

SILVER STUDIES

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The Silver Society*

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Vase and cover, Elkington, Mason
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From the editor

The Silver Society does not stand still and 2011 saw the Society run, for the first time, a series of evening classes: *British Silver – An Introductory Course*. These evenings were open to anyone, not just members of the Society, and proved very popular; they were well attended and enthusiastically received. Tim Schroder, who ran the programme, gave a lecture each evening on the stylistic development of silver over a particular period and the latter part of the evening was given over to a lecture by a specialist on a particular aspect of silver. The Society is very grateful to Tim for undertaking this. The course is being run again in 2012 and the aim is to continue with it each year. It is a good way for people to find out a little more about the subject and it is exciting that a number of those who attended the course have applied to become members of the Society and to take their interest further. Please tell anyone you know whom you think might be interested; details of future courses will be on the Society's website. It is important for the Society to foster the enthusiasm of those who have a developing interest in any aspect of the field or of the Society's activities.

The 2011 edition of *Silver Studies*, will I hope, reflect some of the membership's many interests which are colourful and very varied. It is intriguing that so many subjects can fall under one silver-coloured umbrella. What other field could include the most recent additions to Wales's national collection, *Alice in Wonderland*, detailed archival research into a Scottish silversmith and politician, as well as Prince Albert and the sport of cricket? There should be something of interest to nearly all members. I hope that the Journal also shows a good breadth: it is the place where some of the newest and most significant pieces of research are published but it also contains a couple of articles which reflect a member's particular enthusiasms. Both ends of the spectrum are important to the life of a society like ours. We need the scholarship to take the subject forward, to open up new areas of research and to reveal previously hidden historic aspects of the subject but equally, we need the private and sometimes quirky and idiosyncratic

individual interests. I would like to thank all the authors who have submitted articles for publication. It does take time to prepare an article and to find the necessary photographs. I am grateful to them all for taking this time and for checking and re-checking proofs. I must also thank Kathryn Jones and Vanessa Brett for all their help in the proof reading and indexation of this year's Journal; their assistance has been invaluable.

Looking forward, 2012 will be bringing with it, apart from the Olympics, two great silver-related events both of which should be of particular interest to the members of the Society.

The first of these is the opening of what should become an extraordinary and very exciting new focal point for the world of silver: The Goldsmiths' Centre at 42 Britton Street, London EC1M 5AD. This has been built by the Goldsmiths'



The Goldsmiths' Centre
(Richard Valencia © The Goldsmiths' Centre)

Company and is a huge commitment by the Company to ensuring that 700 years of tradition continue, grow and develop. A separate charity has been set up to run the Centre in a building which combines the old with the new; it is housed in what was a Victorian Board School but has had a new, four-storey building added on to allow the charity to provide workshop space, exhibition space and teaching space all with state of the art facilities. The remit of the charity is to provide workspace, education and training for public benefit; to foster, promote and extend public interest in art, craft, design and artisan skills and to provide a hub for those engaged or interested in these skills. The Centre will put on exhibitions and run courses at all levels from a pre-apprentice programme to part-time and evening classes.

I have not yet seen the completed building; I last saw it when it was still a building site ringing to the sounds of pneumatic drills with everyone in hard hats and fluorescent jackets; the workshops were empty shells. It is now finished and I

would suggest that members of the Society should make the journey to see it - it is very close to Farringdon Underground station and only a few minutes from Goldsmiths' Hall - and find out what is going on. At the very least please look at the website www.goldsmiths-centre.org This is a place that is open to anyone with an interest in silver, jewellery or the allied trades and will play an important role in the future of the craft.

The second event is taking place at Goldsmiths' Hall itself. It is what should be a stupendous exhibition curated by Helen Clifford: *Gold: Power and Allure - 4500 years of gold treasures from across Britain* which will run from the beginning of June to the end of July. An exhibition on this scale which embraces so many aspects of the subject has never been attempted and it should provide a great visual treat. It will include over 400 pieces from both private and public collections.

Lucy Morton

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Prince Albert and Elkingtons

KATHRYN JONES

In 1862 when Henry Cole visited Windsor Castle to discuss the national memorial to Prince Albert, Queen Victoria stated that she had no taste and used to listen only to her husband, "that she was not worthy to untie his latchet..."¹. But this was disingenuous. When Prince Albert first met his future wife, Victoria had clearly formed her own opinions about art and was already writing critically in her journal, often in quite simple terms, of works she had seen at the Royal Academy or which hung in Buckingham Palace. They appear as "lovely" or "quite dreadful", "truly beautiful" or "one of the worst pictures I have ever seen"². From 1840 onwards Victoria was commissioning works from Garrards and by 1843 the company had been appointed Royal Goldsmiths. One of the pinnacles of their work for the royal family was the Alhambra Table Fountain [Fig 1], first displayed at the Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin in 1853, and modelled by Edmund Cotterill, Edward Lorenzo Percy and William Spencer. Later literature described the piece as the design of Albert but it is clear from reading Victoria's journal that she too was heavily involved in the initial discussions of the work and had her own ideas of how the piece should proceed³.

Despite the widowed Queen's later protestations it is clear that Albert and Victoria had different views and appreciated different works of art. The Queen's taste was for the personal and sentimental as witnessed by her commission of the Lily Font from Edward Barnard & Sons; it was supplied for the baptism of Princess Victoria in 1841 and is cast in the form of a waterlily surrounded by harp-putti. Victoria's love of French works of art, influenced by the tastes of her uncle George IV, her mother the Duchess of Kent and Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland (her dresser), was further stimulated by her visits to France in 1843 and 1855. She showed a particular preference for the works of François-Désiré Froment-Meurice, one of the few exhibitors at the Great Exhibition named in her Journal, whose stand she visited a number of times. She also acquired works by C H Christofle & Co when she visited the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1855⁴.

The pantries at Windsor and Buckingham Palace were already well stocked with the magnificent dining services of George III and the unrivalled Grand Service of George IV. It is clear from the accounts that the Queen had little need for new formal silver and any entries during the early part of her reign relate to pieces for the nursery or for the private royal residences at Balmoral Castle and Osborne House. The queen did order a pair of frosted glass jugs mounted in silver-gilt, for serving iced water, from Mortimer & Hunt in



Fig 1 The Alhambra Table Fountain, silver, parcel-gilt and enamel, R & S Garrard & Co, London, 1853-54.

(RCIN 1569. Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

1 Henry Cole, *Fifty years of public work of Sir Henry Cole, KCB, accounted for in his deeds, speeches and writings*, (2 vols), London, 1884, vol 1, p 359.

2 Queen Victoria's Journal (from hereafter QVJ), 12 September 1847.

3 QVJ, 11 January 1851: "Went to the stables with Mr Cottrill, the artist designer at Garrard's, & showed him several of our horses which we wish to have modelled for a piece of plate. Talked over with

him what form it should take..."

4 From Froment-Meurice she purchased a match-holder for Albert in 1848 (Royal Collection Inventory Number (hereafter RCIN) 41114) and at the exhibition she acquired "some fine pieces of jewelry" and further "trifles". She was presented with a tazza in 1855 (RCIN 41123) and another in 1864 (RCIN 41130). From Christofle she bought a vase and cover (RCIN 41128).



Fig 2 Pair of water jugs, silver-gilt and glass, Mortimer & Hunt, London, 1839-40.

(RCIN 50659. Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

1839 [Fig 2]. These superbly finished pieces demonstrate the influence of her uncle's Grand Service but also show the Queen's love of chasing. Later in her reign she went on to favour Antoine Vechte, the renowned French chaser who completed two vases for her⁵.

Victoria's interests tended towards works of art which evoked a memory, told a story or had some strong personal association. The Prince was more interested in the ideas behind the work. Albert was fascinated by the process of creation: he was an able artist who learned drawing, watercolour and etching as well as trying his hand at oils and sculpture. Victoria, although an accomplished artist herself, took none of his meticulous interest in production or technique.

Albert's interest in the firm of Elkington flourished from different roots. He had studied the fledgling subject of Art History at the University of Bonn, and in 1838 he had undertaken the Grand Tour visiting various parts of Italy. There he fell in love with the works of the Renaissance, particularly in Florence where he wrote that he was often "quite intoxicated with delight" on departing the galleries or studios⁶. He also studied the Roman antiquities in Rome and Naples; these he believed to be the high points of 'great art'. When he came to England he encouraged two German artistic advisers to join him: Ludwig Grüner (1801-1882) who was as passionately committed to the works of Raphael as the prince, and Emil Braun (1809-56), an eminent German archaeologist who had spent much time in Rome.

It should be remembered that Albert's budget was limit-

ed once he became Prince Consort. On his marriage to Victoria, Parliament granted Albert £30,000 per annum. This seems particularly mean-spirited given that Prince Leopold continued to receive a full £50,000 even after the death of his wife, Princess Charlotte of Wales in 1817. In 1840 Albert spent £22,424 of which £284 was spent on jewellery and £408 on 'fine arts'. His acquisitions were, therefore, parsimonious in terms of his royal predecessors and many works entered the collection as gifts to or from Victoria, openly discussed in advance of the presentation⁷.

Albert had a profound belief in the importance of spreading what he termed "high art" or examples of "good taste" to the nation. As he said to the Council of the Society of Arts in 1846

the department most likely to prove immediately beneficial to the public, would be that which encourages most efficiently the application of the Fine Arts to our manufactures⁸.

Albert believed it was the role of the Society of Arts to "wed high art with mechanical skill" and to bring examples of good taste, applied to everyday objects, to the masses. This paper concentrates on his relationship with Elkington & Co: a case study of a company whose ability to mass produce works of art embodied these ideals and whose products fulfilled all three requirements of Albert's taste: personal appeal, moderate price and wide availability to the public.

On 29 November 1843 Albert made his first visit to Birmingham. Despite the fears of his advisers that the city was in the hands of the Chartists, the Prince was determined to go to one of the most important manufacturing hubs of the country. He wrote to Baron Stockmar of his warm welcome

I went to Birmingham to see its manufactures and I was received with indescribable enthusiasm⁹.

The visit comprised tours of the George Bacchus & Sons glassworks, the manufactory of Jennens & Bettridge, famed for their works in papier-mâché, the Edward Armfield button makers and Sargents, a sword-making business. This was followed by an extensive visit to Elkington's premises in New Hall Street.

As *The Times* noted the following day, the Prince spent over an hour examining all the processes which took place in the factory. It was reported that he

manifested considerable acquaintance with the principles of the science on which this manufacture is based

and that

he showed especial interest in the operations of the batteries in connexion with the solutions of various metals¹⁰.

The Prince was given a demonstration of the processes of plating by electrodeposit and of "manufacturing solid articles entirely from solutions" or in other words electroforming (also known as electrotyping or galvanoplasty). Long explanations of these processes appeared in the contemporary press attempting to demystify the apparent alchemy of the techniques to the public. *The Birmingham Journal* reported that

the manufacture of Messrs. Elkingtons will long remain unrivalled. The process goes forward with a most magical facility, and in the few minutes that his highness was looking on, toys of various kinds, buttons, chains, and other small articles, were silvered or gilt, and ready to be prepared and ticketed for the market¹¹.

Elkington, Mason & Co was already by this date a success story. George Elkington (1801-65) had inherited a spectacle and toy manufactory from his father and in the 1830s, together with his cousin Henry (1810-52), he was already experimenting with new gilding techniques. In 1840 a Birmingham surgeon, John Wright (1808-44), discovered a process for electroplating in either silver or gold using a solution of potassium cyanide. Elkingtons had kept a close eye on his experiments and almost immediately bought up the patent for this process. The cousins could see the potential for this new technique which was a more satisfactory method of creating a 'cheap' version of silver than Sheffield plate and their works expanded rapidly. At the time of the Prince's visit the manufactory on New Hall Street was employing around 400 workers. Elkingtons were quick to develop and refine the process of electroplating so that by the early 1840s the factory could claim to be far in advance of its competitors. Their plating was recognised as the most consistent: their plate was laid down more thickly and more smoothly than elsewhere and, through the addition of various chemicals to the process, the results had a suitably brilliant finish.¹²

Elkingtons also had a reputation for plating the smallest and most fragile objects. This success was attributed to Alexander Parkes (1813-90) a chemist and the chief metallurgist at the manufactory. Parkes specialised in plating organic material such as flowers and leaves, patenting his own process for coating the objects first in a mixture of lead and phosphorous, so that the plate would adhere properly¹³. He was said to have presented the Prince with a silver-plated cobweb during the visit¹⁴. Harriet Martineau, who visited Elkingtons in 1851 and wrote up her experience in Dickens's *Household Words*, asked for the truth of this story during her own visit. It was explained to her that in fact Parkes had electro-gilded a rosebud for the Prince and on drawing it out of the gilding tank it was found that a cobweb was perfectly preserved in gold plate between the petals¹⁵.

Later historians, such as Shirley Bury, have noted that Albert tried his own hand at electroplating and even set aside a room in the Palace to conduct his experiments¹⁶. Whilst no direct evidence for

5 RCIN 41358. The companion vase created for Albert is no longer in the Royal Collection. A vase matching that of the Queen was presented to Prince Albert Edward (later Edward VII) as a confirmation gift in 1853 (RCIN 51291).

6 K Jagow (ed), *Letters of the Prince Consort 1831-61*, London, 1938, p 21, letter to Prince Löwenstein, 25 February 1839.

7 For a complete list of gifts presented between Albert and Victoria, see *Victoria & Albert, Art & Love*, exhibition catalogue, Jonathan Marsden (ed), London, 2010, Appendix II, pp 456-62.

8 Henry Cole, op cit, see note 1, vol I, p 106.

9 K Jagow, op cit, see note 6, p 87, letter of 17 December 1843.

10 *The Times*, 30 November 1843, p 7.

11 *Birmingham Journal*, 2 December 1843, p 6.

12 *Art Journal*, October 1849, p 295: "There is a very remarkable brilliancy

in the precipitated silver which shows a considerable practical improvement in the working of the process".

13 Patent no 9807, 27 June 1843.

14 *Dictionary of National Biography*, R B Prosser, updated by T I Williams (online, 2004-11).

15 Harriet Martineau, 'The Magic Troughs at Birmingham', *Household Words*, 25 October 1851, pp 113-7: "Having heard something of a cobweb having been gilded at this trough, in the service of Prince Albert, we made inquiry, and found that it really was so – that a cobweb had been gilt – but it was by accident. A rosebud was gilded in the Prince's presence, and when it came out of the trough, it was found to have been crossed by a delicate thread of cobweb". I am grateful to Alastair Grant for supplying me with this and other contemporary references to Elkingtons.

16 Shirley Bury, *Victorian Electroplate*, Feltham, 1971, p 26.

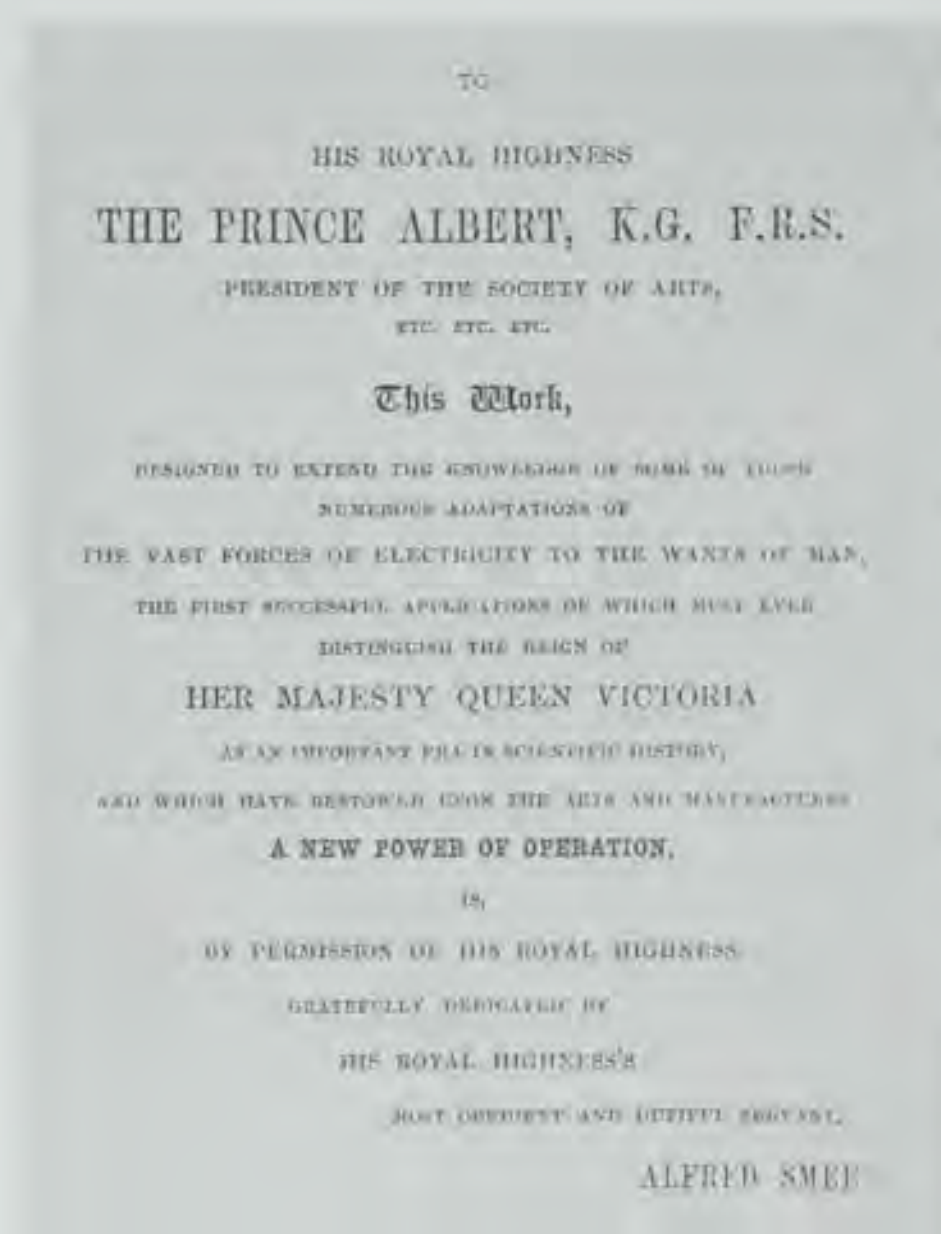


Fig 3 The title page of Prince Albert's 3rd edition copy of Alfred Smee, *Elements of Electrometallurgy*, London, 1851. (RCIN 1090178 Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

this exists it would certainly be characteristic of him. In 1860, in a dialogue with Lady Bloomfield, Albert explained that his reason for gaining artistic or musical expertise was not

with a view of doing anything worth looking at or hearing, but simply to enable me to judge and appreciate the works of others.¹⁷

He was also interested in chemistry; he became President of the Royal Society of Chemistry in 1845 and brought various eminent German chemists, including Dr Hoffman, to England to work with British industrialists. Accounts in the Royal Archives associated with the Great Exhibition show that he acquired various pieces of chemical equipment together with a planimeter and a microscope¹⁸. Kits for creating electroplate were easily obtained: from 1840 Edward Palmer of London sold six-cell and twelve-cell batteries, for prices starting at two guineas, as well as "electrotype apparatus", including a modified Daniell cell, from five shillings¹⁹.

Numerous manuals on the process were produced at this period including Alfred Smee's 'how to' guide: *Elements of Electrometallurgy* which was first published in 1842 with helpful illustrations. It was dedicated to the Prince and his personal copy remains in the Royal Library [Fig 3]. Its first edition included an appendix by Edward Palmer: effectively a catalogue listing various chemical solutions for sale, all for a few shillings per unit.

To the art world, to George Elkington and indeed to Albert himself, however, the important process was electrotyping. Electroforming, the process in which an object was almost literally 'grown' in a tank using a chemical solution and electric current, meant that each piece was identical to the original. Thus examples of 'high art' or 'good taste' could be reproduced an infinite number of times preserving the workmanship of the artist whether it be a Roman potter or Cellini himself. An undated document in the Elkington archive, by George Elkington, describes his own fascination with the process

facsimiles of the antique and the various works of art which are at present confined to the collections of the amateur may be now produced in the noble metals.

To Elkington the process was

the most efficient means of spreading fine taste, and of educating the public mind to a due appreciation of the really beautiful²⁰.

Again, although Elkingtons were not the inventors of this new technique, they were quick to draw on its potential; patenting a number of refinements to the process from 1840 onwards and gathering source material from which to create their electrotypes. Henry Elkington lent a number of pieces from his personal art collection to be copied by the factory including a wooden carving entitled *The Passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea* by Antoine Mellott²¹. But it was to various foreigners that the company also turned for inspiration. The first of these was Benjamin Schlick (1796-1872), a somewhat eccentric Dane, who had

17 Theodore Martin, *The Life of HRH The Prince Consort*, (5 vols), London, 1875-80, vol 4, p 16.

18 Royal Archives, PP Vic A 59, note from C Wentworth Dilke (one of the commissioners of the Exhibition) to Hon C B Phipps (Keeper of the Privy Purse): "I have ordered from the national society a list of the chemical & Physical models. I believe for HRH..."

19 Alfred Smee, *Elements of Electrometallurgy*, London, 1842, Appendix.

20 Archive of Art & Design, (hereafter AAD) 3-1979 PL8, G R Elkington (undated).

21 Listed on Table 55 in *The Catalogue of the articles in the exhibition of manufactures and art...* at

Birmingham, September 1849, Birmingham, 1849.

22 AAD, 3-1979 PL8, letter to George Elkington, December 1845. For more on Schlick's work see Wynyard Wilkinson, 'Benjamin Schlick (1796-1872)', *Silver Society Journal*, XIX, pp 4-11.

23 AAD-3-1979, PL8, letter from Emil Braun, 18 May 1846.

24 AAD-3-1979 PL12.

25 RCIN 41191, 41192, 41409, 41408.

26 H H Horton, *Birmingham, a poem*, revised edition, Birmingham, 1853.

27 Elihu Burrett, *Walks in the Black Country and its green border land*, London, 1868.

studied architecture and archaeology in Copenhagen and Paris, and counted among his patrons Frederick VI of Denmark, Charles X of France, Leopold, Grand Duke of Baden, Prince Torlonia in Rome, and Prince Nicolai of Russia²². He became Chamberlain to the Dukes of Lucca and whilst in Italy he observed in detail the excavations at Pompeii and patented a form of pantograph in order to make reproductions of works discovered in the ruins. In 1843 he first appeared at the English court among the guests invited to one of the royal balls; he first met George Elkington during the same year and agreed to work with him in obtaining and creating suitable designs. Schlick immediately saw the potential of electroforming to reproduce important works of art for the masses and in early 1844 his first models were patented by the company.

Among these was an inkwell in the form of a sandalled foot, closely based on a number of sketches made by Schlick at Pompeii [Fig 4]. Various examples of lamps of this type exist in the collections of Roman antiquities in, for example, the British Museum. This was one of Elkington's most enduringly popular designs and was the gift chosen by Victoria to present to Albert on their wedding anniversary in 1850.

It should be remembered that Elkingtons did not only produce electroforms in silver. In 1846 the German archaeologist Dr Emil Braun wrote a letter of introduction to Elkington asking about the galvanoplastic process and whether he might procure a machine himself together with a competent workman to help set it up for him²³. George Elkington responded by asking Braun to become a designer for the company and to provide source material for their electrotypes, these being most commonly reproduced in bronze, and including an array of sculptures, friezes and other works from Rome. A ledger in the Archive of Art and Design lists an extensive group of Braun's models, to be used by Elkingtons, dating from the period 1846 to 1851²⁴. Albert purchased a number of these bronzes for the Royal Collection, including figures of *Aristides* and *Sophocles* which were both acquired in 1847, as well as *Ariadne* and *Pericles*²⁵ which were gifts to the Queen in 1849. Braun was a more personable figure than Schlick and clearly enjoyed a close relationship with Elkington: in his letters he mentions "our plans made by the fireside".

It is clear from Braun's letters that Elkingtons' showroom was both saleroom and museum. It was considered an unofficial school of art and visitors were encouraged to make it part of their tour of the city. Henry Howell Horton's poem *Birmingham* included in the revised 1853 edition the footnote:

No visitor to Birmingham or passing stranger should omit visiting this attractive place, which vies with the oldest and most wealthy establishments of



Fig 4 Inkwell and taperstick, Elkington, Mason & Co, London, 1846-47.

