ray’s wife Honor explained that although she had been married for nineteen years, during the last six:

she has thought him greatly deprived of his senses for that he has left several times his habitation and family running about the streets for several days like a Madman forsaking his business of a Goldsmith & crying Oranges & Lemons about the Streets carrying in his Pocket a Razor and a Cord declaring that he would make use of them to destroy himself and has in all things acted for the time last mentioned as a Person deprived of his Senses, excepting some few intervals as People generally have who are bereaved of their Senses.⁶

Honor’s statement about the length of their marriage is confirmed in that the couple were married in St Martin in the Fields on 24 April 1718 (her maiden name was given as New). Her report on her husband’s health was corroborated by John Higham, apothecary in the parish of St Ann Westminster and by de Lamerie, le Sage and Hebert who

severally say that by their long knowledge & frequent conversation with the said James Ray for Several Years past they are firmly of Opinion that the said James Ray is deprived of his senses & in several instances has acted as madmen generally do.

The French Hospital records note that Ray escaped a year later and bought an outfit costing shillings; a box of six razors and a pocket handkerchief. He is not mentioned in the hospital archives again.

4 John Davis, *Pewter at Colonial Williamsburg*, Williamsburg, 2003, p 101.

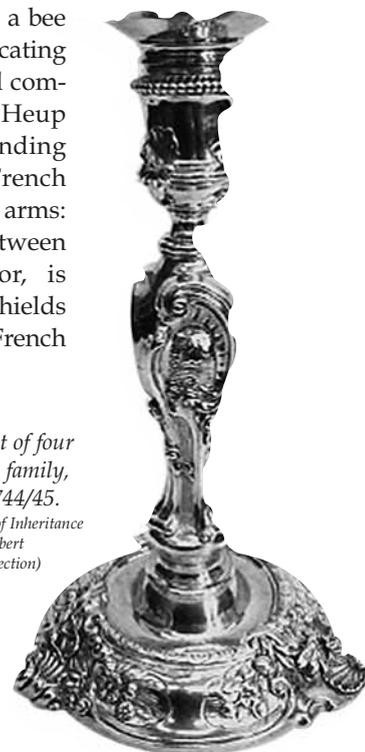
5 National Archives, Prob 11/603/352.

6 This account is transcribed in full by C F A Marmoy, ‘The French Hospital, Extracts from the Archives of ‘La Providence’ relating to Inmates and Applicants for Admission 1718-1957 and to recipients of applicants for the Coqueau

De Lamerie was to enjoy close associations with a number of directors of the French Hospital. For the marriage of the daughter of Jacques Louis Berchère, a banker and jeweller and one of the original directors, in 1735, de Lamerie supplied a sophisticated tea equipage, now in the collection of Temple Newsam House, Leeds.⁷ Suzanne Judith Berchère married Jean Daniel Boissier in the church of St Peter le Poor, London, in April of that year. In 1744 de Lamerie supplied a set of four rococo candlesticks for the le Heup family [fig 5]; their stems and bases are chased with unusual scenes of a bee at the entrance to a skep; and a bee on a flower spray, indicating that they were a special commission.⁸ Thomas le Heup was one of the founding directors of the French Hospital and his coat of arms: gules three beehives between eleven bees volant or, is amongst the heraldic shields still displayed in the French Hospital today.

Fig 5 Candlestick, from a set of four with the arms of the le Heup family, Paul de Lamerie, London, 1744/45.

(Accepted by H M Government in lieu of Inheritance Tax and allocated to the Victoria and Albert Museum from the Whiteley Family Collection)



The candlesticks were, however, probably made for Peter le Heup and his wife Clara who lived in fashionable Albermarle Street, in the parish of St George’s Hanover Square and Morden, Surrey; the parish church in Morden has a monument, with a portrait bust, to Peter’s memory. The handsome couple were recorded for posterity in portraits painted by John Giles Eckhardt in 1747 which were given to the French Hospital by the leading collector and genealogist Henry Wagner in 1923. Appreciation of silver and jewellery is evident from the standish on Peter le Heup’s desk and the elaborate pearl

charity 1745-1901’, *Huguenot Society Quarto Series*, LII-LII, 1977, 2 vols.

7 James Lomax, *Silver at Temple Newsam House*, Leeds, 1992, no 25, pp 122-7.

8 These four candlesticks have just been acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum as AIL from the Whiteley Family Collection.



Fig 6 Tea kettle and stand made for Sir John and Lady Lequesne, Paul de Lamerie, London, 1736/37.

(The Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum)

stomacher worn by his wife Clara. Peter is shown half length, in a gold embroidered grey coat and red waistcoat, white frilled stock and lace cuffs, seated at a table set with a silver inkstand and sealing wax, his hand rests on the bell. Clara is portrayed half-length in a white satin décolleté dress, blue gauze scarf, standing by a window, her arms leaning on a book. Le Heup was a banker who had married in 1722, Clara, the daughter of William Lowndes of Winslow, Buckinghamshire, Secretary to the Treasury. Another member of the family, Michel le Heup, who was probably Peter's nephew, was made a director of the hospital in 1741. A Marie le Heup was resident in the French Hospital in 1739 when her husband Edward le Heup wrote to the directors in July begging them to prevent his wife from leaving as her demented state made his life intolerable. In 1736, as one of the witnesses to her admission, Edward le Heup was described as a weaver of the parish of Christ Church, Spitalfields. He sponsored his own wife's readmission in 1751.⁹

De Lamerie also made a kettle, stand and lamp, formerly in the William Randolph Hearst collection and now in the Gilbert Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum, for the marriage of Sir John le Quesne to Miss Knight in April 1738 [fig 6]. Le Quesne was elected a director of the French Hospital in 1736. Free of the Grocers' Company, he served as Alderman of the Broad Street Ward from 1735, was knighted in 1737 and became a sheriff of the City of London in 1739. This piece is modelled by Paul de Lamerie's most brilliant craftsman, known as the 'Maynard' master who is now thought to have been trained as a sculptor in Antwerp before coming to England where he worked for de Lamerie from 1732 to 1744. Ellenor Alcorn has been researching his

identity and it is hoped that she may be able to name this phenomenal modeller and chaser in due course. The kettle is one of the stars in a small but significant display devoted to work by the 'Maynard' master in the Whiteley Silver Galleries in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In 1748 the French Hospital appointed Field-Marshal Sir Jean-Louis de Ligonier KCB (1680–1770) as its Governor a post which he held until 1770. Four years later he presented an equestrian portrait by Bartholomew Dandridge, circa 1745, to the corporation of the hospital. As Commander-in-Chief of the British army, Ligonier is shown wearing the star and jewel of the Order of the Bath, against a backdrop of French blue coats and the red coats of the British Grenadiers illustrating the military campaign against the French of 1738 to 1747.

Pierre Ogier (1711–1775), a leading Spitalfields master weaver with a business based in Spital Square, is depicted in a portrait of 1760. His younger sister Louisa Perina married the Huguenot goldsmith Samuel Courtauld and carried on her husband's business from his City premises after his death. The Ogier family came originally from Chassais L'Eglise in Bas Poitou. Peter Ogier III was one of five brothers all of whom became master weavers in Spitalfields. His business was based at 4 Spital Square and by 1765 he had £3,000 worth of stock in a warehouse in the City. He became a liveryman of the Weavers' Company in 1743 and in 1760 was elected Upper Bailiff. He became a director of the French Hospital in 1761 and supported the newly founded London Hospital as well. His brother Lewis became a director of the French Hospital in 1771.

A portrait of Jean Henry Guinand by an artist in the circle of John Theodore Heins shows this Huguenot merchant who served as an elder of the French Church in Threadneedle Street and provided much needed financial support for Huguenot descendents during the very harsh winter of 1739-40. In 1742 he commissioned an inventory of the contents of the corporation of the hospital. In addition to hospital property, the inventory, written in French, records some of the possessions of the inmates. Twenty-one pieces of silver belonging to Jeanne Harpin, one of the residents of "les petites Maisons" consisted of:

- 1 Mogue de Pinte (a pint mug), 1 Coupe,
- 1 tabatiere ovale (a tobacco box), 1 petite ditto ronde,
- 5 Cuilleres a Soupe (five soup spoons), 1 ditto per enfant (a child's spoon), 5 ditto à Té,
- 1 fourchette a 2 Dents (a two-pronged fork), 1 pre Pincettes a thé, defaites (a pair of sugar tongs, broken), 1 petite Boucle (a small buckle), 1 mogue de demi Pinte (a half pint mug)

Jeanne Harpin died on 22 August 1743; five soup spoons and four teaspoons were put to one side for the use of the directors but the rest of the silver was sold and the proceeds absorbed in the steward's running accounts. The directors instructed the steward to mark the spoons in the same way as the other silver in the hospital. Each piece was presumably inscribed "French Hospital" for identification and security and these pieces may well survive amongst the collection housed at Rochester today. The French Hospital records describe Jeanne Harpin's admission to the hospital in 1737 when the porter of the Huguenot church known as 'l'église des Grecs' in Hog Street, St Giles, delivered her chattels which amounted to seventy-nine articles including items of furniture and the silver already described.

The 1742 inventory indicates that the directors' room was appropriately furnished with a looking glass with the inscription inlaid in marquetry:

TO THE WORTHY MANAGERS OF THIS
CHARITABLE CORPORATION FROM A WELL
WISHER TO THE SAME AUGUST 1733

and "un grand Pot de Chambre d'Etain" (a pewter chamber pot) for their comfort. A later inventory compiled in 1766 indicates that the number of framed portraits had increased from four to five, taking into account the equestrian portrait presented by Field-Marshal Jean-Louis Ligonier in 1752, who was still serving as Governor of the Corporation. By 1766 the directors' room was also furnished with a clock with a handsome walnut long-case presented in 1752 by the maker Charles Cabrier who served as Master of the Clockmakers' Company from 1757 to 1772.

Another distinguished associate of the French Hospital was Dr Matthew Maty who served as physician to the hospital for three years in the 1770s. He was later appointed principal librarian at the British Museum. A portrait by Bartholomew Dupan "drawn by Mr Dupan's hand of friendship" was bequeathed by the sitter to the British Museum where it still hangs in the Board Room. His will indicates that he owned a wax medallion portrait by Isaac Gosset which he bequeathed to his daughter and an achromatic telescope by Dollond which he bequeathed to his godson Lieutenant Anthony Layard "knowing that he will make good use of it in face of an enemy".¹⁰ Members of the Dollond, Gosset and Layard families were all elected directors of the French Hospital in due course.



Fig 7 Communion cups, Robert Hill, London, 1716/17.
(The French Hospital)

Francis Jolit, who was painted by John Opie, circa 1805, became a director in 1818. He worked as an undertaker and is mentioned in the wills of many Huguenot descendants. For example Elizabeth Beuzeville, widow of the weaver James Beuzeville, specifies in her will dated 1781, that her funeral was "to be performed by Francis Jolit, of Old Artillery Ground, who buried my husband".¹¹ A silver waiter and salver in the French Hospital, dated 1754 and 1791 respectively, both bear his name and either belonged to him or were given to commemorate him.¹² He would have known Mrs Louisa Grellier, wife of Richard Grellier, who served as surveyor to the hospital for twenty-five years. She was the daughter of Jacques-Pierre André who was elected director in 1818. Her portrait is one of only two portraits of a lady sitter at Rochester to date; her gold cameo bracelet and ring add interest to her presence in the director's dining room.

From the late eighteenth century the French Hospital became a depository for some of the sacred silver made for the use of the Huguenot churches founded in London in the late seventeenth century to cater for the growing number of refugees who had settled in the metropolis in order to escape the persecution of protestants in France. Two Britannia standard silver communion cups, with the maker's mark of Robert Hill, 1716/17 were originally given by Rachel Ribeaute and Stephen Romilly to the French Congregation at Hoxton, 25 March 1717 [fig 7].

9 Irvine R Gray, 'Institutional Records, The French Protestant Hospital' in 'Huguenot Manuscripts: A Descriptive Catalogue of

the Remaining Manuscripts in the Huguenot Library', *Huguenot Society Quarto Series*, LVI, 1983, pp 1-103.

10 Dorothy North (ed) *Huguenot Wills and Administrations in England and Ireland 1617-1849*, *Huguenot Society*

Quarto Series, 2008, under Maty, pp.273-4

11 Dorothy North (ed) *op.cit.*, under Beuzeville, p 35.

12 The captions for the salver and waiter have been wrongly transposed in the book, pp 47,49.

The cups were then presented to the hospital, after the Hoxton church closed in 1790, for use in the hospital chapel where to date only pewter vessels had been used in the service of communion. The Hoxton cups take the form of secular drinking vessels and reflect the 1631/32 examples made for the Canterbury congregation. A paten by the same maker was presented by Louis de Tudert; who subscribed £50 towards the cost of building the French Hospital in 1718 and left it a bequest of £100 on his death in 1737. Of the original donors, Rachel Ribeaut received external assistance from the French Hospital from April 1743 to July 1749. Stephen Romilly, grandfather of the celebrated lawyer, Sir Samuel Romilly, ran a bleaching business at Hoxton. His son Peter worked as a jeweller in Frith Street Soho where he 'delighted' in a private library; he became a director of the French Hospital in 1770 and an example of his book-plate is now in the French Hospital collections at Rochester.

The communion plate of the Savoy Chapel, consisting of a pair of communion cups and patens in Britannia standard silver, was supplied by Lewis Cuny in 1717 or 1718 (his widow recommended James Ray for admission in 1737). One of each of the cups and patens bear the original scratch weights: 26=18 and 24=12 respectively. The set was used at the French church of the Savoy, extended

to the designs of architect Sir Christopher Wren in 1685, and then later when the congregation merged with that of its sister church in 1737, at l'église des Grecs, visible in the background of Hogarth's painting *Noon* painted the previous year.

The alms-dish from the Huguenot church of le Carré is inscribed "Bien-heureux Sont Ceux Qui Sont Appellez au Banquet Des Noces De L'Agneau" (Welcome are those who are called to the feast of the marriage of the Lamb). It recalls the manner in which Huguenot congregations received communion seated round a table as shown in the engraving of 'Communion at a French Church in the United Provinces', from *The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Reformed, commonly called Calvinists*, published by the French engraver Bernard Picart in 1733. The church was named after Soho Square in which it was established in 1689. It moved in 1694 to Berwick Street where it continued to meet until 1769. It then moved to Little Dean Street and closed in 1849. The communion plate of le Carré originally comprised nine items and was presented in 1849 to St John's Limehouse. It was consigned to Sotheby's for sale on 10 April 1930¹³, but some of the French Hospital directors negotiated with the ecclesiastical authorities before the sale to purchase the alms-dish with its prominent French inscription and the engraving of the Lamb of God.



Fig 8 Communion flagon, Edward and John Barnard, London, 1866/67. (The French Hospital)

In 1896, Sir Henry Peek, President of the Huguenot Society (founded in 1885) and Deputy-Governor of the French Hospital, suggested that one complete service from the communion plate of the recently demolished church of All Hallows should be allocated to the hospital chapel "for frequent and reverential use". The rector and churchwardens of the United Parishes, including the former All Hallows the Great, All Hallows the Less, St Martin's Vintry and St Michael's Paternoster Royal, agreed and the decision was sanctioned by the Bishop of London. The plate "lodged in a chest in the adjoining City of London Brewery for Security" was released for use in the French Hospital chapel on 29 April 1896. A service of dedication was conducted by the rector. The plate comprises an Elizabethan paten cover, dated 1575/76, with the maker's mark, a stag's head cabossed, which is used weekly for the service of communion held in the Common Room at the French Hospital, Rochester today; a James I silver-gilt cup and cover 1608/9 (this is a later copy of the 1535 cup at St Michael's Paternoster Royal), a James I paten and a covered flagon of 1608/9, the flagon is inscribed "The Gift of Thomas Kaddy", both on the cover's raised disk and encircling the engraved coat of arms on the body. (A matching flagon is on loan to the Victoria and Albert Museum from St Michael's Paternoster Royal) a Charles I standing paten of 1634/35 and a George I silver-gilt Britannia standard straining spoon of 1719/20. Most of this silver

In 1898, Sir Henry William Peek, then Deputy-Governor, presented a silver-gilt alms dish which was supplied by a fellow director George Lambert. It bears his maker's mark, the date letter for 1897/98 and is stamped: "LAMBERT 12 COVENTRYST. In the 1890s the anniversary of the granting of the Royal Charter was celebrated on the fourth Wednesday in June when a sermon was preached in the French Hospital chapel at Victoria Park. The alms dish was first used at the anniversary service in June 1898 and then at the regular Sunday service thereafter. It is appropriately engraved with Elijah and the Ravens, the composition which forms the subject of the original hospital seal, and with the legend "Dominus Providebit", which as a ceramic plaque, adorns the exterior of the French Hospital, Rochester, today. Lambert was elected a hospital director in 1881 and served as Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1887.

Sir Henry Peek died in 1898 and in that year his son Sir Cuthbert Edgar Peek presented the hospital with gold and enamel badges for the Governor and the Deputy-Governor, which were also supplied by George Lambert [fig 10]. Both badges are chased with the scene of Elijah and the ravens, and surrounded by the motto "Dominus Providebit". A contemporary presentation certificate records that:

The Gold Badges of the Governor & Deputy Governor were presented to this Hospital by Sir Cuthbert Edgar Peek, 2nd Bart. MA FSA, a Director, In Memory of Sir Henry William Peek 1st Bart. A Director 1856-1898 and Deputy Governor 1897-8.

George Lambert and "Three Friends" presented a pair of loving cups in 1892 which were also supplied by Lambert's business and bear his mark; their covers were made later in 1907/8. The cups are inset with medals of Louis XIV and William and Mary [figs 11a and b] and were presented in commemoration of the 320th anniversary of the Massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572 and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The new edition of John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* published in 1875 highlighted "the horrible massacre in France, A.D. 1572".

The covers to the cups were given later by Arthur Giraud Browning in 1907 to mark the tenth anniversary of his election as Deputy-Governor. They were almost certainly used in the 'Ceremony of the Loving Cup' which had been adopted in about 1884. The cups were brought in to the assembled company at the quarterly dinners attended by the directors. The Secretary announced that the cups contained



Fig 10 Badges of the Governor and Deputy-Governor, gold and enamel, George Lambert, London, 1898. (The French Hospital)

The choicest WINE of France commemorating our Huguenot Ancestors, FORTIFIED with SPIRIT, the SPIRIT of admiration for their faith and courage, and SWEETENED by SYMPATHY with the poor and aged among their Descendants. The Deputy Governor responded with a toast to the memory of the Huguenot founders of the hospital and to guests.

Both George Lambert and Arthur Giraud Browning were Fellows of the Society of Antiquaries and keen to develop the French Hospital collections as a resource for the study of Huguenot history. The directors and their guests may also have been entertained to a four-part song, *The Huguenot Refuge*, by the former medical officer Samuel Byles (d 1856); the words of which were suitably patriotic

Hey! For our land, our English land,
The land of the brave and free,
Who with open arms in the olden time
Received the Refugee.

The present directors hope that the publication of *The French Hospital in England: Its Huguenot History and Collections* will make this remarkable institution, which has been managed by Huguenot descendants for the benefit of their own kind, better known internationally.

We hope that it will inspire future research into the Huguenot community in London and that it may lead to the foundation of a Huguenot Heritage Centre in Rochester making the remarkable collections of the Hospital and the Huguenot Library more accessible to an international audience.

Tessa Murdoch has worked at the Victoria and Albert Museum for almost twenty years. Since 2002 she has been Deputy Keeper in the Department of Sculpture, Metalwork, Ceramics and Glass where she serves as head of Metalwork and concentrates on seventeenth- and eighteenth- century silver. She was lead curator for the Sacred Silver and Stained Glass Galleries which opened in 2005 and the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Galleries which opened last year. She is currently leading an exhibition exchange project with the Kremlin Armouries Museum. The Golden Age of the English Court from Henry VIII to Charles I will open in Moscow in October 2012 and then at the V&A in 2013 and will include a display of the wonderful Tudor and Stuart silver given to the Tsars by successive British ambassadors and merchants.

Her doctoral thesis on Huguenot artists, designers and craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland 1680-1760 led her to curate the exhibition The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685-1985 at the Museum of London where she worked from 1981-1990. She is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a Liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company.



Fig 11a and b Loving cups and covers, silver-gilt, George Lambert, 1892/93, set with medals of Louis XIV and William and Mary. The covers presented in 1907 by Arthur Giraud Browning.
(The French Hospital)

Rebecca Emes: New Discoveries

WILLIAM AND MAGGIE VAUGHAN-LEWIS

Rebecca Emes was the wife of John Emes the artist, engraver, silversmith and goldsmith of London. She is particularly known, as a widow, for her business partnership with Edward Barnard which lasted for over twenty years following her husband's death in 1808. During this time the firm produced significant volumes of quality silver items as well as some particularly distinguished pieces of gold and silver. Her involvement with the firm of Emes and Barnard has been described by others, in particular by Judith Bannister¹, and is the subject of continuing work by John Fallon that will shed more light on her role. However, Anne Pimlott Baker writing about her in the entry on John Emes in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*² and books on the silver trade and on successful women of the nineteenth century have neither identified Rebecca's background nor discussed what happened to her after she sold her stake in the business in 1829³.