(RCIN 34067, Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

its class, in the perfection of its models and designs and the well-earned excellence of its workmanship, this being clearly made manifest by the truly magnificent display of articles, solely of their own manufacture, exhibited in their beautiful show rooms.²⁶

By 1868 Elihu Burrett could write in his *Walks in the Black Country* that

The establishment is, in itself, a school of art, in which genius is trained to the finest conceptions of taste and beauty. No one can estimate the force and extent of influence it puts forth for the culture of a nation.²⁷

In November 1849 Albert returned to Birmingham, this time to Bingley House, to visit the Exhibition of Industrial Manufactures: an initiative funded entirely from private enterprise and designed to coincide with a meeting of the British Society in the city. The leading members of the committee who had set up the exhibition included George and Henry Elkington, as well as the porcelain manufacturer Herbert Minton, the glass manufacturer Follett Osler and Aaron Jennens whose workshops created furniture and works in papier-mâché. It is clear from Schlick's correspondence with George Elkington that the exhibition was being planned as early as 1845, inspired by contemporary exhibitions in France showing works of art and manufacture which had been taking place since the early 1800s. Various experiments in the same form had occurred in England in the 1840s: at Covent Garden in 1845, in Manchester in 1846, and in 1847 an exhibition of British manufactures was organised by the Royal Society of Arts. But the 1849 Birmingham Exhibition was more comprehensive and may be seen as the forerunner of the Great Exhibition itself. It was held in a wooden structure built at the front of Bingley House



Fig 5 Two-handled cup, oxidised silver, Elkington, Mason & Co, London, 1848-49.
(RCIN 41368. Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)



Fig 6 Vase, oxidised silver, Elkington, Mason & Co, London, 1849-50.
(RCIN 41369. Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

and covered over 10,000 square feet. The grounds were large enough to exhibit machinery and items such as steam engines were on display as well as samples from the local chocolate factory, Cadbury's. The interior comprised 130 stands or tables and included items of manufacture from all over the country from stockings to microscopes. Elkington, Mason & Co dominated the exhibition space, taking up four tables in the centre of the hall. Their wares included a table of bronzes including three busts lent by Albert, all electro-deposited by Emil Braun. Three further tables of electroplate and silver wares of hugely varying styles were also on show. Table 55 showed a "part Elizabethan dinner service" as well as contemporary dining wares; Table 57 showed the Temperantia Dish, based on a sixteenth-century original, as well as a number of pieces electroformed by Schlick after archaeological finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum, and Table 58 showed testimonials and racing trophies together with items based on botanical forms²⁸.

The Prince's visit to the exhibition lasted over three hours. He spent time viewing humble items such as buttons, hinges and guns, but then went on to make a detailed examination of Elkingtons' display, aided as the *Art Journal* reported, by the lucid explanations of Henry

Elkington. In particular the *Art Journal* picked out the

copies from Pompeian vessels which have been so successfully accomplished by this firm and which were much praised²⁹.

Indeed, at Christmas that year, the Prince presented Victoria with several purchases which he made at the exhibition including a pair of oxidised vases after the antique: one of which was based on a cup found in Pompeii (now in the Museum in Naples) [Fig 5]. Another being a copy of the Townley Vase [Fig 6], a second-century marble vase, excavated from the villa of Antoninus Pius by Gavin Hamilton and acquired by Charles Townley who had placed it in the British Museum at the beginning of the nineteenth century. That same Christmas the Osborne inventory notes that Albert presented the Queen with a bronze electrotpe of the duc de Luyne's tazza representing the days of the week and a silver chamber candlestick, reputedly after a design by Cellini³⁰.

Albert was clearly also struck by Schlick's copy of a famed pewter dish in the collection in the Louvre: originally by the sixteenth-century die-cutter François Briot, recast by Caspar Enderlein and then copied, restored and partly

recomposed by Schlick for Elkingtons. This was made into a table for the prince, with a stand by George Stanton, a student of the Birmingham School of Design [Fig 7]. It was presented to Victoria on her birthday in 1850 and later lent to the Great Exhibition where it was illustrated by Matthew Digby Wyatt³¹. Interestingly a letter by Braun written to Elkington in 1850 claims that he too had made a copy of the Louvre dish "for the Queen" a year after Schlick's design had appeared in concrete form in Birmingham. Of Braun's version no trace remains in the Royal Collection³².

Elkingtons was by no means the only example of a manufactory which wedded high art with mechanical skill nor were all their reproductions on a small scale. Albert fully embraced the potential of the new medium to recreate works of sculpture in both miniature versions and full scale. The ground floor of Osborne was filled with electrotypes of antique works reproduced by Barbedienne of Paris; whilst the terrace was scattered with electrotypes by Miroy Frères and Geiss of Berlin.

Albert's belief in the role of mass production in improving public taste extended to his support of other manufactories such as Minton & Co and W T Copeland & Sons who produced a huge number of works in Parian ware, many drawn from works in the Royal Collection, and of Felix Summerly's Art Manufactures, a short-lived enterprise run by Henry Cole which aimed to produce 'good design' attached to items in everyday use such as tea services, beer jugs and inkstands. Albert showed his support for the scheme by acquiring a silver inkstand in 1847 and he owned at least three other works by the company³³. He was also a firm supporter of the Art Unions: the Art Union scheme was a form of lottery with an annual ballot for prizes. Art Unions flourished throughout Britain producing prizes, which were often reductions of full-sized works of art, in electrotype, engraving or Parian ware. In 1849 Albert was offered a copy of each of the bronze reductions produced up to that date by the Art Unions, including the figure of the *Eagle Slayer* by John Bell which had been produced in 1845 and the full-size version of which dominated the hall in the Great Exhibition³⁴. The *Art Union Monthly Journal* (later known as the *Art Journal*) also featured engravings of many works of art in the Royal Collection: both old master paintings and works of art such as the nautilus cup acquired by George IV which was believed to be by Cellini³⁵.

Albert was also a dedicated patron of the Government Schools of Design of which Henry Cole was Secretary. The prince encouraged Cole to use the schools to produce designs for manufacturers working to produce items for the royal palaces; these included various items in chintz, carpets, paper-hangings and items of pottery for both Buckingham Palace and Osborne House. Albert's patronage was vital



Fig 7 Table with top based on the *Temperantia Dish*, silver, parcel-gilt and steel, Elkington, Mason & Co, London, 1849-50.

(RCIN 41227 Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

28 *The Catalogue of the articles in the exhibition of manufactures and art... at Birmingham, September 1849*, Birmingham, 1849.

29 *Art Journal*, December 1849, p.378.

30 *Catalogue of Paintings, Sculpture and other Works of Art at Osborne*, (3 vols), London, 1876, vol 2, p 30, nos 106 and 107.

31 Matthew Digby Wyatt, *Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century*,

London, 1851-3, pl LXXIX.

32 AAD-3-1979 PL12, letter from Emil Braun, 23 November 1850. The design of the *Temperantia Dish* was one of the most popular produced by Elkingtons and a version of

the dish later became the Venus Rosewater Trophy at Wimbledon. This has erroneously been thought in the past to have been presented to the All England Lawn Tennis and Croquet Club by Queen Victoria.

33 Henry Cole, op cit, see note 1, vol 2, p 182.

34 RCIN 41551.

35 RCIN 50603, now attributed to Nikolaus Schmidt of Nuremberg.



Fig 8 Vase and cover, silver, parcel-gilt, Elkington, Mason & Co, London, 1856-57.

(RCIN 42202. Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

and Cole wrote to other government departments declaring the prince's support for the scheme

His Royal Highness is decidedly of the opinion that the use of successful designs ought not to be restricted to the palaces, but that the public should enjoy all the advantages of being able to obtain them³⁶.

This was the driving philosophy behind the royal loans to the Marlborough House museum. At the close of the Great Exhibition a space was sought both for the collection of works of art which would eventually become the Victoria and Albert Museum, and to house the Department of Practical Art which aimed to train students in good design. The works of art were exhibited in Marlborough House: the residence of the Prince of Wales (who was moved onto the upper floors whilst the museum was housed there). The museum later moved to South Kensington. The royal family lent freely to the collections on display: furniture, tapestries from Hampton Court, terracotta medallions, boxes of lacquer ware, ancient ironwork, and arms were lent. On her first visit to the collection in May 1852 Victoria felt that examples of fine lace were lacking and sent a selection from the Royal Collection that evening. The following year Henry Cole recorded in his autobiography that he was able to wander freely around Buckingham Palace selecting items of

Sèvres porcelain for display³⁷. Some of these were lent on to provincial museums as a study collection. From 1853 the Department of Science and Art within the museum was dedicated to creating copies of the items which were loaned to the museum from elsewhere. Large items were photographed but the smaller pieces were reproduced in relatively inexpensive materials such as plaster, wax, electrotypes or 'fictive ivory' (a form of stearin).

A catalogue of these copies notes that they were intended for

Schools of Art, for Prizes and for general purposes of public instruction in public museum³⁸

but the general public could also purchase items. Elkingtons were closely involved in the scheme and produced many of the electrotype copies of items in metalwork. The royal family was keen to show its support lending works of art such as the so-called Cellini shield, a sixteenth-century German parade shield, to the department³⁹.

Albert also showed his support by purchasing a Moresque vase and cover [Fig 8] as a gift for the Queen; it is a silver and gilt electrotype copy of a fourteenth-century piece from the collection of the ecclesiastical architect Rhode Hawkins. Albert's version was the most expensive of the type, costing as much as £2 11s, but Elkingtons also produced it in bronzed copper or oxidised silver for much less.

At the Great Exhibition Elkingtons were fêted for their wares in the new technique. Victoria herself commented in her journal

The taste of some of the plate & jewelry is beautiful; none struck us so much & as so likely to be useful for the taste of the country as Elkington's beautiful specimens of electroplate⁴⁰.

Contemporary critics, the jurors of the Great Exhibition, the journalists of the Art Union and men such as Henry Cole, were aware that while these new techniques provided the opportunity to spread high art they could also destroy creativity. Wary notes were sounded. The jury reporting on the metalwork class of the Great Exhibition, for example, noted that they could only comment on "the artistic application of the discovery"⁴¹. By the time of the 1862 International Exhibition, despite the peon of praise to Elkingtons written in *Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor*⁴², few of their items were picked out by the jury for special mention or prizes.

It should be remembered therefore that whilst Albert delighted in the applications of these new techniques as bringing affordable examples of high art to the masses,

Fig 9 Jewel casket, gilt bronze, electroplated silver and porcelain, Elkington, Mason & Co, London, 1851-52.

(RCIN 1562, Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)



he was also a patron of them in their own right. Among the objects produced to celebrate these new processes was the jewel casket created by Elkingtons for the Great Exhibition [Fig 9] which was highly praised by the jury in demonstrating "the artistic application of electroplating"³⁶. Based on a design by the Prince's art adviser Ludwig Grüner, the *cinquecento* style casket was intended to celebrate the royal dynasty. Produced in gilt bronze and electroplated silver, enclosing Berlin porcelain plaques, it shows Victoria with the Prince of Wales, and Albert dressed in armour. The other children were represented in silvered versions of Leonard Wyon's medals fitted around the frieze. The Queen described it in her journal as

our beautiful jewel case, a splendid piece of workmanship, it really is exquisite⁴⁴.

As a secure casket it would have been of little practical use as the doors are unlockable. Nevertheless as a work of art it was much admired at the Exhibition and won a number of prizes including an Honourable Mention for the painting in Class 30 and a Council Medal for the metalwork in Class 23.

Much of the work Elkingtons did for the royal family was created in mixed media in this way. Around 1855 Albert commissioned a set of twelve candelabra for Balmoral Castle [Fig 10]. Like many of the



Fig 10 Candelabrum designed by Prince Albert, silver, parcel-gilt, cairngorm and stag's horn, Elkington, Mason & Co, circa 1855.

(RCIN 15941 Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

36 Henry Cole, op cit, see note 1, vol I, p 113.

37 Ibid, p 285

38 *Inventory of Electrotypes Reproductions in the South Kensington Museum*, London, 1870, title page.

39 RCIN 62978.

40 QVJ, 12 July 1851.

41 *Reports by the Juries on the subjects in the thirty classes into which the Exhibition was divided*, London, 1852, p 512.

42 *Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor*, London, 1862, pp 146-53: "But to fairly appre-

ciate all the useful and ornamental developments of which the electrotypes process has proved itself capable it is necessary to spend days in an establishment like that of Messrs. Elkington and Co. here may be seen in perfection every variety of the electro process... Wandering from

room to room, from shed to shed, from courtyard to courtyard the visitor is bewildered with the constant variety of skill and ingenuity brought to bear upon common objects of everyday life... we invite the reader to pause and study, certain that his time will be well employed, for

while he admires he cannot but learn".

43 As note 41, p 512.

44 QVJ, 8 August 1851.



Fig 11 Lady Godiva, silver, parcel-gilt and bronze, Elkington, Mason & Co, London, 1856-57.

(RCIN 1571. Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

works for the royal couple's highland home these pieces had an overtly Scottish theme and were constructed using stag's horn and the locally-occurring gemstones: cairngorms, combined with silver and silver-gilt. The candelabra appear to have been designed by Albert himself but his role is difficult to define. His Thuringian background, where the use of antlers in everything from furniture to pens was common, may have led the design for these pieces. There is plenty of evidence for his direct involvement in other artistic schemes. As, for example, in the centrepiece featuring portraits of Victoria's dogs by Garrards⁴⁵, which was exhibited at the Annual Exhibition of British Manufactures in 1849 under the Prince's name. In other cases he seems to have added touches to the existing designs: a small sketch of a Celtic bracelet for the sculpture of Malcolm Caenmore by William Theed appears in a letter to Colonel Phipps of 30 August 1860⁴⁶. Most commonly however, the Prince seems to have advised on works as they progressed. Artists favoured at court, such as Theed, Daniel Maelise and John Martin, were adept at following his suggestions. Others such as William Dyce, who created a mural at Osborne, resented his interference, complaining that it was distracting

to have the Prince looking in upon you every ten minutes or so⁴⁷.

The modeller of the candelabra, Pierre-Emil Jeannest (1813-57), appears to have been willing to accept the Prince's direction.

Jeannest was a French modeller who, unusually, worked for both Mintons and Elkingtons. Having trained in the *style troubadour* or medieval style in France under Delaroche, he came to England in 1845 or 1846 and initially worked with the porcelain manufactory, but by 1850 he was chief modeller in the Elkington workshops. An agreement with Elkingtons dating from September 1853 designates him as both designer and modeller charged with the superintendence of the French employees at the factory⁴⁸. He was given an annual salary of £450 and the agreement allowed that he might design for others providing they were of dissimilar trades. He was also a renowned teacher in the Potteries School of Design. Jeannest's obituary in the *Art Journal* stated

It is not too much to say that the genius and versatility of M. Jeannest, his remarkable knowledge alike of the minutest detail in ornament, as in the human figure and animals, did much to elevate the production of Messrs. Elkington, to the position now universally assigned to them⁴⁹.

Jeannest was the modeller behind *Lady Godiva* [Fig 11]: a figure given to Albert by Victoria as a birthday present in 1857. Far from showing an aversion to the nude, the gift celebrated the female figure, and Jeannest showed his adaptability in using his French chivalric style on English subject matter. At the Great Exhibition his design for a figure of *Elizabeth I entering Kenilworth Castle*, which was shown on Elkingtons' stand had won great praise. Waring, who wrote a report on the metalwork section of the 1862 International Exhibition commented that the sculpture of Lady Godiva was a "beautiful rendition of a beautiful subject"⁵⁰. Like the jewel casket and the candelabra the piece experimented with mixed media: the silver and silver-gilt were accompanied by *champlevé* enamel and bronze panels depicting scenes from Lady Godiva's story. This was Elkingtons' first venture into *champlevé* enamelling and the success of the sculpture meant that the technique was used on a number of objects shown in the 1862 Exhibition. Alongside the figure of Lady Godiva and a pair of the Scottish candelabra which appeared on Elkingtons' stand was a tea service of *champlevé* enamel. The reactions of the critics were mixed. Many of the pieces shown at the Exhibition despite, in the eyes of the jury, showing signs of progress from 1851, were still considered to show a lack of 'good design' and there were cries against the heaviness of style demonstrated and the failure of the modellers to live up to their continental counterparts⁵¹. The pieces picked out by Robert Hunt in the *Official Report* on the Exhibition included neither the candelabra nor the figure of Lady Godiva. Nevertheless *Cassell's Illustrated Exhibitor* considered Elkingtons to show both "educated taste and rare manipulative skill"⁵².

It is fitting, after Albert's close involvement with the company, that it was to Elkington & Co that the Queen turned for the creation of several memorials of her husband. The enormous bronze, cast by Elkingtons, of the Prince in highland dress [Fig 12], after a sculpture by William Theed (1804-91), was unveiled by Victoria at Balmoral in torrential rain in October 1867.

The christening gift of 1864 [Fig 13] from the Queen to her grandson and godson, Prince Albert Victor Christian Edward of Wales, was likewise modelled by William Theed. The figure in armour was based on a memorial portrait of Albert by the watercolourist Edward Corbould (1815-1905). It shows Albert, the child's grandfather, dressed in armour and sheathing his sword. The Queen's gift was originally intended to be a more traditional christening cup but Corbould, Theed and Princess Louise were all working on memorial projects featuring Albert when her grandson was born in early 1864. Victoria therefore decided that the gift should feature Albert himself. According to the *Illustrated London News* it took Elkingtons over a year to create the final work. The design was delivered to them in March 1864 but the piece, which is almost one metre tall, was not completed until the following December at a cost £1,150. The work is heavy with symbolism. The figure of Albert represents the child's grandfather and namesake but his pose is also a reference to Christian in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*; he had fought the good fight, his course was run. The stand incorporates lilies of purity, figures of Faith, Hope and Charity, a broken rose inscribed with the word "Frogmore", where the Prince was buried, and a base of ebonised wood mounted with silver stars represents Albert's heavenly repose. The pedestal is inscribed with both biblical verses from St Paul's Epistle to Timothy and a poem devised by the wife of the Rector of the church at Osborne, which exhorted the young recipient to follow in his grandfather's footsteps,

to walk as he walked, to think as he thought and to strive as he strove.

What the infant prince thought of this gift, loaded with symbolic meaning, is unknown but the *Illustrated London News* noted that Albert was

the presiding genius of the whole composition for almost every portion bears some reference to his exemplary life and character⁵³.

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Fig 12 Queen Victoria unveiling the statue of the Prince Consort at Balmoral, October 1867, watercolour, George Housman Thomas. (RCIN 450580, Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)



Fig 13 Prince Albert, silver, parcel-gilt and enamel, Elkington & Co, London, 1864-65. (RCIN 50468, Royal Collection © Her Majesty The Queen, 2011)

45 RCIN 1570.

46 Royal Archives, PPTO/PP/QV/MAIN/5544.

47 Charles H Cope, *Reminiscences of Charles West Cope*, London, 1891, p 172, letter from Dyce to C W Cope dated 13 August 1847.

48 AAD-3-1979 PL8.

49 *Art Journal*, 1857, p 227.

50 J B Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International*

Exhibition, London, 1863, pl 82.

51 *Official Illustrated Catalogue of the London International Exhibition of 1862*, London, 1862,

pp 95-7.

52 Cassell, *op cit*, see note 42, p 153.

53 *Illustrated London News*, 6 January 1866.

Towards the Patriotic Fund - an update

ANTHONY TWIST



Fig 1 The Truxton urn, John Robins, London, circa 1800.

Since I published the article 'Towards the Patriotic Fund' in *Silver Studies* 2010 I have learnt more about the silver urn or vase presented by Lloyd's to the merchant ship captain Thomas Truxtun¹. It is now owned by the White House Historical Association (WHHA) and Decatur House, a National Trust for Historic Preservation property in Washington DC; the illustration of the urn [Fig 1] is reproduced by courtesy of the latter organisation. Leslie Jones, the Collections Manager of the WHHA, has kindly informed me that the urn is attributed to John Robins, London, circa 1800, and that it is inscribed from the underwriters and merchants at Lloyd's coffee house. From the references quoted in the 2010 article it is clear that the vessel, which predates the creation of the Patriotic Fund, has always been called an urn even though it does not have a tap such as on the one awarded to Captain Nicholas Tomlinson². Michael Clayton, in his *Collector's Directory of the Silver and Gold of Great Britain and North America* refers to "the so-called Trafalgar Vase" in his article on two-handled cups³. The title 'urn' is as firmly attached to the award to Captain Truxtun as is that of 'vase' to the award made to Lady Nelson.

Jim Gawler has informed me that he succeeded Mr Carter as Secretary of the Patriotic Fund in 1980: the date of 1990 for Mr Carter's retirement given in note 79 on page 88 is therefore incorrect.

From the description of the inception of the Patriotic Fund on pages 86-7 of my article it might seem that Brook Watson (who was not made a baronet until December 1803) was little more than a figure-head when he became the initial Chairman of the fund. He may, however, have made a more important contribution even though he resigned in favour of Sir Francis Baring after only a few weeks. According to W E May and P G W Annis the presentation of ceremonial swords by the City of London began with that awarded to Admiral Viscount Duncan in 1797 after Camperdown⁴; and the inscription on it concluded with the words "Watson Mayor". Brook Watson, Lord Mayor at the time at which the City began giving swords (including the one presented to Nelson after the Battle of the Nile), must have endorsed or perhaps even initiated the custom. It would seem, therefore, that in 1803 he could well have played a significant part in establishing the Patriotic Fund's policy of making tangible awards.

A shortened version of 'Towards the Patriotic Fund' is appearing in the 2011 volume of the *Trafalgar Chronicle*, the Journal of the 1805 Club.

1 Anthony Twist, 'Towards the Patriotic Fund', *Silver Studies, The Journal of the Silver Society* 2010, no 26, pp 78-9.

2 Ibid.

3 2nd edition, Woodbridge, 1985, p 138.

4 W E May and P G Annis, *Swords for Sea Service* (2 vols), London, 1970, vol 1, p 69.

From Copes to Crowns:

A History of Silver at Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire

JAMES ROTHWELL

Set as it is amidst idyllic, sleepy countryside in the heart of England, being of comparatively modest size and scarcely altered for the last three centuries, Canons Ashby [Fig 1] in Northamptonshire might not be expected to prove a rich vein for the historian of silver. It is certainly not a place to find de Lamerie or Storr, or a dinner service of gargantuan proportions, but its records are sufficiently intact to be able to inform us of the role silver has played there, and key moments in its evolution are reflected in the pieces that survive in the collection. Furthermore, at either end of its long tenure by the Dryden family, precious metals brought Canons Ashby on to the national stage, albeit only briefly in both cases.

A priory of Augustinian canons [Fig 2] had been established at Ashby, mid-way between Northampton and Banbury, in the mid twelfth century and it remained undisturbed and relatively undistinguished right up to the Reformation. Its only claims to fame, or rather infamy, were its reputation as a staging post for unruly Oxford students and the admonishment of the Prior by the Bishop in the 1430s for consorting with local women¹. Canons Ashby, along with the nation's other smaller monasteries, came under the ominous royal spotlight in 1535 and when one of Cromwell's Commissioners, John Tregonwell, reported to his master in September of that year he described a mixed state of affairs.

At Canons Ashby the house is 160 l [pounds] in debt, by the preferment of the late prior. The house is in decay by negligence of his predecessor. But the prior, though unlearned, is disposed to do well, and has a learned and religious sub-prior².

1 Oliver Garnett, *Canons Ashby* (National Trust guidebook), London, 2004, p.32; Reverend R M Serjeantson, W Ryland and D Adkins (eds), *The Victoria History of the County of Northamptonshire*, vol 2,

London, 1906, p 131.

2 James Gairdner (ed), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, vol IX, London, 1886, pp 148-9.



Fig 1 Canons Ashby from the south-west.
(photo: Andrew Butler©National Trust Photographic Library)



Fig 2 The west front of the priory church of St Mary, Canons Ashby.
(photo: Andrew Butler©National Trust Photographic Library)



Fig 3 Edward Dryden and his family, Jonathan Richardson, circa 1715.

(National Trust, Canons Ashby; photo©National Trust Photographic Library)

Richard Colles was the new Prior referred to and, however well intentioned he might have seemed to Tregonwell, his purchase of lavish new vestments cannot have helped the parlous financial situation. They were ordered from one "Thomas Typlady citizen and broderer of London" for the immense sum of £39 (the annual income of the house was only £109) and just £10 of that had been paid when the priory was suppressed in May 1536³. The vestments were described as being of "cloth of silver worked with fleur-de-lys and angels". They must have been of exceptionally high quality, in addition to being brand new, as they were reserved from the general sales of monastic goods for the King's own use; being given over to the care of Sir Thomas Pope, the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentations⁴. No further information survives about the vestments but it is possible that they were intended for one of the Chapels Royal for which they would have been particularly well suited with their

decoration of fleur-de-lys reflecting the first quartering of the King's arms.

Once stripped of all objects of value, including the vestments and any other silver or gold, Canons Ashby was acquired by Sir John Cope in 1538, passing via his daughter Elizabeth to the Dryden family who were to continue to hold it for the next four centuries⁵. It was the Drydens who probably constructed the core of the present manor-house at Canons Ashby in the mid-sixteenth century and they were a wealthy enough family to have found £1,100 in 1619 to pay James I for a baronetcy⁶. They must, therefore, have had a reasonable store of silver and there is no reason to believe that it would not have survived the Civil War, in part at least, as the Drydens were Puritans and Parliamentarians. Their house was unscathed by the conflict (though not the church) and they remained prosperous throughout the seventeenth century⁷. Given that Sir Robert Dryden, 3rd Baronet, who inherited in 1658, never married and seems to have done little to the fabric of Canons Ashby during his fifty year tenure, the silver may have remained broadly unchanged into the early eighteenth century. Frustratingly the inventory drawn up following his death in 1708 does not include plate but Sir Robert did add at least one item: a 1683-84 tankard bearing his arms which is known to have remained amongst the family silver into the twentieth century⁸. It was hall-marked for London and its maker's mark, I I above a fleur-de-lys, has been attributed by Sir Charles Jackson to John Jackson I. The mark has also been found on a communion paten at St Mary-at-Hill, London and could be the same as that on a second paten recorded at the church of St Vincent, Caythorpe in the first edition of *The Buildings of England* volume on Lincolnshire⁹.

With an eye to the preservation of his estate and reflecting his puritan upbringing, Sir Robert passed over the childless and elderly heir to the baronetcy as well as the Catholic sons of the poet John Dryden. Instead he bequeathed Canons Ashby to Edward Dryden (d 1717) [Fig 3], the most junior of his numerous male cousins, and a man who was already wealthy, having married an heiress and being in possession of a successful grocery business in the city of Westminster. Edward entered into his inheritance with enthusiasm and brought the fashions of the capital with him. The exterior of the house

3 F A Gasquet DD, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, vol II, London, 1895, pp 418-9. The vestments are recorded as having been "brought to Stourbridge Fair and delivered to the monastery servants" just before the Dissolution; Reverend R M

Serjeantson, W Ryland and D Adkins (eds), op cit, see note 1, p 131, footnote 25.