In researching our village of Itteringham in Norfolk and its eighteenth-century residents, we stumbled upon Rebecca. This article describes in brief what has been discovered about Rebecca and her family: the full story of the Robins and Dyne families will be covered in our forthcoming book⁴. Rebecca was born on 13 September 1782 and baptised on 18 September in Wolterton, Norfolk; she was the first and only surviving daughter of Richard Robins 'Gent' (junior) and his wife Hannah. Her only surviving brother, Richard

1 Judith Banister, 'Identity Parade: The Barnard Ledgers', *The Proceedings of the Silver Society 1974-1976*, vol II, nos 9/10, pp 165-9 and 'A postscript to the Barnard ledgers', *The Proceedings of the Silver Society 1979-1981*, vol III, nos 1/2, pp 38-39.

2 Anne Pimlott-Baker, 'John Emes (1762-1808) and Rebecca', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004.

3 Alice Prather-Moses, *The International Dictionary*

of Women Workers in the Decorative Arts, Metuchen, 2001; E Lomas, *Guide to the Archive of Art and Design in the V & A Museum*, London and Chicago, 2001; John Hyman, *Silver at Williamsburg*, Williamsburg, 1994; John Bly, *Discovering Hallmarks on English Silver*, Princes Risborough, 2000.

4 W and M Vaughan-Lewis, *Good Neighbours: Itteringham life in the 18th Century*, Itteringham Norfolk, 2010.



Fig 1 Itteringham Hall as it is today; the house is now known as White House Farm.

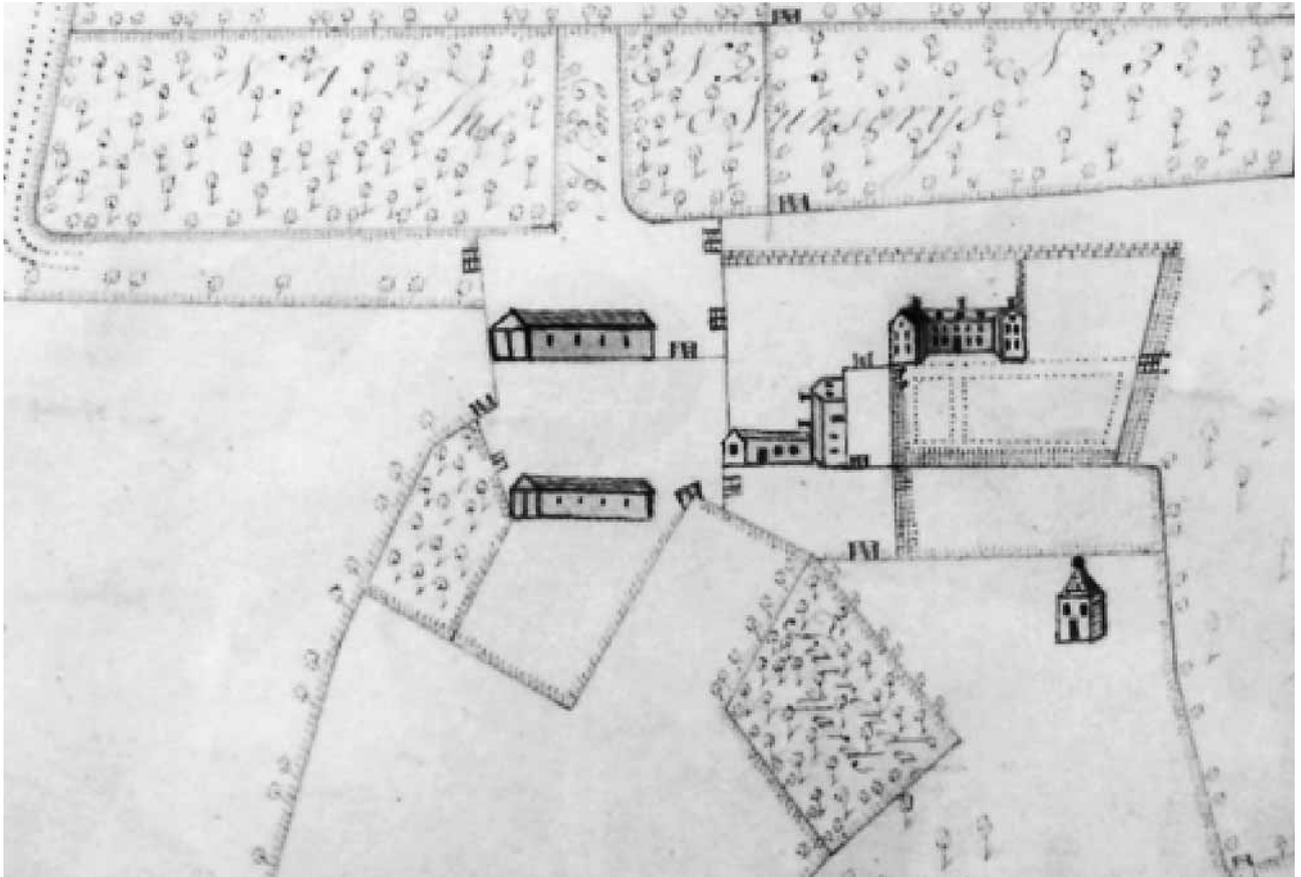


Fig 2 Detail from a 1748 estate map showing Itteringham Hall.

Story Robins, was born and baptised three years before in April 1779 in neighbouring Itteringham. Their father was the son and heir of Richard and Susannah Robins of Itteringham Hall, owners of a modest freehold estate of just over 220 acres at the eastern end of the parish [fig 2]. The hall, originally a fine Elizabethan house, was by then an ageing farmhouse. Between 1781 and 1783 Richard junior leased a farm on Lord Walpole's estate not far from his parents and near Mannington Hall but lying in Wolterton parish, which accounts for Rebecca having been baptised in Wolterton rather than Itteringham.

Rebecca's mother, Hannah, was the daughter of Edward and Elizabeth Dyne of Rochester Kent. Dyne was a surgeon in private practice and heavily involved with the fleet at Chatham; he was also an alderman and sometime mayor of Rochester. He was a respected and comfortably-off man whose eldest son Andrew Hawes Dyne, who later became A H Bradley after taking his wife's family name, became a well-connected London and Kent lawyer involved in the management of prison hulks. A second son Thomas, who was apparently also a surgeon, was involved with naval ships and lived in Gillingham. Hannah married Richard Robins at

St Nicholas Rochester in June 1778, but he died a few years later in 1785. Hannah remarried in 1787, a gentleman farmer, John Oakes. He was the younger son of the tenant of Mannington Hall in the adjacent parish to Itteringham (and now part of it). On the death of Richard Robins senior in the same year, the couple moved into Itteringham Hall. His widow Susannah lived on until 1793; she left Rebecca a small legacy. Rebecca grew up with a large family of half-siblings until 1801, the year in which she married John Emes.

As a boy, Rebecca's brother, Richard Story Robins lived with their grandfather Edward Dyne and soon after Dyne's death in 1794 was apprenticed to, and went on to become, a surgeon. His chequered career will be covered in detail in the present writers' book; his dispute with his own family in chancery not only makes entertaining reading but also confirms his sister's marriage to John Emes.

How did the young girl from north Norfolk meet John Emes? From what is known of her family (no family papers survive) it is unlikely that she was particularly well-educated or had any developed artistic capability.

There are indications that John Oakes travelled occasionally to London on business and perhaps some of the family went with him from time to time with the lure of a shopping spree, perhaps even the purchase of some silver. By 1801 Rebecca's brother was of course living in Kent and London and it was perhaps as a result of visiting him that the connection was made. What is certain is that for at least the three weeks in which the banns for the marriage were read she was given as of Tunstall, Kent where she must have been living with her uncle Andrew, who as A H Bradley, also witnessed the marriage. He may have introduced his young, eighteen year old niece to the thirty-eight year old Emes; he was certainly affluent enough to have been a purchaser of silver. John and Rebecca were married on 7 April 1801 at the fashionable church of St James's, Piccadilly in London, where John was given as a parishioner. *The Times* and *The Monthly Magazine* reported the marriage, showing John Emes as resident at Paternoster Row (his firm's location was at Amen Corner) and Rebecca as "Miss Robins of Itteringham"⁵. Rebecca brought to the marriage a portion of £1,000, which from the chancery action mentioned above we can be certain would have been paid to her from her brother's estate within about three years of her marriage, possibly sooner. It is possible that this money was invested into the working capital of the firm that Emes had relatively recently taken over from the Chawners, albeit with Henry Chawner still as a silent majority partner.

Initially John and Rebecca may have lived with his father William Emes Esq, the landscape gardener, who between 1801 and 1802 lived at 8 Argyll Street, off Regent Street, not far from St James's, and next door to the Duke of Argyll⁶. The probate of William's will confirmed that he had moved from Elvetham Park in Hampshire to Argyll Street, but in the period immediately before his death he lived with his daughter Sarah at the Vicarage House in



Fig 3 A George III 'Jolly Boat' double wine coaster, John Emes, London, 1799/1800.

(Courtesy of Koopman Rare Art London)

St Giles Cripplegate⁷. His will makes clear that John Emes had two sisters and was the second eldest son after his brother William, followed by two more brothers, Thomas and Philip⁸.

Rebecca had two daughters by John Emes. The eldest was born on 11 February 1805 and baptised Sally (not Sarah although she was called both names later) on 15 March at St Faith under St Paul. Ellen was born on 14 November 1807 but not baptised until 13 March 1812, at St Giles, Cripplegate; her christening was presumably delayed by the death of her father. Sarah, sister of John Emes, and wife of the vicar and their brother, Philip Emes, who baptised a son Frederick there in 1808, were both also resident in St Giles at this time. Sally was probably named for her aunt although one of Edward Barnard's daughters (named Sarah but apparently always known as Sally) might have provided further reason⁹.

There is no firm evidence as to where the Emes family lived during their seven year marriage but John Emes was buried on 17 January 1808 at St James's, Piccadilly¹⁰. *The Gentleman's Magazine* noted his death: "Mr Emes, silversmith of Paternoster Row, going upstairs to bed, he fell down in a fit and expired immediately"¹¹. He left no will but an inventory taken in June of that year shows that he was comfortably-off¹². Rebecca, and John's brother William, were left as guardians of the two infant children "Sarah and Ellen", and were instructed to use the personal estate for the children's benefit until they reached the age of twenty-one. Emes left £997 cash in Hankey's bank and £200 in shares in the Rock Life Insurance company. His trade stock and tools were valued by his partner Henry Chawner at £9,421. Of the £1,287 worth of household goods, the single largest item was £505 in wine; was this for trade entertaining or was he just a keen drinker [fig 3]? It has been noted that in 1806 Emes made an apparently unique silver wine bottle shade (for protecting the bottle from the warmth of a fire) engraved for a member of the Farrer family of Brayfield, Buckinghamshire. Had he made one for himself and subsequently sold the item on to a client¹³?

Rebecca initially and briefly formed a partnership with John's brother, William Emes, during the few months it took to sort out her late husband's estate and reconstruct the partnership. By late 1808, however, she had entered into a partnership with Edward Barnard who had, for many years, run the production side of the Chawner and Emes firms. Henry Chawner was a silent partner once John Emes took over running the business. Rebecca Emes and Edward Barnard traded successfully until 1829, although it is not clear how big a role Rebecca had in the business. In 1829 the partnership was dissolved and the dissolution deed has survived¹⁴. In the February

the “Widow Mrs Rebecca Emes” and Henry Chawner sold their stakes in the business to Edward Barnard and his sons, Edward, John and William; Chawner received £10,327 and Rebecca £5,093¹⁵. The firm continued as a partnership of Barnard and his sons.

Despite suggestions by some writers, Rebecca did not remarry, to Edward Barnard, or anyone else¹⁶. After her husband’s death Rebecca moved into several fashionable addresses; by April 1812 “Mrs Emes” is listed at 18 Queen Square, Bloomsbury. By the start of 1815 she had moved to 5 Charlotte Street near Bedford Square in Bloomsbury, where she stayed for a decade. Towards the end of the 1820s she moved along the road to 19 Charlotte Street¹⁷. With her brothers-in-law William and Philip, she appeared in a listing in *The Morning Chronicle* of 26 May 1814 as a subscriber to a fund to buy an annuity for the by then destitute widow of William Woollett, who many years earlier, had been John Emes’s painting master¹⁸. Apart from these references it has proved hard to find documentary references to Rebecca and the girls outside the archives of the firm. Her Norfolk life was far behind her; her brother and mother were long dead although her step-father did leave Rebecca and her daughters £100 for mourning in 1826¹⁹. It would seem that they lived quietly but comfortably off her share of the profits of the business.

Judith Bannister has shown that Rebecca lived until at least 1859 and the company records show her receiving interest on a loan each year until this year. Having left her pay-off from the sale of the partnership invested for income, Rebecca had £6,250 in the firm by 1830. Most of it was still intact in 1858 when she held £5,062. In 1859, after their mother’s death, the Misses Sally and Ellen Emes each held £1,012 in the loan account. It is assumed that these sums were from Rebecca’s holding and that the daughters had withdrawn the rest on her death, but

research on the ledgers might clarify events around this time. It is not known if this sizeable investment meant Rebecca continued to have any involvement in, or influence over the firm, after 1829.

Further details can now be added to the end of the story of Rebecca and her daughters. Rebecca stayed at Charlotte Street until 1841 together with Sarah, Ellen and three female servants²⁰. In 1842 they moved to 13 Connaught Square, off the Edgware Road, which was to be Rebecca’s last home²¹. Rebecca’s near neighbour at 7 Connaught Square was, for several years in the late 1850s and early 1860s, Horatio Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford and then the 4th Earl, whose country seat was Wolterton. They would no doubt have made the connection, but would they have known each other socially?

Rebecca Emes, “widow of John Emes goldsmith”, died on 17 July 1859, aged seventy-six, in the new parish of St John’s Paddington. The cause of death was “ bronchitis suffered for many years”. On 20 July *The Times* reported:

On the 17th instant at 13 Connaught Square, Rebecca relict of the late John Emes in her 77th year, after a lingering illness borne with great patience and submission.

Local newspapers for this area did not start until 1860 so there is no other source for a more substantial obituary which might have shed light on both her illness and their social life following Rebecca’s departure from the firm. Although her estate was valued under £14,000, around £600,000 today, she did not leave a will²². Sally Emes, a spinster of independent means, died at 13 Connaught Square on 9 June 1862. Her will, made a month earlier, left everything to her sister Ellen, whom she made executrix. The letters of administration described her effects also as under £14,000.

5 *The Times*, 10 April 1801; *The Monthly Magazine*, vol 11, January to June 1801.

6 *Boyle’s Fashionable Court Guide*, 1801 and. 1802.

7 TNA, PCC will 1803, PROB 11/1398.

8 Although John Emes is known to have been William’s son (*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*), it is unclear whether the family had earlier been related to the various goldsmiths named Emes in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as listed by Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths*

1200-1800, London, 1972. Was this purely coincidental?

9 Sarah, daughter of Edward and Mary Barnard, was baptised on 7 January 1800 at St James Clerkenwell – IGI; Judith Bannister, ‘A Postscript to the Barnard Ledgers’, *The Proceedings of the Silver Society*, vol 3 (1983) pp 38-9; Ashley Rees Barnard web posting.

10 The daughters’ baptisms suggest addresses close to St Paul’s. Ellen’s place of birth is given as St Paul’s Middlesex in 1871 and ‘London, Bow’ in 1881 which could be St Mary at

Bow near St Paul’s, Bow to the east or an error.

11 *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1808, p 560.

12 TNA, PROB 31/1016/611.

13 Ted Donohoe, ‘A silver bottle shade’, *Silver Studies, The Journal of The Silver Society*, vol 14, p 126.

14 Notes from a website summary at its sale. Deed now in the possession of John Fallon.

15 The National Archives currency converter gives her stake at about £250,000 in today’s money.

16 Philippa Glanville, *Silver: History and Design*, London, 1997; Pippa Shirley, section on Rebecca Emes in Delia Gaze, *Dictionary of Women Artists*, London and Chicago, 1997.

17 *Boyle’s Guide*, April 1812, 1815-25, 1826-28.

18 19th Century British Library Newspapers Online [19C BLNO]; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Interestingly an Ann Woollett was one of the witnesses to William Emes senior’s will when first made in Hampshire in September 1792.

19 John Oakes TNA, PCC will 1826, PROB 11/1715.

20 The 1841 census gives her age as 50 whereas she was actually 60 in Sept 1842

21 *Boyle’s Guides*, 1829-67; *Royal Blue Book: Fashionable Directory and Parliamentary Guide*, 1829, 1842, 1843

22 Letters of administration granted to Sally Emes on 10 December 1859. Family Division of the High Court of Justice copies of the Emes and Havers grants and wills.

Rather surprisingly Ellen Emes spinster, the last of the family at Connaught Square by this time in her late fifties, married John Havers at St John's Paddington on 6 September 1866. Havers, a surgeon of St George Bloomsbury FRCS, had witnessed Sally's will showing that he had known the family for some years²³. He was a younger son of Thomas Havers, head of the family who for many generations had owned Thelveton Hall in south Norfolk. Interestingly several earlier members of the Havers family had been goldsmiths: Thomas Havers of St Vedast, London (d 1621), Thomas Havers of Norwich who was active between 1674 and 1732 and had been mayor of the city in 1708 and his son George had worked in London (d 1750).

By the early 1840s John Havers was an eminent and well-connected London surgeon, initially living in York Road, Lambeth and subsequently at 10 Bedford Place, Russell Square. He was a high profile freemason, sometime President of the Board of General Purposes of the United Grand Lodge of England, a Grand Warden and known for his old-fashioned aristocratic metropolitan view of freemasonry²⁴. Although he retained a London house, his favourite home was White Hill, Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire where he had a large house and grounds; he was involved in his local school governance there from 1871, perhaps by then he was less busy as a surgeon. However the newspapers show that he remained actively involved as a senior and influential freemason until his death. Ellen died in Berkhamsted in 1881 followed by John on 20 August 1884 aged sixty-nine. Ellen's age at death was given as seventy; there was a little manipulation somewhere along the line since she had been born some eight years before him and was in fact seventy-three when she died²⁵.

The couples' wills are intriguing. In Ellen's will, made in 1873, she left the first £10,000 to Havers who was named as executor. Several £1,000 bequests were left to her step-daughters Dorothy and Annie Havers, her cousin James Clay, Clay's second son Frederic Emes Clay and his youngest son Cecil Clay, her cousin Henry Holmes, her god-daughter Ellen Reid and her late sister's god-daughter Fanny Reid. Ellen also left a few specific items, which may be traceable today: a clock designed by her father, John Emes, which featured Hercules supporting Atlas to bear the globe, a picture known as the *St Giles's Beauty* by

Burwell; a sketch by Hamilton of Hydra and the water nymphs from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* went to James Clay. She also left the chest containing her father's, her sister's and her own drawings, plus some scrap books and trinkets, to Ellen and Fanny Reid. This suggests that Rebecca was not an artist but that Sally and Ellen were.

Ellen's husband's will left an estate deemed to be worth £18,646 (about £900,000 today), presumably half of it being Ellen's bequest. The main beneficiaries were his two daughters but his brother Richard Havers of Banbury received £3,000 and was an executor. Havers also left Richard all his silver plate, some of which had belonged to Ellen, a gold snuff box and "a silver snuff box, inlaid with copper and gold", which he proudly adds "I made myself". Richard also received the contents of his workshop and photographic rooms at White Hill. Havers was clearly a remarkable man of many parts.

Might Sally and Ellen have been more active in the arts or education or both? Might this have been the reason that Ellen came to know John Havers well as they did not overlap as neighbours in Bloomsbury? Intriguingly Alice Havers, John's niece, became a well-known artist; might she have been taught by the Emes family, or is this just wishful thinking²⁶? Hopefully this article might trigger more research into the Emes family origins, their life in nineteenth-century London and the survival of the items described in the wills. The authors would be delighted to hear of any further information and look forward to reading John Fallon's further work on his interpretation of the Barnard ledgers.

William and Maggie Vaughan-Lewis published their first book: See You in Court: The Potts Family of Mannington, Norfolk 1584-1737, in 2009. William worked for many years with McKinsey as a management consultant but, on retiring, has returned to his interest in economic history, in which he graduated from Sheffield University. His current passion is how the landscape around their home parish of Itteringham evolved under the social and economic influences of the great neighbouring estates. Maggie, until 2007, was the County Archivist of Surrey and for many years had been part of the editorial team of the Surrey Record Society. Their second book: Good Neighbours - Itteringham life in the 18th century is centred largely around the Robins family and should be published later this year.

23 *The Era*, 16 September 1866, 19C BLNO.

24 Havers's first wife was Maria Cory the daughter of William Cory a bank director from Southwark. The Times Archive Online and the 19th Century British

Library Newspapers Online have been used extensively as sources for Havers and to a lesser extent for the Emes family. The census returns for 1841, 1861, 1871 and 1881 confirm his addresses in Lambeth, Bedford Place

and Berkhamsted. Maria was still alive in 1861. A talented anatomist and surgeon, he trained at St Bartholomew's Hospital, was heavily involved in good works, including a leading role in the freemasons' school for girls.

25 A charitable view would be that as she would only have her baptism certificate as a record (her baptism was three and a half years after her birth) she might have believed she was only seventy!

26 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entries for Alice and her sister Dorothy Henrietta Boulger.