4 F A Gasquet, *Ibid*, footnote to p 418.

5 Oliver Garnett, op cit, see note 1. According to Gasquet op cit, see note 3,

pp 416-7, the total weights of precious metals seized from the monasteries were as follows: gold 14,531¹/₄ oz.; silver-gilt 129,520 oz; parcel gilt 73,774³/₄ oz.; silver 67,600¹/₄ oz. The estimated melting worth at the time was £63,531 15s 1d.

6 Oliver Garnett, op cit, see note 1, pp 34-5.

7 *Ibid*, p 36.

8 The tankard is in an anonymous private collection.

9 Sir Charles Jackson,

English Goldsmiths and their Marks, London, 1921, p 141; Nikolaus Pevsner and John Harris, *Lincolnshire*, London, 1964, p 495.

was transformed by the introduction of sash windows and classical doorcases and the garden was completely redesigned to bring it up to date, including the commissioning of several lead statues from John van Nost. Inside, Dryden remodelled the dining parlour, with-drawing room (now the Painted Parlour) and the principal bedchamber (now the Tapestry Room) and embellished the massive fireplace of the former Great Chamber (now the drawing room) with his father's arms and his own arms impaling those of his wife, Elizabeth Allen. To furnish the house he made numerous purchases including, in 1716, a walnut suite of seat furniture with embroidered upholstery from the London cabinet-maker, Thomas Phill¹⁰. He must also have acquired the most important of the few items of silver surviving at Canons Ashby today: a tea kettle, complete with stand and burner, by Thomas Sadler, of 1712-13 [Fig 4]. It bears his and his wife's arms, impaled as in the drawing room, and it has a scratchweight of 111 oz 10 dwt. This is exceptionally heavy and close in weight to such mighty examples as the largest of the three kettles of the 2nd Earl of Warrington (115 oz 6 dwt) and the Paul de Lamerie kettle of 1713-14 (actual weight 112 oz 11 dwt) at the Ashmolean Museum¹¹. With its polygonal form, boldly modelled stand with cast feet and handles and its well balanced assemblage of parts, the Canons Ashby kettle is of sufficiently high quality and fashionable design to have graced the tea equipage of the greatest of households. It must always thereafter have been the most impressive piece of plate in the Dryden collection and shows that Sadler, few of whose pieces survive, was a highly competent maker¹².

The kettle is omitted from the silver listed in the inventory of Edward's goods at Canons Ashby and at his town house in Bolton Street, Piccadilly [Appendix 1], dated 1717-18. No silver at all is mentioned in the Bolton Street house, however, and it is likely that there was a separate account of plate for that dwelling which does not survive. The list for Canons Ashby is clearly not the entity: omitting in addition to the kettle almost all flatware (bar a set of spoons) as well as two out of four small waiters recorded as bearing Edward and Elizabeth's arms in the early nineteenth century [Appendix 6]. Amongst the modest amount that is included at Canons Ashby is a tankard, which must be that of 1683-84 acquired by Sir Robert, and a "Sett of Casters in a frame". The latter is



Fig 4 Tea kettle, lamp and stand, Britannia standard silver, Thomas Sadler, London, 1712-13.

(National Trust (Dryden Collection), Canons Ashby; photo: Andrew Haslam © National Trust Photographic Library)

not known to survive but may well have been a humbler version of the type represented by the de Lamerie trio and frame of 1736 at the Ashmolean¹³. Alternatively, it could have been one and the same as the

three Canisters [confirmed as being casters by the 1770 inventory. See Appendix 4] with a frame and two tops for Oyl and Vinegar Bottles

specified in the 1756 plate list [Appendix 3] and thus comparable to the numerous surviving examples of frames combining casters with oil and vinegar bottles¹⁴. Cruet frames of both types were a newly popular feature of the early eighteenth-century dining table and that at Canons Ashby, whatever form it took, is likely to have been Edward's purchase. The "large Cup & Cover" listed in 1717-18 bore Edward Dryden's father's arms impaled with those of his mother, Elizabeth Martyn, according to the early nineteenth-century plate list [Appendix 6] where it is also recorded that some of the

10 Oliver Garnet, *op cit*, see note 1, pp 22 and 39.

11 The large Warrington kettle, which had an accompanying silver table, does not survive, see James Lomax and James Rothwell, *Country House Silver from Dunham Massey*,

London, 2006, pp 55, 169 and 208, note 55. For the Ashmolean kettle see Timothy Schroder, *British and Continental Gold and Silver in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford, 2009, vol II, cat 283, pp 762-4.

12 Almost all the known

pieces by Sadler, which are not many, are flatware. There is, for example, a spoon of 1705-6 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession no 56.111

13 Timothy Schroder, *op cit*, see note 11, vol I, cat 133, pp 344-347. Lord

Warrington had a crewet frame with "3 Casters & a Mustard Spoon" at Dunham Massey. See James Lomax and James Rothwell, *op cit*, see note 11, pp 128 and 167.

14 One of 1709 by Edmund Pearce was sold at

Christie's, King Street, London, 15 June 2004, lot 103. For another of 1718-19 by Charles Adam see Christopher Hartop, *The Huguenot Legacy, English Silver 1680-1760 from the Alan and Simone Hartman*, London, 1996, cat 19, pp 148-9.



Fig 5 Wine cooler, silver plate, early nineteenth-century.
(National Trust (Dryden Collection), Canons Ashby; photo: George Leroy, © National Trust)



Fig 6 Sir Henry Dryden 4th Baronet (1818-99) with his wife and daughter, circa 1880.
(National Trust, Canons Ashby)



Fig 7 Sketch of the altar plate given by Sir Erasmus Dryden, 6th Baronet, in 1715 and turned in by Sir Henry Dryden, 4th Baronet, in 1847.
(Northamptonshire County Record Office; photo: the author)

table spoons then present had the Martyn arms in a lozenge: presumably for Elizabeth before her marriage. There is no evidence in the 1717-18 inventory or in later documents for Edward having any very substantial items amongst his plate other than the kettle. A cistern and monteith, which might have been found in silver in wealthier aristocratic households, were of copper and pewter respectively at Canons Ashby.

Edward Dryden's death in 1717 was followed quickly by that of his father, Sir Erasmus (1636-1718), by then the 6th Baronet, and both the estate and title were inherited by Edward's elder son, John (circa 1704-1770). His second marriage in 1726 to Elizabeth Rooper occasioned an embellishment of the Canons Ashby silver and a bill survives for what was supplied by Thomas Farren in that year [Appendix 2]. Most was associated with dining, there being: twelve knives with silver hafts, twelve spare blades, twelve forks, six spoons and four square salts. The weight of these additions was 53 oz 1 dwt and Sir John sent old plate in exchange to nearly the same amount. A comparison of the 1717 inventory and the 1756 list of plate [Appendices 1 and 3] suggests that "A Tumbler", "Two small Cups", "a less Cup" and "A Small Saucepan" may have been amongst the items present in 1717 that were exchanged in 1726. Two pairs of candlesticks and one branch, weighing 82 oz 17 dwt, made up the remainder of the Farren bill and represented an augmentation to the overall weight of plate at Canons Ashby as they were paid for in cash. The candlesticks are recorded as bearing the Dryden and Rooper arms in the circa 1824 plate list [Appendix 6] as are two sauce boats, a coffee pot and stand, a "Very small Cream Pot" and four "flat" salts. The sauce boats are not mentioned in 1756 and were probably acquired subsequently together with a "Larg silver plate to set ye tea Cups on". That is revealed to have been "French plate" in the 1791 inventory [Appendix 5]. No chamber plate appears to have been acquired by Sir John and there was no toilet service in spite of the fact that the principal bedchamber ("the three Step Room", now the Tapestry Room) was equipped with "a Toilet table quilt and Cover" in 1770¹⁵.

Sir John's widow continued to occupy Canons Ashby for twenty-one years after his death so it was not until 1791 that his niece Elizabeth (1753-1824) and her husband, John Turner (1752-97), were able to take up their inheritance. Turner immediately assumed the Dryden surname and in 1795 he had the Canons Ashby baronetcy revived in his favour. The inventory drawn up on old Lady Dryden's death is a fascinating document and is made all the more so by the commentary added by Elizabeth Turner Dryden in 1816. The plate listed is virtually the same as in 1770 with only the addition of some flatware and cutlery and two extra pairs of candlesticks. Elizabeth states that the inventory was drawn up whilst the

last possessor was lying dead in the House and it was copied from one rather erroneous, written also under the same circumstances in the year 1770 after the death of my late Uncle.

There was clearly no squeamishness in the inventory-takers who, if they did begin with the body still in the house, must have completed their task after the funeral as they noted that the number of Holland sheets and "yellow cases" was depleted by those taken to

bury Lady Dryden in. Their accuracy of description did not impress Elizabeth Turner Dryden, however, and she gave examples of their errors, “such as “Damask [by implication silk] furniture” for “Stuff [wool] Damask”. Having bemoaned the general state of wear and tear, especially of the linen, she turned her attention to the silver.

As to the Plate, many of the small Tea Spoons I am sorry to say have been stolen by the Servants, also the Sugar Tongs (mentioned in the list of plate) was never found after my Aunts death: they were very small in the old fashioned shape. The Silver pronged forks were worn so as to be useless, I changed them for the Soup Ladle, for steel forks for the best knives & for altering the Tea Kettle¹⁶: all the rest of the plate is I believe much as it was - some is in the press in Sir Robert room some in the storeroom & the rest in use in the Country only - the dozen and half of plain Silver knives & forks are in a flat deal box in the Store-room & the Silver Scallop is made a stand for the Coffee pot. All the family plate is (I believe without exception) with the old Dryden Arms on them - and some spoons with the Martin Arms [Elizabeth Martyn was Edward Dryden’s mother].

These comments and two lists drawn up circa 1824 [Appendix 6] reveal Elizabeth and her sons, Sir John (1782-1818) and the Reverend Sir Henry (1787-1837), the 2nd and 3rd Baronets of the second creation respectively, to have added only a bread basket and a number of small items to the collection. Amongst the latter were examples of the plethora of newly fashionable utensils of the later Georgian period: a salad fork, asparagus tongs and a fish slice. A pair of plated, urn-shaped wine coolers [Fig 5] engraved with the Dryden arms, which survive at Canons Ashby, must have been added at this time or shortly thereafter to replace the single, “Old Plated Wine cooler” recorded in the 1819 inventory¹⁷.

The Reverend Sir Henry Dryden undertook extensive excavations of the priory site at Canons Ashby and his antiquarianism was amplified in his son, Sir Henry Dryden, 4th Baronet (1818-99) [Fig 6]. So devoted was the younger Sir Henry to his archaeological, topographical and historical investigations that he gained the nick-name of ‘the Antiquary’¹⁸. He visited sites across the British Isles and on the Continent, acted as honorary curator at the Northampton Museum and made notes and carefully detailed plans of countless buildings and archaeological sites. His particular interest was the ecclesiastical and, amongst his copious papers presented to the Corporation of Northampton by his only child, Alice, Mrs John Marcon, are several accounts of chalices and patens, both those in use in churches and those found in tombs¹⁹. It is not surprising, therefore, that when he turned his mind to his own church at Canons Ashby and its restoration in the 1840s he wanted to supply it with a suitable set of communion plate. Having decided to sacrifice the chalice and two patens which had been presented to the church in 1715 by Sir Erasmus Dryden, 6th Baronet, Sir Henry dutifully drew the pieces [Fig 7] and recorded their provenance and weight but not, sadly, the hallmarks so the name of the maker has been lost. In their place he commissioned, in 1846-7, a chalice [Fig 8], paten and cruet [Fig 9] from John James Keith: “Mr Butterfield’s man”²⁰.



Fig 8 Chalice, John James Keith, London, 1847-47.
(National Trust, Canons Ashby, photo George Leroy © National Trust)



Fig 9 Cruet, John James Keith, London, 1846-47.
(National Trust, Canons Ashby, photo George Leroy © National Trust)

15 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS, D CA 201, 1770 inventory of Canons Ashby; D CA 902, 1756 inventory of Canons Ashby. The best chamber pots and basins in 1756 were recorded as “Delft” and “China”.

16 It is not obvious what alteration was made to the kettle and it is unlikely to have been significant given the new items which also formed part of the exchange for the worn forks. I am grateful to Victoria Witty, Rachel Zenker and George Leroy for help in examining the surviving pieces of Canons Ashby silver.

17 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS, D CA 904, Inventory of Canons Ashby, September, 1819. The coolers lack any

identifying marks.

18 Oliver Garnett, op cit, see note 1, p 42.

19 Thomas J George (ed), *A Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings, Plans, Notes on Churches, Houses, and Various Archaeological Matters, made by the late sir Henry E. L. Dryden, Bart, of Canons Ashby, Northamptonshire ...*, 1912, p vi.

20 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS, D CA 152, Notes on communion plate from Canons Ashby church by Sir Henry Dryden, 4th Bt, no date. Sir Henry recorded the combined weight of the old pieces as being 38 oz. The Keith chalice and flagon bear the London date letter for 1846-47. The paten could not be located in 2011.

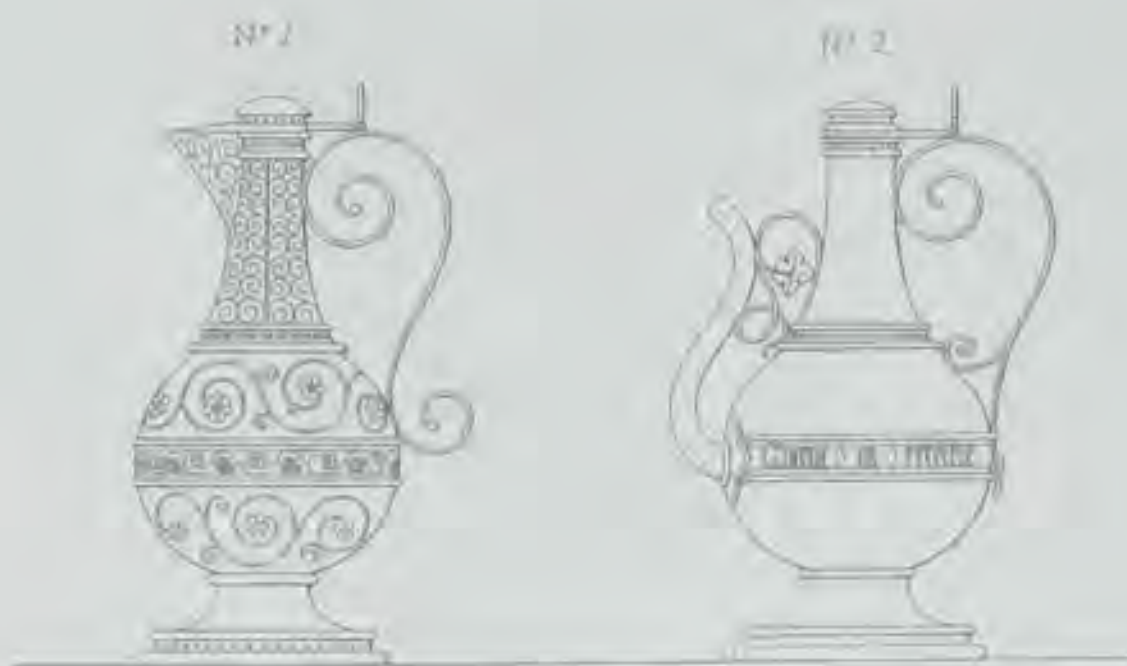


Fig 10 William Butterfield's designs for cruets, as illustrated in *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica*, 1847, plate 56.

(Society of Antiquaries of London)

William Butterfield, the Gothic Revival architect and high churchman who dominated the design of church plate in the mid-nineteenth century, would have been well known to the like-minded Sir Henry: both of them were members of the Cambridge Camden Society (the Ecclesiological Society from 1845) and Butterfield undertook the restoration of the church of St John the Baptist at Hellidon in Northamptonshire, about five miles to the north-west of Canons Ashby, between 1845 and 1847²¹. Butterfield was announced as the Cambridge Camden Society's agent for orders of altar plate in "imitation of ancient models" in April, 1843 and John James Keith with his son, also John, were his favoured silversmiths, as well as being the principal suppliers to the Society from then until the late 1860s²². It must have been in his capacity as agent, rather than designer, that Butterfield was paid £1 10s in relation to the Canons Ashby commission; Sir Henry stating in his notes that he produced sketch designs for Keith himself²³. He was certainly more than capable of doing so given his prowess as a draughtsman and his study of ancient church artefacts. These included numerous chalices but no cruets and it is telling that although both pieces respectfully follow the favoured forms of the Ecclesiologists, as published in *Specimens of Ancient Church Plate; Sepulchral Crosses &c* (1845) and volume 1 of *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* (1847), it is in the chalice rather than the cruet that there is anything of a divergence from known designs by

Butterfield²⁴. He had recommended in *The Ecclesiologist* in 1842 that the pre-Reformation chalices surviving at the Oxford colleges of Corpus Christi (1507-8) and Trinity (1527-28) should be used as models²⁵. Like those, the Canons Ashby chalice has a hexagonal stem with a central multi-faceted knob, a spreading foot and a relatively shallow bowl. Unlike them its foot is, in plan, a hexagon overlaid on six lobes, a pattern also used by Butterfield and without any apparent mediaeval precedent²⁶. It is in the overall proportions, however, that the Canons Ashby chalice is most distinct, being more attenuated than either the sixteenth-century versions or Butterfield's other chalices, such as that of 1857-58 for Balliol. Its simple treatment, without any gilding or enamel and with limited engraving, resulted in it costing just £8 10s, as opposed to the £40 of the elaborate Balliol chalice²⁷.

The cruet or flagon is much more precisely in line with Butterfield's designs, being an amalgam of the two forms illustrated in plate 56 of *Instrumenta Ecclesiastica* [Fig 10]. Predominantly it follows pattern number 1 but without the all-over scrollwork and with the band encircling the rounded body bearing a legend in an antique script, as in pattern number 2. The Canons Ashby legend reads

IN NOMINE ♦ DOMINIA ♦ DIU DIUM ♦ NOS-
TRUM [In the name of the Lord Our God of Old]

The handle is formed simply out of curved sheet and it and the beak-shaped spout are engraved with scrolling foliage. As with the chalices, the later Balliol flagon, which also follows pattern number 1, is altogether more elaborate in treatment and was more than double the price: £18 compared to Canons Ashby's £8²⁸. Butterfield's pattern number 2, which derived from the only surviving mediaeval example then known (from the church of St Apolline, Guernsey), is precisely followed in the flagon of 1843-44 now at Temple Newsam and it and the Canons Ashby pieces must be amongst the earliest of Keith's works for the Ecclesiological Society to survive²⁹.

Sir Henry Dryden died in 1899 and the twentieth century saw retrenchment and decay at Canons Ashby before the family found a permanent solution to the preservation of both house and church in the ownership of the National

21 Christopher Webster and John Elliott (eds), *A Church as it should be: The Cambridge Camden Society and its Influence*, Stamford, 2000, p 388. I am indebted to Dr Anthony Geraghty of York University for this reference. Nikolaus Pevsner and Bridget Cherry, *Northamptonshire*, London, 1973, p 252.

22 Anonymous, 'Church Plate and Ornaments', *The Ecclesiologist*, nos XXI and XXII, April 1843, p 117; Paul Thompson, *William Butterfield*, London, 1971, p 494.

23 Dryden MS, D CA 152, op cit, see note 20.

24 Butterfield provided the

drawings of plate for both publications.

25 William Butterfield, 'The Proper Shape of Chalices', *The Ecclesiologist*, nos XIV and XV, October 1842, pp 25-6.

26 Most other late mediaeval chalices have plain lobed feet, or are in plan a

wavy or slightly concave-sided hexagon.

27 Helen Clifford, *A Treasured Inheritance, 600 Years of Oxford College Silver*, Oxford, 2004, p 48. Dryden MS, D CA 152, op cit, see note 20.

28 Ibid. The Canons Ashby paten cost £3 3s.

29 James Lomax, *British Silver at Temple Newsam and Lotherton Hall*, Leeds, 1992, cat no 4, p 11. I am grateful to James Lomax for drawing my attention to this piece.



Fig 11 The Prince of Wales's investiture crown, gold, precious stones and enamel, Louis Osman, 1969.

(The Royal Collection © 2011 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)



Fig 12 One of six plates, Louis Osman, London, 1974-75

(National Trust, Canons Ashby; photo: George Leroy © National Trust Photographic Library)

Trust, to which they were gifted in 1981. In the years immediately beforehand the house had been let to Louis Osman who was, amongst other things, a highly talented goldsmith. It was at Canons Ashby that he produced both the Prince of Wales's crown [Fig 11] for the investiture at Caernarfon Castle in 1969 and the gold and enamel casket for presentation to the United States of America on its Bicentennial in 1976. The purchase by the National Trust in the late 1990s of a set of six dinner plates [Fig 12] and a charger in silver by Osman, made for his own use at

Canons Ashby and reserved for eating venison from, is a fitting conclusion to the story thus far of precious metals at this most romantic of English manor houses.

James Rothwell is a Senior Curator with the National Trust and also acts as the Trust's National Adviser on silver. He has undertaken extensive research on the subject and was the joint author, with James Lomax, of the catalogue of the renowned collection of plate at Dunham Massey, Cheshire. He is a member of the Committee of the Silver Society.

Appendix 1 - Extract from the inventory of the goods of Edward Dryden at Canons Ashby, 1717³⁰

24th [folio] Account of Plate. (viz)
 Sett of Casters in a frame.
 A Large Salver, two small Ones.
 A Large Spoon, 14 Spoons.
 A Tankard.
 A large Cup & Cover.
 A Tumbler,
 Two small Cups, a less Cup
 Small Sauce pann.
 Four Salt Spoons.

26th
 A Copper Cistern } amongst Kitchen Goods.
 Pewter Monteth. }
 Brass frame to warn [sic] plates.

30 Northamptonshire
 Record Office, Dryden MS,
 D(CA)/90.

Appendix 2 - Bill for plate supplied to Sir John Dryden, 7th Bt by Thomas Farren, 17th October 1726³¹

Octo^r 17: 1726

Bought of Thos: Farren 12 knives	l s d
and 12 forks silver wtt 27 onz 13 dwt at 6 shills p ^r onz -----}	08:06:00
For fashion at 2 shills 6 ^d Each haft -	03:00:00
For 24 blades at -----	01:15:00
For a shagreen casse -----	01:05:00
For 6 spoones pollisht wtt 13 ozs 13 ^{dwt} at 6 shill p ^r onz -----	4:02:00
For fashion at 2 shills Each -----	00:12:00
For 4 squ ^r salts pollisht 11 onz 15 at 6 shill. pr onz -----	03:10:06
For fashion at 5 shill Each -----	01:00:00
For 2 p ^r of Candlesticks with a branch pollisht wtt 82 onz 17 at	
7 shill 4 p ^r onz -----	30:07:06
For Engraving 39 Crests at 6 Each -----	00:19:06
For Engraving 4 Coates at 2/6 Each -----	00:10:00
	55:03:06
Reced of S ^r : John Dryden old plate wtt 50:10 at 5/6 -	13:17:09
	41:09:9

Appendix 3 - Inventory of plate at Canons Ashby, 12th June 1756³²

An Inventory of plate Taken June 12th 1756.

A large Cup with a Cover
 A Tankard
 A large Salver
 Four Small Salvers
 Three Cannisters with a Frame and two tops for Oyl and Vineger Bottles
 Four Salts
 one large Spoon
 two Dozen of Common Spoons
 one Dozen of Desert Spoons
 one Dozen of three tin'd forks
 four Candlesticks & one Branch
 one Coffey pot
 one Scallop'd Bason
 one Tea Kettle and frame
 one Cream Cup
 four Salt Spoons
 A Rim
 Seventeen Tea Spoons
 Sugar Tongs
 The weight of the Above is 38 pounds Avoir=du=pois; Equal to five hundred ffifty four ounces Sixteen penny weight Troy

 One Dozen of Desert Knives and forks - Plate handles

 Two Dozen and a half of Common Knives and one Dozen and a half of Common forks Plate handles

 One Wash'd [? plated] Candlestick

Appendix 4 - Extracts from the inventory of Canons Ashby, 1770³³

In the buttleors pantroy

A Larg silver plate to set ye tea Cups on 1 Large Silver Sarver 4 Dito smaller 1 Rim 1 Scalop bason 1 Silver tankard 1 Cop and Cover 1 Soope Spoon 6 Silver Salts and 6 Salt Spoons 4 Dito and Spoons 1 Silver Cofey pot 2 Silver sause boats a Silver tea kettle and Lamp 2 pair of Silver Candelsticks and 1 Candelstick of unsarting [?] Silver a Silver stan with Sugar Caster and peper and mustard silver oyl and vinegar Glas with Silver tops 12 Comon table Silver Spoons a Shagreen Case with 6 knives and forcks and 6 spoons Dito 1 doz: of knives and forcks and 6 Spoons 1 Dito with 1 doz: of knives and forcks and 6 Spoons Dito 1 doz: of Desart knives and forcks and 12 spoons 1 Dito with 12 spoons and Doz knives and 1 dozen forcks Dito 10 knives and 12 3 tine forcks 2 Carveing knives 1 Silver Cream boat ...