Silver at the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham

HOWARD COUTTS

The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, has one of the great collections of European decorative arts in Britain. The collections were largely formed in Paris between 1862 and 1874, by the English coal magnate John Bowes (1811-85) and his French wife Joséphine (1825-74). The museum was her inspiration and the collections her hobby. Over this short period she amassed, and John Bowes paid for, over fifteen thousand items of ceramics, textiles, paintings, some furniture and all kinds of objets d'art. These were set in a purpose-built museum in John's home town of Barnard Castle, County Durham, whose doors opened in 1892. In 1997 the government designated the collections as being of national and international importance, and the museum continues to collect in the field of European fine and decorative arts from 1500 to 1900 in so far as funds allow.

John Bowes was the illegitimate son of the 10th Earl of Strathmore, of the ancient Bowes family of County Durham. He was given a life interest in the family property and estates. He had, therefore, in his stewardship the Bowes family silver, although this had been sadly depleted by the notorious adventurer 'Stoney Bowes' in the late

eighteenth century¹. John Bowes was scrupulous in arranging for the return of this silver to the family on his death. These pieces included a famous gold cup by Jacob Bodendick of 1675, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum², and many other pieces, which were mostly sold at auction in 1948³. Only two pieces of family silver, both racing cups, of 1840/41 and 1864 [fig 1, fig 2], came to the museum on his death in 1885.

We know little of the couple's aims in setting up the museum, other than that they seem to have wanted to embrace all fields of European fine and decorative arts from the medieval period to their own lifetimes⁴. Given Joséphine's passion for dress, painting and collecting ceramics, a comprehensive collection of European silver would never have been on the



Fig 1 The Cleveland cup, John and Joseph Angell, London, 1840.

Won by John Bowes's horse Hetman Platoff, his most successful stallion. One side of the cup is engraved: The Earl of Uxbridge and underneath: Lord George Bentinck bracketed together as Stewards; the other side is inscribed: Wolverhampton Races 1840.

(Founders' bequest - X.4625)



Fig 2 The Leeds Borough cup, silver, parcel-gilt, William Elliott, London, circa 1816.

The finial and decoration are a later addition by Smith and Nicholson of 1864. Inscribed: Mrs. Bowes's Bay Horse Welcome ridden by Thos. Ashmall and on the other side Pontefract Races 1864 Leeds Borough Cup the Gift of the Town of Leeds. The horse was entered under John Bowes' name, as women were not allowed to race horses in the nineteenth century (Founders' bequest - X.4626)

1 Wendy Moore, *Wedlock: How Georgian Britain's Worst Husband Met His Match*, London, 2009. She notes that Stoney Bowes sold and altered the monogram from S to B. Some of this family silver may have come from the Earl of Essex, as George Bowes paid the Countess of Essex the huge sum of £545 3 0d for 'Plate' on the 6 May 1748. On the 6 June he then paid "Peter Archambo a Jew for a Terine" £39 11 0d and "Mr. Newell for Plate" £46 13 0d; "Paid Mr. Newell in full for Plate" £110 3 0d [account book of 1748 in the Bowes Museum accession number 1993.7]. A record of the family attempt to revive the collection after Stoney Bowes' deprecations is contained in a bill to the 10th Earl of Strathmore from Rundell's of 1797-1801, (Durham County Record Office D/St/C1/10/16-17) for two tureens, ice-pails, centre-piece, dinner plates etc. Strathmore had to provide Rundell's with a bond as security. For the family collections in general, see John Cornforth, *Queen Elizabeth*

The Queen Mother at Clarence House, London, 1996 and Margaret Wills and Howard Coutts 'The Bowes Family of Streatlam Castle and Gibside and Its Collections', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol 33, (1998), pp 231-243.

2 Philippa Glanville. 'The Bowes Gold Cup: A Stuart race prize?' *The Burlington Magazine*, June, 1995, pp 387-390.

3 *Catalogue of Important Old English Silver, Objects of Vertu and A Charles II Gold Porringer and Cover sold by order of The Rt. Hon. The Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne removed from Glamis Castle, Angus*, Christie's, 8 December 1948.

4 Elizabeth Conran et al, *The Bowes Museum*, London, 1992; Howard Coutts, and Sarah Medlam, 'John and Josephine Bowes' Purchases from the International Exhibitions of 1862, 1867, and 1871', *Decorative Arts Society [Journal]*, 1850 to the present, 1992, pp 50-61.



Fig 3 Tankard, silver, parcel-gilt, German, late seventeenth century.

The tankard is engraved with a coat of arms and decorated with three oval panels depicting Cupid in various scenes with Latin inscriptions. In the first, Cupid is seen watching a lighted candle which is attracting moths; the inscription reads: AMANS SECUNDUM TEMPUS (a lover is subject to time). The second shows Cupid in a storm-tossed sea with the inscription: VIA NULLA EST INVIA AMORI (nothing is a barrier to love). The third illustrates a youthful Cupid admiring himself in a mirror with the inscription: BREVIS EST VOLUPTAS (sensuality is short-lived and leads to damnation). They are copied from designs by Christopherus Sichem taken from a book of emblems by the Jesuit Hermann Hugo and entitled *Pia Desideria*, published at Antwerp in 1624. (Founders' bequest - X.4606)



Fig 4 Kovsh, silver-gilt, Russian, 1754; the handle with the cipher of the Empress Elizabeth, with her portrait in the centre.

An inscription records that this was gift from the Empress to Dmitri the leader of the Volsk regiment of cossacks, for his true services in St Petersburg on 21 October 1754. (Founders' bequest - X.4584)

Fig 5 Watch in a skull-shaped case, silver and gilt metal, by Le Roy et Fils, Paris, circa 1760. (CW.52)



Fig 6 Life-size swan musical automaton, silver, English (unmarked), James Cox, circa 1773. (X.4653 - Founders' bequest)

agenda. They did, however, want some representation of precious metalwork in their broad collections. Like many Victorian collectors, they acquired a number of seventeenth-century German silver-gilt cups and tankards [fig 3], and also a rare Russian *kovsch* of 1754 [fig 4] with an engraved portrait of the Empress Elizabeth. There are also numerous items of cutlery, and some small pieces of French silver of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Given the paucity of French silver in British collections, these are useful additions to the national stock.

Joséphine was the daughter of a clock maker and this no doubt explains the large number of clocks and watches in their collection. Some are in exquisite silver cases, including one in the form of a human skull [fig 5]. The couple differed from most other collectors in collecting automata as well, a 'hybrid' field for many museums, being both scientific instruments and works of art. They bought a mechanical spider, a gold mouse dated 1818 on the inside, and, most famously, a life-size silver swan musical automaton by James Cox of circa 1773 [fig 6], which had been exhibited at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867. The museum hopes that this will be the subject of a separate publication at a future date.

As the endowment fund for the museum was not large, the collections did not develop much during first half of twentieth century, owing to a severe shortage of funds. A solitary purchase was the acquisition in 1948 of a wine cup of circa 1635 engraved "Barnard Castle" from the sale of the Strathmore silver in that year [fig 7]. The support and funding of Durham County Council from 1956 onwards led to a more ambitious collecting policy, particularly in the field of English eighteenth-century decorative arts. A specialist curator of ceramics and silver, David Garlick, who worked at the museum from 1959 until his death in 1989, was appointed. As a native of Sheffield he had a particularly interest in Sheffield plate.

David Garlick's appointment and the increased funding set the scene for a number of purchases of Newcastle silver and Sheffield plate to broaden the collections. Some items of continental origin were also acquired, including a splendid French eighteenth-century ewer and basin [fig 8]. In 1977 a rare Jacobean spice box was purchased from Mentmore just before the auction [fig 9]. During this period a large number of loans of silver from local families were also taken in, although it has proved impractical to continue these into the twenty-first century.

The most important loan was that of the family silver of the Marquess of Ormonde, who had been stationed at Barnard Castle during the Second World War. Much of it formed a gift from the Treasury in lieu of death duties in 1982. The Butler family of Ireland had been hereditary Chief Butlers of Ireland from 1177 onwards; an honorary position that entitled them to certain customs dues. The title of Earl of Ormonde was created for James Butler in 1328. In 1811 the 18th Earl, Walter, received the vast sum of £216,000 as compensation for giving up his hereditary right to the 'prisage' (a kind of customs duty) on imported wines. He was a friend of the Prince of Wales (later the Prince Regent) and famed for his lavish dinner parties which set the style for aristocratic dining in this period. This money may have helped him build up a huge collection of silver in emulation of his royal patron. The marks and date letters on the silver show that he went to a variety of makers, including the most famous silversmith of the day, Paul Storr. These pieces give the museum real strength in Regency silver, while other pieces from the collection were gifted to the Ulster Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery; Brighton Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Grosvenor Museum, Chester⁵.



Fig 7 Standing wine cup, silver, English, circa 1635.
The cup is inscribed: Barnard Castle the 14 aprill [sic] 1635, the date on which Sir Talbot Bowes relinquished the stewardship of Barnard Castle. It was bought from the sale of the Bowes family collection of silver at Christie's in 1948. (X.4596 - purchased with the assistance of the Art Fund)



Fig 9 Spice box, silver, London, 1610.
Maker's mark TI above a star
The box also bears the later monogram of the Earl of Rosebery; it was bought from the Rothschild collection at Mentmore in 1977. (Sil.1977.75.1 - purchased with the assistance of the V&A Purchase Grant Fund and the Art Fund)



Fig 8 Ewer and basin, silver, French, circa 1740, struck twice on the base with the mark of an unknown maker IBDC and with an A surmounted by a crown, possibly for Avignon.
(X.4560 & 4561 - purchased with assistance from the Friends of The Bowes Museum, the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, and the Art Fund)

⁵ Peter Boughton, *Catalogue of Silver in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester*, Chichester, 2000. It is worth noting that the two very large tureens and stands from the Ormonde service (by Paul Storr, 1808, with eagle finial) seem to have left the collection quite early and were sold at Christie's (New York) 18 April, 1989, and 21 October, 1992.



*Fig 10 Coffee Service, the contents: Sèvres porcelain, glass and gold, French, eighteenth-century
The box: wood and lacquer, Japanese, seventeenth-century*

This is a great luxury object, probably put together in Paris in the eighteenth century by a specialized dealer, or marchand mercier. This guild of tradesmen was famous for creating objects as gifts or luxury items which had little or no practical function except, perhaps, to show the elegance and taste of the owner. Here a Japanese lacquer casket has had compartments added to house a travelling coffee set for one, comprising: a cup, saucer and sugar bowl of porcelain, painted by Thevenet in 1776-7 (The sugar bowl still bears the factory price label of 9 livres on the underside). A tiny gold coffee pot, spoon and phials that bear the Paris hallmark for 1775 and maker's mark of Ambroise Cousinet have been added to complete the set. (1981.33.1-6/Cer - purchased with the assistance of the Friends of The Bowes Museum, the V&A Purchase Grant Fund and the Art Fund)

The representation of family or table silver was reinforced with the gift of silver and silver plate from the collection of the Grace family of Old Durham. William and Dorothy Grace were married in 1814 and rented a house at Old Durham, outside the present city centre. The family moved to High Heworth near Newcastle in the mid-nineteenth century. Their collection was subsequently dispersed amongst various family members; many pieces were presented to the museum by their descendants Robert J Watts and his sister Miss Dorothy A G Watts in 1986. Although the finance has never been available to form a truly comprehensive collection of silver, various single pieces have been added from time to time as museum funds have permitted. In 1981 an exquisite eighteenth-century miniature gold and Sèvres coffee set in a Japanese lacquer box was added [fig 10] that had been shown in the Paris Exhibition of 1900. In 1992 a wonderful bronze and silver mirror by Barbedienne from the 1867 Paris International Exhibition was acquired after an export licence was refused [fig 11 and fig 12]. This has figures modelled by the great sculptor, Carrier Belleuse and is a key piece of nineteenth-century French decorative art. Recent gifts include some pieces of late nineteenth-century French table silver, and some interesting pieces of continental Roman Catholic church silver bequeathed by Edward Cawley.



Fig 11 Mirror, silver-gilt and bronze, French, by Barbedienne.

The mirror was exhibited by Barbedienne at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867 and bought by Lord Dudley According to a contemporary report in The Art Journal, the figures were modelled by Carrier-Belleuse. (1992. 5 - purchased with the assistance of the Friends of The Bowes Museum, the V&A Purchase Grant Fund, The Art Fund, and the Esmée Fairbairn Charitable Trust)

The finest pieces are now on show in a gallery of metalwork which opened in April 2009 funded through the generosity of the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Friends of the Bowes Museum; the Goldsmiths' Company; the Schroder Charity Trust; the Prism Grant Fund (MLA); and the Vintners' Company. It includes a special audio-visual presentation on the famous silver swan automaton which reconstructs its history at the museum and prior to this time; as well as details of its recent conservation. The cases show a mixture of precious and base metalwork, including clocks and watches, a 'cascade of cutlery', candlesticks, coins and medals; figures and statues (including a silver figure of Sappho by Pradier, bought by John and Joséphine Bowes themselves in the nineteenth century). There are also two cases of family silver from the Butler and Grace families. The collection of *objets d'art* includes jewellery and two important, documented, nineteenth-century jewelled snuff boxes [fig 13]. The intention has been to move away from traditional styles of presentation to a more inventive style to show the diversity and range of the collections. The most important items are illustrated here to provide silver specialists with a basic outline of one of the more notable collections of European silver in the United Kingdom.

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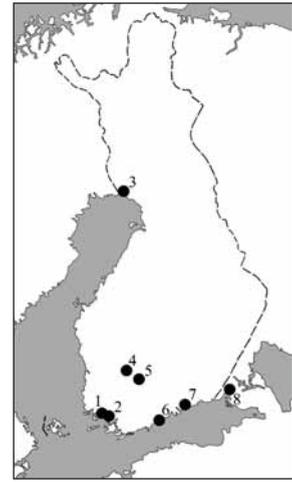
Fig 12 Detail of the mirror (Fig 11)



Fig 13 Snuff box, gold, enamel and diamond, Paris, circa 1860, by Gabriel Lemonnier (died 1882)

The corners of the cover and the middle are set with diamond studded Ns for the Emperor Napoleon III (reigned 1852-70). This is one of many similar items made by the court jeweller Gabriel Lemonnier for presentation by the Emperor to his supporters and visitors. Bought from S J Phillips for £45 in May 1871. (Founders' bequest - X.5463)

Fig 1 Map of present-day Finland marked with some of the locations mentioned in the text:
1 Turku, 2 Kuusisto, 3 Keminmaa, 4 Lempäälä,
5 Hämeenlinna, 6 Helsinki, 7 Pernaja, 8 Viipuri.



Goldsmiths and their products in Finland circa 1200 to 1600

VISA IMMONEN

The organisation and work of Finnish goldsmiths as a question of research

In the context of European goldsmithing medieval and Early Modern Finland presents a complex case. During this period Finland formed the eastern province of the kingdom of Sweden; the geographical area of present-day Finland was more or less covered by the diocese of Turku, one of the dioceses of the Catholic church within the Swedish realm [fig 1]. Not only did the diocese of Turku lie in the eastern corner of the kingdom, it was also situated on the fringes of the Hanseatic world and other European trade and cultural routes.

Although, perhaps unsurprisingly, the types and appearance of luxury products in Finland followed general north European trends, the social setting of the goldsmiths and patterns of consumption are a significantly different matter. In the following article, therefore, the aim is to describe goldsmithing in Finland between 1200 and 1600; the main focus will be on the work and organisation of goldsmiths. This span of the four centuries is divided into three chronological phases to delineate changes in the production, as well as the consumption, of artefacts made in precious metals.¹

In order to link the wider social context of production and consumption with the work and organisation of goldsmiths, the approach suggested by the anthropologist Cathy Lynne Costin has been adopted. According to Costin, the organisation of production should be examined through four parameters. The first parameter, the context of production, describes the nature of controls over production and distribution or the degree of elite patronage. Costin argues that the emergence of elite-attached specialisation is conditioned by political processes, whereas more independent specialisation develops to meet utilitarian economic needs.²

The second parameter in Costin's typology considers "the relative regional concentration of production facilities"

ranging from dispersed to nucleated and characterises how craftsmen were distributed in relation to each other and to consumers. Concentration also involves the means and costs of transportation and its effects on the value of products. The third parameter concentrates on the scale of production from small, kin-based units to factories. It reflects the number of individuals working in a production unit. The final, fourth parameter, focuses on the intensity of production, which can range from part-time activities to full-time labour.³

Finland in the Middle Ages and the early Modern Period

The period from 1200 to 1600 saw major changes in Finnish material culture. The most important of these was the transition from prehistoric communities to a western European Christian culture and incorporation into the Swedish kingdom during the late Iron Age and early Middle Ages. The dawn of the Middle Ages in Finland is conventionally linked to two related phenomena: the appearance of written sources and the establishment of Christianity. Based on burials and their finds, Christianisation began in south-west Finland in the eleventh century, whereas in eastern Finland the change did not take place until 1300. Throughout the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period, south-west Finland remained the most densely populated and richest region of the diocese.⁴

Due to the lack of large-scale social structures, ie kingdoms, in prehistoric Finland, the church and the Swedish crown were the first institutions to create supra-regional administrative and communication structures.⁵ The parish system was established in Finland in the early thirteenth century.⁶ As part of this systematic organisation, the episcopal see of Finland was transferred to Koroinen, near present-day Turku cathedral, sometime after 1229, and then in the late thirteenth century to its present location in Turku.⁷ The focal points of the crown's administration, the castles of Turku, Hämeenlinna and Viipuri, were founded in approximately the same period.⁸ Even the first phases of the construction of

1 The article is based on my doctoral dissertation published as V Immonen, *Golden Moments: Artefacts of Precious Metals as Products of Luxury Consumption in Finland c. 1200-1600*,

Turku, 2009, in press.

2 C L Costin, 'Craft Specialization: Issues in Defining, Documenting, and Explaining the Organization of Production', in

Archaeological Method and Theory, 3, 1991, pp 5-8, 11.

3 Ibid, pp 7-16.

4 J-P Taavitsainen, 'Finland', P J Crabtree (ed.), *Medieval Archaeology: An*

Encyclopedia, New York and London, 2001, pp 105-9.

5 J-P Taavitsainen, 'Kristilliset vaikutteet rautakaudella Päijät-Hämeessä', E Ryökäs (ed.),

Aikojen halki: Kirkon kahdeksan vuosisataa Lahden seudulla, Lahti, 2005, pp 31-45.

6 K Pirinen, *Kymmenysverotus Suomessa ennen kirkkoreduktiota*,

the bishop's residence, Kuusisto castle, seem to date from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁹

Another aspect of the new power structures was the creation of urban markets. The first of the Finnish medieval towns, Turku was founded at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹⁰ Turku remained the most important town in Finland throughout the medieval period, being the centre of the diocese and of foreign trade. During the Middle Ages, five more towns, in addition to Turku, were founded in Finland, and three further towns during the course of the sixteenth century.

The end of the Middle Ages was marked by the Reformation and the establishment of hereditary kingship in Sweden. The year 1523, when King Gustavus Vasa (1496–1560) was elected as King of Sweden, has usually been regarded as the end of the Middle Ages. The year 1527 could also be said to be an historical turning point since it marked the official separation of the Church of Sweden from the Catholic church and the adoption of Protestant doctrines. This ruined the Catholic church economically and also affected the consumption of silver and gold products. While these developments in the status of church and crown can be seen as fundamental, changes in larger social structures took place more slowly. From the wider social perspective, the Middle Ages did not come to an end until the formation of the nation-state, with a centralised administration and a widening polarisation between social classes or estates which began at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹

The corpus of surviving artefacts and written sources

The starting point for studying historical objects made in precious metals in Finland is the National Museum in Helsinki. It has nation-wide records of medieval and Early Modern artefacts and most of these artefacts are contained in its collections. Some of the provincial museums, most importantly the Provincial Museum of South-west Finland in Turku, also have such collections of such objects. The artefacts selected for the present study are mainly from the museums' older collections which were formed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; most of them have little or no information as to their provenance. Importantly, besides the museum collections, the largest individual category of artefacts, communion vessels, are still held at parish churches and at the medieval cathedral of Turku.

The surviving corpus of artefacts in Finland is very small in comparison with the amount of gold and silver objects which survive in central Europe. The artefacts can initially be arranged in three groups: ecclesiastical artefacts, those associated with dining and those which facilitated personal

identification or adornment. Forty-nine chalices and patens form the main group of ecclesiastical objects along with some ciboria, monstrances and altar crosses. Among the utensils and vessels related to dining, spoons make up the overwhelming majority of objects, together with only a few silver tankards, beakers and knives. In the category of jewellery and other accessories involved with dress, finger rings and brooches are well represented, but buttons, belts and chains are rare. In addition to these objects in precious metals, some tools, mainly matrixes, moulds and clay crucibles, from archaeological excavations, have survived.

Like the body of artefacts the available written sources on the Finnish past up to the end of the medieval period or even to 1600 are scarce, highly fragmentary and biased.¹² The foremost producer of written records in Finland, given the surviving body of documents, was the church, which had adopted written records to serve its own administrative and judicial needs. The oldest document dealing explicitly with Finland dates from 1347.¹³ In contrast to the church, the administration of the crown, although it produced documents, remained somewhat piecemeal as far as a literary culture is concerned.¹⁴

The medieval and Early Modern material deals mainly with land ownership or use and includes a number of deeds and demarcations of land boundaries. Inventories, wills and other documents explicitly relating to the consumption of precious metals are scarce. The documents which do survive are rarely originals but copies collected from various cartularies, registries and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century judgement books. There are in fact only sixty-six original and 223 later copies of medieval documents in the National Archives of Finland.¹⁵ The published corpus of all known medieval documents concerning Finland comprises some 6,700 odd entries. These cover not only official documents and letters but also inscriptions and passages in chronicles and hagiographies covering various sources up until 1530.

The advantage of the scarcity of both artefacts and written sources for the scholar is that it is possible to collect all the available material to form a picture of goldsmiths and their production during the Middle Ages and the early Modern Period. Three broad chronological phases of goldsmithing can be suggested on the basis of written sources and surviving artefacts. The first begins with the transition from pre-history to the early Middle Ages around 1200, the second with the appearance of the first professional urban goldsmiths around 1300, and the last one in the early sixteenth century when the effects of the Reformation ruined the church and its wealth and subsequently increased the importance of both a courtly culture and of wealthy farmers in patterns of consumption.

Helsinki, 1962, pp 72–4, 88–9, 218–20; E Orrman, 'Om territoriella organisationsprinciper i Sveariket vid övergången från förhistorisk tid till medeltid', in *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland*, 4/1994, pp 519–29; M Hiekkänen, 'An outline of the early stages of ecclesiastical organization in Finland', in G

Guðmundsson (ed.), *Current issues in Nordic Archaeology: Proceedings of the 21st Conference of Nordic Archaeologists, 6–9 September 2001, Akureyri, Iceland*, Reykjavik, 2004, pp 161–5.

7 M Hiekkänen, 'Die Gründung der Stadt Turku', E Mugerivics and I Ose (eds), *Civitas et*

castrum ad Mare Balticum, Riga, 2002, pp 157–77.

8 M Kallioinen, *Kirkon ja kruunun välissä: Suomalaiset ja keskiaika*, Helsinki, 2001, p 42.

9 K Uotila, 'Kuusiston piispanlinnan keskiaikainen rakennushistoria', A Suna (ed), *Kuusiston linna:*

Tutkimuksia 1985–1993, Helsinki, 1994, pp 24–31.

10 See note 7.

11 See note 8, p 23.

12 E Orrman, 'Keskiajan asiakirjat', E Orrman and E Pispala (eds), *Suomen historian asiakirjalähteet*, Helsinki, 1994, pp 45–50.

13 T J Paloposki, *Suomen historian lähteet*, Helsinki, 1972, p 42.

14 *Ibid*, p40.

15 *Ibid*.

Emerging church organisation and the first traces of medieval goldsmithing

The first phase in Finnish medieval goldsmithing covers the period from around the late twelfth century to circa 1300 when the organisation of the church and the administration of the crown were established. Silver and gold objects from this period are mainly from three sources: burials, hoards and central locations such as Koroinen, the episcopal see in the thirteenth century, and hillforts. Burial finds, however, were already waning in south-west Finland at the beginning of this period, an indication of Christianisation; most of the grave goods are, therefore, from the eastern part of the country.

In the west of Finland, the find of the spoon of Lammaistenkoski [fig 2] and archaeological finds at Koroinen are exceptional items even in the Baltic Sea region. The group of objects at Koroinen includes the earliest communion vessels found in Finland which were retrieved from graves believed to be those of bishops, as well as other gold and silver artefacts such as finger rings [fig 3]. Even the Limoges enamels found in Rusko and Salo in south-west Finland, the only ones of their kind in Finland, and perhaps the spoon of Lammaistenkoski, are items which can be connected with the bishop and the emergent organised church. They are the first signs of an institutional requirement for luxury items and as such are ecclesiastical rarities. The first seal impressions imply a totally new form, introduced in the Middle Ages; they date from the late thirteenth century and belonged to the highest church officials in the diocese, ie the bishops.

None of these luxury items are thought to have been made in the region but were imported from Gotland as well as other areas of southern Scandinavia and central Europe, from whence the Limoges enamels originated. Some of the dress accessories unearthed in burial grounds may also be imports from western Europe, such as the finger rings with bezels shaped as cut pyramids, as well as from the East. Besides finger rings, burials and hill forts of the period have revealed a number of ring brooches [fig 4]. Along with other small items, these brooches might well have been produced locally, and there are indeed some early archaeological traces of fine metal work, for instance from Koroinen, in the form of tools for casting and punching. No real evidence of professional goldsmithing survives.

In the early medieval period, the most important patrons must have been the church and its officials and possibly local leading figures; secular leaders may have privately founded some of the first churches and furnished them with the necessary items. When the small number of surviving luxury items from this period is considered, the opportunities for the emerging church and local elite to amass a surplus to channel into luxury consumption were still probably much scarcer than in the ensuing centuries.

Since there is no evidence of specialised goldsmiths working in this early period, any skilled craftsmen must have been scattered very thinly around the country and were probably involved in other activities such as producing artefacts in base metals, as well as working in precious metals. The scale of production in early medieval Finland must have been small and kin-based; levels of production probably did not go beyond a part-time activity in this first phase of goldsmith's work since even in the following centuries goldsmiths were also involved in other trades.

Established ecclesiastical needs from the fourteenth century onwards

The first phase of goldsmithing ended around 1300 when the widespread administrative network of the crown, based on castles and the

Fig 2 Thirteenth-century silver spoon discovered in the rapids of Lammaistenkoski, part of the Kokemäenjoki river in west Finland.



Fig 3 Late thirteenth-century silver-gilt finger ring discovered at Koroinen near Turku.



Fig 4 Fourteenth-century silver ring brooch found at the burial ground of Tuukkala at Mikkeli in central Finland, engraved with the beginning of the alphabet.



parochial organisation of the church, emerged. The first indications of specialised and professional goldsmithing in Finland do not appear before the fourteenth century in either written or archaeological sources.¹⁶ During the second phase, which dates from 1300 to the early sixteenth century, ecclesiastical and secular power structures functioned throughout the diocese, and the first towns were founded in the province. The centres of luxury consumption shifted from Koroinen and local hillforts to Turku castle and the town as a consequence of the foundation of Turku.

The two funerary chalices and one paten from the first phase are followed by nearly a century in which there is a complete absence of objects until the first actual communion vessels made in silver and gold appear around the middle of the fourteenth century. The fourteenth-century chalices and patens are concentrated on the Åland Islands [fig 5] and the oldest ciboria in western Finland. The oldest ciboria in the church of Viipuri and Turku cathedral were made in the thirteenth century.

The number of communion vessels and ciboria begin to increase significantly in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, although the peak is in the latter part of the century. The processional crosses of the churches of Lempäälä [fig 6] and Masku were also made during the fifteenth century, whereas two surviving monstrances, in contrast, date from the early sixteenth century. From the point of view of stylistic influences, the closest parallels to the communion vessels and early ciboria are in Sweden, in particular fourteenth-century pieces, but the influence of the international gothic style with Hanseatic or German accents becomes more noticeable in the following century and continues into the sixteenth century.

The geographical and temporal distribution of liturgical objects made in precious metals can be linked to the construction of stone churches in the diocese of Turku. The underlying assumption must be that the consumption of liturgical pieces and the construction of stone churches required surplus economic resources. Comparison between these architectural monuments and the portable objects shows broad similarities.¹⁷ The oldest stone churches and liturgical pieces are in the Åland Islands and south-west Finland, and the greatest number of churches and vessels date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There are, however, marked differences between them as the peak of church building activity occurred in the sixteenth century, whereas the largest group of communion vessels date from the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Goldsmiths in written sources

The oldest written reference to a goldsmith in Finland dates from the year 1371. The line "Petrus aurifaber de Abo" (Petrus Goldsmith from Turku) was recorded in a list of people given a promise of protection when travelling to Tallinn. Besides the date no other details were given.¹⁸ The profession of Petrus as a goldsmith is deduced from the epithet 'aurifaber'. This scanty record is typical of medieval and Early Modern written evidence of goldsmiths and craftsmen in general. Before the sixteenth century the surviving documents reveal very little about goldsmiths or of their craft. Usually the name of a goldsmith is mentioned in connection with judicial or financial matters, either as a person involved, or as a witness.

16 For late prehistoric and early historical sites with traces of metal working: T Edgren, 'Kyrksundet i Hitis: Ett arkeologiskt forskningsprojekt kring en av "det danska itinerariets" hamnar i sydvästra Finlands skärgård', in *Budkavlen* 74, 1995, pp 48–66; P Koivunen, 'Koroisten piispanistuimen ja

asutuksen tutkimushistoria', *Turun maakuntamuseo: Raportteja* 19, 2003, pp 47, 50–52.

17 M Hiekkänen, *Suomen keskiajan kivikirkot*, Helsinki, 2007, pp 24–28.

18 *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (FMU) 807; 6722.



Fig 5 Silver-gilt paten from Saltoik church, engraved with the Majestas Domini motif. According to the inscription, the plate was made in 1346.



Fig 6 Copper-gilt altar cross from Lempäälä church, central Finland, set with four rock crystals in the third quarter of the fifteenth century.



Fig 7 Silver-gilt silver finger ring found in Hämeenlinna castle with an engraved inscription in French: "amourc vanit tout coce" (Love conquers all things).



Fig 8 Late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century silver-gilt silver finger ring found in the cemetery at Valmarinniemi, Keminmaa, north Finland.



Fig 9 Late fourteenth-century silver-gilt spoon found at the vicarage of Vöyri, west Finland.



Fig 11 Fourteenth-century bronze matrix discovered in a field approximately one kilometre from the medieval town centre of Turku. The matrix is a flat, rectangular slab.



Fig 10 Fifteenth-century gold ring with a blue sapphire found in Turku.

If the early phase with the emerging ecclesiastical demand for gold and silver artefacts was not yet a suitable environment in which professional goldsmiths could flourish, the situation changed after 1300. A number of different crafts are known to have been carried out in medieval Turku but goldsmiths were the most important group of craftsmen involved in the production of luxury objects. Probably because of their high social status among craftsmen, goldsmiths are also the best-represented group of craftsmen in medieval and Early Modern written sources.

By counting the names of goldsmiths, such as the aforementioned Petrus, which appear in written sources it is possible to estimate the number of goldsmiths and their social position. The total number of such craftsmen mentioned in Finnish written sources between 1371 and 1600 is sixty-six¹⁹. The majority of the goldsmiths mentioned in these sources, thirty-nine altogether, worked in Turku, whereas only twenty-six goldsmiths are mentioned in connection with other towns. Turku was clearly the centre of the craft in the diocese.

The importance of Turku in the production of luxury objects is further emphasised when the chronology of the distribution of goldsmiths is examined. Prior to the 1550s all the goldsmiths mentioned in the written sources, except for three men, are from Turku. Before 1500, however, only twelve goldsmiths out of the total sixty-six are mentioned. Nevertheless the chronological distribution of goldsmiths seems quite even during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although three goldsmiths worked in Turku during the same decade in the 1420s.²⁰ The earliest continuous references to goldsmiths, however, date from the following century.

In Turku the number of craftsmen amongst the urban population seems to have been relatively low, at least if written sources are to be trusted. Turku is, therefore, usually considered more as a trading town than one that specialised in the production of objects.²¹ The historian Mika Kallioinen has counted 162 craftsmen engaged in thirty-two different crafts in Turku up until 1570. The most frequently mentioned craftsmen are tailors, with twenty-two names; they are followed by goldsmiths with twenty names and shoemakers with nineteen names.²² In spite of the high number of goldsmiths, their proportion amongst the whole population of craftsmen was probably lower.²³

The number of goldsmiths in Turku was relatively large during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although still quite modest in comparison to other Baltic towns such as Stockholm and Tallinn and the Hanseatic towns in Poland. The proportionally high number of references to goldsmiths in the written sources could be related to their high status in contemporary society but Kallioinen suggests that the most likely explanation for their prominence is the status of Turku as the site of the episcopal see which offered better opportunities for goldsmiths.²⁴

Material traces of the goldsmiths' craft

Finds of finger rings and ring brooches in burials after 1300 cease and are replaced by occasional finds and discoveries within urban areas. The emergence of towns created a new

social setting for the consumption of imports and luxury items. In general terms, the material culture of medieval Turku, especially when these luxury items are considered, does not seem to differ from that of other Northern European towns.

The corpus of surviving secular gold and silver pieces from the fourteenth century includes the finger ring from Hämeenlinna castle which has courtly connotations [fig 7]; the seal matrix of Bengta Bengtsdotter which is made of silver is from the same location and period. A richly ornamented button found in Perniö, in south-west Finland, exemplifies the consumer habits of the most elite class. In contrast, the remaining finger rings and buttons dated to this century cannot be associated with the nobility so easily. A hoard discovered at Pattijoki, in north-west Finland, includes two decorative rings of the fourteenth century but, most importantly, several finger rings have been found in the urban area of Turku. The oldest vernicle rings (those bearing the image of the face of Christ) may date from this period [fig 8] although the majority were made later. Lastly, a spoon discovered at the vicarage of Vöyri [fig 9], and a knife from Kyrksundet with an ecclesiastical inscription, date from the fourteenth century.

The number of finger rings found, which date from the following century, continues to increase, especially those dating from the latter part of the century, whereas no spoons can be dated to this period. Fifteenth-century objects found in Turku include a blue sapphire ring [fig 10] and a gold ring bearing the names of the magi. Ring brooches were found in several parts of the town but none of them are made of precious metals.

The consumers of the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century dress accessories and cutlery seem to have belonged to three groups. First there were the members of the high nobility with their European courtly ideals and associated material culture which are reflected in the distribution of finds of luxury objects as well as in abundant references to sumptuous pieces of silver and gold in the written documents. The second group comprised church officials as well as nuns and monks, who may have owned a number of the finger rings and cutlery made in precious metals. Finger rings depicting the vernicle motif would seem to have been the ones most likely to have been owned by this group but, since devotional imagery had infused the material culture of luxury objects of both sacred and secular spheres, this is not certain. The third social group acquiring artefacts made in precious metals would have been burghers with whom

finger rings found in Turku can be associated.

Despite the survival of gold and silver objects dating from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, the material evidence of goldsmiths' activities in terms of tools and hallmarking still remains scanty. The first hallmark of a local silversmith on a communion vessel may date from the fifteenth century and on non-ecclesiastical silver from as late as the 1560s. No remains of a medieval or Early Modern goldsmith's workshop have been found in Finland. There are nevertheless some artefacts related to goldsmithing activities such as a fourteenth-century bronze matrix recovered in a field approximately one kilometre from Turku [fig 11]. The matrix, which probably originally came from Turku, is unfinished but it would have been used to make jewellery settings and mounts. A similar find is a mould, found in the urban area which has been dated to the fourteenth century and would have been used for casting small metal mounts decorated with human and animal figures.

In spite of the meagreness of the archaeological record, once it is combined with the written evidence, it may support the conclusion that the first professional goldsmiths began work in the diocese during the fourteenth century. By this time, urbanisation and the supra-regional administrative structures of the church and the crown, with their accompanying patterns of consumption, would have created a sufficient social context to allow for specialised production.

The organisation of the goldsmiths' craft

The picture of the organisation of different crafts in Finland during the Middle Ages is based more on what is missing from the written sources than what is present. For instance, there are no written references to craft guilds or corporations in Finnish sources before 1629, when a craft corporation was recorded as functioning in Turku.²⁵ Considering the small number of goldsmiths working at the same time in Turku or in any other town in Finland it is likely that they did not need to form a corporation.²⁶

Despite the establishment of craft corporations in most southern areas of Europe, their absence seems to characterise the whole of the Swedish kingdom. According to Folke Lindberg, the institution of craft guilds was rather poorly developed in the Nordic countries because the number of craftsmen remained low in the majority of towns and there were, therefore, neither the prerequisites nor the need for organising professional craftsmen into guilds or corporations.²⁷

19 T Borg, *Guld- och silversmeder i Finland: Deras stämplat och arbeten 1373–1873*, Helsingfors, 1935; M Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki, kruunu: Turun porvareyhdytys ja talouden organisaatio varhaiskeskiajalta 1570-luvulle*, Helsinki, 2000; e-mail from Dr Georg Haggrén to the author 18 December 2008.

20 J W Ruuth, *Åbo stads historia under medeltiden och 1500-talet: Tredje häftet*, Åbo, 1916, pp 54, 56, 60, 82; M Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki, kruunu: Turun porvareyhdytys ja talouden organisaatio varhaiskeskiajalta 1570-luvulle*, Helsinki, 2000, pp 294, 297, 306.

21 M Kallioinen, *Kauppias, kaupunki, kruunu: Turun*

porvareyhdytys ja talouden organisaatio varhaiskeskiajalta 1570-luvulle, Helsinki, 2000, pp 219–21.

22 Ibid, pp 215–16.

23 H Himanen, *Suomen keskiajan ja 1500-luvun käsityöläiset*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Jyväskylä, p 50.

24 See note 21, pp 218–19.

25 C J Gardberg, 'Kaupunkilaitoksen keskiajalta ja uuden ajan alussa', P Tommila, *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia 1: Keskiajalta 1870-luvulle*, Helsinki, 1981, p 28; E Kuujo, *Turun kaupungin historia 1366–1521*, Turku, 1981, p 165; R Ranta, 'Suurvalta-ajan kaupunki-

laitos', in P Tommila (ed), *Suomen kaupunkilaitoksen historia 1: Keskiajalta 1870-luvulle*, Helsinki, 1981, p 64.

26 See note 21, p 221.

27 F Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen under medeltid och äldre vasatid*, Stockholm, 1989, 2nd ed, pp 69–70.

An assumption shared by historians is that in principle goldsmiths in Finnish towns were subject to the goldsmiths' guild of Stockholm.²⁸ The guild is mentioned for the first time in 1473 and its charter was drawn up around 1501.²⁹ One of its articles stated that the brotherhood "is the main agency of goldsmiths in the kingdom"³⁰, which suggests that the charter also applied to Finnish goldsmiths and their work. However, craft corporations common to several towns were unknown in Sweden at the time and there was a tendency for craft guilds to close ranks.³¹ It would seem, therefore, that the Stockholm guild, as an association of craftsmen was confined to the capital and only some of its role, in the control of the metal content of goldsmiths' production, covered the whole country. This role and its associated duties were imposed on the guild by the crown for the first time in 1473, although the 1501 Stockholm charter was expressly created for the needs of the craftsmen.

During the Middle Ages craftsmen elsewhere in Europe usually controlled their numbers and skills through a three-stage system of apprentices, journeymen and masters. In Sweden the adoption of this system remained rather embryonic and in Finland there are no records of any apprentices or journeymen before the sixteenth century.³² It is probable that Finnish goldsmiths usually worked on their own assisted by members of their family.

Goldsmiths had the longest apprenticeship period of all the different craftsmen. In the Stockholm regulations of 1501, a would-be goldsmith had to work as an apprentice for six years; he would have lived in his master's household and worked as his assistant, later becoming a journeyman. The Stockholm guild regulations laid down four artefacts which the apprentice goldsmith had to produce before becoming a master: a gold ring set with a stone, a brooch and two ferules for a knife.³³

There were no medieval laws covering the whole kingdom to prohibit craftsmen working in rural areas³⁴ although local orders, from 1315 onwards, tried to force craftsmen to move into towns.³⁵ These requirements were quite impossible to follow in a country where the scale of urbanisation was low and there were few towns.

In 1485 the Regent, Sten Sture, and the Council of State produced the first nationwide order intended to regulate the work of goldsmiths.³⁶ It stated that goldsmiths were to mark their products with their initials or a maker's mark, but based on the surviving artefacts, hallmarking remained uncommon. The minimum silver content was set at a little over 90%. After this first order, the minimum standards were redefined several times over the course of the sixteenth century.

The Reformation and the consumption of goldsmiths' work by courtiers and farmers

If the second phase of consumption of gold and silver artefacts is characterised by the establishment of towns and the solidification of ecclesiastical demand for liturgical pieces, as well as pieces supplied for the private use of its highest officials, the third phase is the century in which the Reformation and the ensuing economic depression shook the church. This is reflected in the number of the surviving communion vessels. Three churches³⁷ had chalices and patens made in the early decades of the sixteenth century after which the next communion vessels were not made until the last years of the century, when the four surviving examples were produced [fig 12]³⁸. There is no evidence of communion vessels having been made in the middle of the century at all. The stylistic changes, from the late Gothic towards the Renaissance style is apparent in these late communion vessels, alongside the theological changes which affected the rituals of communion. A symptom of these changes is a lengthy inscription engraved on the foot of the chalice of Untamala [fig 13]; in contrast to medieval communion vessels which are engraved with Latin texts, it is in Swedish.

The diminished resources of the church also meant a paucity of work for goldsmiths; at least at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the middle of the sixteenth century the court of Duke John, based on Turku castle, had a major impact on the stylistic development and use of secular silver-work. These changes are reflected in the number of known goldsmiths. During the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the number of goldsmiths plummeted and only two men would seem to have practised their craft at this time. The number of goldsmiths then grew dramatically in the latter half of the sixteenth century; there were thirty working during the period 1550 to 1574. There seems to have been high demand for items of silver and gold in the administrative centre of Finland in the third quarter of the sixteenth century.