In Mrs norcots Room [house keeper?]

...10 new silver tea spoons and 3 old tea spoons ...

In the Store Room

...2 pair off Silver CandelSticks...

Taken by me John Pratt of helmdon [?] in Northampton Shire April ye 18th 1770

Appendix 5 - Extract from the inventory of Canons Ashby, 1791³⁴

An Account of Plate

One large silver tea Plate of (French plate), one Kettle, and Lamp silver, one cream boat Do. one large salver Do. four small salvers Do. one Rim, one Tankard, one Cup & cover & one escallop bason, one soup spoon, ten silver salts with spoons Do. two sauce boats Do. one coffee pot Do. one silver stand with sugar casters pepper box mustard pot oil vinegar tops, two dozen of table spoons, one dozen of desert spoons, one dozen of desert knives & forks, ten common silver hafted knives & two carving knives, one dozen of silver three tined forks, three dozen and half of silver hafted knives, and two dozen and half of silver of silver hafted forks, one Large pair of Silver Candlesticks, one smaller Do. with silver nossells, two pair of smaller Do. & one single (French plate), one Dozen & two tea spoons silver, & one pair of tea Tongs Do.

31 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS, D(CA)/152.

32 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS,

D(CA)/183. An inventory of the contents of the house taken the same year (D(CA)/902) repeats this list but adds "The Communion Plate a Large

Cup and two Salvers". These are the items given by Sir Erasmus Dryden, 6th Bt in 1715 and exchanged by Sir Henry Dryden 4th Bt in 1847.

33 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS, D(CA)/201.

34 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS, D(CA)/903.

Appendix 6- Lists of plate at Canons Ashby, circa 1824³⁵

Note: Subsequent annotation in pencil has not been included.

Plate belonging to Ashby

Urn Tea Kettle Stand & Lamp - Family Arms.
1 Large Waiter - Do.
4 Small Do. - Arms empaled as in Drawing Room [Dryden and Allen].
Coffee Pot & Stand - Arms Dryden & Rooper.
Two Handled Tankard [cup] & Cover - Arms empaled, (Crest a monkey, field two fesses) [Martyn³⁶] with Dryden.
1 Common Tankard - Dryden (with hand [mark of baronetcy]).
4 Large Candlesticks - Dryden & Rooper.
2 Small Do. - 2 fesses Gules in a Lozenge [Martyn].
2 Two-handled Sauce Boats - Dryden Crest.
2 Single-handled Do. - Dryden & Rooper.
2 Silver Snuffers stands - Crest
1 Soupladle - Do.
12 Tablespoons - Do.
8 Do. - Arms, Two fesses in a Lozenge [Martyn].
Cruet Stand, sugar, & pepper Caster & Mustard Pot -
Silver Skewer - Crest.
1 Very small Cream Pot - Dryden & Rooper.
8 Salt Spoons - Crest.
6 Salt Cellars - Crest.
4 Do. Flat - Dryden & Rooper.
Bread Basket - Crest.
12 Desert Spoons - Do.
2 Gravy Spoons - Dryden & Hutchinson [for the wife of the Rev. Sir Henry Dryden, 3rd Bt].
4 Sauce Ladles - Turner Crest.
2 Hand Candlesticks -
6 Tea Spoons - Turner Crest.
6 Do. - Letter D.
Sallad Fork - Turner Crest
2 Marrow Spoons - Do.
Asparagus Tongs -
2 Waiters - Large D.
Small Mustard Pot - D.

My Mother's Plate [Elizabeth Turner Dryden], or presumed to be so.
[Some but not all of these items appear in the previous list].

2 Waiters - Large D in middle.
1 Handcandlestick - No Mark.
Tea Pot - Wheatsheaf Crest.
Fish Slice - Do.
2 very Small Candlesticks - No mark.
1 Small Mustard Pot - D.
2 Goblets, Gilt inside - Turner Crest.
6 saltspoons - D.
1 Sallad Fork - Turner Crest.
2 Large Gravy Spoons - No mark.
12 Silver Forks - D.
12 Small Desert Spoons - Turner Crest.
4 Sauce Ladles - Do.
18 Tea Spoons - D.
12 Table Spoons - Turner Crest & D.
6 Teaspoons - Turner Crest.
Asparagus Tongs - No Mark.
Marrow Spoon - Turner Crest

35 Northamptonshire Record Office, Dryden MS, D(CA)/904. This document must have been drawn up during the tenure of the Rev Sir Henry Dryden 3rd Bt, as it contains items with his and his wife's arms impaled. Given the accom-

panying list of his mother's plate it may well have followed her death in 1824.

36 The Martyn arms are: argent, two bars gules with a crest of an ape looking at itself in a mirror, proper

The Knesworth Chandelier

A Silver branch in memory of Sir Thomas Knesworth

CLAIRE CRAWFORD

At Fishmongers' Hall in London there is a splendid rococo silver chandelier with three entwined dolphins above its twelve branches [Fig 1]. At the base are three plaques, which show the arms of Knesworth [Fig 1a], those of the Fishmongers' Company and the inscription:

In Grateful Remembrance of Sr Thomas Knesworth,
Kt A Principal Benefactor to the Worshipfull
Company of Fishmongers London, 1752

In his book *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837* Arthur Grimwade describes it as

one of the greatest pieces of rococo silver surviving¹.

This magnificent chandelier has been an important feature of the State Rooms of the Fishmongers' Company since 1752 but there is a fascinating story behind its commissioning as the chandelier that hangs in the Hall today is the second chandelier made to commemorate Sir Thomas Knesworth.

A wealth of information contained in the archives of the Fishmongers' and Goldsmiths' Companies enables the story of its predecessor to be told. Using ledgers and minutes from these sources I have tried to piece together the surprising and very human story of commerce, craftsmanship and crime.

THE FIRST CHANDELIER

In 1749 the Court of the Fishmongers' Company decided to commission a silver chandelier in memory of Sir Thomas Knesworth, a principal benefactor, who had bequeathed some significant properties to the Company in 1513 including the land on which Custom House now stands.

Court Ledger - 20 December 1749

A Silver branch to be provided by the Committee
not exceeding £200 in memory of Sir Thomas
Knesworth



Fig 1 The Knesworth chandelier, Fishmongers' Hall, William Alexander, London, 1752-53.
(Courtesy of the Fishmongers' Company)

¹ Arthur Grimwade, *London Goldsmiths 1697-1837, their marks and lives*, London, 1976, p 527.



Fig 1a Plaque with the Knesworth coat of arms from the Knesworth chandelier.

(Courtesy of the Fishmongers' Company)

It is ordered by this Court that a Silver Branch be provided in memory of Sir Thomas Knesworth a principal benefactor of this Company to be hung up in the great parlour on publick and other Dinner Days and that it be referred to the Committee of Wardens and those of the Court who have been Wardens.

The Court appointed a number of gentlemen to a committee to deal with the business of commissioning the new chandelier or branch as it is referred to in the minutes. The budget was set at £200.

In February 1750 the committee met with Joseph Dyer, a goldsmith of Lombard Street; Dyer was an intermediary who had previously dealt with the Company although he sub-contracted his work out to various craftsmen and does not appear to have ever entered a mark. In the same year the Company had commissioned a 25 oz gold box from Dyer which was then presented to the Prince of Wales on his taking the freedom of the Company. Having discussed the commission of the chandelier with the committee Dyer advised that £250 would be a more realistic estimate. The design was to consist of two tiers: one with eight branches, and the other with six. The increase in the budget was referred back to the Court for a decision.

The Court met and approved the increased budget although Dyer said that he would try and deliver the new chandelier for £225. The chandelier was to be delivered in April of 1750: a mere two months later. In October 1750 the Company's account with Joseph Dyer was set-

tled; the final cost for the chandelier and a case amounted to £348 4s 9d. This seems to be a considerable increase over the budget set in February.

A FRAUD DISCOVERED

In January 1752 comes the following entry in the committee minutes.

Committee Minutes - 21 January 1752

The Committee acquainted of the fraud and of the workman that made the Chandelier.

Mr Prime Warden acquainted the Committee that it had been discovered that the hollow (part?) of the scrole of the Chandelier was in great part fill'd up with pieces of copper solder'd thereto and that Mr Dyer of whom this Company purchased the same being acquainted therein So with Mr Prime Warden and Mr Warden Salusbury had (required?) that two other of the scroles to be opened and that in the hollow of them was found a quantity of copper solder'd in like manner and Mr Dyer now attended and produced two of those scroles to the Committee and Declared he was in no way privy thereto and that William Gould the workman he employ'd to make the Chandelier had impos'd upon him therein acknowledged that he was to make satisfaction to the Company accordingly.

William Gould had also worked for the Company before and its collection includes candelabra branches of 1746-47 by him and tapersticks of the same year by his brother James. William Gould was a liveryman of the Goldsmiths' Company having been elected in 1746.

William Gould did not attend to defend himself but sent a letter with two representatives: Mr Bayles, an apothecary and a Mr Drinkwater. The letter they brought appears to be an admission of guilt by Gould as he stated that he would make reparation and asked for the Company's forgiveness. The Company, however, was not in a forgiving mood and the committee requested that Joseph Dyer should enquire of the Goldsmiths' Company what legal recourse they had against Gould.

There seems to be no mention of the Fishmongers' Company contacting the Goldsmiths' directly or of the case in the Court minutes at Goldsmiths' Hall although there is a document detailing the prosecution of Gould. Is it possible that the Mr Drinkwater mentioned could be Sandylands Drinkwater, silversmith and a member of the Court of the Goldsmiths' Company? If this is the case then his involvement may have been on behalf of the Goldsmiths' Company as much as that of Gould.

Committee Minutes - 21 January 1752

A Further Examination into the Fraud in the silver chandelier

The Wardens and Assistants before mentioned to the Order of the last Court ... with Mr Dyer made a further examination into the fraud lately found out in the Company's Silver Chandelier three of the scoles were opened in their presence and in the hollow of every of them copper was found solder'd in like manner as in those produced to the Court and two of the said scoles were sealed up and ordered to remain in the Custody of the said Mr Dyer till further Order. The Body of the said Chandelier was also opened but nothing was found therein and in order to ascertain the real value of the silver of which the scoles were made the Committee ordered one of the large ones and one of the small ones to be melted down into two ingotes and that Mr Alexander should have an Assay made of one of them and Mr Dyer of the other of them.

The committee met to have a further three branches opened and they discovered that these also contained copper. Two of the branches were sealed and handed over to Joseph Dyer to retain; the body of the chandelier was then opened and was found not to contain any copper. In order to establish the value of the silver within the chandelier two of the branches were to be melted down and turned into ingots which would be given to Joseph Dyer and William Alexander to be assayed independently.

William Alexander was largely a producer of domestic metalwork and "fine brass work" and he had supplied the Company with metal plates and dishes for a number of years. As such, the Company clearly felt that he could be relied upon as their representative in this matter. His first silver mark was entered as a large worker but little or no silver exists with his mark. Heal records him as a plate worker with premises at the Anchor and Key, Wood Street².

Committee Minutes - 25 March 1752

Mr Dyer acquainted that the Committee had resolved to have an assay made of the whole chandelier

Mr Dyer attended and was acquainted that the Committee had come to a Resolution to have an Assay made of the whole Chandelier and that a new one to be made and that they were willing to employ him to make it consulting therein with Mr Alexander but he refused to be concerned with anyone out of the Trade and offered on the Chandelier being delivered him to repay the Company what they had paid for it.



Fig 2 Detail from stained glass windows at Fishmongers' Hall showing the Knesworth arms.
(Courtesy of the Fishmongers' Company)

In March 1752 the committee decided to have the whole chandelier assayed and to have a new one made. They asked Joseph Dyer to work with William Alexander but Dyer refused; seemingly because Alexander's business was mainly concerned with domestic metalwork rather than silver. Dyer agreed that he would reimburse the Company's money upon the delivery of the fraudulent chandelier to him, but it appears that he did not wish to have any further involvement with the manufacture of its replacement.

THE SECOND CHANDELIER

The Court now put their trust in William Alexander as their representative at the assay of the fraudulent chandelier and in the design and manufacture of the new chandelier. The order was placed for a twelve branch silver chandelier to a design submitted by Alexander called "Dolphin". It is unlikely that Alexander was responsible

² Ambrose Heal, *The London Goldsmiths 1200-1800*, Cambridge, 1935.



Fig 3 The second Fishmongers' Hall: completed 1671, demolished 1829.
(Courtesy of the Fishmongers' Company)

for the manufacture of the new chandelier but acted as an intermediary. The chandelier, however, does bear his mark which was entered in 1743. The Court specified that the new chandelier had to be delivered before the election of the Wardens in June.

The Court requested an investigation of the circumstances surrounding the fraudulent chandelier in June of 1752 and nominated a number of individuals to carry this out. One of them was Alexander Sheafe who was at this time both a member of the Court and Governor of the Bank of England. The group was to make enquiries and report back to the Court.

Committee Minutes - 17 July 1752

Mr Dyer offer to prosecute the man who committed the fraud on the Silver Chandelier

Joseph Dyer the Goldsmith of whom the Company bought the Chandelier said after he had been to Mr Alexanders and saw two of the scroles opened took them home sent to Gould and showed them him who at first seem'd ignorant of it but at length acknowledged the copper

was putt in the scroles by him or his orders and offered to make satisfaction. Mr Dyer now promised he would prosecute Gould if the Company desired him and that Mr Drinkwater Mr Gould's friend attended on his behalf when the Assay was made.

It appears that Gould initially tried to feign ignorance of the fraud. This is odd as in the letter sent by Gould to the Court in the January he had admitted that the fraud was his doing. It would also appear that Gould would not attend the assay and again sent his representative Mr Drinkwater.

After consideration at another meeting in August 1752 the Court ordered that Joseph Dyer should prosecute William Gould with the assistance of the Clerk, Harding Tomkins.

SETTLING THE ACCOUNT AND PROSECUTION

Committee minutes - 13 October 1752

Mr Joseph Dyers account with the Company: about the Silver Chandelier settled

Mr Joseph Dyer Goldsmith attended and settled the account between him and the Company in relation to the Silver Chandelier lately made for this Company which he agreed to take back again on account of the fraud Discovered to have been Committed by William Gould the workman he employed to make the same and by the account deliver'd by Mr Alexander on the Assay made of the said Chandelier in the presence of Mr Dyer and Mr Drinkwater on behalf of the same Gould. The weight thereof appeared to be 1064 oz which at 5:3 per ounce amounted to £279:6:0 which Mr Dyer agreed should be taken as the produce of the said Chandelier and in part agreed to be returned and accordingly paid Mr Tomkins for the Company use £204:15:3 which with the said £279:6:0 amounting together to £484:1:3 is the whole moneys paid Mr Dyer by the Company for the said Chandelier except the Charges of the Inscription and the Coats of Arms and Mr Tomkins gave the said Mr Dyer a Receipt on behalf of the Company for the sum of £204:15:3.

The interpretation of these minutes is somewhat difficult. After the fraudulent chandelier had been assayed Dyer paid back the sum of £204 15s 3d to the Company but the silver appears to have a value of £279 6s and the total value given was £484 1s 3d. As has already been seen the Company only paid £348 4s 9d for the cost of the chandelier in its case in 1750 so how were these figures arrived at? Given the accuracy of the accounting did Dyer or Gould undercharge?

Other scholars have interpreted the Company records differently. Arthur Grimwade stated that

the Renter Warden's account book for 1752-54 shows a repayment of £484. 1s. 3d from Joseph Dyer and William Alexander (q.v.), for frauds discovered to have been made by 'William Gould the workman'³.

On the evidence of the above entry, however, we can see that the repayment came from Joseph Dyer only. Grimwade then went on to say that the chandelier was likely to have been made by Gould but sponsored by William Alexander; this, again is extremely unlikely and is not supported by the evidence of the Court minutes.

In October 1752 Dyer reported that he had successfully prosecuted William Gould and the Grand Jury had brought a Bill of Indictment against him. This is further corroborated by a contemporaneous document at Goldsmiths' Hall that gives a more detailed account of the prosecution.

That Wm Gould late of London, Goldsmith, being a person of a wicked corrupt mind and disposition and greedy of gain on the 21st day of June in the 25 of Geo 2 with force and arms did knowingly work, make, fashion and cause to be wrought, made, fashioned, one chandelier of great weight, (that is to say), 1075 ounces of silver & copper, to wit: 1045 ounces of silver mixed with alloy according to the standard of 11 ounces and 2 pennyweight of fine silver in every pound Troy and 30 ounces of copper secretly and clandestinely put and contained within the same with intent thereby craftily to deceive and defraud the honest liege subjects of our said Lord the King and that these William Gould afterward on the same day with force and arms of the Parish Ward aforesaid in L. did sell, deliver and cause to be sold to J. Dyer Goldsmith of London.... 2nd Count: is for that defendant having a chandelier deceitfully made, sold it to Dyer as for knowing it had been deceitfully made - and there are other counts - For making the scrolls of the chandelier (as they were made to take off the body or boss) and filling the cavities with copper and selling it ere. *Only the boss was marked at the Hall.*

It seems unusual that the "scrolls" or branches of the chandelier were apparently not separately assayed and hallmarked. Did Gould deliberately avoid having them tested knowing that his deception might be discovered?

Finally in November 1752 the Company, having taken delivery of the second chandelier in June, settled their bill with William Alexander which amounted to £650: considerably more than their original planned expenditure of £250 in March of 1750.

DISCUSSION

These are the facts as laid out in the Court entries but there must have been a considerable personal story behind these events.

William Gould's behaviour throughout his dealings with the Court and committee seems to suggest that he was indeed guilty and was responsible for putting copper into the branches of the chandelier to make it appear heavier. Was he being pressured into producing a chandelier within a small budget? This pressure could only have come from Joseph Dyer but Dyer's unequivocal

³ Arthur Grimwade, *op cit*, see note 1.

denial of any involvement seems to have convinced the Court.

The addition of the copper to the branches would seem to be the act of a desperate man as the addition would in all probability have been discovered at some point. The document at Goldsmiths' Hall details the case brought by Dyer against Gould and mentions that the total amount of extra copper was about 30 oz: a comparatively small amount in such a large piece. Could it be that Gould was in financial difficulties and unable to make the weight up to the required standard with silver; did he add the copper so that the chandelier could be delivered on time? Dyer and Gould had approximately eight weeks in which to supply the first chandelier: a time scale that seems unimaginable.

There are other hints that Gould was facing large financial outgoings. In August 1750 he made a request of the Goldsmiths' Company that he be allowed to occupy a vacant property belonging to the company in Carey Street as his own house in Foster Lane needed repairing. Gould may have also gambled on a legacy from his brother James. James Gould died on 25 February 1750 and his will was proved on the 2 March 1750. He left property and considerable sums of money to a number of more distant relatives, bequeathing William and his wife only £20 for mourning clothes and a mourning ring each.

WILLIAM GOULD'S LATER LIFE

The circumstances surrounding Gould's life after the fraud are equally puzzling. Although a Bill of Indictment was brought against Gould by Dyer, and this is recorded at both Fishmongers' Hall and Goldsmiths' Hall, there seems to have been little or no further action taken and I can find no record of a fine or custodial sentence. Gould was relieved of his apprentices in 1752 but in 1753 took his son James as an apprentice, followed by Richard Canon in 1755 and Mordecai Lloyd in 1761. He was almost certainly producing silverware again by 1755 and his business appeared to be doing well but in 1762 came an entry in the *London Gazette* that William Gould had been declared bankrupt⁴.

Whereas a Commission of Bankrupt is awarded and issued forth against William Gould of Foster Lane, London, Silversmith, Dealer and Chapman and he being declared a Bankrupt, is hereby required to surrender himself to the Commissioners of the said Commission named... and make a full Discovery and Disclosure of his Estate and Effects.

Finally in 1763 Gould made a last bid to improve his circumstances, but in a very surprising way.

Goldsmiths Company Court Minutes -
9 December 1763

After which were received the several petitions of Wm Bell, Wm Gould, Henry Plumpton, Henry Stacey and Richard Webb each of them praying for the office or place of Junior Weigher and they being severally called in their petitions were read and then they withdrew. Whereupon it was observed that the said William Gould had some years ago been Guilty of fraud in concealing a great quantity of copper in a Silver Chandelier made for the Fishmongers Company and that the same was in fact well known to many of the gentlemen of this Court and therefore it was moved and seconded that the said Wm Gould's petition be rejected and returned and that he not be permitted to stand a candidate for the said place or offices and the question being put it was carried in the affirmative and thereupon his petition was returned to him accordingly.

Taking into account the history of the chandelier, the Assay Office would be the last place we would expect Gould to be applying for a position. Perhaps Gould thought that after ten years his misdemeanour would be forgotten. The Court of the Goldsmiths' Company clearly had a long memory and, unsurprisingly, rejected his application. This then led Gould to apply for the return of his livery fine and the Goldsmiths' Company released him from his privileges as a liveryman. After this his story is lost to us although there is a record of a William Gould dying of consumption in 1769 in the parish of St Giles, Cripplegate.

Acknowledgements

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⁴ *London Gazette*, 6 July 1762, p 4.

James Ker, 1700-1745

Master goldsmith and Edinburgh politician

WILLIAM IRVINE FORTESCUE

James Ker was the most prominent Edinburgh goldsmith of the eighteenth century. His career as a goldsmith was exceptionally long, lasting nearly forty-five years. He qualified as a freeman of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh in 1723 and headed his own workshop until 1747 when he went into partnership with William Dempster: a partnership which continued until Ker's death in 1768. During this period the production from the workshops of James Ker and then of Ker and Dempster exceeded that of any other contemporary Edinburgh goldsmith; much of this production was of the highest standard and for important clients. Ker was also exceptionally active as a member of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths; he held the offices of Quartermaster for twelve years, Treasurer for four years and Deacon for six years.

As Deacon he was automatically a member of Edinburgh Town Council and he was also elected a Trades Councillor six times so he served a total of twelve years. As a councillor he sat on various committees, was elected Convener of the Trades four times and was chosen to represent the city of Edinburgh at the General Convention of Royal Scottish Burghs twice and at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland three times. From July 1747 to April 1754 he was Edinburgh's sole Member of Parliament.

After the 1745-46 Jacobite Rising Scots in general, and Edinburgh in particular, were widely regarded in England with suspicion if not hostility; nevertheless Ker succeeded in helping to pilot through the House of Commons a series of bills, notably a bill for "erecting several Public Buildings in the city of Edinburgh". This was the initiator of a programme of urban improvement and expansion which culminated in the construction of Edinburgh's New Town.

Upward social mobility mirrored success in public life: in December 1735 Ker leased the farm of Bughtrig and adjacent properties in Roxburghshire thereby qualifying himself to be styled James Ker of Bughtrig. In August 1750,



Fig 1 Mark of James Ker on a pair of three pronged forks, Edinburgh, 1735-36, Assay Master Archibald Ure.

(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

his first wife having died, he married Elizabeth Ker, daughter of Lord Charles Ker of Cramond, Director of Chancery in Scotland and second son of Robert Ker 1st Marquess of Lothian. In 1754 he had his portrait painted by Allan Ramsay: at that time the most fashionable Scottish portrait-painter. However, these career successes were achieved partly through an aggressive manner and, particularly during his time as an MP, he seems to have become both arrogant and independently-minded. After 1754 he never held public office again. He was consumed by bitterness and self-pity in his declining years; yet his life had been full of achievement, often against considerable odds.

This article focuses on James Ker's career from his birth in 1700 to the eve of the Jacobite Rising of 1745-46. A second article will cover his career from 1745 until his death in 1768. During the earlier period Ker achieved remarkable success in a variety of fields: as a designer craftsman producing outstanding silver and jewellery; as a businessman successfully running a craft workshop; as a money-lender negotiating secure and profitable loans and as a public office-holder gaining election to the important posts of Treasurer and then Deacon in the Incorporation of Goldsmiths and serving on Edinburgh Town Council and on two council committees. All this involved combining superb craftsmanship, business acumen and political ambition in the pursuit of money, position and social status. Factionalism in the Incorporation of Goldsmiths checked Ker's public career in 1740 and kept him out of office until his fortunes were dramatically transformed by the Jacobite Rising.

ORIGINS AND EARLY LIFE

The Kers or Kerrs were one of the leading Scottish Border families and by birth James Ker was connected, albeit distantly, to members of the Scottish nobility. He was also connected, since in his branch of the family there was much intermarriage and many children, to a complex and extensive Ker network. His paternal great-grandparents were Sir Thomas Kerr of Redden, Roxburgh, the youngest brother of Robert Kerr 1st Earl of Ancram, and Jean, daughter of James Kerr of Chatto¹. Their son Andrew Kerr of Chatto and his first wife

Isabella, daughter of George Cranstoun of Bold, had three daughters and nine sons, the fourth son, Thomas, being James Ker's father.

Born on 9 March 1667 Thomas Ker was apprenticed at the age of eighteen to the distinguished Edinburgh goldsmith, James Penman (9 July 1685)². His apprenticeship lasted nearly nine years instead of the usual seven and he did not qualify as a freeman until 27 March 1694³. Shortly afterwards, on 12 July 1694, he married Margaret Kerr daughter and co-heir of John Kerr of Canongate: a burghess of Edinburgh, Chamberlain to the Earl of Haddington, and Thomas Ker's cautioner when the latter became a freeman⁴. With a workshop in Edinburgh's Parliament Close Thomas Ker prospered, taking eight apprentices⁵, serving the Incorporation of Goldsmiths as Boxmaster or Treasurer (September 1706-September 1708) and Deacon (September 1708-September 1710) and executing important commissions for the town council⁶, for Trinity College kirk, several other churches⁷ and for individual patrons including Lady Griselle Baillie, Lady Rothes and the 1st Earl of Hopetoun⁸. He was also a magistrate for the city of Edinburgh and had a short career as a local politician and as a Trades Councillor from 1698 to 1700. He died on 12 December 1714 at the relatively early age of forty-seven.