In addition to urban goldsmiths, there are also three goldsmiths known to have pursued their profession in the countryside during the sixteenth century.³⁹ The number of goldsmiths pursuing their craft in rural areas was probably much higher than these three documentary references suggest, but rural people, apart from the nobility, were to a large extent beyond the literary culture of the church, the higher social classes and urban administrative systems.

Through the court of Duke John, Renaissance-style spoons, beakers [fig 14] and tankards [fig 15] as well as jewellery became very common among the nobility, although traces of

28 See note 21, p221.

29 J Kroon, *Guldsmedernas skrå av år 1501*, Malmö, 1959, pp 135–38.

30 Ibid, p 130.

31 See note 27, pp 99–105.

32 T Borg, *Guld- och sil-*

versmeder i Finland: Deras stämplor och arbeten 1373–1873, Helsingfors, 1935, p 39.

33 J Kroon, *Guldsmedernas skrå av år 1501*, Malmö, 1959, p 140; A Oldeberg, *Metallteknik under vikingatid och medeltid*, Stockholm, 1966, p 136.

34 A Oldeberg, *Metallteknik under vikingatid och medeltid*, Stockholm, 1966, p 13–17; U Heino, 1985, *Käsityö ja sen tekijät 1600-luvun Satakunnassa*, Helsinki, 1985, p 67–68.

35 H Yrwing, 'Metallvaruhandel', *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för*

nordisk medeltid från vikingatid till reformationstid XI, Helsingfors, 1966, cols 605–6.

36 See note 27, pp 19–20.

37 The churches of Hauho, Pernaja and Rusko.

38 The churches of

Houtskari, Mietoinen, Untamala and Viipuri.

39 See note 27, p 114, 124; C A Nordman, *Finlands medeltida konsthantverk*, Helsingfors, 1980, p 9.

the international Gothic style are still present in artefacts made throughout the century. On the basis of surviving inventories, many noblewomen in Finland had great jewellery collections. The number of luxury objects in the court of Duke John and his Polish wife Catharine Jagellon was unprecedented in the eastern province. Not surprisingly the duke, together with the members of his court, must have constituted an important clientele for the goldsmiths of Turku. Notwithstanding the influence these court pieces would have had on changes in fashion in the country and the wealth and power that the court displayed, practically nothing of the duke's sumptuous possessions has survived to the present day. Only a handful of sixteenth-century artefacts, which can be associated with the court circle with any certainty, have survived. Such objects include a scent locket found in a field at Liuksiala Manor [fig 16] and late snake rings from Hämeenlinna castle and Turku cathedral.

The lack of courtly items amongst the surviving material does not mean that only a small number of artefacts survive overall. On the contrary, the number of finger rings and spoons made over the course of the sixteenth century explodes; all the surviving belts date from the late sixteenth century. The distribution of all the surviving beakers, tankards and spoons reveals that they came from hoards and stray finds beyond south-west Finland or from farming families around Turku. Although the geographical distribution of the sixteenth-century finger rings is much more scattered, a large quantity of them are from a rural sources, particularly when the rings in a vernacular style are taken into consideration. There are problems relating to what can be said to be representative, but nevertheless, the pattern of the distribution of these secular objects seems to reflect a different pattern of consumption of the pieces mentioned in the written sources and made for the elite classes. The social context of sixteenth-century secular vessels, cutlery and dress acces-



Fig 12 Silver-gilt paten from Pernaja church, south-east Finland, with an engraved depiction of St John the Baptist, second quarter of the 16th century.



Fig 13 Silver chalice from Untamala church, south-west Finland made, according to the inscription, in 1597.



Fig 15 Parcel-gilt tankard from a hoard found at Nivala, north-west Finland. Its place of production is revealed by the town mark of Tallinn punched on the flange.



Fig 14 Late sixteenth-century beaker from a hoard found at Pielavesi, central Finland.



Fig 16 Gold scent locket found at Liuksiala Manor, Kangasala, central Finland. It has been associated with Karin Månsdotter (1550-1612), the widow of Eric XIV. It is decorated with white grey enamel and mounted with six (originally ten) red table-cut rubies.

sories seems to have developed differently to liturgical artefacts, or the secular vessels used by the nobility and documented in the written material.

Rural consumption of objects made in precious metals became prominent in the latter part of the sixteenth century. This boom in rural silver products can easily be equated with the contemporary price revolution when pan-European inflation reached the nordic countries. The historian Ingrid Hammarström states that the prices of foodstuffs show the greatest degree of conformity with changes in population size. As the populations in the Nordic countries grew during the sixteenth century, so also the price of foodstuffs rose. This increase in the population size increased the income of agricultural producers enabling them to increase their profits accordingly. Farmers, during the Early Modern period, were the social group with the highest propensity to save, in order to enlarge their holdings. Hammarström continues

The new silver spoons in the peasant's houses of the later 16th century may have functioned as stores of value just as much as they indicated a greater refinement in taste. She also explains the increase in the prices of agrarian products and the extension of the area of arable land under cultivation and the parallel, overall increase in the rural population during the reign of Gustavus Vasa.⁴⁰

The significance of Hammarström's ideas is difficult to evaluate in the context of the eastern province mainly because of the lack of appropriate statistics for the sixteenth century. From the Middle Ages onwards, the structure of landownership in Finland was the exception when compared with other regions of Europe; farmers, rather than the nobility and the ecclesiastical institutions, owned the majority of land. This pattern of landownership was not, however, equally distributed, and the taxation of farmers was quite heavy. The Swedish social and economic system became more rigid, with the emergence and solidification of a class society towards the end of the Middle Ages and during the sixteenth century.⁴¹ There is no clear pattern to be tied in with Hammarström's argument; there are factors that oppose it but also factors to support it.

Despite the difficulties posed by the fragmentary picture of the social and economic position of agricultural producers in Finland, Hammarström's argument ties in with the significant increase in the numbers of surviving secular silver and gold artefacts dating from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This phenomenon parallels the appearance of stone moulds carved for casting silver belts and the popularity of Gothic-style iconographic rings [fig 17] and vernacular signet rings. The latter are part of a process in which seals came to be used more widely by different social classes and the number of identification marks placed on silver objects increased.

State control of goldsmiths' work tightened during the sixteenth century, when the state became concerned with decreasing the number and rights of rural craftsmen. Attempts at limiting rural craftsmanship and imposing craft incorporations were also made. In Uppsala regulations issued in 1546 stated that all crafts and trades were to be exercised in towns and that craftsmen had to move into

towns if they wanted to continue their profession, the exception were craftsmen who were crucial to people living in the countryside.⁴² Hallmarking was also developed when, according to a statute of 1596, a hallmark had to be accompanied by a town mark.⁴³ Despite the more severe stance of the crown, it was not until the 1620s that control over goldsmiths was achieved, together with the establishment of a general system of corporations.⁴⁴

Goldsmithing as a medieval and Early Modern craft in Finland

Goldsmithing does not appear to have become an independent craft in its own right prior to the period when the first written evidence of professional craftsmen specialising in working precious metals occurs alongside some archaeological finds of their tools. This change can be dated, on the basis of written accounts and the few surviving tools, to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when a revealing contrast can be distinguished between the archaeological material from Koroinen and that of Turku. The thirteenth-century material from Koroinen includes some traces of finer metalworking: a mould and a crucible, but no actual evidence of goldsmithing, whereas in Turku, a bronze matrix is certainly a specialised tool of a professional goldsmith alongside other indications of specialist workmanship. By the end of the sixteenth century, production had reached the stage of extensive, continuous production for a wider, but still exclusive, clientele.

The moulds and other tools used in finer metalworking reveal, moreover, that the casting of small articles was quite common and widespread in pre-modern and Early Modern society, and that the possible indications of nascent professional goldsmithing are easily obscured by the traces of casual metalworking. Written evidence and archaeological finds indicate that some goldsmiths practised their craft in the countryside, although the majority of surviving documents relate to burghers within urban areas. Urban goldsmiths in Finland were also active in trade and probably in other businesses as well, which suggests that they did not necessarily earn their living by working with metals alone.

It is possible to estimate the minimum length of the working career of master goldsmiths if it is assumed that a goldsmith was active during the period between his first and last appearance in the written sources. Most goldsmiths are mentioned in only a single year's sources or at most in two successive years which is probably just a symptom of the fragmentary nature of the written sources; otherwise working periods span up to fifty years.

If not directly stated in the written records, the origins of goldsmiths can be deduced, at least tentatively, from their names; some three or rather two different origins can be assumed which are: Swedish or Finnish, and German. Along with the spread of the Hanseatic network, German merchants also migrated to towns of the Baltic littoral; this affected the constitution of the communities of burghers in Finnish towns. Of the three known fourteenth-century goldsmiths, Tideka (1373–1384) and Widhenaer (1396) were of German origin. During the fifteenth century, however, goldsmiths with German names become increasingly rare among greater numbers of Swedish and Finnish names.⁴⁵

In the sixteenth century the German names seem to re-establish themselves and after 1580 they become common.⁴⁶

The archaeological material does not easily allow any distinction between German as opposed to local owners of the goldsmiths' work and the only possible way to analyse the situation is to analyse the style and inscriptions on objects and even then the interpretation of the results is not at all straightforward. Nevertheless, among the finger rings found in the urban area, one has an inscription in German and of the surviving spoons, one without clear provenance, is inscribed with a German phrase. Lastly, three medieval chalices, all from towns, are engraved with German phrases [fig 18]. Although the few small articles do not provide any easy answers, the concentration of chalices with German inscriptions found in urban areas tempts one to link them to Germans, but the material is still perhaps too limited to draw such a conclusion. German phrases as well as the conformity of object forms to the Hanseatic style are not necessarily ethnic indicators, but may perhaps be related to fashion.

Wherever goldsmiths had their workshops, their pursuits required specialist skills and training in techniques of production and visual design, not to mention capital for the acquisition of the wide range of tools and materials needed in goldsmithing. Owing to these factors as well as the general appreciation of precious metals, goldsmiths were the most highly esteemed group of craftsmen. There are, however, only occasional and rather late signs of the apprentice-journeyman-master system in operation, which is probably a symptom of the low scale of the market in the north. The goldsmiths, moreover, did not form craft associations or guilds to secure their interests and oversee religious activities. It was not until the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that a tightening of state control provided a background for the establishment of the nation-wide craft corporation system.

Although the context of production, ie control over the goldsmiths' craft, gradually increased and the clientele widened, it is apparent that goldsmithing remained small-scale and unindustrialized despite the apparent growth in output. The intensity of labour of medieval goldsmiths was probably highly variable; some masters were full-time workers, while others were heavily involved in trade and other businesses. These other ventures may in fact have been more intensive than the actual goldsmithing. In Finland, the scale of production was probably never high and it was based on an individual craftsman's family with perhaps an occasional apprentice.

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40 I Hammarström, *Finansförvaltning och varuhandel 1504-1540: Studier i de yngre Sturarnas och Gustav Vasas statshushållning*, Uppsala, 1956, pp 137-38, 140-41, 144, 147, 151.

41 A Mäkelä-Alitalo, 'Verotus, autioituminen ja väenotot', in V Rasila, E

Jutikkala & A Mäkelä-Alitalo (eds), *Suomen maatalouden historia I: Perinteisen maatalouden aika: Esihistoriasta 1870-luvulle*, Helsinki, 2003, pp 183-87; I Nummela, 'Asutus, pelto ja karja', V Rasila, E Jutikkala and A Mäkelä-Alitalo (eds), *Suomen maatalouden historia I: Perinteisen maatalouden aika: Esihistoriasta*

1870-luvulle, Helsinki, 2003, pp 137-49; E Orrman, 'Talonpoikainen maalaisyhdistyskunta', in V Rasila, E Jutikkala and A Mäkelä-Alitalo (eds), *Suomen maatalouden historia I: Perinteisen maatalouden aika: Esihistoriasta 1870-luvulle*, Helsinki, 2003, pp 120-22, 128-29.

42 See note 27, p98.

43 A Oldeberg, *Metallteknik under vikingatid och medeltid*, Stockholm, 1966, pp 64-5.

44 V J Kallio, *Suomen vaaturiliikkeenharjoittajain keskusliitto r.y. 1894-1944*, Porvoo, 1945, pp 36-9.

45 See note 32, pp 32-3; C A Nordman, 'Åbosilver från medeltiden', *Finskt Museum* 1939 (1940), pp 63-4.

46 J W Ruuth, *Viborgs stads historia 1-2*, Viborg, 1906, pp 217, 239; see note 32, pp 38-9, 131, 437.

Fig 17 So-called iconographic silver finger ring in the collections of the Ostrobothnian Museum. The central motif made in openwork depicts Christ on the cross with the Virgin Mary on the heraldic right and St John on the left.



Fig 18 Silver-gilt chalice from St George's Hospital, Turku, made in the 1440s.

James Bult and his partners 1774-1864

ANTHONY TWIST



Fig 1 James Bult (1760-1846) from a watercolour by J Carpenter, 1846 and James Philip Bult (1801-1872), elder son of James Bult, from a watercolour by J Carpenter, 1841.

INTRODUCTION

James Bult [fig 1] was one of the small army of craftsmen and shopkeepers who provided the silverware for the dining rooms and tea tables of late Georgian Britain. His partnerships produced only a few ceremonial pieces, but they were responsible for a large quantity and range of domestic items, notably spoons of every description, but also including a very wide range of pieces from tea services to wine labels and from beer mugs to egg cups. Some examples of work from the Bult partnerships are illustrated below. This article uses printed sources, family papers and information from the Goldsmiths' Company Registers to trace the careers of James Bult and his partners from the start of his apprenticeship in 1774 until the demise of the successor business ninety years later, based in the same Cheapside premises throughout but changing gradually over the period from making

and supplying silverware into banking and bullion dealing. The writer is grateful to Vanessa Brett for her advice on the structure of the article; and to David Beasley, the Librarian of the Goldsmiths' Company, for his comments on a draft version and for his advice and information. Thanks are also due to the British Museum, the Needle-makers' Company, the National Maritime Museum and the Mercers' Company for providing illustrations; to the Goldsmiths' Company for extracts from their Apprentice and Freedom Books; and to the owners of the articles of silver by Bult and his partners which the writer has been permitted to examine and photograph.

JAMES BULT

James Bult was born in November 1760 in the village of Kingston St Mary, near Taunton, Somerset, his father Thomas being described as a 'yeoman'. James had three

older brothers who stayed in the village but he, and later his younger brother, were sent to London, James to be apprenticed as a goldsmith, and John to become a mercer¹.

There had been Bults in the Taunton area for many generations, and one of the villages where the name appears is Upottery, a dozen miles away over the county boundary in Devon. Comparing the names in his will with the names in the parish register suggests strongly that Upottery was where James Stamp, who was to become James Bult's master, had been born²; so Bult may not have been placed with a complete stranger when he commenced his apprenticeship on 2 November 1774³. The name Bult is an unusual one which is sometimes spelt wrongly: it is incorrect to refer to him as James Boulton or James Bolt or any other variant.

JAMES STAMP

James Stamp was made free by redemption in 1764 and ended a partnership with John Baker in 1774⁴. By 1770 he had premises at 86 Cheapside, a property owned by the Mercers' Company which shared a party wall with the east side of the porch of the Mercers' Chapel⁵. It was a prestigious location and the premises consisted of a ground floor shop with two windows and a central door, the frontage to Cheapside being about seventeen feet and the depth about thirty-four feet⁶; above were three more floors, each with three windows to the front, plus an attic which was probably where the apprentices lived [fig 2].

For a country boy like James Bult, Cheapside must have been an amazing place. A German visitor to London described it after an evening visit in 1775:

On both sides tall houses with plate glass windows. The lower floors consist of shops and seem to be made entirely of glass; many thousand candles light silverware, engravings, books, clocks, glass, pewter, paintings, women's finery, modish and otherwise, gold, precious stones, steel work, and endless coffee rooms and lottery offices. The street looks as if it were illuminated for some festivity...⁷ [fig 3]

Stamp entered his first mark alone on 6 July 1774 and then further marks in 1776, 1777 and 1779, which Grimwade sees as evidence of a rapidly expanding business. During the time of Bult's apprenticeship, Stamp supplied a chalice and two flagons to St Augustine the Less in Bristol (now demolished)⁸. In 1778 Stamp received a commission from the Ward of Cheap to repair an ancient and much altered ceremonial mace, and his work was recorded by an inscription on it

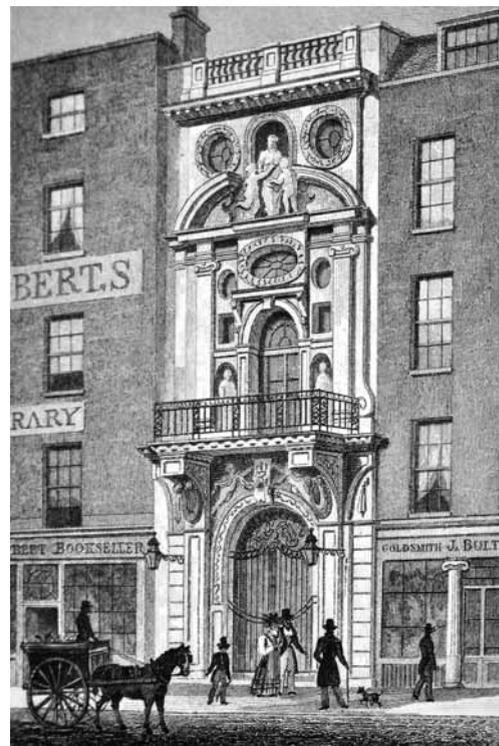


Fig 2 The Mercers' chapel with 86 Cheapside to the right. The print, engraved by M S Berenger, dates from 1830, by which time James Bult was the proprietor.



Fig 3 Cheap Ward from Noorthouck's History of London, 1772. The Mercers' chapel is in the centre of the picture with 86 Cheapside adjoining it.

1 Family information from the late Rev Tony Way.

2 Parish Register details from www.familysearch.org.

3 The Goldsmiths' Company Apprentice Books.

4 Arthur G Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837*, London, (3rd ed) 1990, p 669.

5 Jean Imray, *The Mercers' Hall*, London, 1991, p 188. Stamp took on the last three

years of a lease at £55 per annum, and followed this by arranging a new lease for twenty-one years from 1773 at £63 per annum plus a payment of £169 for repairs. All later references to leases are from this book.

6 Information from an undated plan kindly shown to the writer by the Archivist, the Mercers' Company.

7 Margaret Laura Mare, *Lichtenberg's Visits to*

England, Oxford, 1938, p 63.

8 R Thorold Cole, *The Church Plate of the City of Bristol*, Bristol, 1932, p 10.



Fig 4 Silver by James Sutton and James Bult.

The Upper Part of this Mace was made/the Whole Guilt at the Expençe/of Mr Jas Stamp Goldsmith Comn Councilman/and foreman of Inquest Anno 1778⁹

By January 1780, however, Stamp had probably been taken ill, because he made a will which gave details of his wishes about how his business should be run down in the event of his death, which indeed occurred on 4 April the same year. A billhead of 1779 had described him as a working goldsmith¹⁰ and some details of his operations are revealed by his will. Providing they did what was required by his executors, who were instructed to “make the most of my house and stock in trade”, there was to be a legacy either in cash or tools, to each of his employees: James Sutton, “my now clerk”; Arthur Humphreys, “my now shopman”; James Bult, “my now apprentice”; James Parker (to have anvils etc from the Lower Shop and more tools from the Upper Shop); David Webster; John Whitfield (to have tools including “polishing wheels”); Mr Carter (to receive “my button-maker” and further tools) and two other apprentices, William Smith and William Reed “who must get masters or turned over”. James Bult was “to the best knowledge to do for the benefit of my Estate to put everything to the best advantage under the direction of his mistress F Stamp and my two Executors...”; he was “to abide to the full end of his time” and, subject to having given

satisfaction, would be entitled to a legacy of £300 one month after he obtained his freedom¹¹.

Stamp’s death meant that Bult had lost his master with a year and a half of his apprenticeship uncompleted. The executors must have decided that the best way forward for the business was for Stamp’s widow Frances to enter a mark: she did this on 12 May 1780, but was probably already seriously ill since by late June she, too, was dead¹². Humphreys¹³ left 86 Cheapside and became the junior partner of Thomas Boulton Pratt; they entered their mark on 7 July, which was also the day on which Sutton entered his. Then Sutton obtained his freedom by redemption (18 August) and took Bult as his apprentice (1 November) in order to complete the latter’s term. On 29 August Sutton, being quick to describe himself as “successor” to James and Frances Stamp, deceased, had announced that he had been authorized by the trustees to settle all their estate’s outstanding accounts¹⁴. Bult obtained his freedom on 7 November 1781. Sutton was a clerk and a bookkeeper for whom no apprentice records have been found, and it is unclear what bench training Bult could have had after Stamp’s death or at least after Humphreys left the business. James Parker from Stamp’s Lower Shop could have been Bult’s mentor since a man named Parker was working at 86 Cheapside a decade later.

9 Llewellyn Jewitt, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales* (2 vols), London, 1895, vol 2, p 151.

10 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings: Heal, 67.374.

11 www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline Will of James Stamp, Goldsmith 28 April 1780 PROB11/1064. Among the personal bequests was one

to his friend Thomas Wigan of Bristol.

12 Memorandum following after James Stamp’s will, as above.

13 He had been apprenticed in 1771 and taken over by James Smart, probably in 1775 when his original master John Deacon went bankrupt.

14 *London Gazette* (hereafter abbreviated to L G) 2 September 1780

[www.gazettes-online.co.uk].

15 The successive editions of Britten’s *Old Clocks and Watches* list a watch with a silver case and a painted landscape back under the name of Jas Bult circa 1780. [eg 9th ed 1982: p 388]. When Britten first wrote in 1899 the watch was in the collection of Albert Schloss.

16 The name appears as Hallsey in the Apprentice Books but is otherwise written Halsey.

17 All Johnson information is from Donald McDonald, *The Johnsons of Maiden Lane*, 1964: passim.

18 L G, 22 June 1784.

19 Henry Horwitz and Jessica Cooke (eds), *London and Middlesex Exchequer Pleadings, 1685-6 and 1784-5: a Calendar*, p 103.

20 L G, 13 July 1784. The summary in the Calendar above has Bult

not Sutton as partner with Bicknell and Gillam, but the official entry in the *London Gazette* clearly establishes that it was Sutton.

21 L S Pressnell, *Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution*, Oxford, 1956, p 300, quoting from PROB.1/No.78/fol. 90.

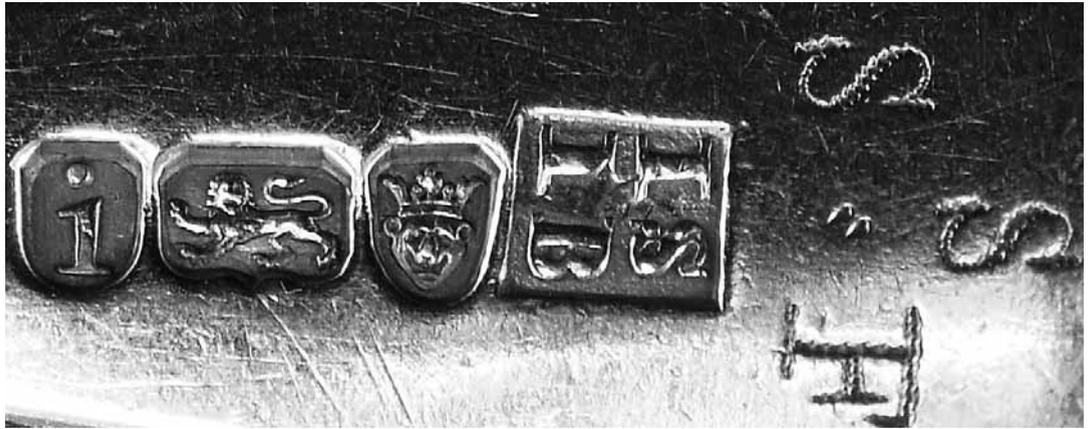


Fig 5 Marks from a spoon, James Sutton and James Bult, London, 1784/85.

JAMES SUTTON AND JAMES BULT

Bult was still only twenty-one years old but no doubt had his promised £300, when he joined Sutton in partnership. They took over the lease of 86 Cheapside and entered their first mark, IS over IB, on 4 October 1782. They must have started production at once, since a significant number of pieces dated 1782-83 and 1783-84 that bear their mark have survived. Some examples are illustrated [fig 4].

There is also a single reference to Bult at this period as a watchcase maker¹⁵. By 1783 it seems the partnership was sufficiently well established for James Bult to take first one, and then a second, apprentice: these were Thomas Goldney and Charles Hal(l)sey Johnson¹⁶, both of whom came from families with a silversmithing connection rather than being boys from the country like Bult himself.

The Goldneys had been prominent citizens and merchants in the west of England for many years, and Thomas was the son of the late Samuel Goldney of Bath and his widow Eleonora: she seems certain to have been guided in the choice of a master for Thomas by her brother Philip Rundell who was already a well-established London goldsmith. It seems evident that Rundell had a good opinion of James Bult's abilities, and Thomas's apprenticeship began on 5 February 1783.

Several Johnsons, and their relatives the Wights, had been apprenticed as silversmiths in earlier years, notably John Johnson who was made free by service to Richard Wight in 1761. In his turn John Johnson had two sons, John II who was apprenticed to his father in 1779, and Charles Hal(l)sey who was apprenticed to James Bult on 1 October 1783. This choice must again be seen as an indication of Bult's good reputation among his fellow goldsmiths. The younger John's family later became the founders of several important businesses, most notably Johnson Matthey, though John II himself in due course became an

assayer and did not enter a mark as a silversmith¹⁷.

However, after what seems to have been a very promising start in business, things suddenly went very badly wrong for James Sutton and James Bult; perhaps they were over-ambitious and under-capitalised but in any event their bankruptcy was announced on 22 June 1784¹⁸. A dessert spoon dated 1784-85 must have been hall-marked during the first three weeks of June 1784 [fig 5]. They were required to surrender themselves to the Commissioners of Bankruptcy and make a full disclosure of their "estate and effects"; no debts were to be paid to them nor effects delivered.

It seems, though, that events not directly related to silversmithing may have contributed to, or even been the cause of, the Cheapside failure. *The Calendar of Exchequer Pleadings 1784-5*¹⁹ lists a case brought in the Michaelmas Term of 1784 by George Grant of Bedford Row against Sutton's and Bult's assignees (Nathan Mullens, a Bristol jeweller; Joseph Walton, an oil man from Little Britain, London; and Francis Broderip, a Cheapside music seller) relating to a bill of exchange for £2,736 which Thomas Gillam, a Bristol banker, was said to have coerced Grant into issuing because the latter owed that sum to Sutton and Bult, who were each described as "goldsmith, banker, Cheapside". On 17 July 1784, the bankruptcy had been announced of Henry Bicknell of Bristol, James Sutton of the City of London and Thomas Gillam of Bristol as bankers and co-partners²⁰. This firm appears to have been listed as bankers in Bristol for only about a month before the bankruptcy²¹. How the Grant case ended is unknown but what is clear is that Sutton and Bult had in some way been involved in substantial transactions of a banking nature as well as producing silver spoons and beer mugs and training their apprentices. The magnitude of the £2,736 bill of exchange can be put into perspective by the surviving accounts of the younger John Johnson's assaying business, where his income in 1786-87 was some £338 and his expenditure £321, with the figures showing a gradual increase each

year to reach £505 income and £485 expenditure in 1795²². It would be many years before James Bult next ventured into banking.

In London a meeting of Sutton's and Bult's creditors and their assignees took place on 20 July 1784 and set matters in progress²³ and Sutton was given until 25 September to "surrender himself and make full disclosure"²⁴. A week before that, it had appeared that Bult's problems were over, when it was announced that he had "in all things conformed himself" to the relevant Acts of Parliament concerning bankrupts, and his certificate would be allowed on October 12 unless "Cause be shown to the contrary on or before that date"²⁵. But there must have been some objection made, and in the end Bult did not receive his certificate until 8 January 1793²⁶. Sutton's affairs moved more rapidly, and his Certificate was issued on 28 November 1789²⁷: the *London Gazette* published numerous notices concerning the bankruptcies during the period 1784 to 1798 and in every case both Sutton's and Bult's addresses were given as Cheapside, which may be evidence that Bult went on working at number 86 for the new principals of the business carried on there.

In August 1784 a man named William Sutton entered his first mark and gave his address as 85 Cheapside. Grimwade suggests that William Sutton was James Sutton's brother. If this is correct they may have come from Salisbury where a James Sutton was baptized in 1757 and a William in 1758²⁸. Grimwade sees "a kind of double establishment" with William at 85 Cheapside and James next door at number 86 but this may be based on Sir Ambrose Heal's listing of Sutton and Bult at number 86 until 1793²⁹, which is at odds with both the bankruptcy records and those of the Mercers' Company. It seems more reasonable to assume that from 1784 James Sutton worked at number 85 with William, for whom no records of apprenticeship or freedom have been found. It may have been an insubstantial business, because the Mercers' records show that at the time 85 Cheapside was leased to a linen draper named Patrick Cawdron and underleased to another linen draper named William Turner. It was perhaps James Sutton's presence that enabled his brother, who soon had a trade card produced

for "Willm Sutton & Compy (successors to Mr Stamp)"³⁰, to claim to be the inheritors of James Stamp's good name. Heal mentions William Sutton and Isaac Cooper, Cheapside, Goldsmiths in 1786³¹; but that partnership soon failed and their bankruptcy was announced in the *London Gazette* in November of that year³².

The bankruptcy of their master meant that Bult's two apprentices lost their positions. A further indication of what otherwise might have been is perhaps shown by the fact that when Thomas Goldney's younger brother Samuel reached the age of apprenticeship in late 1784, Philip Rundell, who was a Draper, opted to become the boy's master himself³³. Had Bult had been able to train both of Rundell's nephews for the full period of their service, he would have been brought close to the most successful goldsmith of his generation.

SAMUEL GO(O)DBEHERE AND EDWARD WIGAN

Samuel Godbehere entered the story of 86 Cheapside in 1784. He was born in about 1755³⁴, and was one of the sons of Edmund Godbehere of Wirksworth, who was a grocer, and his wife Anne Mather³⁵. The name Godbehere has many different spellings and Samuel caused confusion, which persists till this day, by changing his name to Goodbehere soon after coming to London, but not before he had entered his first two marks at Goldsmiths' Hall as a platerworker in November 1784 under the original spelling. It is not always realised that the future Alderman Goodbehere and the silversmith Samuel Godbehere were the same person. In September 1784, he secured the freedom of the City of London by redemption, and the freedom of the Needlemakers' Company³⁶; he was not apprenticed³⁷. In November, a few days before his marks were entered, he had to appear as a witness at the Old Bailey. The case concerned some stolen silver which he had innocently bought; he described himself to the court by saying simply "I keep a silversmith's shop, No. 86, Cheapside"³⁸. However "Saml Godbehere" soon had an elaborate trade card produced, describing himself as "Working Goldsmith & Jeweller (late Mr Stamp's) at 86, Cheapside next Mercers Chapel"³⁹ [fig 6]. This card is virtually the same as the one

22 In 1786-87, the largest items of expenditure were housekeeping (£130); expenses of business including boys wages etc. (£63); pocket money including hairdressing, pleasure at Whitsuntide etc. (£57); and clothing myself and brother [Bult's ex-apprentice] (£26).

23 *L G*, 13 July 1784. The issue contained two

separate references to a man or men named James Sutton.

24 *L G*, 3 August 1784.

25 *L G*, 18 September 1784.

26 *L G*, 15 December 1792.

27 *L G*, 3 November 1789.

28 www.familysearch.org

29 Sir Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800*, London, 1935, p 251.

30 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings: Heal, 67.287

31 As note 29 above.

32 *L G*, 21 November 1786.

33 www.stanner.net.

Rundell died in 1827 leaving in excess of £1 million, and his will was published widely (eg *The Times*: 5 Mar 1827). Both Thomas and Samuel Goldney were beneficiaries.

34 Thomas Allen, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth*, 1826, pp 91-2 refers to his death in November 1818 at the age of 63.

35 Grimwade, p 749.

36 Grimwade, p 749.

37 Cliff Webb, *London Livery Company Apprenticeship Registers*, London, 1996, vol 9, Needlemakers' Company 1664-1801 includes only his nephew's 1798 apprenticeship to him: this is discussed below.



Fig 6 Trade Card of Samuel Godbehere.
(© The British Museum)



Fig 7 Billhead for Goodbehere Wigan and Co, 1790.
(© The British Museum)

produced by William Sutton: it is not known which came first but the similarity does not seem to imply any cooperation between the two men. Many years later, after Bult's partnership with Godbehere had been ended by the latter's death, the heading of Bult's letters described the successor business as having been established in 1784⁴⁰ [fig 13]; and this choice of date reinforces the suggestion made above that Bult was employed at 86 Cheapside during the time that he worked through his bankruptcy.

Godbehere cannot have been helped by the tax of 6 pence per ounce on wrought silver that came into effect in December 1784⁴¹, but nevertheless in September 1786, just before Sutton and Cooper's bankruptcy and after less than two years of trading on his own, Godbehere took Edward Wigan into partnership at 86 Cheapside. There was also a third partner named Thomas Mather, whose initials (like those of William Sutton's partner Isaac Cooper) were never used on any marks. Mather seems almost certain to have been related to Godbehere's mother, but nothing is known of him save that he left the partnership in March 1790⁴².

Edward's father Thomas Wigan was, as mentioned above, a friend of James Stamp's; he was a well-established Bristol silversmith whose elder son, also Thomas, was described in a 1785 directory as jeweller, goldsmith and watchmaker of Bridge Street, Bristol⁴³. Despite having been apprenticed to James Stamp in 1772, Edward Wigan did not become free till 1786 and so it seems possible that he was working with his brother Thomas in

Bristol during at least some of the time from 1779 to 1786. He and James Bult were fellow apprentices for several years, and he would certainly have been referred to in James Stamp's will if he had been at 86 Cheapside at the time of the latter's death. Early in 1785, Thomas Wigan the younger, banker, goldsmith and silversmith was declared bankrupt⁴⁴, which perhaps explains why his brother Edward returned to London, belatedly claimed his freedom, and joined Samuel Godbehere at 86, Cheapside. In 1792, the younger Thomas Wigan, by then in another partnership which failed in 1793, referred to Godbehere and Wigan as their London agents, though it is not recorded whether the firm lost as a result of that failure⁴⁵.

The two men entered their first mark, SG over EW, in September 1786 and more in 1789 and 1792. Samuel still signed the register as Godbehere⁴⁶ even though his political career as Samuel Goodbehere, a Common Councillor for Cheap Ward, had started in 1786, and billheads of 1787 and 1790 also have the later spelling [fig 7]. Henceforth this article will spell the name Goodbehere, which Samuel eventually came to use for all purposes.

According to Kent's *Directory* for 1794, James Sutton and Co had reappeared at 85 Cheapside, once again with no lease: this have may been little more than an irritation to Goodbehere and Wigan, but there were certainly plenty of well-established firms in the area competing for such business as was available⁴⁷.

38 www.oldbaileyonline.org Trial of William Benton and George Green 8 December 1784.

39 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings: Heal, 67.166.

40 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Heal, 67.64.

41 William Pitt was dis-

suaed from taxing coals, as he had planned in the Budget, and instead raised some of the lost revenue by putting a tax of 8/- per ounce on gold and 6d per ounce on silver.

42 L G, 10 April 1790.

43 Quoted in Charles Henry Cave, *A History of Banking in Bristol*, 1899, p 123.

44 L G, 22 February 1785.

45 L G, 5 and 26 October 1793 for Thomas Wigan's second bankruptcy. It is not known whether Goodbehere and Wigan were involved in the shipping of coachloads of guineas which took place to prop up the local banks [Cave, as above, p 199], but the onset of war must have been very bad for

business; and the rise in interest rates caused a heavy depreciation in the value of customers' savings, with Consolidated 3% (the main British Government stock) falling from 91 in January 1792 to 66 in December 1794. [Annual Register 1792 and 1794: Appendix to the Chronicle, pp 152 and 136 respectively].

46 Grimwade, p 524.

47 According to Kent's, and counting only those with marks entered at Goldsmiths' Hall, there were eight rival firms in and near Cheapside: Joseph Lewis; James Hyde; Savory, Farrand and Sheldrake; Pratt, Smith and Hardy; Samuel Meriton; Walter Brind; Thomas Hyde; and Phipps and Robinson.

48 The book was published in 1817. In it, Preston describes himself as an apprentice but his name does not appear as such in the Apprentice Books.

49 This was perhaps fortunate for Goodbehere and Wigan, because Preston later became an extreme radical who was accused of high treason after the Spa Fields meeting in 1816 (though the charges were dropped). He again managed to escape prosecution in spite of being one of the leaders of the Cato Street conspiracy, whose members made a failed attempt to assassinate members of the Cabinet [*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (61 vols), Oxford, 2004, vol 45, pp 273-4].

50 Samuel Lewis, *The history and topography of the Parish of Saint Mary, Islington...*, 1842, p 182. Wigan had been on the Common Council for twenty-four years at the time of his death in March 1814.

51 *L G*, 8 June 1795.

52 *L G*, 28 January 1806.

53 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (61 vols), Oxford, 2004, vol 60, pp 130-2.

54 *The Times*, 27 September 1843.

55 Quoted in Michael Roberts, *The Whig Party 1807-1812*, London, 1939, p 246.

56 Jean Imray, *The Mercers' Hall*, London, 1991, p 458.

57 S G P Ward (ed), 'The Letters of Lieutenant Edmund Goodbehere, 18th Madras, 1803-1809' in *The Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol LVII, no 229, Spring 1979, pp 3-17.

58 The act was 34 Geo. 3 c. 81. A Commissioner had a similar standing to a Deputy Lieutenant in other parts of the country, and had the official title of 'Esquire'.

59 *L G*, 17 May 1803. Wigan had earlier been a major in the 5th Regiment of the London Militia (*Universal Magazine*, October 1793, p 315).

60 *Holden's Annual London and County Directory...* (3 vols), 1811 (facsimile reprint c 1996), vol 3, p 139 (London Workhouse) and p 135 (Irish Society).

61 Information from Mr David Beasley.

62 Alfred B Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London...* (2 vols), 1908, vol 1, pp 105, 356 and vol 2 pp 141, 203. Goodbehere had become Deputy for Cheap Ward in 1799.

63 Do. Matthew Wood had become an Alderman in 1807 and was one of the two Sheriffs for the year beginning on Midsummer Day 1809. Goodbehere succeeded him in the latter position a year later.

64 Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts...1769-1804* (8 vols), London, 1905-06, vol 1, p 282.

65 F M O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits* (6 vols), London, 1908-25, vol 2, p 349.

66 86 Cheapside must have extended to nearly 3,000 square feet over its five floors.

67 *The Times*, 24 May 1821. The property was then being offered for rent following the death of Horatio Goodbehere.

In about 1792 a new employee was taken on at 86 Cheapside by Messrs "Goodbehere and Wiggins" (sic) according to *The Life and Opinions of Thomas Preston, patriot and shoemaker*⁴⁸. In this book, Preston related that he was working at that time under the direction of a man named Parker; and the firm had the job of retouching and refitting a set of "large massy knives and forks" for the Lord Mayor's great Easter dinner. It was Preston's task to polish these "emblems of plenty", which he did attentively until "a pretty looking lass assisting me in the task, diverted my attention" and "the civic weapon, by an unfortunate turn, was made to enter my hand, which it had nearly cut off". He was taken to St Bartholomew's Hospital for treatment, and after he had recovered he did not return to Cheapside but instead went to work for a shoemaker⁴⁹. The story gives an insight into the working of the business: there was clearly still a workshop for repair, cleaning and assembly work and if Mr Parker was the same man as the James Parker mentioned in James Stamp's will, then Goodbehere and Wigan had a skilled working silversmith among their employees, regardless of how James Bult was occupied at that time.

BUSINESS AND PERSONAL INTERESTS

By 1791, Wigan had joined Goodbehere on the Common Council of the City of London as representatives for the Ward of Cheap⁵⁰. Goodbehere was becoming more and more active as a leading member of what was described as the advanced Whig party; and he and Wigan were also partners in another business: in 1795 it was announced that John Wright had left his partnership with Wigan, Goodbehere and Robert Watts and that the business as wholesale linen drapers at 17 Poultry was being continued under the name of Watts and Co⁵¹. Wigan and Goodbehere remained in that firm till 1805, by which time they were described as being warehousemen⁵². It was, however, another business altogether, and one in which Goodbehere was not involved, that was to lay the foundations for the increasing business success which the Wigan family in London enjoyed as the nineteenth century progressed. In 1804 Matthew Wood "entered a partnership with Colonel Edward Wigan, trading as hop merchants in Southwark"⁵³. According to Wood's obituary nearly forty years later, it was his reputation that "recommended him to the notice of Mr Wiggan (sic), a person of considerable property, who was already engaged in the drug trade". Wigan and Wood had their counting-house in Falcon Square, and "for many years they carried on as thriving a trade as any other in the City of London"⁵⁴.

Politically, Wood and Goodbehere were of a similar persuasion and often worked closely together, though the latter's closest association was with Robert Waithman, an aldermen and later an MP. The journalist and diarist Crabb Robinson knew both men and wrote that Waithman was a sound-headed man who "talks emphatically, but is not guilty of long speeches. An inclination to indulge in egotism, but not offensively". Goodbehere was "inferior in power but superior in manner"⁵⁵.

Although it was not directly connected with his business interests, Goodbehere continued his close association with the Needlemakers' Company, and was Master Warden in 1804-05 and 1817-18⁵⁶. As men-

tioned above, Goodbehere took his nephew Edmund as his apprentice as a needlemaker in 1798, but this was only part of the story. Goodbehere became in *loco parentis* to Edmund, who was born in 1784, following the death of the boy's father and the remarriage of his mother but instead of taking up his apprenticeship as planned, Edmund became a midshipman and served in the navy until peace in 1801. Having then briefly tried apprenticeship, he broke his articles and returned to his mother near Birmingham. He then changed his mind and Samuel arranged an East India cadetship for him. Edmund became a lieutenant in the 18th Madras Native Infantry, only to die of fever and dysentery in 1810. In 1808 he had written to his brother in England that marriage had no place in his thoughts, but the "sable beauties of India...on a longer acquaintance...insensibly reconcile you to their dusky hue". When the adjutant wrote to Samuel in 1812 he said that the small sum of money Edmund had left had been put towards the education of an "infantile character", about whom nothing more is known⁵⁷.