James Ker was born on 14 September 1700 and apprenticed to his father on 12 July 1709 when he was two months short of his ninth birthday⁹. This was an exceptionally early age for a boy to be apprenticed to a goldsmith even if the goldsmith were father to the boy but, as Deacon at the time, Thomas Ker clearly managed to secure acceptance of this arrangement. While James Ker thus learnt the skills of a goldsmith as a young boy his general education must have suffered; certainly his letters, even late in life, are often characterised by inaccurate spelling and punctuation, poor grammar and inelegant Scotticisms. Two years after his father's death, when James must have transferred to a new master, his mother remarried (24 December 1716) to John Bryce Minister at Saline. How James coped with this changed situation is unknown, but it is striking that it was not until 31 May 1723 that he qualified as a freeman, his 'essay' being "a diamond ring and a gold seal"¹⁰. Since he was already

1 For James Ker's ancestry, see *Burke's Landed Gentry of Great Britain*, 1952, p 1430.

2 Henry Steuart Fotheringham (ed), *Edinburgh Goldsmiths' Minutes, 1525-1700*, Edinburgh, 2006, p 185.

3 *ibid*, pp 121-2.

4 H Paton (ed), *The Register*

of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1595-1700, Edinburgh, 1905, p 380; Ian Finlay (revised Henry Steuart Fotheringham), *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, London, 1991, p 132, refers to "the barber's bowl of 1702, by Thomas Ker, in the Earl of Haddington's collection".

5 Rodney and Janice

Dietert, *The Edinburgh Goldsmiths I: training, marks, output and demographics*, 2007, p 128.

6 For Leith race prizes, Thomas Ker made a silver monteith of 1709-10, weighing 63 oz 4 dwt and a tea kettle and stand of 1710-11, weighing 61 oz 5 dwt; Edinburgh City Archives, Common Good and Proper

Revenue Accounts, 1702-1728 (hereafter Accounts, 1702-1728), ff 90, 101.

7 Reverend Thomas Burns, *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, Edinburgh, 1892, pp 327, 332-3; George Dalgleish and Stuart Maxwell, *The Lovable Craft, 1687-1987*, Edinburgh, 1987, p 14.

8 George Dalgleish and Stuart Maxwell, *ibid*, see note 7, p 14; George Dalgleish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *Silver Made in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 2008, pp 75-76; Robert Scott-Moncrieff (ed), *The Household Book of Lady Griselle Baillie, 1692-1733*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp 167-8, 170.

9 Stuart Maxwell, unpub-

on course to becoming a goldsmith at the time of his father's death he may have inherited his father's tools and other equipment. Possibly after the deaths of his mother and stepfather James inherited a property in the Parliament Close of Edinburgh, the centre of the Edinburgh goldsmiths' trade, as the following entry in the Town Council minutes for 19 September 1744 indicates:

A precept of Clare Constat was read and signed in Council in favour of James Ker Goldsmith and Jeweller for Infetting him as nearest and lawfull heir to the deceast Thomas Ker Goldsmith his father, in all and haill the Ground Right and Area of a Lodging, Cellar and pertinents being the fifth Storry of that Land lately rebuilt by Robert Mylne of Balfarg, lying in the Parliament Closs, Holding feu of the City for payment of Two penny Scots yearly, the Treasurer to be charged with six shillings Scots of bygone Feus preceeding Martinmass last, and Ten merks Scots of Composition, making in all Eleven shillings seven pence $\frac{1}{3}$ of a penny Sterling¹¹.

Having become a freeman James Ker seems to have been a man in a hurry, eager to accomplish as much as possible as quickly as possible, perhaps anxious to make up for what he may have regarded as the lost time of his extended apprenticeship. Even before becoming a freeman on 22 May 1723 he was received as a burgess and guild-brother of the city of Edinburgh by right of his father¹². He took his first apprentice, James Hally, son of William Hally of Kinneddar, on 18 December 1723¹³. The following year, on 10 September, he was chosen one of eight Quartermasters, with the responsibility of assisting the Deacon, William Aytoun, in the day-to-day business of the Incorporation¹⁴.

On Sunday 20 June 1725 Ker married Jean Thomson, daughter of Gavin Thomson, a writer or lawyer. He is described in the marriage register as living in New North Kirk parish, his wife in North West parish¹⁵. Marriage to an Edinburgh lawyer's daughter must have confirmed Ker's social status and may well have been financially advantageous. The domestic circumstances of the newly-



Fig 2 Teapot, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1725-26.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

married couple are indicated by the compensation paid following a fire in the Lawnmarket, 18 - 21 December 1725: collections at Edinburgh and Leith churches and donations from the trades of the Canongate and Colonel Francis Charteris, raised £938 15s 8d of which Ker received £120 4s, the third largest individual pay-out. In addition John Craig, his journeyman servant, received £7 and Isobel Moffat his servant maid (who could not sign her name) £4 3s 4d¹⁶. After the trauma of the fire James and Jean Ker went on to have three sons (who died young) and eleven daughters¹⁷.

MASTER GOLDSMITH

During this time James Ker was establishing himself as a highly successful goldsmith. For the hallmarking year from September 1723 to September 1724 four teapots bearing his maker's mark are recorded and from then until 1747 a total of some forty-four James Ker teapots are known¹⁸. This compares with twenty-five teapots recorded for William Aytoun and eighteen for Edward Lothian, Aytoun and Lothian being James Ker's most successful contemporaries amongst other Edinburgh goldsmiths. The early teapots by Ker are mostly spherical, sometimes completely spherical or bullet-shaped, on a spreading foot and with a straight tapering spout and acorn finial [Fig 2]. The handles are usually silver, with insulators, though there are examples with wooden handles. Later teapots

lished notes on James Ker; National Museum of Scotland.

¹⁰ As note 9.

¹¹ Edinburgh City Archives, Town Council Minutes (hereafter TCM), 19 September 1744, f 18. The property, bought by Thomas Ker in 1704 (Edinburgh City Archives, Moses series, no 5023), passed to James Ker's

daughter Violet, who married (6 January 1751) William Dempster: TCM, 9 May 1770, ff 286-7.

¹² Charles B Boog Watson (ed.), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild-Brethren, 1701-1760*, Edinburgh, 1930, p 112.

¹³ Charles B Boog Watson (ed.), *Register of Edinburgh Apprentices, 1701-1755*, Edinburgh, 1929, p 40.

¹⁴ National Archives of Scotland, Minutes of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of the City of Edinburgh (hereafter NAS, Minutes), 10 September 1724, f 292.

¹⁵ H Paton (ed), *The Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701-1750*, Edinburgh, 1908, p 296. See also TCM, 1 April 1730, f 505: "And sicklike upon Application made by James Ker Goldsmith con-

tinued him during pleasure in the possession of that seat No. 32 in the New North Kirk for payment of the ordinary rent".

¹⁶ Printed notice pasted into TCM, vol 51 (6 October 1725-17 July 1728). Robert Inglis, a former deacon of the Goldsmiths, was one of the official witnesses of the signatures of the beneficiaries.

¹⁷ As note 1.

¹⁸ All reference to silver output are based on Rodney and Janice Dietert, *Compendium of Scottish Silver*, 2 vols, Cornell, 2006. For a teapot not listed in the *Compendium*, see Woolley & Wallis, 21 July 2011, lot 773.



Fig 3 Sugar bowl, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1727-28.
(Courtesy of Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh)



Fig 4 Cream boat, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1744-45, Assay Master Hugh Gordon.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

tend to have a compressed spherical body, a semi-fluted curved spout, a button and ball finial and a silver loop handle. Ker employed a succession of twelve apprentices up to 1747¹⁹ and an unknown number of journeymen goldsmiths; he did not personally make all these teapots, and their quality does vary. The very best of his teapots, however, are among the finest items produced by any Edinburgh goldsmith during the eighteenth century. Ian Finlay's designation of James Ker as "the prince of Edinburgh teapot makers" is well justified²⁰.

The large number of James Ker teapots and other items bearing his maker's mark associated with tea-drinking such as tea kettles, teapot stands, sugar bowls [Fig 3], milk jugs, cream boats [Fig 4], teaspoons, sugar tongs, and spoon trays indicate the importance of tea in eigh-

teenth-century Scotland. The earliest Scottish silver teapots date from circa 1714 and for the period up to Ker's death in 1768 some four hundred Scottish silver teapots survive. At a time when water, particularly in urban areas, might be dangerous to drink, the boiling of water for tea meant that tea was safe and it was, of course, non-alcoholic. Tea-drinking's popularity may also be explained by the fact that, whereas the consumption of alcohol tended to be male-dominated, women presided over the dispensing of tea. Women may also have played a role in ordering all that was required for an elegant tea equipage, so stay-at-home wives may help to account for the large number of silver teapots made by Edinburgh goldsmiths and by burgh goldsmiths such as Robert Luke of Glasgow and George Cooper of Aberdeen. The use of expensive silver and porcelain in



Fig 5 Tea service, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1724-35.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)



Fig 5a Detail of kettle stand.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

tea-drinking reflected the cost of the tea itself. George Dundas paid 9s for a pound of tea, according to an account dated 20 September 1724, while the Saltoun papers record a payment of 7s 9d for a pound of tea on 7 June 1755²¹. Tea-drinking had its critics: to the dismay of Edinburgh's magistrates and Town Council the high price of tea encouraged smuggling; on 23 May 1744 they formally registered their complaints about

the scandalous and Destructive though prevailing practice of Smuggling Brandy, Tea, and other foreign commodities

and about

People of the very lowest Rank using Tea and Brandy in place of Ale and Home made Spirits.

Though cereal farmers might suffer and fishermen turn to smuggling the

resolve to discourage to the utmost of our power the universal and immoderate use of Tea

had no effect²². Others may have associated tea with occasions of tedious decorum. In his journal entry for 6 December 1762 James Boswell recalled with distaste "the worst Edinburgh tea-drinking afternoons"²³. Yet tea-drinking remained fashionable in Scotland throughout the eighteenth century and beyond, to the great advantage of Scottish goldsmiths [Fig 5].

Other common items bearing James Ker's maker's mark include salvers, sugar casters, mugs, salt cellars, chambersticks, and candlesticks [Fig 6] but there seem to be no tankards²⁴, thistle cups or quaichs perhaps because these items were going out of fashion. For the Church of Scotland, he supplied a pair of communion cups for each of the following kirk sessions: Madderty (1728-29), Montrose (1732-33), Auchinleck (1733-34), and Drysdale (1747-48)²⁵. Less common items were beakers, tapersticks and cake baskets and there were a number of apparently one-off commissions: a punch bowl, a muffineer, a mustard pot, a tray, an orange strainer, a tumbler cup, a montie, a table snuff-box, and a coffee pot [Fig 7]. This single coffee pot may give a slightly misleading impression since about twenty examples survive of a peculiarly Scottish form of ovoid urn with two snake-shaped side handles which were almost certainly used for



Fig 6 Pair of candlesticks, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1745-46.

(Courtesy of Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh)



Fig 7 Coffee pot, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1740-41.

(Courtesy of Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh)

19 Rodney and Janice Dietert, *The Edinburgh Goldsmiths* 1, pp 103-4. In addition, two apprentices transferred to James Ker: William Dempster (1739) originally apprenticed to Charles Dickson, and James Hill (26 May 1741) also originally apprenticed to Charles Dickson. Of all these apprentices only James Hally, Robert Low, William Dempster and James Hill eventually

qualified as freemen.

20 Ian Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, Edinburgh, 1991, p 134.

21 National Library of Scotland (hereafter NLS), Dundas Papers, ADV MS 80.2.15, f 210; NLS, MS. 17080, f 368.

22 TCM, 23 May 1744, f 261. See also *The Scots Magazine*, 6 (April 1744), p 197.

23 Frederick A Pottle (ed), *James Boswell's London Journal*, 1762-63, London, 1950, p 70. See also Sir John Sinclair (ed), *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1791-1799, vol 2, *The Lothians*, Trowbridge and Esher, 1975, p 48: "It was the fashion [in 1763] for gentlemen to

attend the drawing-rooms of the ladies in the afternoons, to drink tea, and to mix in the society and conversation of the women".

24 A tankard of circa 1715 with Ker's mark over-striking that of another maker was sold at Sotheby's, Scone Palace, 10 April 1978, lot 98. Since Ker did not qualify as a freeman until 1723, he did not make this tankard, but presumably

retailed it second-hand, perhaps having re-marked it so as to pass it off as his own work.

25 Reverend Thomas Burns, *op cit*, see note 7, pp 340-3, 432-3, 562. Lady Elizabeth Boswell, grandmother of James Boswell, commissioned the Auchinleck communion cups. The Montrose communion cups were refashioned.



Fig 8 Urn with tray, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1735-36.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

coffee; four of these carry Ker's maker's mark [Fig 8]. There are numerous surviving pre-1750 London-made coffee pots and a number of London chocolate pots for the same period but only about twenty pre-1750 Edinburgh coffee pots survive, together with no more than five chocolate pots²⁶. Yet as early as August 1703 Lady Griselle Baillie in Edinburgh paid 14 Scots shillings for a "cofie pot", presumably made of china²⁷; and Edinburgh coffee houses, which enjoyed great popularity throughout the eighteenth century, offered both coffee and chocolate to their customers.

Like other eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths James Ker did not just produce items of silver; he was also a jeweller. Indeed he usually referred to himself, and was often referred to by others, as a jeweller, rather than a goldsmith. Unlike silver, jewellery was not hallmarked in eighteenth-century Scotland and as a result no jewellery can now be attributed to Ker; yet the production, sale, repair and refashioning of jewellery must have been as important to contemporary goldsmiths as silver-work. This is reflected in the two 'essays' assigned to apprentice Edinburgh goldsmiths to qualify as freemen. One of those 'essays' was almost invariably a plain gold ring, though in James Ker's case it was a diamond ring. Between 1729 and 1768, in addition to a plain gold ring, thirteen apprentices were assigned as their 'essay' a diamond ring²⁸, four "a cross diamond ring"²⁹, three "a sin-

gle stoned ring"³⁰, two "a rose diamond ring"³¹ or a "three stoned ring"³², and one each "a gold seal", "a diamond locket", "a fancy ring", "a cluster diamond ring" and "a rose set ring with a topaz in the middle and brilliant diamonds set round cluster fashion"³³. This prominence, not just of jewellery, but of rings (Alexander Gardner was unusual in being set a diamond brooch as well as a plain gold ring), reflected the custom in eighteenth-century Scotland for most brides on their marriage to receive a gold wedding ring, so that wedding rings were probably the most common products of eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths.

Advertisements in newspapers for lost or stolen property may provide another indication of the jewellery which James Ker sold since it would have been logical for such advertisements to have referred to the shop which had supplied what had been lost or stolen. Besides advertisements for "three Silver Spoons"³⁴ and three silver casters³⁵ the following advertisements appeared:

The Caledonian Mercury, 12 April 1737: There's a plain GOLD WATCH, with a Gold Chain, Swivels, and a Cristal Seal set in Gold, amissing, the Watch of Dunlop's Make, Num. 2400. Any Person that will return the same, or acquaint James Ker, Jeweler in the Parliament-close, where the said Watch, Chain, and Seal, may be found, shall have two Guineas Reward, and no Questions ask'd³⁶.

The Edinburgh Evening Courant, 26 March 1747: Lost about a Fortnight ago, A Pair of Square Bristol Stone Shoe and Garter BUCKLES, very neatly Sett, whoever can give an Account of them, to James Kerr Jeweler, will have a sufficient Reward³⁷.

The Edinburgh Evening Courant, 18 August 1747: There was lost upon Tuesday last, a SEAL with the Sides set in Gold, cut on a white Cornelian, with a Coat of Arms upon one Side, a Crest on another, with this Motto, *Miseris succurrere disco*, and on the third, a Hart in a running Posture. Whoever has found the same and will return it to Mr. James Ker Jeweler, at his Shop in the Parliament Closs, shall have a Guinea Reward, (which is much above the Value of the Gold) and no Questions askt³⁸.

These advertisements also suggest links between Edinburgh goldsmiths, watchmakers and seal-engravers.

For whom was James Ker's silver made? Engraved crests and mottoes can sometimes suggest an answer.

Fig 9 Pair of beakers, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1737-38.

(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)



The motto engraved on the seal in *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* advertisement may be for MacMillan of Dunmore and a considerable number of items of silver survive with Ker's maker's mark and with identifying engraving³⁹. This evidence indicates that his clients included five holders of hereditary titles (Viscount Arbuthnott, the 1st and 2nd Earls of Hopetoun, Lord Ross and the Marquess of Tweeddale) and some twenty families which almost certainly belonged to the land-owning gentry class [Fig 9].

Family papers are another source of information. In the Dundas papers there is an account, dated 20 February 1725, of a payment of £1 10s to James Ker for "the Silver and making a diamond Girdall buckell". Payment was made partly in cash and partly in old gold⁴⁰. The Dundas in question was probably George Dundas, MP for Linlithgowshire and Master of the King's Works in Scotland; he may also have commissioned twelve forks of 1727-28 engraved with the Dundas crest and motto. In the Scott of Harden papers there is a detailed account for an entire service of silver plate, made by James Ker in 1736 for Walter Scott of Harden⁴¹:

June 1	
To 12 knife handles weight 25 oz 8 dr at 5 sh 10d per ounce	£7.8.9
To the Making being the best fashion	£2.2.0
To 12 Spoons weight 29 oz 4 dr	£8.10.10
To the Making	£1.16.0
To 12 forks weight 25 oz	£7.5.10
To the Making	£1.16.0
To the Cutler for blades	£0.12.0
To the Case maker for a Case	£1.1.0
July 14	
To a Silver tea pott & flat weight 34 oz 3 dr at 8 sh 10d per ounce being fluted is	£15.1.7
To the engraver for 38 Crests	£1.18.0
To 12 dessert knives weight 14 oz 3 dr	£4.2.10
To the Cutler for blades	£0.10.0
To the Making	£1.0.0
To the engraver for 12 Crests	£0.12.0
Aug: 5	
To 6 tea spoons weight 2 oz 7 dr at 5 sh 10d per ounce	£0.14.3
To the Making	£0.6.0
To 6 table spoons weight 15 oz at 5 sh 10d per ounce	£4.7.6
To the Making	£0.18.0
To the engraver for 6 Crests	£0.6.0
To a Milk pott and Sugar box weight 13 oz 10 dr at 8 sh 10d per ounce	£6.0.4
To 2 Crests	£0.2.0

Jedburgh the 12 Au 1736 £66.10.11d

Received from Mr Geo Grant Sixty-six pounds sterling in full of the above and discharged the same by me.

James Ker

26 Surprisingly on 11 December 1730 George Forbes was assigned a coffee pot as part of his essay (NAS, Minutes, 11 December 1730, f 44).

27 Robert Scott-Moncrieff, op cit, see note 8, p 171.

28 Edward Lothian, Hugh Penman, James Campbell, James Mitchell, Ebenezer Oliphant, Alexander Campbell, James Hally, Robert Low, Alexander Aitchison, Patrick Spalding, James Craig, Alexander Reid, James Oliphant.

29 James Somerville, John Robertson, John Stirling, James Reid.

30 William Marshall, Robert Craig, William Drummond.

31 James McKenzie, Patrick Robertson.

32 John Anderson, Daniel Ker.

33 William Jamieson, John Mair, James Gilliland, Thomas Anderson and Robert Hope respectively.

34 *The Edinburgh Evening Courant* (hereafter EEC), 7-9 May 1728, p 2815: "There was lately found in the Ruins of an old House, belonging to Major Cochran of Luchfield, in the Shire of Twedale, three Silver Spoons, which are ready to be delivered to the right Owner, upon telling the Marks, and paying the necessary Charges: Inquiries at James Ker's jeweller in the Parliament Closs, Edinburgh".

35 EEC, 16 July 1741, p 3: "STOLN from the House of

Gartshore, about ten Days ago, THREE SILVER CASTERS, Maker's Name C Mc. Whoever can discover them, so as they can be got back to the Owner, are desired to inform Mr. Ker Goldsmith in Edinburgh, or Mr. James Cleland Merchant in Glasgow, by whom they will be handsomely rewarded, and no Questions asked". Colin McKenzie is recorded as having made several casters between 1697 and 1698 and between 1707 and 1709.

36 *The Caledonian Mercury* (hereafter CM), 12 April 1737, p 17928.

37 EEC, 26 March 1747, p 3.

38 Ibid.

39 See Appendix.

40 NLS, ADV MS 80.2.15, f 217.

41 NAS, GD157/2237/2.

This account indicates what a service of silver plate might consist of for a Scottish gentry family in the mid 1730s. The account also indicates how Edinburgh goldsmiths sub-contracted work, in this case to a cutler, a case maker and an engraver. Payment to George Grant, Walter Scott's agent, of £66 for a bill totalling £66 10s 11d suggests that the bill had been rounded down.

The bill was accompanied by a letter, dated 5 August 1736, from James Ker to Walter Scott: a letter which sheds light on the nature of the relationship between craftsman and client, on the concern of Ker to be paid promptly and on the poor standard of his written English:

This comes along with the remainder of our commission all which were I hope neatly done and pleased you well inclosed is the Actt [account] which on perusall I flatter myself you'll find right you were so very kind as one knowing the occasion I had for money at the time to promise me payment. I am to be at Sinlaws [Sunlaws, near Kelso] the latter end of next week were it not I am affraid it would be too much presuming on your goodness would beg you'd send it there having you know the money to pay there if it comes the 16 or 17 day of this month will be soon enough if the sending it there should be any ways inconvenient please let me know and I shall either wait on you my self or send. I hope you'll excuse this piece of extraordinary freedom which I would not have adventured on had I not convincing proffes [? professions] of your kindness. I am with great esteem⁴²

The Hopetoun papers provide the best documentary source for Ker's activities as a goldsmith⁴³. His father, Thomas, had executed a number of commissions for Charles Hope, 1st Earl of Hopetoun, including a set of four candlesticks of 1700-1 and an extensive toilet service of 1706-7⁴⁴. The Earl also patronized other Edinburgh goldsmiths including James Cockburn (jewellery for his wife Henrietta)⁴⁵, Colin McKenzie (a set of four tablesticks of 1710-11), Patrick Turnbull (a tankard of 1716-17), Charles Dickson (a tankard of 1722-23) and Henry Bethune (a montieth of 1727-28); he also won horse-racing prizes in the form of a spout cup and cover of 1707-8 by William Scott and a set of three casters of 1716-17 by Patrick Turnbull. James Ker, capitalizing on his father's relationship with the 1st Earl of Hopetoun, was to become the Earl's most favoured Edinburgh goldsmith.

The most important documented commission from the Earl to Ker, and one of the most important single commissions of James Ker's entire career, was a tea service of 1734-35⁴⁶. On 1 February 1735 Ker delivered a teapot and stand (114oz 6 dwt) and a coffee pot (66 oz 12 dwt); these

were exceptionally heavy pieces and the coffee pot must have taken the form of an urn. On 28 February he delivered two small flats or salvers (17 oz 3 dwt), a large flat or salver (19 oz 5 dwt), a large teapot (37 oz 10 dwt), twelve teaspoons and a pair of tea or sugar tongs, a flat or tray for the teaspoons, a milk pot, and a sugar box. The teapot was again exceptionally heavy and the combined weight of all the items came to 304 oz. With the silver priced at 5s 10d per ounce and the duty included, the cost amounted to £88 13s 4d; a further £45 12s 0d was charged for "making and chasing at 3 sh. per ounce" and on 17 April £1 12s 0d for a case with a handle. This increased the total bill to £135 17s 4d. Ker received payment of £100 very promptly on 19 April but the outstanding £35 17s 4d was not forthcoming until 20 May 1736. The Earl, however, queried Ker's bill on discovering that the "Prices of Tea Plate at London 1735" were, for the making silver per ounce, 1s for "Plain", 1s 3d for "Engraven", 1s 6d for "Carved or Chased", and 2s for "Fluted": Ker had charged 3s per ounce. A further document records:

Deduce one half of the workmanship it having been referred to the London Price

and £22 16s 0d was accordingly deducted from the final payment to Ker. Suspicions still remained, since the document concludes:

N.B. the weight is taken upon Mr. Ker's word.

Despite such suspicions the Earl's patronage of Ker continued and was maintained by James Hope, 2nd Earl of Hopetoun, who succeeded his father in February 1742. An account for the period from 10 January 1735 to 20 May 1736 lists

a case for my Lady's watch [6s], a glass for a watch [1s], engraved patterns and casts for two dog collars [17s], a box for holding rings [13s], a pair of snuffers [4s], fourteen large and six small buttons [£2 1s 6d], one ink holder [7s 6d], a pair tea candlesticks [£3 8s 0d], a pair strong shoe buckles [16s] and a silver whistle [12s]⁴⁷.

Further accounts for the years 1744, 1745, and 1746 reveal a similar picture⁴⁸. In 1744, for example, James Ker was paid 18s for a pair of shoe buckles, £1 5s 0d for twenty-six coat buttons, 10s 2d for twelve coat buttons, 8s for a strop or band "to a China tea pot", 11s 8d for fourteen blades for knives, a guinea for "a Case for knives, forks and spoons", 10s 6d for "Silver added to a large bowl & mending it", £2 15s 10d for "a scalloped [dish] for oysters 7 oz at 5/10", £31 14s 1d for "a large plate 100 oz 2 dr at 5/10" and "the making", 1s 8d for "a silver thimble", and 5s for "altering a Branch & adding about 6 dr silver".

In 1745 there were payments for engraving crests and coats of arms, more buttons, shoe buckles, and cutlery cases, repairs and additions to candlesticks, and a mourning ring with a motto (18s). Buttons and shoe buckles featured yet again in 1746, as well as "cash paid for mending a fan" and a seal case costing just 3s.

In 1747, with the Jacobite rising safely suppressed, the 2nd Earl of Hopetoun evidently felt sufficiently confident to commission four silver dishes (108 oz 1 dwt) which cost £35 14s 6d including the engraving of coats of arms and a further two large dishes (114 oz 13 dwt) at a cost of £37 1s 3d including the cost of engraving and for his wife a pair of shoe buckles (three guineas) and two gold swivels for her watch chain (15s)⁴². These lists are a reminder that much of the Edinburgh goldsmiths' trade involved making relatively inexpensive items and carrying out repairs. The goldsmiths also often acted as subcontractors to engravers, watchmakers, knife blade makers, makers of cutlery cases and even fanmakers. The frequent appearance of shoe buckles may be because fashions changed and shoe buckles could easily be damaged. Payment to Ker partly took the form of "old silver": 212 oz 4 dwt of it in August 1747 valued at 5s 4d per ounce⁴³. Cash payments seem sometimes to have been delayed: it was not until Christmas Eve 1748 that the Earl settled his final account with Ker, with a payment of £32 4s 7½d⁴⁴.

The delayed settlement of the Earl's final account with Ker illustrates a problem facing Edinburgh goldsmiths of the period. Their wealthiest customers tended to be members of the nobility or landed gentry who in many cases adopted a rather cavalier approach to paying bills owed to craftsmen and tradesmen. Agricultural rents were usually paid twice a year, at Whitsunday and Martinmas, which meant that landowners might have cash-flow problems which they then transferred on to their creditors. That Ker himself suffered from cash-flow problems is suggested by a letter written in 1737 by his

first wife, Jean, to George Grant⁴⁵. Having thanked him for sending £50 on account, she added

I wish all our customers were all as good payers – business would be very easy to us.

One of Ker's 'bad payers' seems to have been Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had become a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Minto in 1726. At any rate Ker wrote to him on 31 December 1740

Sir,

I am very much put too it to get money to answer my Credit at present or should have been loath to have troubled you must beg the favour you'll be so good as give the bearer what Cash you can spare and when I shall wait on you for to clear. I am with great esteem⁴⁶

A MAN OF PROPERTY

In addition to his activities as a goldsmith, silversmith and jeweller James Ker, like most eighteenth-century Edinburgh goldsmiths, lent money commercially. Little evidence survives of his money-lending, apart from some documents in the Kerr of Chatto papers relating to financial transactions between Ker on the one hand and William and Christian Kerr of Chatto on the other⁴⁷. William Kerr and his wife Christian, daughter of William Scott of Harden and Christian, daughter of 6th Earl Boyd, were landowners in Roxburghshire. In addition to Chatto they owned the estate of Sunlaws near Kelso which Christian had inherited from her father, her two brothers having died without issue. In a letter to Charles Ker of 28 May 1735 James Ker signed himself as "your affectionat nephew" but it is more likely that they were cousins⁴⁸. Christian Kerr contracted various debts as early as July 1721, partly perhaps because she became involved in a lawsuit with John, Duke of Roxburghe

42 NAS, GD157/2237/1.

43 For a discussion of Hopetoun silver, see E Alfred Jones, 'Some old Scottish and English Plate of the Marquess of Linlithgow, KT', *Apollo*, 18 (September 1933), pp 153-61; George Dalglish and Henry Stuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 8, pp 73-9.

44 A bill for part of this service survives in the Hopetoun Papers, National

Register of Archives of Scotland (hereafter NRAS), 888, 2787: "Account due to Thomas Ker, goldsmith, for a comb box, 2 powder boxes, 2 patch boxes, 2 little cups, 2 pomade boxes, 2 servers, 2 bottles, 1 pin-cushion, 2 candlesticks, 1 glass frame and 2 brushes. The total cost £79.14.6d".

45 NRAS, 888, 2787, mentions a "breast jewel" for Lady Henrietta Hope costing £116 9s 0d, January

1700.

46 NRAS, 888, 3032. This paragraph is also based on George Dalglish and Henry Stuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 8, pp 76 and 78.

47 NRAS, 888, 3032.

48 NRAS, 888, 445, 457.

49 NRAS, 888, 457.

50 NRAS, 888, 445. At an Incorporation meeting

James Ker had earlier bought old silver at 5s 3d pence per ounce: NAS, Minutes, 18 January 1740, f 58.

51 NRAS, 888, 457.

52 NAS, GD157/2244.

53 NLS, Saltoun Papers, MS 13252, f 168.

54 NAS, GD253/99/2. The documents are unnumbered. The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript

Library, Yale University, holds a manuscript book, 'Mrs Christian Kerr Her Arithmetic Book'. This book, compiled between 1716 and 1730, includes details of the household accounts of William and Christian Kerr.

55 The 1st Earl of Ancrum's first wife was Jean, daughter of James Kerr of Chatto.

which was heard in the Court of Session (July 1731) and finally in the House of Lords (27 March 1734). On 15 July 1729 James Ker lent

Mistress Christian Ker Lady Chatto and Charles Ker in Sunlaws ... the sum of two thousand merks Scots money.

He also performed other services for the couple supplying them with beer (April 1732)⁵⁶ and a pair of gold buttons costing two guineas (August 1733), and even paying for their annual subscription to the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* (September 1733)⁵⁷. Meanwhile in February 1733 James Ker together with William Keir, a "baxter" or baker of Edinburgh who became a friend and colleague of Ker on Edinburgh Town Council⁵⁸, had assumed responsibility for several bonds or debts owed by Charles Kerr. On 19 December 1734 James Ker assumed responsibility for an additional debt owed by Charles Kerr, though in 1734 and 1735 Charles Kerr, James Ker and William Keir seem to have combined to negotiate joint loans.

The most important transaction for James Ker was the signing, on 30 December 1735, of a lease from Charles and Christian Kerr for the lands of Bughtrig (also spelt Bughtrigg and Boughtrigg), Woodenlaw, Raeshaw or Raeshawfell, Cuthbertshope and Newhall. Bughtrig is in the parish of Hounam or Hownam, Roxburghshire, near the Scottish border with Northumberland and about eight miles east of Jedburgh. The lease cost a capital sum of £1,500, payable the following Whitsunday, and an annual rent of £75, payable from the following Martinmas. The evidence suggests that Ker had lent the couple £1,500 at £75 annual interest with the lands of Bughtrig as security; so the grant of the lease enabled the Kerrs to liquidate their debt. Until 1739 Ker continued to make payments to them and to pay off bonds or debts which they owed. In 1736 he acquired as a freehold the lands of Cuthbertshope and other leaseholds may have been converted into freeholds. Though the properties, at least initially, may have been leasehold rather than freehold and though sheep-farming on the Cheviot Hills may not have been very profitable, James Ker could now describe himself "of Bughtrig", thereby styling himself as a man of landed property.

A letter from Ker to Charles Kerr of Chatto has survived⁵⁹. Sent from Edinburgh to Sunlaws, Kelso and dated 28 May 1735, it is probably the earliest surviving Ker letter.

D Sir,

I was favoured with yours by the hands of Mr Geo. Boswell and am glad to hear he did your affairs to your satisfaction. I received likewise

from him £55.12.1½ which was eleven shillings more than you wrote. I have returned inclosed a discharge for the annual rent and you'll see by the Act subjoined what I remain debtor to you for I was only assigned to one year's annual rent of the 5,500 merks. I am hopefull shall see you soon in town. Mr Keir and I both wonders we have not heard from Andrew Ker the success of his roup at Ormistone and Hyndhope. Be so good as remember him to write us. I doubt not but you give him all the assistance as to his management lyes in your way. I heartily wish we were fairly out of that [?] scrap. I shall have Mr Somervile signe the paper as desired and keep it untill either you be in town or some sure hand going to the Country and send along Hardine's [Harden's] papers with it. Lady Jean they tell me is exceeding bad and in a very ill way. It will be a very great loss if any thing happens to her - my spouse has had no fits of her augue these severall days but she continues but weak is to goe to the country to day and hopes the air will be use to her. She joins me in our kind compliments to you all and remains....

"Mr Keir" was almost certainly William Keir and "Mr Somervile" James Somerville, "elder tennent in Carthrae near Channelkirk" (whose loan to the Kerrs James Ker paid off), whilst "Lady Jean" may have been the 1st Countess of Ancram. George Boswell and Andrew Ker have not been identified but the latter is yet another indication of the extent to which James Ker operated within a kinship network of Kers, mixing business with family relationships.

THE INCORPORATION OF GOLDSMITHS

James Ker was becoming an increasingly important member of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths. Fourteen trades or crafts were organised in Edinburgh into separate incorporations or guilds; the Goldsmiths formed the second most senior incorporation after the Surgeons. To become a freeman or member of the Incorporation a seven-year apprenticeship had to be served under a master goldsmith, followed by the successful execution of two 'essays' or assignments in silver and jewellery. Membership of the Incorporation generally fluctuated around thirty during the eighteenth century; it reached a peak of forty-one in September 1760. Members met, sometimes several times a month, in Goldsmiths' Hall next to the High Kirk of St Giles in what was then the centre of Edinburgh. Tuesdays seem to have been a common day for meetings, but they were held on other days apart from Sundays. The most important annual meeting occurred on a Saturday in mid-September when the members of the Incorporation elected their office-bearers. The office-bearers included the Deacon, the Treasurer

(known as the Boxmaster till 1717), the Quartermasters (numbering between four and eight), and the Assay Master, who tested all the silver produced by the Edinburgh goldsmiths to ensure standards of purity were maintained. Deacons and Treasurers were normally elected for a two-year term, but they could serve more than one two-year term. During the eighteenth century James Ker and David Mitchell were the only goldsmiths to serve three two-year terms as Deacon; and two two-year Deacon-hoods were uncommon, with just six in the eighteenth century (those of Patrick Turnbull, William Aytoun, Patrick Robertson, William Dempster, John Welsh, and William Davie). Similarly William Davie was the only goldsmith to serve three two-year terms as Treasurer and, besides James Ker, only Charles Duncan, Thomas Mitchell, James Mitchell and John Welsh could claim two two-year terms. Quartermasters could change annually but some goldsmiths served many years as Quartermasters, notably William Dempster, James Ker's son-in-law and partner (thirty-three years between 1744 and 1793), Alexander Gardner (twenty-five years between 1760 and 1800), and John Welsh (twenty-one years between 1744 and 1779). More typical year totals among long-serving Quartermasters were: Colin McKenzie (fifteen), Patrick Robertson and James Tait (thirteen), William Gilchrist, James Gilliland, James Ker and Ebenezer Oliphant (twelve), William Aytoun (eleven), and Alexander Aitchison senior, Charles Blair and Edward Lothian (ten). Assay Masters, who were paid an annual salary, could serve for long consecutive periods, Edward Penman from July 1708 until his death in December 1729, Archibald Ure from December 1729 until February 1740, and Hugh Gordon from September 1744 until his death in July 1771. The Incorporation also employed a Clerk and an Officer.

Topics discussed at meetings included the price of silver, the assaying of silver items produced in Edinburgh and in the Scottish burghs, the regulation of the goldsmiths' trade in Edinburgh, the supervision and examination of apprentices, the negotiation of loans to individuals and to the Town Council, and the administration of charity to the widows and orphans of former members of the Incorporation. A special interest was taken in the election

of Edinburgh's Member of Parliament and in Edinburgh institutions such as the Poor House, the Charity Workhouse and the Trades' Maiden Hospital. A 5s fine penalised absence from quarterly meetings without good reason.

As early as September 1724, approximately fifteen months after he had been admitted a freeman, James Ker was appointed a Quartermaster by William Aytoun, the then Deacon; he must have impressed Aytoun as someone who would be a reliable assistant. The following year he stood unsuccessfully for the post of Treasurer, receiving just two votes, but instead was chosen as one of the four members of the Deacon's Council which functioned briefly as a supplementary group of Quartermasters⁶⁰. In September 1726 he was one of the six members of the long leet or list for the post of Deacon, a remarkably ambitious move for someone who had been a member of the incorporation for just over three years. The Town Council voted him onto the short leet of three together with Alexander Edmonston and David Mitchell, who was elected Deacon⁶¹; he again featured on the long leet for Deacon in September 1727 and again made it onto the short leet but, according to custom, Mitchell was re-elected for a second term. However, there was a consolation: Ker was appointed a member of the Incorporation's Committee for the Treasurer's Accounts⁶².

In September 1728, once more on the long leet for Deacon, James Ker challenged the right of John Penman junior to vote in the election

because he is one of the poor entertained in the Trinity Hospital⁶³.

Penman had been admitted to the Trinity Hospital in March 1728⁶⁴, while his wife was to receive charity from the Incorporation from December 1729 and, after becoming a widow by October 1730, a quarterly pension until February 1738. There was also a precedent: in February 1723 the Incorporation had ordered John Penman senior

to be scored out of their Rolls ... because he is a pensioner of the Trade⁶⁵.

56 NAS, GD253/99/2: "Edr 4 Ap:1732. Received 2 Casks small bear holding 24 pints each from Mr McDougal for the use of Charles Ker of Chatto the Casks to be returned or paid for. James Ker".

57 NAS, GD253/99/2: "Received from James Ker Goldsmith in Edr sixteen shillings sterling in name of Charles Ker of Chatto, for a

year of Courant from 14 September [1733] to 14 September 1734. James Davidson".

58 William Keir served as trades councillor (1723-25, 1735-37, 1748-51), deacon of the Baxters (1727-29, 1733-35, 1746-47, 1751-53) and deacon convener (1728-29, 1734-35, 1752-53). On 18 September 1735 he named James Ker as one of his

three choices to succeed him as deacon convener but Ker was not elected. Henry Steuart Fotheringham, *Act Book of the Convener of Deacons of the Trades of Edinburgh, 1577-1755*, Edinburgh, 2011, vol 2, p 389.

59 NAS, GD253/99/2.

60 NAS, Minutes, September 1725, f 3.

61 TCM, 16 September 1726, f. 204, and 25 September 1726, f 205.

62 NAS, Minutes, 14 September 1727, f 5, 16 September 1727, f 6; TCM, 15 September 1727, f 428, and 20 September 1727, f 433.

63 NAS, Minutes, 12 September 1728, f13, and 14 September 1728, f 14.

64 TCM, 15 March 1728, f 524, 24 April 1728, f 559, and 19 June 1728, f 591.

65 NAS, Minutes, 8 February 1723, f 290.

The Incorporation in 1728 however included two other Penmans: Edward Penman, the Assay Master, and James Penman, father of John Penman senior. They were probably related to John Penman junior and certainly supported his right to vote. Nevertheless a majority agreed with Ker that John Penman junior should be disqualified. While successful on this issue, Ker did not secure a place on the short leet for Deacon which comprised Charles Duncan, Charles Blair and Archibald Ure. Duncan and Ure each received ten votes, but Penman junior had voted for Duncan and James Ker therefore renewed his protest adding that Penman

had not been in use for a great many years to vote and not in the Hall⁶⁶.

A majority of eleven votes to nine confirmed the disqualification and, with the help of the Deacon's casting vote, Archibald Ure was elected Deacon.

This episode reveals Ker's ruthlessness, his willingness to act in a divisive manner and his ability to be on the winning side; he also gained election to the post of Treasurer with nine votes against five for Patrick Graham and none for Alexander Edmonston⁶⁷. The relatively small membership of the Incorporation knew, however, that they all had to rub along together so there were consolation prizes for at least some of the defeated and disappointed. Charles Duncan and Patrick Graham were appointed to the committee to inspect the trade books and Treasurer's accounts, while James Tait (on the long leet for Deacon), Alexander Edmonston and Patrick Graham were appointed Quartermasters⁶⁸. John Penman junior was even reinstated onto the roll of members of the Incorporation, with no explanation given in the minutes⁶⁹. Ironically, as Treasurer, James Ker had to make the payments to the widows of both John Penman junior and Edward Penman.

Ker served as Treasurer until September 1732. Whilst Treasurer, and subsequently, he clearly still aimed to become Deacon as he featured on the long leets of September 1730, 1731, 1732 and 1733 and, in September 1730, made it onto the short leet⁷⁰. He was again appointed a Quartermaster in September 1732 and September 1733 but much more satisfying must have been his election as Deacon on 14 September 1734. At last he occupied the most senior post in the Incorporation: a post to which he had sought election eight times since 1726 and, according to the minutes, he was unanimously chosen from a short leet of three⁷¹.

EDINBURGH TOWN COUNCIL

James Ker's election as Deacon of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths on 14 September 1734 and his election four

days later as an ordinary Council Deacon⁷² opened up for him a whole new world: that of Edinburgh Town Council. Deacons of Edinburgh's fourteen incorporations were automatically members of the Town Council, though only six of those deacons were chosen to be ordinary Council Deacons eligible to sit on Council committees. Merchants dominated the Town Council which usually numbered thirty-eight but in addition to the fourteen Deacons there were also two Trades Councillors. The Deacons and the Trades Councillors annually elected a Convener of the Trades as their spokesman, the choice falling on William Keir, deacon of the Baxters or Bakers and a friend of James Ker, in September 1734⁷³. Ker was chosen a member of the Treasurer and Tradesmen's Accounts Committee and also a member of a committee "to examine what arrears are owing every manner of way"⁷⁴. In addition, therefore, to presiding over the meetings of the Incorporation Ker now had to attend Town Council meetings, usually held on Wednesdays and often on a weekly basis. Membership of the Treasurer and Tradesmen's Accounts Committee gave him an important supervisory role on the Town Council and at meetings and social functions he could network within an important section of the city's élite. Town Council membership also entitled him to wear a black silk gown on formal occasions and, of more practical benefit, he could expect to receive all Town Council commissions for gold or silver work.

On 7 July 1735 *The Caledonian Mercury* announced that the Leith Races would take place on the following Monday 11, Tuesday 12 and Wednesday 13 August. These horse races on the sands of Leith were an annual fixture and the highlight of the Edinburgh sporting and social calendars. Edinburgh Town Council presented the prizes for the races on 11 and 13 August, while the King presented the prize for the race on 12 August. The prizes themselves took the form of a piece of plate, in other words an item of gold or silver, awarded to the overall winner of three heats, the prizes being worth £20 (11 August), 100 guineas (12 August), and £30 (13 August)⁷⁵.

As Deacon of the Goldsmiths it fell to Ker to supply all three prizes. On 4 August he presented his bill for the two Town Council prizes⁷⁶:

To a Tea kettle weight 78 oz 10 dr at 8s per ounce	
Silver duty and Making included is	£31.9.0
To the engraver for chassing the Mouth	£0.12.0
To the turner for handel and tapine	£0.6.0
	£32.7.0
To a Coffe pott weight 48 oz 8d at 8s	
per oz is	£19.8.0
To the engraver for chassing the Mouth	£0.12.0
To the Turner for a tapine	£0.1.0
	£20.1.0

Once again there is evidence of sub-contracting: this time to an engraver and a wood-turner, who made the handle of the tea kettle and the 'tapines' or 'tappins', the wooden finials on the lids of the tea kettle and the coffee pot. The coffee pot was unusually heavy and may have been an urn. On 15 August the City Treasurer was ordered to pay Ker £52 8s for these two prizes⁶⁷, so at least this bill was settled quite promptly. Presumably he also received 100 guineas for the King's Plate. In terms of value and prestige these were very important commissions but unfortunately none of them seem to have survived. Earlier Ker may also have made a medal for the Royal Company of Archers' Silver Arrow which was shot for on 14 July 1735⁶⁸.

Re-election in September 1735 as Deacon and Council Deacon meant that Ker was a full member of the Town Council at the time of the Porteous Riots, one of the most traumatic events in Edinburgh during the entire eighteenth century⁶⁹. Captain John Porteous, an officer in the City Guard, ordered soldiers under his command to open fire after disturbances had broken out in the Grassmarket following the execution of a popular smuggler, Andrew Wilson, on 14 April 1736. Held responsible for six deaths and many injuries, Porteous was arrested, charged with murder, stripped of all of his offices, and tried by the High Court of Justiciary on 5 July. Unanimously found guilty by the jury, he was sentenced to death. The intervention of Queen Caroline secured a reprieve but a large and organised crowd took matters into their own hands during the evening of 7 September. The crowd broke into his prison, the Tolbooth, and dragged him down to the Grassmarket, where he suffered a particularly gruesome death. Outraged English Members of Parliament and government ministers attempted to punish Edinburgh and to bring to justice those responsible for lynching Porteous but stiff Scottish resistance and non-cooperation from the citizens of Edinburgh foiled them. Parliament nevertheless successfully insisted that the Lord Provost, Alexander Wilson, be dismissed and debarred from holding any public

office in the future, and that the town council should be fined the substantial sum of £2,000, the money to be paid to Isobel Gordon, widow of Captain Porteous⁷⁰.

James Ker must have followed these events very closely. The Tolbooth prison adjoined the High Kirk of St Giles, Goldsmiths' Hall and the Parliament Close where he and many other Edinburgh goldsmiths had their workshops. The Town Council was ultimately responsible both for the actions of Captain Porteous and for the security of the prison and suffered the indignity of having its Lord Provost dismissed and of being heavily fined. The events of 14 April and 7 September involved apprentices, journeymen and craftsmen; one of the victims of 14 April was Patrick Spalden (Peter Spalding), an apprentice to the Edinburgh goldsmith David Mitchell, and one of the citizens of Edinburgh who travelled to London to give evidence before Parliament was the goldsmith William Ure⁸¹. The riots presumably instilled in Ker a fear of mob violence and a dislike of London meddling in Edinburgh's affairs. English demands for the disbanding of the City Guard and for the dismantling of the Netherbow Port (one of the city's gates) may also have brought home to him the extent of English suspicion, and even hostility, towards Scotland.

More mundane matters occupied James Ker most of the time. For the Incorporation of Goldsmiths the booking or registering of apprentices was not normally a contentious issue. On 27 May 1736, however, Edward Lothian objected to James Hill being booked an apprentice to Charles Dickson. Lothian, together with William Aytoun and George Forbes, all quartermasters, submitted their objection in June 1736. They argued that Hill had worked in the Canongate as a master, taking apprentices, and was a freeman of the Hammermen in the Canongate, so he should not be considered as an apprentice. To do so

may open a door to allow our freedom to be conveyed to any master or journeyman in Scotland or from any other place

66 NAS, Minutes, 14 September 1728, f 14.

67 NAS, Minutes, 14 September 1728, f 16.

68 NAS, Minutes, 14 September 1728, ff 16-17.

69 NAS, Minutes, 3 October 1728, ff 18-19.

70 TCM, 11 September 1730, f 173; NAS, Minutes, 12 September 1730, f 41.

71 TCM, 13 September 1734, f 201, and 18 September 1734, f 204;

NAS, Minutes, 14 September 1734, f 69. James Mitchelson and George Forbes were also on the short list.

72 TCM, 18 September 1734, f 208.

73 Henry Stuart Fotheringham, *op cit*, see note 58, p 384.

74 TCM, 2 October 1734, ff 222 and 223.

75 CM, 7 July 1735, p 16632. See also TCM, 18 June 1735, f 44.

76 Edinburgh City Archives, Common Good and Proper Revenue Accounts, 1728-1742 (hereafter Accounts, 1728-1742), f 274.

77 TCM, 18 June 1735, f 44,

and 15 August 1735, f 88.

78 CM, 15 July 1735, p 16647.

79 See H T Dickinson and Kenneth Logue, 'The Porteous riot: a study of the breakdown of law and order in Edinburgh, 1736-1737,' *Scottish Labour History Review*, 10 (1970), pp 21-40.

80 TCM, 13 July 1737, f 34,

and 16 August 1738, f 178. The Town Council agreed to the payment with much reluctance and after considerable delays: TCM, 4 January 1738, f 3.

81 CM, 15 April 1736, p 17119, and 18 April 1737, p 17936. Peter Spalding was not formally booked until 30 March 1737. William Ure had ceased to be an active goldsmith.

and would undermine the apprenticeship system. Hill and Dickson responded that the former had agreed to serve a seven-year apprenticeship in order to improve further

his art and craft of working and manufacturing of Gold and Silver into plate and other utensils and ornaments fit for the service of this Kingdom as well as for Exportation into foreign parts.

Hill himself was described as

a person of great ability and perfection in the art of working in silver and gold.

It was in

their interest and the interest of the City of Edinburgh and of the whole Kingdom to improve and carry to the utmost perfection the business of the said Craft.

There were also allegedly precedents for booking Hill as an apprentice: Ker had supported his case but, in a rare defeat, a majority of the Incorporation opposed the booking of Hill⁸². The Incorporation however re-considered the matter on 9 November 1736 and this time a majority, including Ker, voted in Hill's favour⁸³. Dickson died suddenly at the beginning of May 1737 but it was not until four years later that Hill's apprenticeship was formally transferred to James Ker⁸⁴.