In July 1794 an Act was passed which was designed to create a City of London Militia of 1,200 men in two regiments. Some 200 Commissioners of Lieutenancy were appointed and were given the responsibility of recruiting and training officers⁵⁸; both Goodbehere and Wigan soon joined their number. Wigan also became an officer in the West Regiment of the London Militia and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel in 1803⁵⁹. Later Wigan took on further senior City of London positions; in 1811 he was a Governor of the London Workhouse and a Deputy Governor of the Irish Society⁶⁰. He also became a member of the Cutlers' Company⁶¹.

In 1809, Goodbehere became the first Needlemaker ever to be appointed to the office of Alderman⁶². This gave him an important public position with additional responsibilities for the government of the City of London, and as a magistrate; he succeeded Matthew Wood as a Sheriff in 1810⁶³. Goodbehere, in his aldermanic robes, and his son Horatio, had their portraits painted by Henry Perronet Briggs, Horatio's being shown at the Royal Academy in 1815⁶⁴. Goodbehere's portrait was later engraved by Henry Dawe⁶⁵.

As a young bachelor starting in business, Samuel Goodbehere could perhaps have lived on the upper

floors of 86 Cheapside⁶⁶ but he married in 1790 and in later years he and his wife made their home in what had once been her father Henry Wood's house: this was 1 China Terrace, Lambeth. The house included a handsome entrance hall, dining, breakfast and drawing rooms, four bedrooms and three attics, a large lawn or paddock, a coach house, stabling for three horses, capital wine and ale cellars and a butler's pantry⁶⁷. China Terrace consisted of ten substantial houses, and from 1800 to 1815 number 2 was occupied by the journalist and editor William Radcliffe and his wife, the celebrated novelist Ann Radcliffe⁶⁸. As well as being next-door neighbours, Samuel Goodbehere and Ann Radcliffe had similar beliefs since both were Unitarians⁶⁹.

On 22 March 1814, Edward Wigan died at his home in Highbury Terrace at the age of fifty-six. His obituary, which mentioned that he suffered from asthma, made no reference to hops and described him as "partner in the respectable firm of Goodbehere, Wigan, & Co goldsmiths, in Cheapside". "Few men", it was said, "have passed through life more generally loved and respected"⁷⁰.

In 1815 Matthew Wood became Lord Mayor; in 1816 Goodbehere's name was put forward, but he received a derisory number of votes⁷¹. In 1817 he did better, but again came at the bottom of the poll. He said afterwards that he had allowed his name to go forward but

rejoiced in not being appointed because he would not have been able, with all the domestic care which now oppressed his mind, to have fulfilled the office with satisfaction because nothing but repose and retirement could restore the health of his nearest and dearest relation in life⁷².

A year later, however, he was in contention once more, but was defeated for a third and final time⁷³.

It was perhaps no more than his duty as an alderman when Goodbehere attended at Court on the Queen's Birthday in February 1818⁷⁴, but he had two other royal contacts that are more intriguing. The first of these is recorded by:

This first stone of the Royal Coburg Theatre was laid on the 14th day of September in the year 1816

68 Rictor Norton, *Mistress of Udolfo*, London and New York, 1999, pp 187, 225, 279. Norton appears to assume that the Radcliffes had bought number 2, but Henry Wood's will, made in 1796 and proved in 1806, establishes that he owned it

and bequeathed it to his daughter. (www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline Will of Henry Wood, Gentleman PROB 11/1453).

69 Goodbehere chaired a public meeting of sub-

scribers to the Unitarian Fund in 1813 (*The Times*, 23 August 1813). For Ann Radcliffe see Norton, Rictor, *Mistress of Udolfo*, London and New York, 1999.

70 *Gentleman's Magazine*,

January-June 1814, p 309.

71 *The Times*, 4 and 10 October 1816. He voted himself for the re-election of Wood.

72 *The Times*, 7 and 9 October 1817. He was of

course referring to the illness of his wife.

73 *The Times*, 21 and 30 September 1818.

74 *The Times*, 27 February 1818.

by his Serene Highness the Prince of Saxe Coburg and her Royal Highness the Princess Charlotte of Wales by their Serene and Royal Highnesses' Proxy Alderman Goodbehere⁷⁵.

The other occasion was in July 1818 when the Lord Mayor and his household, the Aldermen (including Goodbehere) and numerous Common Councillors, delivered Congratulatory Addresses at Carlton House, at Clarence House and at Kensington Palace, where afterwards the Duke of Kent "conversed with all the Deputation, many members of which, such as...Alderman Goodbehere...were well known to his Royal Highness"⁷⁶. It is possible that Goodbehere had met the Duke through Matthew Wood, who knew him well.

Goodbehere died suddenly on 18 November 1818 at his home in Lambeth at the age of sixty-three. His obituary related that although he had been unwell the previous year, he was in excellent health when suddenly he had an apoplectic fit from which he died the same day. He had "a clear capacity for public business, an urbanity of manners and incorruptible integrity" and had "by fair and honourable exertions in trade" acquired considerable property⁷⁷. This eulogy was soon followed by a letter attacking Goodbehere for "maintaining in almost every society into which he was thrown that the public religious faith of his country was a delusion..."⁷⁸ This elicited a response that it was well-known that Goodbehere was a dissenter: "he was an Unitarian, and he neither ostentatiously professed, nor pusillanimously concealed, his religious beliefs". At a meeting to elect a successor to Goodbehere as alderman, no praise for him was too high: characteristic kindness, temperance, penetration, sound judgement, upright conduct, liberal principles and indefatigable industry were some of the epithets used; there was no reference to his Unitarian principles⁷⁹.

Goodbehere had been concerned about his wife Eliza's health for several years, which was why she and Horatio had been at Brighton when he was taken ill. On 17 August 1820 Eliza died and Horatio followed her five days later at the age of 24⁸⁰. A memorial to the three Goodbeheres was erected in Lambeth Parish Church (now the Museum of Garden History)⁸¹. Horatio endowed a fellowship at his Cambridge college⁸²: he had no direct heir and his executors realized some of the family's assets although 1 China Terrace was retained and offered for rent⁸³.

NEW PARTNERSHIPS: S GOODBEHERE AND CO, GOODBEHERE AND BULT AND JAMES BULT AND CO

We can now return to the business at 86 Cheapside and its management during the period when Goodbehere's and Wigan's other interests must have taken up much of their time. With Bult's bankruptcy well behind him, it is perhaps surprising that he did not become a principal for so many years, but finally on 15 March 1800, the mark of S Goodbehere and Co was entered as SG over EW over IB⁸⁴, with Bult in the partnership at last and Goodbehere registering under the adopted spelling of his name. As well as the continuing output of domestic pieces, the partnerships were responsible for several items of church plate, one example being a cup of 1800 by Goodbehere and Wigan for St Nicholas, Broadway, near Weymouth⁸⁵. A much more

75 Thomas Allen, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth, London*, 1826, p 299. Why it was Goodbehere who was chosen to stand in at the ceremony is unclear; the theatre was opened on 11 May 1818 and is now known as the Old Vic.

76 *The Times*, 28 July 1818.

77 *The Times*, 24 November 1818.

78 *The Times*, 27 November 1818. The correspondence was ended by the paper on 30 November.

79 *The Times*, 26 November 1818.

80 Thomas Allen, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth, London*, 1826, p 91.

81 Allen (footnote 80) gives the wording on the tablet "by Westmacott". Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1951*, undated, p 421, gives the sculptor's name as Henry Westmacott.

82 Charles Crawley, *Trinity Hall, Cambridge*, 1976, pp 139-40.

83 *The Times*, 9 October 1820 advertised the sale of

100 dozens of "remarkably fine port of vintages 1802, 1806 and 1812" and some "very superior Madeira". More than 40 leasehold houses in Lambeth and Southwark, together producing upwards of £700 per annum, were advertised in *The Times* on 14 December 1820.

84 The mark was entered in two sizes.

85 John Newman and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Dorset*, London, 2002, p 115.

86 Jean Imray, *The Mercers' Hall*, London, 1991, p. 458.

87 www.familysearch.org.

88 *The Endowed Charities of the City of London*, London, 1829, p 334.

89 According to Holden's *Triennial Directory*, 1808, vol 2 (no page numbers) Bult was then at 95 Guildford Street and three years later the 1811 edition has him listed at 17 Burrow's Buildings.

90 Herbert H Kaplan, *Nathan Mayer Rothschild and the Creation of a Dynasty*, Stanford, 2006, p 162.

unusual commission, dating from 1795/96, was a gold Freedom Box [fig 8] and another was the engraved silver-gilt rose water dish and helmet-shaped ewer presented by the retiring Clerk to Goodbehere's livery company, The Needlemakers', on 28 April 1800 [fig 9]. It bears an early example of the SG/EW/IB mark. The Mercers' Company has a Goodbehere and Co wine funnel of 1803 which is engraved with the arms of the Company⁸⁶.

In December 1800 Wigan's elder son, also Edward, was apprenticed to his father and no doubt came under the direction of Bult, who by this time was just forty years old. Wigan's younger son did not serve an apprenticeship, and neither of the brothers entered a mark. For reasons which are unclear, the partners used an unregistered mark as well as the official one, with examples of the former having been noted from 1804 to 1807. As the illustration shows, it had two pellets below the IB, but it is not known what these indicated [fig 10]. In 1805, when the Mercers' Company reviewed their property in Cheapside, Goodbehere, acting on behalf of the partnership, took a seven year lease at a rent of £120 per annum; as that lease was ending, a survey found that the west wall of number 86 which adjoined the chapel porch was "crippled and hollow from end to end" and all the "walls, chimneys, roofs, floors, windows and inside finishing were in a very decayed condition". The outcome was that in 1812 the partners became yearly tenants at £180 per annum, responsible for all repairs, and then in 1814 they were granted a twenty-one year lease, spending £400 on repairs.

James Bult had married Sarah Camm in 1792, and until 1805 all their children were recorded in the baptism registers of St Mary Colechurch⁸⁷, where Bult at one time was a churchwarden⁸⁸. The family would no doubt have lived in the parish, and so probably made their home on the upper floors of 86 Cheapside. Later they moved south of the Thames⁸⁹ and their last two children were baptized at Christ Church, Southwark.

With Edward Wigan's death in 1814, Samuel Goodbehere lost his partner of nearly thirty years' standing, and the business at 86 Cheapside became Goodbehere and Bult. In April 1815 the new partnership was recorded as selling gold to Nathan Mayer Rothschild⁹⁰ which may be a sign that bullion dealing was becoming one of their regular activities. Another indication of the possible widening of their interests is a reference in



Fig 8 Gold City of London Freedom box presented to Admiral Alexander Hood, 1st Viscount Bridport. The central plaque on the cover depicts a three-decker warship under sail surrounded by an oak leaf wreath and an inscription in a scroll. Samuel Godbehere and Edward Wigan, London, 1795/96.
(© The National Maritime Museum)



Fig 9 The Needlemakers' Company's ewer and dish, Goodbehere and Co, London, 1799/1800.
(© The Worshipful Company of Needlemakers)

1816 to a mortgage for £3,000 which they had granted on a property in the Isle of Wight⁹¹. In their business as goldsmiths, however, a mark for Goodbehere and Bult was not entered until 16 September 1818, four and a half years after Wigan's death⁹². Some of the firm's traditional activities continued; a mug dated 1817/18 must have been held in stock before being receiving the mark of SG over IB later in the year⁹³; and in 1817 there was a law case in which a tankard worth £11, which had been sent by Goodbehere & Bult for engraving, was stolen⁹⁴. In November 1818, only two months after the new mark had been entered, Goodbehere died; and James Bult entered a simple IB on 13 July 1819. He now had no partners at 86 Cheapside, though he had two sons James Philip and George Frederick, who were made free by patrimony on reaching the age of twenty-one in 1822 and 1824 respectively⁹⁵. Both joined their father in business, but neither is recorded as having entered a mark.

There is a strong impression that, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the business at 86 Cheapside moved steadily away from making silver to supplying it. As Helen Clifford has shown in the case of Parker and Wakelin⁹⁶, there were several ways in which a silver business could be run; and the sheer range of items on which Goodbehere and Co's marks appear, very frequently overstriking other marks, suggests that they had largely become retailers [fig 11].

One thing which continued was the West Country link, which dated back to James Stamp's time⁹⁷: Samuel Goodbehere had a Power of Attorney from William Bottle of Bath when the latter registered his mark in London in 1800 and George Frederick Bult performed

the same function for James Burden, also of Bath, in 1831⁹⁸. This long connection had no doubt played a part in the securing of orders for plate from several churches in Dorset, Somerset and Gloucestershire, including the 1818 Saintbury chalice referred to above.

BULLION AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE DEALERS

In 1817, the year before Goodbehere died, it was reported that the Liverpool mail had been robbed of £600 in gold, doubloons and dollars consigned to him⁹⁹. Despite this setback the firm must gradually have become well known as dealers in foreign exchange; an 1825 book (in French) for French visitors to London, and another published in 1827 for British visitors to Belgium explained that "Messrs J Bult & Co of Cheapside" was one of the firms that could confidently be relied upon for punctuality and integrity in relation to "tout espèces de monnoies en or ou en argent"¹⁰⁰.

In 1830 there was a theft of about 4 ounces of gold from 86 Cheapside, and James Bult gave evidence at the Old Bailey. He said he and James Philip were in partnership as goldsmiths; the latter was the resident partner and lived at number 86 with the servants, with the shop forming part of the dwelling-house¹⁰¹. Another robbery took place in 1833, this time by a man breaking one of the windows of the shop and stealing a bowl containing foreign currency to a total value of £138. Edward Clarke said that he lived at number 86 and was in the counting-house when he heard a noise and saw what was happening, but before he could get to the door of the shop the man had been caught by William Wilcox, the Bults' porter. George Frederick Bult gave evidence that he also



Fig 10 Goodbehere and Co's registered and unregistered marks.



Fig 11 Silver by Goodbehere and Co.

lived in the house, which belonged to himself and his brother, though there was also another partner (no doubt their father) and the rent and taxes were paid by the firm: two of the firm's servants slept in the house¹⁰².

Six years later there was a much more serious affair in connection with what *The Times* called "The Gold Dust Robbery". A daring and successful attempt had been made, by the use of deception and false documents, to steal two boxes of gold dust worth over £4,000 which were intended for the Brazilian Company in London. George Frederick Bult gave evidence and said that he and his brother were in partnership as goldsmiths and dealers in bullion. He said that they had been in the habit of dealing with a refiner in the Strand named Solomon to the amount of £7,000 to £10,000 a year for the previous five or six years, and that he had been present on 2 April when his brother gave Solomon's son a cheque for £1,200 for two gold bars, which proved to have been made from the gold dust, that weighed 406 ounces gross. On 5 April the gold was shipped to a correspondent named Emerique in Paris (no doubt identifiable with Madame Emerique, a foreign exchange dealer of the highest respectability). He said that in purchasing bullion the object was to turn it into money directly, and they seldom kept it for more than a few hours if it could be disposed of, though this depended on the state of the markets¹⁰³.

The firm was not criticized for buying the gold bars, but what the report shows is the extent of their move into bullion dealing. There is no reason to suppose that Solomon was the only refiner they dealt with; and the figures quoted are put into perspective by the prices quoted by silversmiths of the period in *The Times*, offering, for example, fiddle pattern flatware at 7s 2d per ounce (or second-hand items at 6s 3d per ounce). A merchant could therefore buy a service for twelve, including also a soup ladle, a fish slice, a pair of sugar tongs, a coffee pot, a teapot, a sugar basin, a cream ewer and a set of twelve ivory-handled dessert knives and forks for barely more than £100¹⁰⁴, whereas James Philip Bult had paid out twelve times that amount in a single bullion transaction.

Small items such as sugar tongs, which had formerly been a popular item in the firm's stock, required a shop environment in which to be sold, but large scale bullion deals needed more discretion and more privacy. These matters were no doubt in James Bult's mind when he attended a meeting at the Mercers' Company in October 1834 to discuss the renewal of the lease from Lady Day 1835; he agreed on behalf of himself and his sons to take a twenty-one year lease at £140 per annum rent (down from the previous £200), spending £145 on repairs. The following March, the Bults asked if they could expand the counting-house by building in the Mercers' yard at the back, and said that as an alternative they would be interested in negotiating a lease of the adjoining 85 Cheapside which had fallen vacant. The latter proposal was agreed, and number 85 was leased for twenty-one years at £120 per annum rent, spending £160 on repairs: permission was given to connect between the two properties, but the dividing wall was to be reinstated when the Mercers' Company required it. This must have seemed a good deal to the Bults, since they had doubled their space for only £60 more rent than previously, even though

91 Isle of Wight Record Office ELD 124 dated May 8 1816. James Cull owned the Bugle Inn and Hotel in Ryde, Isle of Wight subject to a mortgage of £3,000 from Messrs Goodbehere and Butt (sic).

92 This delay could, like the unregistered mark referred to above, represent a cavalier attitude by Goodbehere the Needlemaker towards the requirements of Goldsmiths' Hall. An Ackermann print of Mercer's Hall (sic) dated 1 July 1815 shows that the names over the shop front of 86 Cheapside had by then already been changed to Goodbehere & B (the rest of the name being off the side of the print).

93 A chalice for St Nicholas, Saintbury (1818) is marked SG IB. (J T Evans, *Church Plate of Gloucestershire, Stow-on-the-Wold*, 1906, p 179).

94 Goodbehere and Bult's shopman James Stevens had handed it to William Betteridge to take to his masters Messrs Jackson and Donne to be engraved. Betteridge was found guilty of larceny and sentenced to transportation for seven years (www.oldbaileyonline.org 17 September 1817).

95 The Freedom Books show that James Philip Bult was sworn and made free by patrimony on 7 August 1822 on the testimony of Richard Bright and Charles Johnston, and George Frederick Bult on 4 August 1824 on the testimony of John Johnson and William Seaman. Of the four witnesses only Seaman is recorded by Grimwade as having entered a mark. Perhaps John Johnson was the brother of James Bult's apprentice of four decades before.

96 Helen Clifford, 'The King's Arms and Feathers' in David Mitchell (ed) *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers*, London, 1993, pp 84-95.

97 Before James Stamp's will was proved in 1780, Nathaniel Jones of Bath, silversmith, swore that he was well acquainted with Stamp and his handwriting. The chalice and flagons Stamp made for St Augustine the Less, Bristol are mentioned above.

98 Grimwade, p 715.

99 *The Times*, 24 July 1817.

100 Samuel Leigh, *Nouveau Tableau de Londres*, London, 1825, p xiv; Edmund Boyce, *The Belgian Traveller*, London, 1827, p 79.

101 A lad and a boy came into the shop and one distracted Bult while the other made off with a bowl containing the gold grains. The thief was caught almost at once by a passing constable and was tried and found guilty. He was sentenced to death, but with a recommendation for mercy since he was only sixteen years old (www.oldbaileyonline.org Trial of Michael Sheen 14 January 1830).

102 www.oldbaileyonline.org Trial of Morris Long 4 July 1833. Long was thirty and was sentenced to transportation for seven years.

103 Henry Buckler, *Central Criminal Court Minutes of Evidence*, 1839, pp 335-438. The trial began on 24 June. For Madame Emerique: F Hervé, *How to Enjoy Paris in 1842*, 2007, p 315.

104 *The Times*, 3 February 1835 (dessert knives and forks); 7 July 1835 (tea services); 28 July 1835 (plate); and other dates.

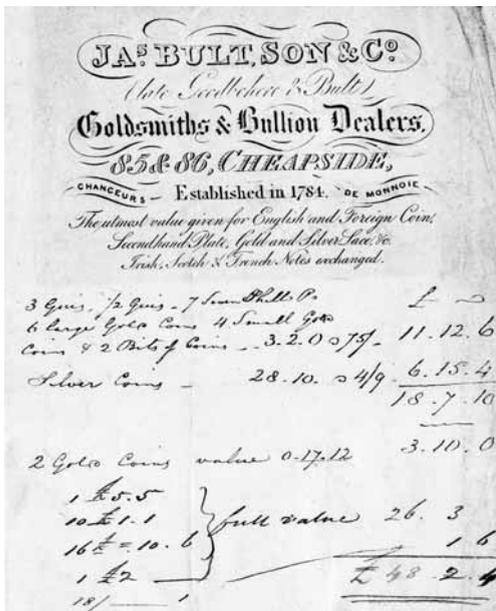


Fig 12 Billhead circa 1836.
 (© The British Museum)

JA. BULT, SON, & Co.
 BULLION DEALERS,
 85, & 86, CHEAPSIDE,
 London
 Sept 14. 1849

	Per Oz.
Bar Gold	77 1/2
5th. Am ⁿ . D'bloons	74 1/2
Spanish Do.	74
Old Ports	77 1/2
New Do. and Brazil	77 1/2
5th. Am ⁿ . Dollars	4 1/2
N th . Am ⁿ . 1/2 Do.	7 1/2
Spanish Do.	7 1/2
Crusades	7 1/2
Bar Silver Standard	77 1/2
Do. with Gold above 5 grs. in lb.	77 1/2
Ducats	77 1/2
20 Franc Pieces	77 1/2
5 Do.	77 1/2
10 Guilder Pieces	77 1/2
5 Thaler Do.	77 1/2

IRISH, SCOTCH, AND FOREIGN NOTES EXCHANGED

Fig 13 Bullion price quotations 1849.

there was more to pay for dilapidations. An undated letterhead, but one giving the address as 85 and 86 Cheapside has the firm's style as "Jas Bult, Son & Co (late Goodbehere & Bult) Goldsmiths & Bullion Dealers Established in 1784"¹⁰⁵ [fig 12].