Shortly after Porteous's trial the Town's Plate, worth £40, and the King's Plate, worth 100 guineas, were run for on Leith Sands on Saturday 31 July and on Monday 2 August respectively⁸⁵. As Deacon Ker again received the commissions for both prizes, there being just one Town's Plate in 1736; on 2 August he submitted his bill⁸⁶:

To 1 tea kettle and Standard weight 97 oz at 8s per oz	£38.16.0
To the Ingraving the brim and Armes	£0.17.0
To the handle and tapine	£0.4.0

The total came to £39 17s, just under £40. On 15 September the City Treasurer was instructed to settle this account together with an account for twenty-nine silver buttons with a payment to Ker of £50 15s 2d⁸⁷. Weighing almost 100 oz the tea kettle must have been magnificent but sadly has not apparently survived. Even more magnificent though was the King's Plate for 1736 which has survived. The Treasurer reported on 28 May that he had received the royal warrant for £100 for the King's Plate⁸⁸ but even before then Ker may have started work on the commission, assuming that it would be assigned to him. The prize was a wonderful gold teapot which has recently been described as follows:

Compressed spherical or 'bullet' shape, with straight tapering spout and wooden scroll handle, flush hinged lid with ball finial; the 'mouth' is flat-chased with a band of rococo shells and scrolls; the body engraved with the Scottish Royal Arms to one side and a representation of a race-horse and rider with 'Legacy/1736' beneath on the other⁸⁹.

After the 1715-16 Jacobite Rising horse-racing at Leith had been revived in 1717 and a silver prize was to be presented by the city⁹⁰. In addition a new prize, worth £100 and paid for by a group of private subscribers, took the form of a gold quaich. The initiative had a pronounced political character: the subscribers described themselves as

hearty Friends to our Sovereign King George, and to the Protestant Succession, in the most Illustrious Family of Hanover.

The race was held on 30 October, the birthday of the Prince of Wales. The Prince's crest and motto and a Latin inscription commemorating his birthday were engraved on the quaich and following the race the Lord Provost, magistrates, Town Councillors and the subscribers attended an "Entertainment" at the Town House, where they drank the health of the royal family⁹¹. After 1717 the annual Leith prizes continued to be made of silver not gold though "a Gold Cup of about an hundred Guineas

82 NAS, Minutes, 27 May 1736, ff 81-89.

83 NAS, Minutes, 9 November 1736, ff 97-98. James Mitchelson, William Aytoun, Hugh Gordon, Thomas Mitchell, Edward Lothian, William Gilchrist, and James Mitchell voted against booking James Hill. Dougal Ged subsequently protested against the decision, a protest signed by

Hugh Gordon, William Aytoun, Thomas Mitchell, James Mitchelson, and Hugh Penman: NAS, Minutes, 24 November 1736, f 100.

84 NAS, Minutes, 10 May 1737, f 106, 10 February 1741, f 100, 26 May 1741, f 109. James Hill did not qualify as a freeman until 12 August 1746: NAS, Minutes, 27 May 1746,

f 184, 12 August 1746, f 187.

85 EEC, 1-5 July 1736, p 8.

86 Accounts, 1728-1742, f 374.

87 TCM, 15 September 1736, f 64.

88 TCM, 28 May 1736, f 336.

89 George Dalgleish and

Henry Steuart Fotheringham, op cit, see note 8, p 193, and illustration p 199. See also Michael Clayton, *Collector's Dictionary of Silver and Gold*, Woodbridge, 1985, p 295; Ian Finlay, *Scottish Gold and Silver Work*, 1956, p 135.

90 The prize, a set of three octagonal casters engraved with the arms of the city of Edinburgh, by Patrick

Turnbull, Edinburgh, 1716-17, was won by the 1st Earl of Hopetoun and sold at Christie's, 15 June 1977, lot 129.

91 *The Scots Courant*, 11-13 September 1717, p 10, 25-27 September 1717, pp 10-11, 4-7 October 1717, pp 9-11, 30 October - 1 November 1717, p 10. Colonel Guest won the gold quaich.

Value" of undeclared sponsorship was competed for at Leith on 25 October 1720⁹².

A royal initiative re-introduced gold prizes for the Leith Races: in 1726 the King was

pleased to give a Plate of One Hundred Guineas to be run for on the Sands of Leith

thereby inaugurating the King's One Hundred Guineas Plate, the most prestigious and valuable Edinburgh race prize, which continued to be raced for annually throughout the eighteenth century⁹³. The King's Plate was described in 1726 as "the 100 Guinea Gold Plate", in 1727 as "a Gold Drinking Quaff" or quaich, in 1728 as "His Majesty's GOLD-PLATE of 100 Guineas value" and in 1730 as a "Gold Tea-pot"⁹⁴. In contrast the 1733 King's Plate consisted of "two large Silver Bowls"⁹⁵ but in 1734 it was referred to as "A Gold Plate by HIS MAJESTY, to the Value of 100 Guineas"⁹⁶. The Town Council accounts record the bills for three of these gold prizes⁹⁷:

To Thomas Mitchell Goldsmith viz.
1726 Sept. 19
For a Gold Cup Weighing 20 oz 4 dr at £4 Sterl.
per oz £81.0.0
Making £15.3.6
Engraving the King's Arms £1.1.0
£97.4.6
Audited by the Committee 18 Jany. 1728

To David Mitchell, Jeweller in Edinburgh
1727 June 26
To ane Dish Croun Gold weighing 20 Ounces
4 drops at £4.15 per Ounce Gold making £96.3.9
To the graving the Royall Arms £1.1.0

1728 June 13
To ane Tea Pott Croun Gold weighing 19 oz at £5
per oz Gold and making is £95.0.0
To the Graving the Royall Arms with the
Supporters with ane fine Iybonie handle to the
Pott £1.15.0

Normally the Town Council awarded the current deacon of the Goldsmiths' with the commissions for the Leith



Fig 10 Teapot, gold, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1736-37. Leith Royal Race Prize for 1736.

(Courtesy of Manchester City Art Gallery)

race prizes. Thomas Mitchell had served as a Trades Councillor (September 1723 to September 1725) and had been on the short leet for Deacon (September 1724) but William Aytoun had been elected Deacon in September 1725. Yet in 1726 Mitchell, not Aytoun, received the commission for both the King's Plate and the Town's Plate ("a Large Silver Bowl weighing 115 oz. 8 dr.")⁹⁸, for which the bills were not paid until February 1728⁹⁹. David Mitchell, on the other hand, was Deacon from September 1726 to September 1728 and he made the Town's Plate in 1726 ("ane Bowle Sterling Silver wt. 115 Ounces 8 dr") and in 1727 ("ane Bowle Sterling Silver wt. 11 oz 8 dr")¹⁰⁰. A delayed settlement of accounts again occurred, this time not until September and December 1729¹⁰¹. Of the prizes themselves, King's Plates before 1736 thus included at least one gold cup, one gold quaich and two gold teapots¹⁰².

No recorded James Ker quaich survives whereas there are numerous Ker teapots so it is not surprising that in 1736 he produced a gold teapot [Fig 10]. A black mare, *Legacy*, owned by William Croft, won the race¹⁰³. The teapot surfaced in 1847 when it was bought by Leopold de Rothschild for £70; it remained in the Rothschild Collection until sold by Anthony de Rothschild at Christie's in 1940 for £1,150 to Michael

92 EEC, 19-20 September 1720, p 1691.

93 EEC, 21-23 June 1726, p 625; CM, 25 July 1726, p 6029.

94 CM, 19 September 1726, p 6126, 20 September 1726, p 6130, and 27 June 1727, p 6610; EEC, 26-27 June

1727, p 1258, 6-7 May 1728, p 1812, 22-23 June 1730, p 3, and 23-5 June 1730, p 3.

95 EEC, 2-6 August 1733, p 4.

96 CM, 6 May 1734, p 159000.

97 Accounts, 1702-1728, ff 668, 706; Accounts, 1728-1742, f 6.

98 Accounts, 1702-1728, f 668.

99 TCM, 2 February 1728, f 510.

100 Accounts, 1702-1728, f 706; Accounts, 1728-1742, f 6.

101 TCM, 5 September 1729, f 356, and 24 December 1729, f 444.

102 Another gold teapot, presumably a race prize, is listed among the posses-

sions of Sir James Cunningham of Milnraig, due to be auctioned on 23 April 1747, EEC, 14 and 20 April 1747, pp 3-4.

103 CM, 3 August 1736, pp 17315-6; EEC, 2-3 August 1736, p 4



Fig 11 Teapot, gold, James Ker, Edinburgh, 1737-38.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

Noble. Sold, again at Christie's, on 13 December 1967 for £40,000, it was acquired by Manchester City Galleries¹⁰⁴.

After serving as Deacon of the Goldsmiths for two years, in September 1736 Ker was succeeded by John Rollo; he no longer held any office in the incorporation or in the town council apart from being one of four former deacons on a Deacons' Council¹⁰⁵. He had regularly attended Town Council meetings; he had arranged a loan of £600 from the incorporation to the council¹⁰⁶ and he had again received the commissions for making the prizes presented by the King and the Town Council for the Leith

races¹⁰⁷. So he had gained useful experience, made valuable contacts, demonstrated his commitment and abilities, and been awarded some profitable business.

1737 seems to have been an uneventful year in Ker's public life. On 17 September John Rollo was re-elected Deacon to serve the customary two-year term; Ker did not stand as a candidate for election and once more held no public office. The Town Council commissioned Ker to make the prize for the 1738 King's Plate, a commission usually awarded to the Deacon. It is not clear why Ker was preferred to John Rollo but presumably his gold teapot for the 1736 King's Plate had favourably impressed the Council; Rollo may have decided that he was too busy or for some other reason did not want the work.

An entry in the Town Council minutes indicates that he did not make the Town's Plate for 1738 either, the commission going to David Mitchell instead¹⁰⁸. In any event Ker produced another gold teapot [Fig 11], its spherical body slightly more compressed than the 1736 gold teapot, and with a differently shaped wooden handle. The teapot, like its predecessor, has chased decoration of rococo foliage and fruit and is engraved with the Scottish royal arms [Fig 11a]. The strainer inside the teapot is pierced in the form of a crowned thistle [Fig 11b]¹⁰⁹. The race for the King's Plate in 1738 was held on 8 August and was won by *Cyprus*, a horse owned by William Carr of Northumberland, one of many English Leith prizewinners. *The Caledonian Mercury* commented:



Fig 11a Detail of arms of teapot.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)



Fig 11b Detail of leaf strainer of teapot.
(Courtesy of National Museums Scotland)

the Prize was carried over the Tweed as usually, by Mr. Carr's *Cyprus*¹⁰.

THE POLITICS OF THE INCORPORATION OF GOLDSMITHS

Normally the proceedings of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths ran reasonably smoothly but they had their disputes and quarrels and during the period from 1738 to 1740 the emergence of two opposing factions can be discerned. In 1738, on 15 September, before the annual elections Hugh Gordon moved that two goldsmiths should be debarred from voting: Kenneth McKenzie because he had "given over his trade" and held "a Lucrative office from the town of Edinburgh" and Thomas Leslie because he had

deserted and given over the exercise of the trade and has had no shop ... and is now a macer in the Court of Justiciary ... nor has born any burden in the Incorporation since the year 1717¹¹.

Ker was amongst those who opposed this exclusion but a motion to debar McKenzie and Leslie from voting was carried by a majority of sixteen to twelve¹². Curiously a long leet for Deacon was then voted; it consisted exclusively of goldsmiths who had failed to defeat Gordon's motion: David Mitchell, James Ker, James Tait, Charles Blair, George Forbes and James Campbell. Gordon again intervened, this time

to protest against George Forbes being on the Leet because of the act of the Trade he not having his accounts cleared as the act appoints.

Another vote split the Goldsmiths as before, except that Patrick Murray (who had previously abstained), Kenneth McKenzie and Thomas Leslie (the latter two under protest) voted against the exclusion, while William Ged (who had previously supported Gordon) did not vote. This resulted in the Goldsmiths being even-

ly split fifteen to fifteen which prompted James Mitchelson to propose a leet consisting of himself and five other exclusionists: Edward Lothian, Thomas Mitchell, Hugh Penman, Hugh Gordon, and Dougal Ged.

Two different long leets were thus presented to the town council, as *The Caledonian Mercury* reported:

The Gross of the Conversation at present runs upon the approaching Elections of Magistrates, Town-council and Deacons of this City. Saturday last, in the Morning, the several Incorporations presented their long Leets (or Lists) for Deacons; but that of the Goldsmiths having divided in the Hall, their Contentions run so high that they did not attend the Magistrates with their production till after 1 o'clock, tho' they had several Messages sent them to let them know that the Town-council could not sit all Day waiting on them. However, when they came, they seem'd the more excusable, that the Cause of their being so long in Labour was, that they had *Twains* [twins] to bring forth; for each Party gave in a separate Leet of Candidates for Deacon¹³.

The Town Council decided that Kenneth McKenzie, Thomas Leslie and George Forbes all had a right to vote, that the first long leet was valid and that the short leet should consist of David Mitchell, James Ker and James Campbell¹⁴. After Mitchell had been elected Deacon on 16 September only sixteen members of the Incorporation (Ker among them) took the oath of obedience to their new Deacon:

the rest of the members in the Sederunt presently went out of the hall without taking the oath of obedience to the Deacon.

In their absence, James Campbell was elected Treasurer and Ker one of just four Quartermasters¹⁵. At the next

104 *Apollo*, 87 (March 1968), pp 232-3; Ian Finlay, op cit, see note 83, pp 127-128; George Dalglish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham, op cit, see note 8, p 193.

105 NAS, Minutes, 11 September 1736, f 96.

106 TCM, 5 September 1736, ff 37-38.

107 TCM, 28 May 1736, f 336, 15 September 1736, f 64. James Ker was paid £50.15.2d for the Town

Council prizes.

108 The entry refers to "an accompt due to David Mitchell Jeweller in August last for the two silver plates for the Races at Leith amounting to Forty six pound three shillings and six pence sterling": TCM, 12 September 1739, f 165.

109 For a description and photograph, see George Dalglish and Henry Steuart Fotheringham, op cit, see note 8, pp 194 and 199. See also Ian Finlay,

op cit, see note 83, pp 135-136.

110 CM, 10 August 1738, p 18759. See also EEC, 10 August 1738, p 2.

111 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1738, ff 1-3; TCM, 15 September 1738, ff 212-214.

112 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1738, ff 8-9; TCM, 15 September 1739, ff 218-219. The sixteen were: James Mitchelson, Hugh Penman, James

Wemyss, William Ged, Dougal Ged, Charles Dickson, Thomas Mitchell, William Gilchrist, Alexander Campbell, William Aytoun, James Mitchell, Hugh Gordon, Lawrence Oliphant, James Hally, Edward Lothian, Ebenezer Oliphant. The twelve were: John Rollo, David Mitchell, James Tait, Charles Blair, Colin Campbell, William Ure, William Jamieson, Alexander Edmonston, George Forbes, James Campbell, Alexander

Farquharson, James Ker.

113 CM, 18 September 1738, p. 18823.

114 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1738, f 10; TCM, 15 September 1738, ff 219-221.

115 NAS, Minutes, 16 September 1738, f 16. The other quartermasters were George Forbes, Patrick Murray and James Tait.

meeting of the Incorporation on 21 November 1738, the non-jurors all took the oath of obedience to the Deacon, except for Hugh Gordon; this prompted James Ker to propose that Gordon should be deprived of his vote at Incorporation meetings, although almost at once he apparently let the matter drop:

Before the question was put Mr Ker gave up and passed from the question.

Gordon then renewed his proposal that Kenneth McKenzie and Thomas Leslie should be debarred from voting in elections; the meeting agreed despite the Town Council decision¹¹⁶. With characteristic persistence Ker was still successfully defending Leslie and McKenzie in August 1741¹¹⁷.

It is difficult to make sense of all this. Were Hugh Gordon and his supporters motivated by a desire to see rules strictly adhered to? Were personality conflicts involved? Was this fundamentally a political clash between those sympathetic to the Jacobite cause and their opponents? Certainly James Wemyss, Dougal Ged, William Gilchrist, Ebenezer Oliphant, Charles Dickson, and Alexander Campbell, all of whom voted consistently in support of Gordon's motions, subsequently revealed themselves to be Jacobite sympathisers¹¹⁸. Clearly the Goldsmiths were bitterly divided, as the initial refusal by almost half the goldsmiths to swear an oath of loyalty to the new Deacon testified, and these divisions were to endure. James Ker had definitely identified himself with one side: the side that the Town Council supported. Although not re-elected Deacon on 27 September 1738 he was elected a Trades Councillor, thereby becoming once more a member of the Town Council¹¹⁹. Gratifyingly, he was also appointed a member of two important Town Council committees: the Treasurer and Tradesmen's Accounts Committee, which oversaw Council expenditure, and the College Affairs Committee which oversaw matters relating to the University of Edinburgh¹²⁰. Ker's contribution to the Town Council at this time is not known but he presumably supported the petition of the Lord Provost, magistrates and Town Council to the House of Commons against a parliamentary bill for the

establishment of a theatre in the city¹²¹.

However divided, the Goldsmiths had to co-operate with each other most of the time as they themselves realized. Thus when the Deacon, David Mitchell, appointed a committee to examine Archibald Ure's tenure of the post of Assay Master, he chose as members: Ker, James Tait, Charles Blair and George Forbes who had all voted against Hugh Gordon's motions, but he also chose from the other camp: William Aytoun, Dougal Ged and Gordon himself¹²². Yet the old divisions reappeared: on 15 September 1739 Ker protested against using Incorporation money, specifically money intended for the poor, to pay the legal fees arising out of the cases of Kenneth McKenzie, Thomas Leslie and Archibald Ure. As before his supporters included: James Tait, Colin Campbell, Alexander Edmonston, William Jamieson, George Forbes, John Rollo, Patrick Murray, Alexander Farquharson, and James Campbell¹²³. Outvoted by seventeen votes to eleven Ker persevered and submitted a long protest against raiding the funds for the poor. Such action was, he maintained, illegal, dishonourable and "a breach of public faith" and he specifically criticized James Mitchelson. In reply Hugh Gordon and others argued that the first financial priority had to be the defence of "their freedom, independence and privileges" and that Incorporation money had been used to fund legal expenses in the past¹²⁴. It is not clear whether or not Ker's protest had any effect. However, displaying characteristic perseverance and determination to win in the end, he successfully moved on 5 June 1740 that Leslie and McKenzie, who had been struck off the roll on 22 November 1738, should be re-instated. Hugh Gordon opposed but was outvoted¹²⁵. Meanwhile David Mitchell had been re-elected Deacon (15 September 1739) and James Ker had been re-elected a Trades Councillor (26 September 1739). Ker was also re-appointed a member of the Treasurer and Tradesmen's Accounts and College Affairs Committees, with David Mitchell a fellow member of both committees¹²⁶. Minutes of Town Council committees have not survived but Ker must have spent a considerable amount of time scrutinizing council expenditure and reviewing the administration of the University. Town Council business of particular

116 NAS, Minutes, 21 November 1738, ff 19-21.

117 NAS, Minutes, 11 August 1741, f 112. Hugh Gordon again vainly protested: *ibid.*, f 113.

118 NAS, Minutes, 14 November 1746, f 192. They had all refused to swear an oath of loyalty to George II.

119 TCM, 27 September 1738, f 229.

120 TCM, 4 October 1738, ff 243, 244.

121 TCM, 28 March 1739, ff 72-74.

122 NAS, Minutes, 29 May 1739, f 28. James Ker proposed that Archibald Ure should renounce his claim

to a life tenure of the post of assay master and remain in office only until the next election of a deacon. This proposal was not accepted: NAS, Minutes, 21 November 1739, f 53.

123 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1739, f 41.

124 NAS, Minutes, 12 February 1740, ff 60-66.

David Mitchell, Colin Campbell, Archibald Ure, Alexander Edmonston, William Jamieson, George Forbes, Patrick Murray, Alexander Farquharson, and James Campbell all supported James Ker.

125 NAS, Minutes, 5 June 1740, ff 76-78. William Aytoun continued to protest against Thomas

Leslie and Kenneth McKenzie enjoying voting rights (NAS, Minutes, 28 July 1740, f 79), but the ban was confirmed by 15 votes to 7 (NAS, Minutes, 9 September 1740, f 87).

126 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1739, f 41; TCM, 26 September 1739, f 179, 3 October 1739, f 189.

interest to him would have included the allocation of quarterly city pensions to the survivors of deceased goldsmiths: Sarah Cockburn, daughter of James Cockburn (13s 6d), Christian Craw, widow of Charles Duncan (£1) and her son Alexander Duncan (£1), Sybilla Lyon, widow of Charles Dickson (11s) and Catherine Ramsay, widow of James Yorstoun (12s 6d)¹²⁷. Also of interest would have been the appointment of his former apprentice, James Hally, as a city constable¹²⁸. Lord Hope, son of his patron the 1st Earl of Hopetoun, was received as a burghess and guild brother by the Town Council on 6 February 1740, in recognition of a gift of £100 from the Earl and his son "to the poor of this City"¹²⁹. There would have been some sort of reception at which James Ker would have had an opportunity of meeting the Earl and his son, obviously not as equals, but in a social context. When the Town Council elected two commissioners to represent the city at the Convention of the Royal Scottish Burghs which met at the beginning of July 1740, James Ker was chosen as one of their two assessors¹³⁰. Another appointment followed on 29 July 1740 when he joined the managers of the City Workhouse¹³¹. These administrative commitments came to an end in September 1740 when he ceased to be a member of the Town Council.

IN THE POLITICAL WILDERNESS

September 1740 marked the beginning of a period, lasting until the Jacobite Rising of 1745-46, during which the faction of the goldsmiths in opposition to James Ker remained in the ascendancy, thereby excluding him from public office in the Incorporation and in the Town Council. The only public office which he held in this period was that of one of the sixteen auditors of the city's accounts, an appointment made in February 1745¹³². The politics of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths can explain this exclusion: while much remains obscure voting patterns can be discerned. Edward Lothian, William Aytoun, George Forbes, Dougal Ged, Hugh Gordon, Thomas Mitchell, James Mitchelson, and Hugh Penman all opposed James Hill being booked an apprentice in 1736, whereas Ker supported his candidature¹³³. In 1738 all the goldsmiths who had opposed the booking of Hill, except George Forbes, also opposed allowing Kenneth

McKenzie and Thomas Leslie to vote in elections, again contrary to Ker's position. The other opponents of McKenzie and Leslie were all new recruits: Alexander Campbell (freeman 23 May 1738), Charles Dickson (freeman 6 March 1738), William Gilchrist (freeman 12 May 1736), James Hally (freeman 23 May 1738), James Mitchell (freeman 12 May 1736), Ebenezer Oliphant (freeman 26 August 1737), Lawrence Oliphant (freeman 24 May 1737), and James Wemyss (freeman 6 March 1738)¹³⁴. In other words the influx of new members in the years 1736, 1737 and 1738 had altered the balance of power within the Incorporation against Ker. Several of these new recruits were subsequently identified as having Jacobite sympathies: Alexander Campbell, Charles Dickson, William Gilchrist, Ebenezer Oliphant, and James Wemyss¹³⁵. Fifteen of the seventeen Goldsmiths who defeated Ker's motion (3 September 1739) that the Incorporation's funds for the poor should not be raided to pay legal fees had previously voted against him over the matter of McKenzie and Leslie. The other two were David Mitchell and William Ged. Mitchell might have been expected to have supported Ker, although as Deacon he may have felt that he could not afford to alienate the Treasurer of the Incorporation (Dougal Ged), the Quartermasters (James Mitchelson, Hugh Penman, William Gilchrist and James Mitchell), and a majority of his fellow goldsmiths. William Ged was an uncle of Dougal Ged (a Jacobite sympathizer and consistent opponent of Ker) and he was also a member of the Royal Company of Archers, an institution some believed to harbour Jacobite sympathizers¹³⁶. As a former Deacon Ker was, though, included in the nine-member deputation of goldsmiths who waited on the Duke of Argyll on 8 August 1740 and presented to him a flattering address¹³⁷.

In September 1740 the faction opposed to Ker swept the board. His opponents exclusively composed the long leet for Deacon chosen on 11 September: James Mitchelson, Edward Lothian, Hugh Penman, Dougal Ged, Charles Dickson, and James Wemyss¹³⁸. Dougal Ged was elected Deacon and Edward Lothian Treasurer, while the Quartermasters were Thomas Mitchell, Lawrence Oliphant, James Wemyss, and Charles Dickson, with the subsequent additions of Alexander Campbell and James

127 See, for example, TCM, 14 November 1739, ff 208, 209, 210.

128 TCM, 19 March 1740, f 292. James Hally resigned from being a city constable on his appointment as a Lieutenant in the city's Trained Bands: TCM, 8 and 10 October 1740, ff 134, 138.

129 TCM, 6 February 1740, f 273.

130 TCM, 25 June 1740, f 27.

131 TCM, 29 July 1740, ff 57-58.

132 TCM, 1 February 1745, f 114. Eight merchants and eight tradesmen served as the City's auditors. In the Minutes James Ker is described as a 'Jeweller,' whereas James Mitchelson (another auditor) is

described as a 'Goldsmith.'

133 NAS, Minutes, 27 May 1736, ff 81 and 82, and 24 November 1736, ff 100-104.

134 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1738, f 9.

135 NAS, Minutes, 14 November 1746, f 192.

136 Sir James Balfour Paul, *The History of the Royal*

Company of Archers, Edinburgh and London, 1875, p 359. In the Jacobite rising of 1745-46 James Ged, son of William Ged, served in the Duke of Perth's Regiment and was captured at Carlisle.

137 NAS, Minutes, 7 August 1740, ff 81-82; CM, 12 August 1740, p 2; EEC, 12 August 1740, pp 2-3. The other members

of the deputation were David Mitchell (Deacon), James Tait, James Mitchelson, William Aytoun, Hugh Gordon, Dougal Ged (Treasurer), Thomas Mitchell, and Alexander Campbell.