BANKERS

By 1840 the decision must have been taken for James Bult Son and Co to extend their business further, since they begin to appear as bankers in London directories from 1841 onwards¹⁰⁶. In May 1845 George Frederick Bult, as a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, served as a member of the Pix Jury¹⁰⁷. On 6 May 1846, James Bult died in his eighty-eighth year. Nothing is recorded as to whether he had been ill before his death, and there were no published obituaries. He was buried in a new brick grave in Norwood Cemetery, where the inscription said that "he lived sincerely beloved and died deeply regretted"¹⁰⁸. As to be expected, he left his wife the leasehold of his house in Great Surrey Street (the former name for Blackfriars Road) and all the "furniture jewels plate linen china" and so forth that were there¹⁰⁹. After their father's death, James Philip and George Frederick became the proprietors of the family business though the name did not change. By 1849 they were doing business in the United States, as a surviving letter demonstrates. This has one side preprinted with spaces to fill in the latest exchange rates, and stock and bullion prices; enclosed was a separate printed sheet headed "JAs. Bult, Son, & Co, Bullion Dealers"; this gave a wider range of bullion prices; and, at the bottom, stated that Irish, Scotch, and Foreign Notes were exchanged¹¹⁰ [fig 13]. In the 1851 Census James Philip, who was enumerated at Cheapside, was described as "banker and bullion dealer employing five persons", two of these, a housekeeper and a porter were living there with him. George Frederick was counted with two of his sisters and their mother at the latter's home in St Marylebone¹¹¹.

Then on Thursday, 1 January 1852 came the bombshell. Next day, *The Times* reported that at the opening of business:

a suspension was announced which was as little anticipated as any that could have happened, the firm being Messrs James Bult, Son & Co. As goldsmiths and bullion dealers, they were amongst the oldest and most eminent houses in London; and up to the moment of their stoppage they enjoyed the very highest credit¹¹².

George Frederick Bult had written to his brother-in-law John Brown Twist on 31 December 1851 to say that "it is with feelings of the deepest anguish and regret that I have to inform you that...my dear Brother and myself have come to the awful determination of suspending payments..."¹¹³. On 18 February 1852, *The Times* published a report of a meeting of the creditors which had just taken place¹¹⁴. The firm was shown to have liabilities of £93,330 and assets of only £46,241, principally because advances amounting to £166,806, made over several years to a firm owning collieries and iron works in north Staffordshire, were estimated to produce only £22,516. Very remarkably the Bults' legal adviser persuaded the creditors to agree to his proposal for a composition with the firm, and the meeting resolved

that all parties should be released as long as the due amounts were paid within a month¹¹⁵. A few days later John Brown Twist wrote to George Frederick to say that the favourable result of the meeting was a great relief to him; he referred to “that unshaken integrity which everyone who knew you should be fully sensible of”, and said he would be “most happy to lend you my name in any way you can make it useful to the extent of £1,000”¹¹⁶. George Frederick wrote back to thank him and to say that they had had several kind offers: he was

getting a little more reconciled to my awful situation but still I cannot yet relieve myself from the feeling of degradation which attaches itself to my unfortunate lot.

He said that it was cruel

to find oneself after working hard for nearly 20 years robbed of all our earnings, which by our books show we have assembled to the princely fortune of £130,000¹¹⁷.

Yet, remarkably, all was not lost for the brothers. Their situation was much better than their father’s had been in 1784 and they were not bankrupted, although the Bult name as bankers never reappeared. But what they had been able to retain was their bullion business, as the press reports of yet another theft demonstrate. In May 1855, Bults and two other bullion brokers each sent a large box containing bars of gold and American coins from London to Paris by the South Eastern Railway, Folkestone, Boulogne and the French Great Northern Railway. The boxes had been hooped and sealed in London; but when the Bults’ box was opened, it was found to contain not twenty-four ingots of gold weighing 3,500 ounces but thirteen ingots weighing 2,000 ounces. The box nevertheless weighed exactly the same when delivered as it had done when sent, because shot of the precise weight of the gold stolen had been substituted. The other two brokers suffered an even greater loss because all the gold in their boxes had been

replaced, as indeed had the original hoops and seals on all the boxes. The complete consignment was valued at £18,000 to £20,000, but the police were baffled and the thieves got away with the gold¹¹⁸. This transaction gives a clue to the scale of business being done by the Bults soon after their banking failure.

They had also kept the trust of the Mercers’ Company: in 1856, when the separate 1835 leases of 85 and 86 Cheapside expired, the Bults took a fresh lease of the combined premises for twenty-one years at £350 per annum rent, spending £170 on repairs and £35 on dilapidations. In 1859 the Bults assigned the lease to Stewart Pixley and Henry Haggard, bullion brokers¹¹⁹, but they may have had some sort of an arrangement with them for some time before that. On a number of occasions during 1859 and 1860, Haggard and Co of 85 and 86 Cheapside advertised that “coupons of every description were payable” and drafts and letters of credit “on all the principal cities of Europe and America” were granted by Haggard and Co (late James Bult Son and Co)¹²⁰. George Frederick Bult wrote a business letter to John Brown Twist on notepaper headed Haggard and Co, 85 and 86 Cheapside in July 1860¹²¹.

In August 1862 it was announced that Henry Haggard and William James Watson would continue Haggard and Co following the departure of a man named James Philip Acton from the partnership by mutual consent¹²²; then in May 1864 came details of an “arrangement of amalgamation” of Scottish and Universal Finance Bank with the “business and connexions of Messrs Haggard & Co. (formerly Bult & Co.)”. Haggard and Co took a large share in the new venture, Watson and Haggard joined the Board and the offices were moved to 85 and 86, Cheapside. But almost immediately things must have gone badly wrong, because in a few months a liquidator was appointed, with the result that the last embers of the family business in Cheapside were extinguished just ninety years after James Bult began his apprenticeship in the same building¹²³.

105 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Heal, 67.64.

106 F G Hilton Price, *A Handbook of London Bankers*, London, 1890, p 25.

107 *The Times*, 20 May 1845 Among his fellow jurors were William Bateman, John Gawler Bridge, Jonathan Hayne, Edward Barnard junior and Robert Hennell.

108 Twist papers: copy of inscription on brick grave Norwood Cemetery. Future references from these papers are prefixed T.

109 T: Abstract of the Will and Codicil of James Bult Esquire deceased.

110 T: Letter dated 14 September 1849 to Messrs Ludlow Baker of Philadelphia.

111 Census 1851.

112 *The Times*, 2 January 1852.

113 T: Letter dated 31 December 1851.

114 *The Times*, 19 February 1852.

115 The full report of the meeting of creditors was also published in D Morier Evans, *History of the Commercial Crisis 1857-58*,

London, 1859, appendix pp xxxix-xl.

116 T: draft of letter from John Brown Twist to George Frederick Bult 23 February 1852.

117 T: letter from George Frederick Bult to John Brown Twist 26 February 1852.

118 *Annual Register 1855*, Chronicle p 87 15 May 1855.

119 Jean Imray, *The Mercers’ Hall*, London, 1991, pp. 186-7

120 For example *The Times*, 24 December 1859 and 26 May 1860.

121 T: letter 24 July 1860.

122 *London Gazette*, 29 August 1862.

123 *The Times*, 20 and 28 May, 2 November and 28 December 1864.

FAMILY MATTERS

George Frederick Bult did not see the end of Haggard and Co, since he died in December 1861. He was buried with his father in the grave in Norwood Cemetery after a funeral which he requested should be conducted "in the plainest manner consistent with respectability". But there was a last surprise in his will, in a part of it which was not written in the precise legal language normally found in such documents. He made a substantial bequest to a woman:

who I took from a good home and who although not my lawful wife has been to me for upwards of thirty years all that a man could desire in a kind affectionate economical and faithful wife and to whom I can never express sufficiently my gratitude for the tender care with which she has nursed me through several long and severe illnesses feeding me and washing me...attending upon me night and day not only without a murmur but always with a kind word and affectionate smile...¹²⁴

James Philip Bult also caused a surprise. As mentioned above, James Philip Acton left the partnership of Haggard and Co in late August 1862, and he must have died very soon afterwards, because by late September a marriage settlement had been agreed between his widow Elizabeth and James Philip Bult¹²⁵; and they were married before the end of the month. Finally, in 1872 James Philip was buried "as privately as possible"¹²⁶ in the family vault in Norwood.

When James Bult died in 1846, he had recovered from his early bankruptcy, developed a new business with his two sons, and provided for his wife and their family, which included three unmarried daughters who would have had few, if any, opportunities to support themselves. Yet he was able to leave an estate sworn under £45,000¹²⁷, which was a substantial fortune. In his will his wife and his daughters were significant beneficiaries and James Philip and George Frederick are likely to have inherited no more than £20,000 between them; they had also had to face the destruction of the "princely fortune" once tied up in James Bult Son and Co. It is remarkable,

therefore, that George Frederick's estate was sworn under £50,000¹²⁸, and that of James Philip (who was not his brother's heir) under £60,000¹²⁹. Overall, therefore, the business at 85 and 86 Cheapside must be regarded as having been a successful one.

CONCLUSION

It can be assumed that, at least as a younger man, James Bult was a skilled working silversmith. How he was trained in the last year of his apprenticeship is less clear but he may then have begun to learn the skills of retailing and business management, which he certainly needed later in his career, not least because of the varied business and political interests of Samuel Goodbehere and Edward Wigan. In James Stamp's day there was an upper and a lower workshop, and there is later evidence that cleaning and repair work was undertaken at 86 Cheapside. In the early part of the nineteenth century the shop certainly had a wide-ranging stock of new and second-hand plate mainly of a domestic type which would have appealed to merchants and their families. Two samples of these objects illustrate this article together with pictures of some of their more significant commissions. One exceptionally important second-hand item was a gold teapot sold to Baron Lionel de Rothschild in 1847¹³⁰.

To one of his great-great-grandsons it is a considerable satisfaction to see silver, if not actually *from* the hands of, but at least having passed *through* the hands of James Bult. Perhaps the most poignant article is not a gold teapot but a simple, rather battered, teaspoon marked SG/EW/IB, dated 1812/13 and initialled GMB for Bult's daughter Georgiana Maria, who was born in 1811 and died in 1844; this was included among her widower John Brown Twist's effects in 1885, has stayed in the family ever since and is used by the writer today.

Dr Anthony Twist is retired following a long career in the City of London. He has had an amateur interest in silver for as long as he can remember and is the great-great grandson of the subject of his article. He has recently published a biography of John Julius Angerstein who was closely involved in the Patriotic Fund at Lloyd's and the commissioning of the silver vases which it awarded.

124 T: Probate copy will of George Frederick Bult.

125 T: Copy Settlement prior to the Marriage of Mr James Philip Bult with Mrs Elizabeth Acton dated 22 September 1862. He had children from a previous marriage, but none were involved in the family business.

126 T: Probate of the Will of James Philip Bult. The funeral was relatively private, although the undertaker's bill (T: £50 17s 6d) included charges for a hearse and four and two mourning coaches.

127 T: Abstract of the Will and Codicil of James Bult Esquire deceased.

128 T: Registry certificate attached to Probate.

129 T: Registry certificate attached to Probate.

130 The teapot was known as 'The King's Plate for Mares', and was made by James Ker circa 1735. *The Times* of 11 September 1940 reported the forthcoming

sale at Christie's of the teapot "bought of James Bult and Co. in 1847". Further reports on 24 October 1940, 14 December 1967 and 6 July 1972 trace its price from £1,220 paid in 1940 to £38,000 in 1972: it is now in the Manchester City Art Gallery and Museum (www.manchestergalleries.org)

Robert Rowe CBE

(1920-2009)

Robert Rowe who was Director of Leeds City Art Galleries from 1958 to 1983 and author of *Adam Silver* (Faber, 1965) died aged eighty-eight on 27 June 2009.

Robert was one of the outstanding museum directors of his generation. He was a national figure working from a regional base; from 1981-86 he was a member of the Arts Council of Great Britain and he served as President of the Museums Association from 1973 -74.

After wartime service in the RAF and a short stint teaching he entered the museum profession at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. Trenchard Cox appointed him an assistant keeper with responsibility for the silver collection. He soon made himself an expert in this field and at the same time became familiar with the Spencer collection at Althorp. Two years at Manchester as Assistant Director enabled him to catalogue the first tranche of the Assheton Bennet collection, before moving to Leeds in 1958 as Director.

At Temple Newsam Robert was able to continue the development of the decorative art collections which, astonishingly, had begun only twenty years previously. He was a stickler for quality in every field and very few second rate things entered the museum during his watch. The silver collections were almost non-existent when he arrived, but by building up good relations with various dealers, notably Mrs How, Thomas Lumley, S J Phillips and Robin and Brian Kern of Hotspur (for ormolu), they were soon transformed. Almost every year there was an acquisition of historic plate of one kind or another, often after an export licence deferral. The list is remarkable and included the Adam candlesticks (1961), the Holmes and Dumeé cup (1964), the Jenkins vase from Harewood and the Doncaster race cup (1965), the de Lamerie tea equipage (1975), the Mostyn flagon and the Castle Howard ewers (1977). In 1968 Robert was able to secure the gift of Lotherton Hall from Sir Alvary and Lady Gascoigne for Leeds, together with an endowment, and all its collections. The latter included the great series of silver race cups dating from 1774 to 1842 which is probably second only to Lord Scarborough's in Yorkshire. Lotherton provided the perfect location and context for the increasing collections of nineteenth- and twentieth-century works of art. Robert considered its acquisition as the high point of his career.

In 1959 Robert mounted the legendary exhibition *English Domestic Silver from Yorkshire Houses* with 170 exhibits from over thirty lenders. The partly illustrated catalogue and photographs taken at the time reveal the astonishing riches which were still to be found in the region's country houses at that date and before some major dispersals. Robert's own special interests were for the early



neo-classical period and this culminated in his book *Adam Silver* which gave a new recognition to a period which had not been fashionable in collecting or academic circles. His particular hero was Matthew Boulton and Robert's championing of him could be said to have begun the process of rehabilitation towards the esteem in which Boulton is held today.

Robert was a truly inspirational figure for students and aspiring young curators. Always wishing to foster connoisseurship and a real understanding of excellence he set up a unique collaboration with Leeds University in 1969 whereby students were taught decorative art studies by the museum staff over a three year cycle; he provided the teaching on the silver. The students were in an extraordinarily privileged situation and many of the alumni are leading professionals today. At the same time he established a traineeship scheme, and encouraged the publication of scholarly catalogues of the collections from his curatorial colleagues.

Robert's responsibilities and achievements elsewhere were wide ranging. In addition to acquiring Lotherton Hall, he revived the fortunes of the City Art Gallery with the help of his friend Henry Moore by opening of the Henry Moore Centre for the Study of Sculpture. This has subsequently blossomed into the Henry Moore Institute with its own premises adjacent to the Gallery. In his retirement Robert, a devout convert to Catholicism, chaired the steering committee of the Bar Convent Museum in York. One of his last acts before he died was to commission new communion plate from Rod Kelly for the recently refurbished St Anne's Cathedral at Leeds.

James Lomax



Tea Equipage, Paul de Lamerie, London, 1735/36, comprising: three tea caddies, a cream jug, twelve spoons, a strainer spoon, a pair of nippers and two knives with steel blades. The walnut case is mounted with a silver lock plate, hinges, handle and four feet. The caddies and handle are engraved with the arms of Boissier impaling Berchere. Bought by Robert Rowe in 1975 for Temple Newam (Leeds City Art Galleries) from S J Shrubsole Ltd with the aid of a government grant.

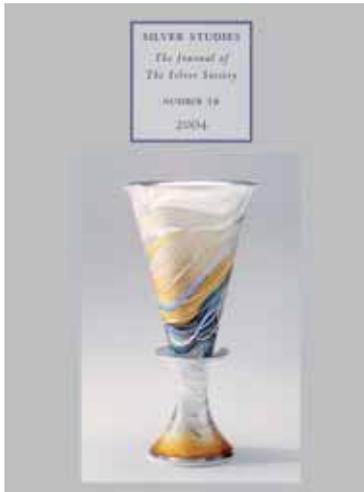
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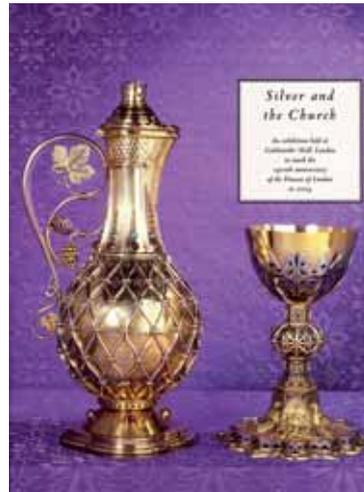
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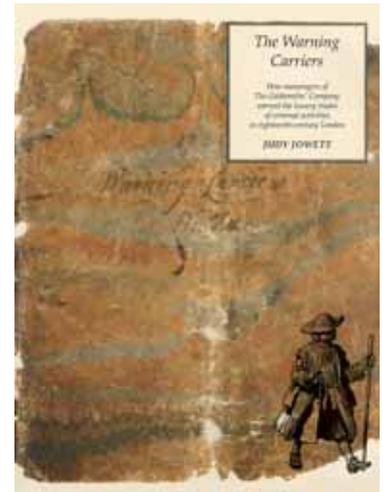
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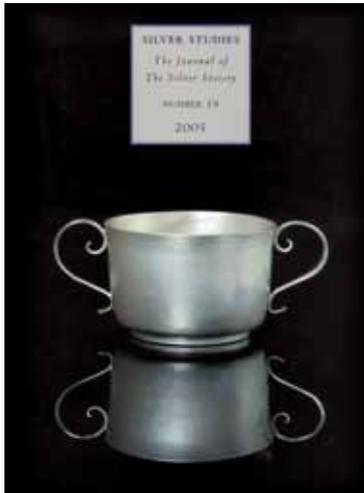
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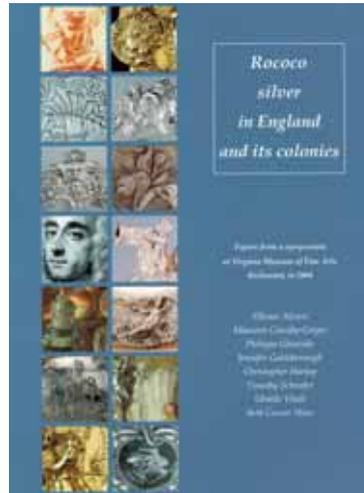
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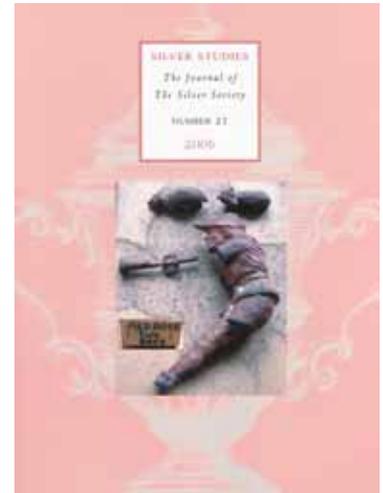
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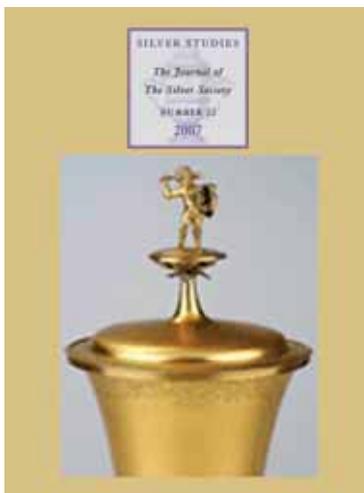
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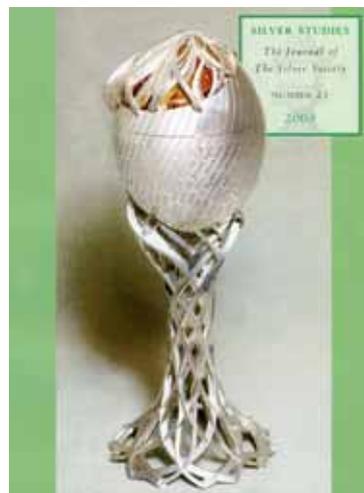
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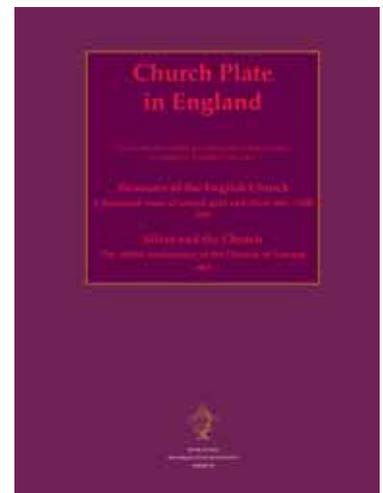
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