138 NAS, Minutes, 11 September 1740, f 90.

Hally¹³⁹. The Town Council chose Hugh Penman as a Trades Councillor, so, after Ker had attended his last council meeting on 30 September, Hugh Penman and Dougal Ged represented the Incorporation of Goldsmiths on the Town Council¹⁴⁰. The long leet for Deacon in September 1741 originally reproduced that of the previous year apart from Edward Lothian's replacement by James Mitchell. In voting for this list the Goldsmiths were divided evenly: fifteen to fifteen. The Deacon then proposed a more balanced long leet comprising: Dougal Ged and James Mitchelson together with James Tait, Charles Blair, George Forbes, and James Campbell, all of whom might be regarded as Ker's allies. Approval for this list by sixteen votes to fifteen was achieved only because Kenneth McKenzie voted, having been previously excluded¹⁴¹. Despite vigorous protests from James Colquhoun (Lord Provost of Edinburgh 1738–40), on the following day (11 September) the Town Council decided that the first leet was valid, that Kenneth McKenzie did not have a right to vote in incorporation elections, and that Dougal Ged, James Mitchelson and Hugh Penman should compose the short leet¹⁴². Finally, the Deacon, Treasurer and Quartermasters were all re-elected¹⁴³. James Ker protested and attempted with others to present James Campbell as the elected Deacon but the Town Council confirmed Dougal Ged's election¹⁴⁴.

The September 1742 and September 1743 Incorporation elections returned the same goldsmiths to office; with Edward Lothian as Deacon and Hugh Penman as Treasurer. The Quartermasters were a mixed lot: Charles Blair was an ally of Ker, Ebenezer Oliphant an opponent and the remainder new members: Robert Low (freeman 28 April 1742 and former apprentice of Ker), Adam Tait (freeman 18 January 1740), Robert Gordon (freeman 11 August 1741), and Thomas Kay (freeman 9 June 1742)¹⁴⁵. The long leet for Deacon in September 1744 was also mixed, comprising: Ebenezer Oliphant, James Wemyss, Charles Dickson, Robert Gordon, Robert Low, and William Dempster (freeman 9 June 1742 after serving the latter part of his apprenticeship under Ker). The Town Council selected Ebenezer Oliphant, James Wemyss and Charles Dickson as their short leet¹⁴⁶; they were the most senior goldsmiths but, strikingly, they were also all Jacobite sympathizers, suggesting that the Town Council as well as the Incorporation may have been under Jacobite influence. Wemyss was elected Deacon and Low Treasurer. The latter's election was disputed, with the Goldsmiths evenly split (fifteen votes for Low and fifteen votes for William Gilchrist), Low receiving the Deacon's casting vote. Of the new Quartermasters, William

Aytoun, William Gilchrist, and Hugh Penman belonged to the anti-Ker faction, but were balanced by James Campbell, William Dempster, and John Welsh (freeman 9 June 1742). Hugh Gordon, arguably Ker's most persistent opponent, was elected Assay Master with nineteen votes, against fifteen for Archibald Ure¹⁴⁷.

If it had not been for the Jacobite Rising James Ker might have gone down in history as a successful Edinburgh goldsmith who held a number of public offices between 1724 and 1740 but whose subsequent life and career were relatively obscure. The '45 and its brutal and wide-ranging suppression, however, transformed the political situation in Scotland, to his enormous advantage. With the Jacobites totally defeated and utterly discredited, the supporters of the Hanoverian dynasty were triumphant in the ascendant. In the Incorporation the previous division of the Goldsmiths into two opposing factions seems to have disappeared, while in the Town Council the hitherto dominant merchant class, tainted by accusations of disloyalty, incompetence and Jacobitism, was temporarily eclipsed. In these exceptional circumstances it was possible for Ker, with his ambition, ruthlessness, perseverance, political experience and Hanoverian credentials, to gain election as Deacon of the Goldsmiths, as Convener of the Trades, and, eventually, as Member of Parliament for the city of Edinburgh.

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Appendix

List of silver by James Ker with identifying engraving.

Teapot, 1724-25 (arms of Fullerton of Craighill); hot milk jug, 1725-26 (crest and motto of Copeland); teapot, 1725-26 (crest and motto of Haig of Bemersyde); two tazzas, 1725-26 and 1730-31 (engraved 'K' for Fingask Castle); slop or sugar bowl, 1726-27 (crest and arms of Kelso of Kelsoland, Ayrshire); pair of beakers, 1727-28 (arms of Hamilton of Pencaitland); tea service, 1727-28 (tray engraved with arms of Johnson); set of twelve forks, 1727-28 (crest and motto of Dundas); pair of square waiters, 1728-29 (coronet, crest and motto of Earls of Hopetoun); pair of three-light candle-branches, 1728-29 (coronet and crest of Earls of Hopetoun); caster, 1728-29 (crest and motto of Duff of Drummur Castle, Banffshire); mug, 1731-32 (crest and motto of Fairlie); set of three casters, 1732-33 (arms of Dennistoun); teapot, 1733-34 (crest and motto of Sutherland); salt cellar, 1733-34 (crest and motto of Dundas); tea service, 1734-35 (crest and motto of Earls of Hopetoun); marrow scoop, 1734-35 (cypher of Earls of Hopetoun); salver, 1735-36 (arms of Viscount Arbuthnott); four forks, 1735-36 (royal or possibly military crest with motto of Order of Garter); table snuff-box, 1735-36 (coronet and crest of John Hay, 4th Marquess of Tweeddale); pair of canteen beakers, 1737-38 (armorials of John Hay, 4th Marquess of Tweeddale); sugar caster, 1738-39 (crest and motto of Earls of Hopetoun); salver, 1739-40 (crest and motto of Dick of Prestonfield); cake or bread basket, 1740-41 (armorials of Earls of Hopetoun); orange strainer, circa 1740 (crest and baron's coronet probably for George, 13th Earl of Ross); soup ladle, 1740-41 (crest of Sinclair); coffee pot, 1740-41 (crest of Steuart of Appin or Ardsheal); tea service, 1743-44 (initials AE for Erskine); salver, 1743-44 (crest and motto of Murray); cream boat, 1744-45 (crest and motto of Duncan); set of four candlesticks, circa 1745 (cypher and coronet for Earls of Hopetoun); sugar bowl, 1745-46 (cypher and coronet for Earls of Hopetoun); cake or bread basket, 1745-46 (arms of Earls of Hopetoun); two salvers, 1745-46 (arms of Nisbet of Dirleton); salver, 1745-46 (crest and motto of Williamson of Hutchinfield); montieth, 1746-47 (cypher and coronet of Earls of Hopetoun); sugar bowl, 1746-47 (crest of Bogle).

139 NAS, Minutes, 13 September 1740, f 91, and 25 September 1740, f 97.

140 TCM, 26 September 1740, f 121, 30 September 1740, f 123.

141 NAS, Minutes,

10 September 1740, ff 117-120.

142 TCM, 11 September 1741, ff 161-166, and 16 September 1741, ff 168-171, 174-176.

143 NAS, Minutes,

12 September 1741, ff 122, 124, 125.

144 NAS, Minutes, 12 September 1741, f 122; TCM, 16 September 1741, ff 168-171. See also TCM, 14 September 1741, p 3, and EEC, 14 September 1741,

p 3, and 17 September 1741, p 2.

145 NAS, Minutes, 11 September 1742, f148, 17 September 1743, f 162. Adam Tait joined the Jacobite army in 1745.

146 NAS, Minutes, 13 September 1744, f 169; TCM, 14 September 1744, f 16.

147 NAS, Minutes, 15 September 1744, ff 170-171.

The Key to Gibraltar

WYNYARD WILKINSON



Fig 1 The Rock. Coloured lantern slide, 1805.
(Courtesy of the Gibraltar Museum)

The puzzle

Researching British colonial silver always involves the unravelling of puzzles. Often these puzzles are easily solved: names emerge which are readily identified in conjunction with specific locations, styles are appropriate to a place and time, and marks coincide with names. Others, like the puzzle which is Gibraltar, are far more complex, requiring the passage of time for scraps of information to fall into place, testing one's patience and tempting the researcher to make attributions out of sheer frustration before solid evidence is in place.

Over a period of almost forty years I repeatedly encountered pieces of silver bearing various combinations of makers' marks and marks depicting keys. These had been given diverse attributions, none of which I felt was entirely satisfactory. I have a lifelong habit of putting

items with unknown or tentatively ascribed marks in a box in one corner of my office. Over the years, much to my wife's displeasure, this box has ballooned. Now, instead of occupying one shoebox, the mystery heap occupies one whole corner of the room. Occasionally, as I have been able to make positive identifications, the heap recedes. I take pleasure in making withdrawals from the heap when other similarly afflicted people make breakthroughs with new attributions thereby providing me with the vicarious satisfaction of a mystery solved. The collection of sundry items marked with various makers' initials and key marks had, however, been steadily growing with no apparent links amongst the marks. These pieces remained dormant, creeping ever further back in the heap, as new unknowns arrived.

The use of the 'key' mark by silversmiths is as old as the profession itself: conjuring as it does images of locks, safe-keeping, valuables, and safety. 'Key' marks appear on silver from places as diverse as Calcutta, where the silversmith John Mair used a key as his identifying mark; Bremen and Worms in Germany; Leuven in Belgium and the (previously French) island colony of Mauritius, (the arms of which feature a key). The temptation was to focus on these and other places when thinking of possible attributions. Although I had thought of Gibraltar as a possible source of the key-marked pieces in my collection, I had no evidence definitively linking any particular piece of silver to the Rock. Local historians had argued that it was improbable, and made little economic sense: that no silver was produced (working on the English model of silver production) in Gibraltar, given how simple it was to import ready-made goods from England. In the mid eighteenth century it was a mere five days' sailing to London.

The first key-marked item that came into my hands was an Old English pattern tablespoon which arrived in 1966; it was marked with the initials HC and a key. Indeed the most common objects that materialised over the years were tablespoons and soup ladles dating stylistically from the mid-1750s to about 1850. I expected to find shoe buckles but to date none has emerged. I hoped that the key mark would be an indication of the place of origin, figuring somehow in the coat of arms or flag, rather than merely a representation of a shop's sign, as is the case with key-marked pieces made in Calcutta. That first spoon went into the 'unidentified' box and over the years it was joined by many more examples, each taunting me with its mysterious origin, but none yielding the crucial clue that would unlock the mystery.

About fifteen years ago, on a visit to the Bond Street offices of the late Brian Beet, a pair of Old English tablespoons was thrust into my hand. Instead of the usual scratched or engraved initials at the top of the stem there were chased symbols which appeared to be Hebrew letters [Fig 2]. The inscription was in fact a form of Aramaic and referred to a Jewish marriage. My history was not yet good enough to be able to point to Gibraltar as a place of possible origin for this pair of spoons but I soon learned that the Rock was home to a long-established Sephardic community. Turning the spoons over, I noticed that they were marked twice with HC and twice with a key mark.



Fig 2 Aramaic wedding inscription on spoon, Henry Cowper.

Into the box they went. Not long after the Aramaic spoons arrived, a collector was referred to me by the Victoria and Albert Museum. This gentleman showed me an Old English pattern spoon with the maker's mark IC struck four times; in addition to these marks the spoon was engraved "2nd Argyllshire Fencibles" [Fig 3]. In my quest to establish where this IC may have worked I learned that the Argyll Fencibles was a regiment raised for the protection of Britain which was never intended to leave its home shores. Following Nelson's victory at the Battle of the Nile a British military presence was required in Egypt. This created a shortage of troops elsewhere and the Argyll Fencibles were consequently sent to safeguard Gibraltar in 1800. The regiment was disbanded in 1802 leaving a window of two years during which, if the spoon was not made in Argyllshire, it must have been made in Gibraltar.

I rushed home to my box where I discovered other spoons marked with an identical IC punch and bearing key marks as well. Considering the IC mark and the key marks, together with the Argyll Fencibles inscription, and combining this coincidence of marks with the



Fig 3 The Argyllshire Fencibles spoon, John Catton, circa 1802.

Aramaic inscriptions and the HC and key was going to lead me to wherever all these diverse threads of information converged. This would be the only place outside Scotland to which the Argyll Fencibles were ever posted: a place with a Sephardic community, a place where the image of the key figured prominently enough to be an identifying symbol, and a place where two men whose initials were IC and HC were prolific enough as silversmiths that some pieces by them should arrive with me some 200 years later. Finally, this place had to have been wealthy and stable enough to sustain goldsmiths and silversmiths.

Armed with these spoons, each of which had a potential connection to Gibraltar, I determined to do some more extensive research into the lives and marks of the silversmiths and goldsmiths whom I was now convinced must have worked on the Rock.

One of the first things I noticed on arrival in Gibraltar was the coat of arms on the clock tower in Casemates Square. The arms consist of a crenellated tower surmounting a key. Gibraltar's arms were granted to the city in 1502 by Isabella of Castile and a slightly modified version is still in use today [Fig 4]. The original grant was accompanied by a description which translates as

Seal of the noble city of Gibraltar, the key of Spain.

The association of Gibraltar with the image of the key is, however, far more ancient than this: during the Moorish invasion of Spain in 711 the symbol of a key, a representation of the city's strategic position, was first adopted.

Gibraltar: Geographic Location

Gibraltar is situated at one of the southern-most points of the Iberian Peninsula.

The Rock stands at one of the world's strategic crossroads. Throughout history it has acted either as a stepping-stone for migratory people and conquering armies moving north or south across the Straits between Europe and Africa, or as the guardian of naval and commercial shipping moving from east or west through the Straits between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean¹.

Throughout history, because of its coveted position, Gibraltar has been subject to repeated siege: at least fourteen sieges of the Rock occurred between 1309 and 1789. Originally part of the kingdom of Spain, Gibraltar was taken on behalf of Archduke Charles of Austria by a combined Anglo-Dutch force during the War of the Spanish Succession in 1704; virtually the entire Spanish population of four thousand civilians left the Rock as a

result. Although hopeful of a speedy restitution of Gibraltar to Spain these refugees established settlements at San Roque, some five miles across the isthmus on the Spanish mainland, as well as at Algeciras and Los Barrios. The fate of Gibraltar rested in the hands of the pro-Hapsburg allies until the Rock was formally ceded to Britain under article X of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Economy

One of the primary objectives of the British government during the eighteenth century was the development and expansion of British commercial interests around the globe. During my research in the Gibraltar Archives I was struck by how this entrepreneurial fervour was embodied by each individual whose life I examined. One particularly colourful example was found in the will, dated 1839, of the silversmith and jeweller José Nolí. Nolí lived and worked at the very end of the century-long period that I examined: a far less prosperous time than the initial fifty years had been. As one of his last wishes Nolí specified that his speculative \$300 hard dollars interest (£65 sterling or the equivalent of £50,000 today) on the sale of leeches, held by his step son-in-law, be liquidated.

In 1706 Gibraltar was declared a Free Port meaning there were no taxes or duties levied on goods arriving or departing from the Rock. The financial success of the garrison and its civilian community was secured by this declaration. Leghorn in Italy was the only other such port in all of the Mediterranean. Some historians suspect that the British government wanted Gibraltar to compete with Leghorn while others postulate that Gibraltar owed its free port, and therefore its wealth, to the Moorish/Moroccan king, Is'mail.

Is'mail refused to supply building materials, unless full liberty to trade there (in Gibraltar) was granted to his subjects².

In the period between the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 and the siege of 1727 Gibraltar was essentially a garrison town. Where once its streets had been lined with the homes and shops of the native Spanish, these abandoned structures had been gradually claimed as quarters for British army officers, or as shops run by Jewish traders from northern Africa. This was despite the fact that the British monarch had agreed, under article X of the Treaty of Utrecht, that no Jews or "Moors" (Muslims) could reside in Gibraltar.

Her Britannic Majesty, at the request of the Catholic King, does consent and agree that no leave shall be given under any pretense whatsoever, either to Jews or Moors, to reside or have their dwellings in the said town of Gibraltar³.

Gradually, a small civilian population developed to supply the garrison. By 1721 there were forty-five English civilians listed as able to bear arms in case of emergency. By the end of the 1720s it was apparent to the government in Whitehall that in order for Gibraltar to be secure, the Rock needed a Protestant (pro-British) civilian population.

The siege of 1727 was followed by a period of relative peace for Britain during which increased opportunities for trade, exploitation of Gibraltar's Free Port status, and establishment of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Gibraltar for the distribution of ships' prizes and the resolution of maritime disputes, all contributed to the growth of the civilian population of the Rock. The whole of the civilian town assumed the aspect of a British colonial outpost, with a Protestant merchant class flourishing alongside the Jews and (Catholic) Genoese: religious and cultural differences were of little concern in this society. Hard work and the resulting profits were the main focus of daily life. By all accounts, this early experiment in multiculturalism functioned as well as it did because each component group realised that its own security was best guaranteed by not disturbing others. By 1753 there were 351 British civilians listed as able to bear arms in case of emergency.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War, also sometimes referred to as the French and Indian War, in the mid-1750s brought still more prosperity to Gibraltar. The Rock was used as a trading centre for the whole of the Mediterranean as well as an entrepot for the global distribution of British manufactured goods. The first manifestations of the seismic changes to trade brought on by the Industrial Revolution were also in evidence as the volume of trade increased by previously unimaginable increments.

By far the greatest source of revenue flowing through Gibraltar during this period of conflict with France resulted from the capture of enemy ships as prizes. Taking maritime prizes was part of normal procedure for Royal Navy vessels. Any of His Majesty's ships could capture a vessel sailing under an enemy flag. Captured ships and their cargos were taken to any Vice-Admiralty Court for sale. The 'prize' money, as the proceeds were called, was distributed to the ship's officers and crew according to a set scale. During wartime private vessels were also permitted to capture enemy vessels under 'Letters of Marque' acquired from the Admiralty. 'Privateering' was an effective way of cutting the enemy's supply chain at no cost to the British government.

In addition to the lucrative trade in manufactured goods and ships' prizes there was also a sector of commerce

specific to Gibraltar which flourished from the mid-eighteenth century. Hundreds of thousands of mules, brought from nearby Morocco, were shipped through Gibraltar en route to the great plantations of the West Indies and the American South. Tobacco was brought back from the Americas in order to be smuggled into Spain in avoidance of the heavy taxes levied on imported tobacco: one of the principal sources of revenue for the Spanish crown. There was also brisk trade in English manufactured linens. In 1750, Governor Lieutenant General Humphrey Bland declared that no other country could trade its linen products through Gibraltar.

A wheeling, dealing mercantile society blossomed as a result of the heady pace of trade in the Gibraltar of this period. Records reveal that few would pass on an opportunity to turn a profit, no matter how far removed the subject of the transaction was from their customary line of work. So, for example, I found silversmiths speculating in millinery; housewives importing beads and trinkets for sale; tailors advertising Barbary oranges and one industrious blacksmith who contracted for a consignment of Moroccan pigs. An inevitable consequence of this scale of speculative activity was a shortage of cash and resulting high interest rates. The customary rate of interest in Gibraltar during the latter part of eighteenth century was ten per cent.

Fig 4 The coat of arms of Gibraltar as granted by Isabella of Castille on 10 July 1502.



Fig 5 Gibraltar at the beginning of the Great Siege, from a print by John Boydell, circa 1787. (© Guildhall Library.)

1 William G F Jackson, *The Rock of the Gibraltarians*, Ashford, 1987.

2 H W Howes, *The Gibraltarian, the Origin and Evolution of the People of Gibraltar*, London, 1950, p 3; J E B

Meakin, *The Moorish Empire*, London, 1899, p 329-40.

3 G F Jackson, op cit, see note 1, p 22.



Fig 6 The ruins of Gibraltar after the Great Siege. *Watercolour, Captain Thomas Davis, 1793.*

(Courtesy of the Gibraltar Museum.)

Gibraltar was never far removed from Spanish sights and the desire to seize the Rock back from Britain was, as it still is, a perpetual source of discord between the two nations. With the outbreak of war in the American colonies, and with British attention and military resources focused on the other side of the Atlantic, Spain took the opportunity to organise a blockade of Gibraltar. With the co-operation of France the Spanish severed all lines of supply and communications to the Rock in 1779: everyone on Gibraltar who had the means left within the year. During this 'Great Siege' which lasted for three years seven months and twelve days, the entirety of the civilian town and most of the military garrison was completely decimated by relentless Spanish bombardment. But for the pluck and inspiring leadership of Governor General George Eliott, Gibraltar would have reverted to Spanish dominion.

For those who returned to Gibraltar post-siege, the sight must have been demoralising [Fig 6]. Not a single structure in the civilian town escaped damage and most buildings were in ruins. By 1785 the civilian town was rebuilt and the same groups of merchants resumed their customary positions along the main streets of the town. It was business as usual until 1789 when the French Revolution and subsequent Napoleonic wars catapulted the economy of Gibraltar to new heights. With a different prize ship being brought to Gibraltar each day, the resulting wealth was staggering.

Despite every attempt to prevent it, an epidemic of Yellow Fever struck Gibraltar in 1804, reducing the population of 15,000 by almost half, and bringing all commerce to a standstill: even the garrison newspaper ceased publication. Economic relief came unexpectedly



Fig 7 Plaza at the Spanish church. *Major General Henry Sandham, circa 1820.*

(Courtesy of the Murrache Foundation Trust.)

in 1806 when Napoleon introduced his 'Continental System' as a means of strangling the British economy. Under this system no British goods could enter European ports allied with France; nor could French allies' ships land in Britain or her colonies.

There is no challenge that Gibraltarians like more than finding trade where, in theory, there is none to be had. Businesses were soon built up based on loopholes in Napoleon's decrees, and British Orders in Council. British manufactured goods and colonial produce were soon being landed in Gibraltar for running into European ports in neutral ships, many of which were American; and European products found their way, via Gibraltar's middlemen into British hands⁴.

It is said that the boots worn by Napoleon's Grande Armée on its long advance into Russia were British-made and sold to the French through Gibraltar.

Gibraltar's situation improved further still when in 1808 Napoleon invaded Spain, transforming Gibraltar's traditional enemy into an ally whose armies needed provisioning. The wealth generated during the subsequent five years was to sustain Gibraltar's economy through the next fifty.

The moment a stable community in an English-speaking colonial outpost was established, there was a natural opportunity for shopkeepers and artisans to settle and open businesses; Gibraltar was no exception. Although theoretically a garrison with a small supporting civilian population, it was not long before civilians outnumbered the military core. As in many wealthier, more populous port cities in the West Indies and the Americas, Gibraltar's large and constantly changing itinerant population, much of which had cash to spend, offered advantages for those in trade.

⁴ Ibid, p 203

During my research I discovered more than 100 men described as silversmiths, goldsmiths, jewellers or watchmakers in Gibraltarian documents dating from 1745 to 1850. Makers' marks have been found on existing items which correspond to about ten per cent of these names and these are discussed below. There are several explanations why such a small percentage of the documented artisans is represented. First, most of those described as silversmiths were employees of the several large producing concerns, like that of Henry Cowper; these men would not have had their own marks. Second, because of the efficient trading links to London that existed for most of this period it was simply better business to import silver goods and jewellery from London makers; as a consequence many so-called 'silversmiths' were probably just importers.

Silver was indeed produced in Gibraltar over a period exceeding a century; this was clearly not on a small scale. The exigencies of sailing schedules (your customer sails on Thursday and needs six dessert spoons...), and frequent wartime interruptions of supplies from London made the local production of silver and jewellery a viable pursuit. The work of the silversmiths listed below demonstrates an unbroken thread of continuous industry over a century-long period, with each generation within that period producing one pre-eminent maker.

The following directory represents only a few of the goldsmiths, silversmiths and jewellers who worked in Gibraltar between 1740 and 1850. They are, however, the makers whose marks are most commonly encountered. They are listed in chronological order.

GEORGE TERRY (circa 1715-69), working circa 1740-69 [Figs 8 and 9].

George Terry is the first working silversmith so described in a Gibraltar document; little has been discovered of his origins or training. He was first mentioned in a court case of 1743. He married the widow Elizabeth Cowper, mother of Henry Cowper (see below) circa 1744.

Terry appears to have been in Gibraltar for some time. In 1756 his widowed mother's name was listed amongst those in whose homes troops were billeted. It is likely that Terry took his stepson, Henry Cowper (circa 1735-1803), as an apprentice. Henry Cowper probably completed his apprenticeship between 1754 and 1756, when he took over the running of the silversmithing part of the business, leaving his stepfather free to pursue his mercantile interests.

George Terry was no different to any of the other aspiring 'British' inhabitants in Gibraltar: in addition to his silversmithing business, records show that he often acted as a merchant or middleman.

JOHN DAVID REID, working 1753 [Figs 10 and 10a].

1753 court papers refer to John Reid as a goldsmith. He was also so designated in an account of his assets which includes debts owed to George Terry (interestingly signed for by Henry Cowper, then a minor). The quality of his mark and the existence of the counter-stamped dinar imply a goldsmith of considerable skill and affluence. Sadly, no further information about him has been found to date.



Fig 8 Marks of George Terry from a Hanoverian pattern table spoon. Circa 1750.



Fig 9 "Tablespoon, double drop: Goldsmiths' Company, Chester" from Sir Charles Jackson, *English Goldsmiths and their Marks*, 1921.



Fig 10 Counter-stamped Moroccan gold dinar (Ismail 1672-1727). Mark of John Reid. Note the D in the upper part of the R.

(Courtesy of Bob Lyall.)



Fig 10a Detail of Moroccan dinar. Mark of John Reid.

(Courtesy of Bob Lyall.)